"THERE IS NO HAPPINESS AT WORK!": EMOTION MANAGEMENT, INAUTHENTICITY, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTRESS IN THE WORKPLACE

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A major contribution to the sociology of emotion was the insight that the emotional experiences and expressions of individuals are not necessarily natural or genuine; rather, they are shaped by cultural beliefs and socialization processes and are guided by emotional feeling and expression norms (Hochschild 1979; Gordon 1989; Lofland 1985; Thoits 1989). Hochschild (1979) introduced the "emotion-management perspective" as a means to study the ways that individuals deal with socially inappropriate emotions. Emotion management can be defined as the act of controlling one's inner feeling state and an external reflection of the desired or expected state in order to produce a display that is considered appropriate in a given situation (Hochschild 1979). While individuals manage their emotions in many, if not all, social interactions, the workplace is a major arena in which the process of emotion management can be readily observed. As emotion scholars have illustrated, the management of emotion is particularly important in the workplace—individuals perform emotion management to display an image of an organization to the public (as determined by the employer) or to represent their social standing within the workplace. In this dissertation, I examine the emotional experiences of workers—in particular, how the emotions experienced and expressed in the workplace are influenced by a worker's social status and how emotional experiences at work affect the well-being of workers.

Hochschild (1983) introduced a concern for emotion management in the workplace with the concept of emotional labor. In interactions with clients and customers, workers often have to

suppress any negative emotion that they may feel while instead expressing a neutral or positive emotion, reflecting the images of the organizations for which they work. A worker's emotions, then, become a part of the product or service that the worker provides. More and more, companies are advertising "service with a smile" or individualized attention as part of the consumer's experience (Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993; Erickson 1995). Such organizations actually specify the exact emotions that are to be displayed by workers in interactions with customers or clients. For example, Leidner (1993) observed that at Hamburger University, McDonald's employees are instructed to "be enthusiastic and smile" as they greet customers, and at various restaurants waitresses are required to smile, defer, and flirt when interacting with diners (Hall 1993). Emotional labor, then, is emotion management that is performed for a wage, something that is an essential part of the work one performs (Hochschild 1983). Emotional labor is thought to be particularly important in service occupations that require extensive contact with other people. Importantly, one of Hochschild's (1983) major findings was that the service workers she studied reported psychological symptoms, including feelings of inauthenticity and distress, as a consequence of performing emotional labor. However, while emotional labor is important in service work, emotion management processes have been illustrated in many types of work including both white and blue collar occupations (e.g., Haas 1977; Smith & Kleinman 1989; Cahill 1999; Bellas 1999; Rogers 1995). Although Hochschild's main concern was the well-being of service workers, subsequent research on emotion in the workplace has revealed detrimental effects of performing emotion management for workers in non-service occupations as well (Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Lively 2000; Pierce 1995; Pugliesi 1999).

Another factor that is important in the emotion management process is that of social

status. Specifically, higher status workers are thought to enjoy more freedom in their emotional expression than lower status workers and thus may put less effort into emotion management than other workers (Hochschild 1983; Pierce 1995; Lively 2000; Lovaglia & Houser 1996). Furthermore, although high status workers do manage their emotions at work, the self-esteem benefits they receive based on their status in the workplace may offset the negative consequences of emotion management. To date, however, there is no clear understanding of the relationships among emotion management, social status, and psychological distress.

The main obstacle facing researchers of emotion is the lack of suitable data. Research on emotional labor began with qualitative studies of service occupations (e.g., waitresses, flight attendants). These studies have shown that many workers who perform emotional labor become psychologically distressed as a result (Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993; Hall 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton 1987). In addition, qualitative investigations suggested that higher status workers perform less management of negative emotion than lower status workers (Hochschild 1983; Pierce 1995; Lively 2000). Following on these qualitative findings, some researchers conducted quantitative studies of emotional labor. Yet many of these have focused on single occupations, with a continuing emphasis on service work (Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Steinberg & Figart 1999). The quantitative studies have also found some support for the negative link between emotional labor and well-being (Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Pugliesi & Shook 1997; Pugliesi 1999). Although they have furthered our understanding of emotion management in the workplace and its consequences, these studies have not identified the specific conditions under which workers must manage their emotions, the role of social and workplace status in the process, and the way in which job conditions, status, and emotion management combine to affect workers' psychological well-

being. The performance of emotion management and its consequences for workers of different statuses have yet to be studied in a representative sample of occupations.

This lack of suitable data has prevented scholars of emotion from testing some of Hochschild's main ideas. In this dissertation, I use survey data, collected from workers in a variety of occupations, to test the theorized associations between the performance of emotion management in the workplace, social status, occupational and job characteristics, and psychological distress. Using a representative sample of workers in a variety of occupations, I identify the specific characteristics of an individual's job that necessitate the performance of emotion management, the ways in which the emotional experience of working varies with status in the workplace, and the psychological consequences of managing emotions in the workplace. In addition, I draw on a theory of the interpretation of emotions based on one's self-concept orientation (Gordon 1989), and examine the distribution of psychological consequences based on occupational prestige and perceived skill in emotion management in order to identify moderating factors in the relationship between emotion management and the psychological well-being of workers.

Emotion, Emotion Norms, and Expression Norms

Emotion, as used here, consists of four main components: an appraisal of a stimulus, physiological changes in the individual, the management or display of expressive gestures, and the application of a cultural label (Thoits 1989). The "emotion culture" of the society to which one belongs shapes emotional appraisal and the label given to emotion, and hence its interpretation and meaning for the individual (Gordon 1989). Emotion culture guides beliefs about the nature and causes of emotion, when an emotion is experienced, and how and if the

emotion should be expressed. Thus, emotion culture provides guidelines by which individuals interpret their worlds (Thoits 1989).

As a part of emotion culture, "feeling rules" (or "emotion norms") influence the manner in which a feeling is interpreted. In conjunction with feeling rules, "display rules" (or "expression norms") serve as guides to the appropriate emotional expression or display in a given situation (Hochschild 1979; Thoits 1989). For example, in the United States, one is expected to feel sad at the funeral of a loved one. Sadness (or grief), then, would be the proper emotion to experience according to the cultural feeling rule. The appropriate emotional display in this case is also grief. In U.S. society a parent is somewhat suspect if she does not express grief at the funeral of her child. This is not the case in all societies. For example, in her study of a Brazilian shantytown, Scheper-Hugues (1992) described an emotion culture of indifference surrounding the death of children. Mothers, in particular, were bound by a "strong mandate *not* to express grief at the death of a baby...." (Scheper-Hughes 1992: 429). In addition, included in feeling and display rules are cultural guides that stipulate the appropriate duration of an emotional experience, the amount of emotion to be experienced and expressed (Lofland 1985; Clark 1987), the accepted intensity of emotion (Hochschild 1979), and the proper targets of emotion (Thoits 2004). Again, in the U.S., while a parent is expected to grieve at the loss of her child, she is also expected to recover eventually to a normal state of functioning. If the parent grieves for too long a period, she will be suspect of being abnormal or having a psychological disorder (Thoits 1985, 1990; Lofland 1985). Further, emotion cultures are not static: they change over time (Lofland 1985; Cancian 1987; Illouz 1997; Stearns & Stearns 1986), and individuals are socialized into emotion cultures differently based on social statuses such as gender and social class (Balswick & Peek 1974; LaFrance & Banaji 1992; Brody 1985; Pollak &

Thoits 1989; Ross & Mirowsky 1984; Cahill 1999; Kohn 1969).

The existence of both feeling and display rules means that—in order to conform to norms—an individual may experience a particular emotion and not express it or express an emotion not felt (Hochschild 1979, 1983; Conway, DiFazio & Mayman, 1999). As the expression of emotion is more visible than the experience of emotion, emotional display is tightly controlled by emotion culture. Failure to express the "appropriate" emotion may result in social repercussions. When a person expresses emotion that deviates from what is expected, other society members experience tension (Heise 1987). The deviant individual may become marginalized from society and/or shunned in interpersonal relationships (Thoits 1990; Clark 1987). In order to be "good" members of society, people work hard to keep their emotional expression in line with display rules (Hochschild 1979, 1983). The process of managing emotions refers to deliberate efforts on the part of the individual to create and display the emotion deemed appropriate in a given situation in a given culture (Hochschild 1979, 1983).

In addition to general feeling and display rules that follow an emotion culture, there are general status patterns in the experience and expression of emotion. In social interaction, individuals are constantly engaging in impression management or presenting themselves in ways that signify their social place relative to that of the other (Goffman 1956, 1959; Clark 1990). Importantly, in interactions between individuals of different statuses, there is an expectation that the lower status individual will defer to the higher status individual (Goffman 1956). Emotions researchers have recognized that emotions are inherent in these status patterns in social interaction (e.g., Clark 1990; Kemper 1990; Collins 1990). Clark (1990) argues that emotions define a person's social place by serving as "place markers" and "place claims." She considers social place as part of a hierarchy—one's place in everyday interaction that is influenced by

power, prestige, face to face status, and social distance. According to Clark, emotions can serve to remind a person of her place (e.g., a display of disappointment in another puts that person in a place inferior to that of the actor) or to affirm a person's standing (e.g., a display of disgust causes embarrassment on the part of the other). Clark claims that because emotions can be used to mark and claim place in interaction, people use emotion strategically in a micropolitical hierarchy. For example, a lower status worker may express positive emotions to her boss (e.g., displaying she is happy to see her) to indicate her boss's importance and her own inferiority. On the other hand, the boss may express negative emotions to a subordinate (e.g., indicating that she is angry, commenting on the subordinate's negative attributes) to indicate her own superiority.

The expression of the negative emotion of anger has been given particular attention in relation to status (Clark 1990; Kemper 1990; Scheiman 1999, 2000; Sloan 2004). Anger can be thought of as a "power" emotion. In contrast to deferring by suppressing anger, expressing anger can be a display of higher status (Lively 2000; Pierce 1999; Clark 1990; Lovaglia & Houser 1996). A series of experimental studies by Conway and colleagues shows that lower status individuals are perceived as expressing less anger than higher status individuals (Conway et al., 1999). In another set of experiments, Tiedens (2001) has shown that, in the absence of relative status information, an individual who expresses anger is seen as powerful and competent. Status is thought to be interconnected with the experience and expression of anger, and individuals appear to be cognizant of this relationship. Gibson and Schroeder (2002) argue that for individuals of high status, the greater the status difference between the individual and the target of anger, the more likely that the higher status individual will express her authentic feelings. Thus, when an individual of high status experiences anger at an individual of lower status, she is likely to express that anger. Experimental research on dyads and small groups lends support to

this argument, suggesting that an individual's status relative to those with whom he or she is interacting predicts emotional reactions (Lovaglia & Houser, 1996; Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990). When interacting in small groups, individuals of high status relative to the other group members express negative emotions more often than those of low relative status, and the expression of negative emotion is more likely to be directed at low status than at high status group members (Lovaglia & Houser, 1996; Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990).

Emotion Management in the Workplace

The Workplace as an Emotional Setting

There is, perhaps, no better place to examine emotion that is structured by social positions than in the workplace. The status hierarchy within the workplace is clearly defined and known by workers. Thus, patterns in emotional behavior based on status within the workplace should be evident. In addition, adults are able to rank occupations relative to each other in terms of prestige or esteem accorded to them by society and are therefore aware of the status that a worker in a particular occupation holds in society (see Blau and Duncan 1967 on the measurement of prestige and socioeconomic standing). By studying emotions in the workplace, I can examine social status at two levels—status within the workplace hierarchy (relative to those with whom the worker interacts) and occupational status (or status in society). Furthermore, although one may not think of the workplace as an emotional setting, it has become clear that workers suppress, manipulate, and display their own emotions and may evoke emotions and the emotion management process in others during everyday social interactions at work (e.g., Hochschild 1983; Fineman 1993; Gibson 1997; Barbalet 1998; Lively 2000).

With a concern for psychological impact of the rise of service occupations and the

“personality market” (Mills 1956), Hochschild directed the attention of sociologists to the study of emotion in the workplace. As mentioned above, investigations into emotion management on the job began with Hochschild’s research on flight attendants. Hochschild (1983) argued that service workers, such as flight attendants, must constantly manage their emotions while at work. They perform emotional labor—that is, emotion management that is performed as part of one’s job requirements and hence sold for a wage. Service workers in particular are often expected to conceal any negative emotion that they may experience while instead displaying an outward, often contrasting expression of positive emotion as stipulated by their employer. Hochschild argued that this process may have harmful consequences, including feelings of inauthenticity and distress, for the workers’ sense of self. She postulated that service workers are particularly susceptible to the harmful effects of performing emotion management because they must constantly keep their emotions in check due to the extensive amount of contact they have with customers or clients. The act of controlling negative emotions while expressing positive emotions to others serves to raise the status of the customer while oftentimes lowering the status of the worker (Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993). By refraining from retaliating against bad treatment, these workers place themselves in a subordinate position to those whom they serve. It follows, then, that this process may be distressing for the worker. For these reasons, Hochschild (1983) focused her emotional labor argument on service occupations. As a result, much of the research on emotion management in the workplace has also focused on service occupations (see McCammon & Griffin 2000 for an overview).

Qualitative studies of emotion management in service occupations reveal that service workers report and are affected by the performance of emotion management at work (Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993; Hall 1993). However, qualitative studies of non-service occupations have

illustrated emotion management processes as well (Smith & Kleinman 1989; Cahill 1999; Erickson & Ritter 2001). Furthermore, quantitative investigations that compare service occupations—those presumed to require intense emotional labor—to other occupations have found that emotion management is not unique to service occupations. Specifically, research shows little distinction between service occupations and other occupations in terms of the amount of emotion management performed (Erickson & Wharton 1997; Wharton 1993; Pugliesi & Shook 1997). Thus, both quantitative and qualitative studies suggest that researchers need to consider emotion management in different types of occupations (Haas 1977; Smith & Kleinman 1989; Bellas 1999; Cahill 1999).

Emotional Labor, Emotion Management, and Affective Neutrality: Evidence from Qualitative Studies

Workers in service occupations who perform emotional *labor* are *required* to display certain emotions as a specific part of their work (i.e., emotional expression for pay). However, although not necessarily specified as part of the work, forms of emotion management exist in other types of occupations, including professional and blue collar occupations (Smith & Kleinman 1989; Cahill 1999; Haas 1977; Bellas 1999). Within the workplace (aside from interactions with customers or clients), workers manage their emotions in interactions with coworkers and bosses. In such interactions, the status component of emotion management is important. Two qualitative studies of law firms have illustrated such emotion management processes within organizations. Research by Pierce (1995) and Lively (2000) showed that there is a hierarchical component to emotion management within the workplace. Both of these studies provided evidence that high status workers (here the attorneys) had a relative freedom of emotional expression in the workplace (when not interacting with clients). For example, both

studies reported instances of high status attorneys freely expressing their anger at lower status paralegals while the paralegals had to manage any anger or frustration they felt at the attorneys. Thus, the attorneys' position allowed them to direct negative emotions to the lower status paralegals while the paralegals had to suppress the display of negative emotions and instead direct positive or neutral emotion upward to the attorneys. In turn, the paralegals reported venting their frustrations to the lower status secretaries (Lively 2000). In addition, in a quantitative investigation of workplace anger (Sloan 2004), I found that workers are less likely to express anger directly to the person with whom they are angry when that person is of higher status (see also Lively & Powell 2001). These findings follow Clark's (1990) argument regarding the hierarchical component of the expression of emotion.

Emotion management in interactions between status equals (coworkers) has also been demonstrated. Haas (1977) showed the existence of an occupational emotion culture in high steel iron working. Due to the danger involved in working on beams several stories above the ground, an emotion culture existed in which workers did not express fear. The management of fear served to illustrate confidence and skill. This enabled workers to perform their work and to trust their fellow workers without worrying that coworkers might make a mistake due to a fear of falling. The workers that Haas studied often tested each other emotionally by teasing and taunting in an effort to get other workers to lash out in anger. Workers who were able to remain calm despite taunting from co-workers were considered emotionally strong enough to be trustworthy and therefore good ironworkers (Haas 1977). Thus, emotion work may be performed in interactions with clients, higher and lower status coworkers, and peers.

Another facet of emotion management is that done by the self on others (Hochschild 1979; Thoits 1996; Lively 2000). For example, Lively (2000) revealed the process of reciprocal

emotion management. She showed that paralegals of similar status turn to each other for help in performing the emotion management required in the workplace. Being unable to express anger directly to higher status attorneys, the paralegals sought the aid of coworkers for emotional support. In addition to benefitting those who engage in this process, reciprocal emotion management also benefits higher status others by sustaining the workplace hierarchy in which lower status individuals do not directly express their anger to higher status individuals and superiors continue to express freely at subordinates (Lively, 2000). Thus, while often performed on oneself, emotion management may also be performed on others, and this emotion management also has a status component (Hochschild 1979, 1983; Thoits 1996; Lively 2000).

It should also be noted that the goals of emotion management may differ for workers. Many workers, particularly professionals, learn emotion norms in a subtle manner as part of their socialization into the occupation. Smith and Kleinman (1989) showed that as part of the "hidden curriculum" in medical school, students learn the appropriate emotional behaviors. As part of their occupational socialization, medical students learn how to hide their disgust, sorrow, embarrassment, and sexual arousal (Smith & Kleinman 1989). In addition, Cahill (1999) illustrated that a certain emotional toughness is required for some occupations. In his study of mortuary science students, Cahill demonstrated how only those who could adapt to (or were already familiar with) the emotion culture of mortuary science were successful. He argued that individuals have varied emotional backgrounds that prepare them differentially for certain occupations. Individuals who are emotionally socialized in a manner most compatible with the emotional standards present in their prospective occupations will be the most successful at assimilating to the occupational emotion culture. Cahill termed the products of this socialization "emotion capital." For example, in his study, the students who grew up in a family funeral

business were best able to display the emotional coolness necessary to embalm a cadaver. Living around this particular emotion culture and being socialized into it, these students already had the emotion capital necessary to enter the funeral business.

The emotional stance that Smith and Kleinman (1989) and Cahill (1999) described is a type of affective neutrality, or a display of distanced or "cool" concern. Affective neutrality is the product of emotion management because the worker must suppress any felt emotion that may arise when performing her work (usually in front of patients or clients) and display a "non-emotional" appearance that symbolizes professionalism, confidence, and skill. The maintenance of an affectively neutral expression when interacting with clients, customers, patients, etc. is a common emotional practice in professional occupations (Haas & Shaffir 1982). Maintaining affective neutrality has a different connotation, though, than the types of emotion management performed in most other occupations. Importantly, as opposed to the humbling process of inhibiting negative emotions and expressing positive emotions that serves to raise the status of the customer or client and lower the status of the worker (Hochschild 1983), being affectively neutral is not perceived as a deflation of status. Rather, affective neutrality is valued in society and is linked with attributes such as power, science, objectivity and discipline (Fineman 1993).

In sum, previous research has shown that the management of emotion is present in nearly all realms of work involving contacts with other people (whether they be customers, clients, coworkers, subordinates, or bosses). Emotion management as emotional labor is important in service occupations where a worker's emotional display is actually a part of the commodity that is offered, while emotion management as impression management in regard to one's social place (status) is prevalent in other workplace settings. Furthermore, emotion management is performed on the self as well as on others. In studying emotion management in the workplace,

then, each of the above facets of emotion management needs to be considered. In this study I move beyond the early states of emotion management research—where investigators tended to focus on single aspects of emotion management—by looking at a broad range of occupations, examining the consequence of a worker's status, analyzing emotion management performed when interacting with coworkers, superiors, and subordinates as well as that performed when interacting with customers or clients, and distinguishing general emotion management from the management of specific emotions.

Specifically, I will identify the mechanisms through which status operates to affect the extent of a worker's emotion management. To assess the relationship between emotion management and status, I examine three different levels of status. First, workers who are positioned highly in the workplace status hierarchy (e.g., those who supervise many other workers) should perform less emotion management than workers in lower positions in the workplace hierarchy. Workers who supervise others should have greater freedom in their emotional expression and may be able to use the expression of negative emotions (e.g., anger and irritation) strategically to express their power over others (Clark 1990). In addition, I also consider job characteristics—whether the worker performs a job characterized by complex tasks or one in which she is able to exert control over her work. Such jobs are associated with high status (e.g., Kohn & Schooler 1983; Kohn 1976), and therefore, workers in these jobs may afforded more leniency in their emotional expression compared to workers in lower status (i.e., less skilled) jobs. As job complexity and control provide workers with power, in a manner similar to workers with hierarchical status, workers with high job status may not need to emphasize emotion management to the same extent as workers who perform low status jobs. On the other hand, workers who perform low status jobs are given little respect and are expected to

be more deferential to others in the workplace (e.g., Rogers 1995). Finally, I examine the effects of interactional status on emotion management performance. Because of their position of lower relative status in workplace interactions, workers who interact extensively with bosses and supervisors should perform more emotion management at work than workers who have less contact with their supervisors. In addition, because emotion management is performed in service interactions, I expect that workers who interact extensively with customers or clients will perform more emotion management than those whose work involves fewer service type interactions. By determining the types of workers who perform extensive emotion management, I will identify those who are most at risk for experiencing the potentially negative consequences of emotion management.

The Consequences of Emotion Management

Among Hochschild's contributions in *The Managed Heart* was a concern for the well-being of workers who must perform emotional labor. Hochschild (1983) argued that the constant management of emotions has harmful consequences for the worker, including psychological distress, burnout, feelings of inauthenticity, and estrangement from self. Specifically, the frequent management of felt emotions as part of one's job may interfere with the signal function that a "true" emotion is expected to serve. Combining organismic (drawing on Darwin [1955] and Freud [1926]) and interactionist (drawing on Goffman [1961], Mills [1956], and Mead [1934]) perspectives on emotion, Hochschild argued that emotion is both a biological process and one that is shaped in interactions with others. Emotion is viewed as a biologically given sense that serves to inform individuals about their environment and themselves. By repetitively managing truly felt emotions, a worker may have difficulty distinguishing between "true"

emotions that signal how she genuinely feels and "created" emotions that display how she is expected to feel. Managing emotions in the workplace, then, in the long term, may cause the worker to feel alienated from her own self. Factors that have been theorized to influence this relationship include a worker's social status and status in the workplace hierarchy, the amount of interaction the worker has with others in the workplace, the amount of control the worker has over the work he or she performs, and the type of emotion that is managed (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey 1993; Morris & Feldman 1996).

Subsequent research has shown, however, that not all emotion management is harmful and that some workers may actually benefit from performing emotion management (Leidner 1993; Thoits 2003; Erickson & Wharton 1997). For example, Leidner (1993) illustrated how fast food counter workers followed emotion "scripts" (provided by their employer) for how to handle customers. Some workers reported that they were happy to have such scripts to follow because they could use them as a guide for interacting with particularly difficult customers (e.g., customers who are rude or disrespectful). Managing their emotions according to the scripts allowed these workers to better perform their job. To date, however, quantitative research has not distinguished between emotion management that may be beneficial and that which may be harmful.

Evidence from Survey Research

While qualitative studies of emotion management in different occupations suggest that workers become psychologically distressed by the emotional demands placed upon them, these studies are limited in their generalizability as they are based on single occupations or organizations. Although sociologists have collected quantitative data to study emotion in the

workplace, previous quantitative efforts have been limited, and the conclusions drawn from survey research about emotion management are mixed. One difficulty in evaluating the quantitative research is a lack of consensus on the operationalization of key concepts, including emotion management. The first quantitative investigations equated the performance of emotional labor with working in a service occupation (Wharton 1993; Steinberg & Figart 1999), and looked at the relationship between working in service occupations and emotional outcomes such as burnout and emotional exhaustion. This approach is problematic because it assumes that all service occupations require emotion management and that other (non-service) occupations do not. In the first quantitative study of emotion management, Wharton (1993) collected survey data from employees in a bank and a hospital and measured emotional labor dichotomously, using Hochschild's (1983) list of emotional labor occupations in Appendix C of her book *The Managed Heart*. Wharton found no difference between occupations requiring and not requiring emotional labor in workers' reported emotional exhaustion; these results were unexpected given the earlier qualitative evidence (Hochschild 1983; Hall 1993). Pugliesi and Shook (1997) conducted a survey of workers in a university in which they asked respondents about different actions thought to be a part of emotional labor, including covering feelings (i.e., not showing true feelings) and helping coworkers deal with their problems. Both of these measures positively affected job stress. Covering feelings was also associated with psychological distress. In addition, Pugilesi and Shook found that women reported managing the emotions of coworkers more often than did men. Erickson and Wharton (1997) studied inauthenticity and job characteristics using Wharton's (1993) data. They found that extensive time spent working with others (including coworkers and clients) was associated with *lower* inauthenticity, while using people-handling skills (e.g., customer service) was associated with higher inauthenticity.

Erickson and Wharton's results suggest that being around other employees may give workers a chance to express their feelings and thus prevent feelings of inauthenticity, while having to deal with people as a requirement of one's job may decrease (or alter) emotional expression and lead to feelings of inauthenticity.

Perhaps the most specific research to date is that of Erickson and Ritter (2001). Erickson and Ritter were the first researchers to survey workers from a random sample of occupations about emotions. In addition, they measured the actual type of emotion felt and managed at work. They found that the management of agitation-related emotions (e.g., anger, irritation, nervousness) was associated with increased feelings of inauthenticity and burnout, as was the percent of time spent working with people.[1] Furthermore, management of agitation was found across a wide variety of occupations. While informative, one major limitation of this quantitative research is that it failed to investigate the status component of emotion management.

In sum, it is difficult to disentangle the relationships among job characteristics, managing emotion at work, and the consequences of emotion management. Each of these quantitative studies used different measures of emotion management, different outcome measures, and different types of samples. Evidence of any link between managing emotions in the workplace and psychological well-being is limited at best and has produced mixed findings. However, quantitative investigations of emotion management have only just begun, and this previous research is invaluable in furthering our understanding of emotion management. These studies also point to questions to be addressed in future research.

Importantly, although qualitative research and experimental studies have illustrated the

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[1] Although this is at odds with the findings of Erickson and Wharton (1997), Erickson and Ritter suggest that it may be due to different sampling. While Erickson and Wharton sampled workers within two service-sector industries, Erickson and Ritter sampled dual-earner

status component to emotional behavior (Ridgeway and Johnson 1990; Pierce 1995; Lovaglia and Houser 1996; Lively 2000; Tiedens 2001), to date there have been no surveys that examine status patterns in emotion management on a large scale. The only publicly available dataset that includes measures of emotion—specifically the experience and expression of anger in the workplace—is the 1996 General Social Survey (GSS). In addition to being almost ten years old, the emotion portion of the dataset deals only with anger and was administered to just one half of the total GSS sample. I examined data from the 1996 GSS, combined with data from the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (from England & Kilbourne 1988) to obtain measures of occupational characteristics. I found that anger was less likely to be expressed to a higher status target (e.g., "boss") than to a subordinate. In addition, workers in occupations that are highly esteemed by others were more likely than lower status workers to confront the target of their anger directly (Sloan 2004).[2] However, although I was able to link the expression of anger to both status within the workplace and occupational prestige, these findings were limited by the data. Because there were few job-level variables in the GSS, my analysis rested on the assumption that all workers within an occupation hold similar amounts of prestige and share other characteristics (e.g., amount of contact with people at work). In addition, the measures of anger in the GSS are descriptions of one freely recalled incident of anger and responses to that one incident, and, thus, are indirect measures of the actual frequency of anger experiences and expressive coping strategies used regularly at work. In order to more fully understand the relationship between status—both occupational prestige and position within the workplace

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couples who worked in many different industries.

[2] Also using the 1996 GSS data, Lively and Powell (2001) found that the expression of anger depends on the domain in which the anger is experienced (e.g., home vs. work). In general, individuals were more likely to express anger in the home than in the workplace, suggesting that norms of anger expression are stronger in the workplace than in the home.

hierarchy—and emotional experience and expression, quantitative studies of emotion management should include measures of occupational prestige and workplace status as well as measures of job-level characteristics, the frequency of emotional experience, and typical responses to emotion in the workplace.

Thus, there are several improvements necessary in order for quantitative investigations of emotion management to advance knowledge of the process of emotion management and its consequences. First, an analysis of emotion management in the workplace should not be limited to service occupations (Smith-Lovin 1995; Erickson & Ritter 2001). As discussed above, there is evidence that some form of emotion management is present in nearly every type of occupation in which a worker comes into contact with other people. Thus, quantitative data should be collected from workers from a wide range of occupations (e.g., blue-collar workers, service workers, administrative support workers, professionals, managers, etc.). Second, because it is necessary for an individual to interact with another in order to perform emotion management in self presentation, and the status of an individual relative to those with whom she interacts is important in predicting emotional display, the specific types and amount of interactions with others should be measured. Data should be collected on how extensively a worker interacts with other individuals, whether those individuals are coworkers, bosses, subordinates, or clients (i.e., the relative status of the others), and the nature of such interactions (e.g., emotional component of interactions). Third, as Erickson and Ritter (2001) show that the consequences of emotion management depend on the type of emotion that is actually experienced at work and managed, quantitative research should include measures of the actual experience of specific emotions and the actual management of emotion. Finally, it should not be presumed that emotion management is necessarily harmful to all workers (Leidner 1993; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Thoits 2004). In

this dissertation, I analyze survey data from a mail questionnaire that I designed to address each of these limitations.

Extending Previous Research: Moderators

In addition to testing previous theory and research on emotion in the workplace, I also use theoretical ideas advanced by emotion scholars to develop hypotheses regarding the moderation of the relationship between emotion management and psychological consequences. Since some research suggests that not all emotion management is harmful (Stenross & Kleinman 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Leidner 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Thoits 2004), it is important to examine not only *whether* emotion management psychologically affects workers but also *when* such consequences are most severe. Here, I draw on two sources from the emotion literature in an effort to specify when emotion management will have negative effects on the worker. First, Thoits (2004) suggests that the distinguishing characteristic may be the worker's skill at managing her emotions—whether she feels her emotion management efforts are effective (e.g., making a customer happy, calming an upset coworker, or pleasing a boss). Research has shown that failure at emotion management (i.e., being a poor emotion manager) has negative consequences for an individual's self esteem (MacRae 1998; Taylor 2000). Thus, successful emotion management may mitigate the negative effects that performing emotion management may have on a worker (Thoits 2004). If a worker finds a sense of pride in her ability to manage emotions on the job, the effective performance of emotion management at work may be a positive experience for the worker, rather than a negative one. This model is depicted below in Figure 1.1.

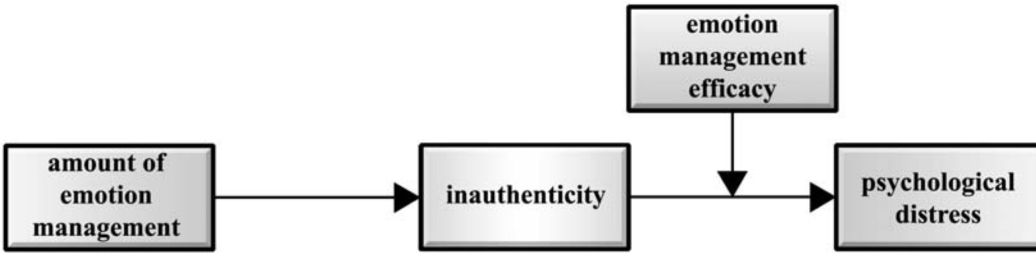

Figure 1.1: Emotion Management Self-Efficacy Model

Alternatively, or in addition, a model that incorporates a social psychological theory of the self as a moderator can be derived from the work of Gordon (1989) on institutional and impulsive selves. Drawing on the work of Turner (1976), Gordon claims that there are two orientations to emotion—institutional and impulsive. Individuals who have an institutional orientation find their true selves when they are in full control of their feeling and expression. Thus, "institutionals" will feel most like themselves when they express emotion consistent with institutionalized feeling rules (e.g., managing emotion as expected of them in their jobs). On the other hand, individuals who have impulsive orientations find their true selves when they are behaving solely on impulse, uninfluenced by societal expectations and expression norms. "Impulsives" feel most like themselves when they are acting on their internally felt emotions (rather than managing them).[3] Thus, an individual will feel authentic when she is acting in a manner consistent with her orientation to her self. Importantly, the self is both a subject and an object. An individual becomes self-conscious when she can see herself through the eyes of others (i.e., as object) (Mead 1934). When an individual sees herself as acting in a manner that is

[3] It must be noted, however, that although the word impulse suggests a biological reaction, the internally felt emotions that a person experiences are shaped by the person's emotion culture.

inconsistent with her true self, she will experience a sense of inauthenticity (Erickson 1995; Leidner 1993; Hochschild 1983). For example, workers who are impulsive in orientation and perform emotion management on the job will see themselves from the perspective of others as something other than their true selves. Erickson (1995) argues that individuals are concerned with maintaining commitments to their true selves (see also Rosenberg 1979; Turner 1968). She states, "It is our emotional reaction to the maintenance of such commitments that comprises the heart of our feelings of relative authenticity, and our reaction to their violation—feelings of relative inauthenticity" (Erickson 1995: 127). Feelings of inauthenticity, then, may be manifested as psychological distress (Hochschild 1983; Erickson & Wharton 1997). Thus, incorporating Gordon's (1989) work into the model of emotion management and its consequences, I expect that individuals who are impulsive in their orientation to emotion will experience the greatest sense of inauthenticity when managing their emotions in the workplace. This is because the management of emotion in order to adhere to emotional display norms will portray a self to others that is inconsistent with the worker's notion of her true self. On the other hand, individuals who are institutional in orientation will experience less inauthenticity as a result of emotion management because institutionals locate their true selves and real emotions as they enact institutionalized roles. This self-concept model of the effects of emotion management is illustrated in Figure 1.2.

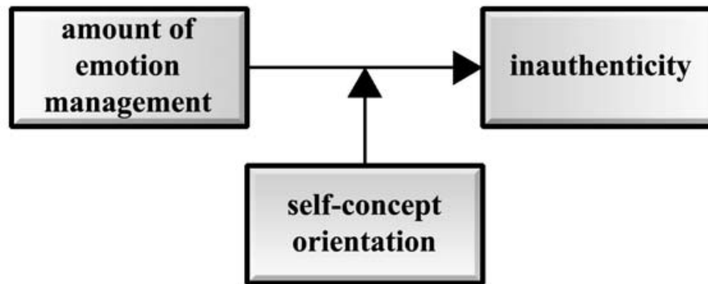

Figure 1.2. The Self-Concept and Emotion Management Model

In addition, the occupational prestige of a worker may moderate the relationship between feelings of inauthenticity and psychological distress. Despite the fact that performing emotion management may be distressing to workers, those working in highly prestigious occupations may be more likely than lower status workers to value the work they do because they are respected for it. The occupational prestige (i.e., status in society) of a worker may be important here in two ways. First, a worker's self-esteem is protected by the status that she receives from her work. While she may feel inauthentic when performing emotion management, at the same time she receives benefits to her self-esteem based on her occupational position. As Rosenberg (1979) argues, the two main motivating forces of individual action are the self-esteem and self-consistency motives. In the case of workers in prestigious occupations, then, the benefits of work to their self-esteem may offset the costs of inauthenticity, and therefore protect these workers from the distressing effects of experiencing inauthenticity. Second, in many cases, the type of emotion management that highly esteemed workers perform is qualitatively different from that performed by lower status workers. Although it has been demonstrated that workers in highly esteemed occupations perform emotion management (Smith & Kleinman 1989; Cahill 1999; Bellas 1999; Fineman 1993; Pierce 1995), there often is a value attached to their emotion

management that is not attached to that of lower status workers. Here is where the distinction between emotion management in general and maintaining affective neutrality in particular may be important. With affective neutrality, Daniels (1960) argues, "Impulses of affectivity are suppressed. Other expressive patterns of behavior are approved in terms of dominant moral standards" (265). Emotion management is required to maintain affective neutrality; however, maintaining affective neutrality is often respected in society and is also valued by the workers (Smith & Kleinman 1989). Therefore, the emotion management behind affective neutrality should not be as distressing to workers as emotion management that is performed but is not as socially valued and respected (Harlow 2003; Bolton & Boyd 2003; Guerrier & Adib 2000; Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993). Therefore, occupational prestige is incorporated into the models above as a moderator of the negative effects of inauthenticity.[4] The full model of emotion management and its consequences with all of the potential moderators I propose is illustrated in Figure 1.3.

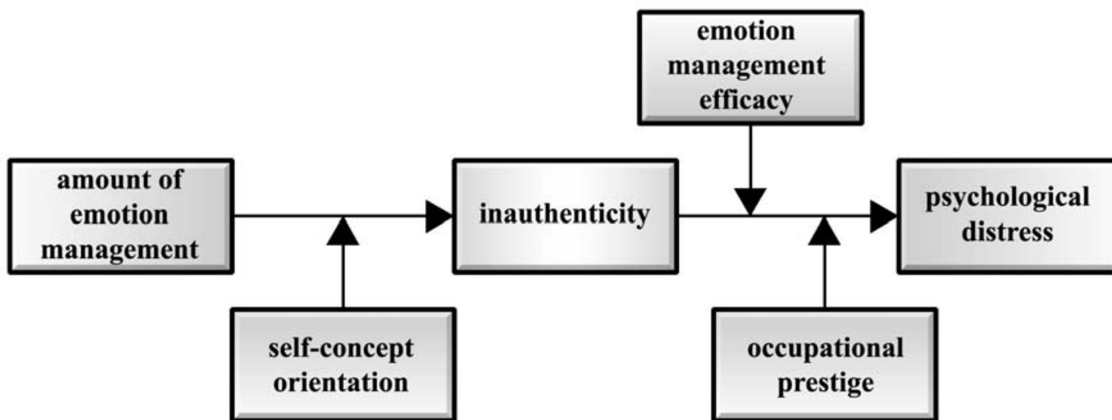

Figure 1.3. The Full Model of Emotion Management and Its Consequences

[4]Although I do not illustrate this distinction in the model, I do have variables that distinguish emotion management from the maintenance of affective neutrality and will consider these later in the analysis.

Main Hypotheses

Based on the literature outlined above, I have developed a series of hypotheses to test in this dissertation. First, the amount of emotion management reported by workers will depend on their status within the workplace hierarchy and the characteristics of the job that they perform. Workers in lower status positions within the workplace will perform more emotion management than those in higher status positions because of the greater freedom that higher status workers have in their emotional expression (e.g., Lively 2000; Tiedens 2001; Gibson & Schroeder 2002). In addition, the amount of time workers spend interacting with other people in the workplace, the relative status of those individuals, and the context of their interactions will affect the extent of their emotion management. Specifically, the more time the worker spends interacting with others, the more emotion management she will perform. Higher status workers will report less emotion management than lower status workers because they will have more leniency in their emotional expression in interactions outside of client or customer interactions (Pierce 1995; Lively 2000; Gibson & Schroeder 2002; Lovaglia & Houser 1996). Thus, I expect that the extent of a worker's interaction with bosses and supervisors will increase the emotion management that a worker performs. In addition, since emotion management frequently occurs in interactions with clients or customers, workers who extensively interact with customers and clients will report more emotion management than those who spend less time with customers or clients (Hochschild 1983; Leidner 1993; Lively 2002).

> *Hypothesis 1:* The amount of emotion management that a worker performs will depend on the status of the worker within the workplace hierarchy and on the status of the job that the worker performs.
>
> > *Hypothesis 1a:* Workers in high status positions within the workplace hierarchy will perform less emotion management than workers in lower status positions.

> *Hypothesis 1b:* Workers who perform jobs that are associated with high status—those in which they perform complex tasks and those in which they have the ability to exert control over their tasks—will perform less emotion management than workers who perform lower status jobs.

Hypothesis 2: The amount of emotion management that a worker performs will depend on the amount of time the worker spends with others in the workplace and the status of those with whom the worker interacts.

> *Hypothesis 2a:* The more a worker interacts with high status workers, the more emotion management the worker will perform.
>
> *Hypothesis 2b:* The more a worker interacts with clients or customers (e.g., service encounters), the more emotion management the worker will perform.

Previous research has illustrated the distressing effects of emotion management in the workplace (e.g., Hochschild 1983; Rogers 1995; Hall 1993; Pierce 1995; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001). It is clear that, in many cases, the act of performing emotion management is distressing for workers. Furthermore, as the management of emotion often requires presentation of a certain self to others that is inconsistent with the self that the individual may wish to present, and, in time, distances the worker from her true feelings or true self, the management of emotion in the workplace produces feelings of inauthenticity in the worker (Hochschild 1983; Erickson 1995). It has been shown that feelings of inauthenticity are also distressing to workers (Hochschild 1983; Erickson & Wharton 1997). Thus, feelings of inauthenticity should, in part, mediate the effect of emotion management on distress. In addition, the extent to which a worker experiences inauthenticity when performing emotion management will depend on the worker's self-concept orientation (as described by Gordon 1989). Finally, the effect of inauthenticity on distress will depend on a worker's feelings of self-efficacy in emotion management performance and on the worker's occupational prestige. Self-efficacy in emotion management and occupational prestige will moderate the relationship between inauthenticity and

psychological distress.

> *Hypothesis 3:* The amount of emotion management a worker performs will positively affect psychological consequences including feelings of inauthenticity and distress. Feelings of inauthenticity will mediate the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress.
>
> *Hypothesis 4:* The effects of performing emotion management in the workplace will depend on the worker's self-concept orientation (i.e., institutional or impulsive). Workers with impulsively-orientated self-concepts will experience greater levels of inauthenticity from performing emotion management than will workers with institutionally-orientated self-concepts
>
> *Hypothesis 5:* The relationship between inauthenticity and psychological distress will depend on the worker's efficacy in emotion management. Emotion management efficacy will moderate the relationship between inauthenticity and psychological distress.
>
> *Hypothesis 6:* The effects of performing emotion management in the workplace will depend on the status of the worker's occupation. Occupational prestige will moderate the relationship between feelings of inauthenticity and psychological distress.

By testing these hypotheses, I believe this dissertation will extend the current state of the emotion management literature in a number of ways. First, although the relationship between emotion management and different types of status has been illustrated in a number of qualitative and experimental studies, this relationship has not been examined using quantitative survey data. Second, because quantitative studies of emotion management in the workplace have considered emotion management only in service-oriented interactions, my analyses will extend the current conception of emotion management to include interactions with others in the workplace (e.g., outside of service interactions). Again, qualitative research has shown that interactions with other workers within the workplace influence a worker's emotion management (e.g., Lively 2000), and by examining quantitative data, I may be able to offer support and some generalizability to the findings reported by qualitative researchers. In addition, the consequences

of emotion management in the workplace have not been firmly established. Previous quantitative investigations have been limited because they have not considered a sample of workers in a variety of occupations and have used imprecise measures of emotion management. By combining and extending the measures of emotion management used in previous research and by examining the emotion management of workers in a variety of occupations, I will clarify the findings reported in the earlier quantitative studies. Finally, I will identify the significant moderators of the relationship between emotion management and psychological well-being and, therefore, determine the factors upon which the negative effects of emotion management depend.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Data

Data were collected with a ten-page mail survey designed to assess the emotions experienced and managed in the workplace, workers' psychological well-being, and workers' attitudes about their jobs.[5] In order to achieve results comparable to the current emotions research, I included measures of emotion management used in previous surveys (Wharton 1993; Pugliesi & Shook 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001), and when needed, I created original measures for concepts that have not previously been quantitatively measured. In constructing the original items, I paid particular attention to question wording, language, and format (Mangione 1995; Dillman 2000; Tourangeau, Rips, & Rasinski 2000; DeVellis 2003). Once measures for all concepts included in my model and control variables were constructed, I arranged the items to create a "flow" for the questionnaire, with more sensitive items towards the end of the questionnaire and to minimize question order effects (Schuman & Presser 1981; Dillman 2000). Finally, I created the *Work Experiences Questionnaire* following Dillman's (2000) guidelines for a respondent-friendly questionnaire format. In the fall of 2003, I pretested the questionnaire on a small convenience sample and then pilot tested the questionnaire with a random sample of 675 Vanderbilt University employees. I revised the final questionnaire to minimize item non-response and response set biases based on the pilot test (Mangione 1995). (Please see Appendix A for the full *Work Experiences Questionnaire*.)

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[5] This research was approved by the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board

Sample

To obtain a large sample of workers in a variety of occupations, I chose to sample Tennessee state employees. The state is Tennessee's largest employer, with over 37,000 individuals working in over 1400 positions (www.tennessee.gov). A simple random sample of 2,500[6] Tennessee State Career Service employees was drawn for me by the Tennessee State Department of Personnel using a computerized random number generator. Career Service jobs are the positions within the state that do not require the worker to serve the governor directly. These positions range in skill and education prerequisites from those requiring no education and no experience to those requiring a college education.[7] All Career Service employees work full-time and have been working in their position for at least 6 months. Table 2.1 lists the occupational areas that are classified as Career Service.

(IRB#040050, 2/17/2004).

[6] The sample size of 2,500 was chosen with a conservative estimate that the population is maximally varied on the items in the questionnaire (i.e., with a 50/50 split—individuals in the population are located at either extreme on measures) and assuming a 60% response rate (Cohen 1992; Dillman 2000).

[7] Sampling only Career Service employees excludes Executive Service employees, who are in political positions and directly serve the governor. Because they are in political positions and under different terms of employment than Career Service employees, I would need to include additional variables and response categories to the questions in the questionnaire, and many of the current questions may not apply to Executive Service employees. In addition, information on the salary grade (i.e., occupational prestige) and formal job requirements of Executive Service employees was not available to me. Thus, I chose to sample only Career Service employees because that strategy allowed me to collect data from workers in a variety of occupations without making the questionnaire longer and more complicated than necessary. The *Work Experiences Questionnaire* was already quite long—10 pages.

Table 2.1. Occupational Areas Included in the Career Service Classification

Occupational Areas
accounting, fiscal management, and statistics
administrative and clerical support
administrative specialists
agriculture, forestry, wildlife management, recreation
architectural, engineer, draft, and survey
arts, library, publishing, and museum services
biological and physical sciences
computer and information sciences
consumer and personal services
corrections
crafts and trades
education and training
health services—mental, physical, and medical
public safety—fire, police, and law
purchasing, property, and stores
social, human, and employment services
transportation and communication

Questionnaire Implementation

For the implementation of the questionnaire, I followed Dillman's (2000) Tailored Design Method (TDM). The TDM includes 5 contacts with potential respondents in order to achieve the highest possible response rate. All contacts were mailed first class to the home addresses of potential respondents. The first contact was a brief letter that notified the potential respondents that they would be receiving a questionnaire in a few days. The second contact, which was mailed one week following the first contact, included the questionnaire; a pre-addressed first class stamped envelope for the return of the questionnaire; a personalized cover letter that explained the importance of the study, that it is voluntary and anonymous, and provided instructions for responding and my contact information; and a token incentive of one dollar (Dillman 2000; Whiteman, Langenberg, Kjerulff, McCarter, & Flaws 2003; Larson & Chow 2003). This mailing also contained a return postcard, which was essential to preserving

the anonymity of respondents while achieving an acceptable response rate. This participation notification postcard contained an identification number that could be linked to the employee's name on the mailing list. This card informed me that respondent had completed and mailed his/her questionnaire so that I could exclude the participant from future mailings. The potential respondents were instructed to return the postcard and the questionnaire, separately, in order to maintain their anonymity. There was no identification number on the questionnaire itself and respondents were instructed not to write their name on the questionnaire. Also, the cover letter asked those who did not wish to participate to return the postcard indicating that they were not interested in the study and wished to be excluded from future mailings. Thus, as I received the postcards, I tracked responses, indicating whether respondents noted that they completed and mailed their questionnaires or that they did not want to participate. I did not send additional mailings to the employees who did not wish to participate. I mailed a thank you postcard to the respondents who claimed to have completed the questionnaire.

The third contact—a postcard that thanked the respondent in advance for participating—was mailed one week following the questionnaire mailing. The fourth contact, mailed four weeks after the questionnaire mailing, included a replacement questionnaire and a letter that addressed the importance of hearing from each individual in the sample. Finally, eight weeks after the initial questionnaire mailing, I mailed respondents from whom I had not received a return postcard a letter to encourage them to participate and notify them that the study was coming to a close. (Please see Appendix B for the content of the contact letters.) All questionnaires and return postcards were mailed to me (using postage-paid pre-addressed envelopes and postcards that I provided) at the "Work Experiences Research" post office box.

The response rate for the survey was 62%.[8] Of the total sample, 1533 employees returned completed questionnaires, 181 employees declined participation, 36 employees were ineligible for the study (e.g., they were no longer state employees), and 750 did not respond to the mailings. An analysis of nonresponse by gender and by region of the state did not reveal response biases.[9]

Measures

Emotion Management

General emotion management in the workplace is measured by the sum of the standardized scores on seven items.[10] Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agree or disagree with the following four statements: "At work I have to be nice to people no matter how they treat me," "I express my emotions freely when I am at work," "I am unable to express my true feelings to the people I work with," and "At work I keep my emotions to myself." Each item was scored on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In addition,

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[8] Although the response rate is not as high as Dillman (2000) suggests that the TDM will produce, response rates for surveys have been declining nationally. For example, the General Social Survey, a face-to-face survey with a national probability sample, is currently obtaining response rates of 70%, which is an all-time low, compared to the GSS's highest response rate of 82% in 1993 (http://www.norc.uchicago.edu/projects/gensoc1.asp). The Houston Area Survey, another survey noted for high response rates, has recently been obtaining 60% response rates, compared to 75% response rates in the 1980s (http://www.houstonareasurvey.org/has.cfm).

[9] Gender (by title) and region of the state (by zip code) were used in the nonresponse analysis because this information was contained in the sample file provided to me by the Department of Personnel. Because I was provided with home addresses for the employees in my sample, I am unable to analyze nonresponse by department or job status. In addition, t-tests revealed that compared to the Tennessee state population as recorded in the 2000 Census, my sample contains significantly more non-whites, women, and married individuals than the proportions in the state of Tennessee as a whole (census.gov/census2000/states/tn.html).

[10] I standardized each item by computing its z-score, summing the seven items, and

respondents were asked to indicate how much time they spend at work managing their emotions in the following ways: "Covering your own feelings to appear pleasant at work," "Acting friendly to others in the workplace," and "Hiding your feelings from others at work." These items were scored on a scale from 1 (none of my time) to 5 (almost all of my time). Each item was coded so that a high score means extensive emotion management. The Cronbach's alpha for the general emotion management measure is .75. (For a detailed description of key measures and their sources, please see Appendix C.)

In addition, because some research suggests that it is important to consider the specific emotion that workers manage, the management of particular emotions is considered in a series of analyses (Erickson & Ritter 2001). Respondents were asked to indicate how much they "hide or change each of the following emotions when they are at work": anger, happiness, irritation, excitement, and sadness. I averaged the responses to hiding irritation and hiding anger into one variable, hiding agitation (Erickson & Ritter 2001).[11] Each emotion was rated on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always), with a separate option of "I never experience this emotion at work." I excluded respondents who indicated that they never experienced a specific emotion at work from the analyses of that emotion.

To differentiate the maintenance affective neutrality—or emotional distance from one's work (Haas & Shaffir 1982; Cahill 1999)—from general emotion management, I constructed a measure using the following two items: "I put a lot of effort into keeping my emotions separate from my work" and "To do my job, I separate my feelings from my duties." Respondents rated how much they agreed or disagreed with each item on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5

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adding a constant to the scale to eliminate negative values.

[11] Treating hiding anger and hiding agitation as separate variables produced the same results that were found for the analysis of hiding agitation.

(strongly agree). General emotion management and affective neutrality are moderately correlated (r=.278, p<.000).

Extent of Interaction with Others

The extent to which a respondent interacts with different groups of people in the workplace is measured by a series of items that asks the respondent to rate the amount of time she/he spends working directly with the following groups of people: customers or clients; supervisors, managers, or bosses; people the respondent supervises; and coworkers. The amount of interaction with each group of people was rated on a scale from 1 (none of my time) to 5 (almost all of my time).

Interactional Context of Emotion Management

I also analyze the interactional context of emotion management. Respondents specified who they managed their emotions in front of in a question that asked "Do you hide or change your emotions when you are around your supervisor(s), coworkers, clients, customers, and/or people you supervise? Circle all that apply." Using these variables, I created 3 dummy variables indicating whether or not the worker reported managing emotions around her boss (someone of higher status), managing emotions around someone other than her boss (i.e., coworkers, clients, customers, and subordinates), or not managing emotions at all.[12] Thus, the dummy variables

[12] There are few workers in the sample who reported managing their emotions only around subordinates (n=11), so I had to limit the number of dummy variables to 3 rather than 4. Because the original measure was not mutually exclusive, the dummy variable for managing emotions around a boss or manager indicates that the worker manages her emotions around someone of higher status in at least one of the contexts in which she performs emotion management. The dummy category of managing emotions around others indicates that the

differentiate workers who manage their emotions around someone of higher status (i.e., boss or supervisor) from workers who manage their emotions around someone of equal or lower status (but not their boss) and from those who do not manage their emotions at work.

Workplace Status

Two measures of workplace status are used in my analyses. First, position within the workplace hierarchy is measured by responses to questions that asked how many people the respondent reports to directly, and the number of workers that she/he supervises (each coded in 5 ordinal categories). I created a single scale (with values from 1 to 12, 12 being the highest status) from these two items, ranking respondents first by the number of bosses or supervisors they report to, and then by the number of workers they supervise. Supervising workers was given greater weight in the scale than the number of supervisors the respondent has because, presumably, respondents receive status and esteem from those they supervise.[13] The highest status workers are those who supervise many other workers but are not themselves supervised, and the lowest status workers are those who have many supervisors but supervise no one themselves. Second, as a measure of a worker's *subjective* status, I analyze scores on an item that asked respondents to rate the following statement: "I have a lot of influence over the people I work with." Scores on this item range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Hierarchical status and subjective workplace status are moderately correlated ($r=.339$, $p<.001$).

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worker manages her emotions around clients or customers, subordinates, or coworkers, but does not manage her emotions around her boss or manager.

[13] First, I reverse coded the number of supervisors the worker reports to then I added status (points) to the scores based on the number of people the respondent supervises. For example, a respondent who does not report to a boss or supervisor and supervises more than 20 other workers (a value of 5 in the ordinal response set) received a score of 12 (the highest score) on the new status variable. A respondent who is supervised by more than five people but

Job Characteristics

I also include two job characteristic measures in the analyses—substantive complexity of work and control over work.[14] These are measured using scales used in previous research (e.g., Kohn & Schooler 1982; Pugliesi & Shook 1997; Davis, Smith, & Marsden 1999; Erickson & Ritter 2001). Substantive complexity is a summed scale of responses to the following statements: "There is a lot of variety in the kinds of things I do at work," "I keep learning new things in my job," and "My job requires that I do the same things over and over" (reversed). Each item was rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (alpha=.66). The control over work measure includes the following items: "My job allows me to make a lot of decisions on my own," "I have flexibility in my work to decide when to do different tasks," and "My supervisor decides how my work tasks should be done" (reversed). Each of these items was also scored on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (alpha=.64). High scores on this scale indicate high job status.

Inauthenticity

I consider two ways that feelings of inauthenticity may be manifested. First, feelings of inauthenticity are problematic when workers experience inauthenticity as a sense of estrangement from self. When workers become estranged from themselves, the work that they do is incompatible with what they perceive to be their true selves. Second, workers can become distanced from their true emotions when inauthenticity becomes extreme—they are no longer able to distinguish real from false emotional feelings (Hochschild, 1983). Therefore, I employ a

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supervises 1 person received a score of 6.

[14] These are not measures of occupational prestige. Job complexity and control over work measure characteristics of the worker's job, not occupation.

measure that assesses the impact of emotion management on the worker's sense of self and her understanding of her emotions. The inauthenticity measure is the sum of responses to following seven statements: "The way I act at work is very different from the way I act at home," "I feel that I cannot express my true self when I am at work," "I basically have to become a different person when I am at work," "I often have trouble understanding my emotions," "Sometimes I am not sure what my true feelings are," "I am 'in touch' with my emotions" (reversed), and "When I am at work, I am unsure of what my 'real' feelings are." Each item was rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Responses were coded so that a high score on this measure indicates more estrangement from one's feelings (alpha=.76).

Psychological Distress

Psychological distress is measured with the mean of respondents' scores on a series of questions about emotions that I adapted from the 1996 GSS emotions module.[15] Respondents were asked to indicate on how many days in the past week they experienced each of the following symptoms of anxiety and depression: felt that she/he couldn't shake the blues, sad, lonely, happy (reversed), calm (reversed), fearful, worried, anxious, and restless (Thoits, 2002; Mirowsky and Ross, 1986).

Emotion Management Efficacy

Self-efficacy in emotion management is measured by the sum of the following three items: "I am proud of my ability to provide good customer or client service," "I am skilled at dealing with customers and/or clients," and "I take pride in my ability to show the proper

[15] These items were not originally intended to measure psychological distress but they

emotions when I am at work." Each item was rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (alpha=.66). Because this measure deals with subjective skill in working with customers and clients, workers who reported that they never interact with customers and clients (n=188) are excluded from the self-efficacy analysis.

Occupational Prestige

Occupational prestige is approximated using the salary grade associated with a respondent's job title. I obtained salary grade information from an online database of all state job titles and associated compensation information. I coded a respondent's occupational prestige by linking an open-ended item on the questionnaire (in which respondents reported their full job title) to the database job description and salary grade value. The salary grade variable has a range of 10 to 40. I trichotomized this variable to indicate low, average, and high prestige occupations (with about 1/3 of the sample in each group). To supplement this prestige measure, I also analyze subjective prestige using responses to the statement "I am respected for the type of work that I do." This item was rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Occupational prestige and subjective prestige are only weakly correlated ($r=.117$, $p<.001$), which suggests that it is necessary to analyze both objective and subjective prestige measures.

Self-Concept Orientation

Self-concept orientation is assessed using a measure developed by Turner (1976). This is the only existing measure of self-concept orientation as originally conceived by Turner (1968, 1976). Respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with a set of four

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are comparable to commonly used distress measures.

statements that describes how they discover who they really are. The series reads as follows: "The way to find out who you really are is.... to work hard at a difficult and challenging task, to help someone who needs your assistance, to forget duties and inhibitions and do just whatever you feel like doing, to tell your deepest feelings to someone you trust." Respondents rated each item on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). According to Turner, "The institutional locus of self includes behavior that reveals the true-self through conformity to norms, values, ideals, etc., or achievement, demonstration of competence, and personal qualities such as self-control, that contribute to normative conformity and achievement. Implicit or explicit in such behavior is the overcoming of impulse." On the other hand, impulsive orientation ideals follow that "[o]nly when one abandons institutional routines in order to do just what one wants to do, just because one wants to do it, or disregards ordinary norms of propriety and courtesy to let whatever one feels 'come out' freely, does one discover who one really is" (Turner & Schutte 1981: 11-12). Thus, the first two items measure institutional orientation the last two items measure impulsive orientation. A factor analysis revealed two separate factors—institutional and impulsive—item loadings on each factor exceeded .75, and the items did not cross load. Consistent with Turner's (1981) definition of impulsive and institutional orientations, I coded respondents who agreed with both impulsive statements and disagreed with the institutional statements as "impulsive" and respondents who agreed with both institutional statements but disagreed with the impulsive statements as "institutional." Respondents who did not clearly indicate an impulsive or institutional orientation in their responses (n=330) were excluded from the self-concept portion of the analysis.[16]

[16] This coding enables me to make clear comparisons between institutionals and impulsives. I also treated each measure as an ordinal scale and found results similar to those reported in Chapter 5.

The means and standard deviations of the key variables from the emotion management and consequences model are presented in Table 2.2. As shown, general emotion management is nearly normally distributed in the sample, with a mean of 12.58 (range=0-29) and standard deviation of 4.40. Respondents reported that they hide or change their agitation and sadness at work more so than their happiness and excitement. As would be expected, the sample, on average, is not psychologically distressed (mean= 1.55, s.d.=1.41).

Table 2.2. Means and Standard Deviations of Key Variables (n total=1533)

	Possible Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	α	Missing & Not Applicable
Emotion Management					
General emotion management	0-29	12.58	4.40	.75	38
Management of agitation	1-5	2.79	.91		15, 62 NA
Management of sadness	1-5	2.81	.87		17, 28 NA
Management of happiness	1-5	2.60	1.00		19, 91 NA
Management of excitement	1-5	2.60	1.00		17, 104 NA
Time spent working with					
Supervisors/bosses/managers	1-5	2.40	.94		17, 15 NA
Coworkers	1-5	2.88	1.17		10, 157 NA
Customers/clients	1-5	2.94	1.38		16, 188 NA
Subordinates	1-5	1.92	1.34		22, 988 NA
Workplace status					
Hierarchical status	1-12	5.83	2.44		8
Subjective status	1-5	3.28	.99		9
Job characteristics					
Substantive complexity	3-15	10.24	2.42	.66	21
Control over work	3-15	10.91	2.36	.64	19
Psychological distress	0-7	1.55	1.41		43
Inauthenticity	7-34	16	16.95	.76	48
Self-Concept Orientation					
Impulsive		67%	1.28		330 NA
Institutional		33%			
Emotion Management Efficacy	3-15	12.15	1.67	.66	21, 188 NA
Emotional Expressivity	5-25	14.43	3.18	.67	20
Occupational Prestige					
Salary Grade	4-41	20.76	6.72		2
Low Prestige		37.3%			
Average Prestige		30.7%			
High Prestige		32.0%			
Subjective Prestige	1-5	3.82	1.03		8

Note: NA includes respondents who reported that they do not experience the particular emotion at work, those who do not work with the group of people to which the question refers, and those who do not clearly have either an impulsive or institutional orientation.

Additional Independent Variables & Control Variables

All models in my analyses include the following control variables: sex (1=female, 0=male), race (1=white, 0=black & other), age (in years), marital status (1=married, 0=not married), having minor children in the home (1=yes, 0=no), education (measured ordinally), and personal income (measured ordinally). Each has been shown to be related to emotional experience, expression, and/or psychological distress (Mirowsky & Ross, 1995, 2003; Scheiman, 1999, 2000; Taylor & Tyler 2000; Harlow, 2003; Simon & Nath, 2004). The socio-demographic distribution of the sample is presented in Table 2.3.

I also control for tenure in job, which is measured with a question that asks respondents how long they have worked in the jobs they now have with the state (coded ordinally), and occupation, which is classified into a set of eight occupational groups used by the state of Tennessee. Finally, to control for individual differences in expressive tendencies, I include measures of general emotional expressivity (Mirowsky and Ross, 1995; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Simon and Nath, 2004) and the experience of specific emotions in the workplace (in addition to the management of specific emotions). General emotional expressivity is measured with the sum of responses to the following five statements: "When I am angry I let people know," "I am not afraid to let people know my feelings," "I keep my emotions to myself" (reversed), 'I try to be pleasant so that others won't get upset" (reversed), and "I don't tell my friends something that I think will upset them" (reversed). Each item was rated on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (alpha=.67). Emotional experience in the workplace is measured with a series of items in which respondents indicated the extent to which they feel the following ways when are at work: happy, anxious, proud, angry, excited, irritated, and sad. Responses range from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Each specific emotion is treated separately in the analyses.

Table 2.3. Socio-Demographic Composition of the Sample (n total=1533)

	Mean or Percent	Missing
Sex		19
Female	58.8%	
Male	41.2%	
Race		23
Black	20.9%	
White	75.6%	
Other	3.5%	
Age *(years)*	47.3 (11.01)	43
Married	62.4%	17
Children <18 yrs. in Home	32.9%	15
Education		20
Elementary school	.2%	
Some high school	1.7%	
High school degree	20.4%	
Some college	22.6%	
Junior college degree	8.5%	
4-year college degree	25.1%	
Some graduate school	9.5%	
Graduate/professional degree	12.0%	
Income		29
Less than $10,000	1.1%	
$10,001-$20,000	15.1%	
$20,001-$30,000	37.1%	
$30,001-$40,000	25.0%	
$40,000-$50,000	11.3%	
$50,001-$60,000	6.3%	
$60,001-$80,000	2.8%	
More than $80,000	1.3%	
Occupational Category		2
Administrative, office, or clerical	24.2%	
Biological or physical sciences	4.5%	
Health care	11.2%	
Information systems or communications	5.8%	
Public safety	13.1%	
Service or maintenance	7.3%	
Skilled crafts or trades	7.6%	
Social, human, or employment services	26.2%	
Job Tenure		8
Less than 1 year	10.7%	
1 to 2 years	13.4%	
3 to 4 years	15.7%	
5 to 10 years	23.3%	
11 to 15 years	9.6%	
16 to 20 years	10.3%	
More than 21 years	16.9%	

Analysis Plan

The sequence of my analyses follows my hypotheses. I first test Hypotheses 1 and 2, examining the antecedents of emotion management in the workplace, using OLS regression and binary logistic regression where appropriate (for the interactional context of emotion management). Then, I move on to test Hypotheses 3 through 6 in a series of OLS regressions. To test Hypothesis 3, inauthenticity and psychological distress, respectively, are regressed on emotion management and the relevant independent variables and controls. Interaction effects between the potential moderators of the relationship between emotion management and inauthenticity (Hypothesis 4) and between inauthenticity and psychological distress (Hypotheses 5 and 6) are included in the next series of OLS regression models.[17]

[17] In all regression analyses, parallel regression models using multiple imputation (programmed in SAS) were run to assess the effects of missing data patterns. I found no deviations from the key findings reported in this dissertation.

CHAPTER III

ANTECEDENTS OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

In this chapter, I identify the antecedents of emotion management in the workplace, paying particular attention to the amount of interaction a worker has with others and a worker's status within the workplace. Researchers have consistently been unable to predict emotion management using occupational-level measures (e.g., working in a service occupation). Therefore, I focus on more specific job-level characteristics, including the amount of interaction the worker has with bosses, customers and clients, coworkers, and subordinates; the complexity of the worker's job; and the control the worker has over her daily tasks. Further, qualitative and experimental studies have identified a hierarchical component to emotional expression, with individuals in higher status positions having more freedom in their emotional expressivity (e.g., Pierce 1995; Lively 2000; Tiedens 2001; Lovaglia and Houser 1996). This relationship has not yet been tested with quantitative survey data, and I do so here.

In addition, sociologists have measured emotion management in many ways—from using broad occupational characteristics (e.g., service-oriented or not), to items measuring the extent to which workers mask their feelings and act friendly or nice, to analyzing the specific types of emotions that workers manage at work. Therefore, to enable comparisons of my findings to those of previous research, I operationalize emotion management in two different ways. (The variables included in each measure are described in detail in Chapter 2.) First, I examine general emotion management in the workplace, or the type of emotion management typically thought of as emotional labor.[18] The general emotion management measure assesses the extent to which

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[18] Emotional <u>labor</u> is defined as "the management of feelings to create a publicly

workers hide their true feelings while working and act friendly and pleasant around others, regardless of how they genuinely feel. Second, as shown in a recent study, the specific type of emotion that a worker manages may be important in predicting the consequences of emotion management (Erickson & Ritter 2001). Thus, I also analyze the antecedents of managing specific emotions in the workplace. The specific emotions that I focus on include agitation (a combination of anger and irritation), sadness, happiness, and excitement. Agitation and sadness are considered negative emotions, while happiness and excitement are positive emotions.

I predict that the key antecedents of emotion management will be the worker's workplace status (hierarchical and subjective) and job characteristics and the extent of the worker's interaction with others. Specifically, as stated in Hypothesis 1, I expect that workers located in higher status positions within the workplace (hierarchical status), those who believe that they have an influence over others (subjective status or power), and those working in jobs that are associated with high status will perform *less* emotion management than lower status workers. Also, as stated in Hypothesis 2, I expect that workers who interact extensively with superiors and customers or clients (i.e., interactions that often place workers in a position of low relative status) will perform *more* emotion management than workers who spend less time with superiors and customers or clients.

Using OLS regression, I first examined general emotion management. I then ran parallel analyses with the management of agitation, sadness, excitement, and happiness, separately, as dependent variables. In each set of analyses, I included controls for sex, race, age, marital status, having children under the age of 18 in the home, education, income, occupational group, and tenure in job. Such controls are necessary as emotional expressivity is culturally shaped (see

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observable facial and bodily display; emotional labor is sold for a wage... emotion management

Gordon 1989) and the extent to which individuals express emotion is likely to vary across different groups. For instance, differential gender socialization may create emotional expressivity differences between men and women in American society (Balswick & Peek 1974; LaFrance & Banaji 1992; Brody 1985; Pollak & Thoits 1989). Although few quantitative studies have compared emotional expressivity in different groups, there is some evidence to suggest that women are more emotionally expressive than men, mothers are more expressive of anger than fathers and non-parents, and blacks are more likely than whites to express themselves when angry (Simon & Nath 2004; Ross & Mirowsky 1984, 1995; Ross & VanWilligen 1996). Thus, it is necessary to control for these demographic characteristics to minimize the influences of different emotion cultures. In addition, I include a measure of general emotional expressivity to control for the possibility that workers with certain expressive tendencies self-select themselves into jobs and positions with varying emotion management requirements (Mirowsky & Ross 1995; Cahill 1999).

General Emotion Management in the Workplace

Workplace Status

Table 3.1 summarizes the results of the regression of general emotion management on workplace status, subjective influence over others, the workplace interaction variables, job characteristics and demographic controls. I included workplace status and the measures of the extent of interaction with supervisors, customers or clients, coworkers, and subordinates in the first model. In Model 2, I added the job characteristic variables (control over work and job

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refer(s) to these same acts done in a private context..." (Hochschild 1983: 7, my emphasis).

complexity) and demographic controls. As shown in Model 1, hierarchical status is negatively associated with emotion management. Workers towards the top of the status hierarchy in the workplace perform less emotion management than workers in lower status positions. However, this effect is attenuated in Model 2 (ß is reduced from -.10 to -.05). In separate analyses (not shown), the addition of the measure of control over work accounts for the effect of status. Workers who have more control over their work perform less emotion management than those with less control. In addition, job complexity is also a significant negative predictor of emotion management. The more complex a worker's job, the less emotion management she performs. Although with the inclusion of these job characteristics the status position variable becomes insignificant, the effects of both control over work and job complexity illustrate status patterns in general emotion management. Jobs in which a worker has control over her work and can exercise self-direction, and those which involve thought and independent judgment are associated with high status and job satisfaction (see Hodson & Sullivan 1990; Kohn & Schooler 1983; Kohn 1976). Thus, the job characteristics of control and complexity are mechanisms through which status (i.e., job status) affects general emotion management. These findings lend support to Hypothesis 1 b.

Subjective Status

In Model 3 I regressed general emotion management on the subjective influence measure and the measures of workplace interaction, and then added the additional independent variables in Model 4. As shown in Models 3 and 4, unlike the objective hierarchical status measure, a worker's subjective influence over others is a consistently significant negative predictor of general emotion management. The more influence a worker believes she has over others in the

workplace, the less emotion management she performs. Although the effect of subjective influence decreases substantially in magnitude with the addition of the job characteristics and demographic variables (ß=-.221 to -.090), it remains a significant predictor of general emotion management. As shown in Model 5, regardless of a worker's hierarchical status, if the worker feels she has influence over others in the workplace, she is more expressive of her emotions at work. Although the influence variable measures perceived status, rather than objective status, this finding supports the theory that emotional expression may be used to gain influence or exert power over others (Clark 1990; Gibson & Schroeder 2002).

Interaction with Others

The measures of the amount of time a worker spends interacting with supervisors, customers or clients, coworkers, and subordinates are included in all five models in Table 3.1. As shown in each of the models, time spent with supervisors, customers or clients, and subordinates are significant positive predictors of general emotion management. The more a worker interacts with each of these groups, the more she manages her emotions at work. Since emotion management is performed in the context of interaction with others, I expected the frequency with which a worker interacts with people at work to increase the amount of emotion management she performs; however, I expected that the status of the persons with whom the worker interacts would be important. As stated in Hypothesis 2, I predicted that the extent of emotion management would be greatest for workers who interact primarily with supervisors and customers or clients. I did not expect a positive effect of interacting with subordinates on emotion management; while emotion management may increase with the amount of interaction a worker has with others, workers who interact extensively with their subordinates are in a high

status position relative to those with whom they are interacting. Thus, I hypothesized that their higher relative status position would lessen the amount of emotion management these workers perform. The analysis in Table 3.1 reveals that this is clearly not the case. In fact, in the full model (Model 5), aside from general emotional expressivity, the amount of time a worker spends interacting with subordinates is the strongest predictor of emotion management. In general, supervisors tended to report that they do not express their emotions when working with subordinates.[19]

Thus, general emotion management appears to be important in workplace interaction, regardless of the worker's status relative to those with whom she interacts. The exception is time spent with coworkers, which did not influence emotion management. In interactions with persons of unequal status, workers manage their emotions, while they exert less control over their emotions when interacting with status equals. A potential explanation for this finding is that many interactions with coworkers are informal and may provide opportunities to express emotions that workers are unable to express to higher or lower status workers (e.g., Lively 2000). On the other hand, interactions with supervisors, customers or clients, and subordinates present a need for emotion management as impression management (Goffman 1959; Hochschild 1983). Workers may manage their emotions around supervisors in a display of deference, they may manage their emotions around customers and clients as expected by their employer (i.e., emotional labor), and they may manage their emotions around subordinates in order to demonstrate competence. Although workers' reasoning behind general emotion management cannot be assessed here, I examine the relationship between time spent with others and emotion management in greater detail below in the analyses of managing specific emotions at work.

[19] There were no significant subjective status by time spent with others interaction

While the positive influence of interacting with subordinates on emotion management is a surprising finding, net of time spent with others, the greater amount of influence workers believe they have over others, the less emotion management they perform. This finding, and the negative effects of job complexity and job control, illustrate the status component to general emotion management in the workplace. In each case, these predictors illustrate that workers in lower status positions put greater effort into controlling their emotions at work than those in higher status positions.

It should be noted that, as shown in Models 2, 4, and 5, there are no significant differences in general emotion management among the occupational groups.[20] Consistent with findings of previous research, the results shown in Table 3.1 illustrate that emotion management is not well predicted by occupational-level measures. Rather, job characteristics are important determinants of the extent to which different workers manage their emotions. These results may help explain the mixed conclusions regarding the consequences of emotion management when researchers have focused on occupational-level measures (e.g., Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Sloan 2004). Workers in many types of occupations manage their emotions in the workplace, and the characteristics of the jobs that they perform determine the extent of their emotion management. Thus, although service workers may be explicitly instructed to conform to emotional display rules, emotion management is necessary in many occupations, particularly in interactions with others in the workplace.

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effects.

[20] I also grouped respondents according to the Census occupation classification as professional, managerial, and other using the open-ended job title variable, and found no occupation-level differences in emotion management.

Additional Variation in Emotion Management

Although I did not form hypotheses regarding the effects of the demographic variables on emotion management, some of the demographic characteristics significantly affect emotion management. Women perform more emotion management in the workplace than men[21], unmarried workers manage their emotions more than married workers, and workers with children under the age of 18 in their home manage their emotions more than those without children in their home. In addition, income is negatively associated with general emotion management. Finally, the more emotionally expressive a worker is in general, the less she manages her emotions at work. General emotional expressivity accounts for the largest amount of variation in emotion management. Nevertheless, although individual differences in expressive tendencies affect the amount of general emotion management a worker performs, status (as measured by subjective influence), job characteristics, and workplace interaction affect emotion management to a greater extent than the demographic control variables. The full model (Model 5) explains nearly 30% of the variance in general emotion management.

[21] This is consistent with Hochschild's (1983) argument that women perform the greatest amounts of emotional labor.

Table 3.1. OLS Regression of General Emotion Management on Status, Interaction with Others, and Controls

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	b	β			b	β	b	β	b	β
Hierarchical Status	-.178*	-.100	-.093	-.052					-.071	-.040
	(.069)		(.061)						(.061)	
Subjective Influence					-.971***	-.221	-.397***	-.090	-.381**	-.087
					(.122)		(.120)		(.121)	
Time Spent with:										
Supervisors	.482***	.104	.522***	.112	.526***	.113	.541***	.116	.533***	.115
	(.135)		(.118)		(.132)		(.118)		(.118)	
Customers/Clients	.359***	.113	.346***	.108	.453***	.143	.374***	.118	.365***	.115
	(.086)		(.082)		(.084)		(.081)		(.082)	
Coworkers	-.082	-.022	-.110	-.029	-.079	-.021	-.095	-.025	-.104	-.028
	(.109)		(.097)		(.106)		(.096)		(.097)	
Subordinates	.391**	.119	.513***	.156	.408***	.124	.464***	.141	.549***	.167
	(.128)		(.112)		(.092)		(.084)		(.112)	
Tenure in Job			-.009	-.004			.001	.000	.004	.002
			(.059)				(.059)		(.059)	
Job Complexity			-.185***	-.104			-.164***	-.092	-.161***	-.090
			(.044)				(.044)		(.044)	
Control over Work			-.277***	-.148			-.229***	-.122	-.226***	-.121
			(.047)				(.050)		(.050)	
Occupational Category:[a]										
Office/Administrative			.115	.011			.038	.004	.031	.003
			(.318)				(.318)		(.318)	
Skilled Crafts			-.107	-.007			-.139	-.008	-.157	-.010
			(.462)				(.460)		(.461)	
Natural Sciences			.302	.015			.324	.016	.303	.015
			(.531)				(.529)		(.529)	
Health Care			.351	.025			.350	.025	.348	.025
			(.368)				(.367)		(.367)	
Information/Communication			.181	.010			.182	.010	.153	.008
			(.489)				(.487)		(.488)	

Table 3.1. Continued. OLS Regression of General Emotion Management on Status, Interaction with Others, and Controls

Service/Maintenance			.830	.049			.838	.049	.841	.050
			(.517)				(.515)		(.515)	
Public Safety			.164	.013			.167	.013	.165	.013
			(.391)				(.390)		(.390)	
Emotional Expressivity			-.613***	-.447			-.602***	-.439	-.604***	-.440
			(.032)				(.032)		(.032)	
Demographic Controls:										
Sex (1=female)			.549*	.062			.521*	.059	.525*	.059
			(.246)				(.245)		(.245)	
Race (1=white)			-.167	-.016			-.133	-.013	-.124	-.012
			(.247)				(.247)		(.247)	
Age			.010	.024			.007	.018	.008	.019
			(.011)				(.011)		(.011)	
Married (1=yes)			-.714***	-.078			-.685**	-.075	-.689**	-.076
			(.220)				(.220)		(.220)	
Children in Home (1=yes)			.513*	.055			.497*	.054	.506*	.055
			(.233)				(.232)		(.232)	
Education			.140	.055			.139	.054	.140	.055
			(.079)				(.078)		(.078)	
Income			-.234*	-.072			-.231*	-.071	-.216*	-.066
			(.100)				(.099)		(.100)	
Adjusted R^2	.028		.288		.075		.292		.292	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1378 cases with full data on all variables; standard errors in parentheses

[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

Managing Specific Emotions in the Workplace

In this section, I examine the specific types of emotions (agitation, sadness, excitement, and happiness) that workers control while working. Previous research suggests that the expression of agitation-related emotions (e.g., anger, frustration) is associated with power (Tiedens 2001; Clark 1990; Lovaglia & Houser 1996; Gibson & Schroeder 2002). Thus, I expect that lower status workers will manage agitated feelings at work more frequently than higher status workers. And because the expression of sadness illustrates weakness (Tiedens 2001), I expect that higher status workers will be less expressive of sadness than lower status workers. In addition, while most of the emotion management literature has focused on the control of negative emotions (particularly agitation-related emotions), all types of emotions can be managed (Hochschild 1979; Clark 1990). Thus, I analyze the management of the positive emotions of happiness and excitement as well as the management of negative emotions.[1] Because previous qualitative and experimental research has shown status patterns in the management of negative emotions, I expect that higher status workers will manage their agitation less than lower status workers. I have no expectations regarding the management of positive emotions. Although some research has shown that higher status workers are more emotionally expressive of both negative (i.e., anger) and positive emotions (see Pierce 1995), the management of positive emotions has been given considerably less attention in the literature than the management of negative emotions.

[1] I also analyzed the predictors of maintaining affective neutrality. However, the measurement of affective neutrality proved problematic (the pool of items that I developed to measure affective neutrality were not highly correlated with each other and factor analysis did not reveal a common factor), I am unsure of the validity of the measure I use, and I include these results in Appendix D only. Net of the other independent variables, hierarchical status positively affects maintaining affective neutrality, and job complexity negatively affects maintaining affective neutrality.

In order to gain an understanding of the distribution of emotional experiences in the workplace, I first regressed the frequency of the experience of each specific emotion on the status, job characteristic, and control variables. Then I regressed the management of each emotion on the same set of independent variables.

Agitation at Work

Table 3.2 presents the OLS regressions of agitation in the workplace. In the first two columns, the unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients for experiencing agitation at work are shown. The regression of managing (hiding) agitation is presented in the third and fourth columns. As shown, the experience of agitation at work is inversely related to subjective influence over others and to job complexity. The more workers feel that they can influence others at work and the more complex their jobs, the less agitation they experience while working. In addition, working with subordinates and longer job tenure are associated with heightened agitation.

As shown in the third column of Table 3.2, hierarchical status is not significantly associated with agitation management, nor are job complexity and job control. However, the more influence a worker believes she has over others in the workplace, the less she hides her agitation at work. This is the same pattern that was found for general emotion management. Also, the more time a worker spends with her superiors and subordinates, the more she manages agitation at work. Again, while I expected subjective influence and time spent with supervisors to be significantly associated with agitation management, I did not expect to find a relationship between working with subordinates and hiding agitation. Working with subordinates (but not supervisors) increases the *experience* of agitation at work, while working with both supervisors

and subordinates increases agitation *management*, even net of the effect of agitation experience. It may be the case that the increasing emphasis on professionalism and the association of professionalism with emotionless (particularly angerless) behavior (Stearns & Stearns 1986; Lively 2000) overrides the emotional freedom that high status workers have to express agitation strategically (as an illustration of power). In addition, because of the emphasis in the emotional labor literature on managing negative (particularly agitation-related) emotions, I expected that working with customers and clients would positively affect the management of agitation. However, as shown in Table 3.2, working with customers or clients does not affect agitation management.

The strongest predictors of agitation management are the experience of agitation (positive) and general expressivity (negative). In addition, females hide agitation at work more so than males, workers in information-related occupations hide their agitation to a greater extent than workers in social, human, and employment service occupations, and education is positively associated with agitation management. While I did not form hypotheses regarding the management of emotion and demographic variables, the some of the findings here are consistent with previous research. Using data from the 1996 GSS, Schieman (2000) found that education was inversely associated with the display of anger, and using data from a survey of dual-earner couples, Erickson and Ritter (2001) found that females were more likely than males to hide agitation at work.

Table 3.2. OLS Regression of Agitation Experience and Management at Work

	Agitation Experience		Agitation Management	
	b	β	b	β
Hierarchical Status	.001	.023	-.001	-.003
	(.012)		(.012)	
Subjective Influence	-.076**	-.097	-.057*	-.069
	(.024)		(.024)	
Time Spent with:				
Supervisors	.024	.028	.054*	.062
	(.023)		(.023)	
Customers/Clients	.000	.007	.011	.019
	(.016)		(.016)	
Coworkers	.000	.000	.010	.015
	(.019)		(.019)	
Subordinates	.066**	.113	.064**	.105
	(.022)		(.022)	
Tenure in Job	.032**	.080	-.001	-.015
	(.012)		(.012)	
Job Complexity	-.060***	-.188	-.001	-.029
	(.009)		(.009)	
Control over Work	-.017	-.050	-.001	-.017
	(.010)		(.010)	
Occupational Category:[a]				
Office/Administrative	-.138*	-.075	.020	.010
	(.063)		(.064)	
Skilled Crafts	-.167	-.057	.066	.021
	(.092)		(.093)	
Natural Sciences	-.132	-.036	.027	.007
	(.105)		(.106)	
Health Care	-.170*	-.068	.001	.002
	(.073)		(.074)	
Information/Communication	-.218*	-.066	.303**	.086
	(.098)		(.100)	
Service/Maintenance	-.064	-.021	.063	.020
	(.102)		(.104)	
Public Safety	-.001	-.004	-.013	-.006
	(.077)		(.078)	
General Emotional Expressivity			-.075***	-.291
			(.006)	
Amount of Agitation Felt at Work			.344***	.323
			(.028)	

Table 3.2. Continued. OLS Regression of Agitation Experience and Management at Work

Demographic Controls:				
Sex (1=female)	.042	.027	.124*	.075
	(.049)		(.049)	
Race (1=white)	.242***	.132	.045	.023
	(.049)		(.050)	
Age	-.011***	-.158	.000	.004
	(.002)		(.002)	
Married (1=yes)	-.068	-.042	.069	.041
	(.044)		(.044)	
Children in Home (1=yes)	-.001	-.006	.000	.001
	(.046)		(.046)	
Education	.024	.054	.044**	.091
	(.016)		(.016)	
Income	-.021	-.036	.000	.001
	(.020)		(.021)	
Adjusted R^2	.110		.220	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1320; standard errors in parentheses

[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

Sadness at Work

Table 3.3 presents the unstandardized and standardized OLS regression coefficients for experiencing sadness and managing sadness, respectively. While the management of agitation has been given particular attention in the emotion management literature, little research has examined the experience and management of sadness in the workplace. As shown in Table 3.3, the main predictors of experiencing sadness at work are job complexity and control over work. The more complex a worker's job and the more control she has over her work, the less sadness she experiences while working.

Similar to the results of the regression of agitation management, emotional expressivity is negatively associated with hiding sadness and experiencing sadness at work is positively associated with hiding sadness. None of the status indicators are significant predictors of managing sadness at work. However, workers in health care occupations hide their sadness less frequently than workers in social, human, and employment service occupations. In addition, although they do not experience more sadness, females manage sadness at work more than males.

Table 3.3. OLS Regression of Sadness Experience and Management at Work

	Sadness Experience		Sadness Management	
	b	β	b	β
Hierarchical Status	-.017 (.014)	-.050	.023 (.016)	.053
Subjective Influence	-.047 (.027)	-.054	-.052 (.033)	-.048
Time Spent with:				
Supervisors	.023 (.026)	.025	.042 (.032)	.036
Customers/Clients	.015 (.018)	.023	-.002 (.022)	-.002
Coworkers	-.012 (.021)	-.016	.043 (.026)	.046
Subordinates	.047 (.025)	.073	.013 (.030)	.017
Tenure in Job	.022 (.013)	.049	-.025 (.016)	-.044
Job Complexity	-.060*** (.010)	-.172	-.019 (.012)	-.042
Control over Work	-.045*** (.011)	-.123	.015 (.013)	.034
Occupational Category:[a]				
Office/Administrative	.004 (.070)	.002	-.021 (.085)	-.008
Skilled Crafts	-.136 (.102)	-.042	-.029 (.127)	-.007
Natural Sciences	-.081 (.118)	-.020	.039 (.147)	.007
Health Care	-.123 (.082)	-.045	-.274** (.098)	-.081
Information/Communication	-.110 (.110)	-.030	.168 (.137)	.036
Service/Maintenance	-.019 (.114)	-.006	-.229 (.140)	-.054
Public Safety	-.003 (.087)	-.001	-.009 (.104)	-.003
General Emotional Expressivity			-.041*** (.009)	-.122
Amount of Sadness Felt at Work			.507*** (.033)	.399

Table 3.3. Continued. OLS Regression of Sadness Experience and Management at Work

Demographic Controls:				
Sex (1=female)	.086	.049	.146*	.067
	(.055)		(.067)	
Race (1=white)	.124*	.061	.074	.029
	(.055)		(.067)	
Age	.001	.015	-.006	-.056
	(.002)		(.003)	
Married (1=yes)	-.082	-.046	.075	.034
	(.049)		.059	
Children in Home (1=yes)	-.026	-.014	-.018	-.008
	(.051)		(.063)	
Education	.012	.024	.025	.039
	(.017)		(.021)	
Income	-.016	-.025	.018	.022
	(.022)		(.028)	
Adjusted R^2	.072		.208	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1275; standard errors in parentheses
[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

Excitement at Work

Turning next to the positive emotions, the regressions of experiencing and managing excitement at work are presented in Table 3.4. As shown, the more workers feel that they can influence others at work, the more excitement they experience while working. Customers, clients, and coworkers are also sources of excitement at work. Furthermore, following the pattern of job characteristics and emotional experiences seen in the analyses of experiencing the negative emotions, the more complex a worker's job and the more control a worker has over her work, the more excitement she experiences in the workplace.

While I did not find hierarchical workplace status to be significantly associated with managing the negative emotions, as shown in Table 3.4, the higher a worker's status position within the workplace, the less she hides excitement at work. (The effect of subjective influence on hiding excitement is also negative, but it is not significant.) On the other hand, time spent working with subordinates positively affects the management of excitement. The significant associations among the control variables include the following: females and married workers hide their excitement at work less than males and non-married workers, and age is a positive predictor of hiding excitement. Again, general expressivity and the amount of excitement experienced at work are important indicators; however, they are not the strongest predictors of excitement management. Of all of the independent variables in the model, sex is the strongest predictor of hiding excitement ($\beta=-.156$). While females manage their negative emotions in the workplace more often than males, males manage excitement at work more frequently than females. In the regressions reported in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, the effects of sex were significant; however, sex was not nearly as strong a predictor of managing negative emotions as were general expressivity and emotional experience.

In addition, workers from two of the occupational groups—service or maintenance and public safety—reported more frequent management of excitement at work than workers in social, human, and employment service occupations. Although emotion management in the workplace has typically been conceived of as the management of negative emotion, it is clear that the management of positive emotions at work is important as well. It is possible that, as Haas (1997) illustrated in his study of high steel iron workers, workers in risky environments may pay particular attention to controlling feelings of excitement in order to display that they are competent and capable of working in that environment. Workers in public safety occupations may need to control their excitement in violent situations whereas service and maintenance workers may work with potentially dangerous equipment.

Furthermore, the regression of excitement illustrates how the importance of job characteristics in predicting the management of emotion depends on the type of emotion that is managed. While working with supervisors and subordinates both positively affect agitation management and general emotion management, only working with subordinates positively affects excitement management. Also, while workers who feel they have influence over others perform less agitation and general emotion management, workers positioned higher in the workplace hierarchy perform less excitement management. Thus, for general emotion management and for the management of agitation, subjective status is important, but for the management of excitement, objective status matters. It is possible that because the use of anger and being rude/not pleasant (the opposite of general emotion management) can be used to gain power and influence over others, workers only need to believe that they have power in order to use these tactics (i.e., freely express these emotions) in the workplace (Gibson & Schroeder 2002; Clark 1990). On the other hand, workers at the bottom of the workplace hierarchy may

not be expected to feel excited about their low status jobs, and thus they may be more likely than workers in higher status positions to inhibit their displays of excitement at work. In the next section, I consider the experience and management of positive emotions further, focusing on happiness.

Table 3.4. OLS Regression of Excitement Experience and Management at Work

	Excitement Experience		Excitement Management	
	b	β	b	β
Hierarchical Status	-.013	-.036	-.034*	-.082
	(.014)		(.016)	
Subjective Influence	.085**	.094	-.059	-.058
	(.027)		(.032)	
Time Spent with:				
Supervisors	.005	.005	.009	.009
	(.026)		(.031)	
Customers/Clients	.041*	.063	.006	.009
	(.018)		(.021)	
Coworkers	.051*	.067	.005	.005
	(.022)		(.025)	
Subordinates	.028	.042	.103***	.138
	(.025)		(.029)	
Tenure in Job	-.017	-.037	.023	.045
	(.013)		(.015)	
Job Complexity	.092***	.253	-.004	-.009
	(.010)		(.012)	
Control over Work	.043***	.113	.005	.011
	(.011)		(.013)	
Occupational Category:[a]				
Office/Administrative	.142*	.067	.088	.038
	(.017)		(.083)	
Skilled Crafts	.120	.036	.167	.044
	(.103)		(.121)	
Natural Sciences	.030	.007	-.176	-.037
	(.119)		(.139)	
Health Care	.107	.037	.185	.058
	(.082)		(.097)	
Information/Communication	.246*	.065	.016	.004
	(.110)		(.129)	
Service/Maintenance	.166	.048	.289*	.073
	(.115)		(.137)	
Public Safety	.076	.029	.258*	.089
	(.087)		(.102)	
General Emotional Expressivity			-.044***	-.141
			(.009)	
Amount of Excitement Felt at Work			.127***	.111
			(.032)	

Table 3.4. Continued. OLS Regression of Excitement Experience and Management at Work

Demographic Controls:				
Sex (1=female)	.084	.047	-.315***	-.156
	(.055)		(.065)	
Race (1=white)	-.228***	-.108	-.121	-.051
	(.055)		(.065)	
Age	.004	.047	.009**	.098
	(.002)		(.003)	
Married (1=yes)	.024	.013	-.136*	-.065
	(.049)		(.057)	
Children in Home (1=yes)	-.015	-.008	-.018	-.008
	(.052)		(.061)	
Education	-.012	-.023	.013	.023
	(.018)		(.021)	
Income	.016	.024	-.045+	-.060
	(.022)		(.026)	
Adjusted R^2	.140		.095	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1340; standard errors in parentheses
[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

Happiness at Work

As shown in Table 3.5, some of the patterns found in the experience of excitement are also present in the regression of the experience of happiness at work. Specifically, the more influence a worker believes she has over others, the more happiness she experiences at work; job complexity and control also positively affect happiness at work. In addition, females experience more happiness than males and whites experience less happiness than non-whites.

In the regression of hiding happiness at work, workplace status is a significant negative predictor. The higher a worker's hierarchical status within the workplace, the less she manages happiness felt while working. On the other hand, time spent working with subordinates positively affects the management of happiness. As seen with the other positive emotion, excitement, the effect of sex is significant, negative, and relatively strong ($ß=-.141$), with males managing happiness more than females. In addition, whites and married workers manage happiness less frequently than non-whites and non-married workers, respectively. Both age and tenure in job are positive predictors of happiness management. Finally, workers in service and maintenance occupations manage their happiness more frequently than workers in social, human, and employment service occupations.

Again, the regression of happiness illustrates the importance of managing both positive and negative emotions at work. As in the case of excitement, workers who are positioned highly in the status hierarchy perform less happiness management. In addition, workers perform general emotion management and control their agitation when they are working with superiors and subordinates, but manage excitement and happiness only when working with subordinates. The significant antecedents of emotion management performance are illustrated in Table 3.6.

Table 3.5. OLS Regression of Happiness Experience and Management at Work

	Happiness Experience		Happiness Management	
	b	β	b	β
Hierarchical Status	-.017	-.054	-.043*	-.095
	(.012)		(.017)	
Subjective Influence	.073**	.092	-.060	-.053
	(.023)		(.034)	
Time Spent with:				
Supervisors	.034	.040	-.026	-.022
	(.023)		(.034)	
Customers/Clients	.024	.041	.010	.013
	(.016)		(.023)	
Coworkers	.039*	.058	.009	.009
	(.029)		(.028)	
Subordinates	-.033	-.056	.079*	.095
	(.022)		(.032)	
Tenure in Job	-.001	-.003	.034*	.059
	(.011)		(.017)	
Job Complexity	.082***	.256	.017	.036
	(.009)		(.013)	
Control over Work	.053***	.158	-.006	-.013
	(.010)		(.014)	
Occupational Category:[a]				
Office/Administrative	.147*	.079	.095	.036
	(.061)		(.090)	
Skilled Crafts	.137	.047	.079	.019
	(.089)		(.130)	
Natural Sciences	.180	.048	-.137	-.026
	(.102)		(.150)	
Health Care	.183**	.073	.158	.045
	(.071)		(.104)	
Information/Communication	.188*	.056	.004	.001
	(.095)		(.140)	
Service/Maintenance	.139	.046	.618***	.143
	(.099)		(.146)	
Public Safety	.162*	.071	.170	.053
	(.075)		(.110)	
General Emotional Expressivity			-.039***	-.111
			(.009)	
Amount of Happiness Felt at Work			-.015	-.011
			(.040)	

Table 3.5. Continued. OLS Regression of Happiness Experience and Management at Work

Demographic Controls:				
Sex (1=female)	.104*	.066	-.315***	-.141
	(.047)		(.070)	
Race (1=white)	-.166***	-.089	-.356***	-.135
	(.047)		(.070)	
Age	.009***	.127	.013***	.128
	(.002)		(.003)	
Married (1=yes)	.073	.045	-.184**	-.080
	(.042)		(.062)	
Children in Home (1=yes)	.001	.001	.028	.012
	(.045)		(.065)	
Education	-.032*	-.069	-.019	-.030
	(.015)		(.022)	
Income	-.018	-.031	-.050	-.060
	(.019)		(.028)	
Adjusted R^2	.174		.122	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1370; standard errors in parentheses
[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

Table 3.6. The Significant Antecedents of Emotion Management Performance

	General Emotion Management	**Agitation Management**	**Sadness Management**	**Excitement Management**	**Happiness Management**
Hierarchical status	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE
Subjective influence	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVE	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Time spent working with:					
Supervisors	POSITIVE	POSITIVE	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Customers/clients	POSITIVE	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Coworkers	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Subordinates	POSITIVE	POSITIVE	n.s.	POSITIVE	POSITIVE
Job complexity	NEGATIVE	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Control over work	NEGATIVE	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

Note: Where indicated, the effect of the variable is significant at $p<.05$.
n.s. indicates no significant effect

Summary

Emotional Experience at Work

In order to gain an understanding of the emotional experience of working for workers of differing statuses and with various amounts of contact with others in the workplace, I analyzed the experience of four distinct emotions in the workplace. Consistent with the literature that suggests persons in lower status positions generally experience more negative emotions than those in higher status positions (Ross and Van Willigen 1996; Stets and Tsushima 2001; Denham & Bultemeier 1993), I found that subjective influence over others in the workplace and job complexity decrease the experience of agitation at work, and both job complexity and control over work decrease feelings of sadness in the workplace. Furthermore, subjective influence, complexity, and control all increase feelings of happiness and excitement at work.[23]

While the analyses of emotional experience at work have revealed some predicted and some unexpected patterns in emotional experience, these analyses also illustrate the influence that social factors have on the everyday emotional experiences of workers. This is particularly true for the experience of positive emotions. Workplace status, job characteristics, and demographic variables explained 14% and 17% of the variance in each excitement and happiness, respectively. By comparison, the emotional experience models explained 7.2% of the variance in sadness and 11% of the variance in agitation.

[23] Surprisingly, given their historically lower status position in the workplace, non-whites experience more happiness and excitement and less agitation and sadness in the workplace compared to whites.

Emotion Management at Work

The analysis of the determinants of general emotion management offers some support for Hypotheses 1 and 2. Workplace status and job status characteristics—including subjective influence over others, job complexity, and control over one's work—all decrease the frequency of emotion management in the workplace. The status patterns of emotion management found in these analyses support the previous qualitative and experimental research that has argued that individuals in low status positions manage their emotions to a greater extent than those in higher status positions (e.g, Hochschild 1983; Lively 2000; Tiedens 2001; Gibson & Schroeder 2002). The effects of both workplace status and job characteristics on emotion management had not yet been established using quantitative survey data. These findings suggest that workers in low status positions are particularly disadvantaged because they must exert greater efforts than higher status workers to control their emotional expression in the workplace. Because emotion management is often not recognized as a part of the work that people perform, these emotional efforts place an extra burden on workers of low status. Furthermore, the more time workers spend with supervisors and with customers or clients, the more general emotion management they perform. The finding that time spent working with subordinates increases general emotion management effect was not expected and suggests that working with others, with the exception of coworkers, increases the amount of general emotion management a worker performs. This relationship was examined further in the analyses of specific emotions.

In addition, similar to the case of general emotion management, subjective influence negatively affects the management of agitation at work, while time spent with supervisors and subordinates positively affects the management of agitation. However, job complexity, control over work, and working with customers or clients do not influence the management of specific

emotions. Furthermore, while subjective influence is important for general emotion management and agitation management, hierarchical status significantly predicts the management of positive emotions. Workers who are positioned highly in the workplace hierarchy perform less management of happiness and excitement than those in lower status positions. The only workplace interaction variable that predicts the management of positive emotions is time spent with subordinates. The more workers interact with subordinates, the more they manage happiness and excitement. Working with subordinates is the only variable that significantly predicts more emotion management (positive association) in terms of agitation, excitement, happiness, and general emotion management. No significant associations were found between the management of sadness at work and the status and workplace interaction measures.

Thus, the relationships among status, interaction, and emotion management depend on which emotion is being managed. Subjective influence, job complexity, and control over work significantly decrease general emotion management, and subjective influence also decreases agitation management. On the other hand, hierarchical status decreases the management of positive emotions. Working with superiors heightens both general emotion management and agitation management, while working with subordinates heightens general emotion management, agitation management, excitement management, and happiness management. Workers who frequently interact with subordinates appear to manage the impression they portray to others by hiding or changing most of the emotions that they experience. Supervisors may limit their expression of both positive and negative emotions in order to display professionalism and competence.[24] The amount of time a worker spends interacting with customers or clients only

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[24] This may be related to maintaining affective neutrality. The measure of maintaining affective neutrality and the extent to which workers interact with subordinates are positively, but weakly, correlated ($r=.093$, $p<.001$). However, this relationship becomes insignificant in the

increases the amount of general emotion management the worker performs (this is the type of emotion management most often considered emotional labor).

While there are very few occupational differences in the extent of workers' emotion management, the main effect of occupation is for the management of excitement, with service and maintenance and public safety workers managing excitement more frequently than social, human, and employment service workers. Service and maintenance workers also manage happiness more than social service workers. It is interesting to note that these two occupational groups contain many jobs which are stereotypically associated with masculinity (e.g., fire fighter, security guard, correctional officer, groundskeeper, and highway maintenance worker). The occupational culture in these jobs may not "permit" the expression of positive emotions while working. Also, given that men managed positive emotions more frequently than women, the expression of positive emotions while working may be considered feminine by some workers. However, the specific reasoning behind the emotion management that workers perform cannot be assessed with these data. The other interesting occupational difference is that while health care workers do not differ from social service workers in their experience of sadness, social service workers hide their sadness more than health care workers. The occupational culture within health care may legitimize or even encourage the expression of sadness (e.g., to sympathize with patients), while the same emotional reactions are not appropriate in social, human, and employment service occupations. However, it is important to note that while some occupational-level differences were found, job-level characteristics more consistently predicted emotion management in each analysis.

While I had no expectations as to demographic differences in emotion management,

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multiple regression analysis (see Appendix D).

some interesting patterns emerged. Specifically, women were more apt than men to manage emotions in general, and the negative emotions of agitation and sadness, but less apt to manage the positive emotions of excitement and happiness. Thus, women hide negative emotions at work while men hide positive emotions at work. With the exception of happiness (which women experience more than men), women and men did not differ in their emotional experiences in the workplace. Thus, while women may be stereotypically considered to be "emotional" in the workplace, women are more expressive than men only in terms of positive emotions. Men, on the other hand, are more expressive of negative emotions than women. Given the higher status of men in society, this finding may be an additional indication that the expression of negative emotions is associated with high status.

Finally, although general emotional expressivity and the amount of each emotion experienced at work (with the exception of happiness) were the main predictors of the management of specific emotions, I was able to explain between 10% and 29% of the variance in agitation, sadness, excitement, happiness, and general emotion management at work. Job characteristics and social factors clearly influence workplace emotional behavior. In the next chapter, I consider the psychological consequences of emotion management at work.

CHAPTER IV

PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

In the previous chapter I found that emotion management in the workplace is affected by status, job characteristics, and time spent with others in the workplace, offering some support for Hypotheses 1 and 2. Here, I move on to test Hypothesis 3—that emotion management heightens psychological distress, and that this relationship is mediated by feelings of inauthenticity. Thus, in this chapter I test the base of the emotion management consequences model (Figure 1.1). To do so, I first regressed the inauthenticity measure on emotion management, job characteristics and controls.[1] Next, I regressed psychological distress on emotion management and the control variables. Finally, to test for a mediation effect, I added inauthenticity to the distress model while controlling for job and demographic characteristics.

In the following analyses, I examine three different types of emotion management. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the antecedents of emotion management differ by the type of emotion that workers are managing. Therefore, I first analyzed general emotion management. Next, I repeated the analysis looking at the specific emotions that were managed, including agitation, sadness, excitement, and happiness. Finally, to assess the status dimension of the relationship between emotion management and its consequences, I again ran the analyses with a focus on the context (audience) in which the worker manages her emotions.

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[1] An extensive amount of sociological research has illustrated patterns in psychological distress by sociodemographic characteristics (e.g., Mirowsky & Ross 1989). In the following analyses, I include these characteristics only as control variables and focus instead on emotion management as a predictor of distress.

In general, as stated in Hypothesis 3, I expect emotion management to increase feelings of inauthenticity, which, in turn, will increase psychological distress. I expect this relationship to hold for each type of emotion management that I examine. When managing emotions, workers suppress or hide their true feelings and often display contrasting emotions to others. Over time, this practice will distance workers from their true feelings, and in some cases, from their true selves. Although managing negative emotions has been the type of emotion management most often associated with psychological consequences, I also expect that the management of positive emotions will negatively affect psychological well-being. Just as managing negative emotions, managing (e.g., suppressing) positive emotions involves the manipulation of feeling and thus will likely be associated with the same feelings of inauthenticity that accompany the management of negative emotions. Given the emphasis in American society on being "authentic," such feelings should be distressing to workers, regardless of the source (Erickson 1995). Workers will not only feel inauthentic when they hide or change their negative emotions, but also when they manage their positive emotions because they are not reflecting their "true" or authentic self.[2]

In addition, I expect that the negative effects of emotion management will be most pronounced when, by performing emotion management, workers place themselves in positions of lower status relative to those with whom they interact. Not only does a worker present an inauthentic self when she manages her emotions in the presence of a higher status other, she also confirms her low status position (e.g., Clark 1990). Specifically, I expect that workers who manage their emotions around their bosses will experience the greatest inauthenticity and distress because the boss holds greater status than the worker. In contrast, while workers may experience

[2] This is where a worker's self-concept orientation (institutional vs. impulsive) may be

negative effects of managing their emotions around customers, clients, coworkers, and subordinates, they should be less affected by emotion management in these contexts because in such interactions, the worker is not always, by definition, in a lower status position. For example, in an analysis of the expression of anger in the workplace, I found that workers were significantly less likely to express their anger directly to a boss than to a subordinate, but the likelihood of expressing anger directly to a customer or client did not differ significantly from that of expressing anger to a subordinate (Sloan 2004). Thus, while employees are often instructed to place customers or clients in a position of higher status relative to themselves (Hochschild 1983), customers and clients are not universally treated as holding a position of higher status relative to the worker; in contrast, bosses are regarded as being of higher status.

Consequences of General Emotion Management

The results of the OLS regressions of inauthenticity and psychological distress, respectively, on general emotion management, the workplace interaction variables, job characteristics and demographic controls are presented in Table 4.1. These results offer some support for Hypothesis 3. First, in the regression of inauthenticity (Model 1), general emotion management is a strong positive predictor; of the variables in the model, it has the strongest effect (ß=.342). The more a worker manages her emotions, the more inauthenticity she experiences. This supports Hochschild's (1983) original argument that by managing emotions, workers may become distanced from their true selves and feelings. In addition, both working with subordinates positively affects inauthenticity, while subjective influence, job complexity, and control over work negatively affect feelings of inauthenticty. Although I had no

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important. The relationship between self-concept and inauthenticity is examined in Chapter 6.

expectations for the relationships between inauthenticity and these independent variables, the negative relationships between the status indicators and inauthenticity suggest that workers feel more like themselves at work (i.e., most authentic) when they have some form of status, be it subjective status, working in a complex job or one in which they can exercise self direction. Furthermore, these findings highlight the importance of job characteristics for the emotional well-being of workers. Table 4.1 shows only one occupational-level effect—compared to workers in human service occupations, workers public safety occupations experience greater inauthenticity.

In the next regression (Model 2), I examine the effect of general emotion management on psychological distress. Again, consistent with Hypothesis 3, emotion management is the strongest predicator of psychological distress in Model 2. Performing emotion management at work significantly elevates psychological distress. Working with subordinates is associated with higher psychological distress, and hierarchical status and job complexity are associated with lower psychological distress. Thus, while having higher hierarchical status has benefits for well-being, having to spend time working with supervisees has negative psychological consequences (as seen with inauthenticity and distress).

Finally, to test for the mediation of the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress by feelings of inauthenticity, the inauthenticity measure was added to Model 3. As shown, inauthenticity has a positive effect on psychological distress. With the addition of inauthenticity to the model, the effect of emotion management is reduced in magnitude (ß from .290 to .130), and inauthenticity becomes the strongest predictor of psychological distress (ß=.458). The more inauthentic a worker feels, the more psychological distress she experiences. However, inauthenticity only partially mediates the relationship

between emotion management and psychological distress—emotion management still has a direct effect on psychological distress when accounting for feelings of inauthenticity. Thus, although general emotion management at work heightens feelings of inauthenticity, which are psychologically distressing for workers, general emotion management, in and of itself, contributes to psychological distress. In the next set of analyses, I test whether there are negative consequences of managing specific emotions at work and if the mediation effect varies by the type of emotion that is managed.

Table 4.1. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress and Inauthenticity on Emotion Management

	Inauthenticity		**Psychological Distress**			
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β
Emotion Management	.349***	.342	.094***	.290	.042***	.130
	(.029)		(.010)		(.009)	
Inauthenticity					.145***	.458
					(.008)	
Status	-.112	-.061	-.053*	-.091	-.035	-.060
	(.066)		(.022)		(.020)	
Influence	-.278*	-.062	-.062	-.044	-.031	-.021
	(.129)		(.043)		(.039)	
Tenure in Job	.063	.027	.023	.031	.013	.017
	(.063)		(.021)		(.019)	
Job Complexity	-.237***	-.130	-.068***	-.118	-.038**	-.065
	(.047)		(.016)		(.014)	
Control over Work	-.255***	-.134	-.033	-.054	.005	.008
	(.053)		(.018)		(.016)	
Time Spent with:						
Supervisors	-.162	-.034	-.036	-.024	-.018	-.012
	(.126)		(.042)		(.039)	
Customers/Clients	-.002	.000	.008	.008	.009	.009
	(.088)		(.029)		(.027)	
Coworkers	-.037	-.010	-.022	-.018	-.010	-.008
	(.103)		(.034)		(.031)	
Subordinates	.294*	.087	.116**	.109	.076*	.070
	(.120)		(.040)		(.037)	
Occupational Category:[a]						
Office Work	.660	.063	-.099	-.030	-.196	-.059
	(.340)		(.112)		(.013)	
Skilled Crafts	.364	.022	-.151	-.028	-.216	-.040
	(.491)		(.163)		(.150)	
Natural Sciences	-.442	-.021	-.131	-.020	-.064	-.010
	(.560)		(.187)		(.170)	
Health Care	.048	.003	-.148	-.033	-.134	-.029
	(.394)		(.130)		(.120)	
Information/Communication	.861	.047	-.176	-.030	-.303	-.052
	(.517)		(.172)		(.157)	
Service/Maintenance	.836	.048	-.079	-.014	-.203	-.036
	(.550)		(.183)		(.168)	
Public Safety	1.08**	.082	-.122	-.029	-.261*	-.063
	(.415)		(.138)		(.127)	
General Emotional Expressivity	-.032	-.023	-.003	-.008	.001	.003
	(.038)		(.013)		(.012)	

Table 4.1. Continued. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress and Inauthenticity on Emotion Management

Demographic Controls:						
Sex (1=female)	-.716**	-.079	.013	.005	.116	.040
	(.262)		(.087)		(.080)	
Race (1=white)	.948***	.089	.322***	.096	.176*	.052
	(.263)		(.087)		(.080)	
Age	-.029*	-.072	-.013***	-.099	-.008*	-.062
	(.012)		(.004)		(.004)	
Married (1=yes)	-.623**	-.067	-.253***	-.086	-.169*	-.057
	(.236)		(.078)		(.072)	
Children in Home (1=yes)	-.062	-.007	-.056	-.019	-.051	-.017
	(.249)		(.082)		(.076)	
Education	-.049	-.019	-.004	-.005	.005	.006
	(.084)		(.028)		(.025)	
Income	.054	.016	.005	.004	-.002	-.002
	(.107)		(.035)		(.033)	
Adjusted R^2	.248		.154		.321	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1371 cases with full data on all variables; Standard errors in parentheses

Consequences of Managing Specific Emotions

The results of the OLS regression of inauthenticity on the specific emotions managed and controls are presented in Table 4.2. The coefficients for the job characteristics and control variables are not included here (or in Tables 4.3 through 4.5), but each model controls for the job characteristics and demographic variables included in each of the previous analyses.[27] I also include a control for the amount of the emotion experienced, since, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the amount of emotion experienced significantly affects the extent to which workers manage the emotion. As shown in Table 4.2, the more agitation and sadness workers felt at work, the more inauthenticity they experienced, while the more happiness they felt at work, the less inauthenticity they experienced.[28] In addition, the management of agitation, sadness, happiness, and excitement independently increases feelings of inauthenticity. Despite the varied effects on authenticity of feeling specific emotions, management of emotions—whether those emotions are positive or negative—heightens workers' feelings of inauthenticity.

[27] The coefficients for the other independent variables in the subsequent analyses do not differ substantially in significance or magnitude from the coefficients presented in Table 4.1.

[28] Net of the extent of a worker's general emotion management, maintaining affective neutrality is not significantly associated with psychological distress (see Appendix D).

Table 4.2. OLS Regression of Inauthenticity on Managing Agitation, Sadness, Happiness, and Excitement at Work

	Inauthenticity							
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Hiding Agitation	.190*** (.158)	.159						
Hiding Sadness			.335** (.112)	.080				
Hiding Happiness					.413*** (.100)	.103		
Hiding Excitement							.493*** (.117)	.111
Amount of the Emotion Felt at Work	1.83*** (.160)	.313	1.72*** (.145)	.324	-2.06*** (.149)	-.356	-.819 (.138)	-.161
Adjusted R^2	.332		.292		.281		.195	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1250 cases with full data on all variables; Standard errors in parentheses

Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

Table 4.3. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on Managing Agitation, Sadness, Happiness, and Excitement at Work

	Psychological Distress							
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Hiding Agitation	.224*** (.049)	.123						
Hiding Sadness			.151*** (.034)	.113				
Hiding Happiness					.073* (.032)	.058		
Hiding Excitement							.096* (.038)	.069
Amount of the Emotion Felt at Work	.869*** (.049)	.467	.828*** (.043)	.487	-.782*** (.020)	-.124	-.306*** (.044)	-.191
Adjusted R^2	.360		.374		.246		.128	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1250 cases with full data on all variables; Standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

The regressions of psychological distress on the management of the specific emotions are presented in Table 4.3. First, similar to the regression of inauthenticity on the management of specific emotions, the experience of negative emotions at work is associated with elevated distress levels while the experience of positive emotions at work is associated with lowered distress levels. In addition, as with general emotion management, I expected that the management of each emotion would positively affect psychological distress, and the results confirm this. Consistent with Hypothesis 3, the more workers manage agitation, sadness, happiness and excitement the more psychological distress they experience. Thus, in addition to being positively associated with inauthenticity, managing both positive and negative emotions heightens psychological distress.

Next, as shown in Table 4.4, I test the mediation hypothesis for the management of agitation, sadness, happiness, and excitement. Although the analysis of general emotion management only partially supported the mediation argument stated in Hypothesis 3 (see Table 4.1), in the analysis of the specific emotions managed, inauthenticity fully mediates the relationships between managing happiness and managing excitement and psychological distress. However, as in the case with general emotion management, although inauthenticity decreases the magnitude of the coefficients, managing agitation and managing sadness has direct effects on psychological distress, net of inauthenticity. Thus, managing positive emotions is distressing because it produces feelings of inauthenticity. On the other hand, while managing negative emotions increases inauthenticity, the management of agitation and sadness also affects psychological distress directly. In addition, inauthenticity accounts for the negative effects of experiencing happiness and excitement at work on psychological distress, but the positive associations between experiencing agitation and sadness at work and distress remain.

Table 4.4. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on the Management of Agitation, Sadness, Happiness, and Excitement at Work and Inauthenticity

	Psychological Distress							
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Hiding Agitation	.131** (.048)	.071						
Hiding Sadness			.114*** (.032)	.086				
Hiding Happiness					.019 (.030)	.015		
Hiding Excitement							.018 (.034)	.013
Inauthenticity	.102*** (.009)	.319	.105*** (.008)	.327	.123*** (.008)	.389	.147*** (.008)	.468
Amount of the Emotion Felt at Work	.679*** (.050)	.365	.651*** (.043)	.382	-.528 (.048)	-.289	-.185 (.041)	-.115
Adjusted R^2	.425		.452		.354		.306	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1250 cases with full data on all variables; Standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

Emotion Management Consequences by Context

Finally, to assess the effect of the context in which workers manage their emotions on the consequences of emotion management, I repeated the set of analyses above with a focus on whether the worker manages emotions around her boss (higher status than the worker), manages emotions around someone else (a customer, client, coworker, or subordinate but not her boss), or does not manage her emotions. Table 4.5 summarizes the OLS regression of inauthenticity and psychological distress on the emotion management context variables and controls. Managing emotions around someone other than the worker's boss is the reference category for the context variables.[29] As shown in Model 1, workers who do not manage emotions at work experience significantly less inauthenticity than those who manage their emotions around someone other than their bosses. On the other hand, workers who manage their emotions around their bosses experience significantly more inauthenticity than those who manage their emotions around someone else (i.e., customer, client, coworker or subordinate). Furthermore, in Model 2, the same pattern holds for psychological distress. Workers who manage their emotions around their bosses experience significantly more distress than those who manage their emotions around others in the workplace, while those who do not manage their emotions experience less distress than those who manage their emotions around customers, clients, coworkers, or subordinates. Thus, a status differential in workplace interactions shapes the relationship between emotion management and psychological well-being. Model 3 shows the mediation effect of inauthenticity. Including inauthenticity in the model explains the psychological distress of workers who manage their emotions around their bosses, compared to those who manage their

[29] There are few workers in the sample who reported managing their emotions only around subordinates (n=11), so I cannot test for a difference in consequences between workers

emotions around customers, clients, coworkers, or subordinates at work. In other words, when a boss is present in the context in which workers manage their emotions, they experience more distress because of increased feelings of inauthenticity. However, (lower) inauthenticity does not account for the (lower) psychological distress of workers who manage their emotions around someone other than their bosses. In addition, net of feelings of inauthenticity and the control variables, workers who do not manage their emotions at work are significantly less distressed than those who manage their emotions around customers, clients, coworkers, or subordinates.

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who manage their emotions around subordinates and those who manage their emotions around customers and clients or coworkers.

Table 4.5. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on Emotion Management Context and Inauthenticity

	Inauthenticity Model 1		**Psychological Distress** Model 2		Model 3	
	b	β	b	β	b	β
Emotion Management Context:[a]						
Does not Manage Emotions at Work	-1.24*** (.305)	-.135	-.560*** (.100)	-.192	-.385*** (.091)	-.132
Manages Emotions Around Boss	1.44*** (.300)	.158	.365*** (.098)	.127	.163 (.090)	.057
Inauthenticy					.140*** (.008)	.443
Adjusted R^2	.230		.172		.323	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1362 cases with full data on all variables; Standard errors in parentheses

[a] Managing emotions around someone other than one's boss is the reference category

Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

Summary

Although previous research has produced mixed results when examining the relationship between emotion management and psychological consequences (Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Pugliesi 1999; Erickson & Ritter 2001), the analyses presented in this chapter clearly illustrate the negative consequences of emotion management. Each type of emotion management examined here—general emotion management, as well as the management of positive and negative emotions, and emotion management performed in different social contexts—significantly heightens both feelings of inauthenticity and psychological distress, net of job and demographic characteristics. Furthermore, although in each instance emotion management positively affects inauthenticity, in the case of general emotion management and the management of agitation and sadness, the relationship between managing emotions and psychological distress is not fully explained by increased feelings of inauthenticity. It is only for the management of positive emotions—happiness and excitement—that inauthenticity fully accounts for greater psychological distress.[30] In all other cases, emotion management directly affects psychological distress. In addition, the workers who are most affected by emotion management are those who manage their emotions around their bosses. Workers who manage their emotions in the presence of their bosses experience more inauthenticity than those who manage their emotions around customers, clients, coworkers, or subordinates, and this leads to heightened psychological distress. Thus, the relative status of the worker is an important determinant of the extent of the psychological consequences associated with emotion management. As expected, workers are the most disadvantaged by emotion management when

[30] As seen in Chapter 3, the workers who manage excitement and happiness the most are those who spend a lot of time working with subordinates and workers in service, maintenance, and public safety occupations.

they are in positions of low status relative to those with whom they interact. Now that the negative consequences of emotion management in the workplace have been established, in the next chapter I draw on social psychological theories of the self to examine potential moderators of the relationships between emotion management and negative consequences.

CHAPTER V

MODERATORS OF THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT IN THE WORKPLACE

As illustrated in Chapter 4, performing emotion management at work negatively affects the psychological well-being of workers. Specifically, emotion management is associated with elevated levels of psychological distress and feelings of inauthenticity. Although inauthenticity accounts for the relationship between the management of positive emotions and psychological distress, general emotion management and the management of negative emotions affect psychological distress directly. Here, building on the findings reported in Chapter 4, I examine the potential moderators of these relationships. Specifically, I investigate the variation in the negative effects of workplace emotion management by a worker's self-concept orientation, emotion management efficacy, and occupational prestige level. (See Figure 1.3.)

Self-Concept Orientation

First, as stated in Hypothesis 4, I expect that a worker's self-concept will influence when she will experience the greatest amount of inauthenticity from managing emotions in the workplace. According to Gordon (1989; see also Turner 1976), individuals may have one of two contrasting orientations to their self-concept—impulsive or institutional—which affect how they experience emotions. An individual with an impulsive orientation feels most like her true self and feels that she experiences authentic emotions when her behavior is unconstrained by emotional display norms. On the other hand, an individual with an institutional orientation believes she is authentic when her emotional behavior adheres to display norms. Therefore, in

the workplace, workers who have an institutional orientation to self-concept will feel less inauthentic when performing emotion management than workers who have an impulsive orientation. In other words, by managing their emotions in the workplace, institutionals are following emotional display norms; because they are conforming to institutional rules, they will feel authentic. When impulsives manage their emotions at work, they are not expressing their true (uninhibited) self and hence will feel inauthentic. Thus, the consistency of emotion management with the worker's self-concept orientation should moderate the relationship between emotion management and a sense of inauthenticity.

The results of the regression of feelings of inauthenticity on the interaction of self-concept orientation with emotion management are presented in Table 5.1.[31] Also in Table 5.1 is the regression of psychological distress on the interaction of general emotion management and self-concept orientation. Because, as shown in Chapter 4, inauthenticity did not fully mediate the relationship between general emotion management and psychological distress, it is possible that the interaction of emotion management and self-concept orientation affects psychological distress directly, rather than entirely through feelings of inauthenticity. In all models, self-concept orientation is included as a dummy variable with impulsive coded 1 and institutional coded 0. Respondents who did not agree with both indicators of an impulsive orientation or both indicators of an institutional orientation (n=330) were excluded from the analysis.[32]

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[31] Although I tested all relationships discussed in this chapter for the management of specific emotions as well as for general emotion management, I focus here on the patterns by general emotion management and refer to exceptions with the management of specific emotions. Full results are presented in tables in Appendix D.

[32] I also coded self-concept consistency with 3 dummy variables indicating institutional, impulsive, or neither (neither as the reference group) and with institutional and impulsive as ordinal variables indicating the extent to which respondents fit each category. In each case, workers were more distressed by emotion management when they had impulsive orientations to

As shown in the first two columns of Table 5.1, the interaction of degree of emotion management and self-concept orientation does not significantly affect inauthenticity. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is not specifically supported. However, the effect of emotion management on psychological distress does depend on the worker's self-concept orientation. Workers with impulsive self-concept orientations are significantly more distressed by emotion management at work than workers with institutional self-concept orientations. This interaction effect is illustrated in Figure 5.2. The psychological distress associated with emotion management is strongest for workers with impulsively oriented self-concepts. The triple interaction between emotion management, inauthenticity, and self-concept (not shown) was not a significant predictor of distress. Thus, self-concept consistency moderates the direct relationship between emotion management and psychological distress. Although impulsively and institutionally oriented workers experience similar levels of inauthenticity associated with performing emotion management, workers who are impulsive in their orientation experience significantly higher levels of distress when performing emotion management compared to those who are institutional in their orientation. Emotion management performance is consistent with the self-concept orientation of institutionally oriented workers and therefore, institutionals are less distressed when they must manage their emotions as a part of their work. I next consider emotion management efficacy as an additional moderator of the negative psychological effects of emotion management.

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their self-concept. Only the analysis of impulsive compared to institutional orientations is presented because it most closely fits Gordon's (1989) theory.

Table 5.1. OLS Regressions of Inauthenticity and Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Self-Concept Orientation

	Inauthenticity		**Psychological Distress**	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity			.140*** (.012)	.421
Emotion Management	.259*** (.054)	.256	.021 (.018)	.063
Impulsive	-.247 (.878)	-.027	-.548 (.286)	-.178
Impulsive * Emotion Management	.105 (.065)	.162	.052* (.021)	.239
Adjusted R^2	.264		.294	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1340; Standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity. (See Appendix C for details on the construction of all predictors.)

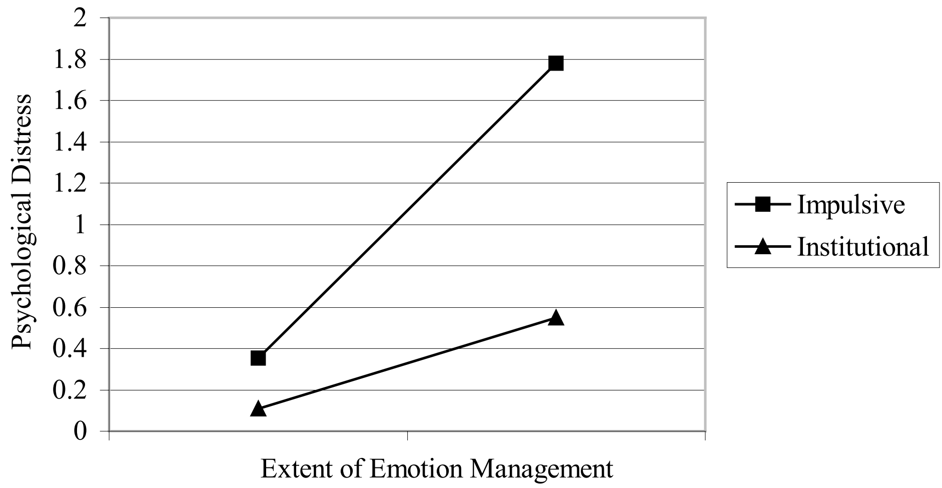

Figure 5.1. The Interaction Effect of Self-Concept Orientation and Emotion Management on Psychological Distress[33]

[33] The predicted values of psychological distress presented in the graph were calculated at two levels of emotion management—one standard deviation below and one standard deviation above the mean—with all predictors in the full regression model held constant at their means or modes. Possible values of psychological distress range from 0 to 7.

Emotion Management Efficacy

The results of the OLS regression testing Hypothesis 5 are reported in Table 5.2. Model 1 includes the interaction between inauthenticity and emotion management efficacy. Recall in my original model of emotion management consequences (Figure 1.3), I expected that emotion management efficacy would lessen the distressing effect of feeling inauthentic—a worker should be less distressed by feelings of inauthenticity when she believes that she is a successful emotion manager. The significant negative coefficient for the interaction between inauthenticity and efficacy appears to support this hypothesis. However, upon further consideration, the simple interaction between inauthenticity and efficacy does not account for emotion management. In other words, although emotion management efficacy decreases the distressing effects of inauthenticity, we do not know whether the inauthenticity experienced by workers is due to emotion management. Thus, I decided to respecify the model and test for a triple interaction among emotion management, inauthenticity, and emotion management efficacy. Therefore, in Model 2, the interaction between the extent of a worker's emotion management and emotion management efficacy is included; in Model 3, I illustrate the positive effect of the interaction of emotion management and inauthenticity on psychological distress; and the triple interaction is added to Model 4.

As shown in Model 2, the distressing effects of emotion management itself do not depend on emotion management efficacy. Workers are significantly distressed by emotion management regardless of their beliefs about their emotion management abilities. Model 4 shows that the triple interaction <u>is</u> a significant predictor of psychological distress. However, the effect is opposite of what I expected. Rather than the effects of the inauthenticity associated with emotion management being lessened by emotion management efficacy, they are augmented. Net

of the effects of the other predictors, the triple interaction of the extent of a worker's emotion management, inauthenticity, and emotion management efficacy is positive and significant. Workers who feel that they are successful in performing emotion management are actually more distressed by the inauthenticity that accompanies emotion management than are workers who feel they have inadequacies in emotion management.[34] This finding is at odds with Hypothesis 5. Emotion management efficacy does not lessen the distressing effect of emotion management directly nor does efficacy lessen the negative effect of emotion management-caused inauthenticity on psychological distress. Rather, as shown in Table 5.2, the negative effects of the combination of extensive emotion management and high levels of inauthenticity are worse for workers who feel effective in their emotion management performance. It may be the case that workers who feel successful in their emotion management are more invested in their emotion management performances at work and, thus, experience increased distress when their emotion management makes them feel inauthentic. Another possible explanation may be that workers who rate themselves lower on emotion management efficacy recognize their inadequacies in emotion management and are, therefore, less distressed by feelings of inauthenticity because they are aware of their limitations. Research suggests that individuals who perform poorly at tasks often overestimate their abilities because they are unable to recognize their incompetence (Dunning, Johnson, Ehrlinger, & Kruger 2003; Colvin & Block 1994). Such individuals are doubly burdened because they are unskilled and their ignorance creates an inability to recognize their own deficiency (Kruger & Dunning 1999). Thus, workers who indicated that they were very successful at managing emotions may experience greater

[34] In terms of managing specific emotions, the emotion management*efficacy interaction is not significant for any emotion, and, in the case of managing sadness, the triple interaction is positive and significant. The triple interactions for managing anger, excitement, and happiness

distress than workers with less favorable self-ratings because the workers with greater perceived emotion management efficacy do not anticipate such consequences. Workers who rated themselves as less skilled at managing their emotions may have more realistic expectations of their emotional behavior and the associated psychological consequences.

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are not significantly associated with psychological distress.

Table 5.2. OLS Regressions of Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Emotion Management Efficacy

	Psychological Distress							
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity	.247*** (.052)	.787	.147*** (.009)	.469	.153*** (.009)	.427	.587*** (.169)	.655
Emotion Management	.038*** (.010)	.119	.018*** (.055)	.057	.050 (.028)	.154	.316*** (.209)	.038
Emotion Management Efficacy			-.134 (.189)	-.053			1.69* (.703)	.665
Inauthenticity * Efficacy	-.008* (.004)	-.321					-.119** (.040)	-.121
Emotion Management * Efficacy			.005 (.013)	.003			.081 (.048)	.010
Emotion Management * Inauthenticity					.004** (.002)	.239	.020 (.011)	.011
EM * Inauthenticity * Efficacy							.006* (.003)	.015
Adjusted R^2	.321		.318		.321		.326	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1180; Standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity. (See Appendix C for details on the construction of all predictors.)

Occupational Prestige

In the final set of moderator analyses, I test Hypothesis 6. I expect that the effects of performing emotion management in the workplace will depend on the status of the worker's occupation—occupational prestige will moderate the relationship between feelings of inauthenticity and psychological distress. For the reasons discussed above in the case of emotion management efficacy, in addition to testing for a simple interaction between inauthenticity and prestige, I also test the triple interaction of emotion management, inauthenticity, and occupational prestige. In addition, because I found that emotion management is not fully mediated by feelings of inauthenticity, I investigate the effects of the interaction of emotion management and prestige on psychological distress.

The regressions of psychological distress on emotion management and inauthenticity by prestige level and with prestige level interactions are presented in Table 5.3. Neither the simple interaction between inauthenticity and prestige nor the triple interaction of the extent of a worker's emotion management, inauthenticity, and occupational prestige significantly affects psychological distress and so are not presented in the table.[35] Thus, prestige does not lessen the impact of inauthenticity on psychological distress as expected in the original model. However, as shown in Table 5.3, prestige does interact with emotion management to affect psychological distress, and this can be interpreted with logic similar to what I hypothesized. The full model in Table 5.3 shows that workers in occupations of average prestige are significantly more distressed by emotion management than are workers in high prestige occupations. Although the effect of prestige on the relationship between emotion management and distress for workers in low

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[35] The unstandardized coefficient for the interaction between inauthenticity and low occupational prestige is .014 (n.s.) and the unstandardized coefficient for the interaction between inauthenticity and average occupational prestige is .030 (n.s.).

prestige occupations does not differ significantly from that for workers in high prestige occupations, the coefficient for the interaction between low prestige level and emotion management is positive and near significance at p=.10.[36] To more closely examine this effect, I regressed psychological distress on emotion management, inauthenticity and controls separately by prestige level.[37] First, the significant, positive coefficient for inauthenticity in each model shows that, regardless of prestige level, workers are equally distressed by feelings of inauthenticity. (The metric coefficients are virtually identical across the 3 models.) In addition, as shown in the second, third, and fourth models in Table 5.3, emotion management is associated with heightened distress for workers in low and average prestige-level occupations, but is not significantly associated with distress among the high prestige workers. Thus, workers in highly prestigious occupations are not psychologically distressed by performing emotion management at work. This relationship is depicted in Figure 5.5 below.[38] Following the logic of Hypothesis 6, although workers in prestigious occupations may perform emotion management, they receive benefits to their self-esteem by virtue of working in highly prestigious occupations and are, therefore, not as distressed as other workers by the emotion management that they perform as part of their work. Thus, the negative effects of performing emotion management depend on the prestige of the worker's occupation as measured objectively by the state of Tennessee's paygrade scale. Whereas few occupational-level effects were found in the previous chapters, here the occupational-level prestige measure is significantly associated with the emotion management process.

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[36] In a regression of emotion management on prestige and controls, I found that workers in lower prestige occupations perform significantly less emotion management than those in high prestige occupations.

[37] Please refer to Appendix E for a list of occupations within each prestige group.

[38] Shown in Appendix D, this relationship also holds for the management of anger.

Table 5.3. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Occupational Prestige.

	Psychological Distress							
	Full Model		**Low Prestige**		**Average Prestige**		**High Prestige**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity	.146*** (.008)	.462	.144*** (.014)	.480	.148*** (.017)	.421	.148*** (.016)	.473
Emotion Management	.011 (.013)	.034	.045*** (.016)	.136	.052*** (.016)	.164	.024 (.017)	.075
Occupational Prestige:[a]								
Low Prestige	-.514* (.261)	-.174						
Average Prestige	-.786** (.256)	-.257						
Low Prestige*Emotion Management	.030 (.019)	.143						
Average Prestige*Emotion Management	.055** (.019)	.244						
Adjusted R^2	.315		.352		.332		.258	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1342; Standard errors in parentheses
[a] High occupational prestige group is the reference category.
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity. (See Appendix C for details on the construction of all predictors.)

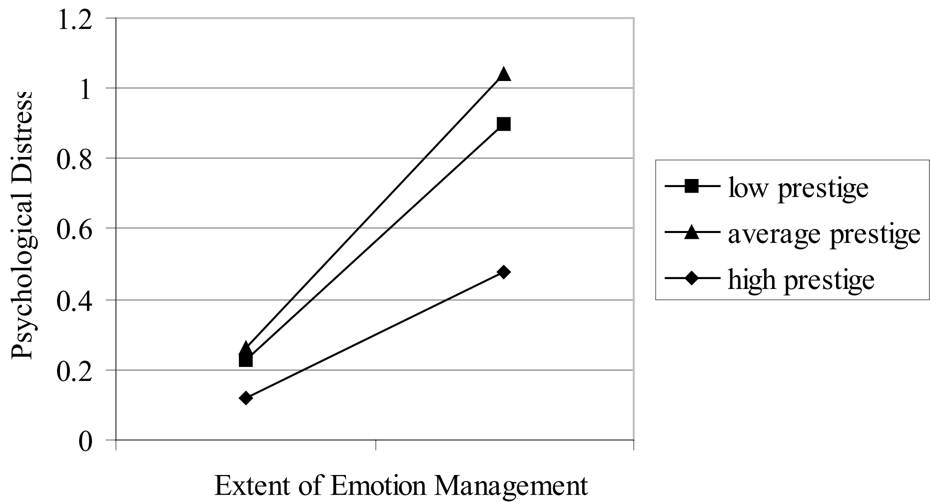

Figure 5.2. The Interaction Effect of Occupational Prestige and Emotion Management on Psychological Distress[39]

[39] The predicted values of psychological distress presented in the graph were calculated at two levels of emotion management—one standard deviation below and one standard deviation above the mean—with all predictors in the full regression model held constant at their means or modes. Possible values of psychological distress range from 0 to 7.

An additional consideration, however, is subjective prestige. As shown in the regressions of emotion management presented in Chapter 3, subjective status, as well as objective status, affects the extent of a worker's emotion management performance. Workers who believe that they have status in the workplace perform less general emotion management and agitation management than workers who are less confident in their workplace status. To determine if subjective prestige also interacts with emotion management to affect psychological distress, I repeated the prestige analysis using a subjective measure of prestige—the extent to which workers feel that they are respected for the work that they do.

The results of the regression of psychological distress on the extent of emotion management performance by subjective prestige are presented in Table 5.4. As shown, in the same manner in which objective occupational prestige lessens the distressing effects of emotion management, subjective prestige interacts with the extent of a worker's emotion management to dampen psychological distress. Workers who believe that they are respected for the work that they do are less distressed by the emotion management that they perform on the job than are workers who feel they are less esteemed for their work.[40] Thus, both objective and subjective prestige lessen the psychological effects of emotion management performance. It is possible that a worker in an occupation that is not highly regarded in society may still experience lower psychological distress associated with emotion management performance if she feels that she is respected for her work. This suggests that it is not necessary to work in a prestigious occupation to experience the benefits of prestige for psychological well-being. For example, although workers including housekeepers, highway maintenance workers, and telephone operators work in

[40] There were no significant triple interactions. The negative effect of the interaction of the extent of the worker's emotion management by subjective prestige was significant in the analysis of agitation management, happiness management, and excitement management.

occupations that are not considered prestigious, some workers from each these occupations strongly agreed that they are respected for the work that they do. According to the results presented in Table 5.4, the feeling of esteem is apparently enough of a psychological benefit to offset the distressing effects of emotion management.

Table 5.4. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Subjective Prestige

	Psychological Distress			
	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity	.144*** (.009)	.454	.143*** (.009)	.453
Emotion Management	.041*** (.009)	.127	.105*** (.025)	.323
Subjective Respect	0.041 (.037)	-.030	.196* (.094)	.144
Respect * Emotion Management			-.073** (.006)	-.239
Adjusted R^2	.313		.326	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1338; Standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity. (See Appendix C for details on the construction of all predictors.)

Summary

In Chapter 4, I have further explored the relationship between managing emotions in the workplace and psychological well-being. General emotion management, which is often considered emotional labor, as well as the management of agitation, sadness, happiness, and excitement significantly heightened psychological distress. In this chapter, I whether the negative effects of emotion management hold for all workers, or if the extent to which workers experience psychological distress as a result of emotion management depends on characteristics of workers or their occupations. Three hypotheses developed from the emotion and social psychological literature were tested. I expected the relationship between emotion management and psychological consequences to be moderated by the worker's self-concept orientation, the worker's efficacy in emotion management, and the worker's occupational prestige.

First, I found that the negative effects of emotion management do depend on a worker's self-concept orientation, although not in the way I anticipated. As stated in Hypothesis 4, I expected that self-concept orientation would moderate the relationship between emotion management and inauthenticity. The analysis showed that this was not the case. Instead, a moderator effect was found for the direct relationship between emotion management and psychological distress. Workers with institutionally oriented self-concepts—cases in which emotion management is consistent with the worker's self-concept orientation—were significantly less distressed by performing emotion management than were workers with impulsively oriented self-concepts. Not only does this finding offer support for Gordon's (1989) thesis on the selective appropriation of emotions to the self based on one's self-concept orientation, it also supports Turner's (1968, 1976) original theory of self-concept orientation. Workers tended to report that they found their "true self" in situations indicative of either an

impulsively or institutionally oriented self-concept. Of the 1533 respondents in the sample, 70% gave responses to the self-concept items that could be clearly differentiated into either institutional or impulsive according to Turner's (1975) coding scheme. Thus, a large portion of workers was particularly affected by the emotion management that they performed at work due to their self-concept orientation, whether impulsive or institutional.[41]

Second, emotion management efficacy is an important factor in predicting the consequences of emotion management in the workplace. However, the relationship was opposite of what I hypothesized. The inauthentic feelings experienced as a result of emotion management were expected to be less distressing for workers who believed that they were effective in their emotion management performances. Emotion management efficacy was thought to provide workers with a self-esteem enhancement that would lessen the negative effects of emotion management-related feelings of inauthenticity. What the results revealed, however, was that workers who believed that they were effective in their emotion management performances were actually more distressed by emotion management-related inauthenticity than were workers who felt less adept at emotion management. This may be because workers who feel that their emotion management is successful are particularly distressed when their emotion management, instead, results in high levels of inauthenticity. Or, as mentioned earlier, workers who are not effective at managing their emotions may not be able to recognize their own inadequacy; thus, they report that they are competent at emotion management although they are actually poor emotion managers, and this may cloud the moderation effects of emotion management efficacy.

[41] As Turner argues that Americans have been gradually shifting from institutional to impulsive orientations, an additional implication of this finding is that a large number of American workers may fare worse than others based on their subjective self-concept orientation. The majority (67%) of the respondents who could be classified as either impulsive or institutional indicated that they were impulsive in orientation.

Finally, a worker's occupational prestige level significantly affected the feelings of distress experienced from managing emotions at work. Although, as stated in Hypothesis 6, I expected occupational prestige to moderate the relationship between inauthenticity and psychological distress, the results revealed that prestige moderated the direct relationship between emotion management and psychological distress. Workers in highly prestigious occupations were significantly less distressed than workers in occupations of low or average prestige. Workers in prestigious occupations gain esteem from others by virtue of holding high status positions and these benefits may offset the distressing effects of emotion management. Although workers in prestigious occupations do perform emotion management, they do not experience psychological distress at similar levels to that experienced by workers in less prestigious occupations. In addition, the same moderation effect held for subjective prestige. Not only did workers in prestigious occupations receive benefits to their well-being, workers who believed that they were esteemed by others based on their work also experienced lower levels of psychological distress. Reinforcing the findings reported in Chapter 3, these results show the importance of both objective and subjective status in the emotion management process.

In sum, although hypotheses 4 through 6 were not fully supported, the findings presented in this chapter revealed significant moderation effects connected to the hypothesized relationships. Each of the factors expected to moderate the relationship between emotion management and psychological consequences was a significant moderator. However, the significant moderator effects were located along paths in the model that were different from what I expected. Therefore, based on the results in this chapter, I have revised the model of emotion management consequences. The new model is presented in Figure 5.3 below. I discuss the implications of these revisions in the next chapter.

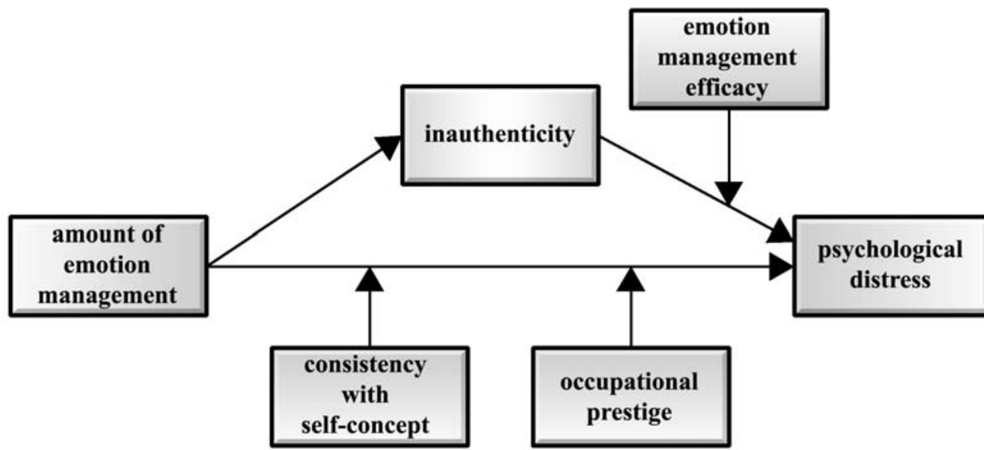

Figure 5.3. The Revised Emotion Management Consequences Model

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion

In this dissertation, using survey data from workers in a variety of occupations, I have extended the emotion management literature in a number of ways. Specifically, I have illustrated the importance of job (as distinct from occupational) characteristics as antecedents of emotion management, the negative consequences of emotion management for workers, and the factors that influence the extent of the effects of emotion management on the well-being of workers. In doing so, this research integrates and builds upon previous qualitative and quantitative emotion management investigations. Below, I discuss my key findings and their theoretical implications.

Antecedents of Emotion Management

First, as shown in Chapter 3, my analyses revealed that emotion management is important not only in service occupations. There were no significant occupational-level differences in the amount of general emotion management (the type of emotion management often considered emotional labor) that workers perform, and the few occupational-level differences in the management of specific emotions were extremely small. Instead, the major predictors of emotion management were job-level characteristics, many of which are related to status. Specifically, the key predictors of general emotion management were the extent of a worker's interaction with others of unequal status, the amount of influence a worker feels she has over others in the workplace, the complexity of a worker's job, and the amount of control a worker has over her work.

Here, I summarize these findings in more detail. First, workers perform emotion management in interactions with supervisors, customers and clients, and subordinates. The extent of a worker's interaction with coworkers, however, does not affect the amount of emotion management that she performs. Although I expected that workers who interact extensively with superiors would perform the greatest amounts of general emotion management because of the status differential (with the worker in a position of lower status), emotion management is also performed when workers interact with subordinates in the workplace. In terms of specific emotions, this pattern also held true for the management of agitation. However, only extensive interaction with subordinates heightened the management of positive emotions. It is likely that workers manage their emotions around their supervisors to adhere to the norms of emotional display that require showing deference to individuals of higher status. On the other hand, supervisors may also manage their emotions when interacting with their subordinates in order to illustrate professionalism (e.g., maintain affective neutrality).[42] As Lively (2000) illustrated, the display of professionalism often requires emotion management—and this may be the goal of emotion management performed around subordinates. The finding that only extensive interaction with subordinates heightens the management of positive emotions suggests that workers who supervise others perform a different type of emotion management in their roles as supervisors than workers who manage their emotions around supervisors and coworkers. Workers who interact extensively with subordinates control most types of their emotional expression. The specific reasoning behind the emotion management that workers in this study

[42] The amount of interaction a worker has with her subordinates does not affect the worker's emphasis on maintaining affective neutrality as I have measured it. I believe, though, that additional measures of maintaining affective neutrality are needed as I am unsure of the validity of the measures that I use here.

perform, however, is a topic beyond the scope of this dissertation, and is important to consider in future research.

In addition, I was able to offer support for previous qualitative and experimental research by illustrating the importance of status for a worker's emotion management. Specifically, the amount of influence workers feel they have over others, their job complexity, and the amount of control workers have over their duties were all associated with lower emotion management efforts. Although the analysis of workers' time spent with others did not reveal the expected relational status patterns (i.e., different effects of time spent with subordinates and with supervisors), the finding that subjective workplace status decreases the amount of general emotion management that workers perform is consistent with the findings of previous qualitative research (e.g., Hochschild 1983; Pierce 1995; Lively 2000). Status patterns were again revealed in the analyses of specific emotions—subjective influence decreases the amount of agitation management while hierarchical status decreases the amount of happiness and excitement management that workers perform. The belief that a worker can influence others apparently provides workers with the freedom to express agitation, an emotion associated with power (Tiedens 2001; Conway et al. 1999). The greater effort on the part of workers of low hierarchical status to control their excitement and happiness may indicate adherence to cultural emotional feeling and display rules in which workers in low status positions are not expected to experience (or, at least, to express) positive emotions while working. In addition, the job characteristics of complexity and control over work both lessen the amount of general emotion management that workers perform. Workers in jobs that are associated with status perform less emotion management at work than workers in jobs that are of lower status.

Furthermore, although gender was not a focus of this dissertation, my analyses also revealed significant differences in the amount and types of emotion management that men and women perform. First, although women in the U.S. tend to be more emotionally expressive than men (Simon & Nath 2004), I found that, controlling for occupation and job characteristics, women also perform more general emotion management at work than men. Thus, net of job characteristics, women direct greater efforts at controlling their emotional expression in the workplace than men. Perhaps this is in reaction to the perception of women as "emotional," which often serves to disadvantage women in many types of work. Furthermore, women and men *experience* similar levels of agitation, sadness, happiness, and excitement while working; however, women and men differ in the extent to which they manage these specific emotions. Women manage negative emotions at work, while men manage positive emotions. Again, as the expression of agitation-related emotions serves to illustrate power, the greater expressiveness of agitation among men—who are afforded more power in the workplace compared to women—may serve to maintain or reinforce their dominant position.

In sum, I've shown that the assumption of previous researchers that service workers perform the greatest amount of emotion management is unfounded. In addition, I've provided quantitative support for previous qualitative research that has illustrated the importance of status for emotional behavior in the workplace. Although workers in many different occupations perform emotion management, some workers perform more than others depending on their hierarchical and subjective workplace status and the characteristics of their jobs. Such efforts are rarely recognized as a part of the worker's duties, and may be particularly detrimental to workers in lower status positions.

Consequences of Emotion Management

Once I established the antecedents of emotion management in the workplace, I investigated the psychological consequences of emotion management. Thus, the second major contribution that this research makes to the emotion management literature is the demonstration of the link between emotion management and the psychological well-being of workers. Although previous research on the consequences of emotion management has yielded mixed results, I found significant positive associations among emotion management in the workplace, feelings of inauthenticity, and psychological distress.[43] Each type of emotion management that I examined positively affected inauthenticity and psychological distress. Inauthenticity accounted for part of the effect of emotion management on psychological distress, and performing emotion management at work also directly and positively affected a worker's distress level. While the link between emotion management and psychological well-being has been suggested by many researchers, it had not previously been established quantitatively. These findings clearly demonstrate that workers are negatively affected by managing their emotions at work. Combined with my findings that the extent of a worker's emotion management can be predicted by job-level characteristics, and status characteristics in particular, my analyses show that certain types of workers are disadvantaged by the informal emotion management requirements of their work. Lower status workers and those who interact extensively with others of unequal (whether higher or lower) status have to exert greater efforts at work to control their emotions, and those efforts substantially compromise the workers' psychological well-being. Indeed, the analysis of the consequences of emotion management by the context in which the workers manage their

[43] In my analysis of the pilot data, with a sample of Vanderbilt University employees, I also found significant positive relationships among emotion management, inauthenticity, and psychological distress.

emotions indicated that although workers perform emotion management when working with subordinates, the emotion management that is performed around a boss or a manager is significantly more distressing for workers than that performed around lower status workers.

While these analyses revealed a clear link between emotion management and negative psychological consequences, the causal direction of this relationship must be addressed. The data collected for this dissertation are cross sectional, and as such, causal direction of the relationship between emotion management and psychological well-being cannot be ascertained. Although the literature suggests that work requirements influence psychological well-being (e.g., workers studied in qualitative investigations described how their job requirements made them feel) (Hochschild 1983; Hall 1993; Rogers 1995), it is possible that workers who are distressed perform greater amounts of emotion management at work than non-distressed workers. However, the findings in the analyses of the management of specific emotions do support my assertion that emotion management precedes psychological distress. When controlling for the amount of the specific emotion that a worker experiences, the management of each emotion is still significantly associated with heightened levels of psychological distress. If distress were the precursor of emotion management, we would expect distressed workers to experience more negative emotions at work and therefore have to perform more emotion management. Controlling for the amount of agitation and sadness a worker experiences at work did not, however, explain the negative psychological effects of managing each negative emotion at work. Thus, although causal relationships cannot be established definitively in analyses with cross-sectional data, there is evidence that the relationships found here occur in the sequence I (and others) assume. However, the directionality of the relationships found in this dissertation can only be truly verified with the collection of longitudinal data.

Moderators

The final way in which this dissertation extends the current sociology of emotion research is by identifying two key moderators of the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress: self-concept orientation, and objective and subjective occupational prestige. Although the predicted model was not fully supported, I found significant moderation effects for each of the factors that I examined. Two of the moderator effects can be explained using the same theoretical reasoning in which I grounded my hypotheses. First, offering support for Gordon's (1989) theory of the selective appropriation of emotions to the self, I found that the consequences of emotion management depend on a worker's self-concept orientation. Workers who are impulsively oriented (those who believe that their true self is revealed when they are not bound by norms of emotional expression) are significantly more distressed by the emotion management that they perform at work than workers who are institutionally orientated. In contrast, by following institutionalized emotional display rules, institutionally oriented workers feel most like themselves (i.e., are revealing their true selves) and are thus not as negatively impacted by workplace emotion management. Furthermore, in addition to offering support for Gordon's (1989) theory of emotions, this finding also supports Turner's (1976) original assertion that individuals may take one of two orientations to their self-concept—institutional or impulsive.[44]

In addition, both objective and subjective occupational prestige significantly moderated the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress. The location of the moderation effect was different from what I hypothesized—I expected that prestige would

[44] One-quarter of the sample gave responses on Turner's measure that indicated in institutional orientation, while 45% of the sample provided responses that indicated an impulsive orientation.

decrease the negative effects of inauthenticity on psychological distress. Nevertheless, the same theoretical reasoning holds. Workers in highly prestigious occupations and those who feel respected for their work were significantly less distressed than other workers by emotion management in the workplace. The psychological benefits of prestige and receiving esteem from others offset the negative impact of emotion management.

In contrast to the findings for self-concept and occupational prestige, the role of emotion management efficacy in moderating the emotion management—distress link was less clear. I found that the interaction of inauthenticity and emotion management efficacy negatively affects psychological distress, indicating that workers who believe that they are effective emotion managers were less distressed by feelings of inauthenticity than were workers who felt less successful at controlling their emotions at work. Further consideration of this finding, however, led me to perform an additional analysis. Specifically, while the effect appeared to support my hypothesis, it is possible that the feelings of inauthenticity were unrelated to performing emotion management. In other words, although emotion management efficacy lessened the distressing effect of inauthenticity on workers, I could not be sure that the inauthenticity that workers experienced was due to performing emotion management. Therefore, I tested for a three-way interaction among emotion management, inauthenticity, and emotion management efficacy. The three-way interaction was significant in the model; the direction of the effect, however, was opposite of what I expected—positive rather than negative. This means that workers who believe that they are effective in their emotion management performances are actually more distressed by the feelings of inauthenticity that occur with emotion management than are workers who are less confident in their abilities. I suggested two possible explanations for this finding. First, workers who take pride in their emotion management may not expect to experience

inauthenticity when they perform emotion management and are thus particularly distressed when feelings of inauthenticity accompany emotion management. Second, there is a line of psychological research which argues that individuals who are bad at certain tasks are unable to recognize their failures and, therefore, give themselves overly favorable ratings on their abilities (Dunning, Johnson, Ehrlinger, & Kruger 2003; Kruger & Dunning 1999; Colvin & Block 1994). If this is the case, the ratings of effective and ineffective emotion managers may not be distinguishable, and might obscure the moderator relationship. While this may be a plausible explanation for my unexpected findings, additional data are needed to test this conjecture.

Implications

By illustrating the antecedents of emotion management in the workplace and examining multiple forms of emotion management, this dissertation adds substantially to the emotion management literature. My findings further understanding of the types of jobs that necessitate emotion management. In the past, some researchers have assumed that emotion management is important only in service occupations and have analyzed the performance of emotion management using occupational-level measures or only among workers in service-oriented occupations. As shown here, occupational-level measures are insufficient proxies for emotion management. Thus, to study emotion management processes in the workplace, it is necessary to move beyond simply looking at a worker’s occupation. Previous quantitative studies assessing the consequences of emotion management using occupational-level measures have misidentified the types of workers who perform emotion management; this measurement strategy may be responsible for the inconsistent findings of previous research on the psychological effects of emotion management (Wharton 1993; Erickson & Wharton 1997; Erickson & Ritter 2001).

In addition, by understanding the characteristics of a job that shape the amount of emotion management required in the job, we can gain a better understanding of the emotional demands placed on workers and also identify the types of workers most at risk for the negative psychological consequences associated with emotion management. I found that workers in lower status positions (including those in low positions in the workplace hierarchy), those who do not feel that they can influence others in the workplace, and those who perform jobs in which they lack power (i.e., low complexity and low control jobs), perform substantial amounts of emotion management at work. By performing extensive emotion management, which heightens psychological distress, these low status workers are particularly disadvantaged.

Finally, although emotion management negatively affects the psychological well-being of workers, the moderator analyses revealed that certain workers fare better than others. Manipulating the moderators of the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress may be a way to lessen the emotional demands of working for workers. For example, because my analyses revealed that subjective prestige lessens the distressing effects of emotion management, taking steps to help workers feel respected for their work may help counter the negative effects that emotion management produces. In addition, because complexity of work and control over work both associated with lower emotion management and increased psychological well-being, altering these job characteristics could have a profound impact on the worker well-being. Furthermore, simply recognizing the efforts that workers exert to manage their emotions at work may help create a better understanding of and awareness of the emotional demands placed upon different workers.

In addition, the finding that a worker's self-concept orientation affects the influence of emotion management on her well-being calls for further attention to the need for addressing the

negative consequences of emotion management in the workplace. Gordon (1989) argued that people in the U.S. are moving towards an emphasis on the impulsive self-concept orientation-focus on interpreting "spontaneous" emotion as genuine; thus, emotion management may be detrimental for increasing numbers of workers in the future.

Future Research

While this dissertation extends the current state of emotion management research, several questions remain. For example, Lively (2000) found that coworkers help each other deal with their emotions at work using a process she termed reciprocal emotion management. Whereas workers manage their emotion when interacting with individuals of higher or lower status, coworkers of equal status may turn to each other for emotional support, and this may help them deal with the stress of emotion management. In anticipation of the potential importance of coworkers in the emotion management process, I included measures of coworker support in the *Work Experiences Questionnaire* to enable me to assess the impact of emotional support from coworkers on the relationship between emotion management and psychological well-being. Although beyond the scope of this dissertation, I plan to investigate this topic in future research.

In addition, some research on emotion management in the workplace has focused on the experience and expression of anger (e.g., Hochschild 1983; Erickson & Ritter 2001; Sloan 2004). Because I found significant relationships between status and the experience and expression of agitation and also between the management of agitation and psychological distress, it would be interesting to also consider the experience and expression of workplace anger. In future research, I intend to analyze the "anger module" of the questionnaire, in which respondents

provided details about a specific experience of anger at work and their reaction to that anger.[45] Conducting a more detailed analysis of the experience and expression of work-related anger may also contribute to our understanding of gender differences in anger expression (e.g., Simon & Nath 2004; Ross & Van Willigen 1996). Gaining an insight into the nature of the experience of workplace anger may help explain why women tended to manage their anger at work more so than men. (Recall that men and women in my sample experienced similar amounts of anger in the workplace.)

Additional variables that I have included in the questionnaire that may affect the management of emotion in the workplace include union membership, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards work in general. Membership in the Tennessee State Employee's (TSEA) association, for example, may provide workers with an outlet in which to express their work-related frustrations. In a manner similar to that in which I expect coworker support to function, belonging to the TSEA may lessen the negative psychological impact of emotion management on workers. Furthermore, factors such as organizational commitment and work attitudes may affect the amount of emotion management that workers perform. Committed workers and those who value work may place a greater importance on managing emotions at work in order to be successful (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey 1993). Again, while the consideration of these variables is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I intend to consider these factors in future research.

Finally, in order to extend research on emotion management in the workplace even further, future efforts should be aimed at collecting additional data. As my survey was the first to consider workers in a wide variety of occupations and to include several measures of worker

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[45] This section of the *Work Experiences Questionnaire* was modeled after the 1996 GSS

status, the data have limitations. For example, the data were collected only from Tennessee state employees. In order to further generalize this research, for example, to make broad policy recommendations, similar data should be collected from workers in the private sector. Subsequent research might address the potential difference between workers in the public and private sectors in the extent of emotion management that they perform and the consequences of that emotion management. To illustrate, many respondents in my sample indicated that they feel that the general public does not respect state employees. How might this affect their emotion management compared to that of workers in the private sector? Do state workers perform more emotion management because of this perceived lack of respect? If private sector workers believe that they receive more respect for their work than public sector workers, would the negative effects of emotion management be greater for public sector workers than for similar private sector workers? These and other questions may be addressed with future survey data collection.

Conclusion

In this dissertation, I investigated the antecedents and consequences of emotion management in the workplace, testing theories brought together from previous emotion and social psychological research. I collected data with a mail survey of 2,500 Tennessee state employees. This data collection is thus far the most comprehensive quantitative survey of a large sample of workers in a variety of occupations. The results shed light on the emotional experiences and behaviors of many types of workers, contributed to the sociology of emotion literature in a number of ways, and were generally consistent with my hypotheses. As noted, based on the work of Hochschild (1983), early research on emotion management focused on

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anger module.

emotional labor, and has tended to concentrate on workers in service occupations. As subsequent qualitative research has revealed, however, emotion management is important in many types of jobs—not only those that are service-oriented—and the results of this dissertation confirm the arguments of qualitative emotion researchers. My findings also support those of the previous qualitative and experimental researchers who have revealed status patterns in emotional behavior. Finally, I was able to identify moderators of the relationship between emotion management and psychological distress, namely, self-concept orientation, occupational prestige, and emotion management efficacy.

In addition to my contributions to our understanding of the causes and consequences of emotion management in the workplace, my findings also suggest that researchers should work to understand how the consequences of emotion management could be mitigated. As shown in this dissertation, manipulating the complexity of a worker's job, the control she has over her work, and making the worker feel respected for her work are just a few of the ways that the detrimental effects of emotion management may be lessened. Future research should be aimed at not only assessing the extent of emotion management and its effects in various work settings but also at determining the mechanisms through which we can lessen the emotional burden of working for workers.

APPENDIX A

WORK EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Work Experiences Questionnaire

An Anonymous Survey of Tennessee State Employees

Principal Investigator

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Department of Sociology

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toll free phone: 1-866-383-9774
email: work.study.sloan@vanderbilt.edu

Faculty Advisor:
Dr. Karen E. Campbell
Department of Sociology

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Work Experiences Questionnaire

SECTION A: **In this first section we ask some questions about your state job.**

A.1. **Is your current job the first job you've ever had with the state of Tennessee? Please circle your answer.**

1 Yes
2 No

A.2. **About how long have you worked in the job you now have with the state?**

1 Less than 1 year
2 1 to 2 years
3 3 to 4 years
4 5 to 10 years
5 11 to 15 years
6 16 to 20 years
7 More than 21 years

A.3. **What is your job title? That is, what is the name of your position with the state of Tennessee? (For example, clerk 3, purchasing agent 1, drafting technician, heavy equipment operator, security guard 1, biologist 3, personnel assistant, etc.)**

____

(Please write your job title above.)

A.4. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about work? Please circle a number for each statement.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would enjoy having a paying job even if I did not need the money.	1	2	3	4	5
Work is a person's most important activity.	1	2	3	4	5
A job is just a way of earning money, nothing more.	1	2	3	4	5

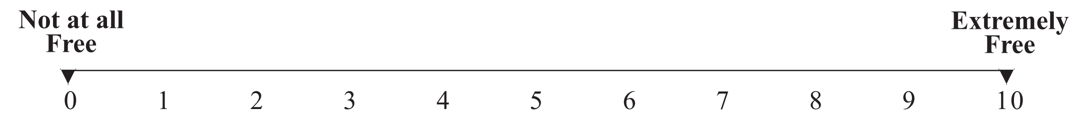
A.5. **Is there anyone who supervises your work or who you report directly to, such as a boss or manager?**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**A.8**)

A.6. **If yes, how many people do you directly report to?**

1 1
2 2
3 3
4 4 or 5
5 More than 5

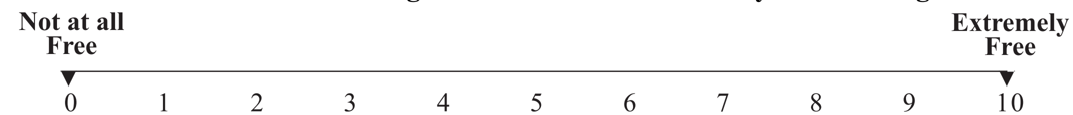
A.7. **In general, how free do you feel to disagree with the people who you report to? Please circle a number below; 0 means not at all free to disagree and 10 means extremely free to disagree.**



A.8. **On a typical day, about how many coworkers, or people in your work group, do you work with? (For example, working together with others on a project or job.)**

1 0 (IF 0, SKIP TO #**A.10**)
2 1 to 2
3 3 to 5
4 6 to 10
5 More than 11

A.9. **In general, how free do you feel to disagree with your coworkers or those in your work group? Please circle a number below; 0 means not at all free to disagree and 10 means extremely free to disagree.**



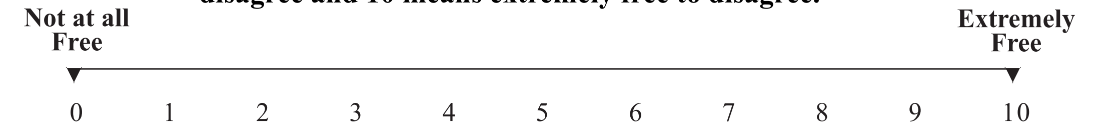
A.10. **Do you supervise anyone at work?**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**A.13**)

A.11. **If yes, how many people do you supervise?**

1 1
2 2
3 3 to 4
4 5 to 6
5 7 to 10
6 11 to 19
7 More than 20

A.12. **In general, how free do you feel to disagree with the worker(s) you supervise? Please circle a number below; 0 means not at all free to disagree and 10 means extremely free to disagree.**



A.13. **On a typical day, about how much time do you spend helping or working directly with the different groups listed below? Please circle a number for each group.**

	None of my time	Some of my time	A lot of my time	Most of my time	Almost all of my time
Customers or clients	1	2	3	4	5
Supervisors, managers, or bosses	1	2	3	4	5
People who you supervise	1	2	3	4	5
Coworkers	1	2	3	4	5

A.14. **On a typical day, about how many clients and/or customers do you talk to or help?**

1 0
2 1 to 5
3 6 to 10
4 11 to 20
5 More than 20

A.15. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the type of work you do? Please circle a number for each.**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Given the chance, I would change my present type of work for something different.	1	2	3	4	5
There is a lot of variety in the kinds of things I do at work.	1	2	3	4	5
I keep learning new things in my job.	1	2	3	4	5
My job requires that I do the same things over and over.	1	2	3	4	5
My job allows me to make a lot of decisions on my own.	1	2	3	4	5
I have a lot of influence over the people I work with.	1	2	3	4	5
My job involves too much work to do everything well.	1	2	3	4	5
My supervisor decides how my work tasks should be done.	1	2	3	4	5
I have flexibility in my work to decide when to do different tasks.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud of the type of work I do.	1	2	3	4	5
I am respected for the work that I do.	1	2	3	4	5
My work gives me a chance to do the things I enjoy.	1	2	3	4	5
In general, I am satisfied with my job.	1	2	3	4	5

A.16. **Did you receive any training or instruction at work for how to act when you talk to customers or clients as part of your job?**

1 Yes
2 No

A.17. **Please rank the following in order of their importance in your job, using numbers 1 to 5; 1 means most important and 5 means least important. Please use each number just once.**

It is important for my job that:

______ I act friendly to others.

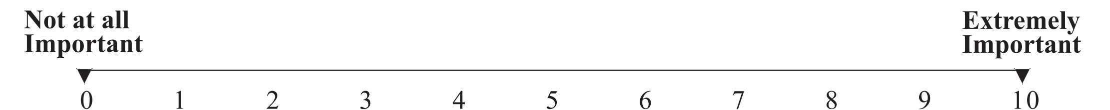
______ I maintain good relationships with my coworkers.

______ I work quickly.

______ I keep an emotional distance from my work.

______ I have good organizational skills.

A.18. **For the item above that you ranked as most important (1), please circle a number below to show how important this is for your job; 0 means not at all important and 10 means extremely important.**



A.19. **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about working for the state of Tennessee?**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am willing to work harder than I have to so the state of Tennessee can be successful.	1	2	3	4	5
I would turn down another job that offered quite a bit more pay in order to keep working for the state.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to be working for the state of Tennessee.	1	2	3	4	5

A.20. **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your feelings towards your work?**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel most like myself when I am at work.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I make a good impression on the people I work with.	1	2	3	4	5
My work gives me a chance to be the person I want to be.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I cannot express my true self at work.	1	2	3	4	5
I basically have to become a different person when I am at work.	1	2	3	4	5
I worry that my job is hardening me emotionally.	1	2	3	4	5

A.21. **Below are six statements that people sometimes make about discovering who they really are. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement?**

The way to find out who you really are is to:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
work hard at a difficult and challenging task.	1	2	3	4	5
help someone who needs your assistance.	1	2	3	4	5
forget duties and inhibitions and just do whatever you feel like doing.	1	2	3	4	5
tell your deepest feelings to someone you trust.	1	2	3	4	5
see how other people react to you.	1	2	3	4	5
be successful at your job.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION B: In this next section we ask questions about your relationships with other people in your workplace.

B.1. **How many of the people who you work with would you say are your close friends?**

0 None
1 1
2 2 to 3
3 4 to 6
4 7 to 10
5 More than 10

B.2. **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your coworkers (or the people you work with)?**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel that I can talk to my coworkers about personal difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
I often help coworkers deal with their emotional problems.	1	2	3	4	5
The people I work with do not take a personal interest in me.	1	2	3	4	5
I have difficulty handling interactions with coworkers.	1	2	3	4	5
When things get tough, there are people at work that I can turn to for help.	1	2	3	4	5
My coworkers come to me for help with personal problems.	1	2	3	4	5
My coworkers rely on me to help them handle their problems with other workers.	1	2	3	4	5
I enjoy helping coworkers when they have personal difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION C: This section asks about emotions you may have felt recently.

C.1. Please think of the past week (the 7 days before today). On how many of those days did you feel each of the following? Please circle one number for each feeling.

	Number of days							
feel that you couldn't shake the blues?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel calm?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel outraged at something somebody had done?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel happy?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel sad?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel ashamed of something you'd done?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel excited about or interested in something?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel lonely?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel fearful about something that might happen to you?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel overjoyed about something?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
worry a lot about little things?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel contented?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel anxious or tense?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel so restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel mad at something or someone?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel embarrassed about something?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel proud of something you'd done?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
feel depressed?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

C.2. How much do you agree or disagree with each statement about your emotions?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I often have trouble understanding my emotions.	1	2	3	4	5
When I am angry I let people know.	1	2	3	4	5
I am not afraid to let people know my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
I don't tell my friends something that I think will upset them.	1	2	3	4	5
I am 'in touch' with my emotions.	1	2	3	4	5
I keep my emotions to myself.	1	2	3	4	5
I try to be pleasant so that others won't get upset.	1	2	3	4	5
Sometimes I am not sure what my true feelings are.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION D: In this next section we are interested in the emotions that you experience while you are at work.

D.1. How often do you...

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
feel happy at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel anxious or tense at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel proud at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel angry at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel excited at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel irritated at work?	1	2	3	4	5
feel sad at work?	1	2	3	4	5

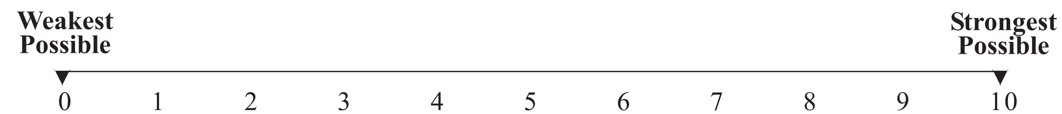
D.2. **How much do you hide or change each of the following emotions when you are at work? (For example, acting like you are not angry, when you really are.)**

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	I never experience this emotion at work
Anger	1	2	3	4	5	0
Happiness	1	2	3	4	5	0
Irritation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Excitement	1	2	3	4	5	0
Nervousness	1	2	3	4	5	0
Anxiety	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sadness	1	2	3	4	5	0

D.3. **Please try to remember a time in the past week (the 7 days before today) when you were really angry. Can you remember feeling this way in the past week?**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**D.8**)

D.4. **How angry were you? Please rate how strong or intense your anger was on a scale of 0 to 10; 0 being the weakest possible and 10 being the strongest possible.**



D.5. **Did you feel it was right to feel angry at that time, or did it seem wrong to you somehow? (For example, anger was the wrong emotion to feel at the time or your anger was too strong.) Please circle a number to show how right or wrong your anger felt to you; 0 means completely wrong and 10 means completely right.**

D.6. **Did you feel this anger while you were at work?**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**D.8**)

D.7. **If you were angry with someone that you work with, please fill out the items below:**

Were you angry at...		Did you speak to this person about your anger?	Did you talk to someone else at work about this anger?	Did you try to hide your feelings?	Did you cope with this anger some other way?
a boss, supervisor, or manager?	no yes →	no yes	no yes	no yes	no yes
a customer or client?	no yes →	no yes	no yes	no yes	no yes
someone you supervise?	no yes →	no yes	no yes	no yes	no yes
a coworker or someone in your work group?	no yes →	no yes	no yes	no yes	no yes

D.8. **How often do you feel you are treated unfairly by the following people at work?**

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	I do not work with these people
Coworkers	1	2	3	4	5	0
Customers or clients	1	2	3	4	5	0
Supervisor(s)	1	2	3	4	5	0
People you supervise	1	2	3	4	5	0
Other people you work with	1	2	3	4	5	

D.9. **When you are at work do you ever have to hide how you feel or change your emotions so that you can do your job properly? (For example, showing that you are happy when you really are upset at work.)**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**D.11**)

D.10. **Do you hide or change your emotions when you are around your supervisor(s), coworkers, clients, customers, and/or people you supervise? Circle all that apply.**

1 Supervisor(s)
2 Coworkers
3 Clients
4 Customers
5 People you supervise
6 Other (please write in)________________________

D.11. **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about the emotional requirements of your job?**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
At work I have to be nice to people no matter how they treat me.	1	2	3	4	5
At work I keep my emotions to myself.	1	2	3	4	5
I am unable to express my true feelings to the people I work with.	1	2	3	4	5
I put a lot of effort into keeping my emotions separate from my work.	1	2	3	4	5
My work does not involve much emotional feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
I express my emotions freely when I am at work.	1	2	3	4	5
My emotions influence the way I do my work.	1	2	3	4	5
To do my job, I separate my personal feelings from my duties.	1	2	3	4	5

D.12. **How much time do you spend at work doing each of the following things?**

	None of my time	Some of my time	A lot of my time	Most of my time	Almost all of my time
Helping coworkers deal with stresses and difficulties at work	1	2	3	4	5
Covering your own feelings to appear pleasant at work	1	2	3	4	5
Helping coworkers feel better about themselves	1	2	3	4	5
Acting friendly to others in the workplace	1	2	3	4	5
Listening to the problems of other workers	1	2	3	4	5
Hiding your feelings from others at work	1	2	3	4	5

D.13. **How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?**

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I take pride in my ability to show the proper emotions when I am at work.	1	2	3	4	5
When I am at work, I am unsure of what my 'real' feelings are.	1	2	3	4	5
The emotional demands that I face at work affect my personal life.	1	2	3	4	5
The way I act at work is very different from the way I act at home.	1	2	3	4	5
Sometimes I feel that my efforts to please others at work are not appreciated.	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud of my ability to provide good customer or client service.	1	2	3	4	5
I am skilled at dealing with customers and/or clients.	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION E: This last section asks about your background characteristics.

E.1. **In what year were you born?**

19_______

E.2. **What is your sex?**

1 Female
2 Male

E.3. **How would you describe yourself?**

1 Asian or Asian-American
2 Black or African-American
3 Hispanic
4 Native American or American Indian
5 White or Caucasian
6 Something else_____________ (please write in)

E.4. **What is your religious preference?**

1 Catholic
2 Jewish
3 Protestant
4 No religion
5 Something else_____________ (please write in)

E.5. **What is your current marital status?**

1 Married
2 Divorced
3 Separated
4 Widowed
5 Never married

E.6. **Do you have any children under the age of 18?**

1 Yes
2 No (IF NO, SKIP TO #**E.8**)

E.7. **If yes, how many of your children under the age of 18 are living at home with you?**

0 0
1 1
2 2 or 3
3 4 or 5
4 6 or more

E.8. **What is the highest grade or year of school you have completed?**

1 No formal schooling
2 Elementary school
3 Some high school
4 High school degree or GED
5 Some college
6 Associate or junior college degree
7 4-year college degree
8 Some graduate school
9 Graduate or professional degree

E.9. **What is the highest grade or year of school your father or male guardian completed?**

1 No formal schooling
2 Elementary school
3 Some high school
4 High school degree or GED
5 Some college
6 Associate or junior college degree
7 4-year college degree
8 Some graduate school
9 Graduate or professional degree
10 Don't know

E.10. **What is the highest grade or year of school your mother or female guardian completed?**

1 No formal schooling
2 Elementary school
3 Some high school
4 High school degree or GED
5 Some college
6 Associate or junior college degree
7 4-year college degree
8 Some graduate school
9 Graduate or professional degree
10 Don't know

E.11. **If you were asked to use one of four names for your social class, which would you say you belong in?**

1 Lower class
2 Working class
3 Middle class
4 Upper class

E.12. **Which best describes your job with the state?**

1 Accounting, fiscal management or statistics
(e.g., accountant, auditor, economist, etc.)

2 Administrative, office, or clerical
(e.g., clerk, purchasing agent, personnel assistant, data entry operator, etc.)

3 Architect, engineer, drafting, or surveying
(e.g., cartographer, drafting technician, roadway specialist, etc.)

4 Arts, library, or museum services
(e.g., archivist, librarian, photographer, records manager, etc.)

5 Biological or physical sciences
(e.g., chemist environmental specialist, geologist, etc.)

6 Health care
(e.g., physician, nurse, dental assistant, etc.)

7 Information systems or telecommunications
(e.g., communications dispatcher, systems programmer, telephone operator, etc.)

8 Public safety
(e.g., attorney, fire fighter, security guard, park attendant, correctional officer, etc.)

9 Service or maintenance
(e.g., food worker, groundskeeper, housekeeper, highway maintenance worker, etc.)

10 Skilled crafts or trades
(e.g., boiler operator, mechanic, heavy equipment operator, carpenter, etc.)

11. Social, human, or employment services
(e.g., case manager, chaplain, eligibility counselor, teacher, personnel analyst, etc.)

E.13. **Are you a member of the TSEA (Tennessee State Employees' Association)?**

1 Yes
2 No

E.14. **In a typical week, about how many hours do you work at your state job?**

1 Less than 30 hours
2 31 to 35 hours
3 36 to 40 hours
4 41 to 45 hours
5 46 to 50 hours
6 More than 50 hours

E.15. **In which of these groups does your annual personal income from your wages, salary, or other sources fall?**

1 Less than $8,000
2 $8,001 to $10,000
3 $10,001 to $20,000
4 $20,001 to $30,000
5 $30,001 to $40,000
6 $40,001 to $50,000
7 $50,001 to $60,000
8 $60,001 to $80,000
9 More than $80,000

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire!

If you have anything that you would like to add about your relationships at work or how your work affects your emotional life, please feel free to write your comments in the space below:

____

____

____

____

Please return your completed questionnaire in the envelope provided. Please send the return postcard separately. Thank you!

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE CONTACT LETTERS

Pre-Notice Letter

<Date>

<Name>
<Address 1>
<Address 2>

Dear <Name>:

A few days from now you will receive in the mail a brief questionnaire for a research project that I am conducting as part of my dissertation research. I am a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at Vanderbilt University who is collecting information about the feelings that workers have toward their everyday work activities. The Department of Personnel has agreed to participate in this study by providing the names and addresses of randomly selected Career Service employees.

It is important to know that this study is not being conducted for the benefit of the state and the results of this study will not be shared with Tennessee state officials.

The questionnaire will take about 15 to 30 minutes to complete.

I am writing in advance because we have found that many people like to know ahead of time that they will be contacted. Data from this study may help researchers understand the daily experience of people at work.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Melissa Sloan
Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology

[Karen E. Campbell, Advisor
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology]

Cover Letter

<Date>

<Name>
<Address 1>
<Address 2>

Dear <Name>:

I am writing to ask for your help in a study of workers that I am conducting as part of my graduate student research in the Department of Sociology Department at Vanderbilt University. The study is an effort to learn about the feelings that people have towards the work that they do. I hope that the results of this study will help reveal the experiences that different people have at work each day.

The State of Tennessee Department of Personnel has agreed to participate in this study and has provided me with names and addresses for a random sample of Career Service state employees. You have been randomly selected to participate in this study.

If you are willing to participate, please fill out the questionnaire included with this letter and mail it back to me in the enclosed stamped envelope. It should only take about 20 to 30 minutes to complete, and your answers will remain anonymous. Your individual answers will never be identified. Please do not put your name anywhere on the questionnaire.

With the questionnaire there is a postcard with a identification number on it. When you complete and return the questionnaire to me, please send the postcard separately. The number will allow me to delete your name from the mailing list without being able to tell which questionnaire is yours.

This questionnaire is voluntary and participation in this study will have absolutely no effect on your employment. This research is not being conducted on behalf of the state, and Tennessee state officials will not have access to the information on your questionnaire. If you are willing to participate, please take a few minutes to share your thoughts and feelings about the work that you do. Once you return your questionnaire, your answers can never be linked to your name, so I will not be able to return the questionnaire to you or exclude it from the study. If for some reason you prefer not to respond, please let me know by returning the postcard and checking the box that states you do not wish to be contacted again.

I have enclosed a small token of appreciation as my way of saying thanks for your help.

If you have any questions or comments about this study, I would be happy to talk with you. You may call me at 615-383-9778 or 1-866-383-9774 (toll-free), write to me at the address on the letterhead, or email me at work.study.sloan@vanderbilt.edu. You may also contact the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board Office, toll-free, at 1-866-224-8273 if you any questions or concerns about this study.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Melissa Sloan
Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology

[Karen E. Campbell, Advisor
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology]

Thank You/Reminder

September 20, 2004

Last week a questionnaire that asked about the work that you do was mailed to you. Your name was randomly drawn from a list of Career Service Tennessee State employees to receive this questionnaire. The study is part of my graduate student research and is not being conducted for the state. Tennessee State officials will not have access to any information that you provide.

If you have already completed and returned the questionnaire, please accept my sincere thanks. I am especially grateful for your help because it is only by asking people like you to share your experiences that we can understand the working lives of individuals.

If you did not receive a questionnaire, or if it was misplaced, please call me at 1-866-383-9774, or email me at work.study.sloan@vanderbilt.edu, and I will send another one to you today.

Sincerely,

Melissa Sloan,
Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology
P.O. Box 331927
Nashville, TN 37203-7518

Replacement Questionnaire

October 5, 2004

FIELD(7) FIELD(9) FIELD(11)
FIELD(13)
FIELD(14), FIELD(15) FIELD(16)

Dear FIELD(8) FIELD(12):

About four weeks ago I sent a questionnaire to you that asked about your daily experiences at work. I hope that you will be able to fill out the questionnaire. As of October 5th, I have not received your return postcard.

The comments of people who have already responded include a wide variety of work experiences. Many have described the feelings they have at work, both good and bad. The results of this study may be a useful contribution to knowledge of the everyday working lives of individuals.

I am writing again because I hope to hear from as many people as possible. I believe that each person has different experiences at work to share.

Some people have sent back their return postcards indicating that they do not wish to participate. If you do not want to participate in this study, please check the box on the postcard that says you do not wish to be contacted again and sent it back to me. I will exclude you from any future mailings.

It is important for you to know that your answers to this questionnaire are anonymous. I will not be able to link your answers to your name. If you return the questionnaire in the enclosed envelope and then return the enclosed postcard separately, your answers to the questionnaire will not be associated with any personally identifying information. Also, your participation in this study will have absolutely no effect on your employment. While the Tennessee State Department of Personnel has agreed to participate in this study, the study is not being conducted for the benefit of the state. Tennessee State officials will not have access to your questionnaire.

When I receive your postcard, I will delete your name from my mailing list. Protecting the identity of participants is very important to me.

I hope that you will fill out and return the questionnaire soon, but if you prefer not to answer it, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Melissa Sloan
Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology

[Karen E. Campbell, Advisor
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology]

P.S. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me. My telephone number is 1-866-383-9774 and my email address is work.study.sloan@vanderbilt.edu.

Final Contact

<Date>

<Name>
<Address 1>
<Address 2>

Dear <Name>:

During the last three months I have sent you several mailings about a research study I am conducting in the Department of Sociology at Vanderbilt.

Its purpose is to help researchers better understand the feelings that workers experience while on the job and what they think about the work that they do.

The study is drawing to a close, and I am contacting people who have not returned the postcard that was mailed with the questionnaire.

I am sending this final contact because people who have not responded may have different experiences at work than those who have responded. Hearing from everyone in this small sample of state employees will help make sure that a wide variety of experiences are represented.

I also want to assure you that your participation in this study is voluntary and anonymous. This study is not being conducted by the state and the results of the study will not be shared with Tennessee State officials. If you prefer not to participate in this study please let me know on your postcard. If you have not received a questionnaire, please contact me by telephone at 615-383-9778 or 1-866-383-9774 (toll-free) or by email at work.study.sloan@vanderbilt.edu and I will send you one immediately. This would be very helpful.

Finally, I appreciate your cooperation as I conclude this study of the work experiences of Career Service employees. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Melissa Sloan
Doctoral Student, Department of Sociology

[Karen E. Campbell, Advisor
Associate Professor, Department of Sociology]

APPENDIX C

MEASURES INCLUDED IN THE WORK EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE

MEASURES INCLUDED IN THE WORK EXPERIENCES QUESTIONNAIRE

Emotion Management:

General emotion management:

At work I have to be nice to people no matter how they treat me. (P.)
I express my emotions freely when I am at work.
I am unable to express my true feelings to the people I work with. (P.)
At work I keep my emotions to myself.

Scored on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Amount of time spent:
Covering your own feelings to appear pleasant at work. (P.)
Acting friendly to others in the workplace. (P.)
Hiding your feelings from others at work.

Rated 1 (none of my time) to 5 (almost all of my time).

Management of specific emotions:

Amount of time workers "hide or change each of the following emotions when they are at work": anger, happiness, irritation, excitement, and sadness. (E. & R.)

Rated 1 (never) to 5 (always).

Maintenance of affective neutrality:

I put a lot of effort into keeping my emotions separate from my work.
To do my job, I separate my feelings from my duties.

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Inauthenticity:

The way I act at work is very different from the way I act at home.
I feel that I cannot express my true self when I am at work. (E. & R.)
I basically have to become a different person when I am at work. (E. & R.)
I often have trouble understanding my emotions.
Sometimes I am not sure what my true feelings are.
I am 'in touch' with my emotions.
When I am at work, I am unsure of what my 'real' feelings are. (E. & R.)

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Note: (P.) indicates the measure was adapted from Pugliesi (1999) and (E. & R.) indicates the measure was adapted from Erickson and Ritter (2001).

<u>Extent of Interaction with Others</u>:

Amount of time spent working directly with the following groups of people: customers or clients; supervisors, managers or bosses; people the respondent supervises; and coworkers.

Rated 1 (none of my time) to 5 (almost all of my time).

<u>Interactional Context of Emotion Management</u>:

"Do you hide or change your emotions when you are around your supervisor(s), coworkers, clients, customers, and/or people you supervise? Circle all that apply."

<u>Workplace Status</u>:

Position within the workplace hierarchy:

"Is there anyone who supervises your work or who you report directly to, such as a boss or manager?" yes/no

"If yes, how many people do you directly report to?" 1, 2, 3, 4 or 4, more than 5

"Do you supervise anyone at work?" yes/no

"If yes, how many people do you supervise?" 1, 2, 3 to 4, 5 to 6, 7 to 10, 11 to 19, more than 20

Subjective status:

I have a lot of influence over the people I work with.

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

<u>Job Characteristics</u>:

Substantive complexity:

There is a lot of variety in the kinds of things I do at work.

I keep learning new things in my job.

My job requires that I do the same things over and over.

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Control over work:

My job allows me to make a lot of decisions on my own.

I have flexibility in my work to decide when to do different tasks.

My supervisor decides how my work tasks should be done.

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Psychological Distress:

> "Please think of the past week (the 7 days before today). On how many of those days did you feel each of the following? Please circle one number for each feeling:
> felt that she/he couldn't shake the blues, sad, lonely, happy, calm, fearful, worried, anxious, and restless

Emotion Management Efficacy:

> I am proud of my ability to provide good customer or client service.
> I am skilled at dealing with customers and/or clients.
> I take pride in my ability to show the proper emotions when I am at work.

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Self-Concept Orientation:

> "The way to find out who you really are is.... to work hard at a difficult and challenging task, to help someone who needs your assistance, to forget duties and inhibitions and do just whatever you feel like doing, to tell your deepest feelings to someone you trust."

Rated 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).
Adapted from Turner (1975)

Occupational Category:

How would you classify your work?

1. Accounting, fiscal management, or statistics (e.g., accountant, actuary, auditor, economist, etc.)
2. Administrative, office, or clerical (e.g., clerk, messenger, purchasing agent, storekeeper, secretary, typist, data entry operator, personnel assistant, etc.)
3. Architect, engineer, drafting, or surveying (e.g., cartographer, drafting technician, roadway specialist, transportation technician, etc.)
4. Arts, library, museum services (e.g., archivist, librarian, photographer, records manager, etc.)
5. Biological or physical sciences (excluding health care) (e.g., chemist, environmental specialist, geologist, microbiologist, etc.)
6. Health care (e.g., physician, nurse, dietician, developmental technician, dental assistant, psychologist, etc.)
7. Information systems or telecommunications (e.g., information resource specialist, communications dispatcher, systems programmer, telephone operator, etc.)
8. Public safety (e.g., attorney, fire fighter, security guard, park attendant or ranger, correctional officer, trooper, wildlife officer, etc.)
9. Service or maintenance (e.g., highway maintenance worker, laborer, laundry of food worker, truck driver, custodian, housekeeper groundskeeper, welcome center assistant, etc.)
10. Skilled crafts or trades (e.g., boiler operator, mechanic, electrician, heavy equipment operator, carpenter, etc.)
11. Social, human, or employment services (e.g., case manager, disability claims examiner, chaplain, eligibility counselor, social counselor, teacher, personnel analyst, etc.)

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES

Table D.1. OLS Regression of Affective Neutrality on Status, Interaction with Others, and Controls

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
	b	β		
Hierarchical Status	.039**	.122	.042***	.132
	(.013)		(.013)	
Subjective Influence	.003	.004	.024	.030
	(.026)		(.025)	
Time Spent with:				
Supervisors	.038	.045	.015	.017
	(.027)		(.026)	
Customers/Clients	.109***	.164	.082***	.124
	(.020)		(.020)	
Coworkers	-.034	-.050	-.033	-.048
	(.022)		(.021)	
Subordinates	.021	.034	-.009	-.015
	(.025)		(.024)	
Tenure in Job	-.009	-.022	-.006	-.016
	(.013)		(.012)	
Job Complexity	-.049***	-.122	-.032***	-.098
	(.010)		(.009)	
Control over Work	-.006	-.017	.007	.020
	(.011)		(.010)	
Occupational Category:[a]				
Office/Administrative	-.182*	-.100	-.198**	-.109
	(.071)		(.068)	
Skilled Crafts	-.211	-.071	-.194*	-.065
	(.102)		(.097)	
Natural Sciences	-.184	-.052	-.186	-.053
	(.111)		(.106)	
Health Care	-.156	-.066	-.183	-.078
	(.078)		(.074)	
Information/Communication	-.231	-.071	-.221	-.068
	(.107)		(.103)	
Service/Maintenance	-.082	-.023	-.151	-.042
	(.124)		(.118)	
Public Safety	.287***	.113	.268	.105
	(.086)		(.082)	
Occupational Prestige:[b]				
Low Prestige Occupation	.115	.069	.170*	.102
	(.082)		(.078)	
Average Prestige Occupation	-.059	-.036	-.020	-.012
	(.065)		(.062)	
Emotional Expressivity	-.034***	-.138	.001	.005
	(.007)		(.007)	

Table D.1. Continued. OLS Regression of Affective Neutrality on Status, Interaction with Others, and Controls

Demographic Controls:				
Sex (1=female)	-.129*	-.082	-.156**	-.099
	(.053)		(.050)	
Race (1=white)	-.229***	-.123	-.221***	-.119
	(.054)		(.051)	
Age	.002	.033	.001	.020
	(.002)		(.002)	
Married (1=yes)	-.048	-.030	-.008	-.005
	(.047)		(.045)	
Children in Home (1=yes)	.089	.055	.064	.039
	(.049)		(.047)	
Education	-.021	-.047	-.025	-.055
	(.017)		(.017)	
Income	-.041	-.071	-.021	-.036
	(.024)		(.023)	
Emotion Management			.060***	.326
			(.006)	
Adjusted R^2	.143		.219	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=141 cases with full data on all variables; standard errors in parentheses

[a]Social, Human, and Employment Services is the comparison group.

[b]High Prestige occupations are the comparison group.

Table D.2. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on Affective Neutrality

	Psychological Distress							
	Model 1		**Model 2**		**Model 3**		**Model 4**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Affective Neutrality	.155**	.085	.057	.032	.014	.008	.000	.000
	(.051)		(.046)		(.052)		(.047)	
Inauthenticity			.155***	.491			.144***	.456
			(.008)				(.008)	
General Emotion Management					.092***	.285	.042***	.131
					(.010)		(.010)	
Adjusted R^2	.103		.300		.154		.310	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; N=1338 cases with full data on all variables; standard errors in parentheses
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

Table D.3. OLS Regressions of Inauthenticity and Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Agitation Management and Self-Concept Orientation

	Inauthenticity		Psychological Distress	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity			.147*** (.008)	.464
Emotion Management	1.17*** (.177)	.237	.176*** (.053)	.113
Impulsive	1.92** (.722)	.213	.056 (.214)	.020
Impulsive * Emotion	-.444 (.246)	-.150	.032 (.073)	.034
Adjusted R^2	.214		.319	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1340
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, general emotional expressivity, and the amount of the emotion experienced at work.

Table D.4. OLS Regressions of Inauthenticity and Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Sadness Management and Self-Concept Orientation

	Inauthenticity		Psychological Distress	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity			.143*** (.008)	.446
Emotion Management	1.03*** (.147)	.245	.266*** (.044)	.199
Impulsive	1.57** (.579)	.174	.052 (.170)	.018
Impulsive * Emotion	-.344 (.212)	-.122	.024 (.062)	.024
Adjusted R^2	.220		.351	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1340
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, general emotional expressivity, and the amount of the emotion experienced at work.

Table D.5. OLS Regressions of Inauthenticity and Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Excitement Management and Self-Concept Orientation

	Inauthenticity		Psychological Distress	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity			.152*** (.008)	.484
Emotion Management	.421** (.161)	.094	-.034 (.047)	-.024
Impulsive	.723 (.540)	.081	-.031 (.157)	-.011
Impulsive * Emotion	.001 (.225)	.000	.068 (.066)	.063
Adjusted R^2	.180		.297	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1340
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, general emotional expressivity, and the amount of the emotion experienced at work.

Table D.6. OLS Regressions of Inauthenticity and Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Happiness Management and Self-Concept Orientation

	Inauthenticity		Psychological Distress	
	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity			.153*** (.008)	.485
Emotion Management	.315* (.140)	.078	-.031 (.041)	-.024
Impulsive	.191 (.485)	.021	-.061 (.142)	-.022
Impulsive * Emotion	.256 (.203)	.075	.087 (.059)	.081
Adjusted R^2	.183		.294	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1340
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, general emotional expressivity, and the amount of the emotion experienced at work.

Table D.7. OLS Regressions of Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Emotion Management Efficacy

	Psychological Distress							
	Agitation		**Sadness**		**Happiness**		**Excitement**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity	.555*** (.176)	.689	.541*** (.134)	.674	.330*** (.065)	.712	.387*** (.120)	.729
Emotion Management	.166*** (.040)	.119	1.73* (.858)	.285	.030 (.046)	.008	.550 (.877)	.038
Emotion Management Efficacy	-.023 (.041)	-.016	1.53** (.565)	-.033	.591* (.242)	.233	.850 (.506)	.000
Inauthenticity * Efficacy	-.103 (.043)	.016	-.101** (.032)	-.096	-.043* (.017)	-.051	-.055 (.028)	-.086
Emotion Management * Efficacy	-.390 (.238)	.008	-.384 (.199)	-.030	-.021 (.033)	-.020	-.135 (.203)	-.021
Emotion Management * Inauthenticity	-.092* (.054)	.016	-.097 (.045)	-.096	-.019 (.014)	-.057	-.043 (.047)	-.013
EM * Inauthenticity * Efficacy	.024 (.013)	.057	.025* (.011)	.017	.005 (.004)	.040	.005 (.004)	.040
Adjusted R^2	.329		.358		.308		.308	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1180
Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, and general emotional expressivity.

Table D.8. OLS Regression of Psychological Distress on the Interaction between Emotion Management and Occupational Prestige.

	Psychological Distress							
	Agitation		**Sadness**		**Happiness**		**Excitement**	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Inauthenticity	.123*** (.003)	.386	.106*** (.008)	.333	.123*** (.008)	.389	.148*** (.008)	.471
Emotion Management	-.001 (.077)	-.001	.104 (.053)	.078	-.523 (.059)	-.014	-.052 (.063)	-.037
Occupational Prestige:[a]								
Low Prestige	-.344 (.302)	-.115	.017 (.209)	.006	-.191 (.193)	-.065	-.332 (.217)	-.114
Average Prestige	–.825** (.299)	-.270	-.245 (.206)	-.079	-.327 (.184)	-.108	-.504* (.207)	-.167
Low Prestige* Emotion Management	.059 (.099)	.058	-.034 (.070)	-.032	.024 (.073)	.023	.074 (.081)	.068
Average Prestige* Emotion Management	.228* (.099)	.223	.065 (.072)	.061	.086 (.078)	.069	.146 (.086)	.117
Adjusted R^2	.373		.455		.355		.311	

note: *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001; standard errors in parentheses; N=1342

[a] High occupational prestige group is the reference category.

Each model includes hierarchical status, subjective influence, interaction with others, job complexity, control over work, tenure in job, occupational category, sex, race, age, marital status, having minor children in the home, education, income, the amount of the emotion experienced at work, and general emotional expressivity.

APPENDIX E

EXAMPLES OF JOB TITLES WITHIN THE OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE LEVELS

Examples of Job Titles within the Occupational Prestige Levels

Low Occupational Prestige:

building maintenance worker
clerk
cook
custodial worker
equipment operator
food service steward
grounds worker
highway maintenance worker
laundry worker
telephone operator
transportation assistant
watchkeeper

Average Occupational Prestige:

administrative assistant
correctional counselor
case manager
disability claims examiner
drafting technician
environmental specialist
forester
librarian
medical technologist
probation/parole officer
purchasing agent
tax services representative
vocational rehabilitation counselor

High Occupational Prestige:

accounting manager
bank examiner
biologist
children's program coordinator
correctional captain
environmental program manager
epidemiologist
fiscal director
parole hearing officer
physician
psychiatric social worker
wildlife manager

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