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EMOTIONAL LABOR IN INTERCULTURAL SERVICE ENCOUNTERS:
AN EXPERIENCE SAMPLING STUDY

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The body of literature surrounding emotional labor, defined as service employees' effort to manage their emotions to meet organizational goals (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996), exhibits a severe lack of studies examining intercultural service encounters (i.e., service episodes in which a provider from culture A delivers a service to a customer from culture B; Stauss & Mang, 1999). This dissertation posits an intrapersonal model of emotional labor in intercultural service encounters. Central to this model is the construct of cultural competence (Earley & Ang, 2003), which is defined as the ability to adapt effectively and flexibly in culturally diverse settings. Using experience sampling methodology with a hospitality industry sample, I found that cultural competence was associated with deep acting and performance. Openness to experience predicted cultural competence through active seeking of multicultural experience (i.e., multicultural personality). Implications for the selection (based on openness) and training (for deep acting and cultural competence) of service providers in an increasingly globalized service industry are discussed.

To the Three Most Important People in My Life

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For over two decades, emotional labor – the regulation of emotions at work – has emerged as a construct of utmost interest to researchers and practitioners alike. An ever-growing body of literature has consistently shown the significance emotional labor holds in the workplace and has accumulated evidence for its impact on both individual and organizational outcomes, such as employees’ physiological and psychological well-being, performance, turnover, and customer satisfaction (e.g., Barger & Grandey, 2006; Grandey, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1997; Pugh, 2001; Tsai, 2001; Tsai & Huang, 2002). However, next to no studies have focused on the intercultural service context. In this dissertation, I developed and tested a model of emotional labor in intercultural service encounters that links cultural competence to emotional labor and performance (see Figures 1 and 2). The model also looks at antecedents to cultural competence (i.e., openness to experience and multicultural experiences) and outcomes of emotional labor (i.e., emotional exhaustion). The hypothesized relationships were tested using an experience sampling approach.

In Chapter 1, I describe the background on emotions in the workplace, focusing on the research surrounding emotional labor. I take an intercultural perspective and review the research conducted on intercultural service encounters in related fields, pointing out the importance to study emotional labor within such a context. Next, I introduce cultural competence as the proposed key to intercultural service quality. Finally, I lay out the arguments substantiating the hypothesized relationships in the theoretical model.

Emotions in the Workplace

During the heyday of Taylor’s (1911) “scientific management”, employees were regarded as robot-like machines devoid of feeling (Rafaeli & Worline, 2001; Schneider, 1994; Taylor,

1911). In stark contrast to this popular scientific view from almost a century ago, recent decades have seen a veritable explosion of research on the role of emotion in organizations (Elfenbein, 2007). Rafaeli neatly summarized the realization behind this new development: “Leave out the understanding of emotion and you have left out the real key to what and why happens in organizations” (2004, p. 1344). Along with this trend came not only the acknowledgment that employees’ performance on the job can indeed be affected by their emotions, but also the increasing classification of emotions as a commodity that needs to – and can – be controlled and regulated by organizations (Fineman, 2001; Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli, 2004). The latter is especially pertinent in the service industry.

Emotional Labor in the Service Context

Hochschild was the first to coin the term “emotional labor” in her groundbreaking work on the commoditization of feelings in the workplace (Hochschild, 1983). Emotional labor is defined as expending effort to regulate emotions at work in pursuit of organizational goals (Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Oftentimes this is accomplished by following either formal or informal display rules that dictate the appropriate organizationally sanctioned emotional display (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Service employees act as the faces of their organization. Thus, employers hope that by encouraging certain emotional displays when interacting with customers, service workers will turn the customer’s experience with the organization into a pleasant memory that will ensure customer satisfaction, loyalty, and repeat business (Pugh, 2001; Tsai, 2001; Tsai & Huang, 2002).

Past research shows that employees regulate their emotions via two strategies (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2003): deep acting and surface acting. Deep acting entails

modifying one's actual emotional state, e.g., by trying to empathize with the customers; while surface acting refers to modifying one's outward emotional display, e.g., facial expression, tone of voice, gestures, etc. In emotion regulation terms, these strategies can be equated to antecedent-focused emotion regulation (e.g., reappraisal) and response-focused emotion regulation (e.g., suppression; Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998a). Deep acting is likened to antecedent-focused emotion regulation because it pertains to changing one's cognitive perception of the situation, which may change the emotional response via strategies such as attention deployment (i.e., altering one's focus to something that induces the required emotions) and reappraisal (i.e., cognitively reinterpreting the meaning of emotionally evocative events in unemotional terms in order to enhance or diminish their emotional impact). Surface acting is akin to response-focused emotional regulation since it manipulates the emotional reactions in employee-customer interactions via the suppression (i.e., the conscious inhibition of ongoing emotion-expressive behavior while emotionally aroused) or intensification of actual emotions felt, or through faking emotions not experienced.

Emotional Labor Outcomes

Previous studies have unearthed a host of both negative and positive outcomes of emotional labor. Overall, most negative outcomes have been linked to surface acting, or, in emotion regulation terms, suppression of negative emotions (Grandey, 2000; Gross, 1998b, 1999), whereas deep acting, or reappraisal, has been found to be less detrimental and has yielded more positive outcomes (Gross, 1999; Liu, Prati, Perrewé, & Ferris, 2008; Martinez-Inigo, Totterdell, Alcover, & Holman, 2007). Unfortunately for employees, organizational emotion norms most often pertain to the suppression of negative affect (Domagalski & Steelman, 2005). Service encounters with difficult customers increase the stress and negative emotions

experienced by service workers (Rupp, McCance, & Grandey, 2007; Rupp & Spencer, 2006; Spencer & Rupp, 2009) and negatively impact satisfaction and commitment (Dormann & Zapf, 2004; Grandey, Tam, & Brauburger, 2002; Richmond, 1998).

The negative outcomes of emotional labor impact both the individual's and the organization's well-being. Studies have shown emotional labor to cause emotional exhaustion (i.e., a facet of burnout) and depression (Abraham, 1998; Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Chau, 2007; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Grandey, 2003; Kim, 2008) and other negative symptoms of health (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000). Surface acting has been found to be related to emotional dissonance (i.e., an aversive psychological state in which one experiences a sense of discrepancy between one's genuine and expressed emotions; Hochschild, 1983) and felt inauthenticity (Erickson & Wharton, 1997). Outcomes that are of organizational relevance include reduced job satisfaction (e.g., Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983; Tolich, 1993; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989) and decrements in performance (e.g., reduced task accuracy; Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Muraven, & Tice, 1998; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Richards & Gross, 1999; Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Moreover, routinely having to manage one's emotions leads to withdrawal behaviors (e.g., absenteeism; Bailey, 1996; Cordes & Dougherty, 1993; Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004), intentions to quit, and turnover (Chau, 2007; Côté & Morgan, 2002). Since high turnover rates have been associated with decreased customer satisfaction, this has negative repercussions for the service organization (Koys, 2001). As mentioned above, overall, the evidence has generally supported that surface acting is detrimental to health outcomes and performance, while deep acting has a weaker negative and even some positive effects on such outcomes (e.g., Judge, Woolf, & Hurst, 2009).

The list of positive outcomes is a lot shorter, but also affects both the individual and the organization. One of the positive outcomes of emotional labor concerns an increased feeling of personal accomplishment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Service workers who engage in deep acting more often, where they actually conjure up the positive emotions they must express to customers, more frequently experience positive emotions and thus have higher levels of job satisfaction (Fisher, 2000). From the organization's point of view, the display of positive emotion can lead to increased customer satisfaction, loyalty, and repatronage (Pugh, 2001; Tsai, 2001; Tsai & Huang, 2002). The better the service experience, the higher the likelihood that the customer will continue to use that particular company's services. Research on affective delivery (i.e., the perceived warmth and friendliness of a service encounter) showed that it is viewed negatively when it is perceived as insincere or false (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005a). Apparently, others can detect the effort or inner struggle needed to comply with emotional display rules under stressful conditions, and this will bear a negative consequence on repeat business.

The preceding literature review summarizes the pertinent findings on emotional labor. The next section will discuss the paucity of investigations of intercultural service encounters, as well as the importance of such scientific inquiry.

The Need for an Intercultural Perspective

The body of research surrounding emotional labor has mainly used North American samples, although some studies have examined samples from other countries (e.g., Grandey, Fisk, & Steiner, 2005b; Rupp, McCance, Spencer, & Sonntag, 2008). In a few cases, service providers from different cultures have been compared (e.g., Grandey et al., 2005b). However, what is sorely lacking is an investigation into the intercultural service encounter – when the

service provider and the customer stem from different cultural backgrounds. The present study adopts the dynamic constructivist approach (Hong & Chiu, 2001), which treats culture as an internalized “network of knowledge and practices that is produced, distributed, and reproduced among [...] interconnected people” (Chiu & Hong, 2005, p. 4). This view regards cultures as dynamic open systems that transcend geographical boundaries and evolve over time (Hong & Chiu, 2001). This theoretical perspective provides a broad lens for what constitutes an intercultural service encounter: It arises if a “foreign” customer (of culture A) consumes a service from a culturally different provider (of culture B). Examples of this can be an Italian tourist staying at an American hotel in the U.S. (different national culture), or a Hispanic waitress serving an Asian customer in a restaurant (different ethnic culture).

With increasing globalization, a growing number of service companies conduct their business with culturally diverse customers (Stauss & Mang, 1999). Ethnic minorities are growing steadily and increasingly possess more purchasing power (Furrer & Sollberger, 2007). International travel and immigration have seen an explosive growth (Ng, Lee, & Soutar, 2007): Recent estimates show that about 800 million tourists traveled overseas in 2006 (World Tourism Organization, 2007), and about 200 million people live outside their countries of origin (United Nations, 2006). It thus becomes imperative to ask (Winsted, 1997): Does good service mean the same thing for everyone? Or do consumers with different cultural backgrounds expect different types of treatment?

Intercultural Service Encounters

Indeed, prior research shows that customers from different cultural backgrounds have different expectations and perceptions of and attitudes toward service encounters, and that this affects service interactions and evaluations (Mann, 2007; Mattila, 1999; Stauss & Mang, 1999;

Zhang, Beatty, & Walsh, 2008). The service encounter, which is defined as a “dyadic interaction between a customer and a service provider” (Surprenant & Solomon, 1987, p. 87) and a “form of human interaction” (Czepiel, Solomon, Surprenant, & Gutman, 1985, p. 14), is characterized by its intangible nature. Consequently, services are evaluated to a large extent by experiential qualities. These are quality attributes that can only be assessed during the service delivery process (Zeithaml, Berry, & Parasuraman, 1993). Hence, quality perception takes place in the encounter situation and depends on the success of the service encounter (Stauss & Mang, 1999).

When the service provider and the customer share the same cultural background, service encounters often play out almost automatically and require only a minimum of cognitive activity (Stauss & Mang, 1999; Surprenant & Solomon, 1987). Interactions with customers are social exchanges that are repetitive and routine in nature, and are therefore likely to be scripted (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey & Brauburger, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Scripts are cognitive schemata that are generated in long-term memory after an individual experiences a series of similar episodes (Schank & Abelson, 1977). They help reduce cognitive load because they prescribe a predetermined sequence of actions. Individuals simply play their part. A situational cue immediately and automatically sparks the appropriate emotional display. However, when the experience deviates from the service script, a challenge arises. Hence, intercultural service encounters are bound to be more conscious and effortful (Stauss & Mang, 1999). As mentioned above, culture can be defined as the sum of all behavioral norms and patterns collectively shared by a social group (Chiu & Hong, 2005; Usunier, 1993). Therefore, when individuals from different cultures interact, many obstacles can surface. Problems may occur because the performance of the service provider does not meet the expectations of the customer, or because the customer does not exhibit the role behavior expected by the service

provider. For instance, unofficial “rules” for tipping vary greatly across different cultures – not merely between different national cultures, but even between groups of varying socioeconomic status.

First Investigations

The service management literature has recognized the need to investigate intercultural service encounters. In a study comparing service encounter evaluations of American and Japanese restaurant guests, Winsted (1997) found differences in the relative importance customers placed on eight service encounter dimensions: authenticity of behavior, caring, customer control, courtesy, friendliness, formality, personalization, and promptness. It is noteworthy that half of these dimensions, namely authenticity, caring, courtesy, and friendliness, can be seen as related to or resulting from emotional labor.

Stauss and Mang (1999) tested a model of intercultural service encounter quality employing a critical incident technique with a sample of air travelers from the U.S., Japan, and Germany. They found that sometimes, intercultural service encounters are actually perceived as less problematic than intracultural encounters. This is an interesting finding that might be explained by the fact that foreign customers regularly settle for a lower service quality standard. However, as the authors themselves concede, their study represents a single qualitative study and is only a starting point for more inquiry. Barker and Härtel (2004) conducted an exploratory qualitative study and found that based on the verbal and nonverbal behaviors of the service employees, culturally diverse customers from a different ethnic background feel that they receive inequitable service and are not very satisfied. Interviews revealed that among other issues, foreign customers perceived service providers as treating them with an unfriendly or sarcastic tone of voice, more suspicion and lack of trust (i.e., thinking the customer might steal), general

avoidance (e.g., not acknowledging the customer's presence, serving someone else first), and less effort.

Most recently, Sharma, Tam, and Kim (2009) proposed a conceptual framework for intercultural service encounters that focuses on perceived cultural distance and cultural competence. These authors conducted an exploratory qualitative study in which they interviewed customers and employees from different cultures in a variety of service settings. They found preliminary support for their model, concluding that perceived cultural distance and cultural competence influence inter-role congruence (i.e., the degree of agreement between both parties on each other's role in a social interaction), interaction comfort, adequate service level (i.e., the minimum level of service that the customer is willing to accept), perceived service quality, and satisfaction.

These initial findings demonstrate the importance of investigating intercultural service encounters. What is lacking from this line of research from an Industrial/Organizational Psychology standpoint is a scientifically rigorous study that focuses on the service employee. What traits does he or she need to possess in order to handle an intercultural service interaction well? How do such interactions impact the physiological and psychological health of the service employee? The answers to these questions carry implications for selection criteria as well as training interventions for employees in boundary spanning roles who have frequent contact with a diverse clientele.

Cultural Competence: The Key to Intercultural Service Quality?

In the context of intercultural service encounters, important parameters are the cultural differences that exist between the parties involved in the encounter, individual differences due to personality and life history, and intercultural knowledge and experiences (Stauss & Mang, 1999).

Stauss and Mang (1999) stated that “If the employees have inter-cultural experience, and if they are aware of the verbal and non-verbal codes used in different cultural areas, they are able to vary their body language, e.g. eye contact, in order to adapt to the type and scope of the explicit information”. This statement echoes definitions of cultural competence.

The literature is full of constructs that all fall under the umbrella of cultural competence: intercultural sensitivity (i.e., the ability to detect and discriminate between relevant cultural differences; Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992; Chiu & Hong, 2005; Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003), intercultural effectiveness (i.e., the general assessment of the ability for effective intercultural communication; Cui & Awa, 1992; Hammer, Gudykunst, & Wiseman, 1978), and cultural intelligence (i.e., an individual’s capability to function and manage effectively in new and culturally diverse contexts; Earley & Ang, 2003), to name only a few. Common to all these definitions is self-awareness and -understanding, knowledge of others whose cultural origins and values are different from one’s own, and adapting one's own behavior to the needs of culturally diverse groups (e.g., Hansen, Pepitone-Arreola-Rockwell, & Greene, 2000). Cultural competence is a culture-free, etic construct that is multidimensional and incorporates both mental and behavioral components, and that is important for interacting effectively with members of other cultures. The present study posits cultural competence as a main factor to predict how efficiently a service provider can handle intercultural service encounters, using self-reported cultural self-efficacy as a proxy for cultural competence.

In accordance with the dynamic constructivist approach to culture (Hong & Chiu, 2001) adopted for this study, I use the cultural competence framework recently developed by Earley and Ang (2003), which captures aspects that are central to efficient performance in intercultural service encounters: metacognition, cognition, motivation, and behavior. This system of

interacting knowledge and skills, linked by cultural metacognition, explains how individuals can flexibly adapt to the cultural aspects of their environment (Thomas et al., 2008). Metacognition and cognition encompass the skills needed to conceptualize culture and develop patterns from cultural cues. The former, which is defined as the knowledge of and control over one's thinking and learning activities (Flavell, 1979; Swanson, 1990), refers to the processes involved in acquiring and understanding knowledge related to culture; the latter refers to general knowledge about culture and cultural differences. Motivation pertains to the idea that directing and sustaining energy to engage in cognitive processes, acquire knowledge about other cultures, and make an effort to act positively toward culturally different others is a central facet of cultural competence. The behavioral dimension represents the outward manifestations of cultural competence: the capability to engage in culturally adaptive and appropriate behaviors. This framework possesses great utility explaining an individual's capability to function and manage effectively in new and culturally diverse contexts (Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay et al., 2007).

An important aspect of cultural competence is its dynamic nature. It involves continuous learning from social interactions, which includes an appreciation of the critical differences between cultures and good perceptual skills (Thomas et al., 2008). Crucial factors in this process are open-mindedness, uncertainty tolerance, being non-judgmental, flexible, sociable, and empathic – factors similar in nature to the facets of Openness to Experience, one of the Big Five personality factors (Costa & McCrae, 1992; McCrae, 1996). Furthermore, the more frequently intercultural encounters are experienced, the more opportunity to learn exists. In the episodic view of cultural competence (Thomas et al., 2008), an intercultural encounter elicits reflection on the experience (i.e., metacognition), which leads to gains in knowledge and skills (i.e.,

cognition). During the next interaction, adaptive and effective behavior can be employed (i.e., behavior), and the resulting outcome can again be reflected upon, so that the knowledge and skills can be modified if necessary. This dynamic, episodic, and internal process is best captured by collecting the data via experience sampling methodology (Beal & Weiss, 2003).

Culturally competent individuals have greater knowledge about other cultures and are able to use this knowledge effectively with culturally different others (Earley, Murnieks, & Mosakowski, 2007). They are able to suspend judgment in an intercultural interaction until they have more information beyond the ethnicity of the other person, are more aware of the nuances of different cultures, and are able to use this knowledge to adjust their own behavior (Triandis, 2006). High intercultural sensitivity is linked to increased service attentiveness, revenue contribution, interpersonal skills, job satisfaction, and social satisfaction for employees (Sizoo, Plank, Iskat, & Serrie, 2005), and service employees' cultural competence is found to be positively related with customer satisfaction (Yu, Weiler, & Ham, 2001). As mentioned above, Sharma and colleagues (2009) have gathered preliminary evidence that in intercultural service provision, lacking awareness about elements of the other's culture that are related to key service attributes (e.g., service with a smile, touching or joking with each other) may cause misunderstanding and diminished satisfaction. While individuals tend to see the world through their own cultural lens, they are indeed capable of acquiring and momentarily adopting a different lens (Chiu & Hong, 2005). In fact, the ability to assume different cultural perspectives allows individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds to establish common ground, and helps them navigate a globally interconnected world with increasingly blurry cultural boundaries (Chiu & Hong, 2005).

The literature reviewed above lays the theoretical foundation for the proposed theoretical model (see Figure 1) and establishes the need to investigate emotional labor in an intercultural service context. In the next section, I will present the theory and empirical results that substantiate the hypothesized relationships.

An Intrapersonal Model of Emotional Labor in Intercultural Service Encounters

This study proposes and tests an intrapersonal model of emotional labor in intercultural service encounters. Figure 1 depicts the entire proposed model. The model focuses on the service employee, thus filling a gap in previous research on intercultural service situations, which has typically focused on the customer.

I argue that the service provider's extent of multicultural experience (H1) and openness to experience (H2) are associated with higher levels of cultural competence. Openness is also posited to have both direct (H3A,B) and indirect (H4A,B) effects on deep and surface acting. As for the direct link between cultural competence and emotional labor, I expect that higher levels of cultural competence should be associated with higher levels of deep acting (H5A); whereas lower levels of cultural competence should be linked to higher levels of surface acting (H5B). Moreover, I expect individuals high on cultural competence to exhibit higher levels of performance (H6). The model also posits a mediating effect of emotional labor in the cultural competence-performance relationship: Individuals high in cultural competence are expected to engage in more deep acting, which should result in better performance (H7A). On the contrary, individuals low in cultural competence are expected to engage in more surface acting, which should lead to lower levels of performance (H7B). Finally, I expect cultural competence and emotional exhaustion to be indirectly related through emotional labor, such that culturally competent individuals are posited to engage in more deep acting and should thus experience less

emotional exhaustion (H8A), whereas individuals with low levels of cultural competence are hypothesized to engage in more surface acting and should thus suffer more from emotional exhaustion (H8B).

The model examines key variables of intercultural service provision and carries potential implications for the selection and training of service employees in boundary-spanning roles with frequent intercultural contacts. The following sections outline the theoretical and empirical support for the proposed model.

Identifying Culturally Competent Service Providers

The theoretical model posits that multicultural experience and personality, specifically openness to experience, are antecedents of cultural competence, and have indirect effects on emotional labor. These relationships potentially have implications for the selection and training of service providers in frequent contact with culturally different customers.

Multicultural Experience

Multicultural experience is the frequency of all direct and indirect experiences with elements and/or members of different cultures (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Based on this definition, a link between this construct and cultural competence seems highly intuitive, but it has yet to be empirically tested. The present study aims to investigate this relationship, which carries potential implications for the training of service providers: If multicultural experience is indeed associated with cultural competence, it might constitute a way of training employees to be more culturally competent.

According to the contact hypothesis (Brewer & Kramer, 1985), increased contact with culturally different others will lead to higher exposure to counter-stereotypical behaviors, and will subsequently reduce the use of stereotypes and enhance personalization. Also, individuals

who have lived abroad are more likely to appreciate that identical behavior (e.g., a smile or a bow) can have completely different meanings and dynamic functions according to the culture it is expressed in (Chiu & Hong, 2006; Galinsky, Maddux, & Ku, 2006). Multicultural experiences expose individuals to a wide range of behavioral and cognitive scripts for situations and problems, and cause them to learn new ideas and concepts (Leung et al., 2008). The mechanism for this has been posited to lie in the process of resolving incongruent ideas. Foreign cultures are likely to espouse values and beliefs very different from or even conflicting with those in one's own culture. Because incongruent concepts provoke exploration into their interrelations, the process of resolving incongruencies may lead to greater cognitive complexity in those with multicultural experiences compared to those who have been exposed to only one culture or a limited set of cultural norms (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006).

This makes it likely that multicultural experience will mainly impact the cognitive facet of cultural competence, which refers to general knowledge about culture and cultural differences. The behavioral facet, which denotes the capability to engage in culturally adaptive and appropriate behaviors, should also be bolstered by exposure to different cultures, since the individual has more opportunities to observe and engage in a wide variety of behaviors. Indeed, there is evidence that individuals with extensive bicultural experiences can flexibly switch between cultural frames according to the predominantly salient cultural cues they are faced with (Fu, Chiu, Morris, & Young, 2007; Hong, Chiu, & Kung, 1997; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Sui, Zhu, & Chiu, in press). Tadmor and Tetlock (2006) contend that exposure to multicultural experiences affords opportunities to develop the ability to recognize and integrate alternative viewpoints from other cultures (Benet-Martinez, Lee, & Leu, 2006). Furthermore, Chiu and Hong (2005) argue that multicultural experiences may increase the

propensity to flexibly recruit intellectual resources from other cultures to meet current task demands. Cultural knowledge provides individuals with the tools for sense-making and adaptive, flexible problem solving.

However, cultural competence also contains a motivational facet that reflects how involved an individual is in multicultural learning and adaptation. Thus, active, self-initiated multicultural experience – as opposed to simply passive exposure – might relate differently to cultural competence. Interestingly, using the Multicultural Experience Survey (MES; Leung & Chiu, 2010), a measure that taps passive exposure to culture, Leung and Chiu (2010) found that the extent of multicultural experience was not significantly correlated with openness to experience. In order to see whether active or passive multicultural experience are associated with cultural competence, the present study used both the abovementioned MES and the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ; van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001) – a measure of active, self-initiated multicultural experience – to assess levels of multicultural experience.

Based on the theoretical and empirical findings presented in this section, I argue that experiences in heterogeneous cultural environments will increase cultural competence. The more opportunities an individual has to observe culturally different others and interact with them, the more he or she should become culturally competent, i.e., possess the ability to adapt effectively and flexibly to new cultural contexts.

H1: Individuals who have more multicultural experiences, particularly active, self-initiated ones, will have higher levels of cultural competence.

Openness to Experience

Individual differences in personality have been theoretically posited as antecedents to cultural competence (Earley & Ang, 2003). Ang, Van Dyne, and Koh (2006) stated that

personality traits, i.e., traits that are more stable and less malleable to change, can predict cultural competence, a more state-like construct that can be changed. The present study goes one step further and argues that personality, specifically openness to experience, can affect emotional labor via its impact on cultural competence.

Research has validated the Big Five (Goldberg, 1990) personality traits – conscientiousness, agreeableness, extraversion, neuroticism, and openness to experience – across time, contexts, and cultures (Buss, 1991; Digman, 1990; Goldberg, 1992, 1993; McCrae & Costa, 1987; McCrae & John, 1992). Barrick and Mount (1991) found these dimensions, especially conscientiousness, to be related to job performance (i.e., job proficiency, training proficiency, and personnel data) for various occupational groups (professionals, police, managers, sales, and skilled/semi-skilled). They have also been shown to predict job performance and effectiveness in international assignments (e.g., Caligiuri, 2000).

Openness to experience, which entails broad-mindedness, curiosity, excitability, inventiveness, and having wide interests, flexibility of thought, and unconventional values (Costa & McCrae, 1992; McCrae, 1996), is still the least understood of the five factors (Ang et al., 2006; Digman, 1990; Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002). It has taken on the role of the ugly duckling, especially since it carries the stigma of being the only Big Five dimension that is often not related to work outcomes (Barrick & Mount, 1991; LePine & Van Dyne, 2001). This low criterion-related validity may, however, be explained by the nature of personality inventories, which were intended to be global measures and were constructed and validated with a multitude of environments and subjects in mind. Since it is extremely difficult for general descriptions to cover all human personality across every possible situation (Briggs, 1989; Mershon & Gorsuch, 1988), many openness items do not translate to the work context (Schmit, Ryan, Stierwalt, &

Powell, 1995). They tap into preferences for art, poetry, foreign foods, and religion (Costa & McCrae, 1992) – content not relevant in most employment settings. This lack of work-related content validity may lead to a reduction in construct validity, due to a failure to capture the more precise situationally-relevant variance found in the work context. Some research has shown that when openness is allowed to manifest, it can predict performance domains or organizational behaviors, among others adjustment to international assignments (Huang, Chi, & Lawler, 2005). Moreover, openness has been shown to be more relevant to adaptive performance than to traditional conceptualizations of job performance (Pulakos, Arad, Donovan, & Plamondon, 2000). Adaptive performance is defined as an individual's proficiency in altering his or her behavior to meet the demands of work situations that are new, uncertain, and unpredictable – all characteristics of intercultural service encounters.

In light of this possible measurement artifact, the present study aims to find out whether a multifaceted measure of openness better predicts successful performance in intercultural service episodes than a global measure of openness. Recently, a new openness measure has been developed to assess six facets (Chernyshenko, Stark, Woo, & Conz, 2008): ingenuity, intellectual efficiency, curiosity, tolerance, aesthetics, and depth. Theoretically, the first four facets should be related to cultural competence and emotional labor: Ingenuity (defined as inventiveness and constant striving to improve on existing information or products), intellectual efficiency (defined as the ability to process information quickly and being perceived by others as knowledgeable, astute, and intellectual), curiosity (defined as being inquisitive, perceptive, and interested in experimenting with objects and substances), and tolerance (defined as the proclivity to attend cultural events or meet and befriend people with different opinions, as well as the ability to adapt well to novel situations). To assess whether a multifaceted conception of openness is more useful

than a global measure, the present study also measured openness with the respective subscale from the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008). Some evidence exists that a facet-level measure of openness can predict performance better than a global measure: Woo (2008) examined the relationship between openness and creativity and found creativity to be more strongly related to the openness-facets intellectual efficiency, ingenuity, and curiosity than to an overall openness-measure. She also found multiculturalism to moderate the relationship between ingenuity and creativity, such that individuals with more multicultural experience and higher levels of ingenuity had higher scores of creative performance.

Returning to theoretical issues, empirical studies have demonstrated openness to experience to be significantly related to cultural competence. Ang et al. (2006) found a positive relationship between openness and all four facets of cultural competence. Moody (2008) replicated this result for three of the four dimensions (the link to behavioral cultural competence was not supported) and found openness to be the most significant predictor of cultural competence on the whole. She suggests that this might indicate that openness has a mostly affective and emotional focus that is most heavily concentrated on mental competencies. Interestingly, it is the only factor in the Big Five that has been shown to be related to mental ability (McCrae & Costa, 1987; Peabody & Goldberg, 1989). As mentioned above, the current study aims to look at openness more in-depth. Therefore, statistical analysis will assess whether the openness facet-level measure of ingenuity, intellectual efficiency, curiosity, and tolerance possess incremental validity over and above the global openness measure.

H2: Individuals high in openness to experience will possess more cultural competence.

In the emotional labor literature, the few studies that have looked at the Big Five as predictors of emotional labor have found no significant association between openness to experience and surface and deep acting (e.g., Austin, Dore, & O'Donovan, 2008; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005). The trend of the results in these research efforts, however, has consistently revealed a negative (non-significant) relation between openness and surface acting, and a positive (non-significant) relation between openness and deep acting. Research in the customer service realm has found openness to predict performance for sales representatives (Thoresen, Bradley, Bliese, & Thoresen, 2004) and customer service representatives (Bing & Lounsbury, 2000). Studies have further indicated that service employees who possess certain traits (e.g., who are more open, stable, conscientious, and extraverted) are able to ensure more positive service experiences (Bowen, 1996; Furnham & Coveney, 1996). This makes sense given that open individuals tend to be willing and able to understand and adapt to others' perspectives (Gurtman, 1995).

I argue that the non-significant links between openness and emotional labor are due to the fact that the constructs were not studied in the intercultural service context. As Matsumoto (2006) has stated, openness has been correlated with the ability to recognize emotions (Matsumoto et al., 2000; Terracciano, Merritt, Zonderman, & Evans, 2003), which should be related to emotion regulation. It has also been labeled a "contingent predictor", relevant to performance in particular work situations or occupational groups (Hurtz & Donovan, 2000; Tett, Jackson, & Rothstein, 1991). Therefore, it may play a significant role in performance in intercultural encounters via enhancing cultural competence (Moody, 2008). Following this line of reasoning, I hypothesize that openness to experience will have both a direct and indirect effect on emotional labor within the context of intercultural service encounters, such that open

individuals will engage in more deep acting and less surface acting, and that cultural competence partially mediates these relationships.

H3A: Individuals high in openness to experience will engage in higher levels of deep acting in intercultural service encounters.

H3B: Individuals high in openness to experience will engage in lower levels of surface acting in intercultural service encounters.

H4A: Cultural competence will partially mediate the relationship between openness to experience and deep acting in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals high in openness to experience will be high in cultural competence and will engage in higher levels of deep acting.

H4B: Cultural competence will partially mediate the relationship between openness to experience and surface acting in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals low in openness to experience will be low in cultural competence and will engage in higher levels of surface acting.

Linking Cultural Competence and Emotional Labor

The central relationship in the proposed model is the link between cultural competence and emotional labor in intercultural service encounters. As remarked earlier, the construct of cultural competence has enormous potential in helping to explain effectiveness in intercultural interactions (Thomas et al., 2008). Cultures differ in their norms for appropriate behaviors (Hall, 1959; Triandis, 1994), can influence rules of emotional display (Argyle, Henderson, Bond, Iizuka, & Contarello, 1986; Ekman, 1982; Matsumoto, 1990; Matsumoto, Takeuchi, Andayani, Kouznetsova, & Krupp, 1998; Matsumoto, Yoo, Hiramaya, & Petrova, 2005), and possess culture-specific norms for experiencing emotions (Eid & Diener, 2001). Indeed, expectations of

emotional display have been shown to differ across cultures, between jobs and roles within an organization, and between males and females (Mann, 2007).

The behavioral facet of cultural competence reflects the capability to exhibit appropriate verbal and non-verbal displays when interacting with culturally different others. As Hall (1959) emphasized, mental capabilities for cultural understanding and motivation must be complemented with the ability to exhibit appropriate verbal and non-verbal actions, based on cultural values of specific settings. This requires the possession of a wide and flexible repertoire of behaviors. Those high on the behavioral dimension of cultural competence display situationally-appropriate behaviors based on their broad range of verbal and non-verbal capabilities, which include culturally appropriate words, tone, gestures, and facial expressions (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, & Chua, 1988). This ability to display a flexible range of behaviors is critical to creating and maintaining positive impressions and relationships, which is characteristic of effective intercultural interactions (Brislin, 1981; Cushner & Brislin, 1996; Gudykunst et al., 1988). Caldwell and O'Reilly (1982) demonstrated that individuals who monitored the situation (i.e., metacognition) and adapted to the environment (i.e., behavioral flexibility) were more effective in boundary spanning jobs that required interactions across groups with different norms.

Thus, it is likely that an individual who is culturally competent, i.e., able to adapt to and behave effectively in intercultural interactions, is also able to generate and display the appropriate emotions in a service encounter (i.e., engage in appropriate forms of emotional labor). For the purposes of this study, emotional labor is defined as the effort exerted to express organizationally desired emotions during customer encounters (Morris & Feldman, 1996). While organizational display rules might be more or less appropriate for customers with varying

cultural backgrounds, their purpose is to ensure that at the end of the service episode, the customer is satisfied (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Therefore, it stands to reason that organizations would approve of and prefer their service providers to engage in the culturally appropriate display, rather than stick to the prescribed rules (which are most likely geared towards service interactions with same-culture others) at all costs, as long as it contributes to customer satisfaction.

Recalling the two types of emotional labor, surface acting denotes mere modifications of one's outward emotional display, while deep acting refers to attempts to alter one's inner feelings in such a way that they match the required emotions. These two strategies have also been likened to a "bad faith" and "good faith" attempt at emotion regulation (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p. 32). Liu et al. (2008), in a study on the effects of personal resources on emotional labor strategies, found individuals with high levels of emotional resources (indicated by high emotional intelligence) to be more likely to deep act, and individuals with comparatively low emotional resources (indicated by high negative affectivity) to be more likely to surface act. Similarly, Austin and colleagues (2008) found individuals high in emotional intelligence less likely to engage in surface acting.

I expect individuals high in cultural competence to make a "good faith effort", that is, to engage in deep acting. The more individuals know about the cultural other and their expectations, the easier it should be for these individuals to empathize and take the perspective of the culturally different others (i.e., to engage in deep acting). Indeed, culturally competent individuals tend to show more respect and empathy for culturally different others, respond to unfamiliar situations and behaviors in a nonjudgmental manner without visible discomfort, and proactively use their cultural knowledge to anticipate different expectations from their

interaction partners (Lustig & Koester, 2006). Conversely, I argue that individuals low in cultural competence will make more of a superficial “bad faith effort”, that is, they will report higher levels of surface acting.

H5A: Individuals high in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of deep acting in intercultural service encounters.

H5B: Individuals low in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of surface acting in intercultural service encounters.

Linking Cultural Competence and Performance

Performance is another important outcome variable in the proposed model for intercultural service encounters. In general, performance encompasses behaviors that are under the control of each respective employee and that pertain to the organization’s goals (Campbell, McCloy, Oppler, & Sager, 1993). Task performance is a function of knowledge, skills, abilities, and motivation directed at role-prescribed behavior, such as formal job responsibilities (Campbell, 1999). It is contrasted with contextual performance: Whereas task performance indicates activities that contribute to the organization’s technical core and that are thus more specific to the individual job, contextual performance denotes activities that contribute to the organizational, social, and psychological context (in a similar vein as organizational citizenship behaviors) and that are thus similar across jobs (Borman & Motowidlo, 1993; 1997).

In the service realm, customers constitute a crucial factor for how employee performance is defined (Bowen & Waldman, 1999). Customer satisfaction rests on the perceived quality of the service interaction (Gotlieb, Grewal, & Brown, 1994; Liao & Chuang, 2004), and thus the employee’s performance plays an important role. Moreover, performance standards are often based explicitly on “the customer experience”. Based on the conceptualization of customer-

driven performance, affective delivery (i.e., the extent to which service providers maintain organizationally-imposed rules for emotional display and conduct; Grandey, 2003; Tsai & Huang, 2002) arguably constitutes performance in emotional labor jobs. In the emotional labor literature, the type of emotional labor employees engage in has been linked to performance levels. Totterdell and Holman (2003) argued that service employees' emotional display counts as part of their service performance. Research has demonstrated affective delivery to be associated with higher levels of customer satisfaction (Brown & Sulzer-Azaroff, 1994), better service quality evaluations (Pugh, 2001), and repeat business and customer loyalty (Tsai, 2001). Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, performance is defined as task (i.e., behaviors of serving and helping customers) and emotional (affective delivery; i.e., displaying a friendly and courteous demeanor, warmth, and positive attitude) performance.

The cultural competence framework adopted for this study has important implications for effective performance in the workplace (e.g., Offermann & Phan, 2002), and what little initial research has been conducted regarding these implications has revealed significant relationships between some dimensions of cultural competence and performance. Ang and her colleagues (2007) predicted all four facets to positively impact task performance. First, metacognitive cultural competence should predict task performance because individuals who possess it can flexibly apply their cultural knowledge, and know when to suspend stereotypical judgment and when to seek more information (Triandis, 2006). Second, cognitive cultural competence should be related to performance because elaborate cultural schemas should engender a better grasp of role expectations, and thus more appropriate role behaviors. Furthermore, motivational cultural competence should be associated with task performance because energy and persistence directed toward learning about appropriate performance should eventually improve it. Finally, behavioral

cultural competence should predict performance because a rich repertoire of verbal and non-verbal behaviors, flexibility employed, should have positive effects on intercultural performance (Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006). Ang et al.'s findings revealed that the metacognitive and behavioral dimensions of cultural competence significantly predicted task performance, while the cognitive and motivational dimensions did not. This echoes the results of Caldwell and O'Reilly (1982), who found individuals who monitored the situation and flexibly adapted to the environment to be more effective in jobs that required interactions with groups with different norms. It appears that sense-making and behavioral flexibility are essential elements of a diverse work environment (Roberts, 2005).

Based on the above discussion, I posit that individuals high in cultural competence will exhibit higher levels of performance. They should be able to anticipate and effectively address the unexpected during intercultural service encounters (Brislin, Worthley, & MacNab, 2006).

H6: Individuals high in cultural competence will exhibit higher levels of performance in intercultural service encounters.

Furthermore, I posit an extension to Hypotheses 5A and 5B (which argue that cultural competence predicts emotional labor), such that emotional labor, in turn, would predict levels of performance. This mediational process makes good sense in an intercultural service context, where the level of cultural competence influences service outcomes (Sizoo et al., 2005; Yu et al., 2001). As mentioned previously, the service provider's emotional display has been labeled a part of their service performance, and deep acting has been argued to improve performance because it is perceived as sincere (Totterdell & Holman, 2003). Since deep acting also entails taking the customer's perspective, it increases the likelihood that the customer's needs are met (Parker & Axtell, 2001). On the flipside, surface acting may be less effective for service performance. In

fact, surface acting was found to be negatively associated with peer-rated service delivery (Grandey, 2003). Totterdell and Holman (2003) indeed found deep acting, but not surface acting, to be positively related to self-rated performance. Goldberg and Grandey (2007) found that display rules tailored to elicit surface acting (e.g., suppressing frustration) caused performance decrements in the form of increased errors. Based on these empirical findings, I propose that deep acting will increase levels of performance, whereas surface acting will decrease them.

H7A: Deep acting will mediate the relationship between cultural competence and performance in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals high in cultural competence will exhibit higher levels of deep acting, which in turn will result in higher levels of performance.

H7B: Surface acting will mediate the relationship between cultural competence and performance in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals low in cultural competence will exhibit higher levels of surface acting, which in turn will result in lower levels of performance.

Emotional Exhaustion in the Intercultural Service Context

As mentioned above in the review of emotional labor, many studies have suggested that emotional exhaustion, one of the facets of burnout (Maslach & Jackson, 1981), results from emotional labor, most likely from surface acting (e.g., Bono & Vey, 2005; Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Grandey, 2003; Judge et al., 2009). Emotional exhaustion is a psychologically aversive state of affective fatigue distinguished by low levels of energy (for reviews, see Halbesleben & Buckley, 2004; Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leiter, 2001). Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) concluded that the extent to which people perceive that they are required to express or suppress emotion on the job has an adverse

effect on physical health. Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) found that hiding negative emotions correlated with emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. Grandey (2003) showed that while surface acting was significantly positively related to emotional exhaustion, deep acting was not. Using experience sampling methodology, Judge and colleagues (2009) sampled employees in organizations across the U.S. and found surface acting to be associated with more emotional exhaustion. Last but not least, in their meta-analysis of the predictors and outcomes of emotional labor, Bono and Vey (2005) found that no matter how it was operationalized, emotional labor was positively correlated with emotional exhaustion ($r_{\text{corr}} = .30$).

According to this summary of research examining the relationship between emotional labor and emotional exhaustion, it seems clear that the two constructs are related. Overall, surface acting (versus deep acting) has been shown more often to result in higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Hypotheses 5A and 5B argued that individuals high in cultural competence will engage in more deep acting, whereas individuals low in cultural competence will engage in more surface acting. It thus follows that in intercultural encounters, individuals who are well adjusted (i.e., high on cultural competence) and who engage in deep acting would feel more comfortable interacting with a culturally different other and experience no more stress than they would in a similar encounter with a member of their own culture (Brislin, 1981; Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Therefore, Hypotheses 8A and 8B extend Hypotheses 5A and 5B by postulating that individuals who are high in cultural competence engage in more deep acting and will experience less emotional exhaustion. Conversely, individuals who are low in cultural competence engage in more surface acting and will experience more emotional exhaustion. In other words, I expect that cultural competence and emotional exhaustion will be indirectly related to each other through emotional labor.

H8A: Deep acting will mediate the relationship between cultural competence and emotional exhaustion in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals high in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of *deep acting*, which will result in *lower* levels of emotional exhaustion.

H8B: Surface acting will mediate the relationship between cultural competence and emotional exhaustion in intercultural service encounters, such that individuals low in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of *surface acting*, which will result in *higher* levels of emotional exhaustion.

Summary

Chapter 1 provided an in-depth literature review of emotional labor which highlighted the need to explore the construct in an intercultural framework. Taking the perspective of the service provider, a theoretical model outlining intrapersonal processes surrounding emotional labor in intercultural service encounters was introduced. The level of cultural competence was hypothesized to play a pivotal role impacting the service employee's levels of emotional labor, performance, and emotional exhaustion. Multicultural experience and openness to experience were predicted to affect cultural competence directly, and emotional labor indirectly via cultural competence. Chapter 2 will present the methodology of the present study by discussing the sample, data collection procedure, measures, and analytic strategy.

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

Participants

Thirty-two male and 21 female employees working at a large hotel in the Midwestern United States agreed to participate in the study. The hospitality industry was chosen because of the high frequency of intercultural service encounters. The hotel was located in a large metropolitan area near a major international airport and had a high percentage of culturally diverse customers in the form of business and leisure travelers. The sample comprised hotel employees working in the following service areas: Food Services (37.7%), Bellstaff (20.8%), Front Desk (17.0%), Back of the house / support staff (e.g., cashier, hotel serviceman, security officer; 15.1%), and Managers (9.4%). The pre-requisite for participation in the study was frequent direct contact with hotel guests. The hotel employees had a self-estimated average of 127.73 customers per shift; a self-estimated average of 27.18 (26.11%) of the customers were from a different cultural background than the employees themselves.

The average age of the employees was 38.8 years old ($SD = 13.5$). The self-reported ethnic breakdown of the sample was as follows: 56.6% White, 20.8% Hispanic, 7.5% Black, 7.5% Other Asian, 3.8% Other (i.e., Berber/North African, Pacific Islander, adopted), and 1.9% Indian/Pakistani. One participant failed to report their ethnicity. The majority of the sample reported having “Some College” education (49.1%), followed by “College” (32.1%), “High School” (11.3%), and “Graduate School” (5.7%). One participant did not report their educational background.

Data Collection

Experience sampling methodology (ESM; Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983) was used to capture behaviors and psychological states in context, and to track them over time. Experience

sampling methodology can be classified as a longitudinal study with short inter-measurement epochs. This methodology has been labeled the method of choice by a number of emotional labor researchers (e.g., Gosserand & Diefendorff, 2005; Judge et al., 2009; Tschan, Rochat, & Zapf, 2005). Emotional labor is a dynamic and episodic process (Beal, Trougakos, Weiss, & Green, 2006; Judge et al., 2009). Since discrete emotions are characterized by punctuated beginnings and limited duration (Frijda, 1993), it follows that emotion regulation occurs on an episode-to-episode basis. This conceptualization translates seamlessly into the customer service context, where each service interaction has a discrete beginning and end, and most service episodes are separate from one another. Such dynamic episodes are not captured well with cross-sectional designs (Beal & Weiss, 2003; Beal, Weiss, Barros, & MacDermid, 2005). As Bono and Vey (2005) remarked, “clearly, it is time for emotional labor researchers to move beyond single-point-in-time studies of the correlates of emotional labor” (p. 228). By employing experience sampling methodology to test the theoretical model, the present research effort sets out to do just that.

Over a two-week period, participants completed a paper-and-pencil survey once a day, at the end of each shift. A total of eleven surveys maximum was collected per person: one initial survey that measured all individual difference variables (i.e., cultural competence, openness to experience, multicultural experience) and demographics, and up to ten daily surveys that measured all Level 1 variables (i.e., emotional labor (deep and surface acting), performance, and emotional exhaustion). The instructions asked participants to answer all items thinking of the aggregate of all their service encounters with culturally different customers from that day. This interval-contingent design was chosen above an event- or signal-contingent design for several reasons: By asking participants to reflect on all service episodes encountered during the entire

shift, a greater number of potentially interesting occurrences could be captured, and participants were less inconvenienced by interference during their shifts, thereby reducing sample attrition (Beal & Weiss, 2003). Participants were reminded throughout data collection that culturally different customers included customers from a different national culture, ethnicity, social economic group, and any other background different from the service provider's own.

Research associates were on site every day, reminding participants to fill out the daily surveys after their shift, handing out, and collecting surveys. Participants were instructed to complete the daily survey as close to the end of their workday as possible, thereby reducing memory biases. Participants were assigned unique participant ID numbers known only to the research team, which were used to track their surveys, and allowed for confidentiality during data collection. At the end of the two-week data collection period, participants were compensated for their time based on the number of surveys completed.

Out of a possible 520 responses to the daily surveys, 363 usable responses were obtained, yielding a 69.8% response rate across time periods and individuals. Participants completed an average of 7.0 daily surveys ($SD = 2.95$).

Measures

Multicultural Experience was assessed with a modified version of the Multicultural Experience Survey (MES; Leung & Chiu, 2010). This seven-item measure assessed respondents' multicultural exposure in several different ways: Respondents were asked to indicate where they have lived and for how long (Item 1: percentage of their lives that participants lived outside of the state (within the U.S.) and country where they were born), whether their father and mother were born outside the U.S. (Items 2 and 3: score of 1 for each item if father and mother were born in a foreign country), and whether they spoke a foreign language (Item 4: score of 1 if

respondents spoke at least one foreign language). Respondents also rated the frequency of their exposure to cultures other than their own (Item 5: 0=“Never” to 10=“Very often”; converted to a percentage) and the frequency of their interactions with customers from a culture other than their own (Item 6: 0=“Never”, 1=“Monthly”, 2=“Weekly”, 3=“Daily”; converted to a percentage). Finally, respondents listed the ethnicity of their five closest friends (Item 7: the number of close friends from other ethnicities was tallied up and converted to a percentage). To give equal weight to the seven items, each item was rescaled such that it ranged from 0 to 1; i.e., for Items 1, 5, 6, and 7, I converted the percentage into a proportion that ranged from 0 to 1. The sum of the rescaled items (minimum of 0 indicating no multicultural experience; maximum of 7 indicating highest level of multicultural experience) formed the final score for multicultural exposure. Cronbach’s α for the MES was an unacceptable .57. Since Items 5 and 6 had negative corrected item-total correlations, I removed them from the multicultural exposure score (thus, a maximum score of 5 now indicated the highest level of multicultural experience). After removal of these problematic items, Cronbach’s α for the MES increased to an acceptable .79.

Multicultural Personality, a chronic tendency to actively seek out multicultural experiences, was measured via the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ; van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001). The MPQ consists of five subscales: cultural empathy, openmindedness, social initiative, emotional stability, and flexibility. Sample items are “I am interested in other cultures”, “I function best in a familiar setting” (reverse-keyed), and “I have a feeling for what is appropriate in a specific culture”. Responses were given on a five-point scale ranging from 1=“Totally not applicable” to 5=“Completely applicable”. For the purpose of this study, I used an abbreviated 31-item version ($\alpha = .88$).

Openness to Experience was measured using four subscales (nine items each) from the short version of Chernyshenko et al.'s (2008) Openness scale: ingenuity (e.g., "I improvise if I don't have the right tool for a job"; $\alpha = .78$), intellectual efficiency (e.g., "I am a slow learner" (reversed); $\alpha = .81$), curiosity (e.g., "I don't like trying new things and would rather stick with what I know" (reversed); $\alpha = .63$), and tolerance (e.g., "I think it is rude when others speak in a language I can't understand" (reversed); $\alpha = .28$). Given the poor internal consistency of the curiosity and tolerance subscales, I deleted an item of the curiosity scale ("I seldom seek new opportunities to broaden my knowledge"), which boosted the alpha to .68, and three items ("Like most people I am open to listening to what others have to say", "I understand that people can have different attitudes towards certain things than I do", and "Immigrants really irritate me") from the tolerance scale, which brought Cronbach's α to .62. Results obtained with these two subscales should be interpreted with caution. Respondents endorsed items on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1="Strongly disagree" to 5="Strongly agree". To provide a baseline for assessing the incremental predictive power of the multifaceted openness measure over a global measure of Openness, the ten-item openness subscale from the Big Five Inventory (BFI; John et al., 1991; John et al., 2008) was also used. On a five-point scale ranging from 1="Disagree strongly" to 5="Agree strongly", respondents indicated their agreement to items such as "I see myself as someone who is curious about many different things". Cronbach's α for the BFI was .80.

Cultural Competence was measured using the 20-item Cultural Intelligence Scale (CQS; Ang, Van Dyne, Koh, & Ng, 2004), which taps self-reported cultural self-efficacy. The CQS comprises four subscales: four items for the metacognitive facet (e.g., "I adjust my cultural knowledge as I interact with people from a culture that is unfamiliar to me"); six items for the

cognitive facet (e.g., “I know the rules for expressing non-verbal behaviors in other cultures”); five items for the motivational facet (e.g., “I enjoy interacting with people from different cultures”); and five items for the behavioral facet (e.g., “I alter my facial expressions when a cross-cultural interaction requires it”). Answers to these items are given on a seven-point scale ranging from 1=“Strongly disagree” to 7=“Strongly agree”. There is promising evidence for the factor structure, reliabilities, cross-cultural equivalence, and discriminant validity of the CQS (Ang et al., 2007). Cronbach’s α for the overall measure was an adequate .85. Internal consistency for the individual subscales ranged from .84 to .91; however, the alpha for metacognition was low at .52. However, given that the scale consists of only four items, a low alpha can be expected; and the good reliability of the overall measure makes it acceptable to use.

Emotional Labor was assessed via a modified version of the eight-item Surface Acting-Deep Acting-scale developed by Grandey (2003). Sample items include “I just pretend to have the emotions I need to display with the foreign customers” (surface acting) and “I make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display toward foreign customers” (deep acting). On a scale from 1=“Never” to 5=“Always”, respondents were asked to indicate how often they engage in certain activities in order to effectively perform their jobs, and to think about their interactions with culturally different customers when answering the items. The surface acting and deep acting scales had good internal consistency with .91 and .84, respectively.

Performance was measured with seven items reflecting both emotional performance (i.e., affective delivery) and task performance. Two affective delivery items (e.g., “I displayed a positive attitude towards my customers”) were taken from Beal et al. (2006), and the remaining five task performance items (e.g., “I performed service according to the customers’ requests”) were taken from Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry (1985). An exploratory factor analysis

revealed that all scale items adequately loaded onto one factor. Respondents indicated their level of agreement on a five-point response scale with 1="Strongly disagree" to 5="Strongly agree", with higher scores reflecting better performance. Cronbach's α was a solid .92 for this study.

Emotional Exhaustion was measured using a combination of the respective subscales from the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Maslach & Jackson, 1981) and the Shirom-Melamed Burnout Measure (SMBM; Shirom, 2003). As in Judge et al. (2009), I combined these two measures to include customers as a potential source of emotional exhaustion, which is in line with the customer service context of this study. The resulting measure incorporated six items from the MBI and three items from the SMBM, e.g., "I feel emotionally drained from my work", "I feel frustrated by my job", and "I feel I am not capable of investing emotionally in coworkers and customers". Judge and his colleagues conducted an exploratory factor analysis, which showed that all scale items adequately loaded onto one factor. Respondents were asked to indicate their endorsement of each of the nine items on a seven-point scale ranging from 1="Strongly disagree" to 7="Strongly agree." Higher scores indicate higher levels of emotional exhaustion. Cronbach's α for emotional exhaustion was .92.

Control variables The demographic questionnaire consisted of items inquiring about participants' gender, age, ethnicity, and educational background. Participants were also asked to indicate their job title. Jobs were coded into five categories: Food Services (e.g., server, bartender, hostess), Bellstaff, Front Desk, Back of the house / support staff (e.g., cashier, hotel serviceman, security officer), and Managers (e.g., guest services manager, meeting concierge manager, restaurant manager). I also asked participants to estimate the total number of customers they interacted with over the course of each respective shift, and how many of those had a different cultural background than the participant.

Analytic Strategy

Across the two-week period, employees filled out a survey at the end of every shift they worked, up to a total of ten measurement periods, creating a total of 363 measurement occasions across all participants. In line with prior recommendations for this type of data (Beal & Weiss, 2003; Bolger, Davis, & Rafaeli, 2003), random coefficient modeling was employed to test the hypotheses involving experience sampled and dispositional variables (Bryk & Raudenbush, 1992; Raudenbush, & Bryk, 2002; Snijders & Bosker, 1999) using SAS. In this study, the first level of analysis (Level 1) consisted of up to ten episodes within each person and provided repeated measures over time of deep and surface acting, performance, and emotional exhaustion. The second level of analysis (Level 2) provided information on participants' intercepts in regard to individual differences in openness, cultural competence, and multicultural experience. As is customary with multilevel analysis, I used maximum likelihood estimation procedures to compare models. In each regression equation, I controlled for job category by using this variable to predict the intercept for each dependent variable.

Since Hypotheses 1 and 2 involved Level 2 data for both predictor and criterion variables, results for these hypotheses were tested using regression. The hypotheses involving mediation (H4A,B; H7A,B; H8A,B) were tested adapting the method proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986), which is based on path analysis. This method requires four criteria to be fulfilled: As a first step, significant correlations of the independent variable with both the purported mediator as well as the dependent variable must be found. Then, it must be shown that the mediator is related to the dependent variable while controlling for the independent variable. Lastly, the direct effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable must be demonstrated to be either zero (indicating complete mediation) or reduced in absolute size

(indicating partial mediation). In accordance with the recommendations put forth by Baron and Kenny (1986), Sobel's (1982) test statistic was employed to test for statistical significance of the mediating effect.

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among all Level 2 variables appear in Table 1. Table 2 depicts grand means, standard deviations, and correlations among all Level 1 variables (i.e., episodic measures). Table 3 shows the intercorrelations among all study variables for Time 0 (for correlation tables for Time 1-9, see Appendix).

Hypotheses 1 and 2

As a first step, I analyzed the interrelationships between the Level 2 variables (openness, cultural competence, and multicultural experience). I hypothesized that individuals who have more multicultural experience (H1) and who score higher on openness (H2) would possess higher levels of cultural competence. Additionally, I aimed to take a more refined look at the openness-construct and measured both global openness as well as the openness-facets of ingenuity, intellectual efficiency, curiosity, and tolerance. To test these hypotheses, I first regressed cultural competence on multicultural experience, and found that the amount of multicultural experience did not significantly predict the level of cultural competence ($\beta = .02$, ns , $R^2 = .001$). Thus, H1 was not supported. Next, I regressed cultural competence on each of the four openness-facets and global openness separately. Results showed that on their own, ingenuity ($\beta = .37$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .11$), intellectual efficiency ($\beta = .34$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .12$), curiosity ($\beta = .35$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .09$), tolerance ($\beta = .60$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .31$), and global openness ($\beta = .56$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .25$) each significantly predicted cultural competence, lending support to H2. To test whether the openness-facets had incremental validity in predicting cultural competence above and beyond global openness, I specified a two-step hierarchical regression model and entered global openness in Step 1, and ingenuity, intellectual efficiency, curiosity, and tolerance in Step 2. The results revealed *F change* for Model 1 (1, 50) = 16.49 ($p < .001$), and a significant increase in R^2

when the four facets were added in Model 2 (F change (4, 46) = 2.76, $p < .05$). Thus, not only did global openness predict cultural competence, but the openness-facets added to the prediction of cultural competence, over and above global openness.

One possible reason why openness was related to cultural competence is that people high on openness actively seek out multicultural experience. To test this idea, I conducted a mediation test using multicultural personality as a mediator of the openness-cultural competence relationship. Results are depicted in Table 4. Following the Baron and Kenny (1986) model for mediation, I first tested whether the independent variable (openness) significantly predicted the mediator (multicultural personality). This step was confirmed ($\beta = .52$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .40$). The results for H2 already showed that the independent variable significantly predicted the dependent variable in the absence of the mediator. Next, the mediator was shown to have a significant unique effect on the dependent variable ($\beta = 1.06$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .61$). Finally, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable became insignificant upon addition of the mediator into the model ($\beta = .01$, ns , $R^2 = .61$), supporting the idea of full mediation. Sobel's (1982) test statistic was 4.37 ($p < .001$), which supports the statistical significance of the mediating effect.

Hypotheses 3A, 3B, 4A, and 4B

Hypotheses 3A and 3B stated that individuals high in openness to experience will engage in higher levels of deep acting (H3A) and lower levels of surface acting (H3B). Furthermore, Hypotheses 4A and 4B suggested that cultural competence will partially mediate the relationship between openness and emotional labor, such that individuals high in openness will be high in cultural competence and will engage in higher levels of deep acting (H4A), whereas individuals low in openness will be low in cultural competence and will engage in higher levels of surface

acting (H4B). To test H3A and H3B, I specified regressions for random intercept models, with deep or surface acting as the outcome variable and openness or the ingenuity-, intellectual efficiency-, curiosity-, and tolerance-facets as the predictor. Results showed that global openness did not predict deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = .45$), $t(304) = 1.50$, *ns*, or surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = .08$), $t(304) = .35$, *ns*. Ingenuity did not predict deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = -.11$), $t(304) = -.39$, *ns*, or surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = -.21$), $t(304) = -1.00$, *ns*. Intellectual efficiency did not predict deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = .20$), $t(304) = .76$, *ns*, or surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = -.17$), $t(304) = -.90$, *ns*. Curiosity did not predict deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = .22$), $t(304) = .71$, *ns*, but it did predict surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = .49$), $t(304) = 2.28$, $p < .05$, although not in the expected direction. Given the low reliability of the curiosity subscale and that this result is unexpected, I refrain from interpreting this result. Finally, tolerance did predict deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = .69$), $t(304) = 2.39$, $p < .05$, but did not predict surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = -.09$), $t(304) = -.40$, *ns*. Thus, H3A was supported only for the tolerance-facet of openness, which positively predicted deep acting. H3B was not supported, neither for global openness nor for all openness-facets.

These non-significant results mean that one of the criteria for mediation (that the independent variable significantly predicts the dependent variable in the absence of the mediator) is violated, except for the tolerance-facet of openness, which significantly predicted deep acting. I therefore conducted a mediation test to see whether cultural competence would partially mediate the relationship between openness-tolerance and deep acting. Results from H2 showed that the independent variable (openness-tolerance) significantly predicted the mediator (cultural competence) ($\beta = .60$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .31$). The results from H3A satisfied the second mediation criterion, showing a significant relationship between the independent and dependent (deep acting) variables. As seen below, the results for H5A show a significant association between the

mediator and the dependent variable. Finally, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable became insignificant when the mediator was added into the model. However, Sobel's test statistic was .92 (*ns*), which means the mediating effect is not statistically significant. Therefore, neither H4A nor H4B received support.

Hypotheses 5A, 5B, 6, 7A, and 7B

I further hypothesized that cultural competence significantly predicts emotional labor, such that individuals high in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of deep acting (H5A), whereas individuals low in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of surface acting (H5B). Results of a random intercept model with cultural competence predicting deep acting showed a significant positive relationship between cultural competence and deep acting, ($\gamma_{10} = .60$), $t(304) = 1.99$, $p < .05$, thus lending support to H5A. However, the relationship between cultural competence and surface acting was not significant, ($\gamma_{10} = -.002$), $t(304) = -.01$, *ns*; therefore H5B was not supported.

Next, I examined whether cultural competence significantly predicts performance, such that individuals high in cultural competence will have higher levels of task and emotional performance (H6). Results provided support for this hypothesis: there was a significant positive relationship between cultural competence and performance, ($\gamma_{10} = .30$), $t(308) = 2.64$, $p < .01$.

The next set of hypotheses suggested that deep acting mediates the relationship between cultural competence and performance, such that individuals high in cultural competence will engage in more deep acting, which in turn will be associated with better performance (H7A), whereas individuals low in cultural competence will engage in more surface acting, which in turn will be associated with poorer performance (H7B). The first and second criteria for this mediational effect of deep acting in the relationship between cultural competence and

performance were already established by the significant results for H5A and H6 (see above). Moreover, the mediator (deep acting) had a significant unique effect on the dependent variable (performance; $\gamma_{10} = .08$), $t(301) = 2.90$, $p < .01$). When predicting performance with cultural competence while controlling for deep acting, the effect for cultural competence was still significant ($\gamma_{10} = .26$), $t(301) = 2.30$, $p < .05$), although smaller. The Sobel test statistic was 1.50 (*ns*), which showed that there was no mediational effect for deep acting on the cultural competence-performance relationship. Furthermore, since H5B was not supported, we can conclude that surface acting did not mediate the relationship between cultural competence and performance. Therefore, H7B was not supported.

Hypotheses 8A and 8B

The final set of hypotheses posited an indirect effect of cultural competence on emotional exhaustion through emotional labor. H8A stated that individuals high in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of deep acting, which will result in lower levels of emotional exhaustion. H8B stated that individuals low in cultural competence will engage in higher levels of surface acting, which will result in higher levels of emotional exhaustion. The significant result for H5A (see above), which showed that individuals high in cultural competence engage in more deep acting, meets the first criterion for mediation. The second criterion involves the independent variable (cultural competence) predicting the dependent variable (emotional exhaustion) without the mediator present. This effect was not significant ($\gamma_{10} = -.45$), $t(310) = -1.89$, *ns*), even though it was close to reaching significance. Therefore, H8A and H8B were not supported.

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION

This study constitutes a first foray into deciphering the psychological framework that underlies successful intercultural service episodes. The revised theoretical model (see Figure 2) provides an overview of all findings. Even though many of the hypothesized relationships did not receive support, the findings of the present research effort allow insight into the psychological variables that operate in intercultural service provision.

The Big Picture

The present study posited cultural competence as the potential “key to intercultural service quality”. Looking at the big picture, this assertion cannot be dismissed based on the results obtained. Two of the core hypotheses in the theoretical model, the relationship of cultural competence with emotional labor and performance, were supported: Higher levels of cultural competence were associated with more deep acting and better performance. Interestingly, the relationship between cultural competence and surface acting was not significant. This finding can be explained theoretically by considering the definitions of the two types of emotional labor. Deep acting entails strategies such as taking the perspective of the customer and empathizing with them (Grandey, 2000; 2003). In an intercultural service episode, the service provider can only engage in those strategies with culturally different customers if he or she is culturally competent. Moreover, while there was no mediation effect of emotional labor in the cultural competence-performance relationship (H7A,B failed to receive support), there was a direct effect of emotional labor on performance: deep acting lead to better performance ($\gamma_{10} = .08$), $t(301) = 2.90$, $p < .01$), whereas surface acting lead to worse performance ($\gamma_{10} = -.10$), $t(301) = -2.36$, $p < .05$). These findings are in line with previous research that has shown surface acting to be associated with diminished performance (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Richards & Gross, 1999;

Totterdell & Holman, 2003), whereas deep acting has been found to positively impact performance (Hülshager, 2007), and extend these findings to the intercultural service context.

Passive vs. Active Seeking of Multicultural Experience

The findings in regard to the antecedents of cultural competence also proved extremely insightful. Contrary to expectations, the extent of multicultural experiences (e.g., living in a culture other than one's own, having parents and friends with different cultural and ethnical backgrounds, etc.) was not related to cultural competence. However, multicultural personality (e.g., possessing openmindedness, social initiative, and flexibility) not only predicted cultural competence, but also served as the mediator in the openness to experience-cultural competence relationship. The highly intuitive hypothesis that multicultural experience and cultural competence are related had not been tested before. However, the results of the present study echo a peculiar finding noted by Leung and Chiu (2010), that multicultural experience has not been found to be significantly related to openness, indicating that highly open individuals do not necessarily have more multicultural experience.

Taken together, these findings support an interesting idea. Multicultural experiences are mostly *passive* in nature. For instance, the location someone moves to is usually determined by their parents until they reach adulthood, and an individual has no hand in whether his or her parents stem from a different culture (Leung & Chiu, 2010). In contrast, the multicultural personality construct is largely *active* in nature. For example, it is obvious that initiating contact with others, actively attending to other's facial expressions and emotions, and seeking challenges all constitute highly proactive ways to seek multicultural exposure (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2000). This stresses the importance of the motivational facet of the cultural competence-framework adopted for this study (Earley & Ang, 2003): An individual can possess

knowledge about other cultures and how to behave in them, but if they lack the motivation to apply this knowledge, they cannot be deemed to be culturally competent. Thus, passively accumulating cultural knowledge is not related to cultural competence, whereas actively seeking it out is.

The Importance of Openness

In regard to the personality trait openness, the present study sought to examine whether a multifaceted measure of the construct is better at predicting certain outcomes than a global measure. Results showed that, in fact, the facet-level measure (ingenuity, intellectual efficiency, curiosity, and tolerance) had incremental validity in predicting cultural competence over and above global openness (as measured by the BFI). This is in line with recent evidence that a multifaceted conception and measure of openness is more useful than a global conception or measure for predicting performance-related organizational outcomes (Chernyshenko et al., 2008; Woo, 2008). Tolerance emerged as the best predictor of cultural competence, along with global openness. This comes as no surprise when we look at the definition of openness-tolerance – the proclivity to attend cultural events, meet and befriend people with different opinions, and the ability to adapt well to novel situations – which gels well with the essence of cultural competence. However, this finding should be taken with a grain of salt due to the relatively poor Cronbach's α (.62) obtained for this subscale in this study.

Interestingly, openness also significantly predicted performance for the openness-facets ingenuity ($(\gamma_{10} = .24)$, $t(308) = 2.21$, $p < .05$) and intellectual efficiency ($(\gamma_{10} = .19)$, $t(308) = 1.99$, $p < .05$), as well as for global openness ($(\gamma_{10} = .31)$, $t(307) = 2.72$, $p < .01$). This finding shows that the personality-factor openness can indeed be a relevant predictor of performance on the job, especially in occupations in which adaptive performance is prevalent. Intercultural

service encounters are prime examples of adaptive performance, because they present new, uncertain, and often unpredictable situations in which the service provider needs to flexibly adapt his or her behavior.

Unfortunately, openness was not associated with deep or surface acting, even in the context of intercultural service provision. The sole exception to this was the finding that the tolerance-facet of openness positively predicted deep acting – a finding that should, for reasons mentioned above, be treated with caution. Overall, the trends established in previous research that consistently showed a negative (non-significant) relation between openness and surface acting, and a positive (non-significant) relation between openness and deep acting could not be replicated: both (non-significant) relationships were positive, although global openness was more strongly related to deep acting ($\gamma_{10} = .45$), $t(304) = 1.50$, *ns*) than to surface acting ($\gamma_{10} = .08$), $t(304) = .35$, *ns*). Based on this study, I can only surmise that openness is not related to emotional labor.

Emotional Exhaustion

Contrary to expectations, cultural competence did not indirectly influence emotional exhaustion in the intercultural service context through emotional labor. In fact, there was no significant relationship between cultural competence and emotional exhaustion. This finding is counterintuitive, since culturally competent individuals should be more comfortable when interacting with a culturally different other than their counterparts who lack cultural competence, and thus experience less stress (Brislin, 1981; Cushner & Brislin, 1996). However, it is noteworthy that emotional exhaustion had a significant positive association with surface acting, but no association with deep acting. This finding mirrors the results of numerous other studies that have found surface acting to be related to emotional exhaustion (e.g., Bono & Vey, 2005).

The results of the present study indicate that this relationship also holds in the context of intercultural service encounters.

Strengths, Limitations, and Avenues for Future Research

The present study has considerable strengths: It used experience sampling methodology and tracked participants over a two-week period, therefore allowing an examination that takes into account the situational variability in emotional labor episodes. Data collection was conducted in the field with a sample of actual employees working in the hospitality industry, ensuring high external validity and generalizability.

However, as all studies, the present research effort was not without limitations. While the hospitality industry is ideally suited for an exploration of emotional labor in intercultural service encounters, research also needs to look at service employees in other occupations with a high frequency of culturally different customers (e.g., flight attendants, nurses). Conducting a field study also meant decreased internal validity due to lack of control over the variables. Several steps were taken to make data collection as consistent as possible. Either the author or a research assistant were present on site every day, taking special care to give consistent answers to any questions that the participants had (this was ensured by writing down all questions asked and answers given).

Related to the measurement of the variables under scrutiny, some scales had low alphas (i.e., the openness-facets curiosity and tolerance), even after deletion of problematic items. Moreover, all measures were self-reported, meaning that common method variance may have artificially inflated the observed correlations (Alliger & Williams, 1993). Some of the correlations in the current study were indeed relatively high ($r_s > .50$; see Tables 1, 2, 3 and Appendix), but others were low ($r_s = .10$ or below), which indicates that participants were at

least differentially responding to the ESM questionnaires. Nevertheless, future research should aim to obtain performance ratings from customers as well, to see if their perceptions of service quality match with the employees' perceptions. Data from other sources could also prove insightful, such as performance ratings by supervisors.

Another measurement-related limitation is the reliance on retrospective measures as opposed to "online" ones. The interval-contingent design was employed to minimize disruption of the daily work life, to decrease sample attrition, and to allow for a greater number of customer encounters to serve as a basis for the ratings by looking at the aggregate of all service interactions in any given shift. Surveys were administered immediately at shift end, but participants' ratings might still be influenced by memory biases.

Future research also needs to test the revised theoretical model, as well as measure other variables that might be of interest in the realm of intercultural service provision: other individual difference variables might play a role (e.g., the Big Five), or skin color and accent of the interaction partners and whether and how different they perceive each other to be. Along the same lines, the factors that influence the magnitude of perceived differences would be interesting to explore: For instance, what is the degree of psychological distance between the parties, and what is the level of their cultural identification? An individual can be from culture A but does not necessarily have to subscribe to and identify with this culture. All of these factors should also impact the perceived difficulty of the interaction. The frequency of intercultural service encounters, their perceived difficulty, and the level of autonomy provided to the service employee could act as moderators. Future studies might also seek to compare long-term intercultural service relationships with one-time encounters. It is also possible that service providers can learn certain skills from intercultural encounters that are transferable to encounters

with customers from the same cultural background. Future research might want to investigate this possibility. Last but not least, researchers might want to examine other outcome variables, such as intentions to quit, turnover, counterproductive work behaviors, and organizational citizenship behaviors. Considering the limited amount of research conducted on intercultural service provision, this is an uncharted area ripe for psychological inquiry.

Practical Implications

The revised theoretical framework holds potential practical implications for both the selection and training of service employees who frequently have to interact with a culturally diverse clientele. First of all, the results indicated that openness to experience predicts cultural competence as well as performance. Individuals high on openness have flexibility of thought, are broad-minded, and inventive (Costa & McCrae, 1992; McCrae, 1996), which seems to qualify them to flexibly adapt in intercultural encounters and to deliver high quality service performance. Organizations might therefore want to consider selecting service employees based on their openness to experience.

Furthermore, deep acting emerged as the more relevant emotional labor-strategy. Importantly, deep acting was associated with better performance (while surface acting was associated with poorer performance), was *not* related to emotional exhaustion, and was the strategy of choice for culturally competent individuals. These findings once again elicit a call that has been echoing in the emotional labor literature for well over a decade: the call for deep acting training (e.g., Grandey, 2003; Totterdell & Parkinson, 1999). In fact, recent research has shown that deep acting training stands to benefit both the employee and the organization (McCance & Tunguz, 2010). Participants assumed the role of customer service representatives in a call center simulation and were either trained in deep acting or did not receive such training.

Untrained participants reported less happiness and more emotional exhaustion when they were faced with hostile customers, while trained participants garnered higher customer satisfaction ratings. Practically speaking, such training can involve guidance from supervisors, official classroom training, handbooks, scripts, videotapes, role playing, and the use of bulletin boards (for examples, see Leidner, 1999; Steinberg & Figart, 1999; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989). These training efforts should focus on emotion regulation strategies such as reinterpreting a negative situation or focusing one's thoughts on more positive experiences (i.e., situational reappraisal; Beal et al., 2006), and on taking the perspective of the customer and trying to empathize with them (McCance & Tunguz, 2010). Given the seeming importance of deep acting in the intercultural service context, both organizations and their employees stand to gain a lot from such training interventions, although their effectiveness in the intercultural service context has yet to be empirically tested.

In a similar vein, organizations might want to consider implementing cultural competence training. The present research effort found that cultural competence predicts both deep acting as well as performance. Earley and Peterson (2004) suggested cognitive structure analysis for examining knowledge structures and enhancing awareness and reflection (metacognitive cultural competence), as well as dramaturgical exercises such as role-plays and simulations involving physical, emotional, and sensory processes to enhance behavioral flexibility (behavioral cultural competence). According to Triandis (2006), overcoming ethnocentrism requires repeated exposure to different cultural norms and subsequently encouraging individuals to take the perspective of a member of this other culture and asking oneself why these norms are in place. Triandis argues that this exercise can help develop a healthy criticism of one's own culture and openmindedness towards the other culture. As with deep acting training, cultural competence

training interventions need to be validated before any definitive statements about their usefulness can be made.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

With increasing globalization, a growing number of service companies are conducting their business with a culturally diverse clientele (Stauss & Mang, 1999). Intercultural service encounters, in which the service provider and the customer stem from different cultural backgrounds and are likely to have different expectations regarding emotional displays (e.g., Ekman, 1982; Matsumoto, 1990; Matsumoto et al., 2005), will only become more ubiquitous. This study sought to uncover the mechanisms at work in such service episodes and the factors that contribute to their success. Using experience sampling methodology, cultural competence emerged as a central construct that directly impacted the levels of deep acting service providers engaged in and their levels of performance. Even though the data did not support the mediational hypotheses, it seems fair to say that cultural competence plays an important role in intercultural service provision.

A revised theoretical model of what could be termed “cultural labor” provides a first understanding of the complex framework of factors that influence service provision in intercultural settings and gives impetus for future research. As for the practical utility of this research effort, the results speak to the selection (based on applicants’ openness to experience) and training (deep acting and cultural competence training) of service employees.

FIGURES AND TABLES

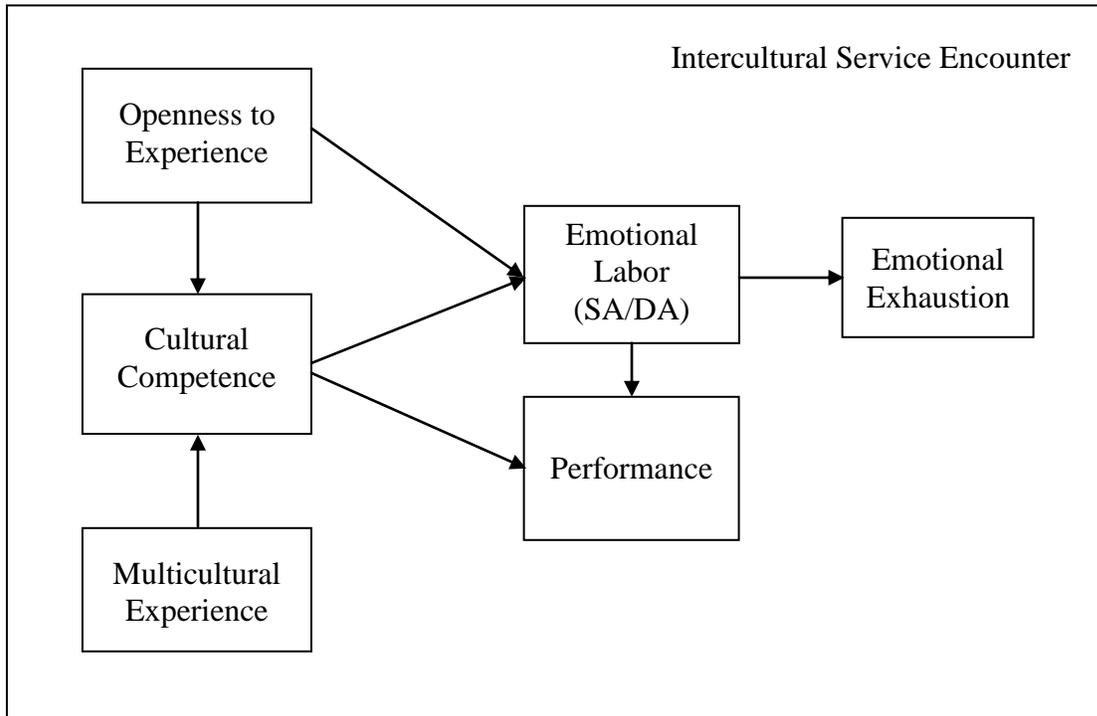


Figure 1. Intrapersonal Model of Emotional Labor in Intercultural Service Encounters: SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting.

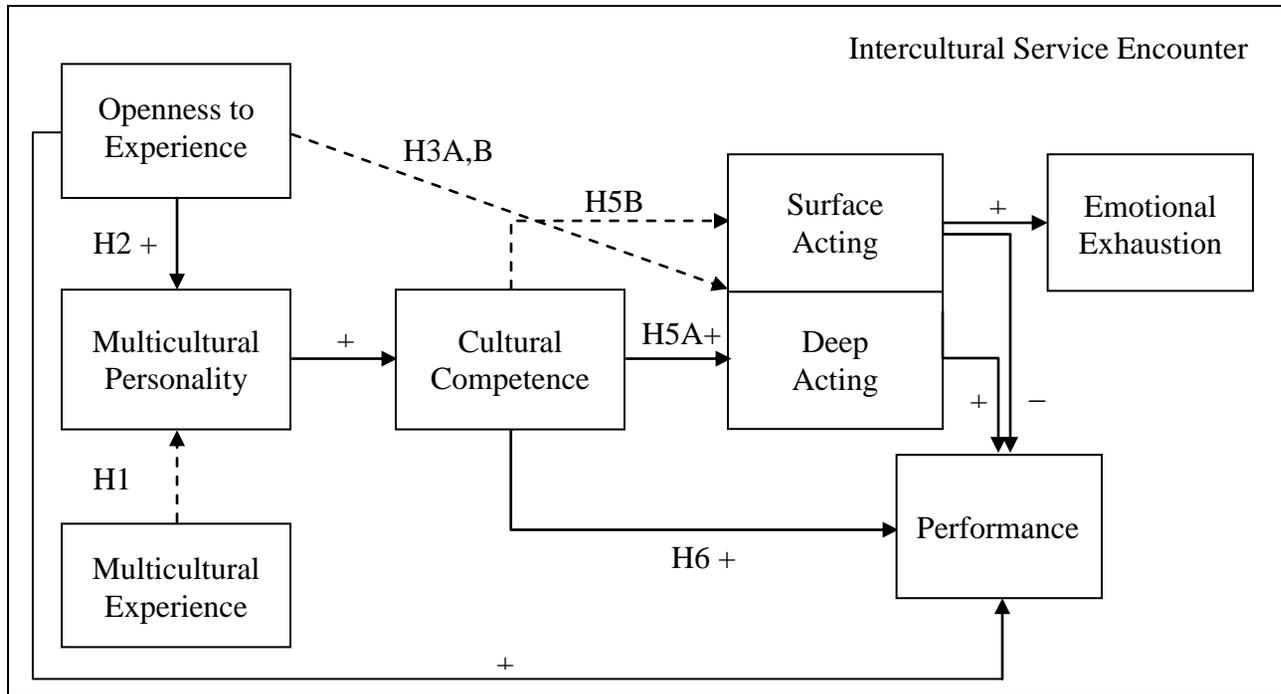


Figure 2. Revised Model of Emotional Labor in Intercultural Service Encounters. Solid lines indicate significant relationships; dashed lines indicate non-significant relationships.

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Coefficient Alphas for All Level 2 Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. MCE	1.36	.76	.79							
2. MCP ^a	3.65	.42	.27	.88						
3. BFI-O	3.89	.51	.47**	.63***	.80					
4. O-Ing	3.87	.51	.16	.49***	.59***	.78				
5. O-IntEff	3.77	.60	.41*	.42**	.49***	.59***	.81			
6. O-Cur	4.02	.48	.22	.39**	.40**	.57***	.25	.68		
7. O-Tol	3.57	.53	.20	.63***	.45***	.24	.44**	.36**	.62	
8. CC	3.52	.57	.03	.78***	.50***	.33*	.35*	.30*	.56***	.85

Note. N = 52, ^aN = 31.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, O-Cur = Openness-Curiosity, O-Tol = Openness-Tolerance, CC = Cultural Competence.

Table 2

Grand Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Coefficient Alphas for All Level 1

Variables

Variable	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. SA ^a	1.50	.87	.91			
2. DA ^a	2.65	1.23	.28***	.84		
3. Perf ^b	4.42	.56	-.17**	.17**	.92	
4. Exh ^c	1.79	1.05	.51***	.04	-.53***	.92

Note. ^aN = 356, ^bN = 359, ^cN = 361.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 3

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 0

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.27	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.47**	.63***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.16	.49***	.59***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.41*	.42**	.49***	.49***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.22	.39**	.40**	.57***	.25	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.20	.62***	.45***	.24	.44**	.36**	–					
8. CC ^b	.03	.78***	.50***	.33*	.35*	.30*	.56***	–				
9. SA ^c	.02	.12	.13	.05	.11	.17	.09	.17	–			
10. DA ^c	.05	.23	.12	-.15	-.02	.25	.31*	.25	.24	–		
11. Perf ^d	.31	.51***	.41**	.13	.22	.38**	.24	.38**	-.08	.08	–	
12. Exh ^d	-.30	-.27	-.16	-.09	-.11	-.29*	-.21	-.29*	.23	.05	-.64***	–

Note. ^aN = 31, ^bN = 52, ^cN = 51, ^dN = 50.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 4

Test of the Mediating Effect of Multicultural Personality on the Relationship Between Global Openness and Cultural Competence

Mediator	Sobel Test Statistic	a (IV → Mediator)	b (Mediator → DV)	c (IV → DV)	c' (IV → DV; mediator controlled)
MCP	4.37***	.52***	1.06***	.56***	.01

Note. *** $p < .001$ (one-tailed); All paths are beta's; $N = 52$. MCP = Multicultural Personality.

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APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

Table 5

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.25	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.40*	.67***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.10	.60***	.62***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.40*	.43**	.49***	.58***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.14	.44**	.43**	.53***	.20	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.27	.59***	.55***	.36*	.47***	.42**	–					
8. CC ^b	.04	.77***	.52***	.42**	.37*	.39**	.53***	–				
9. SA ^c	.07	.07	.15	-.12	-.16	.37*	-.004	.09	–			
10. DA ^c	.34	.15	.26	.03	.15	.19	.27	.13	.30*	–		
11. Perf ^b	.37	.26	.34*	.23	.33*	.16	.26	.20	-.12	.32*	–	
12. Exh ^b	.16	.002	-.08	-.15	-.17	.02	-.14	-.10	.44**	-.17	-.58***	–

Note. ^aN = 28, ^bN = 48, ^cN = 47.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 5 (cont.)

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 6

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.09	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.31	.61***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	-.06	.54***	.56***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.35	.37*	.42**	.54***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.03	.37*	.35*	.47***	.12	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.19	.56***	.51***	.31*	.43**	.38**	–					
8. CC ^b	-.13	.74***	.45**	.35*	.30*	.32*	.50***	–				
9. SA ^c	-.06	-.03	.03	-.20	-.13	.30*	-.09	.05	–			
10. DA ^c	.33	.16	.15	-.10	.04	.01	.16	.10	.36*	–		
11. Perf ^b	.03	.34*	.27	.29	.31*	.12	-.07	.27	.01	-.01	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.09	-.30*	-.19	-.24	.03	-.11	-.19	-.28	.37*	.16	-.36*	–

Note. ^aN = 26, ^bN = 46, ^cN = 45.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 7

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 3

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.22	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.36	.63***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	-.05	.52***	.55***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.48*	.36*	.42**	.54***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.08	.40**	.37*	.51***	.13	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.23	.59***	.51***	.29	.43**	.39*	–					
8. CC ^b	-.07	.75***	.44**	.32*	.29	.32*	.48**	–				
9. SA ^c	-.04	-.01	-.04	-.17	-.04	.28	.005	.03	–			
10. DA ^c	.48*	.24	.27	.03	.08	.21	.22	.11	.39*	–		
11. Perf ^b	.20	.48**	.36*	.24	.24	.31*	.28	.45**	-.13	.20	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.16	-.22	-.17	-.14	.001	-.12	-.20	-.21	.53***	-.02	-.55***	–

Note. ^aN = 23, ^bN = 42, ^cN = 40.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 8

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 4

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.20	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.31	.62***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.03	.54***	.56***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.46*	.35*	.40**	.54***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.07	.40**	.37*	.53***	.13	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.01	.63***	.55***	.40*	.52***	.41**	–					
8. CC ^b	.01	.76***	.46**	.31*	.31	.33*	.55***	–				
9. SA ^c	-.06	-.01	.01	-.22	-.26	.19	-.15	.02	–			
10. DA ^c	.52*	.28	.24	.10	.28	.05	.26	.20	.18	–		
11. Perf ^c	.44*	.50**	.32*	.35*	.39*	.13	.28	.34*	-.24	.43**	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.16	-.23	-.16	-.29	-.15	.06	-.12	-.24	.57***	-.03	-.58***	–

Note. ^aN = 22, ^bN = 40, ^cN = 39.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 9

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 5

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.20	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.29	.64***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.01	.53***	.55***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.46*	.31	.40*	.56***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.05	.48**	.39*	.56***	.28	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.01	.62***	.56***	.40*	.51**	.48**	–					
8. CC ^b	.02	.76***	.47**	.32	.23	.44**	.54***	–				
9. SA ^c	-.03	.02	-.06	-.19	.002	.16	-.06	.08	–			
10. DA ^c	.41	.28	.20	.17	.23	.19	.21	.22	.29	–		
11. Perf ^b	.31	.36*	.42**	.34*	.13	.33*	.25	.30	-.31	.25	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.14	-.15	-.14	-.19	.09	.02	-.02	-.12	.68***	-.03	-.65***	–

Note. ^aN = 20, ^bN = 37, ^cN = 36.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 10

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 6

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.20	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.30	.65***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.005	.52**	.56***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.51*	.29	.47**	.57***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.06	.49**	.39*	.57***	.31	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.01	.62***	.55***	.40*	.54***	.50**	–					
8. CC ^b	.02	.77***	.49**	.31	.23	.45**	.58***	–				
9. SA ^b	-.05	-.05	.05	-.19	.09	.32	.13	.07	–			
10. DA ^b	.48*	.20	.25	.19	.24	.28	.24	.22	.35*	–		
11. Perf ^b	.35	.16	.17	.22	.25	.26	.06	.09	-.09	.16	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.17	-.07	-.01	-.15	-.20	.35*	-.06	-.03	.69***	.15	-.22	–

Note. ^aN = 19, ^bN = 34.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 11

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 7

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.20	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.30	.69***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.005	.56**	.64***	–								
5. O-IntEff ^b	.51*	.28	.47**	.58***	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.05	.48**	.44*	.58***	.37*	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.01	.60***	.63***	.50**	.64***	.48**	–					
8. CC ^b	.02	.79***	.51**	.42*	.27	.46*	.56**	–				
9. SA ^b	-.07	-.04	-.03	-.23	-.18	.26	-.11	.05	–			
10. DA ^b	.40	.27	.27	.25	.16	.15	.05	.20	.23	–		
11. Perf ^c	.33	.55**	.48**	.60***	.45*	.26	.49**	.49**	-.54**	-.05	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.20	-.32	-.18	-.46*	-.30	.02	-.22	-.26	.70***	.02	-.80***	–

Note. ^aN = 19, ^bN = 30, ^cN = 29.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 12

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 8

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.25	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.34	.64***	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.06	.49*	.59**	–								
5. O-IntEff ^{cb}	.56*	.38	.51*	.59**	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.08	.40	.43*	.50*	.42*	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.01	.63**	.57**	.45*	.63**	.51*	–					
8. CC ^b	.04	.75***	.44*	.30	.27	.40	.54**	–				
9. SA ^b	-.06	.08	.04	-.27	-.14	.46*	.03	.20	–			
10. DA ^b	.60*	-.05	.14	.10	.37	.08	.02	-.10	.26	–		
11. Perf ^b	.45	.21	.11	.28	.54**	-.19	.29	.24	-.43*	.18	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.25	-.21	-.18	-.41*	-.37	.25	-.23	-.13	.88***	.23	-.65***	–

Note. ^aN = 15, ^bN = 23.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 13

Intercorrelations Among All Study Variables At Time 9

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. MCE ^a	–											
2. MCP ^b	.35	–										
3. BFI-O ^b	.45	.70*	–									
4. O-Ing ^b	.27	.34	.63*	–								
5. O-IntEff ^{cb}	.88**	.42	.54	.55	–							
6. O-Cur ^b	.35	.31	.27	.25	.34	–						
7. O-Tol ^b	.46	.64*	.54	.39	.67*	.53	–					
8. CC ^b	.34	.85***	.73*	.09	.36	.33	.68*	–				
9. SA ^b	-.04	-.02	-.17	-.31	-.24	.35	-.08	-.05	–			
10. DA ^b	.43	.27	.30	.22	.52	.09	.46	.21	.37	–		
11. Perf ^b	.61	.33	.31	.50	.50	-.04	.19	.15	-.60	.19	–	
12. Exh ^b	-.30	-.20	-.30	-.44	-.39	.21	-.17	-.16	.92***	.15	-.85***	–

Note. ^aN = 7, ^bN = 11.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

MCE = Multicultural Experience, MCP = Multicultural Personality, BFI-O = Big Five Inventory - Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, CC = Cultural Competence, SA = Surface Acting, DA = Deep Acting, Perf = Performance, Exh = Emotional Exhaustion.

Table 14

Standardized Regression Weights, R-Squared, Adjusted R-Squared, and R-Squared Change for Incremental Validity Analyses of All Openness Facets

		β	R^2	Adjusted R^2	ΔR^2
Model 1	BFI-O	.50	.25	.23	.25
Model 2	BFI-O	.27			
	O-Ing	.07			
	O-IntEff	-.01			
	O-Cur	-.01			
	O-Tol	.46	.39	.33	.15

Note. All betas are standardized. BFI-O = Big Five Inventory-Openness, O-Ing = Openness-Ingenuity, O-IntEff = Openness-Intellectual Efficiency, O-Cur = Openness-Curiosity, O-Tol = Openness-Tolerance.