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EMOTIONAL LABOR: SURFACE ACTING A BETTER EMOTIONAL REGULATION  
STRATEGY FOR DEALERS?

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## **Introduction**

The performing of emotional regulation in the workplace, or emotional labor, has long been researched by scholars. The conclusion that most reached was that individuals performing this regulation were typically better off by changing their emotions felt to their emotions displayed, or what is termed as “deep acting”, rather than “surface acting”, or faking the emotion. This paper will further explore the thoughts behind this argument and propose that dealers that use deep acting are, in fact, more likely to experience emotional burnout due to the inability to constantly change inner emotional states. Additionally, the paper will also seek to separate out the dealer position as being a unique occupation that does not necessarily fit into past studies, and therefore is not generalizable.

Emotional labor, or the regulation of emotion in the workplace to conform to organizational goals, has been widely researched for decades. Individuals performing emotional labor have generally been thought to do so through two methods, deep acting and surface acting. Deep acting, is when the person performing emotional labor attempts to change their emotional state to conform to the emotion that they are displaying. For example, a waitress may try to think of happy thoughts to have a more positive emotional state to align with the smile she displays when serving a table.

In contrast, when using surface acting, the individual does not attempt to align the two. This is often thought of as “faking emotions” or showing a Duchenne smile. Research has shown that using this method to regulate emotions often results in emotional dissonance, or an internal conflict, which in turn leads to many negative outcomes such as increased stress levels and burnout. Due to these reasons, deep acting has been widely accepted as the preferred method to avoid negative impact on the performer.

However, the research that suggests deep acting as the method with less negative outcomes typically looked at jobs that require the employee to display one distinct emotion for the majority of their job, i.e. a waitress shows happiness, a bouncer looks angry, or a judge refrains from showing emotion altogether. Dealers on the other hand need to constantly show a range of emotions from happiness to sadness to anger and more. These requirements are due to the high variability of outcomes for each round of play and the emotional reaction to those outcomes. This is not only a wider range of emotions that other occupations deal with, but these changes between emotions need to be constantly completed depending on the outcome of the bets.

### **Emotional Labor Background**

When emotional labor was first introduced by Hochschild in 1979 and later in the 1983 book (which was updated in 2003) “*The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*”, emotional labor was defined as “the worker manages feelings and expressions to help the organization profit.” Later, Hochschild’s work on emotional labor was tied to the psychological process of emotion regulation (Grandey, 2000). Emotion regulation has been defined as “the process of initiating, maintaining, modulating, or changing the occurrence, intensity, or duration of ... feeling states” (Eisenberg, Fabes, Guthrie, & Reiser, 2000, p. 137). From this definition, Grandey (2000) argued that emotional labor could be understood as emotion regulation performed to achieve organizational goals. For the purposes of this study, the definition of emotional labor will follow Grandey’s proposed model.

There have been three main parties identified in the process of emotional labor: the agent (the sender), the target (the receiver), and third parties. Although their roles could possibly change during the course of an encounter, categorization of individuals is based on their initial role at the start of the episode (Niven, Totterdell, Holman, & Cameron, 2013). The agent and

target are considered to be the key roles in emotional labor and have been the primary focus of research on the topic. The agent is the service provider (employee) who is required by the organization to engage in emotional labor. The primary role played by the agent is thought to be controlling his or her own emotions in order to express emotions that are considered appropriate by the organization (emotional display rules). Emotional display rules represent the point at which organizational objectives, policies, and practices interface with individual emotional management (Pugh, Diefendorff, & Moran, 2013). These organizational display rules help to guide employees in emotional displays and emotional regulation used in service encounters. The organization considers these displayed emotions a critical part of their business model, which influences the second figure in the emotional labor process, the target.

The target is the individual that the agent focuses their attention and toward whom attempts emotional regulation. Although it was first believed that the process of emotional labor was a singular transfer of emotions, from the agent to the target, more recent models (Côté, Van Kleef, & Sy, 2013) suggest that emotional labor is enacted within a dyadic context where the target is not just a passive bystander but an active participant. As such, the agent regulates emotions for the benefit of another (customer, client, etc.) (Tschan, Rochat, & Zapf, 2005). The agent's displayed emotions are thought to affect the target's emotions, attitudes, and behavior, via inferential processing and emotional contagion mechanisms (Van Kleef, 2009).

Emotional contagion is defined as the processes that allow the sharing or transferring of emotions from one individual to another individual or other group members; the tendency to mimic the nonverbal behavior of others, to “synchronize facial expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements” with others, and in turn, to “converge emotionally” (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1992). This process often occurs without conscious knowledge, although

it can also be consciously induced (Barsade, 2002). In turn, the affective reactions of the target influence the agent (Côté, 2005). Changes in the target's emotions are therefore assumed to arise as a result of the agent's regulation of his or her own emotional expression and the target does not intentionally engage in any form of emotional regulation.

The third key party identified in the emotional labor process is that of third parties or individuals who become indirectly or directly involved in the emotional labor interaction between an agent and a target (Niven et al., 2013). Because many types of service episodes occur in a social setting, most emotional labor encounters are not confined to just two parties. Even episodes that are initially dyadic may draw in other parties. The result is that even in situations that start with a single agent engaging in emotional labor for the benefit of a single target; other individuals may become involved in and affected by regulated emotions.

To fulfill organizational requirements and meet the expectations of customers, agents are thought to perform two forms of emotion regulation: 1) emotion self-regulation, where agents attempt to manage their own feelings and 2) interpersonal emotion regulation, where the service provider attempts to manage the feelings of their customers, clients, patients, or managers (Niven et al., 2013). Researchers believe agents utilize three self-regulatory strategies, including response-focused regulation (or surface acting) and antecedent-focused regulation (or deep acting) (Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Grandy, 2003; Totterdell & Holman, 2003) along with the monitoring/expression of spontaneous and genuine emotion (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Surface acting is defined as simulating emotions that are not actually felt, which is accomplished by carefully presenting verbal and nonverbal cues, such as facial expression, gestures, and voice tone. In this way, the service agent fakes feeling emotions that are not

necessarily experienced (Ashforth, 1993). Due to surface acting and actual emotions being separate, there are differing effects on the agent. When all aspects of emotions are aligned (true feelings, displays, and role expectations), the result is emotional harmony, which can be beneficial for both the employee and the organization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Côté, 2005; Groth, Henning-Thurau, & Wang, 2013). However, when there is a discrepancy between feelings and displayed emotions, emotional dissonance (internal mismatch) or emotional deviance (external mismatch) may occur (Pugh, Groth, & Hennig-Thurau, 2011) which can have a negative effect on both the organization and the individual (Schaubroeck, & Jones, 2000; Dijk & Kirk, 2007). Another possible negative side-effect is cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance brings in not only emotions but also other cognitions such as thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors. If any of these cognitions are in disagreement, the individual experiences an unpleasant psychological condition (Festinger, 1961; Festinger, 1962; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). In this way, when expected emotional display rules are broken, individuals can experience negative states.

Deep acting is considered the second means of emotional self-regulation. Through this method, the service provider attempts to experience or feel the emotions that are displayed. Feelings are actively induced, suppressed, or shaped to conform to expectations (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Because deep acting is considered consistent between feelings, displayed emotions, and organizational expectancies, there are fewer negative aspects, such as emotional dissonance and stress, associated with deep acting in comparison to surface acting.

The third and final method employed by service providers, spontaneous and genuine emotion, is considered to be the least effortful, yet there is still good reason to include genuine emotion in the methods to regulate emotions for the organization. Although true emotion felt and

emotional displays expected are congruent, the service provider still has to ensure that those emotions are displayed. In this way, the effort comes from monitoring the displayed behavior and thus, becomes a way to regulate emotions, resulting in emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

The second type of emotional regulation is interpersonal emotion regulation or regulation of other people's emotions. This could be viewed as deliberate attempts to shape the feelings of another person or persons (Niven, Totterdell, & Holman, 2009). Interpersonal emotion regulation could be similar to processes such as impression management (Goffman, 1955) and interpersonal influence (Kipnis, Schmidt, & Wilkinson, 1980), because it entails the use of deliberate strategies to try to influence another. However, unlike these other processes, interpersonal emotion regulation is primarily directed towards influencing others' emotions. Changes to attitudes and behaviors can arise as a result of interpersonal emotion regulation, but these changes occur via the effects on emotions. In contrast, impression management and influence tactics can affect other's attitudes and behaviors independently of their emotions. Additionally, individuals may utilize other tactics when deliberately attempting to influence other's emotions. These may include both verbal and nonverbal means such as complimenting, criticizing, listening, ignoring, humor, rationalizing, and giving advice (Niven et al., 2009).

Regardless of the methods used by the agent, the emotional displays are still required to be appropriate. That is, the service provider must not only match the organizational display rules, but also adapt to the customer's expectations and emotions. For example, even if the organization desires all employees to adhere to the "service with a smile" guideline, it would be inappropriate for an agent to continue to smile at an upset or irate customer, where a look of concern or empathy may be more appropriate. In addition, there are certain professions that



require employees to display emotions that are not considered “positive.” Either the service provider is expected to show negative moods (such as a bouncer wanting to intimidate others or a bill collector attempting to spark financial fear in those that owe money) or withhold all emotional displays (such as a judge or a police officer). These different display requirements are all dependent on the profession and the service encounter itself.

### **Emotional Contagion**

Researchers have identified two forms of emotional contagion: primitive and conscious. The most prevalent form of emotional contagion is primitive emotional contagion. Primitive emotional contagion occurs through a two-stage process involving mimicry and feedback (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1994). Mimicry is defined as the process by which people unconsciously synchronize their facial expressions with those of others whereas feedback refers to the experience of the mimicked emotions through facial feedback of “facial expressions, vocalizations, posture, and movements” (Hatfield et al., 1994). The second type of contagion is referred to as conscious emotional contagion. This type occurs when individuals deliberately adopts the emotional expressions of those around them, or imagine how they would feel in another’s position in order to facilitate social interactions, particularly in ambiguous social situations (Barsade, 2002; Hatfield et al., 1994). Researchers suggest empathy and perspective-taking may be the paths through which assessments of others’ emotional experiences trigger corresponding emotions (Groth et al. 213).

Research of service encounters suggests that employees who utilize conscious contagion methods are more effective regarding customer satisfaction outcomes than those that utilize primitive contagion processes. One study found that it was the authenticity of the employee’s emotional display rather than the extent or frequency of employee smiling which influenced

changes in customer emotional state (Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006).

Authenticity, which is thought to be associated with deep acting, refers to an action that is sincere, genuine, and true to one's core sense of self, while the use of surface acting typically involves faking emotions (Kernis & Goldman, 2006; Salmela, 2005). Another reason for the contrast between authentic and inauthentic displays of emotions is thought to be tied to the social nature of service interactions, where inauthentic expressions may communicate a lack of sincerity, individual attention, honesty, and trust to the target, and is likely to be associated with negative service quality judgments (Groth et al., 2013). Researchers have also argued that the evaluation of the agent's emotional state (being authentic or false) is the pathway that elicits a similar emotional state in the customer (Söderlund & Rosengren, 2004, 2008). Hess and Blairy (2001), who also found no direct link between behavioral mimicry and the emotional congruence, proposed that emotional contagion often occurs because individuals are motivated to understand the internal states of others.

While early studies that researched emotional contagion initially focused on dyadic settings, findings from both laboratory and field research suggests that this process also functions at the group level. Group level emotion is a product of unique individual contributions. Emotional contagion is presumed to be a primary mechanism through which emotions are shared and become social (Barsade, & Gibson, 1998; Kelly & Barsade, 2001; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). Barsade (2002) demonstrated that contagion occurred and influenced group dynamics both with the deliberate mood induction by the presence of a trained confederate, and within group dynamics without a confederate. Other studies have found collective team mood convergence, a product of contagion, occurred in a wide variety of organizational settings and teams (Bartel & Saavedra, 2000; Totterdell, Kellet, Teuchmann, & Briner, 1998).

The direction at which emotions are transferred between individuals has also been a focal point of research. When observing emotional expressions across multiple transactions, the mean level of emotional display has been shown to reflect the emotions of the employee rather than those of the customer (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1990). Furthermore, when both the service provider and the customer have been monitored simultaneously, the employee's displays are reflected in the customer's displays, not the reverse (Pugh, 2001). The process of emotional contagion proposes that within the transfer of emotions, there are two distinct roles: sender and receiver. The displayed emotions by a sender results in emotional mimicry by a receiver; ultimately creating a change in the receiver's experienced affect (Hatfield et al., 1994). There is also evidence that in a service encounter, employees are typically the senders of emotions and customer affect has a minimal direct influence on employee displayed emotion or employee affect. This outcome is due in part because emotional displays are the vehicle by which sender's displayed emotion influences receiver's felt emotion (Pugh, 2001). Additionally, the strength of this exchange is dependent on the degree to which individuals are good senders and receivers of emotion (Hatfield et al., 1994; Sullins, 1989).

Two other important theoretical mechanisms involved in the transfer of emotions are the emotion recognition propensity of customers and their susceptibility to emotional contagion. The targets' ability to recognize and detect emotions has been shown to be a valid predictor of important work outcomes (e.g., job performance) and is generally considered to be a key dimension of emotional intelligence (Elfenbein, Foo, White, Tan, & Aik, 2007; Elfenbein, Marsh, & Ambady, 2002). The ability to recognize emotions and reaction to those displays have been shown to be dependent on a variety of individual factors, including personality characteristics, an individual's threshold, and the intensity of responsiveness (Doherty, 1997).

Susceptibility to emotional contagion has also been shown to be a key factor in the transfer of emotions. According to Hatfield et al. (1992, 1994), individuals that are especially susceptible are those that pay close attention to others and are able to read others' emotional expressions; view themselves as interrelated with others rather than independent and unique; tend to mimic facial, vocal, and postural expressions; and their own emotional experience is powerfully influenced by peripheral feedback. Other research has shown that individuals who are more affected by high-intensity emotional reactions would be especially prone to vicarious emotional responding (Eisenberg et al., 1991). Susceptibility to emotional contagion is also a factor in group settings. Specifically, a situation where the passing of emotions is dependent not only on the group's collective emotion, but also for people who had a higher dispositional affect propensity toward emotional contagion (Ilies, Schwind, & Heller, 2007).

Some researchers also argue that regardless of the service context itself, it is possible that customers will differ both in the degree to which they perceive emotional displays and the level of expectations they have about the delivery processes, and thus they may react differently to the same service outcome (Groth et al., 2013). This may be due not only to the individual's susceptibility to emotional contagion but also from the nature of the encounter in which the emotional labor took place.

### **The Service Encounter**

Organizations have long recognized the value of emotional labor issues when dealing with customers. In fact, research has gone beyond the typical customer service providers with emotional labor being considered a central component of any position that requires interpersonal contact (Diefendorff, Richard, & Croyle, 2006; Sloan, 2004). As such, "service with a smile" is a well-known job expectation in the United States, and is linked with quality service in customers'

minds (Pugh, 2001; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Shaw Brown & Sulzer-Azaroff, 1994; Sutton & Rafaeli, 1988). The emotional display utilized by employees to affect customers is thought to either serve as a substitute for aspects of the service that are too difficult to evaluate objectively (i.e., legal services, care repair) or by providing immediate social benefits to customers (Henning-Thurau, Gwinner, & Gremler, 2002; Parasuraman, Zeithaml, & Berry, 1988). In turn, research has shown that positive displays by a service provider predict customer attitudes and intentions through their effect on customers' post-encounter mood (Pugh, 2001; Tsai & Huang, 2002). Additionally, past research supports the claim that customers' positive moods predict higher quality service appraisals (Mattila & Enz, 2002; Pugh, 2001).

The interaction between an organization and its customers (e.g., patients, clients, students, etc.), can consist of two distinct parts: (1) the product or goods (tangible) and (2) the service (intangible). Regardless of how positive the tangible product is, if the employee refrains from positive emotional displays, or displays inappropriate emotions, there can be a negative overall effect, even to such an extent that the customer leaves the service provider exchange and unlikely to return (Groth et al., 2013). For this reason, additional research has gone beyond focusing solely on the customer's individual differences by including situational factors (Lapidus, & Pinkerton, 1995; Mattila, 2001). These factors can include the difference in expectations of goods and services that provide both positive and negative situations. For example, when the product (tangible goods) does not meet the customer's expectations and a negative service encounter results, the service provider attempts to use observable emotions as a service recovery technique to increase customer satisfaction and ensure customer loyalty (Smith, & Bolton, 1998; Mattila, 2001). In this way, the service encounter has been the primary setting for examining emotional labor, the intangible element, and its effects on satisfaction.

Customer satisfaction with the encounter represents a customer's attitude or satisfaction with a service interaction he or she has just experienced (Oliver, 1997). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) identified multiple reasons for the focus on the service encounter and its importance to the organization. First, an organization's front-line employees are the ones interacting with customers and represent the face of the organization to customers. Secondly, although technology has allowed companies to interact with customers through other means (e.g., telephone, email, internet), most service transactions are face-to-face interactions between service agents and customers. Thirdly, given the uncertainty created by customer participation in the service encounter, such encounters often have a dynamic and emergent quality. Lastly, services rendered during an encounter are relatively intangible, thus making it difficult for customers to evaluate service quality. Since the emotional labor of employees is strongly correlated with positive effects on customers' perceptions of product quality, including that of goods and services; these four factors place an emphasis on the observable behavior of the service agent during the encounter, giving the organization a way to measure and monitor employee performance and also attempt to predict the customer's satisfaction (Bowen, Siehl, & Schneider, 1989; Lam, Chan, Fong, & Lo, 2011).

Through numerous studies on front-line employees' emotional labor performance in a wide array of industries, two important aspects of the encounter have been identified: (1) frequency and (2) duration (Barger & Grandey, 2006). Frequency is the number of unique encounters the service provider and the customer have had. An example of a service encounter that has multiple unique encounters would be a waitress in a restaurant visiting a table multiple times to take drinks, appetizers, entrees, and desert orders along with checking on customers in

between. In contrast, a single unique encounter would be the extent of a fast food drive-thru encounter.

Service encounter duration is defined as the amount of time the customer spends engaged in the service encounter with the service provider. The length of time may act as a boundary condition on the extent to which emotions are exchanged between the agent and target, ultimately leading to the mood being shared from emotional labor efforts. Barger (2006) argues that this aspect of the service encounter is especially important since the effects of the agents' emotional displays on customer moods is thought to be cumulative over time. This thought has led some studies to focus on either service encounters with large frequency and short durations such as restaurants (Tombs & McColl-Kennedy, 2003) or industries that tend to have longer duration and less frequency such as shoe salesmen (Tsai & Huang, 2002) or bank tellers (Pugh, 2001). Essentially, emotional displays are important in a wide variety of contexts; where the targets use positive emotional displays by the organization's agents as an indicator that the company cares for its customers. Furthermore, the role of emotional displays are especially crucial in leisure services such as those provided by bars, theme parks, hotels, casinos, and tour operators since customers spend money to 'have a good time' and often lack in a tangible product. These encounters are strictly judged by the agents' emotional displays, since customers have the expectation that they will be treated kindly and in a friendly manner by employees. (Groth et al., 2013).

### **Table Games Service Encounter**

Over the last thirty years, the casino industry has grown exponentially. What used to be an obscure industry in the United States, being limited to the locations of Nevada and Atlantic City, now is legal in twenty-eight states and generates over \$37 Billion yearly (American

Gaming Association [AGA], 2013). Even in these lean economic times, the casino industry provides direct employment for an estimated 330,000 people with another 31,000 Americans in the gaming equipment production industry (Association of Gaming Equipment Manufacturing [AGEM], 2008). Recent surveys have indicated that acceptance of gaming in America has also increased, with approval ratings ranging from 85-89% of those polled. Of the estimated 76.1 million visitors have frequented a casino in the last twelve months, and 32% of those polled gambled in a casino in the past year (AGA, 2013; Danhof, 1995; Rogers, 2009).

Recently, blackjack has been the focus of both customer service and emotional labor research. Blackjack, or 21, is a game of chance where the player wagers an amount of money on their cards (hand) versus the dealer's hand. The side with the largest total, based on card values, without going over 21, wins. The table at which the game is dealt typically holds a maximum of six players at one time, each wagering on their own hand versus the dealer's hand. If a player or dealer receives an ace and a ten value card (i.e., 10, J, Q, or K) they have what is called blackjack and they automatically win.

The particular interest in blackjack could possibly be attributed to three primary reasons. First, it is simply the game's popularity. Blackjack tends to be the most popular table game in the casino and second only to slot machines in revenue for the industry. Recent polls have indicated the popularity of blackjack as one out of five people polled have stated that blackjack is their favorite game (AGA, 2013).

Second, casino dealers have been identified as having a position that emotional labor is a critical aspect of their job; relying on self-control of emotions, concern for others, and adaptability or flexibility to deliver appropriate emotional displays (ONET Online, 2016). This is due to not only blackjack being considered a form of entertainment, where a high degree of



customer service is expected, but also the emotions related to, and competitiveness that comes from playing these types of games.

Lastly, the design of the encounter lends itself to being conducive to studying emotional labor's effects. Hochschild (1983) posed that jobs requiring a large amount of emotional labor, or high EL positions, have three characteristics: (1) frequent interactions with the public, (2) the expectations of inducing emotions in others, and (3) the management or control of these emotional interactions. According to these guidelines, blackjack would be included into the high EL position category. First, a single hand of blackjack can be considered a separate interaction, as each has its own outcome (win, lose, or draw) and weight (the amount wagered by the player). Next, because blackjack is played mostly for fun, dealers are looked upon as entertainers who elicit positive emotions in customers. Lastly, dealers have the complex task of constantly attempting to manage the customers' emotional states. Dealers are tasked with displaying positive emotional displays, for example, when a customer wins a hand, and negative emotional displays, such as sadness when a player loses a hand. This adaptation to singular unique events is in direct contrast to the standard organizational display rule of "service with a smile."

Researchers have acknowledged and investigated the complexity of a casino dealer's emotional display rules; taking into account the necessity to display positive (e.g., smiling, eye contact, greeting, congratulating, etc.), neutral (withholding emotional displays), and negative (e.g., apologizing, slowing down the collecting motion, displaying sadness, etc.) emotions depending on the situation (Jang, 2008; Prentice & King, 2011). Results from these studies demonstrated "service with a smile" was not always appropriate, and emotional labor demands are a dynamic, ever-changing situation. To complicate further the service exchange, organizational display rules vary depending on the details of the service encounter. For example,

the organization may instruct the dealer to deviate from the normal display rules if a player is wagering a large amount of money, winning or losing a considerable amount, or if a player is well known (Sallaz, 2002).

In addition to these reasons, blackjack also benefits by having other facets that are important to researching customer service encounters. First, blackjack entails the combination of not only having a high frequency of encounters, but also being a service encounter with a long service encounter duration. Customers can stay at the table for a long period of time (hours at a time), especially when service providers engage in positive emotional displays and appropriate interactions with customers. These agents receive higher customer satisfaction scores compared to those that displayed inconsistent levels of emotions (Pritchett, 2007; Wong & Fong, 2012). Also, the gaming service encounter has a high social density. All customers sit in close proximity, can interact with each other, and the transactions between the dealer and all the customers are viewable by everyone. Furthermore, blackjack could be considered an intimate encounter, where customers are in a close intimate setting, such as sitting at the same table, and/or where they identify with each other due to a common goal, such as rooting for the same team or hoping the dealer busts so everyone wins. Research has indicated that emotional labor's implicit effect from emotional contagion may be more likely to occur when people are in this type of setting (Hatfield, et al, 1994). Additionally, the presence of other customers is likely to influence the behavior of customers (Tombs & McColl-Kennedy, 2003).

With the increased importance of emotional labor in the workplace in conjunction with the unique aspects of the dealer position, investigating the generalizability of current emotional labor methods to that of a dealer, could shed light on the nuances of emotional labor.

Additionally, other psychological constructs such as susceptibility to emotional contagion and emotional dissonance should also be research to provide further insight.

### **Conclusions**

Although there have been decades of research surrounding emotional labor and the effects of which method is used, there are aspects of the literature that could possibly lead to the results be non-generalizable to the position of casino dealer. Furthermore, by assuming that the results of these studies are applicable to dealers, the negative outcomes for those individuals could be increased.

Although the literature has identified dealing as a role that demands a high amount of emotional labor, it has failed to differentiate the nuances of performing emotional regulation while on the job. Specifically, displaying the same emotion consistently may be easier than having to constantly adjust the displays to fit the situation. In addition, the range of emotions shown could also lead to increased strain on the employee.

Going by common thoughts, the performer of emotional labor has fewer negative outcomes when they match the emotions displayed to the emotions felt. However, in the case of dealers, that may not even be possible. As dealers interact with each customer and conform their emotional displays to reflect the expected displays based on both the outcome of the decision, the customer's preference of interaction, and the customer's emotional state, the dealer could change their emotion countless times in any given hour.

Therefore, one could argue that the present literature would not be generalizable to the dealer position. Additionally, further study is necessary to not only measure the differences between a position like dealing and others, but also to the effects of deep acting when a constant change of emotional displays are required.

## **Limitations**

There are several limitations on the proposed conclusion. First and foremost, it is that previous research has only looked at aligning emotions, both displayed and felt, for a consistent basis. The effort in having to change these emotions to be difficult has not yet been shown. Additionally, one cannot say for certainty that in a situation where changing emotional displays is necessary, the agent changes the strategy between deep and surface acting on a regular basis.

Lastly, one consideration that has not been looked at in any of the previous research on emotional labor is the situation where there are multiple receivers in the same service encounter and their effects on both each other and the service provider. The service encounter with the dealer is even further encountered in that the tangible goods (winning or losing) is a random effect that cannot be controlled by the dealer. This may lead to further emotional stress or negative states when one customer may feel that they are getting a substandard outcome in comparison to other customers. In turn, this emotional contagion may even pass on to those that are feeling positive and bring their emotional state to a more neutral or negative state.

In conclusion, there is still much to be learned regarding emotional labor. By considering factors that have not been researched yet, such as the frequency of changing displays, additional insight may be gained into this topic.

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