7-2017

Emotional Display Rule Conflict in Student Affairs and Services Administrators

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by

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A thesis submitted to the School of Psychology at
Florida Institute of Technology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Science
in
Industrial-Organizational Psychology

Melbourne, Florida
July, 2017

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Abstract

Title: Emotional Display Rule Conflict in Student Affairs and Services Administrators

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This study examines a proposed model in which display rule conflict occurs when employees' personal emotional display rule goals or values (operationalized as student customer orientation and individual-level power distance) are inconsistent with the emotional display rule goals of their department or culture (operationalized as department-level student customer orientation and country-level power distance, respectively). No significant effects of the interaction between personal and department-level student customer orientation or personal and department-level power distance on display rule commitment were found. Results did show that display rule conflict has a negative effect on display rule commitment. Further, display rule conflict predicted emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity above and beyond display rule perceptions and display rule commitment. This study answers the call to further explore the potential for display rule conflict in the context of emotional labor (Dahling & Johnson, 2013). Additionally, this study has practical implications for employee behavior and well-being.

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Acknowledgement

First, I would like to thank Dr. Erin Richard for her openness to my ideas, guidance, patience, and expertise throughout the research and writing process. I'm honored to have grown from a first year I/O student who reached out to a professor I didn't know questioning where I fit in the field to that professor's advisee.

I would also like to thank Dr. Jessica Wildones and Dr. Mary Bonhomme for their valuable time, feedback, and assistance with helping me improve my research.

Finally, I would like to thank Nicholas Rockwood for his time and willingness to assist me with MLmed.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandfather, Jose (Pepe) Goyenechea. Over 50 years ago, you gave up everything that you had in Cuba for your family's freedom. I am able to pursue this degree and live the life I do because of your sacrifice. Thank you for teaching me the value of education, bravery, perseverance, and, most importantly, resilience. Te quiero mucho.

Introduction

Emotional labor has been a widely studied organizational construct. Arlie Hochschild (1983), a sociologist, was the first to conceptualize emotional labor. Hochschild contended that, in addition to physical labor, in which employees perform concrete job tasks, and mental labor, in which employees prepare and organize for job tasks, employees also undergo emotional labor, described as managing emotions through either producing or inhibiting feelings as a part of paid work. Since Hochschild's work was published, emotional labor has become a fertile area of study across different disciplines, including industrial-organizational psychology, sociology, and organizational behavior (Grandey, Diefendorff, & Rupp, 2013; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015).

Despite the rapid proliferation of the emotional labor literature, there is ample room to expand upon it and clarify certain concepts. There is a gap in the empirical emotional labor research regarding the idea that an organization's expectations for how employees should behave (i.e., display rules) may conflict with how employees' personal values dictate they should behave. Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) conceptualized the display rules component of emotional labor as a set of hierarchically arranged goals. They proposed that a conflict between personal goals and organizational display rule expectations could lead to a number of negative outcomes (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Dahling and Johnson (2013) asserted that these potential goal conflicts are one of the most understudied

areas of the emotional labor literature, and they advocated for an expansion of empirical research on the subject.

The present study answers Dahling and Johnson's (2013) call by examining the congruence (or incongruence) between personal and organizational goals and its association with perceptions of goal conflict and emotional display rule commitment. This study contributes to the emotional labor literature by using a sample of student affairs and services administrators, in contrast with the customer service employee samples most commonly used in emotional labor research. Finally, this study also extends cross-cultural research on emotional labor by including an examination of power distance and the possible incongruence between personal and cultural values on perceptions of display rule conflict and emotional display rule commitment.

Practically, this study helps explain a potential reason (display rule conflict) employees might not be committed to organizational display rules, which could explain employee behavior. Additionally, this study identified emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity as potential outcomes of display rule conflict. Organizations can use this information to try to address sources of display rule conflict in the workplace in order to mitigate emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity. Employees can use this information to self-select out of organizations in which they perceive a high amount of display rule conflict.

Literature Review

Emotional Labor

From 2000 to 2010, the number of published articles on emotional labor grew from 1,740 to 10,800 (Grandey et al., 2013). The rapid proliferation of emotional labor literature resulted in a number of conceptual and definitional growing pains for the construct (Bono & Vey, 2005; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Grandey et al., 2013). Grandey et al. (2013) identified three focal lenses researchers use to examine emotional labor, and noted that the focal lens used typically varies by discipline. Sociologists tend to focus on emotional labor as occupational requirements, organizational behavior researchers tend to focus on emotional labor as emotional displays, and psychologists tend to focus on emotional labor as intrapsychic processes (Grandey et al., 2013). More recently, Grandey and Gabriel (2015) conceptualized emotional labor as consisting of three components — emotional requirements, emotion regulation, and emotion performance. Emotional requirements are "job-based requirements for emotional displays with others" (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015, p. 325), emotion regulation involves "modification of feelings and expressions" (p. 325), and emotion performance is "observable expressions congruent with [emotional] requirements" (p. 325).

Much of the literature published prior to Grandey and Gabriel's (2015) review focuses on only one of these three components of emotional labor, but treats the focal component as synonymous with the overall definition of emotional labor.

The majority of researchers who defined emotional labor in terms of a single component did so using emotion regulation as the focal component (Cheung & Lun, 2015; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009; Maneotis, Grandey, & Krauss, 2014; Näring, Briët, & Brouwers, 2006; Sliter, Jex, Wolford, & McInnerney, 2010). On the other hand, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) and Gursoy, Boylu, and Avci (2011) defined emotional labor in terms of emotion performance. Other literature has identified emotional requirements, emotion performance, and emotion regulation as separate components that fall underneath the umbrella of emotional labor (Bhave & Glomb, 2016; Diefendorff, Richard, & Croyle, 2006; Gabriel, Daniels, Diefendorff, & Greguras, 2015; Gabriel & Diefendorff, 2015; Moran, Diefendorff, & Greguras, 2013).

Each component of emotional labor is strongly intertwined with the others. Emotion performance, or emotional displays, are often conceptualized as being congruent with (Bono & Vey, 2005) or incongruent with (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987) the emotional requirements of a job. Emotional requirements have most often been conceptualized as display rules (Gabriel et al., 2015; Grandey, Rafaeli, Ravid, Wirtz, & Steiner, 2010; Diefendorff et al., 2006). Emotion regulation (most often conceptualized in terms of deep acting versus surface acting; Gardner, Fischer, & Hunt, 2009; Grandey, 2000), represents the strategies employees use to comply with display rules.

Antecedents and outcomes of emotional labor. A number of antecedents and outcomes of emotional labor have been examined. Grandey & Gabriel (2015) subdivided the antecedents of emotional labor into person and event characteristics, and the outcomes of emotional labor into employee and organizational well-being. Antecedents of emotional labor in the literature have included job characteristics (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003), perceived organizational support (Mishra, 2014), employee personality traits (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Randolph & Dahling, 2013), age (Dahling & Perez, 2010), dispositional affect (Gabriel, et al., 2015), and motivation (Dahling & Johnson, 2013).

In terms of outcomes, emotional labor has been linked to job strain (Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005), emotional exhaustion (Gabriel et al., 2015; Wagner, Barnes, & Scott, 2014; Wharton, 1993), job satisfaction (Cheung & Lun, 2015; Gabriel et al., 2015; Judge et al, 2009; Bhave & Glomb, 2016; Seery & Corrigall, 2009), burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Cheung & Lun, 2015), insomnia (Wagner et al., 2014), work-family conflict (Wagner et al., 2014), job performance (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch, & Wax, 2011), employee well-being (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011), affective commitment (Seery & Corrigall, 2009), turnover intentions (Seery & Corrigall, 2009), and physical health (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000).

Researchers have also studied ways to buffer the negative outcomes associated with emotional labor. A climate of authenticity in the workplace

(Grandey, Foo, Groth, & Goodwin, 2012), as well as feelings of control and social support, have been found to moderate the relationship between emotional labor and negative outcomes (Grandey, 2000; Zapf, 2002).

Emotional Display Rules

Defining display rules. The emotional requirements component of emotional labor is typically referred to as emotional display rules (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Ekman and Friesen (1975) used the term display rules to describe "the need to manage the appearance of particular emotions in particular situations" (p. 137). Specifically, Ekman and Friesen (1975) looked at cross-cultural differences in expectations for emotional displays around others. Hochschild (1983) introduced the concept of "feeling rules" (p. 56), or scripts for what one should feel in certain situations. The emotional labor literature has expanded upon Ekman and Friesen's (1975) and Hochschild's (1983) conceptualizations of display rules by specifically defining display rules in an organizational context. Organizational display rules are rules and standards for what emotions and behaviors employees should demonstrate and/or conceal in the workplace (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff et al., 2006; Grandey, 2000; Randolph & Dahling, 2013; Tschan, Rochat, & Zapf, 2005; Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). According to Diefendorff and Richard (2003), "emotional display rules prescribe behaviors necessary for effective job performance" (p. 284).

Organizational display rules can be influenced by societal display rules (Moran et al., 2013). Cropanzano, Weiss, and Elias (2004) argued that organizations maintain display rules in order to achieve customer satisfaction, maintain harmony within the organization, and promote employee well-being. Organizational display rules may vary by the target of the emotional display, such that there may be different emotional display rules for how to behave with customers, coworkers, or supervisors (Grandey et al., 2010). Display rules can also vary by job and by organization (Wharton & Erickson, 1993).

Wharton and Erickson (1993) identified three different types of display rules: integrative, masking, and differentiating. Most of the emotional labor research focuses on integrative display rules, which require employees to express positive emotions and suppress negative ones (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Wharton & Erickson, 1993). However, sometimes organizational display rules encourage employees to remain neutral or even to express negative emotion (Cropanzano et al., 2004; Trougakos, Jackson, & Beal, 2010). Display rules that require employees to remain neutral are known as masking display rules, and those that require employees to express negative emotions are known as differentiating display rules (Wharton & Erickson, 1993).

Diefendorff and Richard (2008) differentiated between prescriptive and contextual display rules. Prescriptive display rules are the ones traditionally studied in emotional labor research, and involve general organizational expectations for

employee emotional expressions (Diefendorff & Richard, 2008). However, different situations within the same job can also call for different display rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). These are known as contextual display rules. As the name suggests, contextual display rules are dependent on context, including the specific event being experienced by the employee, the employee's mood, and characteristics of the target with whom the employee is interacting (Diefendorff & Richard, 2008; Richard & Converse, 2016).

Communication and maintenance of display rules. Display rules in an organization can be explicitly stated or implicitly communicated (Diefendorff, et al., 2006; Tschan et al., 2005; Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006). While there are examples of display rules being explicitly stated, such as in the Disneyland employee handbook (Van Maanen, 1991), display rules are more often implicitly communicated (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Cropanzano et al., 2004). Diefendorff et al. (2006) found that both employees and supervisors agreed that display rules were formal job requirements rather than extra-role behaviors. Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) asserted that display rules are maintained through both formal practices, such as employee recruitment and selection, socialization, and rewards systems, as well as through informal practices, such as observing coworkers.

Employee responses to display rules. In response to display rules, employees utilize emotion regulation strategies, such as surface acting and deep acting (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015; Grandey, 2000). In surface acting, employees

fake the feelings required by their job, while, in deep acting, employees actually try to create and authentically experience the feelings required by their job (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015).

The type of emotion regulation strategy enacted by employees in response to display rules has been found to be related to a number of interpersonal, intrapersonal, and organizational factors. Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand (2005a) found that employees were more likely to engage in deep acting if organizational display rules were to express positive emotions, and more likely to use surface acting if the organizational display rules emphasized suppressing negative emotions. Employees with a proactive personality have been found to be more likely to engage in deep acting (Randolph & Dahling 2013). Also, emotion regulation in general (both surface acting and deep acting) is more likely if the employee perceives the display rules to be strong within the organization (Gabriel et al., 2015).

Display rules, emotion regulation strategies, and employee well-being. Display rules and the emotional regulation strategies enacted in response to them have important implications for employee well-being. Wilk & Moynihan (2005) found that employees were more likely to be emotionally exhausted if supervisors emphasized the importance of emotional display rules, and Schaubroeck & Jones (2000) found that having to conform to display rules can negatively affect employee physical health. Generally, congruent emotional states and deep acting

have more positive outcomes that discordant emotional states and surface acting (Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). In a 2011 meta-analysis, Hülsheger & Schewe found that surface acting and dissonance between required display rules and felt emotions were both positively related to emotional exhaustion, psychological strain, depersonalization, and psychosomatic complaints, and they were negatively related to job satisfaction and organizational attachment. For the most part, deep acting was weakly related to impaired well-being and job attitudes, except for a small positive relationship between deep acting and psychosomatic complaints (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). Mesmer-Magnus et al. (2011) found that surface acting and emotional dissonance mediated the relationship between display rules and burnout.

Display rules as goals. Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) used control theory as the theoretical basis for conceptualizing display rules as goals. Central to control theory is the negative feedback loop model, which consists of an input, a standard, a comparator, and an output (Carver & Scheier, 1998; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Using this framework, Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003) conceptualized an individual's perception of his or her own emotional display as the input, the display rule as the goal the individual is trying to obtain, and the comparator as the mechanism that determines if there is a discrepancy between an individual's emotional display and the display rule. In response to a discrepancy, an individual can either use emotion regulation strategies to display the emotion that is

in line with the display rule (the output), or replace the goal with "one that is consistent with the displayed emotion" (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003, p. 948).

Control theory posits that goals are hierarchically arranged, in which meeting lower-order, short-term behavioral goals contributes to achieving higher-order, long-term abstract goals (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Diefendorff and Richard (2008) conceptualized contextual display rules as lower-order goals in the goal hierarchy that contribute to the adherence to prescriptive display rules. People can also pursue different goals in different hierarchies at the same time, some of which will conflict with each other, and some of which can be combined (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) gave the example of a Ph.D. student who may have the goals of both obtaining good grades and cultivating a social life. It is clear how these goals could conflict with each other, but they could also be combined by forming study groups with other Ph.D. students (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003).

Conflict between emotional display rules has been examined from a mostly theoretical standpoint. Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003) gave the example of a conflict between a goal in the work goal hierarchy and a goal in the personal goal hierarchy, in which the lower-order work goal might be to express a specific emotion in order to meet higher-order job performance goals, but the lower-order personal goal may be to display emotions that are truly felt in order to achieve the higher-order goal of maintaining a desired self-concept. According to Diefendorff

& Gosserand (2003), if there is a conflict between one's personal goals and display rule expectations/goals, individuals may experience dissonance, dissatisfaction, and burnout. For example, researchers have proposed that employees who hold strong religious values may encounter conflict if their organization requires them to conform to differentiating or masking display rules (Byrne, Morton, & Dahling, 2011).

Dahling and Johnson (2003) identified these hierarchical goal conflicts as "the most under-studied extension of [control theory in emotional labor]" (p. 63) and called for future empirical research on the potential conflict between organizational display rules and high-level personal goals. The present study will examine the impact of this type of conflict on employee display rule commitment.

Display Rule Commitment

Not all employees are equally motivated to adhere to organizational display rules (Diefendorff & Croyle, 2008). Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) defined display rule commitment as "a person's intention to extend effort toward displaying organizationally desired emotions, persist in displaying these emotions over time, and not abandon the display rules under difficult conditions." (p. 1257). Diefendorff and Croyle (2008) found that expectancy (employee confidence in his or her ability to display an emotion) and valence (how much an employee values that display rule) predicted commitment to display rules in customer interactions.

Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003) also used Vroom's (1964) expectancy

theory to explore why an individual might be motivated to display a certain emotion. They proposed that a display rule will have higher valence if it is highly related to attaining one or many valued higher-order goals, and lower valence if it conflicts with goals in an individual's personal goal hierarchy. They also proposed that expectancy, or confidence in one's ability to display a certain emotion, is negatively related to situational demands and positively related to the "congruence between felt emotions and display rules" (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003, p. 952) and the individuals' experience displaying the required emotion in the past (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Situational demands include "frequency, duration, intensity, and variety of emotions to be expressed" (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003, p. 952). Using this framework, an individual is more likely to be motivated to conform to organizational display rules if the individual has experience displaying the emotion required by the display rule, if the organizational situation is not too demanding, and if the display rule is congruent with the individual's personal goals. This last idea—the idea of congruence or conflict between organizational display rules and the employee's personal goals, will be the focus of the current research.

In terms of outcomes, Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) found that display rule commitment moderated the relationships between display rule perceptions and surface acting, deep acting, and positive affective delivery at work "such that the relationships were strong and positive when commitment…was high and weak

when commitment…was low" (p. 1256). Additionally, Randolph & Dahling (2013) asserted that employees are more likely to be motivated to engage behaviors that align with organizational display rules when they are highly committed to those display rules.

Emotional Labor in Education Occupations

Emotional labor research has most often focused on the customer service sector, though some argue it can be expanded to jobs beyond that (Grandey et al., 2013). A review of the emotional labor literature indicates a potential disagreement among researchers concerning both what jobs require emotional labor, and what jobs qualify as customer service or service industry jobs. Hochschild (1983) identified the following jobs as requiring emotional labor: professional, technical and kindred workers, managers and administrators, sales workers, clerical workers, and service workers. With professional, technical, and kindred workers, Hochschild (1983) includes college and university teachers, non-college and university teachers, and vocational and educational counselors. Since Hochschild's (1983) work, most emotional labor research has focused on what one might consider traditional service industry jobs, such as shopping mall employees (Allen, Diefendorff, & Ma, 2014), call center employees (Allen et al., 2014), hotel employees (Allen et al, 2014; Mishra, 2014), restaurant employees (Allen et al, 2014), sales employees (Allen, Pugh, Grandey, & Groth, 2010; Diefendorff, Morehart, & Gabriel, 2010; Mishra, 2014), health care employees (Gabriel et al,

2015; Grandey et al., 2012), grocery store employees (Maneotis et al., 2014), bus drivers (Wagner et al., 2014), bank tellers (Sliter et al., 2010), and childcare workers (Seery & Corrigall, 2009).

A number of researchers have called for additional exploration of display rules in specific organizational contexts (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Diefendorff et al, 2006; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Others challenge the assumption that the goals of emotional expression in response to display rules are always to express positive emotions and suppress negative ones. Grandey et al. (2010) argued that this focus "ignores the role of specific emotions, and the possibility that positive suppression and negative expression may sometimes be warranted" (p. 390). Examples of jobs in which expression of negative emotions is expected include bill collectors, trial lawyers, and law enforcement (Wharton & Erickson, 1993; Sutton, 1991; Gardner et al., 2009; Grandey, 2000). Some emotional labor studies have included samples of teachers and other employees in educational settings in their research (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Hülsheger, Alberts, Feinholdt, & Lang, 2013; Randolph & Dahling, 2013; Richard & Converse, 2016). However, less research exists on emotional labor specifically in education jobs than in jobs that are more widely considered service sector jobs.

Emotional labor in K-12 education. Existing empirical research on emotional labor in education has mostly focused on K-12 teachers in the United States (Sutton, Mudrey-Camino, & Knight, 2009; Sutton, 2004) or the equivalent in

Europe and Asia (Cheung & Lun, 2015; Näring, Vlerick, Van de Ven, 2012; Taxer & Frenzel, 2015; Wróbel, 2013). Wróbel (2013) noted that teaching jobs are not customer service jobs, and that display rules for teachers might call for showing both positive and negative emotions. For example, there are situations in educational settings in which teachers are expected to express disapproval with students, such as when students misbehave in the classroom. A customer service employee would not be expected to chastise a rude customer for "misbehaving". In fact, it is likely that the display rule for a customer service employee when faced with a rude customer would be to deliver "service with a smile" (Barger & Grandey, 2006, p. 1229; Grandey et al., 2010, p. 388) and to go along with the idea that "the customer is always right" (Barger, 2009, p. 3; Grandey et al., 2010, p. 391).

Emotional labor in college and university professors. Other qualitative (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Gates, 2000; Ogbonna & Harris, 2004) and quantitative (Bowen & Cherubini, 2015; Meier, 2009; Mahoney, Buboltz, Buckner, & Doverspike, 2011; Zhang & Zhu, 2008) studies have looked at emotional labor specifically in college and university professors. Interviews with and surveys of faculty members reveal some of the implicit display rules associated with the profession. University professors are expected to mask their own stress or frustration, be enthusiastic (regardless of the topic), inspiring, ethical, sensitive to student needs, patient, calm, and professional (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004; Gates,

2000; Ogbonna & Harris, 2004). Faculty in Gates' (2000) study spoke about having to hide their own disappointment or discouragement from students, and about using humor or emotionally neutral statements to suppress their anger or frustration when addressing disruptive student behaviors, such as talking in class, arriving late, or not turning in assignments.

Some faculty also shared thoughts on the expression of negative emotions. One faculty member in Constanti and Gibbs' (2004) study spoke about how negative emotions can be expressed, but that it must be done in a certain way. The example given was that a professor can be upset about student test performance and sternly speak to the class about it, but cannot react by doing something like throwing textbooks across the room (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004). Other professors spoke of reacting to emotionally charged student situations by facilitating a rational exploration of the situation. For example, if a professor had a student upset about a bad grade, the professor could facilitate a discussion with that student about what he or she did well and what he or she could improve upon (Gates, 2000). In this example, the professor does not have to suppress their negative reactions to the student's performance (i.e. the bad grade), but can frame those reactions in a positive way to help the student improve. Notably, some professors spoke of a conflict between holding students accountable or chastising them and the negative effect that could have on their teaching evaluations (Constanti & Gibbs, 2004).

Mahoney et al. (2011) asserted that the university teaching profession has

less explicit display rules, is characterized by longer relationships with "clients" (students) than the customer service profession, and that university professors are likely to believe that being genuine with students is an emotional requirement of the job. Notably, there can be some conflict between the emotional requirement of being genuine and the management of emotional expression (Mahoney et al., 2011). Mahoney et al. (2011) examined the relationships of genuine emotional expression, faking, and suppressing emotions with emotional exhaustion, affective commitment, and job satisfaction in American university professors. Genuine positive expression of emotions was significantly positively correlated with job satisfaction and affective commitment, and significantly negatively correlated with emotional exhaustion (Mahoney et al, 2011). While faking positive emotional expressions had better outcomes on emotional exhaustion, affective commitment, and job satisfaction than expressing genuine negative emotions did, it is worth noting that expressing genuine negative emotions had slightly better outcomes on emotional exhaustion, affective commitment, and job satisfaction than suppressing those negative emotions did (Mahoney et al., 2011). These results may suggest that, at least in the teaching profession, genuine expression of negative emotions has marginally more positive outcomes for job attitudes than suppressing negative emotions does.

In their sample of professors from liberal arts institutions, Bowen & Cherubini (2015) found that faculty most often suppressed negative emotions and

expressed genuine positive emotions, and that faculty least often expressed genuine negative emotions. In comparison, the professors in Mahoney et al.'s (2011) sample indicated that they expressed genuine negative emotions at about the same rate that they suppressed them.

Student customer orientation. A number of societal factors, including economic climate, increasing student demands and expectations, a growing burden on college students in terms of tuition, and global educational competition (Kosch, Friedrich, & Breitner, 2012; Martin, 2008; Oblinger, 2003; Saunders, 2014; Vauterin, Linnanen, & Marttila, 2011) have contributed to changes in the modern university context. According to Saunders (2014), today's university context is strongly influenced by the principles of a free market economy, in which economic gain is prioritized in institutional decisions regarding faculty assignments, decision-making, and governance. University tuition and fees have skyrocketed as a result of less state support (Saunders, 2011), which has led to increased student demands (Kosch et al., 2012). According to Oblinger (2003), "Having grown up in a customer-service culture, today's students have a strong demand for immediacy and little tolerance for delays" (p. 40). Finally, there is increased competition between global universities in terms of attracting students (Liebenberg & Barnes, 2004).

Central to this changing context is the debate over whether college students should be considered customers of the university (Saunders, 2014). Some argue

that universities should adopt a customer service orientation toward students in order to increase attraction and retention (Kosch et al., 2012). However, others argue that adhering to a customer service orientation with students devalues the university experience and is against the basic principles of education (Molesworth, Nixon, & Scullion, 2009). Molesworth et al. (2009) summarized the argument against a customer service focus in higher education: "Once, under the guidance of the academic, the undergraduate had the potential to be transformed into a scholar, someone who thinks critically, but in our consumer society such 'transformation' is denied and 'confirmation' of the student as consumer is [favored]" (p. 277).

Saunders (2014) argued that most universities are moving toward a conceptualization of students as customers despite the lack of empirical research on whether or not students view themselves as such. He developed a scale to measure student customer orientation, or the extent to which students view themselves as customers of the university (Saunders, 2014). This construct examines the extent to which students view education as a product being purchased, student perceptions of financial returns on education, student expectations of professors' roles, the extent to which students feel they deserve good grades as a result of paying for education, and student perceptions of goals of education (Saunders, 2014). Using this scale, Saunders (2014) surveyed college freshmen at a large public research university and found that only 28.9% expressed a customer orientation. Saunders' (2014) research demonstrates the differences in student customer orientation between

some institutions and the students themselves.

Student affairs and services administrators. A specific educational context that has received little to no attention in the emotional labor research is that of student affairs and services administrators. In the broadest sense, student affairs and services refers to programs and services provided to university students outside of the classroom (Love, 2003). Student affairs and services administrators work on college and university campuses in a wide variety of functional areas, including admissions, residence life, student activities, sorority and fraternity affairs, career development, study abroad advising, academic advising, financial aid, international student programs and services, community service and service learning programs, athletics, student judicial affairs, campus recreation, diversity and multicultural affairs, disability support services, international student services, leadership programs, LGBT affairs, multicultural student services, and orientation and new student programs (Dungy, 2003). The student affairs and services administrators population provides an excellent opportunity to study variation in conflict between personal and organizational goal hierarchies.

As a result of debate in higher education about the extent to which universities should consider students to be customers, administrative departments at colleges and universities should vary in customer service orientation to a greater extent than traditional customer service organizations (e.g. call centers) do. Additionally, the student affairs and services administrators within these colleges

and universities will also vary individually in terms of whether they view students as customers or not. The potential for conflict or congruence between these employees' personal goals and their departments' goals in terms of student customer orientation provides an opportunity to study the display role conflict processes mentioned by Diefendorff & Gosserand (2003) and Dahling and Johnson (2013).

The existing research on emotional labor in education, and, specifically, in the university teaching profession, provides important insights into some of the profession-specific aspects of emotional labor. However, the display rules for student affairs and service administrators may be notably different than the display rules for university instructors, given the differing roles of the two populations. The current research on student affairs and service administrators therefore provides a much-needed look into the emotional labor process of these individuals.

Emotional Labor and Culture

As the emotional labor literature expanded, researchers called for further exploration of the role of culture in emotional labor (Allen, et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2005, Mesquita & Delvaux, 2013; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005). The role of culture in emotional labor has been examined in the research in three different ways: research conducted in non North-American samples, research that has included measurement of a cultural variable, such as individualism-collectivism (Allen et al., 2014; Brotheridge & Taylor, 2006; Newnham, 2017) or power distance (Grandey et

al., 2010), and research that has compared samples of individuals from different cultures.

Emotional labor research in non-North American samples. Much of what is known about emotional labor comes from studies conducted in North American samples (Allen, et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2005, Mesquita & Delvaux, 2013; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005). A large amount of emotional labor research has taken place outside of the United States, but has measured any culture variables. Some of this research includes work from Western Europe (Zapf, Vogt, Seifert, Mertini, & Isic, 1999; Poynter, 2002; Tschan et al., 2005; Näring et al., 2006), Australia (Van Dijk & Kirk-Brown, 2006), Asia (Cheung, Tang, & Tang, 2011; Mishra, 2013; Zhang & Zhu, 2008), and the Middle East (Yagil, 2014).

Emotional labor research including measurement of cultural variables. Specific cultural variables that have been studied alongside emotional labor include cultural values (Gursoy et al., 2011), cultural competence (McCance, 2010), individualism-collectivism (Allen et al., 2014; Brotheridge & Taylor, 2006; Newnham, 2017), and power distance (Grandey et al., 2010). These emotional labor studies have examined cultural variables at both the individual (Brotheridge & Taylor, 2006; McCance, 2010l; Newnham, 2017) and the country (Allen et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2010) level.

Emotional labor research comparing individuals across cultures.

Grandey et al. (2005) compared the effect of emotion regulation on emotional exhaustion and job satisfaction between samples of American and French employees. They found that the negative relationship between emotion regulation and job satisfaction was weaker for French employees than for U.S. employees (Grandey et al., 2005). Grandey et al. (2005) proposed that this is because French culture "has been shown to dislike coerced and fake expressions" (p. 900) and is impulsively oriented, which allows for more autonomy when it comes to employee emotional expression (Grandey et al, 2005). In comparison, the United States is more institutionally oriented, meaning that emotional norms are more strictly dictated (Grandey et al., 2005; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011).

In their meta-analysis, Hülsheger and Schewe (2011) explored culture as a moderator of the relationships of surface acting with job satisfaction and emotional exhaustion. Specifically, the positive relationship between surface acting and emotional exhaustion was stronger in Anglo countries (which included the United States, Canada, Australia, the United Kingdom, Ireland, and South Africa) than in Latin European countries (which included France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). Additionally, the negative relationship between surface acting and job satisfaction was stronger in Germanic countries (which included Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Netherlands) than in Latin European countries (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011). Hülsheger & Schewe (2011)

asserted that these findings are in line with Grandey et al.'s (2005) explanation of impulsively versus institutionally oriented cultures. The impulsively oriented Latin European countries have "more personal control over their choice of regulation strategies than institutionally oriented cultures, and this buffers them against the negative effects of surface acting on strain" (Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011, p. 381)

Display rules and culture. Some studies look specifically at the display rule component of emotional labor and its relationship to culture (Allen et al, 2014; Grandey et al., 2010; Moran, et al., 2013). Earlier work on cultural display rules (Friesen, 1972; Ekman & Friesen, 1975) provides some of the theoretical background for these studies. Matsumoto (1990) defined display rules as "learned, culturally determined rules that govern the display of emotion depending on social circumstance" (p. 196). Moran et al. (2012) compared samples from Singapore and the United States to explore whether or not display rules at work differed from more general, culture-based emotional display rules. They found that display rules at work generally required employees to be less emotionally expressive than display rules outside of work did (Moran et al., 2012).

A common theme in these studies is that display rule expectations and the relationships between display rules and outcome variables can sometimes vary by culture. Allen et al. (2014) found significant differences in samples of U.S. and Chinese service workers in terms of the relationship between display rule perceptions and surface acting, deep acting, depersonalization, and emotional

exhaustion. The relationship between display rule perceptions and surface acting was positive and strong in the U.S. sample compared to a negative and weak relationship in the Chinese sample (Allen et al., 2014). The positive relationship between display rule perceptions and deep acting was stronger in the Chinese sample than in the U.S. sample, while the negative relationships between display rule perceptions and depersonalization and emotional exhaustion were much stronger in the Chinese than in the U.S. sample (Allen et al., 2014). Grandey et al. (2010) found few cultural differences in organizational display rules about how to behave with customers, putting forth the idea that the "global service economy" (p. 390) has led to a more globally standardized view of how to treat customers. However, Grandey et al. (2010) did find that French employees were more accepting of expressing anger with customers than employees from other cultures were, and that American employees had the highest expectations for expressing happiness with customers compared to employees from other countries.

Neither Allen et al.'s (2014) study nor Grandey et al.'s (2010) study included individual-level measures of cultural variables. Instead, they used Hofstede's (1991) data to categorize countries as high or low in individualism-collectivism (Allen et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2010) or power distance (Grandey et al., 2010). Thus, there is a need in the research to combine research on display rules and culture with individual-level measures of cultural variables.

Culture as organizational context. Cross-cultural organizational research is not limited to a focus on national culture. Culture in organizational research can be examined at different levels, such as team culture, organizational culture, and national culture (Erez, 2011). These levels are organized such that team culture is nested within organizational culture, which is nested within national culture (Erez, 2011). Organizational culture has to do with shared organizational values, behavioral norms, and patterns of behavior (Rousseau, 1990).

Present Investigation and Hypotheses

Because of department-level and individual-level differences in student customer orientation, the student affairs and services context is a ripe one for examining the effect of conflict or congruence between personal goal hierarchies and organizational goal hierarchies. Publications and professional associations in student affairs and services in the United States dictate specific values that are held up as ideals in the field. Attributes such as holistic student development, an emphasis on student learning, a valuing of diversity, helping students develop values, alignment with institutional mission, and forming partnerships with faculty and other staff are stressed (Love, 2003; NASPA & ACPA, 1998; NASPA & ACPA, 2010; Nuss, 2003). Customer service is mentioned as an intermediate and an advanced outcome in a 2015 task force report that outlined competency areas for student affairs and services professionals (NASPA & ACPA, Professional Competencies Task Force), but it is not stressed as a skill in other works (Burkard,

Cole, Ott, & Stoflet, 2004; Hoffman & Bresciani, 2012; Lovell & Kosten, 2000).

It is important to note that, although these professional organizations, graduate training programs, and lists of espoused values exist and are taken very seriously and adhered to by many student affairs and services professionals, many employees who work in student affairs and services roles do not have this kind of training, connections, or familiarity with the field's identity, jargon, and espoused values. Recently, work has been done to establish a list of global student affairs and services competencies. The results of a survey of global student affairs and services professionals revealed some of the same themes as above, for example, supporting student development, building community, and maintaining a social justice perspective in working with diverse populations (Moscaritolo & Roberts, 2016). However, there were two statements about the roles of student affairs and services professionals in the survey that lacked consensus: "view students as customers whose preferences and wishes should be considered" (Moscaritolo & Roberts, 2016, p. 114) and "address students' holistic educational and developmental needs" (Moscaritolo & Roberts, 2016, p. 114).

There is currently a debate in higher education about the extent to which universities should consider students to be customers (Saunders, 2014). It can be argued that this debate can extend to individual university employees and the departments in which they work. Essentially, some student affairs and services professionals view students as customers and therefore prioritize customer service,

while others prioritize students' education over their "customer" satisfaction. This research therefore assumes that some student affairs and services administrators are high in student customer orientation, while others are low in student customer orientation. The continuum between those high in student customer orientation and those low in student customer orientation presents the opportunity to examine conflict between personal and organizational goal hierarchies and the effect of that conflict on the emotional labor process, responding to Dahling and Johnson's (2013) call for additional research on the topic.

Using Diefendorff & Gosserand's (2003) conceptualization of display rules as goals, it can be said that student affairs and services professionals with differing levels of student customer orientation may experience goal conflict when it comes to the emotional display rules of their workplace. Much like teaching jobs (Wróbel, 2013) student affairs and services jobs may sometimes call for expressing negative emotions. For example, if a student sends a rude and demanding email to a student affairs and services professional, that employee, if low in student customer orientation, might express negative emotion toward the student in an attempt to communicate to the student that the behavior is unacceptable. On the other hand, another student affairs and services professional who may be high in student customer orientation might view a negative emotional display toward the student as inappropriate and adopt a "service with a smile" or "the customer is always right" display rule. In service interactions, the customer has more power than the

employee (Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009; Diefendorff et al., 2010). It has been found that, because of the power dynamics of the employee-customer relationship, employees are much more likely to suppress anger toward customers than to supervisors or coworkers (Grandey et al., 2010) and that employees tend to control their emotional expressions more when interacting with customers than with other targets, such as coworkers (Diefendorff & Greguras, 2009; Diefendorff et al., 2010).

Using Diefendorff and Gosserand's (2003) model, student customer orientation may be conceptualized as a high-level goal in that employee's personal goal hierarchy—a high-level goal that may be served by lower-level emotional display rules (subgoals). Similarly, the student customer orientation of the university department in which the employee works can be conceptualized as a high-level goal in the employee's work-related goal hierarchy, and these goals may also be served by lower-level emotional display standards. Because both student affairs and services professionals and the departments in which they work are likely to vary on student customer service orientation, the possibility for goal conflict related to emotional display rules is high.

Goal conflict has been defined as the dissonance that occurs "when the pursuit of one goal undermines or precludes the successful pursuit of another" (Kelly, Mansell, & Wood, 2015, p. 213). The pursuit of a personal goal may conflict with the pursuit of an organizational goal. This potential conflict can be

demonstrated using the above example of a student affairs and services professional who receives a rude email from a student. If the employee is low in student customer orientation, his or her higher-level goals may be to try to teach the student about appropriate communication, and these goals may be best served by displaying negative emotion to the student. However, if the employee's department is high in student customer orientation, higher-level goals may include acquiescing to student demands regardless of how they are communicated. In this case, masking negative emotion may be the best way of attaining these goals. In this example, emotional display rules, or goals, that serve, the personal goal hierarchy conflict with emotional display rules, or goals, that serve the work goal hierarchy.

> Hypothesis 1: The interaction between personal student customer orientation and department-level student customer orientation predicts perceived conflict between personal and organizational display rules.

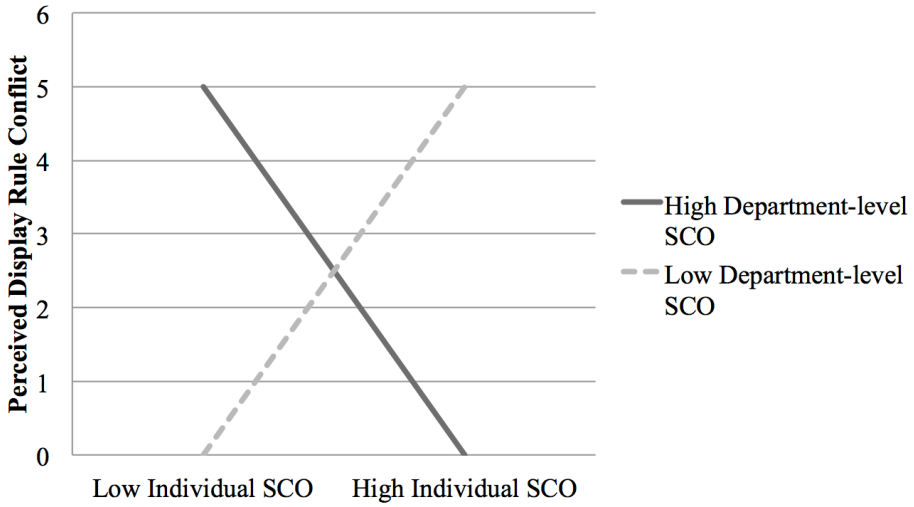

Figure 1. Hypothesized Interaction between Personal Student Customer Orientation (SCO) and Department-level Student Customer Orientation.

According to a 2015 literature review by Kelly and colleagues, goal conflict has been linked to increased anxiety, depression, and somatic symptoms, and decreased life satisfaction, positive affect, and job satisfaction. The few studies that have looked at the relationship between goal conflict and goal commitment have found a negative relationship between the two (Slocum, Cron, & Brown, 2002; Staniok, 2016). Goal commitment can also be driven by expectancy and valence (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). According to Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003), employees value display rules that are "positively related to the achievement of several higher-order goals" (p. 951), and employees believe they can better adhere to emotional display rules if the display rules are in line with their felt emotions. Given this, if organizational display rules do not contribute to the achievement of other higher-order goals, and are not in line with employees' felt emotions, it is

likely that employees will be less committed to adhering to them. In terms of student affairs and services professionals and student customer orientation, the congruence or conflict between the employee's personal student customer orientation and the department's student customer orientation may affect the employee's level of commitment to organizational display rules.

Hypothesis 2: Perceived conflict between personal and organizational (department-level) display rules reduces commitment to organizational display rules.

Hypothesis 3: The indirect effect of personal student customer orientation on display rule commitment through conflict is moderated by department-level customer service orientation.

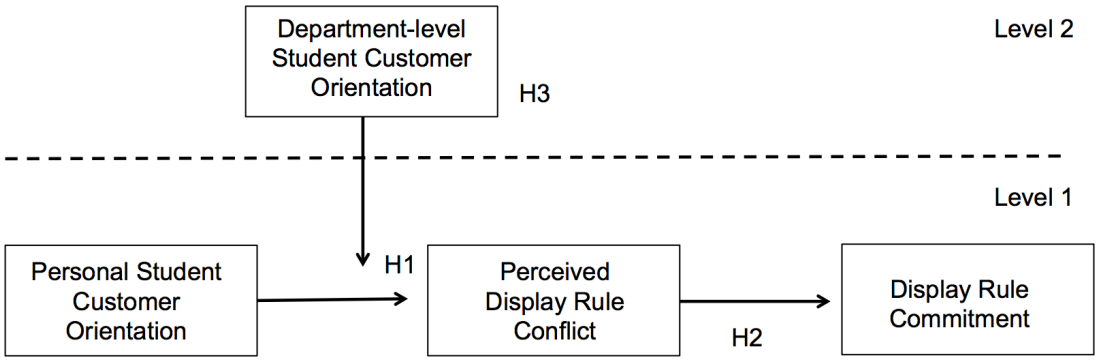

Figure 2. Model 1: Student Customer Orientation Hypotheses (H1-H3).

Although perceived display rule conflict may originate from a mismatch between personal and department-level values, it may also originate from a mismatch between personal values and cultural values. Power distance, one of the most widely studied cultural dimensions, is defined as "the degree to which

members of an organization or society expect and agree that power should be shared unequally" (Carl, Gupta, & Javidan, 2004, p. 537). High power distance cultures are characterized by the acceptance of a strict hierarchy, a lack of participative decision-making, expectations of autocratic leadership, respect for elders, and obedience (Daniels & Greguras, 2014; Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 2011). Low power distance cultures are characterized by an emphasis on equality, recognition of the existence of hierarchy for the sake of convenience, and participative decision-making (Daniels & Greguras, 2014; Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 2011).

It is important to consider the level of analysis at which power distance is measured in any given study (Daniels & Greguras, 2014). Despite its common occurrence in cross-cultural research, it is a fallacy to conflate individual-level cultural values with country-level cultural values (Daniels & Greguras, 2014; Hofstede, 2011). Doing so ignores within-country variance in individuals and the potential for different relationships to exist between variables at different levels of analysis (Daniels & Greguras, 2014). Given this, there is potential for goal conflict between an individual's power distance orientation and the power distance of the nation or organizational context (i.e. culture) in which the individual is working.

Because of differences in expertise and formal authority (Raven, 1993), university employees arguably have more power than the students they serve, but this power differential is likely to be more salient in high power distance cultures

and for employees with higher personal power distance. Additionally, because university employees (on average) are older than the students with whom they work, differences in respect for one's elders associated with the power distance value are also likely to impact emotional display expectations. Yet, similar to the conflict between personal and department-level student customer orientation, conflict between personal and nation-level power distance may impact perceptions of conflict in emotional display rules. For example, in a culture characterized by high power distance, due to the fact that student affairs and services employees will generally have more power than the students they work with, the norm may be to show, rather than mask, negative emotional displays from students. However, if an employee in that organization has a low individual-level power distance orientation, he or she might not feel that demonstrating negative emotions toward students is appropriate. Conversely, an employee with a high personal power distance orientation may feel it is quite acceptable to display negative emotions to those of lower power; however, if he or she works in a culture that is low on power distance, the societal expectation may be to show more constraint in emotional displays. According to the GLOBE study, organizational power distance practices and values are predicted by societal power distances and values (Carl et al., 2004). Given this, organizational display rules in terms of power distance are likely to be relatively consistent with country-level power distance.

Hypothesis 4: The interaction between personal power distance orientation and country-level power distance predicts perceived conflict between personal and organizational (department-level) display rules.

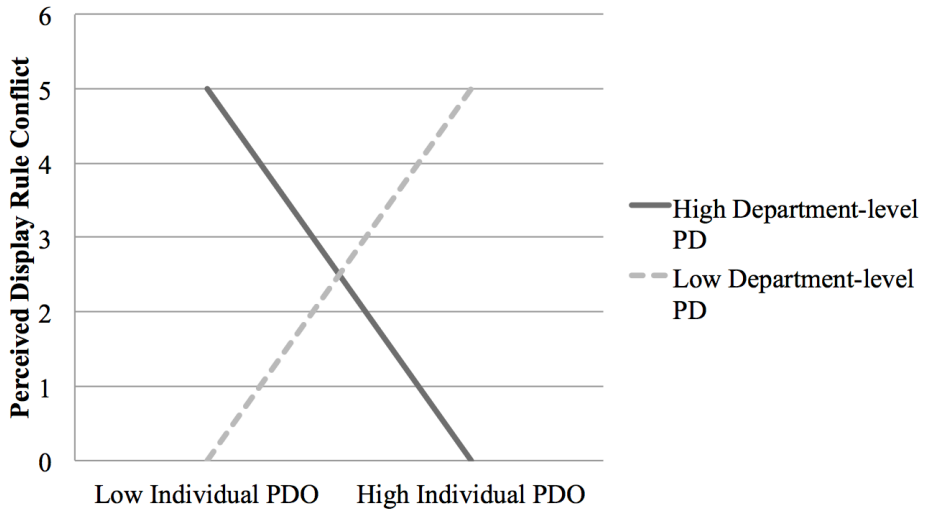

Figure 3. Hypothesized Interaction between Personal Student Power Distance Orientation (PDO) and Department-level Power Distance (PD).

Hypothesis 5: The indirect effect of personal power distance orientation on display rule commitment through conflict is moderated by country-level power distance.

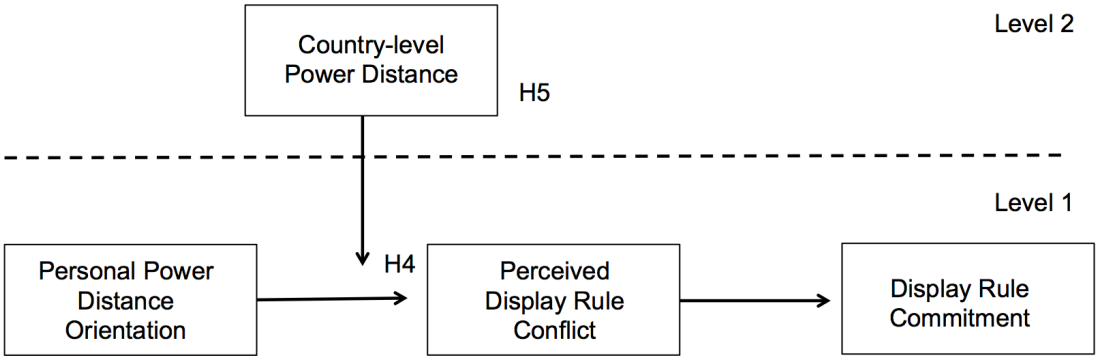

Figure 4. Model 2: Power Distance Hypotheses (H4-H5).

Methods

Participants

Full-time student affairs and services professionals were recruited for this study. Over the past century, student affairs and services has evolved into a professional field in its own right. In the United States, the field is most often referred to as student affairs, and has two professional associations, NASPA (National Association of Student Personnel Administrators) and ACPA (American College Personnel Association) (ACPA, 2017; NASPA, 2015a; Love, 2003). There are over 300 graduate (both Master's and Ph.D.) degree programs for careers in the field, with names such as "Higher Education Administration", "College Student Development", "Student Personnel in Higher Education", "College and University Leadership", and "Student Affairs in Higher Education". (NASPA, 2015b). Recent efforts to expand the professionalization of student affairs and services work

beyond the United States include the formation of the International Association of Student Affairs and Services (IASAS), exchange programs between professionals at universities in different countries, and publications exploring the internationalization of the profession (Perozzi, Osfield, Moscaritolo, & Shea, 2016). It is that line of student affairs internalization research that advocates for using the term "student affairs and services" instead of "student affairs" (Perozzi et al., 2016).

Recruitment. The primary investigator was actively involved in student affairs and services graduate training programs, professional associations, and employment for a total of eight years, and was able to leverage that past professional experience in order to recruit participants for this study. A recruitment message that included the study purpose, directions, duration, deadline, and link to the study survey can be found in Appendix A. In order to collect department-level data, upon completion of the survey, participants who had not received the survey from another colleague were asked to send a message and a random code provided to them to at least three colleagues in their primary work department. Participants who had received a code from a colleague were asked to enter it at the beginning of the survey.

The recruitment message was distributed to SECUSS-L, a mailing list specifically for education abroad professionals; a student affairs and services graduate program alumni group; the Student Affairs Professionals Facebook page;

the LatinX in Student Affairs Facebook page; The Admin: A Place for Student Affairs Professionals Facebook page; past participants of NASPA's International Symposium, an annual preconference of student affairs and services administrators from around the globe; a list of authors of a recent book on the internationalization of student affairs and services (Osfield, Perozzi, Moscaritolo, & Shea, 2016); the NAFSA (National Association of Foreign Student Administrators): Association of International Educators Research Connections Forum; the #sachat (student affairs chat) Twitter backchannel; Deutsches Studentenwerk, a German association for student affairs and services professionals; two NASPA regional subgroups: MENASA (Middle East, North Africa, South Asia) and LAC (Latin America and the Caribbean); and eight NASPA Knowledge Communities and one ACPA Commission, which are thematic professional working groups.

Due to differing policies on how to handle research requests, The Women in Student Affairs and Spirituality and Religion in Higher Education NASPA Knowledge Communities and the ACPA Commission for Campus Safety and Emergency Preparedness shared the recruitment message with their leadership teams in order for them to forward it to their professional networks, while the Campus Safety and Violence Prevention, Multiracial, New Professionals and Graduate Students, Gender and Sexuality, LatinX, and Assessment, Evaluation, and Research NASPA Knowledge Communities distributed the message through their social media channels. The recruitment message was also sent to student affairs and

services professionals at the Florida Institute of Technology, and approximately 85 individual professional contacts developed during the primary investigator's time working in student affairs and services.

Representatives from other NASPA Knowledge Communities and ACPA Commissions, including the International Education Knowledge Community and the Commission for Global Dimensions of Student Development, the Australia and New Zealand Student Services Association (ANZSSA), and the National Association of Orientation Directors (NODA) were unable to distribute the recruitment message prior to the close of data collection. Additionally, it was against the Association of College and University Housing Officers-International (ACUHO-I)'s policy to distribute research requests. Finally, a number of professional associations, NASPA Knowledge Communities, and ACPA Commissions contacted did not respond prior to the close of data collection. In order to incentivize participants, those who completed the survey were given the opportunity to be entered into a drawing to win one of five 50-dollar Amazon.com gift cards. Email addresses provided in the gift card drawing were not connected to participant responses.

Sample. Three hundred and thirty-six individuals filled out the survey. Individuals who left large portions of the survey blank or indicated that they were professors or graduate students were deleted from the data. After data cleaning, the total sample size was 284.

Individual demographics and job details. The majority of survey participants were 21-39 year old (76.7%) females (75%) from the United States (84.4%). Sixty-five percent of participants reported holding a Master's degree or Ph.D. in student affairs, while 33.9% of participants reported not holding a degree in student affairs. Most participants reported working mainly with undergraduate students (82.1%) who attend their institution primarily in-person (98.6%). Most participants reported interacting with students 1-5 times a day (38.1%), 6-10 times a day (28.1%), or more than 10 times a day (21.7%). Most participants reported holding mid-level (47.7%) or entry-level (33.5%) jobs and have worked at their current job for 1-5 years (52.8%). The majority of participants reported their main work functional areas as study abroad (15.3%), multiple function areas (14.6%), residence life and housing (14.2%), and academic advising (12.5%). A full breakdown of individual demographics and job details is presented in Tables 1-3.

Department demographics. Of the 284 individuals in the sample, 142 of them provided department codes that matched with at least one other participant. A total of 38 departments were represented in the data. The majority of the departments are located at public (63.1%), not religiously-affiliated (86.8%) colleges and universities (94.7%) in the United States (89.4%). Four departments are located outside of the United States in Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, the Netherlands, and Canada. The majority of the departments are central campus offices with multiple responsibilities (18.4%) (e.g. Department 4 is an office that is

responsible for housing, student activities, international student services, diversity and multicultural affairs, and orientation/new student programs). Most of the other departments are study abroad offices (15.8%), offices that are responsible for both study abroad and international student services (15.8%), and academic advising offices (15.8%). Other types of departments represented are student activities, housing and residence life, an academic dean's office, an office that solely works with international student services, a career development department, an admissions department, a campus recreation department, a counseling department, and an athletic departments. Department characteristics are presented in Table 4.

Measures

The survey distributed to participants (Appendix B) included the measures below.

Student customer orientation. Both individual and department- level student customer orientation were measured with a modified version of Saunders' (2014) 18-question Customer Orientation Scale. Participants were first instructed to fill out the scale "using [their] own perspective and opinions." They were then asked to fill out the same scale "taking the perspective of [their] work department/unit". Items were measured on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". In past studies, this scale has had an alpha of .88 (Saunders, 2014). In this study, the personal student customer orientation scale had an alpha of .80, demonstrating good reliability. The department-level

student customer orientation scale had an alpha of .90, demonstrating good reliability.

Display rule perceptions. Measures of display rule perceptions were included in this study in order to explore the relationship between display rule perceptions and display rule conflict. Display rule perceptions were measured using Diefendorff, Croyle, and Gosserand's (2005b) Positive and Negative Display Rule Perceptions Scale. The scale consists of four items that measure positive display rule perceptions (i.e., expectations to show positive emotions) and three items that measure negative display rule perceptions (i.e., expectations to hide negative emotions). Items were measured a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". In past studies, the positive display rule perceptions scale has had an alpha of .73, and the negative display rule perceptions scale has had an alpha of .75 (Diefendorff et al., 2005a). In this study, the positive display rule perceptions scale had an alpha of .81, and the negative display rule perceptions scale had an alpha of .86. Thus, both of these scales demonstrated good reliability.

Perceived display rule conflict. Perceived display rule conflict was measured with a set of items developed specifically for this study. The items were designed to tap into the extent to which lower-level organizational goals for emotional displays conflict with higher-level personal goals (Dahling & Johnson, 2013; Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). Items were measured on a five-point frequency scale ranging from "never" to "always". The initial item pool, consisting

of nine items, was pilot-tested in a sample of 248 employees participating in another research study on leader emotion management. An exploratory factor analysis using principle-axis factor rotation was conducted to narrow down the initial items. 1 factor explained 73% of the variance in responses. All items demonstrated acceptable factor loadings. Factor loadings are presented in Table 5. The five items that made up the final display rule conflict scale are presented in bold. To avoid redundancy, some items with slightly lower factor loadings were chosen to be included in the scale over others with slightly higher factor loadings. In the pilot study, the display rule conflict scale had an alpha of 0.93. In this study, the display rule conflict scale had an alpha of .91, demonstrating excellent reliability.

Display rule commitment. Display rule commitment was measured using a modified version of five of the items from Hollenbeck, Williams, and Klein's (1989) Goal Commitment Scale recommended by Klein, Wessen, Hollenbeck, and Wright (2001). Diefendorff and Croyle (2008) as well as Gosserand and Diefendorff (2005) set the precedent for using a modified version of this scale to measure display rule commitment. Items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". In past studies, this scale has had an alpha of .74 (Klein et al., 2001). In this study, the display rule commitment scale had an alpha of .82, indicating good reliability.

Power distance. Personal power distance orientation was measured using the five power distance items from Yoo, Donthu, & Lenartowicz's (2011a) Individual Cultural Values scale, which was specifically developed to measure Hofstede's cultural dimensions at the individual level. Yoo et al. (2011a) tested the scale in a number of cross-cultural samples, and the reliability of the power distance items ranged from .6 to .93. Items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree " to "strongly agree". In this study, the personal power distance orientation scale had an alpha of 0.64, indicating poor reliability. The reliability of the scale did not increase upon deletion of any items, thus this low reliability is a limitation of this study.

Originally, country-level power distance was going to be operationalized using the GLOBE study's societal power distance values (Carl et al., 2004). However, since not enough country-level data was collected, department-level power distance was used in its place. Department-level power distance was measured using the three power distance items from Erez and Earley's (1987) Cultural Values scale. These items were developed to measure cultural values at the group or cultural level, rather than the individual level (Erez & Earley, 1987). In past studies, this scale has had an alpha of .75 (Erez & Earley, 1987). In this study, the Department Level Power Distance scale had an initial alpha of .49, indicating poor reliability. However, alpha increased if item 1 (*My department believes that powerful people should try to look less powerful than they are* – reverse-scored*)*

was deleted. Thus, item 1 was eliminated. The new alpha of the scale was .75, indicating good reliability.

Emotional exhaustion. Since both emotional labor (Gabriel et al., 2015, Wagner, et al., 2014; Wharton, 1993) and goal conflict (Kelly et al., 2015) have been linked to emotional exhaustion, a measure of emotional exhaustion was included in this study. Emotional exhaustion was measured using Wilk and Moynihan's (2005b) four-item measure. Items were measured on a five-point frequency scale ranging from "once a month or less" to "several times a day". In past studies, this scale has had an alpha of .78 (Wilk & Moynihan, 2005a). In this study, the emotional exhaustion scale had an alpha of .92, demonstrating excellent reliability.

Feelings of inauthenticity. Feelings of inauthenticity were measured using Richard's (2006) three feelings of inauthenticity items. Items were measured on a 5-point frequency scale ranging from "once a month or less" to "several times a day". In this study, the feelings of inauthenticity scale had an alpha of 0.94, demonstrating excellent reliability.

Demographic and control variables. Demographic and control variables collected in this study can be divided into 3 categories: personal demographics, job details, and institution details. Personal demographic items collected included gender, age, country of origin, and whether or not the respondents held a degree in student affairs. Job details collected included the individual function area

respondents work in, type of students that respondents work with (undergraduate, graduate, or equally with undergraduate and graduate; students who attend the institution primarily in-person or primarily through online courses), frequency of interaction with students, position level, and tenure. Institution details collected included whether the institution was public or private, what type of institution it was (college/university, community college, or technical/vocational school), and whether the institution was religiously-affiliated or not.

Analyses

Initial Individual-Level Analyses

Initial analyses were run on the full sample of 284 participants. Composite scores were calculated for each survey respondent by averaging responses on all individual-level variables. Individual-level variables included: personal student customer orientation (SCO), display rule conflict, personal power distance orientation, emotional exhaustion, and feelings of inauthenticity, as well as individual's perceptions of their own department's student customer orientation and their own department's power distance orientation.

Outliers. Potential outliers were identified by converting values on all variables to z-scores. Individuals in the sample who had a z-score value of above 3.29 on any composite variable were flagged. Using this metric, four potential outliers were identified. Of the four individuals, one had high personal student

customer orientation, one had low positive display rule perceptions, and two had high personal power distance orientation. The sample size excluding potential outliers was 280.

Checking for normality. Analyses were run to examine the skewness, kurtosis, and Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic of each composite variable both including and excluding outliers. Positive skew values indicate that a large number of respondents demonstrated low scores on that variable, while negative skew values indicate a large number of respondents demonstrated high scores on that variable (Field, 2013). Positive kurtosis values indicate a distribution with heavy tails, and negative kurtosis values indicate a distribution with light tails (Field, 2013). For both skewness and kurtosis, the farther away the absolute value is from zero, the less likely the data are to be normally distributed (Field, 2013). If the Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic is significant ($p < .05$), the data are less likely to be normally distributed (Field, 2013). Skewness and kurtosis values and Kolmogorov-Smirnov significance levels for all individual-level data including potential outliers are presented in Table 6. Skewness and kurtosis values and Kolmogorov-Smirnov significance levels for all individual-level data excluding potential outliers are presented in Table 7. Because all of these normality statistics are sensitive to large sample sizes (Field, 2013; Pallant, 2007), the decision was made not to transform the data to increase normality.

Descriptive statistics and correlations. Descriptive statistics for all individual-level data with potential outliers included are presented in Table 8. Descriptive statistics for all individual-level data with potential outliers excluded are presented in Table 9. Correlations for all individual-level data with potential outliers included are presented in Table 10. Correlations for all individual-level data with potential outliers excluded are presented in Table 11.

ANOVAs. A series of one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were run to determine other factors that may affect the outcome variables in this study: display rule conflict, display rule commitment, burnout, and feelings of inauthenticity. Since no individuals had been flagged as potential outliers on any of these variables, ANOVAs were run on the full sample of 284 individuals.

Perceived display rule conflict. There was a significant effect of job tenure on perceived display rule conflict at $p < .05$, $F(4, 275) = 2.45$. However, post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test did not indicate any significant differences in perceived display rule conflict by job tenure. Additionally, there was a significant effect of position level on perceived display rule conflict, $F(2, 278) = 3.65$, $p < .05$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean perceived display rule conflict score of entry-level employees ($M = 2.01$, $SD = .88$) was significantly higher than the mean display rule conflict score of management-level employees ($M = 1.67$, $SD = .70$). No significant differences were found on perceived display rule conflict between mid-level and entry-level

employees or between mid-level and management-level employees. Type of institution, type of student that employees primarily work with, frequency of student interaction, gender, age, and type of student affairs degree held by employees were not related to display rule conflict. ANOVA results for perceived display rule conflict are presented in Tables 12-13.

Display rule commitment. There was a significant effect of position level on display rule commitment, $F(2, 278) = 7.11$, $p < .01$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean display rule commitment score of management-level employees ($M = 3.75$, $SD = .80$) was significantly higher than the mean display rule commitment scores of both entry-level ($M = 3.20$, $SD = .91$) and mid-level ($M = 3.42$, $SD = .82$) employees. No significant differences were found on display rule commitment between mid-level and entry-level employees. There was also a significant effect of type of student affairs degree held by employees on display rule commitment, $F(2, 277) = 7.21$, $p < .01$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean display rule commitment score of employees who hold a Ph.D. in student affairs ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .92$) was significantly higher than the mean display rule commitment scores of employees who hold a Master's degree in student affairs ($M = 3.26$, $SD = .85$). Additionally, the mean display rule commitment score of employees who hold a Master's degree in student affairs was significantly higher than the mean display rule commitment score of employees who do not hold any degree in student affairs

(M = 3.55, SD = .83). No significant differences were found on display rule commitment between employees who hold a Ph.D. in student affairs and those who do not hold a degree in student affairs. Type of institution, type of student employees primarily work with, job tenure, frequency of student interaction, gender, and age were not significantly related to display rule commitment. ANOVA results for display rule commitment are presented in Tables 14-15.

Emotional exhaustion. There was a significant effect of type of student that employees primarily work with on emotional exhaustion, $F(2, 277) = 4.00$, $p < .05$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean emotional exhaustion score of employees who work primarily with undergraduate students (M = 2.07, SD = .1.20) was significantly higher than the mean emotional exhaustion score of employees who work primarily with graduate students (M =1.33, SD =.46). No significant differences in emotional exhaustion were found between employees who work equally with undergraduate and graduate students (M = 1.77, SD = .56) and employees who work primarily with undergraduate or primarily with graduate students. There was also a significant effect of job tenure on emotional exhaustion, $F(4, 275) = 2.98$, $p < .05$. However, post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test did not indicate any significant differences in emotional exhaustion by job tenure. Finally, there was a significant effect of position level on emotional exhaustion at $p < .05$, $F(2,278) = 3.84$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean emotional exhaustion score of entry-level employees

(M = 2.20, SD = 1.17) was significantly higher than the mean emotional exhaustion score of management-level employees (M =1.68, SD = .86). No significant differences were found on emotional exhaustion between management-level and mid-level employees or between entry-level and mid-level employees. Type of institution, frequency of student interaction, gender, age, and type of student affairs degree held by employees did not significantly relate to emotional exhaustion. ANOVA results for emotional exhaustion are presented in Tables 16-18.

Feelings of inauthenticity. There was a significant effect of type of student that employees primarily work with on felt inauthenticity at $p < .05$, $F(2, 274) = 3.39$. However, post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test did not indicate any significant differences in feelings of inauthenticity by type of student worked with. Type of institution, job tenure, position level, frequency of student interaction, gender, age, and type of student affairs degree held by student affairs and services employees did not significantly relate to feelings of inauthenticity. ANOVA results for felt inauthenticity are presented in Table 19.

Initial Department-Level Analyses

Individual scores on personal student customer orientation, perceptions of department-level student customer orientation, positive display rule perceptions, negative display rule perceptions, perceived display rule conflict, display rule commitment, personal power distance orientation, perceptions of department-level power distance, emotional exhaustion, and feelings of inauthenticity were

aggregated to the group level. One hundred and eighty unique departments were represented in the sample of 284 respondents. One hundred and forty-two of the 248 respondents provided department codes that matched with other respondents, thus, 38 departments with more than one employee were represented in the data.

Agreement Statistics

To determine the appropriateness of examining student customer orientation and power distance at the department level, it was necessary to determine the extent to which members of each department agreed on these perceptions. Agreement was calculated using $r_{wg(j)}$ (James, Demaree, & Wolf, 1984), which is one of the most-commonly used statistics for group agreement (Biemann, Cole, & Voelpel, 2012; Bliese, 2000). Intended for measures with *j* items (Biemann et al., 2012), $r_{wg(j)}$ "is calculated by comparing an observed group variance to a random group variance" (Bliese, 2000, p. 351), most commonly to a uniform (rectangular) distribution that indicates no agreement (Bliese, 2000; Biemann et al., 2012).

In this study, $r_{wg(j)}$ was calculated for both department-level student customer orientation and department-level power distance using Biemann et al.'s (2012) Microsoft Excel Tool For Computing IRA and IRR Estimates. This tool uses Equation 5 from Lindell, Brandt, and Whitney (1999) to estimate $r_{wg(j)}$:

$$T = \frac{j_a - Jp_c}{J - Jp_c}$$

"where j_a is the number of items on which the raters agree, J is the number of

items, and p_c is the probability of chance agreement" (Lindell et al., 1999, p. 641). The value 0.70 is widely-used as a cutoff point for acceptable $r_{wg(j)}$ (Biemann et al., 2012), although there is some debate (Biemann et al., 2012) regarding this cutoff point. The r_{wg} values for department-level student customer orientation are presented in Table 20. In the Excel tool, listwise deletion is used for individuals missing data. Thus, some department sizes differ from those originally reported in the demographics section of this study.

The mean $r_{wg(18)}$ for all departments was .90. Using the 0.70 cutoff score, 25 departments demonstrated good agreement on department-level student customer orientation. Kreft and De Leeuw (1998) and Liden and Antonakis (2009) recommend having at least 30 units at level 2 in cross-level moderated mediation studies. Since there is some debate about the use of 0.70 as a cutoff score, 5 more departments with $r_{wg(18)}$ of .68 or above were included in the group of departments demonstrating good agreement in order to conduct cross-level moderated mediation analyses.

The $r_{wg(2)}$ values for department-level power distance are presented in Table 21. The mean $r_{wg(2)}$ for all departments was .47. Using the 0.70 cutoff score, 16 departments demonstrated good agreement on department-level power distance. Using the 0.68 cutoff score only added 4 departments to the group for a total of 20, well below the recommended 30. Thus, cross-level moderated mediation analyses were not possible for the power distance hypotheses (Hypotheses 4-5), and the

power distance hypotheses were examined at the individual level only.

Department-level descriptive statistics and correlations. Departments with low agreement on department-level student customer orientation were deleted from the data. The new sample included 115 individuals nested within 30 departments. Descriptive statistics for the sample with high agreement on department-level student customer orientation are presented in Table 22. Correlations for the sample with high agreement on department-level student customer orientation are presented in Table 23. Despite the low department-level agreement on power distance, this variable is included in Tables 22 and 23 for the sake of completeness.

ANOVAs. A series of one-way analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were run on the sample of 30 departments to determine where there were department-level characteristics (type of institution: public vs. private; type of institution: religiously-affiliated vs. not; type of department: academic advising and support, study abroad, international student services, both study abroad and international student services, housing, central office with multiple responsibilities, athletics, student activities, career development, campus recreation, admissions, or academic dean's office) that may impact the department-level variables of interest (department-level student customer orientation and department-level power distance). No significant differences in department-level student customer orientation were found across institution type or across department types.

There was a significant effect of type of institution: religiously-affiliated vs. not religiously-affiliated on department-level power distance, $F(2, 27) = 4.47$, $p < .05$. Specifically, the mean department-level power distance score was higher for employees who work at non religiously-affiliated universities ($M = 2.35$, $SD = .77$) than for employees who work at religiously-affiliated universities ($M = 1.26$, $SD = .22$). ANOVA results for type of institution are presented in Table 24. No other significant differences in department-level power distance orientation were found across institution types or across department types.

Hypothesis Testing

Originally, data in this study was to be analyzed using Mplus. However, a new SPSS macro designed for conducting multilevel mediation and moderated mediation models, MLmed, was released during the course of this study (Rockwood & Hayes, 2017). SPSS and MLmed were therefore used in place of Mplus for testing the hypotheses. All hypotheses were first tested at the individual level, using the full sample of respondents ($n = 284$). That is, the MLmed macro accounted for the multilevel nature of the data (individuals were nested within departments); however, all variables of interest used to test hypotheses (as illustrated in Figures 5 and 6) were measured at the individual level.

Individual-level hypothesis tests: Student customer orientation. Using the full sample of 284 individuals, these hypothesis tests were run in SPSS using the MLmed macro by entering personal student customer orientation as the

independent variable, display rule conflict as the mediator, and perceptions of department student customer orientation as a moderator of the *a* path between personal student customer orientation and display rule conflict. Display rule commitment was the dependent variable. MLmed automatically centers Level 1 predictor variables, creates new variables containing their group means, and stacks the data to "allow for the simultaneous estimation of all parameters in the model" (Rockwood, 2017, p. 1).

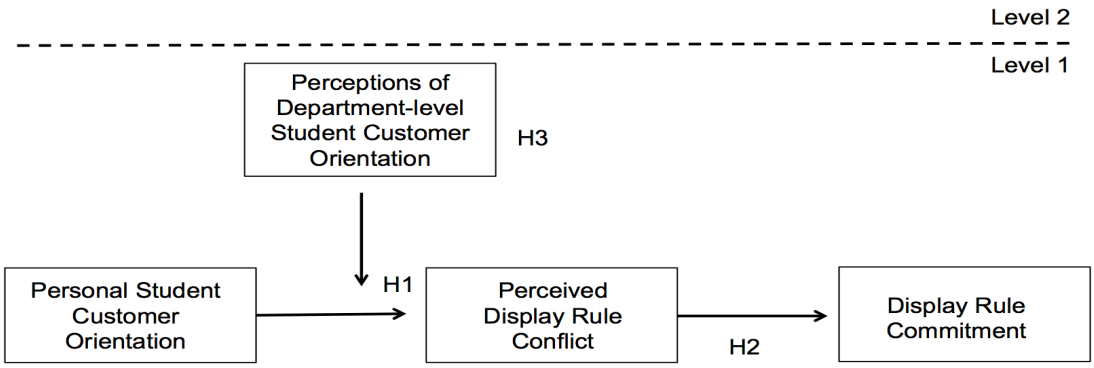

Figure 5. Student Customer Orientation Hypotheses with all Data at Level 1.

Results for within-person effects are shown in Table 25. Hypothesis 1 stated that the interaction between personal student customer orientation and department-level student customer orientation predicts perceived conflict between personal and organizational (department-level) display rules. The interaction between personal student customer orientation and perceptions of department-level student customer orientation was not a significant predictor of display rule conflict, failing to support

Hypothesis 1. Furthermore, personal student customer orientation did not significantly predict display rule commitment (H1). Hypothesis 2 predicted that perceived conflict between personal and organizational (department-level) display rules reduces commitment to organizational display rule. Display rule conflict did significantly predict display rule commitment ($\gamma = -.43, p < .01$), thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported. Hypothesis 3 predicted that the indirect effect of personal student customer orientation on display rule commitment through conflict is moderated by department-level student customer orientation. Because the interaction between personal and department student customer orientation was not a significant predictor of the mediator, moderated mediation was not supported, failing to support Hypothesis 3. Adding job tenure, position level, and type of student affairs degree held by respondents to these analyses as covariates did not alter the results of these hypothesis tests.

Individual-level hypothesis tests: Power distance. Also using the full sample of 284 individuals, Hypothesis 4-5 were run in MLmed by entering personal power distance orientation as the independent variable, display rule conflict as the mediator, and perceptions of department power distance as a moderator of the *a* path between personal student customer orientation and display rule conflict. Display rule commitment was the dependent variable.

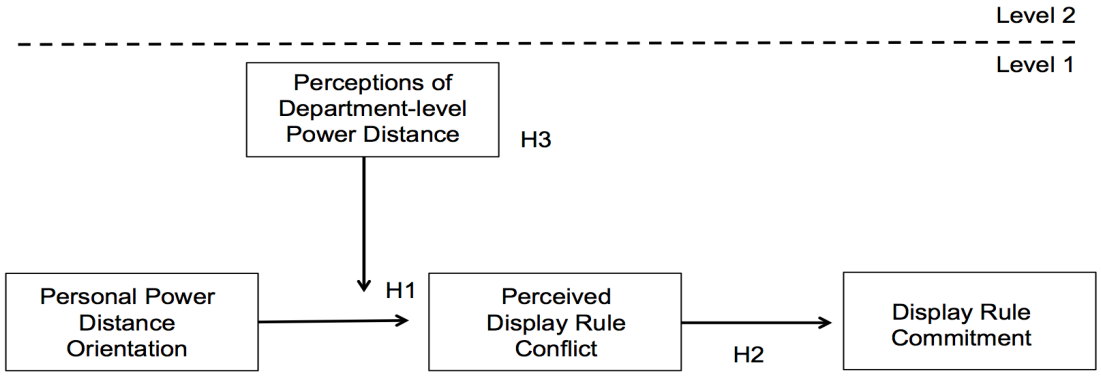

Figure 6. Power Distance Hypotheses with all Data at Level 1.

Results for the individual-level effects are shown in Table 26. Hypothesis 4 predicted that the interaction between personal power distance orientation and country-level power distance predicts perceived conflict between personal and organizational (department-level) display rules. Because the interaction between power distance orientation and perceptions of department-level power distance orientation did not significantly relate to perceived display rule conflict, Hypothesis 4 was not supported. Hypothesis 5 proposed that the indirect effect of personal power distance orientation on display rule commitment through conflict is moderated by country-level (replaced with department-level after data collection) power distance. Because the interaction between personal and department power distance orientation was not a significant predictor of the mediator, moderated mediation was not supported, failing to support Hypothesis 5. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, display rule conflict was once again negatively related to display rule

commitment (γ = -.43, p < .01). Adding job tenure, position level, and type of student affairs degree held by respondents to these analyses as covariates did not alter the results of these hypothesis tests.

Department-level tests of H1-3. Because approximately 30 departments demonstrated good agreement on perceptions of department-level student customer orientation, Hypotheses 1-3 could be tested using cross-level moderated mediation as originally proposed (Figure 2). Using the sample of 115 individuals nested within 30 departments, these hypotheses were run in MLmed by entering personal student customer orientation as the level-1 independent variable, display rule conflict as the level-1 mediator, and display rule commitment as the level-1 dependent variable. Department-level student customer orientation was then examined as a level-2 moderator of the *a* path between personal student customer orientation and display rule conflict. Results for between-person effects are shown in Table 27. Because the interaction between personal student customer orientation and department-level student customer orientation was not significantly related to perceived display rule conflict, Hypothesis 1 and 3 remained unsupported. Display rule conflict exhibited an even stronger negative relationship with display rule commitment than in the analysis with the larger sample (γ = -.76, p < .01), providing further support for Hypothesis 2. Adding job tenure, position level, and type of student affairs degree held by respondents to these analyses as covariates did not alter the results of these hypothesis tests.

Exploratory Analyses

Because the only hypothesis supported in this study involved the relationship between display rule conflict and display rule commitment, additional exploratory analyses were conducted in order to further contribute to the research literature by examining the nomological network surrounding the display rule conflict measure that was developed for this study. All exploratory analyses were run on the full sample of 284 individuals.

In this study, display rule conflict significantly negatively predicted display rule commitment. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient between display rule conflict and display rule commitment was -.56, $p < .001$; thus, the display rule conflict measure shared approximately 31% ($R^2 = .31$) of its variance with display rule commitment. The Pearson product-moment correlation between display rule conflict and emotional exhaustion was .42, $p < .01$; thus, the display rule conflict measure shared approximately 18% ($R^2 = .18$) of its variance with emotional exhaustion. Finally, the Pearson product-moment correlation between display rule conflict and feelings of inauthenticity was .51, $p < .01$; thus, the display rule conflict measure shared approximately 26% ($R^2 = .26$) of its variance with feelings of inauthenticity.

Hierarchical regression analyses were run to determine if display rule conflict predicted incremental variance in emotional labor outcomes beyond display rule perceptions and display rule commitment. First, a hierarchical linear

regression found that positive and negative display rule perceptions together predicted 10% of the variance in emotional exhaustion [R^2 = .10, F(2, 278) = 15.47, p < .001.] When display rule conflict was added to the model, it explained an additional 15% of the variance in emotional exhaustion [ΔR^2 = .15, F(3, 277) = 31.03, p <.001]. Results are presented in Table 28.

A second hierarchical linear regression analysis found that display rule commitment predicted 19% of the variance in emotional exhaustion [R^2 = .19), F(1, 279) = 264.43, p < .001. When display rule conflict was added to the model, it explained an additional 10% of the variance in emotional exhaustion [ΔR^2 = .10, F(2, 278)=55.01, p <.001]. Results are presented in Table 29.

A third hierarchical regression analysis found that positive and negative display rule perceptions together predicted 13% of the variance in feelings of inauthenticity [R^2 = .13, F(2, 275) = 20.13, p < .001]. When display rule conflict was added to the model, it explained an additional 19% of the variance in feelings of inauthenticity [ΔR^2 = .19, F(3, 274) = 42.80, p <.001]. Results are presented in Table 30.

A fourth hierarchical linear regression found that display rule commitment predicted 20% of the variance in feelings of inauthenticity [R^2 = .20), F(1, 276) = 68.49, p < .001]. When display rule conflict was added to the model, it explained an additional 14% of the variance in feelings of inauthenticity [ΔR^2 = .14, F(2, 275) = 70.20, p <.001]. Results are presented in Table 31. In sum, display rule conflict

significantly and positively predicted incremental variance in both emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity beyond display rule perceptions and display rule commitment.

Discussion

Using a large sample of student affairs and services administrators, this study failed to find any significant effects of the interaction between individual-level and department-level values on display rule conflict or on display rule commitment through display rule conflict. It did find that perceived display rule conflict negatively relates to display rule commitment, suggesting that employees who feel more conflict between their personal expectations for what emotional displays to show in the workplace and their organization's expectations for what emotional displays to show may be less committed to following organizational display rules.

Theoretical and Practical Contributions

This is one of the few studies that has empirically examined the potential conflict between one's personal goals and organizational goals/expectations in the context of emotional labor (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). It contributes to the emotional labor literature by the development of a reliable measure of display rule conflict, which had not existed previously, and by demonstrating the negative relationship between display rule conflict and display rule commitment. Exploratory analyses also showed that display rule conflict predicts emotional

exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity above and beyond display rule perceptions and display rule commitment, suggesting that the measure of display rule conflict is tapping into a distinct construct that may further enhance the ability to understand experiences and outcomes associated with emotional labor. Additionally, this study answers the calls to study emotional labor and display rules in specific occupational contexts (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Diefendorff et al., 2006; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015) and to include culture as an important factor to consider in emotional labor research (Allen et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2005, Mesquita & Delvaux, 2013; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005).

Practically, organizations can use the results of this study to understand employee behavior, i.e. why some employees may not be committed to or behave in a manner consistent with organizational display rules. Additionally, organizations can try to address sources of display rule conflict in the workplace in order to mitigate emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity. Employees can use this information to self-select out of organizations in which they perceive a high amount of display rule conflict.

Limitations

A number of limitations may have affected the results of this study. The single administration, cross-sectional nature of the survey used in this study could raise some concerns about potential common method bias. However, some researchers (Conway & Lance, 2010; Spector, 2006) have argued potential

common method bias issues resulting from self-reports have been overstated. There are instances in which self-report measures are appropriate, and steps can be taken to mitigate potential common method bias issues (Conway & Lance, 2010; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003; Spector, 2006).

In this study, all of the individual-level variables are personal attitudes and perceptions, rather than objective characteristics. Thus, self-reports are appropriate (Conway & Lance, 2010). Podsakoff et al. (2003) also suggested that one way of controlling common method bias is to use different response scales for predictors and criteria. In this study, both agreement and frequency scales were used in order to mitigate potential common method bias. Additionally, the department-level student customer orientation variable used in the department-level tests of Hypotheses 1 and 3 was calculated based on aggregation of individual perceptions and therefore not subject to common method bias.

A second limitation of this research is that student affairs and services professionals who are actively involved in student affairs professional associations and social media may be less likely to view students as customers because of a focus in these groups on education rather than on customer service. It seems likely that those who are most actively involved in the field may also be the most likely to participate in a research survey; thus, there could be a range restriction issue in regard to a lack of variability in personal student customer orientation. Almost of the survey participants, including the ones who work outside of the United States,

indicated the United States as their country of origin. Additionally, most of the survey participants reported working with undergraduate students who attend their institution primarily in-person. There may be more variance in personal student customer orientation and personal power distance orientation across employees from different countries and who work with different types of students at different types of institutions.

Lack of department-level variability in student customer orientation is also a limitation of this study. This may be due to the fact that the majority of the departments represented in the sample are at nonreligious colleges and universities. There may be more variance in customer orientation and power distance orientation across departments at different types of institutions. Additionally, 13 of the 38 the departments represented were international education offices (study abroad offices, international student offices, or offices that specialize in both study abroad and international student services. Similarities between this type of student affairs and services office may have contributed to the lack of department-level variability in student customer orientation and power distance in the data.

Sample size is another potential limitation of this study. Past cross-level moderated mediation studies (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Culpepper, 2013; Huang & Luthans, 2015; Wallace, Butts, Johnson, Stevens, & Smith, 2013; Wheeler, Halbesleben, & Whitman, 2013; Zhang, LePine, Buckman, & Wei, 2014) have had level-1 sample sizes of 339-630, and level-2 sample sizes of 56-132. Kreft and De

Leeuw (1998) and Liden and Antonakis (2009) recommend having at least 30 units at level 2 with at least 30-50 units nested within each at level 1. This study had a level-1 sample size of 284, and a level-2 sample size of 30.

Some survey participants commented that it was difficult to identify department-level expectations, as they are either not explicitly defined or are defined by an individual (usually a supervisor or manager) rather than by the department as a whole. This difficulty could have affected response patterns. Finally, the low reliability of the personal power distance orientation scale is another limitation of this study. This low reliability could be due to the personal power distance orientation scale only having two items.

Future Research Directions

To mitigate common method bias concerns, future research could include other-rated measures, such as coworker-rated emotional displays, as outcomes of conflict. Additionally, future research could add a time delay in between measurement of variables of interest by, for example, measuring display rule conflict on one day and measuring emotional exhaustion at a later point in time.

Future research should continue to try to empirically examine the potential conflict between one's personal goals and organizational goals and the impact that has on perceptions of emotional display rule conflict (Dahling & Johnson, 2013). There may be other goal and values within the student affairs and services field that have more potential for conflict than student customer orientation or power

distance. Alternatively, it may be best to examine the interaction between personal and organizational values and display rule conflict in other fields. For example, future research could examine potential conflicts between employees with strong religious values and organizations that require differentiating display rules (Byrne et al., 2011), employees who value creativity and workplaces that value conformity, or employees who are results-driven and workplaces that are process-driven.

Future research should also examine potential mediators and moderators of the relationship between display rule conflict and display rule commitment. Job satisfaction and organizational commitment could mediate this relationship in the sense that those who feel more display rule conflict are less satisfied and committed to the organization and therefore less committed to displaying organizationally-desired emotions. Potential moderators of the relationship between display rule conflict and display rule commitment include perceived organizational support and job embeddedness. Employees who feel high levels of display rule conflict might still be committed to displaying organizationally-desired display rules if they feel supported by their organization or embedded in their job.

The display rule conflict scale created for this study should be further validated to determine its potential contribution to the emotional labor literature. Future research should further explore the nomological network of display rule conflict. Confirmatory factor analysis should be conducted to confirm the one dimension indicated by the exploratory factor analysis and distinguish display rule

conflict from other similar constructs such as person-job fit, role conflict, perceived organizational support, and job dissatisfaction. Finally, future research should examine whether display rule conflict predicts motivation (Randolph & Dahling, 2013), surface acting, deep acting, and positive affective delivery (Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005) over and above display rule commitment.

In conclusion, this study did not find any significant effects of the interaction between personal and department-level student customer orientation or personal and department-level power distance on display rule commitment. However, display rule conflict was found to negatively affect display rule commitment. Additionally, display rule conflict predicted emotional exhaustion and feelings of inauthenticity above and beyond display rule perceptions and display rule commitment. This study answers the calls to expand emotional labor research in terms of display rule conflict (Randolph & Dahling, 2013), culture (Allen et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2005, Mesquita & Delvaux, 2013; Wilk & Moynihan, 2005), and occupation-specific samples (Ashkanasy & Humphrey, 2011; Diefendorff et al., 2006; Grandey & Gabriel, 2015). Finally, this study has practical implications for employee behavior and well-being.

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Tables

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Individual Survey Participants

Characteristic	*n*	*%*
Gender		
Female	210	75%
Male	70	25%
Age		
30-39	111	39.8%
21-29	103	36.9%
40-49	42	14.8%
50-59	19	6.7%
60-65	3	1.1%
Over 65	1	0.4%
Country of Origin		
USA	228	84.4%
Canada	11	4.1%
China	4	1.5%
Spain	3	1.1%
Philippines	3	1.1%
UK	3	1.1%
Netherlands	2	0.7%
Belgium	2	0.7%
Germany	2	0.7%
Oman	1	0.4%
Greece	1	0.4%
Australia	1	0.4%
Argentina	1	0.4%
Barbados	1	0.4%
Poland	1	0.4%
Egypt	1	0.4%
India	1	0.4%
Lebanon	1	0.4%
Saint Lucia	1	0.4%
Other	2	0.7%
Student Affairs Degree		
Master's	161	57.5%
No Student Affairs Degree	95	33.9%
Ph.D.	24	8.6%

Table 2

Job Details of Individual Survey Participants

Characteristic	*n*	*%*
Type of students worked with		
Undergraduate	230	82.1%
Equally with undergraduate and graduate	35	12.3%
Graduate	15	5.4%
Type of students worked with		
Students who attend institution primarily in-person	276	98.6%
Students who attend institution only through online courses	4	1.4%
Frequency of student interaction		
1-5 times a day	107	38.1%
6-10 times a day	79	28.1%
More than 10 times a day	61	21.7%
Less than once a day	34	12.1%
Position Level		
Mid-level	134	47.7%
Entry-level	94	33.5%
Management level	53	18.9%
Tenure		
1-5 years	150	53.6%
5-10 years	53	18.9%
Less than 1 year	49	17.5%
11-20 years	22	7.9%
Over 20 years	6	2.1%

Table 3

Function Areas of Individual Survey Participants

Function Area	*n*	*%*
Study abroad	43	15.3%
Multiple responsibilities	41	14.6%
Housing and residence life	40	14.2%
Academic advising	35	12.5%
Student activities	19	6.8%
International student programs and services	19	6.8%
Dean of students office	14	5%
Career development	11	3.9%
Admissions	5	1.8%
Athletics	5	1.8%
Campus recreation	5	1.8%
Study abroad and international student services	5	1.8%
Student health services and disability support services	4	1.4%
Counseling	3	1.1%
Orientation and new student programs	3	1.1%
Student judicial affairs	3	1.1%
Multicultural and diversity affairs	3	1.1%
Financial aid	2	0.7%
Student leadership programs	2	0.7%
Community service/service-learning programs	1	0.4%
Other	18	6.3%

Table 4

Department Characteristics

Characteristic	*n*	*%*
Department type		
Central office w/ multiple responsibilities	7	18.4%
Study Abroad	6	15.8%
Study Abroad and international student services	6	15.8%
Academic advising	6	15.8%
Student activities	4	10.5%
Housing and residence life	2	5.3%
Academic dean's office	1	2.6%
International student services	1	2.6%
Career development	1	2.6%
Admissions	1	2.6%
Campus recreation	1	2.6%
Counseling	1	2.6%
Athletics	1	2.6%
Department institution type		
Public	24	63.1%
Private	13	34.2%
Unknown	1	2.6%
Department institution type		
College/University	36	94.7%
Community College	1	2.6%
Unknown	1	2.6%
Department institution type		
Not Religiously-affiliated	33	86.8%
Religiously-affiliated	5	13.2%
Department location		
USA	34	89.4%
United Arab Emirates	1	2.6%
Netherlands	1	2.6%
Canada	1	2.6%
Qatar	1	2.6%

Table 5

Factor Loadings for Perceived Display Rule Conflict Measure (N=248)

Item	Factor Loading
My department and I have different views on what emotions I should show or hide	.904
I have different views than my department regarding the emotions I should show and/or hide.	.896
My personal values dictate a different set of emotional displays than the ones my department wants to see	.885
My personal beliefs about appropriate emotional displays conflict with my department's expectations	.875
My department's expectations for emotional displays tend to conflict with my own values or beliefs	.860
My department expects me to hide emotions that I believe should be expressed	.828
My department expects me to display emotions that conflict with what I believe is appropriate	.781
I feel conflicted because my department wants me to show an emotion that I feel I should hide	.776
The emotional displays that I value conflict with what my department considers appropriate	.740

Table 6

Skewness, Kurtosis, & Kolmogorov-Smirnov Significance Level of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Included)

Variable	Skewness	Kurtosis	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Significance Level
Personal student customer orientation	.64	.51	.000
Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	.43	-.41	.000
Positive display rule perceptions	-1.12	1.55	.000
Negative display rule perceptions	-.29	-.84	.000
Perceived display rule conflict	1.05	.61	.000
Display rule commitment	-.08	-.69	.001
Personal power distance orientation	1.73	5.66	.000
Perceptions of department-level power distance	.26	-1.07	.000
Emotional exhaustion	1.34	.91	.000
Feelings of inauthenticity	2.03	3.24	.000

Table 7

Skewness, Kurtosis, & Kolmogorov-Smirnov Significance Level of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Excluded)

Variable	Skewness	Kurtosis	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Significance Level
Personal student customer orientation	.47	-.08	.000
Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	.45	-.38	.000
Positive display rule perceptions	-.96	.82	.000
Negative display rule perceptions	-.27	-.88	.000
Perceived display rule conflict	1.03	.56	.000
Display rule commitment	-.09	-.67	.001
Personal power distance orientation	.96	.21	.000
Perceptions of department-level power distance	.29	-1.05	.000
Emotional exhaustion	1.32	.85	.000
Feelings if inauthenticity	2.01	3.14	.000

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Included)

Variable	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Personal student customer orientation	284	1.87	.45
Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	284	2.16	.71
Positive display rule perceptions	284	4.13	.73
Negative display rule perceptions	284	3.52	1.07
Perceived display rule conflict	283	1.85	.78
Display rule commitment	283	3.41	.87
Personal power distance orientation	281	1.48	.53
Perceived department-level power distance	281	2.48	1.19
Emotional exhaustion	281	2.00	1.12
Feelings of inauthenticity	278	1.60	1.08

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Excluded)

Variable	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Personal student customer orientation	280	1.86	.44
Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	280	2.16	.71
Positive display rule perceptions	280	4.14	.71
Negative display rule perceptions	280	3.52	1.06
Perceived display rule conflict	279	1.85	.78
Display rule commitment	279	3.42	.86
Personal power distance orientation	277	1.46	.47
Perceived department-level power distance	277	2.46	1.19
Emotional exhaustion	277	2.00	1.13
Feelings of inauthenticity	274	1.61	1.08

Table 10

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Included)

Measure	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Personal student customer orientation	1.87	.45		.33**	.19**	.06	.08	-.10	.20**	.13*	.06	.03
2. Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	2.16	.71			.18**	.19**	.40**	-.31**	.00	.27**	.25**	.27**
3. Positive display rule perceptions	4.13	.73				.41**	.23**	.02	-.05	.06	.19**	.18**
4. Negative display rule perceptions	3.52	1.07					.42**	-.07	.08	.30**	.31*	.36**
5. Display rule conflict	1.85	.78						-.51**	.08	.43**	.49**	.55**
6. Display rule commitment	3.41	.87							-.06	-.38**	-.43**	-.45**
7. Personal power distance orientation	1.48	.53								.20**	.07	.01
8. Perceptions of department-level power distance	2.48	1.19									.41**	.43**
9. Emotional exhaustion	2.00	1.12								.		.72**
10. Feelings of inauthenticity	1.60	1.08										

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 11

Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Individual-level Variables (Potential Outliers Excluded)

Measure	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Personal student customer orientation	1.87	.45		.32**	.19**	.06	.09	-.08	.18**	.12*	.07	.05
2. Perceptions of department-level student customer orientation	2.16	.71			.19**	.20**	.40**	-.31**	-.05	.26**	.26**	.28**
3. Positive display rule perceptions	4.13	.73				.39**	.24**	.00	-.09	.06	.19**	.18**
4. Negative display rule perceptions	3.52	1.07					.43**	-.07	.07	.30**	.31**	.36**
5. Display rule conflict	1.85	.78						-.52**	.09	.43**	.49**	.55**
6. Display rule commitment	3.41	.87							-.03	-.38**	-.44**	-.46**
7. Personal power distance orientation	1.48	.53								.17**	.08	.02
8. Perceptions of department-level power distance	2.48	1.19									.42**	.44**
9. Emotional exhaustion	2.00	1.12								.		.72**
10. Feelings of inauthenticity	1.60	1.08										

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 12

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Display Rule Conflict by Job Tenure

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	4	5.87	1.47	2.45	.046
Within groups	275	164.56	.60		
Total	279	170.44			

Table 13

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Perceived Display Rule Conflict by Position Level

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	4.37	2.18	3.65	.03
Within groups	278	166.27	.60		
Total	280	170.64			

Table 14

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Display Rule Commitment by Position Level

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	10.22	5.11	7.11	.001
Within groups	278	199.76	.72		
Total	280	209.99			

Table 15

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Display Rule Commitment by Type of Student Affairs Degree

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	10.39	5.20	7.21	.001
Within groups	277	199.60	.72		
Total	279	209.99			

Table 16

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Emotional Exhaustion by Type of Student Employees Work With (Undergraduate, Graduate, Equally with Undergraduate and Graduate)

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	9.85	4.93	3.99	.02
Within groups	277	341.83	1.23		
Total	279	351.68			

Table 17

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Emotional Exhaustion by Job Tenure

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	4	14.59	3.65	2.98	.02
Within groups	275	337.08	1.23		
Total	279	351.68			

Table 18

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Emotional Exhaustion by Position Level

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	9.46	4.73	3.84	.02
Within groups	278	342.28	1.23		
Total	280	351.74			

Table 19

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Feelings of Inauthenticity by Type of Students Employees Work With (Undergraduate, Graduate, Equally with Undergraduate and Graduate)

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	7.73	3.87	3.39	.04
Within groups	274	312.73	1.14		
Total	276	320.46			

Table 20

$r_{wg(18)}$ *Values for Department-Level Student Customer Orientation*

Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(18)}$	Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(18)}$	Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(18)}$
1	3	**.69**	*14*	6	**.69**	*27*	2	**.85**
2	6	**.60**	*15*	4	**.58**	*28*	3	**.79**
3	4	**.79**	*16*	2	**.76**	*29*	3	**.82**
4	3	**.69**	*17*	3	**.89**	*31*	2	**.79**
5	3	**.64**	*18*	5	**.83**	*32*	4	**.69**
6	5	**.71**	*19*	5	**.76**	*33*	5	**.74**
7	2	**.54**	*20*	1	**NA**	*34*	4	**.64**
8	2	**.77**	*21*	4	**.78**	*35*	4	**.44**
9	4	**.73**	*22*	3	**.96**	*36*	2	**.58**
10	2	**.91**	*23*	2	**.82**	*37*	4	**.77**
11	6	**.75**	*24*	3	**.88**	*38*	2	**.82**
12	5	**.83**	*25*	6	**.68**	*39*	4	**.74**
13	7	**.82**	*26*	3	**.74**			

Table 21

$r_{wg(2)}$ *Values for Department-Level Power Distance*

Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(2)}$	Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(2)}$	Dept.	Dept. size	$r_{wg(2)}$
1	3	**.42**	*14*	5	**.69**	*27*	2	**.44**
2	6	**.68**	*15*	4	**.41**	*28*	3	**.33**
3	4	**.79**	*16*	2	**.19**	*29*	3	**.57**
4	3	**.69**	*17*	3	**.42**	*31*	2	**1.00**
5	3	**.64**	*18*	5	**.63**	*32*	4	**.43**
6	5	**.71**	*19*	7	**.57**	*33*	5	**.75**
7	2	**.54**	*20*	2	**.94**	*34*	3	**.96**
8	2	**.77**	*21*	4	**.85**	*35*	4	**.39**
9	4	**.73**	*22*	3	**.83**	*36*	2	**.69**
10	2	**.94**	*23*	2	**.94**	*37*	4	**.55**
11	6	**.76**	*24*	3	**.67**	*38*	2	**1.00**
12	5	**.54**	*25*	5	**.96**	*39*	4	**.51**
13	7	**.64**	*26*	3	**.96**			

Table 22

Means and Standard Deviations of Departments with High Agreement on Department-level Student Customer Orientation (n=30)*

Variable	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Personal Student Customer Orientation	30	1.82	.27
Department-Level Student Customer Orientation	30	1.95	.37
Positive Display Rule Perceptions	30	4.05	.49
Negative Display Rule Perceptions	30	3.34	.62
Perceived Display Rule Conflict	30	1.80	.66
Display Rule Commitment	30	3.33	.73
Department-level Power Distance	30	2.17	.81
Emotional Exhaustion	30	1.85	.69
Felt Inauthenticity	27	1.46	.63

*115 individuals nested within 30 departments

Table 23

Department-level Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations

Measure	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Personal student customer orientation	1.82	.27		.38*	.16	-.15	.30	-.32	.41*	.00	-.09	-.11
2. Department-level student customer orientation	1.95	.37			.26	.29	.11	-.17	.09	.25	.22	.19
3. Positive display rule perceptions	4.05	.49				.49**	.34	.00	.13	-.02	.07	.08
4. Negative display rule perceptions	3.34	.62					.33	-.10	.26	.45*	.24	.37
5. Perceived display rule conflict	1.80	.66						-.81**	.78**	.27	.23	.59**
6. Display rule commitment	3.33	.73							-.71**	-.19	-.32	-.57**
7. Personal power distance orientation	1.58	.51								.31	-.02	.10
8. Department-level power distance	2.17	.81									.59**	.56**
9. Emotional Exhaustion	1.85	.69										.85**
10. Felt inauthenticity	1.46	.63										

Note. Statistics include only those departments with acceptable agreement on department-level student customer orientation ($n = 30$); *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

Table 24

One-Way Analysis of Variance of Department-level power distance by type of institution (religiously-affiliated or not)

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Between groups	2	4.75	2.37	4.47	.04
Within groups	27	14.35	.53		
Total	29	19.09			

Table 25

Multilevel Moderated Mediation Analysis with Individual-level Data, Student Customer Orientation (SCO) Hypotheses (H1-H3) (Within-person Effects)

	Estimate	SE
Personal SCO → perceived display rule conflict	.36	.51
Personal SCO → display rule commitment	-.09	.18
Display rule conflict → display rule commitment	-.43**	.11
Personal SCO x Perceptions of department-level SCO → display rule conflict	.30	.22

Table 26

Multilevel Moderated Mediation Analysis with Individual-level Data, Power Distance (PD) Hypotheses (H4-H5) (Within-person Effects)

	Estimate	SE
Personal PD orientation → perceived display rule conflict	-.06	.39
Personal PD orientation → display rule commitment	.08	.16
Display rule conflict → display rule commitment	-.43**	.11
Individual PD orientation x perceptions of department-level PD → Display rule conflict	.08	.13

Table 27

Multilevel Moderated Mediation Analysis with Individual and Department-level Data, Student Customer Orientation (SCO) Hypotheses (H1-H3) (Between-person effects)

	Estimate	SE
Personal SCO → perceived display rule conflict	1.36	1.06
Personal SCO → display rule commitment	-.33	.12
Display rule conflict → display rule commitment	-.76**	.21
Individual SCO x department-level SCO → display rule conflict	-.72	.52

Table 28

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Emotional Exhaustion from Positive Display Rule Perceptions and Display Rule Conflict

Variable	*B*	*SE (B)*	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.10*
Positive display rule perceptions	.12	.10	.08	
Negative display rule perceptions				
Step 2				.15*
Positive display rule perceptions	.07	.09	.05	
Negative display rule perceptions	.11	.06	.11	
Display rule conflict	.62	.08	.43	

*p <.001

Table 29

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Emotional Exhaustion from Display Rule Commitment and Display Rule Conflict

Variable	*B*	*SE (B)*	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				
Display rule commitment	-.56	.07	-.43	.19*
Step 2				.15*
Display rule commitment	-.32	.08	-.25	
Display rule conflict	.52	.09	.36	

*p <.001

Table 30

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Feelings of Inauthenticity from Positive Display Rule Perceptions and Display Rule Conflict

Variable	*B*	*SE (B)*	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				.13*
Positive display rule perceptions	.06	.09	.04	
Negative display rule perceptions	.34	.06	.34	
Step 2				.19*
Positive display rule perceptions	.01	.08	.01	
Negative display rule perceptions	.15	.06	.15	
Display rule conflict	.67	.08	.48	

*$p < .01$

Table 31

Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Predicting Feelings of Inauthenticity from Display Rule Commitment and Display Rule Conflict

Variable	*B*	*SE (B)*	β	ΔR^2
Step 1				
Display rule commitment	-.55	.07	-.45	.20*
Step 2				.14*
Display rule commitment	-.28	.07	-.23	
Display rule conflict	.60	.08	.43	

*p <.001

Appendix A: Recruitment Message

Hello! My name is Tessly A. Dieguez. I am a former Senior Study Abroad Advisor at the University of Florida who worked in the student affairs and services for approximately four years. Recently, I changed career paths and am currently pursuing a degree in Industrial-Organizational Psychology (the psychological study of the workplace) at Florida Institute of Technology. Despite this career change, I am still very interested in student affairs and services and working with university students, and have found a way to combine that interest with my current degree program.

I am writing to respectfully request your help with my Masters thesis research. I am conducting a brief (10 minute) survey about workplace values, with the goal of comparing individual employees' values and beliefs to the values and beliefs of the departments they work in. Additionally, I will be examining some cultural differences between employees inside and outside of the United States.

The study consists of a survey that will take approximately 10 minutes to complete, along with a request to forward the survey to at least 3 colleagues in your work department. Responses will be kept anonymous, and all participants will be entered into a drawing to win one of five $50 Amazon.com gift cards.

In order to participate in the survey, you must work full-time (35+ hours/week) at a college, university, community college, or vocational/technical school in which your primary work tasks involve working directly with college or university students at the undergraduate or graduate level.

If you have about 10 minutes to help, please follow the link between to participate in the survey. At the end of the survey, you will be asked to forward the survey link to colleagues in your department so that I can examine the extent to which coworkers agree on workplace perceptions. It is not required that you forward the link, but it is greatly appreciated! (I cannot answer all my research questions without comparing responses from the same department.) Your responses will ***not*** be shared with your colleagues, and all data will be matched with a code in order to protect your anonymity. No individual, department, or university names will be collected.

Please contact me at tdieguez2015@my.fit.edu if you have any questions, and thank you in advance for your help with my graduate research!

To participate, please follow the link below. At the end of the survey, you will be given a link to forward to your coworkers:

Link: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Appendix B: Survey

Emotional Displays in Student Affairs & Services Administrators

Please read this consent document carefully before you decide to participate in this study.

Study title: Emotional Display Rule Conflict in Student Affairs and Services Administrators

Purpose of the study: This study compares individual student affairs and services employees' values and beliefs to their departments' values and beliefs. Additionally it will examine some cultural differences between employees inside and outside of the United States.

Procedures: This study involves a survey that will take about 15 minutes to complete.

Potential risks of participating: There are no risks involved in participating in this study.

Potential benefits of participating: Benefits of participating include improving links between different occupations and fields of study (Student Affairs and Services and Industrial-Organizational Psychology) and helping to improve workplaces for Student Affairs and Services professionals in the future.

Compensation: Participants will be entered into a drawing to win 1 of 5 $50 Amazon.com gift cards. Follow the link at indicated at the end of the survey to be entered into the drawing; your survey data will not be connected to the drawing.

Confidentiality: Your identity and responses will be kept anonymous. Your responses and your coworkers' responses will be assigned a code number to prevent collection of personally identifying information.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for not participating. You may also refuse to answer any of the questions we ask you.

Right to withdraw from the study: You have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without consequence.

Whom to contact if you have questions about the study:

Tessly A. Dieguez, M.S.
150 West University Blvd. Melbourne, FL 32901
Email: tdieguez2015@my.fit.edu Phone: 904.466.0061

Whom to contact about your rights as a research participant in the study:
Dr. Lisa Steelman, IRB Chairperson
150 West University Blvd. Melbourne, FL 32901
Email: lsteelma@fit.edu Phone: 321.674.8104

- ❍ I have read the informed consent document above and agree to participate in this study
- ❍ I do not wish to participate in this study

If you were given a code by a coworker who forwarded you this survey, please enter it here. If you were not given a code, please leave this blank.

Directions: Please answer the questions below based on your own perspective and opinions. That is, your answers should be driven only by your own beliefs/opinions, rather than by your organization/department/unit's policies or expectations.

Response Scale:

- ❍ Strongly Disagree (1)
- ❍ Somewhat Disagree (2)
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- ❍ Somewhat Agree (4)
- ❍ Strongly Agree (5)

I personally believe that...

1. For the most part, education is something students receive, not something students create.

2. The main purpose of a college education should be maximizing students' ability to earn money.

3. Professors should round up students' final course grades one or two points if they are close to the next letter grade.

4. Students should only major in something that will help them earn a lot of money.

5. College is more of a place for students to get training for a specific career than to gain a general education.

6. Students are primarily customers of this college or university.

7. Because students will have paid to attend this college or university, they are owed a degree.

8. If students cannot earn a lot of money after they graduate, they will have wasted their time at this college or university.

9. Developing critical thinking skills is only important if it helps students with their career.

10. It is part of a professor's job to make sure students pass their courses.

11. College education is a product students are purchasing.

12. It is more important for students to have a high paying career than one they really like.

13. It is more important for students to get good grades in a course than it is to learn the material.

14. While at this college or university, students should try to take the easiest courses possible.

15. If students could get well-paying jobs without going to college, they shouldn't be at this college or university.

16. Students should only want to learn things in their courses that will help them in their future careers.

17. If students cannot get good jobs after they graduate, they should be able to have some of their tuition and fees refunded.

18. As long as students complete all of their assignments, they deserve good grades in a course.

Directions: Now we would like you to answer a similar set of questions, but this time, please answer by taking the perspective of your work department/unit, for example Office of Housing and Residence Life, International Center, Office of Multicultural Affairs, etc.

Response Scale:
- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Somewhat Disagree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)

My department believes that...

1. For the most part, education is something students receive, not something students create.

2. The main purpose of a college education should be maximizing students' ability to earn money.

3. Professors should round up students' final course grades one or two points if they are close to the next letter grade.

4. Students should only major in something that will help them earn a lot of money.

5. College is more of a place for students to get training for a specific career than to gain a general education.

6. Students are primarily customers of this college or university.

7. Because students will have paid to attend this college or university, they are owed a degree.

8. If students cannot earn a lot of money after they graduate, they will have wasted their time at this college or university.

9. Developing critical thinking skills is only important if it helps students with their career.

10. It is part of a professor's job to make sure students pass their courses.

11. College education is a product students are purchasing.

12. It is more important for students to have a high paying career than one they really like.

13. It is more important for students to get good grades in a course than it is to learn the material.

14. While at this college or university, students should try to take the easiest courses possible.

15. If students could get well-paying jobs without going to college, they shouldn't be at this college or university.

16. Students should only want to learn things in their courses that will help them in their future careers.

17. If students cannot get good jobs after they graduate, they should be able to have some of their tuition and fees refunded.

18. As long as students complete all of their assignments, they deserve good grades in a course.

Directions: Please answer the following questions by taking the perspective of your work department/unit, for example Office of Housing and Residence Life, International Center, Office of Multicultural Affairs, etc.

Response Scale:
- ❍ Strongly Disagree (1)
- ❍ Somewhat Disagree (2)
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- ❍ Somewhat Agree (4)
- ❍ Strongly Agree (5)

1. Part of my job is to make the student feel good.

2. My department expects me to express positive emotions to students as part of my job.

3. This department would say that part of the "product" to students is friendly, cheerful service.

4. My department expects me to try to act excited and enthusiastic in my interactions with students.

5. I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions to students.

6. This department expects me to try to pretend that I am not upset or distressed.

7. I am expected to try to pretend I am not angry or feeling contempt while on the job.

Directions: Considering your department/unit's (i.e. Housing and Residence Life, International Center, Office of Multicultural Affairs) expectations for working with students, please answer the questions below.

Response scale
- ❍ Never (1)
- ❍ Sometimes (2)
- ❍ Occasionally (3)
- ❍ Frequently (4)
- ❍ Always (5)

When working with students…

1. My department and I have different views on what emotions I should show or hide.

2. My personal values dictate a different set of emotional displays than the ones my department wants to see.

3. My personal beliefs about appropriate emotional displays conflict with my department's expectations.

4. My department expects me to hide emotions that I believe should be expressed.

5. My department expects me to display emotions that conflict with what I believe is appropriate.

Please answer the questions below using your own perspective and opinions. In the questions, "department" refers to your work department or unit, for example, Office of Housing and Residence Life, International Center, Office of Multicultural Affairs, etc.

Response Scale:
- ❍ Strongly Disagree (1)

- Somewhat Disagree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)

1. It's hard to take displaying the emotions expected by my department seriously.

2. I am strongly committed to displaying the emotions my department expects me to.

3. Quite frankly, I don't care if I display the emotions my department expects me to or not.

4. I think displaying the emotions my department expects me to is a good goal to shoot for.

5. It wouldn't take much to make me abandon the goal of displaying the emotions my department expects me to.

Please answer the questions below based on your own perspective and opinions. That is, your answers should be driven only by your own beliefs/opinions, rather than by your organization/department/unit's policies or expectations.

Response Scale:
- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Somewhat Disagree (2)
- Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- Somewhat Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)

I personally believe that...

1. People in higher positions should make most decisions without consulting people in lower positions.

2. People in higher positions should not ask the opinions of people in lower positions too frequently.

3. People in higher positions should avoid social interaction with people in lower positions.

4. People in lower positions should not disagree with decisions made by people in higher positions.

5. People in higher positions should not delegate important tasks to people in lower positions.

Now we would like you to answer a similar set of questions, but this time, please answer by taking the perspective of your work department/unit, for example Office of Housing and Residence Life, International Center, Office of Multicultural Affairs, etc.

Response Scale:
- ❍ Strongly Disagree (1)
- ❍ Somewhat Disagree (2)
- ❍ Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)
- ❍ Somewhat Agree (4)
- ❍ Strongly Agree (5)

My department believes that...

1. Powerful people should try to look less powerful than they are.

2. Subordinates consider superiors as being of a different kind.

3. Other people are a potential threat to one's power and can rarely be trusted.

Directions: Please answer the following items based on how often you experience each feeling.

Response scale
- ❍ Never (1)
- ❍ Sometimes (2)
- ❍ Occasionally (3)
- ❍ Frequently (4)
- ❍ Always (5)

1. I feel burned out from my work.

2. I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.

3. I feel frustrated by my job.

4. I feel like I'm at the end of my rope.

5. I feel that I am not being myself.

6. I feel that I am being inauthentic.

7. I feel that I am being "fake".

Information about your position and institution

1. Type of institution you work at
- ❍ Public (1)
- ❍ Private (2)

2. Type of institution you work at
- ❍ Community college (1)
- ❍ College or university (2)
- ❍ Technical or vocational school (3)
- ❍ Other (please specify) (4) _____

3. Type of institution you work at
- ❍ Religiously-affiliated (1)
- ❍ Not religiously-affiliated (2)

4. Country in which your institution in located

5. Type of students you primarily work with
- ❍ Undergraduate (1)
- ❍ Graduate (2)
- ❍ Equally with undergraduate and graduate students (3)

6. Type of students you primarily work with
- ❍ Students who attend your institution primarily in person (1)
- ❍ Students who attend your institution only through online courses (2)

7. Type of department/unit in which you primarily work

- ❑ Admissions (1)
- ❑ Residence Life/Housing (2)
- ❑ Student Activities (3)
- ❑ Sorority and Fraternity Affairs (4)
- ❑ Career Development (5)
- ❑ Study Abroad (6)
- ❑ Academic Advising (7)
- ❑ Financial Aid (8)
- ❑ International Student Programs and Services (9)
- ❑ Community Service/Service-Learning Programs (10)
- ❑ Athletics (11)
- ❑ Student Judicial Affairs (12)
- ❑ Campus Recreation (13)
- ❑ Diversity and Multicultural Affairs (14)
- ❑ Disability Support Services (15)
- ❑ Student Leadership Programs (16)
- ❑ Orientation and New Student Programs (17)
- ❑ Student Union (18)
- ❑ Student Health Services (19)
- ❑ Dean of Students Office (20)
- ❑ Other (please specify) (21) _____

8. How long have you worked at your current department?

- ❍ Less than a year (1)
- ❍ 1-5 years (2)
- ❍ 5-10 years (3)
- ❍ 11-20 years (4)
- ❍ Over 20 years (5)

9. Which best describes your position?

- ❍ Entry level (1)
- ❍ Mid-level (2)
- ❍ Management level (3)

10. How often do you interact with students one-on-one in your job?

- ❍ Less than once a day (1)
- ❍ 1-5 times a day (2)
- ❍ 6-10 times a day (3)
- ❍ More than 10 times a day (4)

11. Gender

- ❍ Male (1)

- ❍ Female (2)
- ❍ Other (3) _____

12. Age
- ❍ Under 21 (1)
- ❍ 21-29 (2)
- ❍ 30-39 (3)
- ❍ 40-49 (4)
- ❍ 50-59 (5)
- ❍ 60-65 (6)
- ❍ Over 65 (7)

13. Country of origin

14. Do you hold a degree in student affairs or university administration?
- ❑ Yes - Master's or equivalent (1)
- ❑ Yes - Ph.D./Ed.D. or equivalent (2)
- ❑ No (3)

15. Is there anything else you'd like to add?

16. If you received this survey from a coworker in your department, please click on the arrows below to complete the survey and enter the gift card drawing.

If you did not receive this survey from a coworker, please follow the directions below before entering the gift card drawing. As part of this study, we are trying to collect data from multiple employees who work in the same department. Please send the following message to at least 3 coworkers in your work department. Once you have sent it, please click on the arrows below to compete this survey and enter the gift card drawing.

"Hi [coworker name], I just completed a brief (10 minute) survey about workplace values that compares individual employees' values and beliefs to the values and beliefs of the departments they work in. In order to collect data, the researcher needs 3 coworkers in my department to fill it out as well. Responses will be kept anonymous, and all participants will be entered into a drawing to win one of five $50 Amazon.com gift cards. The survey can be found here: https://fitpsych.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_3xWTc8zrq7I90kB. When it asks you to input a code from your coworker, please enter this one: ${e://Field/random} Thank you!"