SERVITUDE WITH A SMILE: AN ANTI-OPPRESSION ANALYSIS OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR

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ABSTRACT

With the rise of the service society, emotional labour has become increasingly prevalent. Emotional labour involves the production and consumption of the worker's identity as part of the customer service experience. However, emotional labour requires the performance of appropriate or moral roles, as determined by one's identity within interlocking gender, race and class hierarchies. Hence, there are *different* behavioural expectations depending on *who* is doing the emotional labour. These different expectations are based on 'social norms' which construct identities in such a way that privilege some at the expense of subordinating others. Hence, emotional labour is not a neutral act since it has the effect of naturalizing inequalities on an individual level and thus justifying oppression at large. This naturalization process also takes place at the institutional level which has largely been ignored by much of the academic literature on emotional labour. In answering the question of how emotional labour reinforces intersecting systems of gender, race and class oppression, this paper argues that emotional labour makes these inequalities appear 'natural' on both the individual and the institutional level. As such, this paper primarily focuses on the institutional level of this naturalization process.
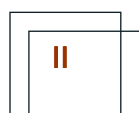
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> *". . . capitalism requires not only workers but moral workers, workers who participate willingly in unequal relationships with their bosses, families, and neighbours."[1]*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to explain how emotional labour reinforces intersecting systems of race, gender and class oppression. [2] Arlie Russell Hochschild defines emotional labour in her groundbreaking book, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (1983), as the following:

> This labor requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others . . . This kind of labor calls for a coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality.[3]

However, what form one's "outward countenance" should take is not the same for everyone. What is considered one's appropriate or moral role is determined by one's identity within interlocking race, gender and class hierarchies.[4] Hence, there are *different* behavioural expectations depending on *who* is doing the emotional labour. These different expectations are based on social norms which construct identities that privilege some at the expense of subordinating others. At the individual level, these manufactured performances of "differences in personality, interests, character, appearance, manner and competence" demanded by emotional labour have the effect of making these differences appear 'natural'.[5] These performances then serve as 'proof' of innate differences in "nature and capabilities," and thus justify and reinforce hierarchies.[6] Such beliefs naturalize, for example, gender-segregated jobs and the continued undervaluing of what is considered to be 'women's work'.

This naturalization process also occurs at the institutional level, which my analysis focuses on. First, at the level of the individual organization, work is itself gendered, and I argue also racialized and classed, as a review of gendered organizational

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[1] Margaret Jane Hillyard Little, No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920 – 1997 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), xviii.

[2] Emotional labour is not new nor is it unique in this regard. On the latter point, Glenn argues that in 19th century United States of America, "white male identity" was defined as 'free' and 'independent' (and worthy of citizenship and its associated rights) in contrast to racialized people (in particular, Black slaves) and White women. Industrial capitalism initially threatened this understanding of masculinity because wage labour was considered a form of slavery. However, a "new working-class rhetoric" overcame this crisis by emphasizing the formally "voluntary" nature of wage labour. This then legitimized the wage labour system and maintained the gender, race and class hierarchies. Please see Evelyn Nakano Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (United States of America: First Harvard University Press, 2002), 28-29.

[3] Arlie R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (London: University of California, 1983), 7.

[4] Kiran Mirchandani, "Challenging Racial Silences in Studies of Emotion Work: Contributions from Anti-Racist Feminist Theory," *Organizational Studies* Vol. 24, No. 5 (2003): 721-722.

[5] Robin Leidner, "Selling Hamburgers and Selling Insurance: Gender, Work, and Identity in Interactive Service Jobs," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 5, No.2 (1991): 155.

[6] Ibid., 175.

theory reveals. Thus, on the surface work appears to be 'neutral' in terms of *who* is doing it, when in fact the 'universal worker' is male and there are important unpaid aspects of work that demand identity-based performance.

Second, at the level of the national labour market and government policies, I rely on the work of Grace-Edward Galabuzi to show how critical anti-racist theory, segmented labour market theory and feminist analysis explain why and how certain *types* of people (namely racialized people and women) are more likely to work in "low-income sectors and low-end occupations" in Canada. These types of jobs are typical of the service sector where emotional labour is prevalent.[7] Thus, *who* is performing emotional labour is neither accidental nor irrelevant.

Third, emotional labour needs to be contextualized at the level of capitalist production itself and the shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism. When labour process theory is applied to emotional labour, we see how *control* is still paramount to the production process, albeit through different methods.

Fourth, Antonio Gramsci argued that the birth of Fordism as a production process also necessitated the birth of a new worker through active moral regulation. Likewise, emotional labour can be thought of as the Post-Fordist/Neoliberal form of moral regulation, which involves the manufacturing and consumption of the worker's identity. However, there is no single, hegemonic moral behaviour for all. In making these distinctions, the concepts of *gender governance orders* and *multiple masculinities* and *femininities* are used.

Thus, in answering the question of how emotional labour reinforces intersecting systems of race, gender and class oppression, I argue that emotional labour makes these inequalities appear 'natural'. This naturalization process occurs on two levels, the individual and the institutional, that work together to mask the oppressive aspects of emotional labour and more broadly, the capitalist system. While I focus on the institutional aspects of emotional labour within Canada and the United States of America, my analysis can be applied to varying degrees to other developed countries.

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[7] Grace-Edward Galabuzi, "Racializing the Division of Labour: Neoliberal Restructuring and the Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups." In *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*, ed. Jim Stanford (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 183.

1. ANTI-OPPRESSION FRAMEWORK

1.1   The Wrong Name

Language is crucial to what I call an anti-oppression analysis of emotional labour, because so much of 'polite' popular terminology (e.g. diversity, multiculturalism, discrimination) used to address subordination is *empty* of critical analysis. Fundamentally, the problem involves the *masking* of institutional or systemic oppression by reducing it to the level of individual beliefs.[8] For example, racism is reduced to cultural misunderstandings and/or a lack of appreciation, rather than recognizing the role of institutional structures in creating and reinforcing inequality.[9] Hence, we need to understand oppression as "the consistent and organized domination of one group over another."[10] As such, it is a "systemic problem that require[s] systemic change."[11] While not absolving the responsibility of individuals in perpetuating and benefiting from oppression, attention must be drawn to *how* personal beliefs work *with* systemic inequalities. In regards to understanding racial oppression from this critical perspective, Oliver Cox wrote: "'If beliefs per se could subjugate a people, the beliefs which Negroes hold about whites should be as effective as those which whites hold about Negroes.'"[12] The same holds true of beliefs that are sexist, homophobic, anti-immigrant, etc. Thus, a crucial distinction must be made *between* individual beliefs and institutional power*.* This distinction is largely missing in the analysis of emotional labour (which is covered in the literature review section) and is the reason why I use the term anti-oppression in my analysis.

1.2   In Search of the Right Name

Intersectionality

Intersectionality challenges essentialist beliefs by exposing how the interaction of multiple identities impact social reality and how hierarchies "intersect and overlap."[13] Instead of "bracketing" and separating identities, which results in an "additive model," where for example a woman is oppressed, a racialized woman suffers from "double oppression" and so on, intersectionality exposes how identities are "linked" within interlocking systems of oppression.[14] As such, there

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[8] Stephen Steinberg, "'Race Relations': The Problem with the Wrong Name," *New Politics,* Vol. 8, No. 2 (2001). http://www.wpunj.edu/~newpol/issue30/steinb30.htm
[9] Tina Lopes and Barb Thomas, *Dancing on Live Embers: Challenging Racism in Organizations* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 11.
[10] Sherene H. Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 33.
[11] Steinberg, *Wrong*.
[12] Cox as quoted in Steinberg, *Wrong*. Steinberg argues for the use of 'racial oppression' rather than 'race relations' (the wrong name) because the former recognizes the role that major social institutions play in the creation and reinforcement of oppression/domination.
[13] Mirchandani, Silence, 728.
[14] Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," in *Working in the Service Society*, ed. Cameron Lynne Macdonald and Carmen Sirianni (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 7, 13.

is movement *between* positions of subordination and privilege.[15] This opens up a space to analyze how different systems of oppression and privilege work together. For example, *gendered racism* refers to how "racism and sexism interact with class to define the place of racialized women workers in the labour market, even in relation to other women workers."[16] This then speaks to the relative privileging of White women to racialized women in this instance.

Intersectionality is important to my anti-oppression analysis because emotional labour is based on identity, as interpreted in relation to constructed hierarchies, and what is seen to be 'natural' behaviour. This in turn affects one's moral role and the perceived value of one's labour. Since identity is predicated on a creation of meaning in *opposition* to the 'other', intersectionality is important in breaking down these false dichotomies which position one identity as the 'norm' and all else as 'other'.[17] For example, men are without gender, Whites without race and all are heterosexual.

Linked to the concept of intersectionality is anti-essentialism, which challenges the belief of fixed, essential characteristics of a group that remain "constant through time, space, and different historical, social, political, and personal contexts."[18] Anti-essentialism explicitly recognizes the social construction of meaning based on identity such as gender, race and ethnicity, sexuality, etc. For example, the distinction between biological 'woman' and the social construction of meaning understood as 'woman' is captured by the term gender. As such, men too have gender and studies of gender must include the construction of masculinity in their own right, but also because women continue to be defined in opposition to men.[19]

Race is also defined in terms of opposition, specifically, Black versus White. However, race has no popular equivalent term to gender in distinguishing between biology and social construction and is treated more as a "fact."[20] Increasingly the term *racialization* is being used and it refers to "the active process of categorizing people [by race] while at the same time rejecting 'race' as a scientific category."[21] As such, it includes the construction of 'Whiteness' that has shifted in meaning as well in opposition to Black identity. I use the term *racialized* to refer to people of colour and the term White, rather than non-racialized, because 'Whiteness' is also socially constructed.[22]

Two brief caveats are needed in using the term racialization. First, in recognizing the social construction of race, I also recognize that race carries with it very real social, economic and political consequences. Second, the term lumps together all

[15] Trina Grillo. "Anti-Essentialism and Intersectionality: Tools to Dismantle the Master's House," *Berkeley Women's Law Journal* Vol. 10 (1995): 17.
[16] Galabuzi, 193.
[17] Glenn, *Unequal*, 13.
[18] Grillo, 19.
[19] Adrian Howe, *Punish and Critique: Towards a Feminist Analysis of Penality* (London: Routledge, 1994), 158.
[20] Glenn, *Unequal*, 9.
[21] Lopes and Thomas, 269.
[22] Ibid., 272.

people of colour into one category, which hides the different ways racialized peoples experience racial oppression. Having said that, the Black-White dichotomy is so strong that it frames all others races in relation to it. For example,

> The subordinated racial status of Asian Americans is obscured by their relative valorization vis-à-vis blacks. They are commonly regarded as a model minority, based on an exaggeration of their overall educational and economic success. Mainstream images of Asian Americans as hard workers and studious wizards of math and science dovetail with notions that they are disloyal, socially dull, 'nerdy,' and inept with American culture . . . While the model minority myth is used to further denigrate African Americans, it also obscures the fact that Asian Americans are not honorary whites free from racial oppression. To the contrary, they have consistently occupied a stratified space between blacks and whites since the mid-1800s.[23]

Furthermore, class also affects how race is perceived along this dichotomy.[24]

While the Black-White dichotomy is pronounced in the United States because of its unique social, political and economic history, the degree to which it holds true around the world greatly varies. One reason for such differences is how inequalities are framed. For example, in the United States social inequalities are situated within a framework of political liberalism.[25] Thus, social inequalities are understood as violations of the celebrated principles of "individualism, self-determination, [and] independence." Whereas in Germany social inequalities are situated within a social democratic framework that privileges a class-based analysis that largely sees social injustice in socio-economic terms.

Sexual orientation is also presented as a binary of heterosexual versus homosexual, otherwise known as the hetero/homo binary. At issue is the creation and reinforcement of *heteronormativity* that refers to

> the set of norms that make heterosexuality seem natural or right and that organize homosexuality as its binary opposite. This set of norms works to maintain the dominance of heterosexuality by preventing homosexuality from being a form of sexuality that can be taken for granted or go unmarked or seem right in the way heterosexuality can.[26]

Queer theory challenges this dichotomy by questioning the link between the biology of sex, the construction of gender and sexual behaviour.[27] In terms of intersectionality, queer work has examined how class, race and gender affect the performance of sexuality. Thus, class differences are expressed in different performances of sexuality but always within the realm of heterosexuality.[28] As will

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[23] Karen Pyke and Tran Dang, "'FOB' and 'Whitewashed': Identity and Internalized Racism Among Second Generation Asian Americans," *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (2003): 149-150.

[24] Glenn, *Unequal*, 11.

[25] Myra Marx Ferree, "Framing Equality: The Politics of Race, Class, Gender in the US, Germany, and the Expanding European Union." Paper for EU Gender Politics," (2005), www.ssc.wisc.edu/~mferree/documents/Penn-EUbook-final-1006.pdf.

[26] Stephen Valocchi, "Not Yet Queer Enough: The Lessons of Queer Theory for the Sociology of Gender and Sexuality," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (2005): 756.

[27] Ibid., 751.

[28] Mary N. Trautner, "Doing Gender, Doing Class: The Performance of Sexuality in Exotic Dance Clubs," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 6 (2007): 774.

be discussed in the summary of gendered organizational theory, the performance of gender involves the performance of heterosexuality, especially so for women.[29] Hence, there is *heterosexism*.

Critical Anti-Racist Theory

Critical anti-racist theory addresses how institutions such as the labour market reinforce racism. Again, while not negating the importance of individual racist beliefs, critical anti-racism "proposes a more structural understanding of how class, gender, and other forms of oppression intersect with race to create the exclusion experienced by racialized group members in capitalist society."[30] This is captured by a *power in systems* analysis, which examines how *systemic racism* "is a product of the normal ways in which work is structured, monitored, and rewarded," and is a "by-product of seemingly neutral mechanisms for doing business."[31] As such, race is a key "organizing principle" of work.[32] This is crucial to analyzing emotional labour because it is not simply about an individual enacting a certain role, but understanding *why* some people are more likely to end up in certain types of work (in my analysis, service work) in the first place, as will be examined in the 'Economic Apartheid' section.

Historical specificity is important in a critical anti-racist analysis. Rather than thinking of racism, and consequently any type of oppression to be the same everywhere at all times, we need to think in terms of racism*s*.[33] While racism is not new, a recognition of its changing manifestations is required. This perspective is captured by the term *neo-racism*. Today, neo-racism refers to the "social construction of race during current globalization and [how it] applies racial categories to differentiate values of groups of labour."[34] Thus, neo-racism must be understood against the backdrop of Neoliberal restructuring of the global and national economy in combination with critical anti-racist theory. This analysis will happen in the 'Moral Regulation and Capitalist Production' section. With this anti-oppression framework of intersectionality and critical anti-racism in place, next I explain what emotional labour is and its economic context.

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[29] Sarah Oerton, "Sexualizing the Organization, Lesbianizing the Women: Gender, Sexuality and 'Flat' Organizations," *Gender, Work and Organization* Vol. 3, No. 1 (1996): 27.
[30] Galabuzi, 187.
[31] Lopes and Thomas, 11
[32] Galabuzi, 188.
[33] Stuart Hall, "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1986): 23.
[34] Galabuzi, 181.

> "On Broadway Avenue in San Francisco there was once an improvisational theatre called The Committee. In one of its acts, a man comes to center stage yawning, arms casually outstretched as if ready to prepare himself for bed. He takes off his hat . . . Then he takes off his hair, a wig apparently. He slowly pulls off his glasses . . . Then he takes off his nose. Then his teeth. Finally he unhitches his smile and lies down to sleep, a man finally quite 'himself.'"
>
> From Arlie Russell Hochschild's
> The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Feeling[35]

2. CONTEXT: THE EMOTIONAL PROLETARIAT

2.1   What Is Emotional Labour?

Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* examined emotional labour through a case study of flight attendants and since its publication in 1983, the concept of emotional labour has developed. In this section, I begin with a return to the original text in defining emotional labour and its relevant related terms. From there, I refer to some expanded definitions and differentiations that have developed in understanding emotional labour since then.

Hochschild admits to the broadness of the term in that most jobs include some aspect of emotional labour:

> But most of us have jobs that require some handling of other people's feelings and our own, and in this sense we are all partly flight attendants. The secretary who creates a cheerful office . . . The waitress or waiter who creates an 'atmosphere of pleasant dining,' the tour guide or hotel receptionist who makes us feel welcome, the social worker whose look of solicitous concern makes the client feel cared for, the salesman who creates the sense of a 'hot commodity,' the bill collector who inspires fear, the funeral parlor director who makes the bereaved feel understood, the minister who creates a sense of protective outreach but even-handed warmth – all of them must confront in some way or another the requirements of *emotional labor.*[36]

Hochschild does provide some differentiation. First, the distinction between paid versus unpaid work:

> emotional labor is sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*. I use the synonymous terms *emotion work* or *emotion management* to refer to these same acts done in a private context where they have *use value.*[37]

Second, she distinguished between *voice-to-voice* and *face-to-face* forms of emotional labour such as call centre workers and flight attendants respectively. A third distinction is the *toe* versus *heel* type of emotional labour. In the former, the

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[35] Hochschild, 197.
[36] Ibid., 11.
[37] Ibid., footnote on page 93.

goal is for the worker to feel positive emotions such as "sympathy, trust and good will" (e.g. flight attendants); whereas with the latter the worker is to feel negative emotions such as "distrust" and "bad will" (e.g. bill collectors).[38] This of course comes with heavy race, gender and class dimensions. Fourth, on the psychological level, *surface acting* is defined as the superficial "disguising" of what one authentically feels, in comparison to *deep acting* in which the deception includes "deceiving oneself as much as deceiving others."[39] When competition is based on customer service quality, there is added market pressure for employers to compel workers to deep act.[40]

In terms of linked concepts, Hochschild uses the term *status shield* which refers to the prestige of a job and affects how the public treats the workers in that position. For example, a doctor has a higher status shield than a nurse. Lastly, she uses the term *feeling rules* to refer to what is considered appropriate behaviour, which is controlled by management via guidelines or scripts.

Since the publication of *The Managed Heart*, the understanding of emotional labour has expanded beyond Hochschild's original concept, which in part reflects the development of different analytical streams. This will be addressed in the literature review section. One interpretation of emotional labour includes a three-part differentiation: "the management of self-feeling, the work of making others feel a certain way, and the effort involved in giving definition to one's work."[41] Here we begin to see some slippage in terms of exactly what is paid versus unpaid work. In addition to emotional labour solely meaning "the buying of an employee' emotional demeanor," there is a recognition that includes physical appearance and "'being paid" to "look nice."[42] Others have argued for further differentiation on three points: "whether the employee's or the client's feeling are the focus of attention," issues of authenticity, and lastly, "whether the effort is executed internally or externally to clients, customers, or the public."[43]

For the purpose of this paper, the concept of emotional labour encompasses all the differentiations as listed above. However, I strongly disagree with Steinberg and Figart in their article "Emotional Labor Since the Managed Heart," who argue that while some service sector work includes displays of sexuality as part of their jobs, emotional labour "is not the display of sexuality at the workplace . . . "[44] As I will address in the gendered organizational theory section, work itself is gendered and demands a display of sexuality *as* work.

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[38] Ibid., 137-138.
[39] Ibid., 33.
[40] Ibid., 92.
[41] Mirchandani, Silence, 722.
[42] Ibid., 723.
[43] Ronnie J. Steinberg and Deborah M. Figart, "Emotional Labor since The Managed Heart," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 561, No. 1 (1999): 11-12.
[44] Ibid., 10.

2.2   Economic Context

In comparison with the dominance of manufacturing under Fordism, the Post-Fordist era of capitalism is marked by service work, new information technologies, product differentiation and the 'globalization' of financial markets and production. There are of course continuities between the two eras and emotional labour clearly existed during the Foridst era. However, with the rise of the 'service society' emotional labour has become more widespread and important to the consumer experience. In terms of the service society, we are more specifically witnessing a rise of service work that involves sales.[45] I define service work in which emotional labour plays a significant role, though to differing degrees, as being "work that involves direct interaction between workers and service recipients." [46] It is "intangible" work that is "produced and consumed simultaneously" where the "customer generally participates in its production."[47] Hence, there are less concrete divisions "among product, work process, and worker . . ."[48] This shift to Post-Fordist production has challenged the traditional membership base of trade unions and is one reason for its diminished power. However, as will be discussed in the 'Trade Union Perspectives' section, there are still opportunities for trade unions to challenge emotional labour and its associated hierarchies.

Service sector work must be situated within a Neoliberal context. As such, I use the following meaning:

> Neoliberalism (also known as neoclassical economics) is an economic ideology that advocates an economic arena free of government regulation or restriction, including labour and environmental legislation, and free of government participation in the marketplace via public ownership; it advocates a retreat from the welfare state's publicly funded commitments to equality and social justice, and the construction of citizenship as consumption and economic production. Neoliberal restructuring deepens the divide between the public/private spheres of social existence by reducing state commitment to universal public goods.[49]

The importance of linking economic production to social production is addressed in the labour process theory and gender governance orders sections. With this context in place, I now turn to a critique of the literature on emotional labour.

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[45] Marek Korcznski et al., "Service Work in Consumer Capitalism: Customers, Control and Contradictions," *Work, Employment & Society* Vol. 14, No. 4 (2000): 684-685.

[46] Robin Leidner, "Rethinking Questions of Control: Lessons from McDonald's," in *Working in the Service Society*, ed. Cameron Lynne Macdonald and Carmen Sirianni (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996): 29.

[47] Macdonald and Sirianni, 3.

[48] Leidner, Hamburger, 155.

[49] Judith Howard, "Neoliberalism and Neoconservatism," in *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories/Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2000), 364.

> "One writes books to problematise self-evidences, to throw them into question or, more graphically, one writes books which can be used as 'Molotov cocktails.' . . . to expose 'lines of fragility in the present' in order to show 'why and how that-which-is might no longer be that-which-is' . . . this was the task of the intellectual – 'to describe that-which-is by making it appear as something that might not be, or that might not be as it is'. Moreover, showing 'how that-which-is has not always been' . . . is not merely academic: it is immensely practical work, an incitation, no less, to rethink . . . "
>
> Adrian Howe,
> Punish and Critique:
> Towards a Feminist Analysis of Penality[50]

3. MOLOTOV COCKTAILS OR DUDS? LITERATURE REVIEW

Before turning to a critique of the academic literature on emotional labour, I briefly outline the development of the study since the publication of *The Managed Heart*. Writing in 1999, Steinberg and Figart identified three main research areas that remain the key areas of study. The first and original area is the continued focus on the "employee's well-being," which has focused on "negative consequences" of emotional labour such as "burnout, fatigue, and emotional inauthenticity."[51] This approach is evident in Hochschild's original work where she discusses some flight attendant's sexual problems.[52] However, there is now a more nuanced understanding of the impact of performing emotional labour with some researchers identifying positive effects. These include an overall improvement in "psychological well-being" due to "increased satisfaction, security, and self-esteem."[53] Thus, to what degree, if any, deep acting affects the individual continues to be an on-going debate. While an important area of study, whether the performance of emotional labour affects the individual or not, and if it does in what way, does not detract from the argument of naturalization. This is because emotional labour naturalizes hierarchies to the public regardless of the impact (or lack of) on the individual performing it.

The second area involves locating emotional labour within the organization in terms of "the relationship between emotional displays and organizational effectiveness."[54] This includes exploring how organizations that function on principles of 'rationality' attempt to accommodate emotions.[55] This is related to, but different from understanding how organizations *shape* work and identity through labour as is explored through gendered organizational theory.

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[50] Howe's comment on Foucault's contribution (using his words) to the study of penality, 210.
[51] Steinberg and Figart, 12.
[52] Hochschild, 183.
[53] Sharon H. Mastracci, Meredith A. Newman and Mary E. Guy, "Appraising Emotion Work: Determining Whether Emotional Labor Is Valued In Government Jobs," *American Review of Public Administration* Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006): 126.
[54] Steinberg and Figart, 13.
[55] Mastracci et al, 125.

The third area of study is the examination of emotional labour as unpaid work.[56] As such, there is attention drawn to how emotions are "commodified" and thus have exchange value.[57] This analysis tends to be done via studies in the service sector with a focus on those jobs whose goal is to create 'positive' emotions in the customer.

These three research areas are explored primarily in one of two ways. First is the use of case studies that focus on the gendered aspects of emotional labour.[58] The second method employs quantitative analysis and has developed out of critique of the first method. This is because qualitative analysis was attacked for failing to produce empirical evidence that linked emotional labour to negative psychological effects.

Unfortunately, much of the academic literature on emotional labour does not take into account racialization on *either* the individual or institutional level. On the individual level, there is a failure to integrate an analysis of intersectionality in terms of how the interaction of race, gender and class affects the expected performance of emotional labour. In particular, race is considered an unworthy axis of difference to analyze. Thus, in 2003 Kiran Mirchandani wrote

> I document the fact that little or no attention has been paid to the racialized dimensions of emotion work. I argue that the exclusion of racial analyses is symptomatic of a unidimensional understanding of gender based on universalized conceptions of 'men' and 'women' underlying many studies of emotion work. While theorists illuminate the different forms of emotion work required in various professions, there is little understanding of the relationship between the occupation of workers and their social location within interactive race, class and gender hierarchies. A number of theorists have highlighted the difference which the gender or class characteristics of workers engaged in emotion work makes, yet there has been little analysis of how workers do emotion work in relation to *simultaneously occurring* gendered, class-based and racialized hierarchies.[59]

For example, researchers display a bias in selecting from groups that are predominately White, or are *assumed* White when no racial breakdown is provided.[60] This has the effect of "normaliz[ing] Whiteness" and producing what Mirchandani calls "racial silences." Thus, the 'universal' man and 'universal' woman in the study of emotional labour are constructed as White.[61] Hence, there is an abundance of literature on the different behaviours expected of men (read: White men) versus women (read: White women) in doing emotional labour set against various service sector backgrounds.

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[56] Steinberg and Figart, 13.
[57] Mastracci et al, 125-126.
[58] Steinberg and Figart, 15 and 18.
[59] Mirchandani, Silence, 721-722.
[60] Ibid., 727.
[61] Ibid.

In *The Managed Heart* Hochschild fleetingly addresses race. For example, she discusses the manufactured image of the flight attendant as being a "Southern white woman." However, Black flight attendants are only addressed as a footnote. [62] While in Hochschild's more recent work an approach of intersectionality is evident, the lack of such an approach in *The Managed Heart* was echoed by others.[63] This in turn set the foundation for the 'racial silence' in the research.

When issues of race and culture are raised, it is often isolated to how the norms in one culture may not translate to another. [64] There is scant analysis of intercultural and interracial interaction in the *same* workplace. Not surprisingly, studies of emotional labour fail to recognize the role of gendered racism. One example of how emotional labour *is* racialized, gendered and classed is a study done by Mirchandani about how self-employed racialized and White women perceive their work. She keenly observes that "the white, middle-class woman evokes a rhetoric of choice" which is largely based on the financial support provided through her "partner's job" in discussing why she started her own business.[65] On the other hand, the racialized immigrant woman speaks of her self-employment in terms of a lack of alternatives.

Not only does the literature on emotional labour fail to recognize, never mind analyze the interaction of other identities and its effects on emotional labour, but the study of gender itself is incomplete. This is because the performance of gender is affected by the interaction of race and class differences. As will be discussed in the 'Universal Body at Work?' section, these differences are often played out as "'*sexual* differences.'"[66] To be fair, Hochschild did include a whole section on class in *The Managed Heart* but her analysis was void of intersectionality. Again, the general literature has largely failed and/or refused to address these issues in dealing with emotional labour.

At the institutional level, emotional labour analysis is not critical enough on several points and unable to answer key questions that are addressed in this paper. First, at the level of the organization, how is the very nature of work performed racialized, gendered and classed? Second, at the level of the labour market and government policy, what are the systemic reasons for certain types of people being more likely to end up in service sector that requires emotional labour? Third, at the level of capitalist production, how can emotional labour be situated *within* the labour process? Lastly, how do shifts in capitalist production affect the construction of moral behaviours as performed in emotional labour? And how do norms differ based on intersecting race, gender and class hierarchies? Due to the inadequate analysis of emotional labour on both the individual and institutional levels, the concept has limited usefulness in

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[62] Hochschild, footnote on 93.
[63] Please see *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids and Sex Workers in the New Economy,* ed. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie Russel Hochschild (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2003).
[64] Mirchandani, Silence, 728.
[65] Ibid., 732.
[66] Sherry Ortner quoted by Trautner 774.

disrupting the naturalization process of oppression. Without differentiation, emotional labour is *everything,* and thus, becomes about *nothing* and loses its analytical power. However, this is not necessarily the case as the use of a critical approach helps to overcome these limitations.

4. THE UNIVERSAL BODY AT WORK? GENDERED ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY APPLIED

Emotional labour in the service sector often involves overt displays of control over the individual, such as the shaping of the worker's identity through superficial means (e.g. uniforms, scripts). However, the covert forms of control at the institutional level of the organization must be recognized. The seemingly neutral way that organizations operate masks the subordination inherent within the system and naturalizes these inequalities. First, I begin with an overview of gendered organizational theory to show how and why work is itself gendered. Second, in applying an approach of intersectionality, I argue that gender should be examined in conjunction with intersecting systems of race and class oppression. Third, I extend this analysis to emotional labour in the service sector to show how this naturalization process reinforces race, gender and class oppression. Thus, while emotional labour is quite explicit in attempting to have workers 'match' perceived notions of what their identity entails -- in other words, scripting -- the study of gendered organizations reveals how work itself is constructed around identity and relationships of privilege and subordination.

The study of organizational culture is about analyzing the "shared understandings and behaviors of a work environment as well as its informal or symbolic interpersonal norms."[67] Within this context, moving from the individual level to the institutional, whereas individuals act and

> may believe they are expressing purely personal, preexisting tendencies and tastes when they dress in a particular way, manage disputes, or interact with their clients or colleagues, their behaviours and inclinations are strongly influence by their surrounding organizational culture . . . [68]

The theory of gendered organizations adds a feminist analysis to the study of organizations by exploring how bureaucracies in their culture, processes and structures are themselves *gendered*. Specifically, organizations are seen as "male-created and male-dominated structures of control that oppress women."[69] This is done through organizations partially creating and reinforcing the paid versus unpaid division of labour, gender segregated jobs in practice, pay gaps, etc. As Joan Acker argues:

> The concept 'a job' is thus implicitly a gendered concept, even though organizational logic presents it as gender neutral. 'A job' already contains the gender-based division of labor and the separation between the public and the private sphere. The concept of 'a job' assumes a particular

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[67] Trautner, 773.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Joan Acker, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," *Gender & Society* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1990): 140-141.

> gendered organization of domestic life and social production. It is an example of . . . 'the gender subtext of the rational and impersonal.'[70]

Whereas before the assumption was that gender was "imported" into the functioning of the workplace, there is now a recognition that "gender itself is constructed in part through work."[71] Thus, while in theory it is a universal body at work, it is a body that is universally male in organizational practice.

In *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*, Ferguson argues that bureaucracy is a system that hides and perpetuates social inequalities because the

> formal legal equality of the citizens masks underlying inequities and disguises the pressure to conform. As both a structure and a process, bureaucracy must be located within its social context; in our society, that is a context in which social relations between classes, races, and sexes are fundamentally unequal. Bureaucracy, as the 'scientific organization of inequality,' serves as a filter for these other forms of domination, projecting them into an institutional arena that both rationalizes and maintains them.[72]

Hence, bureaucracy must be understood in relation to social inequalities such as race, gender and class. For the organization to operate "smoothly," the worker must play their appropriate role in a relationship of unequal power, in terms of both the organization's hierarchy and social hierarchies.[73]

4.1   Critique

As its name suggests, gendered organizational theory sometimes focuses on gender at the risk of isolating it from other intersecting types of oppression. Thus, there is a tendency to speak of a single enactment of masculinity and femininity as being appropriate to all men and women in all contexts (i.e. a hegemonic masculinity and femininity). This is problematic as will be addressed in the gender governance orders and multiple masculinities and femininities sub-section. In applying an approach of intersectionality, I argue that organizations are also racialized and classed in additional to being gendered as for example, what is considered to be 'skilled work' is intimately tied to gender and also to race and class.[74] Thus, Acker in analyzing how the supposed abstract worker reinforces gender oppression asks whether other types of oppression are also reinforced in the process:

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[70] Ibid., 149.
[71] Leidner, Hamburger, 170.
[72] Kathy E. Ferguson, *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), 7.
[73] Leidner, Hamburger, 156.
[74] Pat Armstrong, "Missing Women: A Feminist Perspective on the Vertical Mosaic," in *The Vertical Mosaic Revisited*, ed. Rick Helmes-Hayes and James Curtis. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 121.

> Is the abstract worker white as well as male? Are white-male-dominated organizations also built on underlying assumptions about the proper place of people with different skin colors? Are racial differences produced by organizational practices as gender differences are?[75]

To these questions, I answer yes.

Gendered organizational theory must explore what *type* of femininity and masculinity is to be enacted and how issues of race, class, etc. affect what is seen to be one's appropriate behaviour. Thus, the question is, *how* do class and race differences affect the performance of gender?

As mentioned earlier, sexuality, or more specifically heterosexuality, comes to the forefront in understanding how race and class affect gender performance. Thus, *heteronormativity* needs to be included in an analysis of hierarchical organizations. Part of women's oppression includes their sexual exploitation, which demands the performance of heterosexuality; in other words, women experience *heterosexism*.[76] Thus, women are not only exploited in terms of their labour but are sexualized as part of the their jobs, as is the case with emotional labour. Again, the supposed objectivity of bureaucracy hides the sexualizing of female workers and its impact within the workplace:

> The way male managers typically relate to women colleagues and subordinates thus depends more often upon their understanding of heterosexual relations than upon, for example, managerial science – although the latter is only superficially gender-neutral and for the most part it too is infused by unacknowledged gender power relations.[77]

Hence, sexuality is part of the oppression and "conformity" of women within bureaucracy.[78] However, it is a sexuality that caters to men and legitimizes their power within organizations. For example, the ideal leader brings to mind "[i]mages of male sexual function and patriarchal paternalism" which is linked to the celebrated "'masculine ethic'" of "rationality and reason."[79]

Returning to the topic of women's displayed sexuality, one question that has been raised is *why* are there different gender performances of sexuality even when the organizations examined are largely the same?[80] In answering this question, Mary Neil Trautner's "Doing Gender, Doing Class: The Performance of Sexuality In Exotic Dance Clubs," is especially useful because she convincingly argues that the targeted clientele's *class* determines the *kind* of sexuality, as a form of emotional labour, to be performed by workers. More broadly, Trautner explores how "different versions of femininity" are based on "class and race performance."[81] For example, the exotic dance club that targets a working-class clientele displays a *cheap-thrill sexuality* that caters to "pure physical pleasure

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[75] Acker, 154.
[76] Oerton, 27.
[77] Oerton 27.
[78] Ibid., 29.
[79] Acker 153 and 143.
[80] Trautner, 772.
[81] Ibid., 773.

and lust."[82] This is made material via the employment of racialized women, explicit sexual performances, the 'choice' of make-up, costumes, etc. This is contrasted to the exotic dance club that caters to a middle to upper-class clientele that displays a *voyeuristic sexuality*. This type of sexuality is about "gazing at the female from a distance, constructed to appear as admiration and respect," sheltering the customers from everyday hassles and allowing the men to act as "'gentlemen.'" The women employed here are White and their performances are more sexually subdued in that the women are "presenting a sensual and delicate image of sexuality."[83] Cleary, we see how the performance of gender and the type of sexuality displayed are tied to class and race.[84]

While I might be accused of including a literal example of performance with limited applicability, Trautner's observations can be applied to other organizations:

> This study of exotic dance clubs, in which gender and sexuality are explicit and exaggerated features of organizational life, provides a rich context in which to view the organizational performance and construction of class. But these processes are at play in other organizational contexts as well, just perhaps more hidden (as class often is).[85]

Thus, this analysis is applicable to service sector work, emotional labour and how the organization shapes the 'appropriate' performance of sexuality. For example, returning to *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild astutely recognized this in the context of airline stewardesses' displayed sexuality:

> United Airlines . . . is 'the girl-next-door,' the neighborhood babysitter grown up. Pan Am is upper class, sophisticated, and slightly reserved in its graciousness. PSA is brassy, fun-loving, and sexy. Some flight attendants could see a connection between the personality they were supposed to project and the market segment the company wants to attract. One United worker explained: 'United wants to appeal to Ma and Pa Kettle. So it wants Caucasian girls – not so beautiful that Ma feels fat, and not so plain that Pa feels unsatisfied . . . they use the girl-next-door image to appeal to that market . . . They weed out busty women because they don't fit the image, as they see it.'[86]

The mention of race, while not explored further, points to an initial recognition that race is also a part of the corporate image.

Another example is the work of Elaine J. Hall in "Smiling, Deferring, and Flirting: Doing Gender By Giving Good Service." Hall argues that 'good service' is based on gender norms shaped by the organization. Hence, flirting is key since that there is always a hint of "'sexual possibilities for the relationship'" in waitressing.[87]

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[82] Ibid., 776 - 778.
[83] Ibid., 781.
[84] Ibid., 786.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Hochschild, 97-98.
[87] Elaine J. Hall, "Smiling, Deferring, and Flirting: Doing Gender by Giving 'Good Service'," *Work and Occupations* Vol. 20, No. 4 (1993): 455.

However, the type of sexuality on display ranges with what she calls the "prestige" of the restaurant that is measured in terms of the dinner prices.[88] Clearly, Hall is referring to class although she does not use the word. Basically, she finds that there is more explicit flirting in low prestige/working-class restaurants than in high prestige/upper-class ones, which again echoes Trautner's findings. Race is ignored in this analysis as it is in many case studies of emotional labour.

4.2   Gendered Organizational Theory: Unmasking Oppression

What insights does gendered organizational theory provide in explaining how emotional labour reinforces intersecting race, gender and class oppression? Continuing with the example of waitresses, the naturalization process occurs at the organizational level through a three-step process as explained by Hall. First, restaurant work is constructed as highly gendered work, although this does not have to be the case. Through the selection process of hiring, restaurant owners for example will want to hire women who exhibit stereotypically feminine qualities (otherwise known as *emphasized femininity*). Workers may also pre-select themselves as those who are willing and able to perform this 'script' will apply for the job. Of course, there are waiters as well as waitresses and female chefs, but there remain strong gender norms.

Second, waitresses are constructed as the embodiment of "deferential service" and this again plays into stereotypes about women and their submissiveness.[89] By hiring women as servers there is an implicit message of "service work as women's work."[90] This plays into gender stereotypes as service work is often framed as an "extension" of women's work in the home and hence an "expression" of women's innate nature. Inserting an approach of intersectionality raises the question of the impact of race and class. As is well documented, there is a 'colour-coding' of service work:

> This includes the cooks and dishwasher who work the back of the restaurant while we sit in the front; the maids who clean our homes while we leave in the daytime, and the janitors who clean our offices after we leave in the night; the shelf stockers at Walmart who work when the store is closed; the office workers filing claims and processing bank records, whom we never see at all, etc. There may be a racial component to this invisibility as well: with increasing levels of 'invisibility' in service work, the greater chance the worker is a person of color.[91]

Hence, the masking of oppression involves literally making the racialized worker and their labour 'invisible'.

Third, while not to the same degree as exotic dance club workers, waitresses are sexualized as part of their jobs. As previously mentioned, the type of flirting/sexuality on display differs depending on the class of the restaurant.

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[88] Hall, Flirting, 459.
[89] Ibid., 456.
[90] Ibid., 455.
[91] Winifred Poster, "Who's on the Line? Indian Call Center Agents Pose As Americans for U.S.-Outsourced Firms," *Industrial Relations* Vol. 46, No. 2 (2007): 297.

Whereas low-prestige restaurant waitresses perform "open sexual bantering," this is considered inappropriate in upscale dining places although flirtation still occurs.[92] Waiters are also expected to flirt as part of their job but to a lesser degree.

Thus, emotional labour demands that the "waitresses give service by using their bodies, emotions, and personalities to create a pleasant dining experience for the customers." [93] Service sector work and, more specifically, emotional labour requires that "women work as women" and in doing so, a "femininity is constructed in ways that reinforce heterosexuality and male dominance and 'naturalize' stereotypical images of women."[94] This has the effect of naturalizing gender-based oppression.

Again, specificity is important. For example, waitressing is constructed in feminine terms in the United States and Canada, but not globally. This illustrates that jobs are *not* inherently feminine or masculine but are interpreted as such. Hence, gendered organizational theory reveals how the individual's performance of identity is shaped at the organizational level, how the process is hidden and oppression is naturalized and reinforced.

4.3   Emotional Labour as Self-Definition

One aspect of emotional labour involves how workers self-define their job and in doing so, re-define their work in order to match gender roles. In "Selling Hamburgers and Selling Insurance: Gender, Work, and Identity in Interactive Service Jobs," Robin Leidner shows how job characteristics are *not* inherently gendered, rather they are open to "interpretation."[95] In comparing certain fast food restaurant work that is dominated by women and insurance sales work that is dominated by men, Leidner points out the job similarities in terms of emotional labour. These include having to deal with being treated as an "inferior," having to pretend to be "pleasant" even when dealing with abuse, etc.[96] The women fast food workers are given front-line work because they are seen, as women, to be naturally deferential and empathetic which makes them better than men in dealing with customers. Thus, their interpersonal skills are undervalued because they are seen as natural. This reinforces the continued undervaluing of, and underpaying for, 'women skills'. The insurance agents who in this study were almost all White men define their work in masculine traits such as "determination, aggressive, persistence, and stoicism."[97] Their work is a "challenge" in that they have to remain cool and control their emotions when dealing with abuse.[98] Thus, they actively interpret their jobs so seemingly 'feminine' job aspects (e.g. being submissive) are in line with masculine norms. Thus, workers actively self-interpret their jobs to fit with gender norms which include taking cues from the

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[92] Hall, Flirt, 464-465.
[93] Ibid., 457.
[94] Trautner, 772.
[95] Leidner, Haumburger, 174.
[96] Ibid., 171.
[97] Ibid., 166.
[98] Ibid., 168.

organization. This is also true of how workers interpret the skill level required in their work. However, the organization itself has built-in inequalities that are presented as neutral, as discussed in the gendered organizational theory section.

In summary, moving from the individual to the institutional level involves analyzing how one's performance is shaped and naturalized by the organization. However, organizations are gendered, racialized and classed. Thus, there is no single hegemonic performance; rather all performances demanded are linked to race, gender and class hierarchies. This is seen in the differing performances of sexuality, although always within the realm of heterosexual accessibility. In the next section a more fundamental question is raised: why are certain people, namely women and racialized people, more likely to end up in service work where emotional labour is prevalent?

"Black is not just the colour of our skins,
It's the colour of our politics . . .
Today, the colour line/
is the power line/
is the poverty line."

Asian Dub Foundation, electronica band,
featuring sampled lyrics by Ambalavaner Sivanandan[99]

5. ECONOMIC APARTHEID: INSTITUTIONAL RACISM IN CANADA

In analyzing how oppression is naturalized at the level of the national labour market and government policies, I focus on Canada for several reasons. Like other developed countries, Canada has undergone a shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism with its associated growth in the service sector where emotional labour is prevalent. It is a 'multicultural' country and acts as a natural case study to examine the intersecting systems of oppression; in particular, race and the "'colour-coded'" stratification of the labour market.[100] In fact, racialized people will make up the majority of people in the cities of Toronto and Vancouver by 2017.[101] Furthermore, Canada is my home country and the country I studied in. As such, I am familiar with the critical anti-racist feminist literature on it. In particular, I rely on Grace-Edward Galabuzi's "Racializing the Division of Labour: Neoliberal Restructuring and the Economic Segregation of Canada's Racialized Groups" in this section.

First, I situate Canada within the shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism against the backdrop of Neoliberal restructuring and provide an anti-oppression analysis of the restructuring. Second, I argue that the Canadian labour market is stratified with racialized people and women being employed in the low-pay and low-income sectors. Third, I address how this stratification is supposedly justified by human capital theory and provide some counter arguments against this reasoning.

The shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism is a shift from a largely manufacturing-based economy to one that is largely service-based. It is a shift that took place, although not completely, against a backdrop of Neoliberal restructuring. In Canada, the doctrine of *flexibility* preaches that for a country to be 'competitive' at the global level, it must embrace the "free-market trinity" of deregulation, privatization and deep social spending cutbacks.[102] Thus, Canada is experiencing a growth in 'non-standard work' meaning, literally, any type of employment that is not standard. As such, there is an increase in "self-employment, part-time work and temporary work" for example, which are all lumped together in this

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[99] Asian Dub Foundation. "Colour Line." Community Music. London UK Labels, 2000.
[100] Galabuzi, 177.
[101] Lopes and Thomas, 271.
[102] Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, (Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, New York, 2007), 77.

category.[103] In the language of the dual labour market, it is the core or standard worker "who has one employer, works full year, full time on the employer's premises, enjoys extensive statutory benefits and entitlements, and expects to be employed indefinitely."[104] These workers are contrasted to the second tier of peripheral workers who are used to meet the "shifting demands" of business and do not enjoy the same privileges.

While the growing informalization of work relationships is worrisome due to the failure to protect basic worker rights, it is not a "'radically new'" development.[105] While informalization is growing, this "ahistorical 'discovery' of insecurity" hides how a secondary tier or 'periphery' existed within Fordism reinforced by the Keynesian welfare state.[106] This secondary tier was largely made up of women and racialized people, which is very much how it looks today. My point is this: there *never* was a standard employment relationship for the majority of people in Canada, although it was considered the norm. Thus, Galabuzi argues that we are witnessing an "intensification of the racialization of class formation under the Neoliberal order," but it is not a new phenomenon as reflected in Canada's history as a "'white settler colony.'"[107]

While Keynesianism was not the 'golden era' that many think it was, Neoliberalism has had a devastating effect on many racialized people, women and the working-class. For example, privatization, deregulation and cuts to social spending have robbed women of their access to 'good' jobs in the public sector due to retrenchment.[108] Those 'lucky' enough to keep their jobs in the public sector face an increased workload. With the state cutting back on social services such as child and eldercare, these social productive needs are downloaded to the family and are (re)privatized. This work is usually done by women for free through "volunteerism."[109] Thus, Bakker argues that just as the demands made on the family are increasing, their ability to meet these needs is under attack. Clearly, Neoliberal restructuring is not gender, race and class neutral in its negative impact.

More fundamentally, segmented labour market theorists argue that the labour market *itself* creates inequality rather than simply reflecting inequalities at large.[110] The labour market is structured with a core and periphery and this periphery (or secondary tier) consists of low-income jobs and low-income sectors that tend to be filled with certain *types* of people (namely racialized peoples and

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[103] Martha A. Chen, "Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment," WIDER Research Paper, Vol. 2005/10: 14.

[104] Leah F. Vosko, Nancy Zukewich, and Nancy Cranford. "Precarious Jobs: A New Typology of Employment," *Perspectives* October (2003): 16.

[105] Anna Pollert as quoted in Susan Bryant's "At Home on the Electronic Frontier: Work, Gender and the Information Highway," *New Technology, Work and Employment* Vol, 15, No. 1 (2000): 21.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Galabuzi, 175, 177.

[108] Howard, 364.

[109] Isabella Bakker, "Neo-liberal Governance and the Reprivatization of Social Reproduction: Social Provisioning and Shifting Gender Orders," in *Power, Production and Social Reproduction*, ed. Isabella Bakker and Stephen Gill (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003): 79.

[110] Jamie Peck, *Work-Place: The Social Regulation of Labor Markets* (London: The Guilford Press, 1996), 47

women). These low-income jobs (e.g. domestic and retail work) and low-status jobs (clerical, food service and again, domestic work) are typical of the service sector where emotional labour is prevalent.[111] More specifically, in recognizing institutional oppression we see how certain *types* of people are more likely to end up performing emotional labour.

My use of the term *economic apartheid* may at first appear controversial because it refers to past racist South African state policy. The key distinction here is that while Canada has no *formally* racist policies, there is a system of economic apartheid in *substantive* terms. While Galabuzi's work speaks directly to this situation and he provides ample statistical evidence, I can only refer to his work briefly here. In sum, Galabuzi writes:

> Canada's economy and its labour market are increasingly stratifying along racial lines, as indicated by disproportionate representation of racialized group members in low-income sectors and low-end occupations, underrepresentation in high-income sectors and occupations, and persistent racial inequality in unemployment rates, employment income, and the incidence of low income . . Despite higher levels of educational attainment, disproportionate numbers of racialized workers are confined to casualized forms of work in certain sectors of the economy, amplifying racial segmentation in the labour market and racialized income inequality and poverty.[112]

The income gap between immigrants and Canadian-born workers is well documented with the recent 2006 census indicating that this gap is widening. For example, StatsCan (Canada's national statistical agency) revealed that immigrant women were making only 56 cents to every dollar that a Canadian-born worker made in 2005.[113] However, as Galabuzi argues, it is in comparing racialized immigrants to White immigrants that we see the importance of race:

> racialized immigrants have more in common with Canadian-born racialized group members than with immigrants from Europe arriving in the same period, in terms of their experience of unemployment and underemployment and the incidence of low income. In fact, there is a racialized gap in immigration experiences, with the income gap between European immigrants and other immigrants significant and growing.[114]

Deeply troubling is the increasing evidence showing that 'bad jobs' are also bad for your health. A Canadian study found that a third of the precarious workers interviewed suffered from *employment strain* that arose from the insecurities and stress associated with their precarious work. [115] This "combination of uncertainties" increases the chance of stress related health problems and it is

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[111] Galabuzi, 183.
[112] Galabuzi 175.
[113] John McGrath, "Immigrants Fall Behind, Says StatsCan," *Globe and Mail*, May 1, 2008, National section, On-Line Edition.
http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080501.wimmigrant0501/BNStory/census2006
[114] Galabuzi, 188.
[115] Alice de Wolff, Wayne Lewchuk and Marlea Clarke, "Precarious Work & Health: The Ill Effects of Working Without Secure Employment," Vol. 26, No. 2 April/May. Canada: *Our Times Magazine.*
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa5404/is_200704/ai_n21291339

"workers of colour" and, in particular, South Asian women who are more likely to suffer from this. Clearly, there exists a system of economic apartheid in which "a highly educated and experienced underclass" toil in "temporary, casual, part-time, and contract work" in Canada.[116]

5.1   Recognizing Institutional Racism: Unmasking Oppression

However unjust this situation appears, according to human capital theory, there has been a "diminishing value of human capital" in immigrants to Canada to justify this situation.[117] More specifically, it is the 'fact' that immigrants have lower human capital than Canadian-born and raised workers that explains their overall poor economic performance. Thus, a never-ending supply of excuses is given to rationalize the system of economic apartheid. These include a "mismatch" of skills, the "unfamiliarity" with the Canadian labour market, poor English skills (even when people come from countries where English is one of, or is, the official language(s)), the supposed 'inferior' quality of education in other countries and so on.[118]

At the macro level, Neoclassical theorists posit that there is an inherent logic to "wage differentials" that can be explained on an individual basis (e.g. "job desirability" and differing "skill requirements"), in direct opposition to segmented labour market theorists who argue that the labour market itself is an unequal "social construct."[119] These labour market segregations need to be understood within the context of Neoliberalism and how neo-racism works in conjunction with its specificities. Here is where critical anti-racist theory and segmented labour market theory come together as argued by Galabuzi -- and I would add a feminist analysis as well -- in explaining *how* and *why* the labour market is stratified with certain people becoming employed in certain positions.[120] Heidi Hartmann's critique of Marxist analysis is relevant here: "Capitalist development creates the places for a hierarchy of workers, but traditional Marxist categories cannot tell us who will fill which places. Gender and racial hierarchies determine who fill the empty places."[121]

In the Canadian context, *immigrants* (which Galabuzi argues has come to refers to *all* racialized peoples via a "slippage" in meaning) are assumed to have lower human capital than those born and raised in Canada.[122] However, this is not the case as from between 1956 to 1994, immigrants were more likely to hold university degrees than the general Canadian population.[123] A study of "foreign-trained professionals" found that their "academic qualifications" were on par with

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[116] Galabuzi, 184, 190.
[117] Ibid., 178
[118] Ibid., 190.
[119] Herbert Gintis, "The Nature of Labour Exchange and the Theory of Capitalist Production," in *The Sociology of Labour Markets*, ed. Axel Van Der Berg and Joseph Smucker (Canada: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1997), 66 and Peck, 47.
[120] Galabuzi, 188.
[121] Heidi Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," *Capital and Class*, Vol. 8 (1979): 195.
[122] Galabuzi. 181.
[123] Ibid., 188-190.

Ontario standards, the majority (76.8%) had good to excellent English speaking skills, and 88.7% had good to excellent job-related English skills. Rather than attributing differential incomes to individual characteristics, the focus should be on systemic barriers such as the refusal to recognize the 'foreign' credentials of immigrants.[124] Hence, we need to analyze the systemic barriers in relation to neo-racism and the segmented labour market against the backdrop of Neoliberalism. The never-ending hunt for increased 'flexibility' has resulted in the deregulation of the labour market, making the most vulnerable even more so, and this is occurring just as the state retrenches its "anti-discriminatory policies and programs."[125] Thus, in this sense, the state's purposeful "inaction" is a policy decision and an additional example of institutionalized racism.[126]

Thus, on the surface, emotional labour appears to be 'neutral' in terms of *who* is doing it, when in fact, an analysis of critical anti-racist theory and segmented labour market theory explains *why* and *how* certain types of people are more likely to work in low-income sectors and low-status jobs. These low-income jobs are typical of the service sector and are the types of work where emotional labour is prevalent.[127] This in turn reinforces the belief of the diminishing human capital of immigrants (which has again come to include all racialized people), when in fact systemic barriers create a racialized and gendered underclass. In other words, seeing a disproportionate number of racialized people, especially racialized women in low-pay service sector work makes it appear that 'they' have low human capital by association. Why else would 'they' be working in low-pay jobs? This belief 'explains' away the role of institutional racism by focusing on the individual and their perceived human capital inadequacies.

On a broader level, emotional labour must be situated within the labour production process itself. What will become apparent in the next section is the importance in understanding emotional labour in producing surplus value and the issue of control.

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 175.
[126] Pal, Leslie A. Pal, *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction* (Canada: Methuen Publications, 1987), 4.
[127] Galabuzi, 183.

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6. TRAINED GORILLAS AT WORK: LABOUR PROCESS THEORY APPLIED[128]

At the heart of labour process theory is the abstraction of labour itself. In *Capital: Volume I*, Marx argued that in order for labour to be sold on the market as a commodity to the capitalist, it had to become *abstract labour* via the theoretical removal of skill, qualities, etc.[129] Only as an abstraction, could labour be measured in terms of time and 'sold'. Hence, it is *abstract labour* (or *labour power*) that is exchanged on the market for wages rather than *concrete labour*.[130]

Neo-Marxists such as Braverman argue that due to this mismatch, *control* is a fundamental part of the labour process as capitalists attempt to achieve the "full potential" of labour power.[131] The primary goal of this struggle is the production of surplus value, which can only come to be through the "progressive erosion of worker control over the labour process."[132] Hence, the labour process is the "'frontier of control'" because it is the site of struggle over "who determines the nature and form of work."[133] Braverman thus interprets Taylorism (also known as scientific management), in which mental and manual labour is 'separated', as a means of subordinating labour to capital rather than being about 'efficiency'.

Manufacturing requires concrete labour in the form of physical labour to produce surplus value. Service work involves the production of surplus value through the production of a relationship that involves the consumer.[134] More specifically, service work requiring emotional labour produces a relationship based on the production and consumption of the worker's identity. For example, the manufactured way flight attendants look, dress and behave reflect the image the specific airline company wants to portray. This has obvious race and gender dimensions.

Returning to Hochschild's observation that 'Southern white women' were marketed as the quintessential flight attendants, it is not only the production of the worker as a 'woman' that is being consumed, but a catering to what is perceived to be consumer desires for a performance of 'traditional' feminine posturing. This is achieved via emotional labour through physical means (e.g. make-up, hairstyle, uniform, 'looking nice') and behavioural means (e.g. smiling, flirting, deferential behaviour). However, the meaning of race is also manufactured and consumed. In this case, the 'Whiteness' of the flight attendant

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[128] Gramsci refers to a comment made by Frederick Taylor about trained 'intelligent gorillas' doing deskilled work. Antonio Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1971): 302.

[129] Ken Morrison, *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Foundations of Modern Social Thought* (Canada: Sage Publications, 1995), 67 and 78.

[130] Ibid., 82.

[131] Graham Sewell, "The Discipline of Teams: The Control of Team-based Industrial Work through Electronic and Peer Surveillance," *Administrative Science Quarterly* Vol. 43, No. 2 (1998): 398.

[132] David A. Spencer, "Braverman and the Contribution of Labour Process Analysis to the Critique of Capitalist Production – Twenty-Five Years On," *Work, Employment & Society* Vol. 14, No. 2 (2000): 225.

[133] Sewell, 398-399.

[134] Macdonald and Sirianni, 5.

is part of the manufacturing and selling of the corporate image. As addressed in the gendered organizational theory section, whereas 'Whiteness' portrays an upper-class image, racialized people tend to portray the opposite. However, the selling of race works both ways along the Black-White dichotomy. For example, as Naomi Klein argues, the marketing of clothing super brands such as Tommy Hilfiger "feeds off the alienation at the heart of America's race relations: selling white youth on their fetishization of black styles, and black youth on their fetishization of white wealth."[135]

Furthermore, what 'looking nice' means and the degree to which flirtation can occur depends on the organization and the class image it wishes to portray. Linked to this is how class and race differences are articulated as differences in the performance of sexuality, but again, always within the realm of heterosexual accessibility. The degree to which sexuality comes to the forefront speaks to the issue of class and race differences. Thus, the production and consumption of identity that is central to how emotional labour produces surplus value depends upon, and reinforces, intersecting race, gender and class hierarchies.

Labour process theory's understanding of control in the manufacturing process can also be applied to emotional labour and Post-Fordist work in general. Here I borrow from Graham Sewell's "The Discipline of Teams: The Control of Team-based Industrial Work Through Electronic and Peer Surveillance." Sewell's analysis of industrial manufacturing and the specificity of lean production with its management rhetoric of 'empowerment' is especially relevant. While key differences exist between manufacturing and service work, Sewell's analysis of the link between the production process and control provides great insight into emotional labour.

Under Taylorism, individual tasks could be monitored through physical observation and through less obvious means, such as the pace of work being built into the speed of the machine.[136] With the shift to Post-Fordist manufacturing, marked by the decreased importance of economies of scale and standardization, the nature of control also changed. Workers were 'given' some "discretion over the conception and execution" of work through the partial reintegration of manual and mental tasks.[137] This empowerment approach was used in conjunction with teamwork so that one's peers (and thus, oneself) also become part of the control apparatus. These strategies are "a means of tapping into the expertise and ingenuity of the workforce that would be unavailable to the organization if the separation of conception and execution was rigorously enforced." Thus, workers are 'empowered' to use their "discretion" to the company's advantage. The motive is always profit. However, to fully access "constant improvisation" in order to remain competitive, workers must also take on corporate values which the use of surveillance alone cannot achieve.

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[135] Naomi Klein, *No Logo* (Great Britain: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 76.
[136] Susan Bryant, "Electronic Surveillance in the Workplace," *Canadian Journal of Communication* Vol. 20, No. 4 (1995)
http://www.cjc-online.ca/viewarticle.php?id=316.
[137] Sewell, 401 - 402.

Thus, the question that needs to be asked in relation to emotional labour in the service sector is this: "how do you achieve control without *appearing* to control?"[138] As such, we now turn to an analysis of surveillance and control that is at the heart of labour process theory.

6.1 Labour Process Theory: Unmasking Oppression

On the theoretical level, I will provide a brief analysis of the panopticon as a symbol of control and discipline in examining emotional labour. [139] This theoretical use of the panopticon allows the control principle to apply to new types of work. I then briefly address the work of Michel Foucault in overcoming labour process theory's limitations in discussing control; in particular, explaining why workers come to act against their own interest.[140] This critique is needed because human resources management preaches a "rhetoric of trust, empowerment, and autonomy" that is purposely contrasted with past management discourse of "efficiency and control," but it largely remains at the level of rhetoric.[141]

Foucault explored the concept of the panopticon, most famously in his book *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977). In this work and others, Foucault showed how "in social situations, many forces act on the body and the psyche to shape subjectivity. These forces are often based on particular systems of instrumental knowledge that rationalize human behavior to render us compliant, docile, and useful."[142]

As previously mentioned, the partial reintegration of manual and mental work found in teamwork allowed for "new knowledge" to be created that could not be harnessed by past techniques of surveillance and control. Thus, new methods of control had to be developed. Applying this logic to customer service reveals the inadequacy of traditional forms of control:

> On its own, bureaucratic, hierarchical control is unlikely to serve management purposes when the slipping power of producers means that firms must focus on delivering service quality . . . 'the traditional command and control style of management . . . is not conducive to gaining competitive advantage through customer service'. [143]

Control is created via a "conformity through the creation of a unitary set of organization values."[144] Due to this limitation, the 'frontier of control' shifts from physical monitoring to psychological control by having employees identify with the customer via

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[138] Ibid., 403.
[139] Jeremy Bentham's panopticon is a prison with a "central watchtower" surrounded by a ring of prisoners. The key principle is that the prisoners are exposed to the watchtower but the guards in the watchtower are not visible to the prisoners. As such, the prisoners do not know with certainty if someone is watching them at that moment. The prisoners become "self-disciplining subjects" since they behaved in such a manner as if they *were* being monitored. Please see Sewell, 403.
[140] Ibid., 404.
[141] Ibid., 400.
[142] Ibid., 404
[143] Korczynski et al., 670 - 671.
[144] Sewell, 408.

> . . . the use of customer-related normative values, in which management seeks to make use of customer authority and identity at the society level. Most obviously, this can be seen in the substantial shift in recruitment criteria for front jobs towards the importance of the candidate having the appropriate customer-focused personality and values. Such values will also be developed through socialization, training and appraisal.[145]

Identities come into play as "managers must first select the right kinds of people for the job, often using gender, class, age, and other status markers to serve as a proxy for required personality types."[146]

The main point is that the form of control has changed as the labour process itself has. Today, "disembodied surveillance" is possible through advances in surveillance technologies.[147] Here we have the *information panopticon* in which surveillance is freed from bodily and thus space constraints, as well as time constraints.[148] In other words, the constant surveillance of the work process and worker can occur without an observer or even a specific purpose for monitoring since records can be looked at afterwards. With this in mind, subjects may self-discipline and perform *anticipatory conformity.*[149] In this way, individuals become "'bearers of their own surveillance.'"

While technological surveillance has become disembodied, the body that is monitored is not universal. By this I mean that *who* is being monitored matters because surveillance is racialized, gendered and classed. Work done by Adrian Howe shows how girls and women are heavily regulated, particularly in terms of their sexuality, and more likely to be punished when violating gender norms.[150] Racial profiling is an example of the racialized nature of surveillance and is indicative of the overall criminalization of racialized peoples (some more than others). This is linked to issues of class and the criminalization of poverty as a whole. This should be kept in mind when discussing self-discipline in relation to control and moral regulation in the next section.

As discussed, control has changed from overt forms of coercion to include more subtle ones (e.g. teamwork, 'empowerment' approach) involving manufacturing. This is also true of emotional labour. The surveillance of overt behaviour continues such as the monitoring of the length and number of phone calls that call centre workers handle. However, the qualitative aspects of service work such as identifying with the customer that demands deep acting is not easily monitored. Thus, employers try to get workers to have an "active commitment to deliver service quality" which only comes about through having workers accept "customer-related norms."[151] Only then can workers deep act. The real goal is for workers to "do their own self-monitoring" since external surveillance as a form of

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[145] Ibid.
[146] Cameron and Sirianni, 7.
[147] Sewell, 406.
[148] Bryant, Surveillance, 3.
[149] Ibid., 5.
[150] Howe, 183, 185-186.
[151] Korczynski et al,, 675.

control is never as powerful as self-discipline.[152] Yet, as Korczynski et al. argue, there is a fundamental contradiction in the empowerment approach and the use of surveillance as revealed through an application of labour process theory. Employers want workers to take on norms such as identifying with the company, which speaks of a relationship of trust, but there is a contradiction in the increasing use of workplace surveillance which speaks to a relationship of distrust.[153]

Some may argue that workers are not exploited if they genuinely identify with the company and take on customer-related norms. Returning to labour process theory, Braverman was criticized for downplaying the importance of workers' "subjectivity" and how workers are "psychologically incorporated into processes of control."[154] In terms of subjectivity versus objectivity, it is important to understand the context in which Braverman was writing in. Much of the "'academic sociology'" of his time was involved with looking for "'solutions'" to worker alienation via "job enrichment schemes" rather than recognizing the nature of labour as an alienated act in and of itself under capitalism.[155] Thus, bringing individual subjectivities to the forefront (i.e. how individuals experienced dissatisfaction or did not) obscured the 'objective' reality that work *is* an alienating experience under capitalism due to the "forced separation of labour from the means of production."[156] In other words, Braverman accused academic sociology of masking the inherent conflicts between capital and labour by isolating, and thus privileging, individual subjectivity. While subjectivities are of importance and need to be investigated, they also need to be anchored within an 'objective' framework of capitalist production and this also needs to be done with emotional labour. Thus, even if workers happily enjoy performing emotional labour, they are still being exploited.

In summary, emotional labour needs to be understood within the production process. First, understanding how identity is produced and consumed as part of the production of surplus value is necessary. This has clear race, gender and class aspects. Second, the role of surveillance as one form of control over labour also needs consideration. Shifts in production create a situation where 'old' types of control are no longer able to harness the mental and manual labour of workers to the benefit of capitalists. New forms of control are developed to either replace or work with older forms. While surveillance and control under Fordism was in some ways more explicit, under Post-Fordism this type of surveillance and control is not able to capture what is now needed from workers to be competitive. In terms of emotional labour and customer service, deep acting provides this competitive edge. Thus, control is now disembodied through advances in surveillance technologies but it remains forever inadequate. This is because deep acting requires a self-disciplining worker. Thus, control is disbursed through teams,

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[152] Ibid., 677.
[153] Ibid., 674.
[154] Sewell, 399.
[155] Spencer, 226.
[156] Ibid., 225.

work-related 'self-empowerment' schemes, organizational norms, etc. with the goal of having the worker seemingly identity with the customer, when the real goal is to have workers identify with the company's interests. Hence, it should come as no surprise that Bentham also thought that the principles of the panopticon that made it the 'perfect' prison also lent itself to making the perfect "workhouse."[157]

Having situated emotional labour within the production process, next I address how one's appropriate performance is based on one's identity. However, there is no single moral behaviour for all and at all times. Thus, the concept of *gender governance orders* explicitly links moral regulation to shifts in capitalism, while the concept of *multiple masculinities and femininities* help to differentiate types of moral behaviours that are performed as part of emotional labour.

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[157] Roy Boyne, "Post-Panopticism," *Economy and Society* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2000): 292.

7. MORAL REGULATION AND CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

My use of moral regulation echoes the manner in which Antonio Gramsci used it in the "Americanism and Fordism" chapter of *The Prison Notebooks*.[158] In this section, I borrow from Alan Hunt's analysis in "Moral Regulation and Making-Up the New Person: Putting Gramsci to Work." Gramsci recognized that the birth of Fordism necessitated the production of a "new worker" that "require[d] active moral regulation."[159] The repetitive work of the assembly line required the "regularity, self-control and emotional stability of everyday life."[160] As such, sexual exploits and excessive drinking occurring "outside the factory" became a concern for capitalists. Gramsci wrote:

> The enquiries conducted by the industrialists into the workers' private lives and the inspection services created by some firms to control the 'morality' of their workers are necessities of the new methods of work. People who laugh at these initiatives (failures though they were) and see in them only a hypocritical manifestation of 'puritanism' thereby deny themselves any possibility of understanding the importance, significance and objective import of the American phenomenon, which is *also* the biggest collective effort to date to create, with unprecedented speed, and with a consciousness of purpose unmatched in history, a new type of worker and of man.[161]

Thus, key to understanding the 'making-up' of the new worker is the "restructuring of economic relations" in addition to culture and class relations.[162]

In extending Gramsci's analysis of moral regulation to emotional labour as a production process, appropriate behaviour is determined by one's identity within intersecting race, gender and class hierarchies. What is considered moral behaviour for your specific identity within this hierarchy depends in part on gender governance orders. These are in turn linked to capitalist production. Hence, the shift from Fordism/Keynesianism to Post-Fordism/Neoliberalism has produced a new 'moral' order as evidenced by a new gender governance order. Thus, emotional labour is a kind of Post-Fordist/Neoliberal moral regulation. However, no single, hegemonic moral code for all exists and generalizations must be avoided which we turn to next.

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[158] Note that while Gramsci never used the term 'moral regulation' in "Americanism and Fordism," as Alan Hunt argues, he was clearly addressing the concept.
Alan Hunt, "Moral Regulation and Making-Up the New Person: Putting Gramsci to Work," *Theoretical Criminology*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (1997): 276.
[159] Ibid., 278
[160] Ibid., 277-278.
[161] Gramsci, 301.
[162] Hunt, 276-277.

7.1 Gender Governance Orders and Multiple Masculinities and Femininities

Brigitte Young argues that the "transformation of specific historic systems of capitalism goes hand in hand with the reconfiguration of gender governance orders."[163] Thus, broadly speaking, the shift from Fordism/Keynesianism to Post-Fordism/Neoliberalism has produced a new gender governance order. This argument is much like Gramsci's in connecting changes in capitalist production to new behavioural norms and thus, moral regulation. However, in understanding *gender* as the "social construction" of different identities based on sex (micro-level), *gender orders* as the "institutionalized practices and forms of gendered systems" (meso-level), and *gender governance orders* as the "aggregate" of gender orders (macro-level), there is a danger of over-generalizing. We begin speaking of a single, hegemonic gender norm, or moral behaviour, for all men and women, which ignores differences of race and ethnicity, class, sexuality, etc. Thus, this section explores how race and class subordination intersect with gender oppression within gender governance orders via the concepts of *multiple masculinities* as defined by R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, and *multiple femininities* by Mimi Schippers.

Before beginning this analysis, a summary of the Fordist/Keynesian and Post-Fordist/Neoliberal gender governance orders is required. In the Keynesian gender governance order women were linked to social reproductive labour in the private sphere. This corresponded to the male as 'breadwinner' in the public sphere. A clear gender-specific separation between public and private underpinned the system.[164] The Neoliberal gender governance order is characterized by the family wage's decline, a "reconfiguration" of the public and private, an "increasing polarization among women" and a "reprivatisation of social reproduction." Hence, "[t]he new moral order privileges the private over the public and the individual over the collective, and reasserts the family as a gender-neutral self-sufficient unit of care-giving and reciprocal obligation."[165]

Hegemonic masculinity is "a pattern of practice (i.e. things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue."[166] It is not "normal in the statistical sense . . . but is normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it . . . ".

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[163] Brigitte Young, "Globalization and Shifting Gender Governance Order(s)," in *SoWi-Online* (2/2005) www.sowi-onlinejournal.de/2005-2/globalization_young.htm.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Bakker, 80.
[166] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender & Society*, Vol. 19, No. 9 (2005): 832.

Another key aspect of hegemonic masculinity is that

> a constant process of negotiation, translation, and reconfiguration occurs. This conceptualization leads to a different view of historical change in masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity does not simply adapt to changing historical conditions. Rather, the hegemonic masculine bloc is a hybridization whose appropriation of diverse elements makes it capable of reconfiguring itself and adapting to the specificities of new historical conjunctures.

Thus, the concept needs to be immediately understood in relation to other types of masculinities and more broadly, in relation to different kinds of femininities and how these femininities are part of its configuration.

Protest masculinity refers to how subordinated groups based on "race/ethnic marginalization, physical disability, class inequality, or stigmatized sexuality" etc., construct "well-crafted responses" to this subordination by way of creating a 'new' local masculinity, although they ultimately lack the "institutional authority" and "economic resources" that support hegemonic masculinity.[167] Thus, protest masculinity explicitly recognizes how some identities are denied access to hegemonic masculinity.

In speaking of multiple femininities, there is *no* 'hegemonic femininity' because of women's subordinated position within the gender hierarchy. Hence, even if a woman enacts the normative stance of 'woman', she is still subordinated. Instead, *emphasized femininity* refers to the "compliance with this subordination and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men" which so much of emotional labour demands of women workers.[168] This is illustrated by the different outcomes of enacting one's moral role as differentiated by sex. Thus, women "'cannot move or speak without engaging in self-deprecation. The male cannot move without engaging in self-aggrandizement.'"[169] However, again, we cannot speak of a single moral or even a single type of *emphasized femininity* for all women. On the opposite end of the spectrum, *pariah femininity* refers to when women take up masculine characteristics and are "stigmatized."[170]

In applying these analytical concepts and gender governance orders to an analysis of emotional labour, we see how the 'norm' is not actually 'normal' for both men and women as revealed through an analysis of intersectionality. Thus, the Keynesian gender governance order and the aspired to goal of a gender-specific division of labour (i.e. the male breadwinner and stay-at-home wife) has heavy class and race assumptions. Racialized working-class women have always worked outside of the household and the question then is how both men and women reconcile their daily practices with gender norms? Here emotional labour comes into play in terms of reinterpreting work to match appropriate gender

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[167] Ibid., 848.
[168] Mimi Schippers, "Recovering the Feminine Other: Masculinity, Femininity and Gender Hegemony," *Theory & Society,* Vol. 36, No. 1 (2007): 87.
[169] Leidner, Hamburger 174.
[170] Ibid., 96.

roles. This clearly also has race implications due to the disproportionate number of racialized people and women who make up the lower economic strata in Canada as previously discussed.

Relationality is important as male identity is partially articulated through the ability to provide for 'his' woman in a material sense (i.e. as provider of food, shelter), and in a symbolic sense (i.e. the wife can only perform her appropriate gender role as a 'homemaker' if she does not have to work in the public sphere). Thus, racialized men whose wives work face a challenge to their masculine identity if it is defined as being a 'provider'. Hence, they are denied access to hegemonic masculinity. In this way, both men and women are "'confined by the tyrannical censure of femininity.'"[171]

A discussion of gender governance orders, or any form of moral regulation, cannot occur in a vacuum. Just as hegemonic masculinity needs to be considered in tandem with other masculinities and femininities, so too do gender governance orders need to be considered in tandem with other gender governance orders. The concept of the *geography of masculinities* (and femininities) and the back and forth "interplay" between gender governance orders at the local, regional and global levels in differentiating various femininities within gender governance orders is illuminating. [172] Thus, in examining the *mistress and the maid* domestic work phenomenon we see how the gender governance orders of the 'East' and the 'West' can converge. Truong argues that there is a "glorification of subservience and sacrifice as female virtues that are manifested in the particular gender-orders of East Asia."[173] Of course, to what degree this actually reflects the reality of East Asian women is questionable. However, the gender governance order for women of the East compliments the gender governance of the West where the passivity of the former is contrasted with the "valued characteristics (self-confident, independent, assertive, and successful)" of the latter.[174] Thus, professional women of the West 'have what it takes' to 'make it' in the (male) business world, where women of the East do not.

This reading of gender governance orders conflicts with how Filipina domestic workers are framed as nation builders in an economic sense by their country. Nation building has largely been defined as a male activity in that it takes place in the public sphere and obviously carries with it the rhetoric of citizenship, which women have traditionally been excluded from. However, when Filipinas take up this male role as nation builder and breadwinner by sending remittances back 'home', their behaviour is not labeled as pariah femininity, it is celebrated. This is illustrated by the following passage from *Tinig Filipino* (a magazine for overseas Filipina domestic workers): "Through your good works in those places where you are temporarily working, you will become instruments in the economic improvement or progress of your 'sick' nation through the dollars you send back

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[171] Howe, 193.
[172] Connell and Messerschmidt, 849 – 850.
[173] Young, 7.
[174] Schippers, 89.

home."[175] Interestingly, the nation-building discourse frames the nation as being 'sick' which draws on the mother archetype. Hence, while gender norms within gender governance orders seem natural because they are considered to be based on innate characteristics, their different and sometimes contradicting articulations at the local, regional and international levels speaks to their social construction.

These norms must also be situated within the global division of labour and the history of the country. As Chang and Ling argue: "Indeed, the global economy casts Filipinas and other Asian women as the very embodiment of 'service.'"[176] Filipinas are stereotyped as being "sexually subservient" which is deeply "rooted in a history of colonialism, sexism, and poverty," and this oppression continues today as the Filipino economy is largely service-based within the international political economy meaning "limited options for Filipinas" outside the service sector. Thus, the construction of gender norms as differentiated by race and class work together to reinforce the overall system of oppression that affects the individual. This must be understood at the international level in terms of the global division of labour and the effects of colonialism. Specifically, global power relations impact upon the local execution of emotional labour based on identity, as do the interplay of gender orders at the local, regional and international levels as will be explored next.

7.2   Moral Regulation: Unmasking Oppression

> "I love the way your crib smell like Votivo candle incense,
> the White voice you use on the phone when you handle business."
> Talib Kweli, hip hop artist[177]

Call centre workers in India who serve customers in the United States not only have to perform emotional labour in terms of handling their emotions when dealing with rude and sometimes outright racist customers, but part of their emotional labour involves what is euphemistically called "national identity management."[178] This term refers to how employees "subsume different national identities." Thus, in attempting to have workers commit to deep acting, identifying with the customer involves a degree of "deception" that includes not only acting 'American', but a specific *type* of American:[179]

> The particular form of 'American identity' that workers display is a key element of the managerial strategy in Indian call centers. Very often, these firms rely upon consumer-driven images of citizenship in the United States that they draw from the dominant entertainment industry and popular media. Such images, in turn, typically reflect white, middle class, heterosexual, Christian communities, more so than those of people

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[175] Tinig Filipina quote from Kimberly A. Chang and Ling L.H.M, "Globalization and its Intimate Other: Filipina Domestic Workers in Hong Kong," in *Gender and Global Restructuring: Sightings, Sites and Resistances,* ed. Geeta Chowdhry and Sheila Nair (London: Routledge, 2000): 39.
[176] Ibid., 36-37.
[177] Talib Kweli, "Hot Thing." Ear Drum. Warner Bros. Records Inc., 2007.
[178] Poster, 271.
[179] Ibid., 294.

of color, immigrants, working-class communities, etc. Moreover, they often gloss over the contested and plural identities of U.S. citizenship.[180]

This example illustrates that identity remains important in both *face-to-face* and *voice-to-voice* forms of emotional labour and the production of surplus value.

'National identity management' involves the following four aspects: trying to 'speak' American which includes "diction, voice modulation, rhythm"; having an American name or "alias," conducting "small talk" in terms of being knowledgeable about popular culture and current events; and lastly, sticking to the script.[181] The script is explicit in terms of answering the dreaded customer question: "'Where are you calling from?'" Indian workers respond in the following manner: "First, we say we are calling from an 'outbound call center.' If they ask again, then we say we are 'in Asia.' If they ask again, then we change the subject.'"

Like all call centre work, the employees are expected to be deferential which is considered to be feminine behaviour. This is evidenced by the discourses used in training such as the *mother/son* and *master/slave* language used to elicit active listening, "empathy" and the "complete deference to authority of the customer" respectively. Much like the example of the insurance workers who recast their work in masculine terms, this 'feminine' work within the call centre work of India is cast in the historically masculine concept of nation-building:

> This servitude is often contextualized within the rhetoric of national responsibility, whereby India's attractiveness as a location for subcontracting is said to depend on workers' ability to satisfy the demands of foreign clients
> . . .[182]

Clearly, emotional labour must be addressed within a framework that takes into consideration the global division of labour, post-colonial empire and the geography of masculinities and femininities. This becomes even more important for emotional labour to grapple with as services continue to be outsourced to other countries.[183] Thus,

> [g]lobalization is changing the form of relations between groups, such that the communication in service work is being infused with discourses of nation and citizenship. Scholars have revealed the crucial ways that gender is embedded in the relations of interactive service work . . . race becomes a critical element as well. Nation enters the service interaction . . . through consumer discourses that service is best rendered by workers of their own nationality, and through explicit racial and nationalized hostility. Consumers become the voice of this rhetoric, but the source is often much larger. The U.S. media, popular culture, and political arenas have provided U.S. consumers with a particular

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[180] Ibid., 280-281.
[181] Ibid., 272.
[182] Kiran Mirchandani, "Gender Eclipsed? Racial Hierarchies in Transnational Call Centre Work," *Social Justice* Vol. 32, No. 4 (2005): 112.
[183] Poster, 273.

vocabulary for understanding and communicating with people from the Global South.[184]

In summary, Gramsci argued that the making-up of the new worker of Fordism required their moral regulation both inside and outside of the factory. Applying Gramsci's thinking to the contemporary situation, the shift to Post-Fordism/Neoliberalism has changed moral behaviours as based on gender governance orders. Thus, emotional labour is a kind of Post-Fordist/Neoliberal form of moral regulation. In analyzing emotional labour, the concepts of gender governance orders and multiple masculinities and femininities allow for differentiation that is necessary when discussing moral behaviour and regulation. Again, this speaks to the social construction of gender identities and hierarchies and how emotional labour reinforces subordinate statuses.[185]

Implicit in this argument is the recognition of the flexibility of gender norms and how boundaries shift, although hierarchy remains nonetheless. In the next section, I examine such changes from a trade union perspective with a focus on organizing and more broadly, what trade unions can do to challenge emotional labour and the hierarchies associated with it.

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[184] Ibid., 296.
[185] Connell and Messerschmidt, 838.

8. TRADE UNION PERSPECTIVES

We as trade unionists do not escape from emotional labour and the race, gender and class hierarchies that underpin it. Hence, whereas men 'fight' and 'defend' trade union principles, women provide a "service" which often involves giving emotional support.[186] This gender dynamic has played out most recently against the backdrop of the economic downturn of the United States and Canada, with calls for a strong union leader (read: man) to guide us through these 'tough times'. Thus, trade unionism continues to be defined in "masculine heroics" that frame White straight men as the norm, with women and racialized people cast as 'other'.[187] Not surprisingly, some of our 'victories' (such as the family wage) benefit the few, and came at the expense of denying the same for the many others.[188]

The declining power of organized labour has ignited talks about 'union renewal' that signals a recognition that change is needed at some level. This change has largely focused on the need to increase union density levels, which in one form involves the 'opening up' of the organizing department to women and racialized people. This is significant because organizing has traditionally been considered a 'man's job' and is an example of how gender, race and social norms at large *do* change. However, in this section, I argue that race, gender and class hierarchies remain nonetheless and affect women organizers negatively. Furthermore, how trade unions can challenge emotional labour and its related hierarchies at the workplace is also addressed.

8.1 Sex, Race and Sacrifice: Union Organizing[189]

Organizing has taken on particular importance in the United States and Canada due to declining union density rates, very much like the rest of the industrialized world. The people working in the growing service sector who are being targeted by unions, are the very ones who have been historically underrepresented by unions. Speaking to the reality of economic apartheid, it is racialized people and in particular, racialized women who are in the low pay jobs in the service sector.[190] Thus, with a goal to 'organize the unorganized', unions are increasingly hiring people who match their target demographic. Optimistically, unions are reaching out to empower those who have been for so long marginalized by organized labour in order to build a working-class movement that is race and gender conscious. Pessimistically, unless these people are empowered both within their unions and at the workplace, they are being used to gain access to the target membership and to increase union numbers, nothing more.[191]

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[186] Susan Franzway, "Women Working in a Greedy Institution: Commitment and Emotional Labour in the Union Movement," *Gender, Work and Organization* Vol. 7, No. 4 (2000): 265.
[187] Ibid., 264 and 256.
[188] Anne Forrest. "A View from Outside the Whale: The Treatment of Women and Unions in Industrial Relations," in *Women Challenging Unions: Feminism, Democracy, and Militancy*, ed. Linda Briskin and Patricia McDermott, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993): 331 – 332.
[189] Reference to title of article. Patricia Chong, "Sex, Race and Sacrifice: Union Organizing," Vol. 27, No. 1 February/March. Canada: *Our Times Magazine.*
[190] Ibid, Article, 30
[191] Ibid., 32.

Either way, organizing departments are opening up to White and racialized women but the hierarchies remain entrenched. Specifically, the White, heterosexual masculine organizing model assumes that someone is at home taking care of domestic duties. This marginalizes women and racialized peoples, but also White men who do not fit this model.[192] For example, in organizing there is a popular "soldier mentality" that defines and celebrates trade unionism in terms of toughness, militancy and self-sacrifice.[193] Those who are unable or unwilling to recast themselves in this narrow mold of hyper-masculine trade unionism are considered less committed to union principles and are dishonoured.

In my study of the experiences of White and racialized women organizers in Toronto, Canada, I discovered that identity hierarchies are firmly entrenched. For example, women were seen as less able to handle the stress of leading organizing campaigns; they were given less credit for work than male organizers; viewed as having less authority than male peers by workers; and working women organizers who had children were considered 'bad mothers' by their peers. These negative perceptions speak to how organizing continues to be defined along a male norm.

In terms of gendered racism, racialized women spoke about unequal treatment. They were given the low-status 'tough' work such as early morning or late night duties. Some spoke of doing 'invisible work' such as corporate research and building strong worker committees, only to give their campaigns over to White women organizers who 'won' them. Furthermore, supervisors held racist beliefs such as the expectation that racialized organizers should have more success with workers of the same race because of some innate shared bond.

Again, it is important to recognize how at the institutional level, the way organizations operate reinforce hierarchies. For example, the erratic 'schedule' of organizing made it very difficult for woman organizers to deal with family responsibilities. Thus, many women had to rely on family and paid help. This individual solution to a systemic problem speaks to how women are expected to conform to a masculine norm of organizing, rather than having the norm change. Furthermore, women hired as organizers had long probationary periods and excessively long contract terms. These are working conditions that trade unionists fight against, but hypocritically allow in our own organizations. This speaks to how organizing has become precarious work itself in some unions and tarnishes the idea that women are being hired into this department for equality reasons. The organizing strategies used also speak to an assumption that the organizers are men. For example, sexual harassment occurring when visiting male workers alone at home is not adequately dealt with in training.

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[192] Ibid., 31.
[193] While I refer to this attitude as a 'soldier mentality' it is entirely based on the 'cowboy mentality' in Daisy Rooks, "The Cowboy Mentality: Organizers and Occupational Commitment in the New Labor Movement," *Labour Studies Journal* Vol. 28, No. 3.

Organizers also spoke about a lack of training in dealing with workers who are being racist, sexist, homophobic, etc. For example, in terms of emotional labour, women organizers spoke about how they handle "awkward" situations with workers:

> The hardest part for me organizing is sitting down and talking to someone who is racist [and] homophobic . . . . I've never felt satisfied with my reaction because my reaction usually is to change the subject. Because you get torn between … what's worth more? Winning this campaign or trying to educate someone that may actually turn them against the union because you're challenging their belief structure . . . I have yet to figure out how to make that okay and balance that and figure out at what point do you challenge someone and at what point don't you. And then if you don't how do you not feel guilty about not doing it? . . . And then a part of me is thinking: do we want to organize these people anyways?[194]

When racialized organizers have brought up such issues, their commitment to the labour movement is questioned.[195]

Emotional labour is also performed in meeting the pressure to abide by male norms. In this example, a woman organizer talks about repressing her health and safety concerns about visiting workers alone at home:

> Again, it comes into that emotional guilt. [The employer says:] 'Well, you don't *have* to go alone' . . . But then you're looked at like you're not tough enough . . .[196]

This need to 'act tough' is a form of emotional labour that is an individual reaction to a structural issue. The concern about being considered 'weak' (i.e. not acting like a 'man' but acting like a 'woman') reflects the soldier mentality that pervades organizing. However, it also reflects concerns over job security (or a lack thereof). In other words, being seen as 'weak' increases the likelihood your contract will not be renewed. Thus, when women are hired into 'male' positions, their emotional labour involves taking up a masculine attitude. Furthermore, women may feel the need to self-censor and self-sacrifice (a form of emotional labour) in not criticizing unions due to the challenges organized labour faces for fear of not being in solidarity.[197] Thus, change has occurred with the opening up of the organizing department to women, but the hierarchies remain nonetheless and affect how woman organizers are perceived, the valuing of their work, their hiring conditions and the emotional labour they perform. Thus, the norm of the White, heterosexual male still serves at the standard by which all must comply by.

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[194] Patricia Chong, "Sex, Race and Sacrifice: Union Organizers in the New Labour Movement" (MA thesis, McMaster University, 2007), 90.
[195] Rooks, 207.
[196] Chong, Thesis, 79.
[197] Chong, Article, 33.

8.2   Less Talk, More Trade Union Action

Worker education, mobilization and collective bargaining can challenge some aspects of emotional labour and its associated hierarchies. First, trade unionists can challenge the degree to which employers expect employees to conform to these identity hierarchies via scripting. For example, Hochschild refers to the flight attendants union opposing "regulations" over one's body such as the standardization of "make-up, hairstyles, undergarments, jewelry, and shoe styles," as well as the infamous "weight standards."[198] Furthermore, the successful organizing drive of the *Lusty Lady* 'peepshow' workers of San Francisco in 1996 with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) speaks to how collective bargaining can cover non-traditional working issues surrounding appearance and performance.[199]

Second, unions should challenge any work that involves the accommodation to sexism, racism, discrimination, sexual harassment, etc. The attitude that 'the customer is always right' should be challenged. The third and fourth points will be discussed in more detail. They are the use of workplace surveillance and the need to organize the service sector.

The great strides in surveillance technologies and its prevalence in the workplace are problematic and have gone largely unchallenged.[200] The International Labour Organization (ILO) defines "electronic work monitoring" as "the computerized collection, storage, analysis, and reporting of information about employees' productive activities."[201] Types of workplace surveillance include the following: the counting of keystrokes, number and duration of telephone calls, reading of email, video surveillance, monitoring of personnel entry and exit of work premises via the use of 'smart cards,' etc.[202] Echoing the concept of the information panopticon, the ILO also recognizes "a trend not only to measure work, but to measure the worker."[203] While surveillance at work is not new, it has become more "extensive" and "intensive."[204] Perhaps the most damming criticism touched upon by the ILO is that the type of workplace surveillance commonly used by employers, if used against private citizens "requires special authorization, be subject to restrictions, or possibly be prohibited altogether." What few rights we had to privacy in either our personal or work lives have undoubtedly been reduced post-9/11.

Whereas employers argue that surveillance is needed for quality control, to ensure workers abide by relevant laws, etc., trade union opponents point out the potential for its abuse such as targeting union activists and retarding organizing

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[198] Hochschild, 101, 126.
[199] Gregor Gall, "Sex Workers Unionisation: An Exploratory Study of Emerging Collective Organisation," *Industrial Relations Journal* Vol. 38, No.1 (2007): 73.
[200] Sewell, 424.
[201] Michele Jankanish, "Monitoring and Surveillance in the Workplace," *Conditions of Work Digest,* International Labour Office Vol. 12, No. 1 (1993): 12-13.
[202] Bryant, Surveillance.
[203] Jankanish, 3.
[204] Braynt, Surveillance.

drives.[205] Furthermore, the type of work easily monitored is also the type of 'deskilled' work that women and racialized people are employed in. Thus, the potential for discriminatory use of surveillance is enormous. More specifically, the following jobs are susceptible to surveillance: "word processors, data-entry clerks, telephone operators, customer service representatives, telemarketers, insurance claims clerks, mail clerks, supermarket cashers, and bank proof clerks." [206] Interestingly, as the following quote makes clear, the intent to discriminate on the part of the employer is not needed to be found guilty of it:

> . . . in the United States, a cause of action for discrimination against a protected class could arise if there were a disproportionate impact on that group. Direct intent to discriminate is not required. For example, if the vast majority of employees whose work is monitored are female, a question could be raised about the existence of *de facto* discrimination in working conditions because of the disparate impact on that group."[207]

As trade unionists, other more pressing issues may get our attention, however we need to ensure that surveillance issues do not fall to the wayside for the reasons mentioned. The fact that the ILO's last report on surveillance was published in 1993 is troubling considering the advances made in surveillance technologies. Surveillance is particularly interesting from a Canadian perspective because the Canadian Labour Code requires employers to give notice to unions about issues of 'technological change.'[208] Thus, unions have an institutionalized process to challenge electronic surveillance at the bargaining table. Simply put, surveillance must be put back on the union agenda.

The next way unions can challenge emotional labour and its hierarchies is through continuing to organize, but in ways that accommodate today's increasingly fragmented organization of work. In Canada, racialized men have a significantly lower opportunity to belong to unions than White men, whereas racialized women also have a lower chance but only slightly in comparison to White women.[209] Thus, the right to belong to a union has become a luxury with strong racial and gendered overtones. Service sector workers continue to be underrepresented by unions although many unions are aggressively organizing in the sector. This speaks to the need to move away from traditional workplace defined bargaining units based on industrial manufacturing.[210] These new forms of organizing include (strangely enough) a return to the craft-based guilds in organizing along occupational lines. The success of the 'Justice for Janitors' campaign speaks to one strategy of fighting for union recognition over a geographical area rather than by organizing contractor by contractor.[211] This has been particularly successful with other types of work that echo the decentralized

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[205] Jankanish, 17.
[206] Bryant, Surveillance.
[207] Jankanish, 51.
[208] Bryant, Surveillance.
[209] Reitz and Verma as mentioned in Galabuzi, 196-197.
[210] Dorothy Sue Cobble, "The Prospects for Unionism in a Service Society," in *Working in the Service Society*, ed. Cameron Lynne Macdonald and Carmen Sirianni (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 344.
[211] Ibid., 349.

organization of janitorial work such as healthcare employees who work in the homes of patients. There has also been success in organizing clerical employees working from their own homes.[212]

What can unions do to overcome the race, gender and class hierarchies that are reinforced by emotional labour? Simply put, traditional trade unionism (or business unionism) as defined by representing the narrow economic interests of 'their' workers presents no challenge to these hierarchies. In fact, business unionism reinforces them. Thus, challenging the intersecting racial, gender and class oppression involves moving beyond the workplace and 'bread and butter' economic issues to broader social issues of equality and justice as encompassed by social movement unionism. It is only within a much larger project of social, economic and political change that trade unionists in conjunction with other progressive groups will ultimately challenge and change these hierarchies. This includes being able to articulate and believe in an alternative to the Neoliberal hegemonic project.[213]

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[212] Ibid., 348.
[213] Please see Sam Gindin and Leo Panitch's "Rekindling Socialist Imagination: Utopian Vision and Working-Class Capacities," *Monthly Review* Vol. 51, No. 10. (2000) http://www.monthlyreview.org/300gind.htm.

9. CONCLUSION

In answering the question, how emotional labour reinforces intersecting systems of race, gender and class oppression, I argued that a naturalization process occurs at both an individual and institutional level. This naturalization process in turn masks and ultimately justifies these hierarchies. As such, an anti-oppression analysis grounded in a framework of intersectionality and critical anti-racism disrupts the naturalization process. Unfortunately, much of the academic work on emotional labour fails to incorporate such an approach and thereby naturalizes 'Whiteness' as the norm. Furthermore, much of the literature failed to move beyond the individual in contextualizing emotional labour. Hence, my analysis focused on the institutional level of oppression that shapes the emotional labour demanded of the individual.

Gendered organizational theory reveals how work and identity are intricately linked. This is illustrated by how one's individual performance is shaped by the organization. Thus, the organization itself appears to operate in a neutral fashion when in fact, it is gendered. However, organizations are also racialized and classed which is evidenced in differing performances of gender; specifically, differing types of displayed sexuality. Thus, a key component of labour involves enacting one's appropriate role based on intersecting hierarchies of race, gender and class.

Next, I analyzed institutional racism in Canada in the form of the labour market and government policies of action and inaction. Institutional racism channels racialized people and women in particular into the low-income, low-status work such as in the service sector where emotional labour is prevalent. Thus, *who* fills the lower strata of the segmented labour market and *why* must be addressed and understood within the context of Neoliberal restructuring, neo-racism and gendered racism. This situation of economic apartheid is 'justified' via the belief in the supposed diminishing human capital of immigrants, which is simply untrue. The attention drawn to the individual again masks the role of institutional oppression.

Next, emotional labour was situated within capitalist production in order to understand how surplus value is created and the role control plays in this process. Whereas manufacturing involves physical labour in the production of exchange value, emotional labour requires both the production and consumption of identity to produce surplus value. This in turn draws on identity hierarchies and reinforces them. The shift from Fordism to Post-Fordism entailed a change in the form of control. However, control is always at the forefront no matter its guise. In the service sector, there is an increasing use of psychological forms of control that involve workers to identify with customer-related norms and to self-discipline. This is because in customer service, it is deep acting rather than surface acting that provides companies with a competitive edge.

Lastly, Gramsci's argument linked the production process and shifts in capitalism to moral regulation, which was extended to emotional labour. The concepts of gender governance orders and multiple masculinities and femininities tease apart what exactly is moral beahviour, as based on identity. Hence, emotional labour is a kind of Post-Fordist/Neoliberal form of moral regulation. Rather than thinking of a single hegemonic moral behaviour for all men and women, there are multiple masculinities and femininities. Thus, gender governance orders can converge and conflict which speaks to its flexibility as well as instability. Furthermore, moral orders should be addressed within the global division of labour as more service work is outsourced to other countries.

Having made my specific argument that emotional labour reinforces race, gender and class oppression, I then analyzed emotional labour from a trade union perspective. Through a brief examination of the experiences of White and racialized woman organizers, I argued that while organizing which has traditionally been considered 'men's work' has opened up, the White, heterosexual male model remains the norm. Lastly, I addressed what we as trade unionists could do to challenge emotional labour and its associated hierarchies.

An assumption of my anti-oppression analysis of emotional labour was that the worker and the boss were different people. However, the growth in number of non-standard workers in Canada has also included a growth in self-employed workers.[214] This takes the informalization of the boss-worker relationship to new heights as a quick reference to exotic dance club workers in Canada will show. This is insightful because the informalization of this type of work provides a glimpse at what might happen for other service workers that perform emotional labour.

During the economic decline of the 1980s in Canada, a deprofessionalization of exotic dancers occurred.[215] Exotic dancers became "freelance" meaning that they were responsible for music, costumes and transportation and relied on the "employer" to only provide the physical space for work.[216] Sometimes freelance dancers were even required to *pay* a fee in order to work at the clubs. The negative effects of this work arrangement were numerous. For example, 'workers' had no entitlement to work-based protections, health benefits, etc.[217]

What occurred in the exotic dancing industry is not isolated and is part of a larger transformation of the service sector. The "entrepreneur self-definition" is already occurring in other gendered service employment such as domestic work and waitressing.[218] If this transformation occurred in the service sector on a mass scale, who is doing the exploiting in terms of emotional labour? Already, the use of commission-based incentive systems is 'normal' and is clearly about getting

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[214] Chen, 14.
[215] Chris Bruckert, *Taking It Off, Putting It On: Women in the Strip Trade* (Toronto, Women's Press, 2002), 60.
[216] Ibid., 35, 60-61.
[217] Gall, 79.
[218] Bruckert, 106.

workers to self-exploit.[219] Might not the market as the ultimate disembodied disciplinarian be enough to compel us to perform emotional labour? As such, capitalist hegemony is achieved if the more coercive elements of exploitation as seen in the boss-worker relationship fade into the background and workers consent to their own exploitation as self-employed entrepreneurs. This would involve the self-exploitation of one's own emotional labour and would be the ultimate naturalization of oppression.

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[219] Hochschild, 148.

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