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Fitter, Happier: Display Rules in Policing

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Abstract
Recent experimental results suggest that when police officers smile, the public will react with enhanced perceptions of those officers. However, emotional labor theory suggests that organizationally mandated emotional displays such as smiling exact costs to the individual worker. We use data from a 2020 national survey to test effects of emotional labor—display rules, surface acting, and deep acting—on emotional exhaustion and depersonalization among law enforcement officers. We find that officers experience increased emotional exhaustion and burnout based on their strategies to comply with display rules—whether positive or negative. Emotional effort to attend to display rules exacts costs onto the individual, particularly if they are asked to suppress negative emotions and express unfelt positive ones. Implications for law enforcement and public sector organizations in general are discussed, with the broad recommendation that scholars and practitioners consider addressing public relations in ways that do not exacerbate burnout.

Keywords Emotional labor · Policing · Burnout · Emotional exhaustion · Depersonalization

Police chiefs in the USA are under tremendous pressure to innovate and reform on a budget, and research-based reforms are especially attractive. One recent experiment reported in this journal reveals a positive impact of images of police officers smiling on research participants' perceptions of police compared to images of police not smiling (Simpson 2020). But implementing and enforcing such a display rule as "a no-cost, easily trainable, and quickly-implementable intervention for police agencies of all sizes in all places" (Simpson 2020, pp. 1–2) begs the question: Is faking emotion indeed costless? Drawing on emotional labor theory, we demonstrate that emotional display rules are not costless using data from a 2020 survey of front-line law enforcement officers. While Simpson's (2020) experiment possesses internal validity, we survey officers themselves and take a person-centric approach to examining work psychology (Weiss and Rupp 2011); maximizing external and face validity for the purpose of understanding and improving front-line policing. Asking officers to govern their facial expressions more than they do already represents a potentially costly human resource management practice at a time when easy answers are particularly ill-suited to wicked problems.

> Fitter, healthier, and more productive. A pig. In a cage. On antibiotics.
> (Greenwood and Yorke 1997).

Introduction

Interventions to improve neighborhood relations vary in scale and scope—from establishing citizen review boards to "Coffee with a Cop" programs. New scholarly research suggests intervention at the level of the individual-officer: instituting a smile norm (Simpson 2020, p. 11):

> Facial expression manipulation requires no funding, little training, and can be implemented by officers from police agencies of all sizes in all places … Formalizing expression manipulation may thus be a fruitful intervention for police agencies to consider when attempting to enhance perceptions of their officers and relations with their communities.

For scholars of emotional labor, the phenomenon described above is defined as creating display rules to achieve organizational objectives. Formalizing the manipulation of workers' expressions is to establish a display rule, where smiling is the desired expression. Enhancing

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perceptions of officers and improving community relations are organizational outcomes that the establishment and enforcement of smiling purport to achieve. In emotional labor theory, the potential costs borne by workers subject to display rules are well established and include compromised cognitive function (Richards and Gross 1999, 2000) and burnout (Hulsheger and Schewe 2011).

The purpose of this paper is to apply emotional labor theory to policing through a test of whether faking emotion incurs no costs. In the next section, we define emotional labor, display rules, and discuss the unique context that public service professions provide for emotional labor research. We also discuss emotional labor in policing. In the third section, we describe our data and how it is consistent with the "person-centric work psychology" advocated by Weiss and Rupp (2011). Person-centered research possesses particular advantages over laboratory-based research when studying workers' experiences. In the fourth section, we present our model and method to test whether emotional labor is indeed "costless." In the fifth section, we present our results and discuss their implications and limitations. We conclude in the final section and mention human resource management practices to support emotional laborers' efforts.

In sum, we confirm prior research indicating that pretending emotion indeed incurs costs. Within our sample, individuals who report they feign compliance with expressive display rules are significantly more likely to endorse higher levels of burnout (both depersonalization and emotional exhaustion). Alternatively, those who report they make a more intense effort to bring their underlying emotive state in compliance with the display rule report less depersonalization, but their levels of emotional exhaustion are not significantly affected. Police officers already face substantial emotional labor demands in their work, and the addition of another display rule correlates with increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. Furthermore, evidence from private-sector emotional-labor research calls into question the purported benefits of impression management, such that improved community relations may not arise from compulsory smiling by police officers after all. Indeed, facial-expression display rules may expose officers to abuse and mistreatment in the field (Grandey et al. 2015) or at least jeopardize their legitimacy (Crank and Langworthy 1992). We propose an alternative approach to managing emotional labor demands on police officers.

Background

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor is the effort employed to express "appropriate" emotions or suppress "inappropriate" emotions in oneself or another, for the purpose of doing one's job. Emotional labor is fundamental to front-line service work and is particularly crucial in public service (Guy et al. 2008). Display rules are workplace norms determining "which emotions ought to be displayed and which ought to be hidden" (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987, p. 26). Display rules can be formal or informal and are "established through training and evaluation practices, and vary by the particular industry, occupation, organization, job or group context" (Allen et al. 2010, p. 102). Workers engage in emotional labor to follow display rules, and organizations are the "stage upon which employees play out their roles" (Cropanzano et al. 2004, p. 54).

Two approaches to following display rules are surface acting and deep acting. Surface acting is to modify one's outward expression of emotion, through suppressing, faking, or amplifying emotional displays (Allen et al. 2010). Deep acting "is consciously changing how one feels in order to express the desired emotion, through reappraisal, positive refocusing, or physiological modification" (Allen et al. 2010, p. 103). When surface acting, the worker feigns compliance with display rules, but in deep acting, the worker convinces themselves that the display rules are useful and worth following. In deep acting, the worker tries to feel genuinely the emotions they display. Over time, surface acting leads to burnout while deep acting tends not to, and suppressing emotions in particular demands energy and exacts physiological and cognitive costs (Richards and Gross 2000). The adverse impact of surface acting extends beyond work as well: "Faking or suppressing emotions at work is robustly linked not only to burnout and physiological symptoms but also impairs how well one can perform the family role" (Grandey et al. 2015, p. 774). Organizations are motivated to secure workers' buy-in to display rules, and pursuing the deep-acting strategy is in workers' own interests as well (Allen et al. 2010; Gosserand and Diefendorff 2005).

Emotional Labor in Policing

For public services, how one *feels* about service delivery is a fundamental aspect of the product or service delivered (Mastracci and Adams 2019a, b). In public services, "emotional displays are an important part of what the organization is supplying" (Cropanzano et al. 2004, p. 48). This exchange is especially true in policing: "Law enforcement, by nature, is very emotionally laborious" (Daus and Brown 2012, p. 306). Interactions with police are deeply emotion-laden and inherently subjective; people call police when they feel unsafe and vulnerable. How citizens feel an officer has served them constitutes as much of the product of policing as any tangible outcome. This expectation is so strong that the Los Angeles Police Department training academy motto, "To Protect and *Serve*" is held as the priority of law enforcement across the USA. Public complaints about officers are

relatively common, and those complaints often center on perceptions of officer discourtesy (Terrill and Ingram 2016).

Emotion management in policing—managing one's own emotions and those of another person—arguably involves the highest stakes of all public services, because police are unique among public servants in that they are authorized to use force. Failing to control an emotionally laden situation can escalate tempers with deadly consequences, and a focus on de-escalatory tactics in front-line officers often accompanies calls for police reform. While some may predict that smiling will produce positive interpersonal outcomes for the general public, this may not be the case in the context of some police activities, especially if the smile is read as out-of-place. Simpson (2020, p. 10) notes this possibility, suggesting that "expressional mismatch" between how a citizen is experiencing the encounter and an officer's smile could "lessen the otherwise positive effects" of the officer's emotional display. One primary form of de-escalating potentially violent encounters involves the officer making "an effort to keep his/her emotions in check" (Todak and James 2018, p. 520), and this tactic was a major predictor of successful de-escalation. Policing involves responding to a great deal of highly contingent situations, and more research will be needed to understand how individual emotive strategies will affect outcomes in varying contexts. Simpson (2020, p. 11) agrees and suggests that we require "evaluations of facial expressions in more natural and diverse policing environments where more contextual stimuli are present."

Clearly, police officers are emotional laborers (Adams and Buck 2010; Lennie et al. 2020; Lumsden and Black 2018). This particular demand of the role is not made explicit, however (Guy et al. 2008), and instead, a stoic reliance on hiding emotional reactions is upheld as the desirable professional identity. In the absence of training, management, or professional rewards related to their emotional roles, officers learn on the job through stories told by other officers (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987, p. 27, emphasis original):

The expression and control of emotions is frequently mentioned in the "war stories" that experienced street cops tell to rookie officers. Storytelling provides an opportunity for vicarious learning about feeling rules: As role models tell stories, rookies imagine how *they* would have acted.

Despite the role of war stories and the widespread acceptance of law enforcement as "one of the top five most stressful occupations worldwide, with police officers experiencing emotional problems leading to high rates of suicide, divorce, and substance abuse" (Daus and Brown 2012, p. 307), emotions are treated as anathema to law enforcement practice. Guy et al. (2008) reveal how emotions are regarded as disruptions to professionalism in law enforcement practice. Once emotional labor is defined and described, however, its centrality to professionalism itself—to engage in emotional labor is to carry oneself as a professional in law enforcement—is readily acknowledged (Guy et al. 2008). Comporting oneself with the stoic display rule in law enforcement requires the exercise of emotional labor. Emotionlessness amidst the practice of a highly emotionally charged profession such as policing demands emotional labor.

Law enforcement agencies asking officers to smile would be an explicit display rule. Display rules are created and enforced in order to achieve organizational ends. Based on his experimental research that demonstrates positive observer reactions to pictures of police officers smiling, Simpson concludes: "Manipulating the facial expressions of officers could thus prove to be a fruitful intervention for enhancing perceptions of police" (2020, p. 3). Furthermore, smiling can make you happy and improve cardiovascular health (Zajonc 1985). On its face, a display rule to smile would seem to benefit both the organization and the worker. The organization enjoys improved relationships with citizens and improved perceptions of its employees. In turn, workers enjoy improved mood and health. However, Grandey, Rupp, and Brice observe: "Employees who work under the 'service with a smile' requirements should be the happiest and healthiest employees in the workforce, yet this is not the case. Despite the proposed benefits of smiling, emotional labor has human costs in the form of job dissatisfaction, health costs, and job burnout" (2015, p. 771).

Display rules demand emotional labor. As our data show, depending upon the emotional labor strategy one uses—surface acting or deep acting—burnout can arise from workplace display rules. Furthermore, we argue that our approach to studying police officers' work experience in the field provides richer information and more actionable findings than laboratory research can because we focus on the whole worker (Adler 2011). Understanding the impact of display rules in policing is especially crucial because "organizations create a context where workers often face disrespectful treatment by others with little means to regain the dignity and respect required for interactional justice" (Grandey et al. 2015, p. 774).

Data

We use data from a 2020 survey of police officers that included the following emotional labor and burnout constructs: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, pretend and suppress display rules, and surface and deep acting. The survey was conducted from May 20 through June 4, 2020. Data were obtained as part of a larger project to survey a nationwide probability sample of US law enforcement officers. The online survey was distributed to a random sample of US-based law enforcement agencies drawn from four size strata: 0 to 24 sworn officers, 25 to 49, 50

to 99, and 100 or more. The design intentionally oversampled from the largest strata of US law enforcement agencies (100 + sworn officers), a sampling strategy common when surveying law enforcement officers because response rates decline in computer-administered surveys (Nix et al. 2019). A random sample of 700 agencies was drawn from each stratum, resulting in a stratified random sample of 2800 agencies. The survey was open for only 14 days, as major protests against police use-of-force began on May 30, 2020, and participation ended abruptly. We received information from 515 respondents across 38 states. A total of 32 (6.2%) responses were removed for excessive missingness (> 80% incomplete), yielding responses from 483 sworn officers. The average officer is a white, 42-year-old man with approximately 13.78 years of experience in his municipal policing agency, who has a bachelor's degree, and holds the rank of officer (has not promoted). Table 1 reports the demographic breakdown across all respondents.

Method

Measures

Depersonalization, emotional exhaustion, pretend display rules, suppress display rules, surface acting, and deep acting were created using well-established measures of those constructs (Guy et al. 2019). All items were rated on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 7 ("strongly agree"). Table 2 reports the descriptive statistics and Cronbach's alpha statistics for latent constructs (Santos 1999). Latent measures are constructed from sets of between three and six individual measures. Descriptive statistics and operationalizations of individual measurement items are reported in Appendix Table 5.

Burnout Constructs Participants were asked to endorse two sub-constructs of occupational burnout—*emotional exhaustion*, and *depersonalization*—from the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) (Maslach and Jackson 1981). While the original MBI had a third component (personal accomplishment), inconsistencies have led researchers to abandon it in burnout studies (Lee and Ashforth 1996). Our analytic method assumes underlying measurement items in the construction of latent variables, so we rely on three survey items adapted to the law enforcement context for the construction of both burnout domains.

Emotional Labor Constructs Participants in all three surveys were asked to respond to four emotional labor constructs: *pretend* and *suppress display rules*, and *surface and deep acting*. As a theoretical base for understanding emotional regulation strategies, emotional labor has been examined across differing modes of law enforcement, including corrections officers (Newman et al. 2009), policing (Schaible and Six 2016), and probation officers (Westaby et al. 2019). All measures are drawn from well-validated survey measures in both the broader emotional labor literature (Grandey and Melloy 2017) and the application of the theory in public administration (Guy and Newman 2004; Yang et al. 2018). Descriptive statistics and operationalization for all individual measurement items are reported in Appendix Table 6.

Structural Equation Modeling

Structural equation modeling (SEM) simultaneously tests relationships among variables. Model identification, fit indices, and results here follow best-practices recommendations to enhance transparency and consistency (Cortina et al. 2017; Hoyle and Isherwood 2013; McDonald and Ho 2002). We test a confirmatory factor model using 22 manifest variables to construct six latent variables, estimating 76 parameters on 199 degrees of freedom. The model is identified: there are more knowns than equations in the model, more observations than estimates, the scale of each latent variable is set by fixing one loading, each latent has at least two emitted paths, each latent has at least three indicators and has no double loadings, and the model is non-recursive. The total sample size is 440 observations, combining 406 observations with complete data and 34 observations with partially missing data. Because missingness is limited, we do not impute completely missing data, and partially missing data is handled well in SEM. Estimation employs full-estimation maximum likelihood, which uses all available data even in the presence of random missing values (Finkbeiner 1979).

The confirmatory model contains covariance paths between *pretend* and *suppress display rules*, and between the two components of burnout, *emotional exhaustion* and *depersonalization*. The former is theoretically justified by Hochschild's (1983) original conception of organizational display rules as demanding both the expression of unfelt emotion and the suppression of experienced emotion, as well as later scholarship establishing the measurement invariance of these constructs (Yang et al. 2018). The latter covariance structure is justified through the establishment of burnout as a scalar measure that includes at least two components (Maslach and Jackson 1981), and the studies that followed, including meta-analyses that find both *emotional exhaustion* and *depersonalization* distinct but related ways of experiencing organizational burnout (Lee and Ashforth 1996; Swider and Zimmerman 2010). We expect our covariance (dual direction) paths to have positive, statistically significant effects.

Proper identification rests heavily on justifying each directed path in the model as a theoretically plausible causal relationship (Bollen and Pearl 2013; Kline 2015). Directional paths indicate an expected relationship between two latent variables. The confirmatory model depicted in Fig. 1 can be read as a series of hypotheses. We expect both *suppress* and *pretend display rules* to have statistically significant, positive relationships with both *surface* and *deep acting*. We expect *surface acting* to have a statistically significant, positive relationship with both *emotional exhaustion* and *depersonalization*. We expect *deep acting* to have a statistically significant, negative relationship with both *emotional exhaustion* and *depersonalization*. We expect our covariance (dual direction) paths to have positive, statistically significant relationships.

Results

Model Identification and Fit

The model converges on a solution within six iterations, and all intercepts and loadings are statistically significant. Across all fit indices, the model performs well: chi-square is significant, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is 0.0509, below the preferred value of 0.06; the Bentler comparative fit index (CFI) is 0.949, and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI) is 0.941, both above the cutoff of 0.9; the lower bound of the RMSEA is 0.044, and its upper bound is 0.058, well below the cutoff of 0.10. While no single fit indicator can be relied upon (Hu and Bentler 1999; Kline 2015), the fit indices demonstrate excellent model fit as a collection.

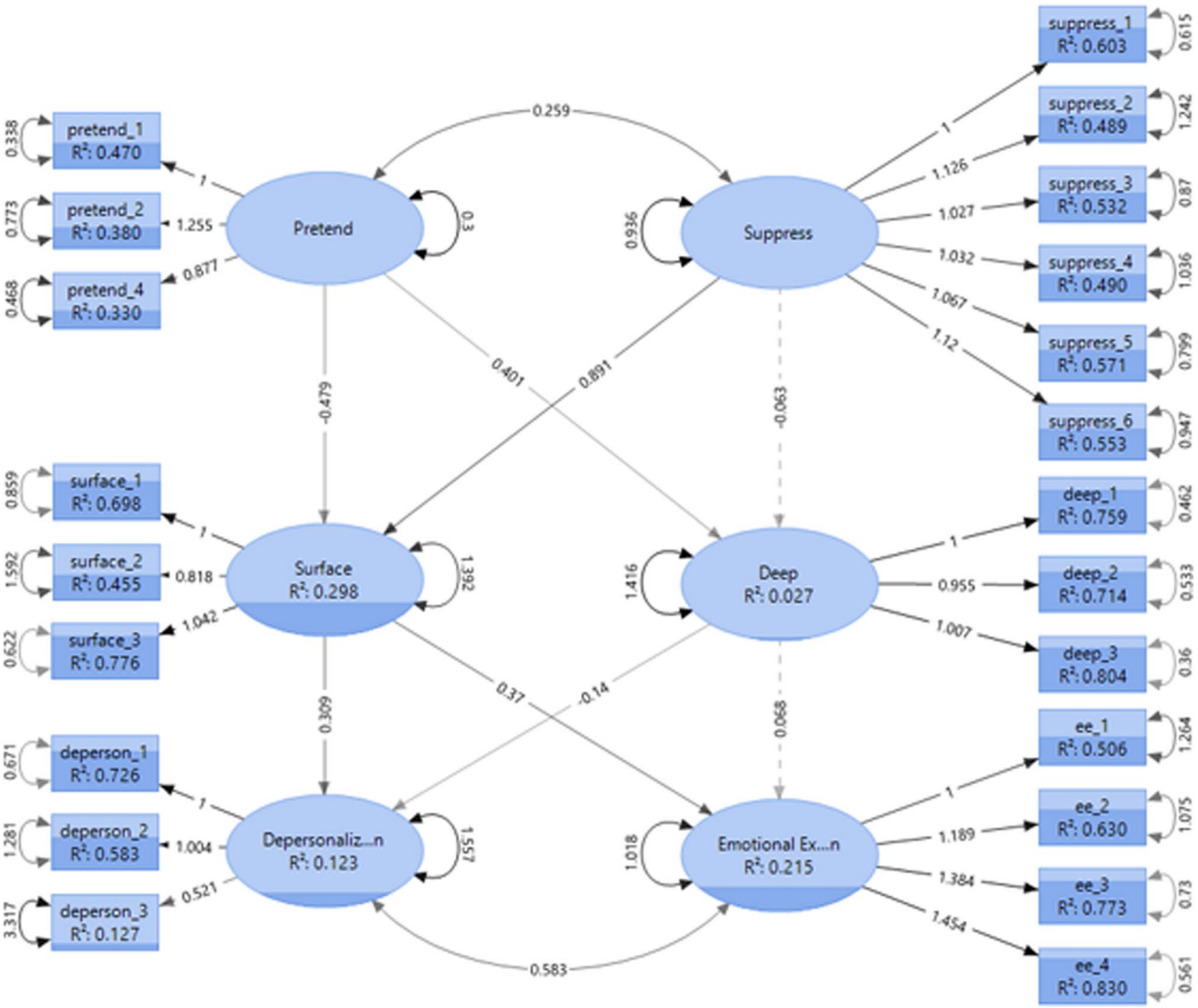


Fig. 1 Structural equation model ($n = 440$). Unstandardized estimates. RMSEA = 0.051, CFI = 0.949, TLI = 0.941, $df = 199$

Table 1 Participant descriptive statistics

	Number	% of Total	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max
Years in agency	480		13.78	10.02	0	49
Years in law enforcement	480		16.44	10.52	0	50
Age (years)	405		42	10.44	21	70
Rank						
Officer	211	43.69%				
Sergeant	107	22.15%				
Above Lieutenant	89	18.43%				
Lieutenant	47	9.73%				
Corporal	24	4.97%				
Prefer not to answer	5	1.04%				
Formal education						
Bachelor's Degree	137	28.36%				
High school graduate	108	22.36%				
Associate Degree	104	21.53%				
Missing	78	16.15%				
Master's Degree	52	10.77%				
Doctoral or professional (JD, MD)	3	0.62%				
Less than high school	1	0.21%				
Race						
White	350	72.46%				
Missing	78	16.15%				
Other	19	3.93%				
Black or African American	18	3.73%				
Asian	8	1.66%				
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	8	1.66%				
American Indian or Alaska Native	2	0.41%				
Sex						
Missing	79	16.36%				
Male	349	72.26%				
Female	55	11.39%				
Agency size (no. sworn)						
More than 100	190	39.34%				
50–100	96	19.88%				
Missing	77	15.94%				
25–49	74	15.32%				
Less than 25	46	9.52%				
Agency type						
Municipal Police	207	42.86%				
Sheriff's department	92	19.05%				
missing	77	15.94%				
Corrections	64	13.25%				
Campus	30	6.21%				
State police	8	1.66%				
Other	5	1.04%				

Modification indices were examined and suggest that no structural paths were omitted. While modification indices indicate that adding paths between measurement variables could marginally improve overall model fit, doing so is not justified. Modifications in the absence of theory should not be taken, as doing so improves model fit statistics by further restricting the model, but does not improve our understanding of the actual variable relationships. Figure 1 shows the

Table 2 descriptive statistics.

	Number	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	Scale items	Inter-item covariance	Cronbach's α
Depersonalization (latent)	439	4.757	1.355	1	7	3	1.192	0.6487
Emotional exhaustion (latent)	437	3.594	1.503	1	7	4	2.019	0.8933
Pretend (latent)	424	5.417	0.737	2	7	3	0.319	0.6377
Suppress (latent)	416	5.012	1.103	1.8	7	6	1.062	0.8737
Surface acting (latent)	414	4.119	1.466	1	7	3	1.796	0.8357
Deep acting (latent)	406	4.024	1.253	1	7	3	1.42	0.9035

fully estimated confirmatory SEM with unstandardized path estimates, and Table 3 summarizes model fit.

Model Results

Results confirm the majority of our expectations. Robust paths between emotional labor and burnout (Guy et al. 2019; Yang et al. 2018) are validated here, particularly between *suppress display rules*. We interpret the standardized estimates using guidelines (Shrout and Bolger 2002; Suhr 2006) that define small effects at about 0.10, medium effects at 0.30, and large effects at 0.50 (Table 4).

The impact of *surface acting* is statistically significant and in the direction expected. *Surface acting* is positively correlated with *depersonalization* (0.326) and *emotional exhaustion* (0.458), with medium to large effect sizes. *Suppress display rules* positively correlates with *surface acting*, and the effect is large (0.612). *Pretend display rules* has a medium-sized positive effect correlated with *deep acting* (0.182), and a medium-sized negative relationship with *surface acting* (−0.186). As expected, *pretend* and *suppress display rules* have a significant covariant relationship (0.259), as do *emotional exhaustion* and *depersonalization* (0.583).

Two of the ten expected relationships are not statistically significant. *Suppress display rules* are not significantly related to *deep acting*, which itself is not significantly related to *emotional exhaustion*. The variance explained for each endogenous measurement item and latent construct varies considerably as expected in this type of modeling, with full reportage located in Appendix Table 6.

Table 3 Summary of SEM model fit

Name	Index
−2 log likelihood	30,514.428
AICc	30,707.539
BIC	30,995.283
ChiSquare	545.48528
DF	220
Prob > ChiSq	1.279e−29
CFI	0.9295003
TLI	0.9189253
NFI	0.8879868
Revised GFI	0.9394332
Revised AGFI	0.9176842
RMSEA	0.0579866
Lower 90%	0.0518909
Upper 90%	0.064123
RMR	0.1751007
SRMR	0.0733544

Converged model within six iterations using full information maximum likelihood.

Discussion

Surface acting—the effort expended to comply with display rules by faking it—is costly in terms of both increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. Burnout is already high in law enforcement (Hawkins 2001; McCarty et al. 2019; Schaible 2018) and represents a substantial problem for policing organizations: "Burnout can lead to fatigue, loss of motivation and even chronic disease. Burnout is also associated with negative organizational outcomes, such as absenteeism and lowered productivity" (Kop and Euwema, 2001, p. 633). Increased emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are fundamentally negative outcomes for officers and their employing agencies (Maslach 2017; McCarty et al. 2019; McCarty and Skogan 2013).

As strong as the adverse effects of surface acting are, emotional labor theory predicts that deep acting tends not to be correlated with burnout. However, in our model, deep acting does not significantly affect emotional exhaustion, and its effect on depersonalization is statistically significant but small. Even if some officers interpreted a compulsory smiling display rule as an opportunity to truly feel happy, at the group level, any small benefit to decreased depersonalization would be overwhelmed by the large increase to emotional exhaustion, as well as the effect from surface

Table 4 Parameter standardized estimates for structural equation model regressions

Regressions	Estimate	Std. Error	Wald Z	Prob >|Z|
Suppress → Surface	0.612	0.056	10.856	< 0.0001*
Surface → Emotional exhaustion	0.458	0.045	10.177	< 0.0001*
Surface → Depersonalization	0.326	0.054	6.069	< 0.0001*
Pretend → Deep	0.182	0.077	2.359	0.0183*
Deep → Emotional exhaustion	0.073	0.050	1.444	0.1486
Suppress → Deep	− 0.051	0.070	− 0.729	0.4663
Deep → depersonalization	− 0.127	0.057	− 2.234	0.0255*
Pretend → Surface	− 0.186	0.071	− 2.623	0.0087*

acting to depersonalization. Examining burnout as a broader concept means we must account for simultaneous effects to both components of burnout. The inference here is that a robust path exists: A demand to suppress a bad mood met with an unfelt effort to smile and an overall increase in burnout.

Prior research on police officers' perceptions is based on university students as subjects in an experimental setting: respondents reacting to pictures of officers wearing different types of clothing and equipment (Simpson 2017, 2018). Likewise, in the research demonstrating smiling improves perceptions of police officers (Simpson 2020). We draw on emotional labor theory to complicate claims of costlessness, using data gathered by repeated measures via field research with practicing law enforcement officers. The external and face validity of field research strengthens our confidence in our conclusions (Weiss and Rupp 2011), despite lacking the internal validity of the laboratory setting.

Furthermore, hoped-for improvements to relations between police and the public may be difficult to attain in practice. In private sector contexts, Grandey et al. (2015, p. 780) find "little evidence for organizational gains from the practice" of enforcing emotional display requirements. Research on costlier interventions such as body-worn cameras into policing practice to reduce complaints against officers has not consistently shown the desired effect either (Lum et al. 2019), even given the negative impacts on workers due to electronic performance monitoring (Adams and Mastracci 2019; Ravid et al. 2020). In fact, strict emotional display requirements may expose officers to verbal abuse from the public (Grandey et al. 2015). Display rules in policing are anything but costless.

Limitations

The well-known limitations of cross-sectional survey designs apply to our findings. The primary limitation is a lack of causal identification, including the critical path between emotional labor correlates and burnout. Demonstrating a causal connection between, for example, surface acting and emotional exhaustion is not possible with the present study's design. However, this limitation is overcome by the substantial research across disciplines and research modes (Jeung et al. 2018; Lumsden and Black 2020; Maslach 2017; Mastracci et al. 2012; McCarty et al. 2019). In fact, the model we test is the same that has been tested across multiple countries and public sector contexts (Guy et al. 2019). Another potential limitation is common source bias due to our use of one data-collection mode for both dependent and independent variables (Favero and Bullock 2015; Spector 2006). The concern over common source bias raises particular methodological questions, but recent research finds the potential impact exaggerated (George and Pandey 2017; Kim and Daniel 2020). Still, our results would be vulnerable to those concerns were common source bias to have an effect.

Second, while provoked by the implication of a "costless" intervention of asking officers to smile more (Simpson 2020), we cannot experimentally test our data to investigate the specific display rule to smile. Rather, we extend a general critique toward the view that pretend and suppress display rules, and the effort required to engage in surface acting is costless. Underlying measures for the model's latent constructs are salient for understanding how demands for smiles might be expressed. For example, one measure of *pretend display rules* asks for respondents to endorse the statement, "My department expects me to be friendly towards people as part of my job"; a *suppress display rule* measure points toward the same with, "My department expects me to pretend that I am not upset or distressed, even when I actually am"; and a *surface acting* measure asks respondents whether they "Pretend to have emotions that I don't really feel at work." So, while we cannot claim to test smiling display rules and resultant emotional strategies directly, both are clearly incorporated in our conceptualization of emotional labor.

Conclusion

Simpson (2020) demonstrates that research participants respond with positive perceptions of police officers when officers smile. One implication is that asking officers to smile is a low-impact, cost-free intervention to improving neighborhood relations. We test the exchange of individual officer emotive effort for improved agency outcome from an emotional labor standpoint using data from a 2020 survey of police officers. In the parlance of emotional labor, "Just Smile" is a workplace display rule. We test effects of emotional labor—surface acting and deep acting to conform to display rules—on burnout among law enforcement officers. We find that officers' strategies to comply with display rules correlate with increased emotional exhaustion and burnout. Emotional effort to attend to organizational goals has costs to the individual officer, particularly if they are asked to suppress negative authentic emotions and express unfelt positive ones. The costs of suppression and faking emotion and include compromised cognitive function and burnout.

Human resource management practices to develop officers' emotional intelligence may include incorporating emotional labor skills in job descriptions and performance evaluations, conducting robust critical incident stress debriefings, and assigning junior officers to particularly effective senior officers. Emotionally intelligent officers are better able to engage in emotional labor; they are less likely to experience burnout, may have greater legitimacy in the eyes of the public, and have been demonstrated to be effective de-escalators (Todak and James 2018). Critics of workplace display rules allege "emotional requirements treat both employees and customers as children, incapable of handling real emotions and excusing them from personal responsibility for the emotional exchange" (Grandey et al. 2015, p. 778). Emotional labor is impossible to avoid in policing, given the stakes involved, including depriving someone of their liberties or even their life. Given the fundamental nature of emotional labor to policing, we recommend that scholars and practitioners consider alternative approaches to community relations other than managing their emotional expressions.

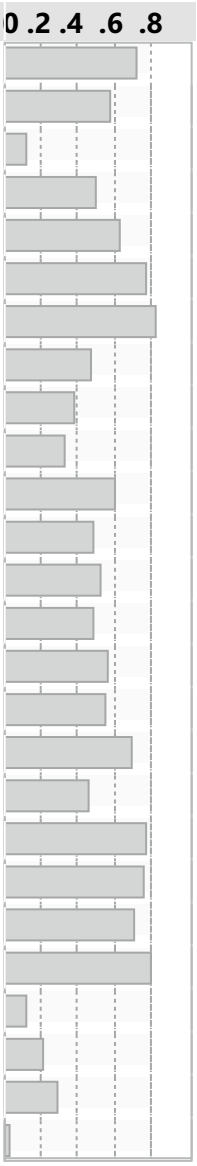
Appendix

Table 5 Survey item descriptive statistics and operationalization

	Number	Mean	Std. Dev	Min	Max	Operationalization
deperson_1	439	5.3295	1.5700	1	7	Working in this job has hardened me emotionally
deperson_2	440	4.7477	1.7575	1	7	I've become more callous toward people since I started working in law enforcement
deperson_3	439	4.1903	1.9503	1	7	People I deal with at work blame me for some of their problems
ee_1	437	3.1967	1.5965	1	7	Working with people all day is really a strain for me
ee_2	437	3.0588	1.7003	1	7	When I start my shift, I already feel emotionally exhausted
ee_3	438	4.0593	1.7867	1	7	I leave work feeling emotionally exhausted
pretend_1	437	4.0485	1.8106	1	7	My department expects me to act confident and self-assured while on the job
pretend_2	424	6.0743	0.7990	1	7	My department expects me to act calm even when I don't feel that way on the job
pretend_4	424	6.1256	0.8361	1	7	My department expects me to be friendly towards people as part of my job
suppress_1	416	5.4409	1.2448	1	7	I am expected to suppress my bad moods or negative reactions towards people I have contact with
suppress_2	416	4.4775	1.5586	1	7	My department expects me to pretend that I am not upset or distressed, even when I actually am
suppress_3	416	5.1897	1.3626	1	7	I am expected not to show anger while on the job
suppress_4	416	4.8496	1.4249	1	7	I am expected to hide my amusement about situations and people I encounter while working
suppress_5	416	5.2860	1.3654	1	7	I am expected to hide my disgust about some things I see or people I meet while working
suppress_6	416	4.8246	1.4561	1	7	I am expected to hide any fear I may feel while working
surface_1	414	4.2810	1.6874	1	7	I resist expressing my true feelings at work
surface_2	414	3.6181	1.7086	1	7	I pretend to have emotions that I don't really feel at work
surface_3	414	4.4522	1.6664	1	7	I hide my true feelings about situations and people I encounter at work
deep_1	406	4.0722	1.3835	1	7	I make an effort to actually feel the emotions I need to show to others at work
deep_2	406	3.9784	1.3624	1	7	While working, I try to actually experience the emotions I must show to people
deep_3	407	4.0078	1.3537	1	7	I really try to feel the emotions I have to show as part of my job

Table 6 R^2 for Endogenous Variables

Variable	R^2
deperson_1	0.7256
deperson_2	0.5828
deperson_3	0.1267
ee_1	0.5062
ee_2	0.6303
ee_3	0.7728
ee_4	0.8299
pretend_1	0.4701
pretend_2	0.3796
pretend_4	0.3303
suppress_1	0.6033
suppress_2	0.4886
suppress_3	0.5317
suppress_4	0.4902
suppress_5	0.5712
suppress_6	0.5534
surface_1	0.6977
surface_2	0.4546
surface_3	0.7759
deep_1	0.7591
deep_2	0.7136
deep_3	0.8040
Depersonalization	0.1231
Emotional Exhaustion	0.2146
Surface	0.2982
Deep	0.0268



Declarations

Ethical Approval All procedures performed in studies involving human participants were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committee and with the 1964 Helsinki declaration and its later amendments or comparable ethical standards.

Informed Consent Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study.

Competing of Interest The authors declare no competing interests.

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