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# Emotional labor, occupational identity and work engagement in Portuguese police officers

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## ABSTRACT

Based on emotional labor theory, we aim to study the relationships between the dimensions of emotional labor (requirements and strategies), work engagement, and occupational identity in Portuguese police officers. Therefore, we intend to explore the possible effects of emotional labor both on work engagement and occupational identity, as well as ways of preventing and/or mitigating the impact of these relationships. We identified a gap in the studies on this subject in Portugal, particularly in the context of police professionals. Thus, a sample of 924 Portuguese police officers of the Public Security Police (PSP) was asked to answer a set of questionnaires: the Emotional Labour Scale, the Emotion Work Requirements Scale, the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale, and the Social Identity Scale. The data obtained was analyzed using correlation and multiple linear regression. Overall, the results revealed relationships between the emotional demands (i.e., suppression of negative emotions and expression of positive emotions) and strategies (i.e., deep and surface acting) of emotional labor and work engagement as well as occupational identity. We discuss these results and propose directions for future research, given the richness of the subject.

## KEYWORDS

Emotional labor; work engagement; occupational identity; police officers; PSP; intervention/prevention

## Introduction

In general, police work is very emotionally demanding (Choi & Guy, 2020; Hwang et al., 2020; Kale & Gedik, 2020; Martin, 1999) due not only to the diversity of daily interpersonal interactions (Adams & Buck,

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2010; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Daus & Brown, 2012; van Gelderen et al., 2017), but also to the daily confrontation with high-risk and dangerous situations, uncertainty, stress (Hwang et al., 2020; van Maanen, 2010) and unpredictability (Lan et al., 2020). Studying the emotional labor (EL) effect on police officers' work engagement (WE) and occupational identity (OI) is extremely important. EL is part of police job, as police officers are expected to be able to manage their emotions and exhibit an expression coherent with the various situations they encounter. It becomes important to understand what effects EL can produce on the WE level, as a personal positive aspect. As well, it is important to identify what effects EL can have on these professionals' OI.

Although increasing studies with law enforcement agencies in Portugal are still scarce (Oliveira & Queirós, 2012; Queirós et al., 2013), which may be due to this population being hard to reach (Rodrigues et al., 2018). Police officers are often exposed to high-risk and stressful events, having to deal with unpredictability, danger and uncertainty (Durão, 2010, 2011; Queirós et al., 2020a). They are confronted daily with aggressive, devastating, degrading, emotionally depressing, and/or shocking situations, becoming "professionally immune" (Rodrigues, 2018, p. 21) as a way to protect themselves. Police action must be guided by objective and neutral emotional conduct (Seixas, 2013), as some emotions need to be suppressed (Queirós et al., 2013), i.e., by using a mask of "visible sentimental deferment", concealing their feelings (Rodrigues, 2018, p. 21). Therefore, it is not surprising that police work can cause extremely high-stress levels (Oliveira & Queirós, 2012; Rodrigues et al., 2018). The potential cumulative effects of long-term stress (Rodrigues et al., 2018) can affect police officers and encourage the use of antidepressants, anxiolytics, or other substances (e.g., alcohol or drugs). Portugal is amongst the European countries where the use of such substances has increased significantly (OECD, 2019). Ultimately, long-term stress can lead to suicide (Queirós et al., 2020b) a phenomenon growing in the Public Security Police (PSP) (Rodrigues, 2010), as the suicide rate in Portuguese police forces almost doubles that of the overall Portuguese population (Rodrigues, 2018).

As mentioned above, the studies conducted in the Portuguese police context are scarce and mostly related to stress and its impact (Oliveira & Queirós, 2012; Rodrigues et al., 2018). Few studies have been conducted on WE in Portuguese police officers (Kaiseler et al., 2014; Rodrigues et al., 2019). Kaiseler et al. (2014), using a sample of 387 police recruits, found that the perceived control of a stressor and the use of some coping strategies predicted WE. Rodrigues et al. (2019) conducted a study with 356 police officers found that coping and stress appraisal do not predict WE in recruits (still in training) and police

officers on duty. In another study, with 465 police officers, Branco (2020) found a positive correlation between WE and age and years of service, as well as among the three professional categories (officer, chief and official), with officers demonstrating significantly lower WE levels. WE values seem to be higher in individuals younger than 30 and older than 51 years old. Similarly, tenure seems to be related to WE, tending to be higher in individuals with up to 5 years of service and in those with more than 21 years of service.

Police officers' OI has been even less studied (Toscano, 2010). Nevertheless, Russo (2008) states that excessive identification and emotional dependence on the workplace can be factors of occupational stress. In a study conducted with 266 police officers, Toscano (2010) found that the higher organizational identity indices are associated with higher indices of safety and lower indices of danger.

To the best of our knowledge, EL and its impact in the Portuguese police context have not been studied, although literature shows the need to investigate this theme (Daus & Brown, 2012; de Moura & Ramalho, 2017). Therefore, we aim to explore the potential relationships between the EL dimensions (demands and strategies) and WE and OI in Portuguese police officers. The objectives are 1) to identify the EL demands required in police work and 2) to test the predicting effect of EL dimensions (demands and strategies) on both WE and OI.

## Theoretical background

### *Emotional labor*

Effective police work requires police officers to control their emotions (Martin, 1999) when interacting with the public (Daus & Brown, 2012; van Gelderen et al., 2007, 2014), colleagues and superiors (Oliveira et al., 2022), maintaining a high level of professionalism (Mastracci & Adams, 2020; Schaible & Six, 2016; van Gelderen et al., 2017), neutral facial and physical expressions (Kale & Gedik, 2020), consistency, and control (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Police officers are expected to regulate emotions, performing EL on a daily basis (Martin, 1999; Mastracci & Adams, 2020; Ward et al., 2020). EL is a complex construct (Blau et al., 2010) coined by Hochschild in 1983 as “the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display” (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7) in service work (de Castro et al., 2004). Several EL aspects must be considered, such as the frequency, duration, intensity and variety of emotional displays (Morris & Feldman, 1996). Police officers must be able to quickly change their emotional displays (Martin, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996) to suppress negative emotions (e.g., anger), to deal with situations of aggression, conflict and

manipulations, to manifest positive emotions (e.g., sympathy) in situations that require compassion (e.g., victims of crime or violence, death, illness) (Bakker & Heuven, 2006), and to show neutrality to maintain order and professionalism (van Gelderen & Bik, 2016; van Gelderen et al., 2011). EL can be conceptualized from two perspectives: job-focused emotional labor (i.e., occupational emotional requirements) and employee-focused emotional labor (i.e., managing emotions to cope with occupational requirements) (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002).

Job-focused emotional labor has display rules (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), which “are socially learned (...) and prescribe different procedures for the management of affect displays in various social settings, roles, etc.” (Ekman & Friesen, 1969, p. 75). Accordingly, these rules consider the characteristics of both the worker and those who are present when evoked, and the social context in which it occurs (Ekman & Friesen, 1969). Display rules can be both explicit or implicit (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; van Gelderen et al., 2007), depending on contextual requirements (Daus & Brown, 2012; Schaible & Six, 2016) or a particular situation (Singh & Glavin, 2017). These rules may negatively affect individuals’ emotional expression because they can “make employees feel like they cannot be themselves or respond to situations in a natural way” (Diefendorff & Grosserand, 2003, p. 951).

Employee-focused EL requires efforts to manage and display emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996). In the case of police work, individuals may have to suppress felt emotions (e.g., anger) or express unfeared emotions (e.g., sadness) (Mastracci & Adams, 2020; Hochschild, 1983; van Gelderen et al., 2017), selecting the most appropriate emotional displays (Schaible & Six, 2016) to create or alter the desired emotional expression according to ongoing interactions (Pugliesi, 1999). Organizational display rules lead police officers to perform EL, resorting to strategies such as surface or deep acting (Hochschild, 1983; van Gelderen & Bik, 2016; van Gelderen et al., 2014). Surface acting refers to a representation of feelings in which individuals mask how they feel (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). Individuals pretend to feel unexperienced emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), they simulate emotions that are not felt by carefully presenting verbal and nonverbal cues (e.g., facial expression, gestures, tone of voice) (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000; Martin, 1999). However, expressed emotions are different from felt emotions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and emotional dissonance may emerge (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). This phenomenon comprehends the stress arising from the dissonance between felt emotions and feigned emotions (Hochschild, 1983). Deep acting comes naturally from training (Hochschild, 1983). People spontaneously

express a real feeling that had been self-induced, which means that they control their thoughts and feelings according to the display rules (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Individuals can directly encourage the intended feeling (Grandey, 2000) or use a trained imagination (Hochschild, 1983). Therefore, deep acting indirectly affects behavior change, going beyond impression management and behavior manipulation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Police officers are aware of the physical dangers they are subjected to but are less aware of the psychological risks and their impact on their mental health (Au et al., 2019). EL is a double-edged sword (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), as it can have both benefits (Hochschild, 1983) and adverse effects (Grandey, 2000). The benefits are that EL can facilitate self-expression, personal well-being and a sense that work is significant (i.e., attribution of meaning to work) (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), thus leading to WE (Guy et al., 2019). Although workers may feel emotionally defeated, they also feel accomplished (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016) and proud of their work (Choi & Guy, 2020). Similarly, it can be self-enhancing when workers control their emotional management (Pugliesi, 1999). Police officers can benefit from a greater sense of personal achievement due to using tactics that imply the expression of negative emotions (Schaible & Six, 2016). EL can also help public service (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Citizens motivate the regulation of workers' emotions for positive interactions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000), and the expression of positive expressions can increase self-efficacy (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016) and improve worker performance (Grandey, 2000). Finally, EL can also improve job satisfaction, mainly through deep acting (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Police officers who have positive emotions tend to experience greater job satisfaction (Pugliesi, 1999; Siu et al., 2015), "when workers strongly identify with the occupational role or organizational imperatives regarding emotion management, performance of emotional labor that produces desired outcomes could increase job satisfaction" (Pugliesi, 1999, p. 131).

However, surface and deep acting strategies can be harmful (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Martin, 1999). As mentioned above, emotional dissonance can emerge as a result of surface acting (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Schaible & Gecas, 2010; van Gelderen et al., 2017), which involves higher energy expenditure (van Gelderen et al., 2007, 2014), thus depleting individual energy resources (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Talavera-Velasco et al., 2018). This may prevent the acquisition of other energy-related resources (van Gelderen et al., 2007), stimulating higher tension levels (van Gelderen et al., 2014). A lower energy level can lead to a more negative affective state (van Gelderen et al., 2017). Emotional dissonance

can cause emotional exhaustion (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; van Gelderen et al., 2014, 2017) and depersonalization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Mastracci & Adams, 2020; Schaible & Six, 2016). It can also contribute to feelings of hypocrisy (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993) and inauthenticity (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Lennie et al., 2020; Singh & Glavin, 2017), possibly resulting in job dissatisfaction (Hochschild, 1983; Schaible & Six, 2016), alienation (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; Sommerfeldt & Kent, 2020), cynicism (Schaible, 2006), and burnout (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Hwang et al., 2020; Mastracci & Adams, 2020). Significantly, burnout is one of the most prevalent medical conditions among police officers (Adams & Buck, 2010; Mastracci & Adams, 2020), being characterized by three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, which concerns the exhaustion of emotional resources due to work overloads; depersonalization, that is, a negative, cold or detached response, which may include loss of optimism; and reduced personal accomplishment, meaning low self-efficacy at work, in which individuals manifest inability to cope with work requirements, which may occur due to lack of social support and opportunities for professional development (Maslach & Goldberg, 1998). Similarly, as a consequence of emotional dissonance, on days marked by high emotional demands, police officers may experience reduced self-esteem (Kwak et al., 2018; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Sommerfeldt & Kent, 2020; van Gelderen et al., 2017), anxiety (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; Lennie et al., 2020) or depression (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Daus & Brown, 2012; Hochschild, 1983; Hwang et al., 2020). Deep acting strategies can also lead to self-alienation, that is, workers' damaged sense of self and authenticity (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). As a result, police officers can experience significantly higher levels of depersonalization and exacerbated levels of emotional exhaustion (Schaible & Gecas, 2010; Schaible & Six, 2016). Apart from a benefit, job satisfaction can also be considered a consequence of reducing individuals' EL (Grandey, 2000; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Moreover, public service may have consequences when there are physical and/or resource limitations, greater citizen flow, and contradictory and/or ambiguous citizen requirements (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Finally, withdrawal behaviors (e.g., absenteeism, leaving the work floor, turnover) also arise from long-term EL (Grandey, 2000).

### ***Work engagement***

Another phenomenon recently under study is WE. Literature describes it as “a positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind (...) characterized by vigor, dedication, and absorption. (...) a more persistent and

pervasive affective-cognitive state that is not focused on any particular object, event, individual, or behavior” (Schaufeli et al., 2002, p. 74). Vigor occurs when individuals have high levels of mental resilience and energy throughout their work as well as the willingness to strive and persist in it, even in the presence of difficulties (Bakker et al., 2014; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a; Schaufeli et al., 2002). Dedication is the individuals’ manifestation of a sense of meaning, enthusiasm, pride, inspiration, and challenge in carrying out their work (Bakker et al., 2014; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a; Schaufeli et al., 2002). Absorption occurs when individuals are so focused and involved in their work that time passes quickly, without them noticing, and they struggle to detach themselves from work (Bakker et al., 2014; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a; Schaufeli et al., 2002). It is worth noting that WE is part of a continuum, which ends in work disengagement, that is, “the uncoupling of selves from work roles; in disengagement, people withdraw and defend themselves physically, cognitively, or emotionally during role performances” (Kahn, 1990, p. 694). In a study with police recruits, Kaiseler et al. (2014) found that the use of behavioral disengagement, together with more active coping strategies predicted higher levels in all dimensions of WE (i.e., absorption, vigor and dedication).

Burnout is a concept strongly associated with WE (Kanste, 2011; Upadaya et al., 2016; Yoo & Arnold, 2014), one being often described as the opposite of the other (Maslach et al., 2001; Maslach & Leiter, 1997; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a). WE is positive and related to well-being, while burnout is negative and harmful (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Burnout is characterized by the combination of exhaustion (i.e., low activation) and cynicism (i.e., low identification). In direct contrast, WE is characterized by vigor (i.e., high activation) and dedication (i.e., high identification) (Schaufeli et al., 2002). WE includes absorption, while burnout includes reduced professional efficacy (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Nevertheless, unlike the previous two elements, absorption and low professional efficacy are conceptually distinct aspects that are not in an implicit continuum (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Different levels of burnout and WE may indicate different degrees of investment, protection and withdrawal of personal resources in the work process (Basinska & Dåderman, 2019). Although they can be seen as opposites, the absence of burnout does not necessarily imply the presence of WE and vice versa (Schaufeli et al., 2002).

Professional effectiveness seems to be a WE component (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a). Compared to non-engaged workers, engaged employees experience more active and positive emotions. These employees are more receptive to new experiences and discovering new lines of thought or action, exhibit proactive behavior, and express greater interest in learning



something new (Bakker et al., 2014). Engaged employees achieve better performances (Demerouti & Cropanzano, 2010) because they experience positive emotions, which assist them in searching for new ideas and developing resources. Engaged employees enjoy better health and can dedicate all their energy to work. They seek feedback and support to create new resources and transmit their engagement to colleagues, thus improving the team's performance (Bakker, 2009).

WE is an important indicator of well-being at work, although it has not been widely studied as a positive result of EL (van Gelderen et al., 2014). Suppression or deliberate inhibition of emotions can positively affect engagement at the end of a working day, regardless of whether the expressed emotions are feigned (van Gelderen et al., 2014). It can benefit police officers' daily well-being as it can help accomplish task (van Gelderen et al., 2014). Furthermore, suppression or deliberate inhibition of emotions may be positively related to job performance (van Gelderen et al., 2014). EL is positively associated to daily WE (van Gelderen et al., 2014). A high level of WE at the beginning of the shift can increase the energy and resource benefits, thus improving WE at shift end (van Gelderen et al., 2017). Therefore, we intend to consider the following hypotheses:

H1a: Positive emotion expression demands positively predict WE.

H1b: Negative emotion suppression demands negatively predict WE.

H1c: High intensity and emotional variability demands negatively predict WE.

Moreover, deep acting strategies relate to lower WE levels when emotional recognition capacity is reduced (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). On the other hand, surface acting strategies are related to higher WE levels when emotional recognition capacity is high (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Police officers are highly likely to show exhaustion, while high engagement is expected (Basinska & Dåderman, 2019). Although the police profession is stressful, police officers have relatively high WE levels (Brunetto et al., 2014; Richardsen et al., 2006). Therefore, we intend to consider the following hypotheses:

H2a: Deep acting strategies positively predict WE.

H2b: Surface acting strategies negatively predict WE.

### ***Occupational identity***

A feature of the human condition is the need to belong to a larger group (Ashforth et al., 2008; Hoggett et al., 2014). Over the past 30 years, the social identity perspective has played an important role in research

in group behavior and intergroup relationships (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017). The social identity construct consists of “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69). Nevertheless, social identity theory initially did not explore emotions despite recognizing the individuals’ emotional investment in social identities and the strong emotions often linked to group and intergroup behaviors (Hogg et al., 2017). Significantly, identification with the group is essential for social categories (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) to be psychologically real (Hogg, 2018). Internalization is also crucial for a group, concerning how values, attitudes, and guiding principles are incorporated (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). People can be classified into several categories (e.g., religious affiliation, gender, organizational membership) and simultaneously categorized into different schemes (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). These social categorizations aim to 1) segment and cognitively order social environments, being a means to define others, and 2) define and locate oneself within the social environment (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Cameron (2004) proposed a multidimensional model of social identity composed of three dimensions: centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties. Centrality concerns the group members’ cognitive prominence, that is, the subjective importance of the group for each of its members (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017). It is expressed through the frequency with which the group arises in its members’ thoughts and the subjective importance of the group for self-definition (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017). Ingroup affect refers to the evaluative facet of social identity, including the specific emotions arising from the group membership: being happy or regretful (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017). Finally, ingroup ties are related to the psychological bonds attached to the group, meaning the perception of similarity and connection with other group members (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017).

The concept of OI emerges from social identity (Bradford, 2014; Hoggett et al., 2014; Nascimento & Souza, 2017), and it is also known as vocational, work, professional, or career identity (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). Like police officers’ badges (or “presentation cards”), it locates individuals in an organization and defines them regarding their level in the organization (Ashforth et al., 2008). OI is characterized by continuity and change and is shaped and composed by the transforming the interpersonal relationships around which it takes place (Brown et al., 2007). OI is constructed over time through “a give-and-take process between the self and others” (van Maanen, 2010, p. 122),

formed through the interaction between social, personal and situational identities (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011; van Maanen, 2010) and processed through cognitive, affective, and behavioral mechanisms (Machado, 2003; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008). Individuals engage in an organizational structure and form a collective mentality, assimilating and conforming to behavioral rules and norms and establishing affective ties with people who coexist in it (Machado, 2003; Sluss & Ashforth, 2008). OI formation is relevant to verify how the individuals are cognitively and actively linked to their professional group (Ashforth et al., 2008; Nascimento & Souza, 2017; Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). As a promoter of positive self-esteem (Machado, 2003), we can affirm that OI is a vital component of the individual's global identity (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011).

In the case of police work, the organization itself creates a strong sense of identity among its members (Hoggett et al., 2014; Workman-Stark, 2017). Police identity (i.e., police occupational identity) can be described by an existing "blue identity" (Violanti & Samuels, 2007), in which there is a vast and complex range of activities in the fight against crime (Dick & Cassell, 2004; Workman-Stark, 2017). Accordingly, "being a police officer forms a fundamental part of an individual's self-concept, therefore what happens to the police is of great importance to them" (Hoggett et al., 2014, p. 6). What happens to a police officer can impact (both positively and negatively) with all police officers, since "being a police officer is a fundamental part of their self-concept (who they are) and they perceive the fate of the police as being that of their own" (Hoggett et al., 2014, p. 33). Significantly, the same individual may have more or less distinct identities with the occupation, department or task force (Ashforth et al., 2008). Within the police profession, individuals can identify more with the work they perform, the division, station or post they integrate, and/or the organization in general (Workman-Stark, 2017). If police identity is threatened or altered, as a result, normative rules of police behavior may change (Hoggett et al., 2014).

Police identity includes a sense of belonging, which captures members' value and improves their self-esteem (Bradford, 2014). A strong OI is a good predictor of emotional health and life satisfaction (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). There is also a positive relationship between professional identity and psychosocial functioning (Skorikov & Vondracek, 2011). Similarly, high organizational identification seems to be a precursor to personal achievement, providing higher WE levels (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Moreover, the benefits of police identity compensate any harmful effects arising from disagreements between important reference groups (Schaible, 2006). Nevertheless, potential emotional risks arise from the fundamental discrepancy in OI (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Police work constitutes "a visible occupation and represents an

identity that officers cannot easily turn off” (Workman-Stark, 2017, p. 51). Similarly, traditional policing can be seen as a promoter of a sense of elitism and isolation from the general public (Schaible, 2006). Also, there is a potential emotional risk at the level of self-esteem (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). OI can be emotionally weakened when someone is forced to separate from the group (e.g., layoff, transfer, retirement) or when the group underperforms or becomes socially stigmatized (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

OI is related to EL (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Pugliesi, 1999; van Gelderen et al., 2014), given that emotional control is a major aspect of police identity (Mastracci & Adams, 2020; Pogrebin & Poole, 1991). Police officers face everyday situations that potentiate intense negative emotions (de Moura & Ramalho, 2017), with EL demands being inherent to police work (van Gelderen et al., 2007). However, they must control their emotions (Santos, 2002) and reactions (Kaiseler et al., 2016), aiming for neutral, controlled, and solid expression, both facially and physically (Bakker & Heuven, 2006). For example, when dealing with manipulative and/or aggressive criminals and offenders, it is not surprising that police officers may feel negative emotions. For this reason, they may have to suppress such emotions by displaying positive ones, in order to solve problems in a better way (Bakker & Heuven, 2006) prevent aggression escalation (van Gelderen et al., 2014, 2017). Significantly, due to these demands, physical and/or psychological health problems can arise, impacting both the employees’ and the citizens’ well-being (Kaiseler et al., 2016). For example, suppressing anger can adversely affect police officers’ well-being through exhaustion (van Gelderen et al., 2011). With this in mind, we intend to verify the following hypotheses:

H3a: Positive emotion expression demands positively predict OI.

H3b: Negative emotion suppression demands negatively predict OI.

H3c: High intensity and emotional variability demands negatively predict OI.

The use of EL strategies can affirm and reinforce officers’ sense of identity (Humphrey et al., 2015). The attempt to align felt emotions with those expressed, through deep acting, can strengthen individuals’ identification with their work role (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). Correspondingly, strong police identity presupposes greater energy investment in deep acting strategies (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Accordingly, “individuals who are highly identified with their work roles are more likely to perform deep acting than surface acting” (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003, p. 374). Similarly, police officers tend to develop strong police identities, which can aggravate emotional dissonance because police

officers' self-identification conflicts with imposed expectations (Schaible, 2006). Therefore, police officers are more or less likely to feel emotional dissonance, depending on how central their OI is and how coherent they are with their job duties (Schaible, 2006). Therefore, we aim to analyze the following hypotheses:

H4a: Deep acting strategies positively predict OI.

H4b: Surface acting strategies negatively predict OI.

## Method

### *Participants and procedures*

The PSP is a Portuguese security force operating at the urban and metropolitan levels and referred to as the city police (Durão, 2011). It is worth noting that the PSP is a first-line (Rodrigues, 2018) “armed and uniformed police force” (Republic Assembly, 2007, p. 6065), whose “service is permanent and mandatory” (Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2015, p. 9064), meaning that officers must be permanently available for service, even if it means sacrificing personal interests (Rodrigues, 2018). The PSP operates at the level of preventive and proximity/community policing (Durão, 2011; Rodrigues, 2018), being instrumental in the existence and continuity of urban life and promoting public order and authority (Durão, 2010). This police force has approximately 19 825 elements, with 806 officials, 2 158 chiefs and 16 861 officers (Secretaria-Geral do Ministério da Administração Interna, 2021), according to data from 2020, as no more recent report has yet been published.

The voluntary participants in the study included 924 PSP elements, mostly identifying themselves as men ( $n=822$ , 89%), followed by women ( $n=96$ , 10.40%), while the remaining individuals identified themselves as another gender (Table 1). The mean age of 45.69 years ( $SD=8.49$ ). Out of 924 participants, 647 are officers ( $M_{\text{age}} = 45.30$  years;  $SD=8.24$ ), 173 chiefs ( $M_{\text{age}} = 49.25$  years;  $SD=6.77$ ) and 104 officials ( $M_{\text{age}} = 42.18$  years;  $SD=10.45$ ).

To achieve the objectives of this research, we collected data using self-administered questionnaires (Hill & Hill, 2012), whose items were adapted to European Portuguese. Although the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES) (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b; Schaufeli et al., 2002) was already translated and adapted for the Portuguese population, the Emotional Labour Scale (ELS) (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), the Emotion Work Requirements Scale (EWRS) (Best et al., 1997), and the Social Identity Scale (SIS) (Cameron, 2004) had to be translated and adapted to European Portuguese. To this end, we considered the steps recommended by Hill and Hill (2012), namely: a) the translation of the scales

**Table 1.** Sociodemographic characteristics (N= 924).

Sociodemographic characteristics	n	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	822	89.00
Female	96	10.40
Another gender	6	.60
Total	924	100.00
<b>Age</b>		
<25	8	.80
25–30	42	4.50
31–35	86	9.20
36–40	103	11.10
41–45	174	18.80
46–50	208	22.60
>50	303	32.70
Total	924	100.00
<b>Marital status</b>		
Single	92	10.00
Married	606	65.60
Separated/divorced	87	9.40
Cohabiting	133	14.40
Widowed	4	.40
Another marital status	2	.20
Total	924	100.00
<b>Educational level</b>		
First cycle	1	.10
Second cycle	5	.50
Third cycle	102	11.00
Secondary or professional level	620	67.10
Bachelor's or licenciante's degree	121	13.10
Master's degree	72	7.80
PhD	3	.30
Total	924	100.00
<b>Seniority</b>		
Over 1 year up to 3 years	17	1.80
Over 3 years up to 5 years	31	3.30
Over 5 years up to 10 years	62	6.70
>10 years	814	87.90
Total	924	100.00
<b>Career</b>		
Officer	647	70.00
Chief	173	18.70
Official	104	11.30
Total	924	100.00
<b>Geographic area</b>		
Madeira Regional Command	30	3.20
Azores Regional Command	48	5.20
Lisbon Metropolitan Command	350	37.90
Porto Metropolitan Command	164	17.70
Aveiro District Command	26	2.80
Beja District Command	5	.50
Braga District Command	23	2.50
Bragança District Command	8	.90
Castelo Branco District Command	12	1.30
Coimbra District Command	28	3.00
Évora District Command	11	1.20
Faro District Command	49	5.30
Guarda District Command	12	1.30
Leiria District Command	37	4.00
Portalegre District Command	11	1.20
Santarém District Command	22	2.40
Setúbal District Command	54	5.80
Viana do Castelo District Command	8	.90
Vila Real District Command	14	1.50
Viseu District Command	12	1.30
Total	924	100.00

from Brazilian Portuguese to European Portuguese, b) the back-translation of the items by an expert in the original language—in our case Brazilian Portuguese, and c) the comparison of the two versions and discussion of the discrepancies found. An Expert Committee (EC), composed of five professionals, two of them from the area of psychology (with at least five years of research experience) and one PSP police officer, carried out this last step, using the think aloud protocol (Ericsson & Simon, 1993).

Then, we pretested the instruments used by applying the pre-final version of the scales in a small sample of police officers (our target population) to ensure “that the adapted version is still retaining its equivalence in an applied situation” (Beaton et al., 2000, p. 3189). The police officers completed the questionnaires and were then interviewed to explore the meaning of the items and the answers (Beaton et al., 2000).

We also prepared a project summary explaining the objectives and benefits of the study to obtain approval from the PSP National Directorate. The scales used were converted into a LimeSurvey Platform link shared with the PSP to verify its safety in terms of anonymity and confidentiality. The data collection phase began after the PSP confirmed the safety of the scales’ access link. Contact with the participants was done online through the PSP intranet since access to the link was shared internally. Statistical analyses were performed for this stage, which we will describe further on. This study complies with the ethical principles for research involving human beings. All participants had to sign an informed consent form, and the authors of the scales authorized their cultural adaptation and validation to the European Portuguese context.

### **Measures**

In this study, we used the ELS (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003), translated and adapted into Brazilian Portuguese by Alves et al. (2017), the EWRS (Best et al., 1997), translated and adapted into Brazilian Portuguese by Alves et al. (2017), the UWES (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b; Schaufeli et al., 2002), translated and adapted into European Portuguese by Simões and Gomes, research version (2012), and the SIS (Cameron, 2004), translated and adapted into Brazilian Portuguese by Nascimento and Souza (2017), and recently referred to as the *Three-Factor Scale of Social Identity* (TSSI). Below we present the instruments in more detail. For sample characterization, we added a set of sociodemographic questions regarding gender, age, marital status, career, geographical area of activity, type of service (i.e., external/internal), and education level.

The ELS (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003) measures EL strategies (i.e., deep and surface acting) as distinct dimensions and emotion-related occupational requirements (i.e., the duration of interactions, frequency, intensity, and diversity of emotional display). The scale contains neutral and straightforward items, and its application is brief (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003). We used in this study the reduced version by Alves et al. (2017), adapted to the military police context. It contains only seven items (compared to the 15 of the original scale), and starts with the following question “In my work as a police officer, how often...”. The answer options are arranged in a 5-point Likert scale with 1—never, 2—rarely, 3—sometimes, 4—often, and 5—always (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003).

According to Best et al. (1997), EWRS measures the “employee perceptions of the requirements to express positive emotions and suppress negative emotions as part of one’s work role” (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003, p. 366). It measures how workers have to camouflage emotions at work. Therefore, since it implies the concealment of real emotions, the EWRS may be associated with the surface acting. As with the previous scale, for this study, we adapted the scale to the military police context by Alves et al. (2017). It includes six items and starts with the question “In my day-to-day work as police, how often I am asked or required...”. In each question, the respondents specify their answer regarding a) other police officers, b) superiors, (c) “criminals” and “offenders,” and d) “victims” (Guedes et al., 2020). The answer options are also arranged in a 5-point Likert scale, with 1—never, 2—rarely, 3—sometimes, 4—many times, and 5- always.

UWES aims to measure the three dimensions of work engagement: vigor, dedication and absorption. There are two versions of the scale: the full version (17 items) and the reduced version (nine items) (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004b; Simões & Gomes, 2012). This study used the full version of the scale (i.e., 17 items), translated and adapted to European Portuguese by Simões and Gomes (2012), the research version. The answer options are organized in a 7-point Likert scale, with 0—never, 1—almost never (few times a year or less), 2—rarely (once a month or less), 3—sometimes (sometimes a month or less), 4—often (once a week), 5—very often (a few times a week), and 6—always (every day).

More recently referred as TSSI, SIS measures the three dimensions of the social identity construct: centrality, ingroup affect and ingroup ties (Cameron, 2004; Nascimento & Souza, 2017). In the present study, we used the version adapted to the professional context of Nascimento and Souza (2017), that reflects the subjects’ professional identity. It is composed by nine items, distributed by the three dimensions of the construct, with answer options organized in a 5-point Likert scale:



1—totally disagree; 2—moderately disagree; 3—neither agree nor disagree; 4—agree; 5—totally agree. It is worth noting that the three items related to the ingroup affect dimension are reversed (Cameron, 2004).

### **Strategy of analyses**

We performed confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to validate all the scales using the Analysis of Moment Structures program (AMOS, version 25.0). To ensure that each item represented the construct for the factor, we defined the factor load (ranging from 0 to 1) above .40<sup>1</sup> (Brown, 2015). Correlation and multiple linear regression were used in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (SPSS, version 25.0) to test the hypotheses under study. Descriptive analysis (measures of central tendency, dispersion and frequency) were performed to characterize the sample. Using the SPSS software, we analyzed the distribution and univariate normality characteristics through each item's skewness and kurtosis values. According to Marôco (2014), there was no violation of the normal distribution assumption, given that skewness <2 and kurtosis <7.

### **Results**

According to Marôco (2010), in the CFA analyses, the ratio  $\chi^2 / df$  indicates an acceptable fit for values between 2 and 5 and a good fit for values between 1 and 2. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) reveals an acceptable fit for values between .05 and .10 and good fit for values below .05. The Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and the Normed Fit Index (NFI) demonstrate a satisfactory fit between .80 and .90, a good fit between .90 and .95, and a very good fit for values greater than .95. According to Steiger (as cited in Byrne, 2016), in the RMSEA analysis, we must also consider the confidence interval, which in AMOS is 90%, and the test of close fit, which should have no statistical significance (i.e.,  $p > .05$ ). According to the criteria mentioned above, the scales used present good goodness-of-fit scores, as observed in Table 2.

In the UWES scale, it was necessary to exclude item 16 (e16) because it loaded on the factor with a value of .27 (less than .40). Similarly, we performed four covariate measurement error corrections. The internal consistency (or reliability) of the scales (Marôco, 2010) was assessed through Cronbach's alpha, whose values range from 0 to 1 (Marôco & Garcia-Marques, 2006). According to Murphy and Davidshofer (as cited in Peterson, 1994), reliability is unacceptable when values are less than .60, low at .70, moderate to high between .80 and .90, and high above .90.

**Table 2.** CFA results and Cronbach's alpha ( $\alpha$ ) for the scales used.

Scales	$\chi^2 / df$	RMSEA	GFI	CFI	NFI	$\alpha$
Emotional Labour Scale (ELS)	8.93	.09	.97	.94	.94	.70
Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES)	10.09	.10	.87	.94	.93	.97
Three-Factor Scale of Social Identity (TSSI)	4.51	.06	.98	.98	.97	.85
Emotion Work Requirements Scale (EWRS)						
Other police officers	3.38	.05	.99	.99	.98	.74
Superiors	3.93	.06	.99	.99	.98	.76
Victims	5.57	.07	.98	.98	.98	.77
Criminals	8.17	.09	.98	.97	.96	.80

**Table 3.** Means, SDs and correlations: a) between independent variables and work engagement, and b) between independent variables and occupational identity ( $N=924$ ).

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
a)								
1. Work engagement	3.90	1.34	—					
2. PEE	3.65	.74	.22**	—				
3. NES	3.19	.95	-.10**	.45**	—			
4. Intensity and variety	2.87	.83	-.04	.11**	.16**	—		
5. Deep acting	3.30	.92	.06	.28**	.27**	.26**	—	
6. Surface acting	3.24	.95	-.31**	.12**	.45**	.22**	.24**	—
b)								
1. Occupational identity	3.23	.45	—					
2. PEE	3.65	.74	.16**	—				
3. NES	3.19	.95	-.14**	.44**	—			
4. Intensity and variety	2.87	.83	.02	.11**	.16**	—		
5. Deep acting	3.30	.92	.05	.28**	.27**	.26**	—	
6. Surface acting	3.24	.95	-.28**	.12**	.45**	.22**	.24**	—

Notes: PEE: positive emotion expression; NES: negative emotion suppression.

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

All the dimensions involved in this study concerning the scales used present Cronbach's alpha values ranging from .70 to .97 (Table 2).

### Work engagement

The results obtained through correlation analysis are presented in Table 3. According to Cohen (1988), the surface acting variable has a moderate Pearson coefficient ( $r = -.31$ ,  $p < .01$ ). The positive emotion expression ( $r = .22$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and negative emotion suppression variables ( $r = -.10$ ,  $p < .01$ ) have a low Pearson's correlation coefficients.

The multiple regression analysis indicates that EL predicts 17.20% of the WE. Regarding EL demands, positive emotion expression is positively related to WE ( $\beta = .51$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and negative emotion suppression is inversely related to it ( $\beta = -.15$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Thus, the results suggest that the more the police officers express positive emotions, the greater is their WE. On the other hand, the more police officers suppress negative emotions, the lower their WE is. However, intensity and variety demands are not related to WE. Regarding EL strategies, deep acting is related

to WE ( $\beta = .13, p < .05$ ) and surface acting is inversely related to it ( $\beta = -.44, p < .05$ ). Therefore, the results suggest that the more the police officers internalize their displayed emotions, the higher is their WE. When they feign the expressed emotions, they tend to manifest less WE. Hence, our results supported hypotheses H1a, H1b, H2a and H2b, while H1c was not corroborated.

### **Occupational identity**

Table 3 presents the results on OI obtained through correlation analysis and demonstrates that these are similar to WE. According to Cohen (1988), surface acting variables have a low to moderate Pearson's correlation coefficient ( $r = .28, p < .01$ ). Positive emotion expression ( $r = .16, p < .01$ ) and negative emotion suppression variables ( $r = -.14, p < .01$ ) have low Pearson's correlation coefficients.

Multiple regression analysis indicates that EL predicts 13.60% of OI. Regarding EL demands, positive emotion expression ( $\beta = .23, p < .05$ ) is related to OI. On the other hand, negative emotion suppression ( $\beta = -.12, p < .05$ ) is inversely related to it. The results suggest that the more the police officers' OI is greater when they express positive emotions. On the contrary, the more the police officers suppress negative emotions, the lower their OI is. Also, intensity and variety demands ( $\beta = .05, p < .05$ ) are related to OI. The results suggest that the officers' OI increases as the emotions they express are more intense and diverse. At the level of emotional labor strategies, deep acting ( $\beta = .06, p < .05$ ) is related to OI and surface acting ( $\beta = -.21, p < .05$ ) is inversely related to it. The results suggest that the more the police officers internalize the emotions to be expressed, the greater their OI. When they feign the expressed emotions, they manifest less OI. Therefore, our results support hypotheses H3a, H3b, H4a and H4b, while H3c was not corroborated.

### **Discussion**

Police work is complex and demanding (Gomes & Afonso, 2016; Toscano, 2010) and extremely challenging at the same time (Kaiseler et al., 2016), due to the necessary effort to maintain a neutral, professional, and sometimes empathetic expression under stressful circumstances and environments. This occupation has unique characteristics, and its workforce must constantly adapt (Toscano, 2010) to different complex and demanding scenarios (e.g., interacting with crime victims, offenders, or criminals). Police officers are responsible for security, prevention, and crime-fighting (Rodrigues, 2018), ensuring public safety while taking care of themselves (Kaiseler et al., 2016).

**Table 4.** Multiple regression coefficients: 1) work engagement; 2) occupational identity.

Variables	B	$\beta$	t	p
1) Regression 1				
PEE	.51	.28	8.20	.00
NES	-.15	-.10	-2.76	.01
Intensity and variety	-.02	-.01	-.42	.68
Deep acting	.13	.09	2.73	.01
Surface acting	-.44	-.32	-9.12	.00
2) Regression 2				
PEE	.23	.23	6.63	.00
NES	-.12	-.15	-3.91	.00
Intensity and variety	.05	.05	1.67	.10
Deep acting	.06	.08	2.43	.02
Surface acting	-.21	-.27	-7.73	.00

While international authors have focused their attention on the study of EL in law enforcement groups, our study is the first to do so in Portuguese law enforcement, since previous authors have centered their attention on WE. Furthermore, although a previous study has assessed some of these variables in the military (Guedes & Gondim, 2020), to the best of our knowledge, no previous study has attempted to explore the impact of EL (demands and strategies) on WE and OI in police officers.

The correlation and multiple regression analysis results presented in Tables 3 and 4 confirm most of our hypotheses, although H1c and H3c were not verified. The results also demonstrate that EL predicts 17.20% of WE and 13.60% of OI. Significantly, the results obtained are mostly consistent with the international literature (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; van Gelderen et al., 2014) as, to the best of our knowledge, there are no studies on this subject regarding Portuguese police context.

Starting with the impact of EL demands on either WE or OI, our results suggest that negative emotion suppression may negatively affect both. Understanding negative emotion suppression demands can have a marked effect on burnout (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2013; Schaible, 2006; Schaible & Six, 2016), which can be regarded as the opposite to WE (Maslach et al., 2001; Maslach & Leiter, 1997; Schaufeli & Bakker, 2004a). For example, suppressing anger seems to be positively related to daily exhaustion (van Gelderen et al., 2011), perhaps because the effort to suppress emotions requires energy which adds to high levels of stress (van Gelderen et al., 2014). Furthermore, these demands do not always lead to the desired effects (Snyder et al., 2013), possibly causing psychological stress (Gross & Levenson, 1997). Although the behavioral expression of negative emotions is diminished, individuals may continue to experience them (Gross & Levenson, 1997), as these tend to be more intense (when compared to positive emotions) (Caruso & Salovey, 2004). Regarding to OI, one possible explanation may be

that police identity is characterized by officers' ability to manage, suppress, and control emotions (Black & Lumsden, 2021). For example, Herrbach (2006) notes that OI relates to experiencing negative emotions, given that OI assumes that individuals define themselves at the organizational level. In addition, Brotheridge and Grandey (2002) found that negative emotion suppression is negatively related to personal accomplishment, whose precursor seems to be high organizational identification (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016).

The results also suggest that positive emotion expression demands promote WE and OI. When interacting with public, police officers should exhibit positive emotions (Queirós et al., 2013; Schaible & Gecas, 2010), as these tend to produce positive outcomes (Humphrey et al., 2015). Police officers who express positive emotions also tend to develop a sense of personal (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Zapf, 2002) and professional accomplishment, as well as increased interest in their work (Kwak et al., 2018). Therefore, these demands seem to be related to reduced exhaustion and increased WE (van Gelderen et al., 2011), as engaged employees tend to experience positive emotions more actively (Bakker et al., 2014) and frequently (Kanste, 2011). For example, police officers, when learning that expressing positive emotions facilitate problem-solving, tend to feel such emotions (Bakker & Heuven, 2006). Positive emotions can motivate to explore the environment and extend both individuals' thinking and behavioral repertoire (Caruso & Salovey, 2004). Furthermore, it seems possible that positive emotion experience and authenticity play an important role in lower burnout levels (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Schaible and Six (2016) suggest that striving to truly experience positive emotions can be advantageous in mitigating emotional exhaustion. We can justify the OI's results since stimulating officer's daily ability to show positive emotions helps promote their sense of identity as members of a police organization (Lan et al., 2020). Positive emotion display rules tend to have beneficial outcomes, given that neither the expectation to express positive emotions nor the effort required for this is harmful (Humphrey et al., 2015). As police work is a high-stress occupation, police officers need to use positive emotions to mitigate the impact of negative ones (Lan et al., 2020). Positive emotions seem to provide them valuable psychological capital resources (i.e., resilience, self-efficacy, optimism, and hope) to cope with the stress and challenges faced daily on the job (Siu et al., 2015).

Findings further suggest that varying and intense emotional demands do not relate to WE, but OI. Although ambiguous, past research has shown that the intensity and variety of emotions can facilitate burnout, as it increases police officers' cynicism (Kwak et al., 2018). One possible explanation is that police officers must master the constant change

between emotional expressions (Bakker & Heuven, 2006), as they need to: 1) express emotions compatible with protection to the public; 2) be empathetic and sympathetic to victims; 3) and express negative emotions to assert their authority with suspects and criminals (Guedes et al., 2020), as well as to correct an offender (van Gelderen et al., 2017). The most challenging aspect of police work is perhaps expressing or suppressing emotions felt (Daus & Brown, 2012). The constant conflict between expressed, suppressed and desired emotions (Schaible, 2006) can result in emotional exhaustion (Abraham, 1998), being thus negatively related to WE (Guedes et al., 2020). On the other hand, the intensity and variety of emotions can positively relate to personal accomplishment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). Regarding OI, one possible explanation to our results is that high intensity, frequency, and duration of emotional interaction can affirm police identity as it enables the expression of authentic emotions (Schaible & Six, 2016). For example, officers may resort to cognitive and behavioral mechanisms to mitigate the emotional pressures they are subjected to prevent identity redirection (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Zeng et al. (2021), in a study with 170 Chinese medical personnel, found that when individuals have high OI, the tendency is to invest more EL, aiming to achieve organizational and professional demands. However, “officers who identify with ‘Real Police Work (RPW)’ may have more difficulties early in their career” (Schaible, 2018, p. 13).

Regarding the impact of EL strategies on either WE or OI, our results suggest that deep acting can promote both. These strategies seem to decrease officers’ burnout levels, given that emotions are felt in authentic ways (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016). Then, police officers who are more engaged in their work may tend to use deep rather than surface acting (Yoo & Arnold, 2014). Deep acting strategies appear to be the best at regulating emotion (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002), given that expressed emotions are actually felt, individuals are authentic (von Gilsa et al., 2014), and individual resource drain is prevented (John & Gross, 2004). Such strategies produce greater job satisfaction (Grandey, 2003), being seen as the solution for coping with EL demands (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Consequently, such strategies can help police officers develop skills to help citizens effectively and provide a quality service (van Gelderen et al., 2017). Similarly, these strategies can benefit OI (Roh, 2019), strengthening it (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Humphrey et al., 2015). One possible explanation is that aligning expressed and felt emotions is “capable of creating an inner state that can provide occupational identity as it gives meaning” (Roh, 2019, p. 551). On the other hand, Guedes et al. (2020) suggest that OI acts as a protective factor, which, somehow, can lead to a greater use of deep acting strategies, trying to

express expected feelings. Therefore, when police officers manifest a high identity with the department they belong to, they tend to exercise more deep acting (Bhowmick & Mulla, 2016).

Finally, the results suggest that surface acting strategies used by police officers may reduce both WE and OI. A possible explanation regarding WE is that an emotion is not easy to fake, demanding a lot of effort (Morris & Feldman, 1996), straining the individual's cognitive resources (Cheung & Tang, 2010). When police officers use surface acting strategies, they cannot anticipate their reactions (Mastracci & Adams, 2020), nor can they express their true feelings, distancing themselves from their real selves (Sloan, 2014) and exerting more significant effort to fake emotions (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). This may lead to burnout, i.e., higher levels of emotional exhaustion (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Jeung et al., 2018; Öngöre, 2020), depersonalization (Zapf, 2002) and cynicism (Bakker & Heuven, 2006), as well as reduced sense of personal accomplishment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Schaible & Six, 2016). In Portugal, Rosa et al. (2015), with a sample of 1045 PSP officers, found that 1.60% of participants reported feeling emotional exhaustion and depersonalization at least once or twice a week. More recently, in a study with 2 057 PSP elements, 11% manifested critical burnout values (Queirós et al., 2020b). Such strategies can also be detrimental to OI (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Roh, 2019), as they distort real feelings. On the contrary, Humphrey et al. (2015) advocate that “when people identify with their roles and have a good person-job fit, the use of deep acting and even surface acting may affirm and reinforce their sense of authenticity and role identity” (p. 764).

### **Research implications**

The results obtained in this study have practical implications. They aim to mitigate the effects of EL on both WE and OI, thus, improving the well-being and job satisfaction levels.

First, we focus on what can be done at the individual level, i.e., what officers can do to regulate their emotions effectively. Developing emotional intelligence (Bradberry & Greaves, 2017) can be beneficial in coping with daily emotional demands (Brunetto et al., 2012). Officers can use emotional resilience strategies (Adams & Buck, 2010), to cope with negative automatic thoughts through positive emotions and cognitive flexibility (Lan et al., 2020) to reach emotional well-being (Au et al., 2019). Regular physical exercise can be helpful in developing emotional resilience, as making individuals “more resistant to the emotional effects of acute stress” (Childs & de Wit, 2014, p. 5). Finally, using mindful strategies can also be beneficial, as it is associated with positive effects on stress reduction (Eberth & Sedlmeier, 2012), emotional management

(de Vibe et al., 2017), and experiencing negative emotions (Bergman et al., 2016), as well as promoting well-being (Eberth & Sedlmeier, 2012).

Secondly, we emphasize what organizations can do to manage EL effects and help officers cope effectively with their emotions. To do this, we highlight what Organizational Psychologists can do to mitigate EL effects in both WE and OI. Human Resources Management (HRM) can play an essential role in processes such as recruitment and selection, socialization (Martin, 1999; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987), and training (Schaible, 2006).

As in most European law enforcement agencies (de Moura & Ramalho, 2017), individuals can join the PSP through the officer training course of the Practical Police School, being able to progress in the hierarchy (i.e., chief and access to official career), or with Integrated Master's Program in Police Sciences, provided at the Higher Institute of Police Sciences and Internal Security (Rodrigues, 2018). All candidates should be carefully assessed, with emotional stability being an essential criterion (Martin, 1999), as well as self-efficacy (Abraham, 1998) and emotional intelligence (Brunetto et al., 2012; Kwak et al., 2018).

In a study with European law enforcement agencies, de Moura and Ramalho (2017) found that all use psychological assessment (e.g., intelligence, personality, motivation) in the official selection and that only 80% use it for selecting officers. However, officer selection is sensitive to informal compensation or personal difficulties in carrying out regular patrol activities (Durão, 2012). As far as training is concerned, only Integrated Master's Program in Police Science includes course units in psychology in the curriculum (a total of 180 h) (Rodrigues, 2018). Nevertheless, both training curricula for officers and chiefs appear not to have psychology-related course units. One of the training points concerns "knowing how to act," i.e., the personal and human attitudes, such as physiological and emotional qualities and resources (Rodrigues, 2018). Nonetheless, "it falls short on issues concerning [the] emotional training" (de Moura & Ramalho, 2017, p. 124) of police officers. Although underlying investment in police training and selection aims for effective performance (Rosa et al., 2015), the contexts police officers face daily may promote psychological vulnerability (Rosa et al., 2015). As it occurs in PSP, psychological re-evaluation is fundamental (Rodrigues, 2018; Rosa et al., 2015). Similarly, training apart from providing agents, should above all be understood as a recurrent practice for both officers and superiors (Kwak et al., 2018), aiming to develop skills and abilities (Au et al., 2019) and empowering individuals to handle their job's daily emotional demands (Bakker & Heuven, 2006; van Gelderen et al., 2017). Training programs on emotional resilience (Adams & Buck, 2010) can be implemented, focusing on aspects such as coping with negative automatic thoughts, positive emotions, cognitive flexibility (Lan et al., 2020),



and emotional well-being (Au et al., 2019). In a study with 300 Hong Kong police officers, Au et al. (2019) found that the emotional fitness training sessions were effective as they improved resilience, positive emotions, and cognitive flexibility, as well as emotional well-being. Mindfulness (Bergman et al., 2016; Kale & Gedik, 2020) and coaching (Nwokeoma et al., 2019) programs can also be beneficial. In a study with 62 police officers of Pacific Northwestern USA, Bergman et al. (2016) found that “increases in acting with awareness and nonjudging appeared to partially account for statistically significant reductions in anger over the course of the intervention” (p. 854). More recently, in a study with 63 Nigerian police officers, Nwokeoma et al. (2019) observed the preventive and curative potential of psychoeducational coaching in stress management for police officers.

Concerning socialization process, newcomer police officers “learn the rules regarding the content, intensity, and variety of emotions demanded in performing their work role” (Martin, 1999, p. 113). According to Ashforth and Mael (1989), this is where newcomer officers’ OI is developed, through social identification (i.e., by internalizing and sharing organizational values, beliefs, mission, structures, and processes). Therefore, older police officers should share stories of their experience, guiding “rookies” (as the new officers are called) in the organization’s display rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). At the level of EL, explanations primarily come through socialization experiences (Daus & Brown, 2012). According to Durão (2010), after leaving Practical Police School, during the probationary period (i.e., the first year of work), rookies are integrated into police stations. This experience proves difficult because after arriving at police departments where they will serve, rookies receive weapons, munitions, a baton, a badge, and a uniform and are sent to police stations, assigned to patrol shifts. Patrol is where rookies begin their police duties, reflecting many personal differences, individual manifestations of solutions, and negotiation, although there is a certain pressure for uniformity. Socialization is entrusted informally to more experienced officers, who tend to take time to trust on the rookies’ skills to decide how to perform independently. It is worth noting that more experienced officers play an essential role in learning to restrain police action. It can be beneficial to conduct team building (Maslach et al., 2001) with newcomer officers to strengthen their OI (van Maanen, 2010; Workman-Stark, 2017).

Finally, the supervisory role and reward system are also crucial with high levels of perceived well-being (Brunetto et al., 2014; van Gelderen & Bik, 2016). Quality supervision (Burke, 1994) occurs when supervisors are supportive (van Gelderen & Bik, 2016) and fair (Ashforth et al., 2008), being at the same time aware of the needs of their subordinates (Wolter

et al., 2019). By ensuring adequate support for officers to perform their duties effectively, they may exhibit greater WE as a result (Brunetto et al., 2017). An effective supervision leadership style (e.g., health-oriented) can promote WE (Richardson et al., 2006; Upadyaya et al., 2016), well-being (Maria et al., 2019) and successful performance of occupational tasks (Lan et al., 2020). Authentic leadership can explain the perceived difference in relationships between officers and supervisors (Farr-Wharton et al., 2021). However, police officers often avoid to express how they feel to their peers and superiors due to existing stigma associated with such candidness (Soomro & Yanos, 2019). In a study with 152 PSP officers, Cunha (2004) found that 21.10% reported receiving instrumental support (related to specific services, such as family assistance and other compensations) from their superiors. On the other hand, superiors' emotional support is scarce (9.20%), leading officers to rely on peer support (56.60%) and additional external support (44.10% from family members, 27% from outside friends). In a study with 77 officials, Araújo (2007) found that transformational leadership predominates in the PSP and is associated with high levels of performance and effectiveness. It is possible to verify the eventual influence of emotional intelligence on transformational leadership, responsible for good or bad results. In addition, the PSP mentions a reference emotional intelligence index, whose overall average is high.

Regarding reward systems, HRM can adopt observable strategies by officers (e.g., flexible working hours, reasonable workloads) (Martin, 1999) to stimulate officers' well-being and WE (Brunetto et al., 2014). Rewards can be financial (e.g., increases, promotions) (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Sutton, 1991) or socio-emotional (e.g., recognition, support and useful supervision) (Brunetto et al., 2014). Socio-emotional rewards tend to increase support perceptions (Brunetto et al., 2014). According to Rodrigues (2018), despite scarce financial and socio-emotional rewards, Portuguese officers "do everything they can, ennobling the institutions they represent, with relevant professional pride, with initiative, with a spirit of mission, with and for honor and love of homeland, giving their own lives if necessary" (p. 23).

### **Limitations**

This study had some limitations. First, although the results can be generalized to the PSP (the focus of our study), they cannot be generalized to all Portuguese law enforcement agencies. The same applies to other emotionally demanding occupations (e.g., doctors, nurses, rescuers/first responders, paramedics, teachers, call-centers employees). Moreover, given the current PSP headcount and response rate, we believe that this study's conclusions should be analyzed with some caution.

Secondly, we did not study positive emotion expression and negative emotion suppression variables for each of the four distinct target groups (i.e., other police officers, superiors, victims, and suspects and offenders). Although we consider it interesting and enriching, we could not to study this issue.

Thirdly, the data were collected during COVID-19 pandemic, influencing the participants' responses (Drew & Martin, 2020). As a result of this pandemic, several challenges have been posed worldwide (Alcadipani et al., 2020). Accordingly, police officers, among the frontline workers, play an essential role in monitoring the spread of the disease by enforcing pandemic management strategies (e.g., restrictions, curfews, lockdowns) (Rosário & Löfgren, 2021), as well as supporting other government agencies in helping affected communities (Alcadipani et al., 2020). Police officers are faced with high exposure to COVID-19 (Rosário & Löfgren, 2021), thereby increasing the risk of contamination (Alcadipani et al., 2020), and mental health problems (e.g., stress and trauma) may arise (Drew & Martin, 2020). Rosário and Löfgren (2021), in a sample of 1597 PSP officers, found that the COVID-19 pandemic caused more significant psychological distress among individuals with greater seniority, "those responsible for the care of an elderly relative, those exposed to COVID-19, and those exposed to stressful experiences" (p. 5).

### **Future research**

We conclude this work with some directions for future research. First, further studies on EL (demands and strategies) in the Portuguese police context are necessary to draw more solid conclusions on this subject.

Future research should also focus on positive emotion expression and negative emotion suppression variables for each of the four distinct target groups (i.e., other police officers, superiors, "criminals" and "offenders," and "victims"), given that dealing with these interactions can be considered a source of potential stress (Schaible & Gecas, 2010). A broader view is essential to predict these variables in both WE and OI, as EL is shaped by daily interactions between officers and public (in general), officers and crime victims, and officers and other officers (including superiors) (Black & Lumsden, 2021). Analyzing these differences between target groups will be enriching and allow adapting the strategies for deal with each one of these target groups.

Thirdly, future research must focus on the sociodemographic differences to understand the phenomena studied and outline intervention strategies. Based on data obtained, it is vital to analyze the possible differences in terms of the sample's sociodemographic characteristics, such as, gender, professional career (i.e., police officer, chief and official),

the geographic area (e.g., Lisbon Metropolitan Command, Évora District Command, Madeira Regional Command), age (i.e., between older and younger police) and seniority in the police.

Fourthly, further research can extend the study's target population to all Portuguese law enforcement agencies. It is essential to understand this professional class, as it is daily confronted with emotional demands, and also understand the consequences of these demands to tailor the existing response appropriately. Likewise, future research can compare the various Portuguese law enforcement agencies to know if some of them perform more daily EL than others and analyze eventual differences in EL demands and strategies among them.

Finally, future research must study other emotionally demanding professions (e.g., doctors, nurses, first responders, teachers, call-center staff). Thus, we can obtain a broader perspective of the most emotionally demanding occupations in Portugal and their impact on both WE and OI, comparing them at this level. The aim will be to verify which are more or less demanding from an emotional point of view and analyze the most used EL strategies in each occupation or institution.

## Note

1. "Factor analysis partitions the variance of each indicator (derived from the sample correlation/ covariance matrix) into two parts: (1) Common variance or the variance accounted for by the factor, which is estimated based on variance shared with other indicators in the analysis; and (2) unique variance, which is a combination of reliable variance that is specific to the indicator (i.e., systematic factors that influence only one indicator) and random error variance (i.e., measurement error or unreliability in the indicator)" (Brown, 2015, p. 11). It can be said that if the factor loading is .75, the observed variable explains the latent variable variance of  $(.75^2 = .56)$  56%. It is a good measure. If the factor loading is .40, it explains a 16% variance. As a cut point, .33-factor loading can be given, because explains 10% variance.

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## Data availability statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author, upon reasonable request.

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