

# Mobilization through Emotional Labor: Emotional Labor as a Tool of Competition

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**Abstract** : The goal of this paper is to examine how and why people are mobilized to become 'good' workers through emotional labor. It has been initially suggested that Hochschild's concept of emotional labor, would result in service workers to experience stress and burnout. However, subsequent studies have challenged these findings for a number of reasons. These studies have focused primarily on the issue of emotional labor autonomy and the gift of good relationships in emotional labor. Therefore, people often seek out the opportunity to establish good relationships through emotional labor. At the same time, being able to perform good emotional labor has been a standard by which people are assessed in contemporary society. As a result of the advancement of artificial intelligence and neoliberalism in contemporary society, those with high emotional labor ability have been placed at the center of society, while those with low ability have been placed on the periphery. In other words, people are stratified according to their emotional capital, or their capacity to perform emotional labor. However, if I take emotional intelligence as an example to grasp the substance of emotional capital, it is by no means the subject of emotion itself. Rather, it is aimed at cognitive ability and assessing the efficiency of an organization based on positive emotions. Therefore, like Intelligence Quotient, it mobilizes people to compete regardless of whether they possess emotional capital.

**Key words**: sociology of emotion, emotional labor, social stratification, emotional capital, emotional intelligence

## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to reevaluate the concept of emotional labor, mainly through the perspective of how relationships are mobilized in the workplace in a contemporary society. The general concept of emotional labor was proposed by Hochschild (Hochschild, 1979, 1983), who was one of the earliest scholars of the sociology of emotions. According to Hochschild, emotional experiences are often acquired through daily experiences in daily life, leading to the development of a 'sociological' theory of emotions. For example, it is necessary to evoke feelings of sadness when people are invited to a funeral, even if they do not necessarily feel any sadness. It is important that they must continue to express their sorrow.

On the basis of these rules related to everyday emotions, Hochschild demonstrated that there are social rules pertaining to emotional experience, namely, 'feeling rules'. People's emotional experiences are well controlled and are determined by a set of 'feeling rules'. According to this social theory of emotional

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experiences, 'feeling rules' guide both inner emotional experiences and outer emotional expressions, as well as indicate appropriate emotional experiences for both sides, including their extent, direction, and duration in a variety of situations (Hochschild, 1979, 1983).

Thus, people's emotional experiences are socially constructed to some extent as a result of 'feeling rules' and are controlled in accordance with these 'feeling rules'. According to Hochschild's argument, the methods of controlling emotional experience can be divided into surface acting and deep acting, following outer and inner manipulations.

Based on these findings, Hochschild considers emotional labor, in which emotional management is required as a job, to be a new form of alienation in the rapidly growing service industry. Workers are primarily forced to perform emotional labor using surface and deep acting methods in order to meet the needs of an organization. Surface acting is a method of managing the expressive aspects of emotional experiences, while deep acting is a method of managing the inner aspects of these experiences.

According to Hochschild, the characteristics of negative aspects of emotional labor can be divided into three types: 'burnout' describes a situation in which workers are devoted to perform emotional labor by doing surface acting and deep acting deeply, thereby becoming exhausted; 'phony' describes a situation in which workers perform emotional labor by doing only surface acting, thereby feeling a false sense of self in their mind; 'healthy estrangement' describes a situation in which workers do surface acting and deep acting moderately, but are unable to determine their 'true' emotional experiences and selves in their mind.

As described above, Hochschild focused mainly on deep acting, which is critical for managing inner experiences in the labor market. The risk of workers losing sight of their own emotions is present when their own deep emotions are mutated. Furthermore, if workers fail to perform the 'right' emotional labor, they believe that it is their fault and they perceive themselves to be emotional deviants.

As a result of these considerations, Hochschild coordinated the structure in which emotional labor causes self-alienation. There are two types of estrangements. First is the estrangement from one's own spontaneous feelings and second, estrangement from not the lack of 'appropriate' emotional experiences. In this way, Hochschild views mental alienation as a new kind of alienation in the process of service industrialization, in comparison to the physical labor alienation that has been observed in early modern society.

Hence, the question arises as to whether emotional labor is the cause of this kind of alienation at all times. In spite of this, some scholars have criticized it. In addition, it seems that people nowadays prefer to do 'good' emotional labor, rather than refusing to do this work. Many contemporary workers have emotional intelligence and deal with human relationships between clients and colleagues. In the Japanese society, the Ministry of Industry and economic circles have suggested that workers should be able to cope with human relationships by using general human skills (e.g., emotional intelligence). It is therefore important that young people develop skills in assessing human emotion and atmosphere in relationships through education.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how people want to perform emotional labor in contemporary society, especially taking into account previous studies that address these questions.

## **Positive Aspects and Dilemma of Emotional Labor**

In addition to scholars in sociology, Hochschild's original work on emotional labor has been widely accepted by many scholars in other disciplines as well. Numerous studies have been conducted on the

subject of emotional labor. However, this paper will only focus on the thesis of alienation caused by emotional labor, with the goal of identifying the methods in which people have been motivated to perform 'good' emotional labor for the purpose of obtaining positive effects of labor and being evaluated as a person. Several studies on emotional labor have criticized the alienation thesis, including suggestions that emotional labor does not lead to alienation if there is autonomy of workers in the workplace.

Among these studies, that of Tolich (Tolich, 1993) is of particular importance due to its argument related to the variety of ways in which workers express and live out their emotions. Tolich observed supermarket clerks in order to observe how their emotions were used. He found that the emotional labor of supermarket clerks did not necessarily lead to alienation, but that small talk and joking with customers were perceived more positively than other monotonous work. In addition, developing personal relationships with regular customers was found to be a source of job satisfaction for supermarket clerks. As a result, supermarket clerks perceived good personal relationships with customers as emotionally meaningful and positive.

According to Tolich, if the supermarket clerk's emotional labor is directly controlled by the supervisor, there is no autonomy, which results in the loss of the positive emotional experience of the relationship with the customer. Moreover, there will be a loss of the importance of the emotional experience that is induced there. However, if their emotional labor is indirectly controlled by a supervisor, they develop autonomy and personal relationships with their customers, where their emotional experiences are significant and positive.

Based on these considerations, Tolich criticized the way in which the exchange in emotional labor is described. It will be easier for workers to avoid alienation caused by emotional labor and obtain positive effects through relationships based on emotional labor if they have some degree of autonomy. However, if workers are controlled and supervised by a boss or organization, they may lose the positive effects of emotional labor. This dilemma might be situated in emotional labor<sup>1)</sup>.

Hochschild's alienation thesis was criticized by Leidner based on her observation of a McDonald's worker in order to find out their emotional labor and feeling rules (Leidner, 1993). Leidner's study suggested that emotional labor and feeling rules have become a routine in McDonald's customer service, and the workers are able to follow such routinized feeling rules without consideration. Thus, workers were not faced with alienation and enjoyed their interactions with customers beyond the routine manuals.

Based on these findings, Leidner developed a triangle model of emotional labor. According to Hochschild's thesis, supervisors monitor the execution of emotional labor of workers, but Leidner suggested that workers can monitor this by themselves with manuals. Moreover, customers and workers check to ensure that the feelings generated during their interaction are appropriate. Thus, both customers and workers have autonomy when it comes to emotional labor and can decide what degree of emotional labor is 'good'.

These previous studies have focused on the alienation of emotional labor from the perspectives of supervision and autonomy. It is important to consider the effects of emotional labor from such perspectives, since alienation will be felt by workers depending on how and to what extent they are forced to perform emotional labor against their will. However, these explanations tend to focus on the degree of autonomy in the worker's situation, and discussions relating to the alienation thesis may focus on the characteristics of occupational conditions and personality traits.

Therefore, these studies do not indicate that a large number of workers tend to be mobilized to perform 'good' emotional labor in most of the occupations in contemporary society<sup>2)</sup>. Thus, this paper examines the social consciousness of doing emotional labor by taking the emotional labor of a care worker as a case study.

This paper focuses on a care worker's emotional labor because their emotional labor exhibits the characteristics of emotional labor, as opposed to other occupations. Therefore, the positive and negative aspects of emotional labor have been discussed extensively and at an early stage in comparison to other occupations. In addition, I have studied and researched the emotional labor of care workers.

### **Ambiguity between Alienation and Motivation in Emotional Labor**

As suggested in previous studies, there may be a border associated with emotional labor. It is common for people to feel mentally exhausted when they are engaged in emotional labor in the workplace, but at other times, people wish to do 'good' emotional labor in order to establish a good relationship with their customers and colleagues. These activities vary according to the characteristics of occupations and situations, and the underlying reasons and logic behind these different events will be examined in this paper.

First, some ideas from early studies of emotional labor will be discussed, especially with regard to caring and nursing. For example, Smith (Smith, 1992) pointed out the difficulty of undertaking the emotional labor of nursing and found that it was a function of the social consciousness of nursing and gender. It was suggested that female nurses were required to care for the emotional aspects of human relationships in a hospital, but lacked systematic training in this area. As a result, a large number of nurses were faced with the risk of burnout caused by their emotional labor.

Building on Smith's ideas and suggestions, James (James, 1992, 1993) conceptualized the difficulty associated with emotional labor, such as the contradiction between the rationality of curing and the emotionality of caring. Both are required to deal with patients and treatments in the medical system, and doctors as well as nurses need to have a curing side and a caring side. However, each medical occupation may be considered to be responsible for only one side. Thus, nurses are considered to take care of the emotional side and are required to perform 'good' emotional labor.

In addition, nurses sometimes want to take on the caring aspect of medicine themselves, and the purpose of my research is to identify the reasons for which nurses desire and try to perform this role in contemporary Japanese hospitals (Sakiyama, 2005, 2012).

First, nurses seek autonomy as a caring profession in contemporary medicine. In Japanese society and medical institutions, nurses have been regarded as semi-professionals who work under the supervision of doctors by law. As a result of these conditions, nurses have attempted to build their profession and social status by advancing themselves as caring professionals.

Second, nurses may attempt to provide 'good' emotional care when faced with patients who are in a severe condition. This consciousness is located in their professional minds, and the gender perspectives and other issues must be carefully taken into consideration. However, the nurses sometimes reported that they felt rewarded by doing 'good' emotional labor, but they had to avoid devoting themselves to their work.

In the event that emotional labor always caused alienation in the experiences and minds of workers, they would attempt to avoid emotional labor and its associated stress. However, there are some workers who are eager to try emotional labor in order to achieve job satisfaction. As discussed above, it might be more appropriate to reconsider the characteristics associated with the multi-dimensional aspects of undertaking emotional labor in order to examine these contradictory attitudes and situations in the workplace. For this purpose, it is necessary to examine the consciousness of workers who are willing to be mobilized to do 'good' emotional labor, despite the possibilities of burnout and alienation.

Bolton (Bolton, 2000a, 2000b, 2005; Bolton and Bond, 2003) investigated the features of emotional labor, especially in nursing, and suggested that “Emotion management is performed and often exchanged as a ‘gift’. It is not always sold for a wage” (Bolton, 2000b, p. 162). In other words, emotional labor may lead to alienation at times, but may have benefits at other times. Moreover, Bolton criticized Hochschild’s studies for describing the worker as emotionally crippled actors, and attempted to demonstrate the multiple aspects of emotional labor.

Based on this point of view, Bolton separated the characteristics of emotional labor into four types: ‘pecuniary’, which indicates exchange for a wage for solving unpaid aspects of work; ‘prescriptive’, which describes enforcement in the workplace in an organization; ‘presentational’, which indicates that many feelings are sensed by care workers and these feelings may go beyond the feeling rules; and ‘philanthropic’, which indicates that emotional labor has become a ‘gift’.

In this typology, Bolton criticizes Hochschild’s view of emotional labor as one-sided. It is certainly possible that the first and second of the four types will lead to alienation, as Hochschild states. However, in the third and fourth types, they gain emotional experiences beyond feeling rules and build good human relationships to increase job satisfaction. In other words, emotional labor does not always result in alienation, but rather in positive emotional experiences and interactions that can be obtained through good human relationships (Bolton, 2000b, 2005; Bolton and Bond, 2003).

Thus, this paper focuses on the latter aspect: how and why workers perform emotional labor as a gift of emotional exchange in good relationships, as well as in terms of the value and benefits that they can obtain from doing this emotional labor<sup>3)</sup>.

## **Mobilization through Emotional Labor: Emotional Labor as a “Gift”**

As mentioned earlier, although emotional labor can lead to alienation, there are times when the exchange of good and warm emotions in relationships can be a gift. Contemporary society differs from the society that existed at the time when the concept of emotional labor was first introduced. The proportion of people working in service industries has increased and emotional labor has become more prevalent. There are problems associated with people being forced to perform emotional labor in poor work environments, but there is also a tendency to develop feeling rules and manuals for emotional labor.

Moreover, a training system for emotional labor has been developed, with a greater understanding of the existence and negative aspects of emotional labor in contemporary society (Sakiyama, 2017). Therefore, there is a greater possibility for contemporary workers to have autonomy and avoid the negative aspects of emotional labor in comparison to the past<sup>4)</sup>.

Nowadays, people wish to perform ‘good’ emotional labor in order to obtain a certain positive feeling from their interactions with customers. It is natural for people to want to have warm relationships in their workplace, and thus, they are motivated and mobilized to do ‘good’ emotional labor. For example, in contemporary Japanese society, aspects of human relationships have been emphasized in the caring system.

Additionally, as I have suggested (Sakiyama, 2017), the service sector has been growing, thus, almost all labor has the characteristic of emotional labor, and people are required to have the intelligence and knowledge required to deal with human relationships in the workplace. The majority of people who work in the service industry perform emotional labor, while advancements in artificial intelligence (AI)<sup>5)</sup> have enabled the automation of simple office work and service work.

Consequently, the boundaries between labor and pure human relationships may become blurred.

Moreover, human relationships and the ability to deal with these relationships in the workplace are considered as residual abilities. Thus, emotional labor serves as a device for motivating people to accomplish their work based on their own good will.

Based on the above, people today are motivated to perform emotional labor as unpaid work, but the reasons for doing so differ from those suggested by Hochschild (Hochschild, 1983), who associated emotional labor with unpaid work because of the myth of gender and the unconscious risk of alienation. In my opinion, people want to engage in emotional labor for the purpose of receiving a 'gift' from a human relationship. Moreover, only the aspects of emotionality as a 'human' have to be addressed in the labor market, in comparison to the advancement of AI as a labor power (Sakiyama, 2017).

Therefore, it seems that people sometimes find satisfaction in their emotional labor, even if it is not valued as 'labor'. Such factors mobilize people to do emotional labor, regardless of whether the relationship is a 'gift' that they want to take or a 'tool' that they are forced to use. However, there are a number of problems that must be addressed when people are motivated to do 'good' emotional labor.

In the beginning, when people failed to perform 'good' emotional labor, it might appear to be in a moral sense. For example, if care workers want to perform 'good' emotional labor, but cannot exchange 'good' or 'warm' feelings with their patients, they might think they are responsible for it and feel emotionally deviant.

In addition, emotional labor might be associated with abuse and violence. For example, if care workers perform good emotional labor but do not receive a relationship gift in return, they will feel disappointed. There may be instances where care workers may display broken expectations in the form of violence in the absence of a place to unwind these tensions. Japan has experienced an increase in cases of abuse and neglect because of the negative effects these situations have had on relationships between care workers and patients. Currently, one of the major problems in Japanese medical practice is abuse and violence. It may be related to the concept of patient-centered medicine and the emphasis on building good relationships between care workers and patients, since the more coordinated the exchange of gifts within a relationship, the greater the chance of it being betrayed.

Furthermore, current trends of neoliberalism in social and economic policies have forced people to deal with typical divisions in their lives by adopting a positive attitude as a worker who engages in emotional labor.

The social and economic policies of neoliberalism have divided people into 'core' and 'sub' members in organizations and societies worldwide. A number of previous studies have examined the economic aspects of division under neoliberalism, including wages, status, and social insurance (Marazzi, 1999, Freidman, 2007; Graeber, 2018), and some studies have also suggested social differences and gaps around the location of emotional labor.

According to Hochschild (Hochschild, 1997), highly educated and skilled people employed as core workers in an organization do not have the time to care for their families or devote themselves to the tasks of the organization. Thus, the positions of 'public' work and labor have been exchanged and mixed with those of 'private' relationships and caring. As Hochschild's portrays this reversal of home and work, she highlights the tendency to sacrifice emotional management in the home and act as a 'good' emotional worker in the core of an organization.

Moreover, there is a new tendency of social stratification and division throughout the world. People have been socialized and allocated according to their ability to perform 'good' emotional labor, especially in advanced countries, and are valued according to their ability to manage their emotions.

Illouz conceptualized this tendency as 'emotional capital' (Illouz, 2007, 2008), which refers to the qualities of people to manage their emotions in a particular situation. According to Illouz, human emotionality is now measured based on their effectiveness in the workplace and is quantified as emotional intelligence, and that possession of emotional capital is used to evaluate people both in their daily life as well as workplace.

### **The Character of Emotional Capital; Considering Emotional Intelligence**

What is the reason for people's desire for so much emotional capital? As discussed earlier, people want to promote good relationships. The presence or absence of emotional capital can be said to be one of the abilities to achieve these desires.

Second, most people are evaluated based on their emotional capital, and as a result, they try to demonstrate that they can successfully manage human relationships. However, there are problems with such tendencies, which arise as a result of focusing on calculations of human emotionality through the concepts of emotional intelligence and regulation of people in a social structure.

A number of studies have examined the success in human relationships in contemporary society. Among these are Fineman's studies, which focus on emotional intelligence (Fineman, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2006). By analyzing emotional intelligence, these studies seem to provide insight into why and how people are forced to control their emotions and are driven to take action to acquire emotional capital.

Emotional intelligence is a means of valuing the ability of people to manage their emotions, which in turn improves their ability to benefit the organization and develops their ability to deal with emotions and human relationships. However, according to Fineman (Fineman, 2000, 2001), emotional intelligence is not even related to emotions, but to creating a cognitive criterion for deciding to do something with and for others<sup>6)</sup>.

There are three aspects to the use of emotional intelligence. First, emotional intelligence has a different dimension in relation to people's desire to do 'good' emotional labor by honing their emotionality. This is because the point of emotional intelligence is not to develop emotionality in relationships, but rather to improve relationships through cognitive abilities. In this sense, the characteristics of emotional intelligence are similar to that of Intelligence Quotient in that it refers to the attitude of solving human relationships not by the emotions but by their cognitive ability. Thus, polishing the emotionality sacrifices the worker's attitude to do 'good' emotional labor. Furthermore, organizations will benefit from emotional intelligence only to the extent that it enables efficiency and usefulness based on cognitive computation. (Fineman, 2000, 2001).

Second, emotional intelligence focuses on setting standards and quantifying people's emotional experiences. It reduces people's diverse emotional experiences and exalts having only positive outcomes in human relationships. It teaches people how to manage their emotions and prevents them from having negative emotional experiences. As a result, people aim to have a feeling that is beneficial to the organization (Fineman, 2004).

Third, the objective of emotional intelligence is to transform people into consistently positive individuals in terms of their emotional experiences. Rather than altering emotions, it always encourages cognitive abilities to demonstrate the emotional experiences necessary for the job. Among them, they compete to improve a variety of difficult human relationships. In this process, people compete by using their emotional intelligence as a means to succeed in business or daily life (Fineman, 2006).

In this way, emotional intelligence reduces people's emotions to cognitive aspects, scales and measures

them, and acts as knowledge that leads to positive emotional experiences. However, on the surface, appears to be an ability that people take for granted because it is considered to be an ability related to emotions. It is therefore a matter of individual personality when it is perceived as unsustainable.

An examination of the features of emotional capital in contemporary society based on a consideration of emotional intelligence as an example indicates that emotional capital does not consist of 'emotion', but rather cognitive calculation. As a result, people compete with each other whether they have emotional capital or not. Additionally, it is possible to measure people's characters and personalities based on their eagerness to obtain emotional capital if they fear that they are not a 'good' person<sup>7)</sup>.

In contemporary Japanese society, the terms "Ningen-Ryoku" (power and character as a person) and "Kuki-wo-Yomu" (regarding the atmosphere) reflect these typical trends. Honda (Honda, 2005) suggested that these tendencies are the abilities required in the post meritocratic era. People compete based on these abilities and do 'good' emotional labor by demonstrating that they possess emotional capital.

In addition, the possession of emotional capital regulates the behavior of people in their jobs and workplaces. Those with a high level of emotional capital are often located at the core of an organization. Thus, they design and plan the company's policies and manage workers through negotiations and discussions; that is, through complex emotional labor. However, workers who do not have enough emotional capital are located on the periphery of the organization. They face the customers on the frontline and perform emotional labor with manual labor; that is, simple emotional labor. There are individual conditions and different degrees of emotional labor on the frontline, but people tend to perform 'good' emotional labor at the core and fear falling from their position.

Additionally, workplaces have changed in contemporary society and, as mentioned above, globalization caused by neoliberalism and AI innovations have forced people to move towards becoming 'good' workers in emotional labor.

Moreover, manufacturing and simple service industries have been relocated to developing countries. For example, developments in communication via websites have resulted in the shifting of call centers from the use of telephones to the use of Internet connections. Additionally, the growth of AI and Information Technology (IT) has changed service work and office work that used to be performed by humans.

In Japanese society, these changes have occurred in the service industries, and ironically, the majority of simple emotional labor is now being replaced by AI and IT<sup>8)</sup>. In other words, human labor might be becoming bipolar. On the one hand, the highly educated and skilled individuals become a part of the creative class by becoming 'good' workers in emotional labor. On the other hand, poorly educated individuals become a part of the underclass covering the low-cost work or withdrawing from society. Furthermore, there is a fear of dropping out of such competition. Thus, people desire and are forced to perform 'good' emotional labor by having emotional capital.

This trend has been conceptualized by Negri and Hardt (Negri and Hardt, 2000) as human life becoming an emotional labor. It means that people must have the attitude of performing emotional labor appropriately in contemporary society all over the world, since the growth of IT and globalization has changed the workplace.

The growth of IT and globalization has enabled companies to change their manufacturing and simple industries easily. Accordingly, people must possess the abilities of dealing with human relationships in order to maintain their position as creative class.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to evaluate previous studies in order to identify features of emotional labor in contemporary society.

First, there are limitations to the concept of emotional labor that is described only in terms of the alienation thesis of Hochschild. Although it depends on the condition of a workplace, many workers do 'good' emotional labor without alienation. Approximately forty years have passed since the concept of emotional labor was proposed, during which the service industry has experienced significant growth. People now tend to feel that emotional labor is natural and strive to do it successfully.

Second, feelings are experienced as a 'gift' from both simultaneous interaction and manipulation. This suggests that the analysis of emotional labor should allow a wide range of feelings. People are mobilized to do emotional labor because it is often perceived as a 'gift' by workers, and they perform unpaid work based on their desire to do a 'good' job. Such phenomena are supported by the current knowledge about emotions. However, organizations obtain the benefit of maintaining 'good' emotional labor by using such knowledge and methods.

Third, the features of emotional capital, which were considered emotional intelligence as an example, can be described based on current knowledge of emotion, and people compete with each other based on their ability to deal with human relationships.

Neoliberalism in the contemporary capitalist world requires people to possess the abilities and attitudes required to manage human relationships in the workplace. People have learned the methods of emotional labor, namely emotional capital, during their education, careers, and personal lives, and are constantly striving to elevate and maintain their social position. Thus, they are eager to perform skilled and complex emotional labor. It is possible that an individual who does not possess these abilities may find themselves occupying a lower social position and performing 'poor' emotional labor as a result.

Through these processes, people are mobilized to do 'good' emotional labor, and are forced to have skills and abilities to deal with human relationships. Could these phenomena be referred to as a new type of alienation surrounding emotional labor in contemporary society?

I would like to explain why I consider this to be a 'new type' of alienation. In Hochschild's thesis of alienation of emotional labor, she mainly focused on how human's feelings were managed and controlled by the logic of company's benefit. As a result, burnout or self-estrangement often occurred. Additionally, workers lost their natural emotional experiences.

However, the alienation caused by emotional capital does not require the power of a company. Workers attempted to develop their abilities to manage their emotion by themselves. They want to develop abilities, such as emotional intelligence, in order to achieve a high social position. However, they would only have the abilities of cognitive aspects of emotional management and emotional experiences. Moreover, they had to continue to compete with each other, regardless of whether they had enough emotional capital. As a result, they lost their natural emotional experiences. In this process, they alienated themselves from their emotions.

The remaining issues in this paper will be further scrutinized based on the empirical research on the concept of emotional capital. Hochschild suggested a correlation between the ability to perform emotional labor and middle-class sociability (Hochschild, 1983). In this way, there is more room for further consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of acquiring specific hierarchies and emotional capital.

Furthermore, further analysis of the role of emotional capital will be necessary. This paper suggested

that people are polarized into the creative class and periphery depending on the presence or absence of emotional capital. It means that emotional capital has become one of the standards by which emotional capital selects, excludes, and marginalizes people in contemporary society. It would be interesting for me to further examine the possibility of power and governance through emotional capital in more detail.

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### Notes

- 1) This does not mean that no studies have investigated this topic. Among organization studies, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggested that emotional rapport with clients often contradicts organizational rationality, but such structural features of organizations treat emotions as residual.
- 2) Wouters also criticized Hochschild's alienation thesis. Based on the viewpoint of civilization theory, Wouters suggested that no emotions are unmanaged (Wouters, 1986): flight attendants of KLM enjoyed their emotional labor, despite knowing that this labor was forced and could lead to the possibility of burnout. Hochschild's thesis was criticized for being morally laden (Wouters, 1989).
- 3) I have criticized such characteristics of emotional labor by adding the viewpoint of ambiguity of emotional labor from the perspective of figuration theory (Sakiyama, 2009, 2010). I mainly considered the relationship between positive and negative aspects of emotional labor, and how peer support reduces the negative aspects.

From the viewpoint of my research and the conditions of care in Japan, I suggest that these characteristics may be caused by the position and efforts of nurses. Moreover, I add the tendency that emotional labor may be viewed as a 'gift' and people desire to engage in 'good' emotional labor through the analysis of social structure and the mentality to seek emotional capital.

- 4) The negative aspects of emotional labor may have diminished, but I do not consider lightly its negative effects. Such negative effects are clearly present in the workplace (Sakiyama, 2005, 2012). The development of a peer support and monitoring system for stress and burnout has begun in pioneering companies and organizations.
- 5) Having criticized the limitation of Hochschild's thesis of alienation of emotional labor, I suggested that the advancement of AI and Information Communication Technology would result in the stratification of labor based on the viewpoint of changes in job conditions and technology (Sakiyama, 2017).

In this paper, I have focused on the character of emotional labor as a gift in order to demonstrate the limitations of Hochschild's thesis. Moreover, from the perspective of emotional capital and emotional intelligence, I focused on how the competition around emotional capital would cause the stratification of labor.

- 6) In this paper, I have mainly focused on such characteristics of emotional intelligence in accordance with the considerations of Fineman. However, I have criticized other types of psychological knowledge that might have similar characteristics (Sakiyama, 2007).
- 7) I have criticized such characteristics of emotional intelligence from the viewpoint of psychologicalization (Sakiyama, 2009, 2010). I focused primarily on the relationship between cognition and emotion, and found that a change in cognition of emotional experiences only leads to a positive attitude.

From the perspective of emotional capital, I further suggest that these features may cause competition around abilities of human management abilities and create social stratification in contemporary society.

- 8) Many predictions have been made regarding the extent to which artificial intelligence will substitute for

human emotional labor and jobs. As an extreme, Kurzweil (Kurzweil, 2005) predicted that almost all human jobs would be substituted by about 2030.

In contrast, Arai (Arai, 2018) suggested that artificial intelligence will not be able to substitute for complex and sensitive human tasks, even with further innovations.

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## 感情労働を通じた動員： 感情労働を行う能力が競争原理となるとき

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本論文は、感情労働を行う能力が競争原理となるという観点から、ホクシールドによる感情労働の疎外論テーゼを批判的に検討し、むしろ感情労働を行える能力の源泉である感情資本の獲得へと人々が煽られていく原理を分析するものである。

感情労働という概念を提出したホクシールドは、そこにサービス産業の進展による新たな疎外を提唱した。それは、自身が行っている感情管理を職務上の感情労働に適合するよう強いられることにより、特に内面で抱く感情と職務上の感情との不協和が引き起こされることによるバーンアウト等を疎外として指摘するものであった。

一方、ホクシールドの疎外論テーゼに批判的な研究も提出されるようになった。トリックやライドナーは、感情労働を監視するスーパーバイザーが不在である時、労働者は感情労働における自律性を保持することができ、そのことによって疎外を来さないとした。しかし、その自律性は職場の状況に左右されるものであり、感情労働のより本質的な特徴を捉える必要がある。

そのため、特に感情労働の特性が先駆的に研究されたケア領域での感情労働が検討される。筆者が行った看護職への感情労働でも、それが常に疎外を来すのではなく、むしろ進んで「良い」感情労働を行う傾向が見られた。それは何に起因するのだろうか。

ボルトンは、感情労働を4つのタイプに分け、ホクシールドの感情労働論が面的であると指摘する。確かに多くの場合ケアでは組織が求める感情労働に従い、そこに疎外の危機はある。だが他方、クライアントとの良好な関係の中で肯定的な感情のやりとりを行うことが職務上の報酬となり、職務満足度を向上させるとしている。

このように、感情労働を行うことは必ずしも疎外を引き起こすばかりではない。むしろ人間関係の中で肯定的な感情経験を得るために「良い」感情労働が求められる側面が、とりわけ労働の感情労働化が進んだ現代社会においてはある。

さらに、ネオリベリズムやグローバル化の進展と AI の発展により、感情労働を上手く行える能力、すなわち感情資本の保持によって社会階層が定められていく傾向もある。感情資本を多く持ち、「良い」感情労働を行える層は社会の中核に配置され、そうでない層は周縁化される。

イリスは、この感情資本が現代社会において人々を判断する基準と化し、その有無において人々が選別されることを指摘する。しかし、その一例である感情知能を元にその内実を批判的に検討するならば、感情知能は必ずしも感情ではなく、人間関係を処理する認知的能力に焦点を当てている。このカラクリに無自覚なまま、感情を磨き上げることで感情資本の保持と向上を巡る競争へと人々はあおり立てられる。

このように「良い」感情労働を行いたいという意識、そのために感情資本を得たいという欲求は、ホクシールドが指摘するような企業組織体の要請によるものではない。むしろ人々が進んで行っていくものであり、そこに新しい疎外の可能性がある。

キーワード：感情の社会学、感情労働、社会階層、感情資本、感情知能

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