working life. Some skilled workers, for example, may be trapped in jobs where their skills are under-utilized and others may experience relatively little autonomy or increasing stresses of deadlines. The financial crisis that developed from autumn 2007 onwards also had an unprecedented impact on the opportunities for highly educated City workers and challenged the claims of the financial services sector to be the leading edge of the economy and the motor of economic growth, at least in the short to medium term. As well as growing numbers of 'better' jobs, there is also a growing proportion of hard-to-automate, poorly paid bottom-end jobs in service-dominated economies, typically dependent on close interactions between workers and customers. In this diverse and polarized labour market, embodied attributes such as sex and gender, skin colour, age, weight and accent are increasingly important at both ends of the job spectrum, at the top as well as at the bottom end, as ideas about the appropriateness and suitability for different types of work are mapped onto the diverse characteristics of workers. In the next chapter I turn to look in more detail at how to theorize this growing complexity, starting with a discussion about the growing significance of sexuality, desire and embodiment in interactive forms of work in the service economy, before looking at the connections between the key social divisions of class, gender and ethnicity in interactive employment.

3

Thinking Through Embodiment: Explaining Interactive Service Employment

A key component of work performed by many workers has been the presentation of emotions that are specified and desired by their organizations.
J. Morris and D. Feldman, *Academy of Management Review* 21, 1996

In the second of this pair of definitional chapters, the focus shifts from the economy itself to conceptual issues about the nature of embodied work in service economies, looking at the ways in which theorists from different traditions have explained the coincidence of service work, embodied labours and the performance of social identity. In service economies, bodily labour – in the sense of an embodied performance – is a key part of many occupations, not only of the high-touch jobs explored here but also of some of the high-status, high-tech jobs that at first sight seem to depend entirely on cerebral, disembodied activities. As the quotation at the head of the chapter makes clear, however, waged labour in a wide range of occupations and professions in service economies increasingly depends on the manipulation of emotions to produce an embodied performance that meets the demands of employers. In both high-status and low-status work, bodies and emotions matter. However, there is still a clear status hierarchy that in part mirrors the older mental/manual labour division in manufacturing economies. In embodied interactive forms of work, in general the closer the contact is between the bodies of service providers and service purchasers, the lower the status of the work and, usually, the lower the financial reward.

From Labouring Bodies to Desirable/Desiring Bodies

As I established earlier, consumer service sector work almost always involves a direct relationship with a client, customer or consumer. It is work in which employees 'sell' themselves as part of the transaction (Hochschild 1983).

The bodily presentation and performance of employees are crucially significant in interactive service jobs or 'body work' (Wolkowitz 2002, 2006). Further, the jobs and occupations that are currently expanding fastest not only often demand a focus on the bodily performance of workers themselves, but also involve work on clients' bodies, including the 'adornment, pleasure, discipline and care of others' bodies' (Wolkowitz 2002: 497). In both aspects of body work – the production of an embodied performance by workers and the labour involved in the care of others' bodies – social relations based on sexuality, pleasure, desire and fantasy play an increasingly significant part in the employment relation: in hiring and firing, in acceptable workplace performances, in interactions between workers and customers or clients and in the ways in which social attributes are attributed to different types of work and which correspondingly are differentially rewarded. The growing significance of commoditized forms of body work has recast the associations between the social relations of production and the social construction of identity for increasing numbers of employees.

As Macdonald and Sirianni (1996: 4) argued:

> The assembly-line worker could openly hate his job, despise his supervisor and even dislike his co-workers, and while this might be an unpleasant state of affairs, if he completed his assigned tasks efficiently, his attitude was his own problem. For the service worker, inhabiting the job means, at the very least, pretending to like it, actually bringing his [*sic*] whole self into the job, liking it, and genuinely caring for the people with whom he interacts.

Macdonald and Sirianni rather hedge their bets here about the difference between a pretence of liking work and the emotions of genuine caring that might be involved and there has been a long debate about whether emotions at work are manipulated or authentic (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995; Mann 1999; Bolton and Boyd 2003; Erikson 2004; Sanders 2005). Hochschild (1983), in her original formulation of the notion of managed emotions, argued that emotional labour is used by organizations to control their workers, and so leads to alienation for individual employees (Leidner 1993; Pierce 1995). Other studies have found that workers find pleasure and satisfaction in drawing on their feelings to establish emotional connection between themselves and their customers or clients (Bolton and Boyd 2003; Erikson 2004). Nevertheless, the main point remains. Waged work increasingly demands and depends on an embodied performance in which emotional connections are a crucial part of the service exchange. The clothes, appearance, weight, facial expressions, gestures, sociability (whether 'real' or pretended) and the general bodily presentation of self that mark out an appropriate performance have grown in significance as essential attributes of acceptable service sector workers.

It is salutary to recall, however, that in his classic *White Collar Work*, first published in 1953, the US sociologist C. Wright Mills already recognized

the key features of what is now termed emotional, interactive or body work and assumed by many to be a relatively new phenomenon in the contemporary workplaces of advanced economies. He argued thus:

> When white collar people get jobs, they not only sell their time and energy but their personalities as well. They sell by the week or the month their smiles and their kindly gestures, and they must practise the prompt repression of resentment and aggression. For these intimate traits are of commercial relevance and are required for the more efficient and profitable redistribution of goods and services. (Wright Mills 1953: xvii)

These intimate traits, Mills recognized, are shaped and managed not only by workers themselves, but by managers, as white collar workers increasingly were trained to produce acceptable performances and to shape their bodies and personalities to benefit the 'corporation'. Mills' recognition of the importance of emotional work more than half a century ago is further evidence challenging the epochal transformation claims discussed in the previous chapter.

Gender, sexuality, emotions, performances and organizations

Until the late 1970s, however, C. Wright Mills' early analysis of white collar 'personality' work was largely ignored until a growing body of feminist-inspired scholarship began to influence analyses of the labour market and organizational behaviour in sociology, business studies and economics. Ideas about how gender shaped both individual workplace performances and the structure of organizations, allied to insights about the significance of emotions at work, produced innovative analyses of the emerging form of service sector organizations and employment. For many years, too many social scientists, especially geographers, ignored the personal attributes of workers. Employees en masse were seen as labour power which varied, for geographers by region or nation, and which embodied a rather general notion of a 'tradition of skill'. Sociologists and economists preferred the concept of 'human capital', which included educational and skill endowments. As individual actors, workers were seen as rational economic 'men' seeking work that was as well remunerated as possible in order to meet their daily needs.

Workplaces or organizations clearly differ in the terms and conditions of employment that they offer, but like their employees, it was assumed that they too were rationally organized in order to make maximum profits. A significant challenge to the notion of rational bureaucratic organizations or disembodied non-sexual (and by default masculine) workers that dominated economic geography, sociology and other associated disciplines came in work that might be grouped under the heading of 'gender and organizations'. Here Joan Acker (1990) challenged the notion that organizations consist of profit-maximizing institutions that, through the employment of

hierarchies of employees without dependants, achieve market-defined ends. In this rational view of the world, employees, whose skills and knowledge best fit the goals of the organization, are appointed, rewarded and promoted on the basis of an objective evaluation of their performance. Instead, Acker argued, organizations are seldom rational or objective, but rather their structures, cultures and everyday practices are imbued with essentialist and non-essentialist assumptions about gender and sexuality which operate to consistently benefit certain workers, typically white, heterosexual men. The disadvantaged include a cast of 'Others': women, people of colour, less physically able workers and people with alternative sexual identities. These Others may be excluded or alternatively constructed as less suitable, inferior workers and restricted to a narrow range of jobs and occupations that are regarded as congruent with their gendered and sexualized identities. In consequence the division of labour per se and organizations and their practices are deeply gendered. Both conscious and unconscious practices produce and maintain gender inequality in the workplace.

Acker's work and the organizational case studies that followed it built on Rosabeth Moss Kanter's book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977). There she documented men's dominance of high-status occupations and positions, showing how men's power depended on women's support services, both in the workplace and the home. Thus, white (heterosexual) men, with minimal involvement in procreation and highly controlled emotions, reliant on someone else (usually a woman in the home) to undertake the messy and emotional tasks of daily reproduction, climbed the greasy pole to promotion in the workplace. A wide range of work in the last fifteen years or so has documented the ways in which this particular unsexed, independent bodily norm is part of the maintenance of gender inequalities in the workplace. Women are constructed as out of place in workplaces, especially those where the work is based on a version of rational, cerebral masculinity, but also where bodily strength is required. Their lack of conformity to a masculine bodily norm confines women to a narrow group of 'appropriate' occupations, as well as saturating the very definition of different tasks and jobs with gendered attributes. The various ways in which the discursive construction of organizational practices produce and maintain patterns of gendered and sexualized behaviour on the 'shop floor', in banks and laboratories, and in high-status management jobs, as well as in older forms of work based on brute strength and endurance (in mines and machine shops, in steel works and the army), have been documented in fascinating detail: some of these studies are the subject of later chapters. It is now recognized that:

> Not only are there gendered assumptions built into most job descriptions and job assignments, as well as variations in pay scales and occupational ladders/promotion schemes, organizations also sexualize workers – presenting authority and physical labour as testaments to heterosexual masculinity, and good looks, 'service with a smile' and covert sexiness as evidence of heterosexual femininity. These norms and expectations are maintained by open and hidden harassment and subtle and blunt sanctions by workers of each other and by bosses of workers under them. (Ferree, Lorber and Hess 1999: xxix)

If femininity structures less well-regarded jobs, masculinity is associated with management skills. Collison and Hearn (1994), for example, in empirical analyses of managers in several institutions, distinguished the varying ways in which male managers manage and regulate their co-workers through constructing alternative versions of masculine identities that construct or preclude dissent through coercive or cooperative strategies. Their strategies are variously based on versions of male authority or male trust and cooperation that differentially and unequally position male subordinates and peers but which also act to affirm masculine solidarity within organizations by excluding women and behaviours that might be associated with femininity. Numerous studies of female-dominated occupations and workplaces, whether factory work or secretarial work, have shown how women workers often draw on alternative, feminized scripts and performances in their discursive construction of identity and in their definition of work roles and relations with co-workers in order to challenge masculinized norms and male domination, introducing questions about familial obligations, pregnancy and menstruation, for example, into a previously disembodied workplace discourse. In studies of British and Japanese factory workers, for example, Westwood (1984) and Kondo (1990), respectively, have demonstrated how women in their workplaces assert their identities as mothers and as carers for others, paradoxically challenging masculinized dominance of factory spaces but, at the same time, reinforcing their own inferiority as workers by emphasizing their femininity and so reaffirming their status as 'other', different from the masculine norm. In a study of data entry workers in Barbados, however, Freeman (2000) has shown how female workers, by dressing well and emphasizing their femininity, are able to construct a discourse of work as significant and status enhancing, closer to the world of the office worker than routine semi-manual work, and so challenging their designation as unskilled.

Rosemary Pringle's (1988) analysis of secretarial work was one of the earliest and best of the studies that focused directly on questions of sexuality and desire in a service sector workplace, showing how sexuality, pleasure and desire are important in establishing and reinforcing workplace hierarchies. She defined sexuality as a set of meanings related to representation, identity and desire rather than explicit behaviours associated with sexual activities. Through interviews in offices, she showed how the relations between secretaries and their bosses in large part depended on gendered/sexualized

interactions. Female secretaries, for example, drew on a range of gendered and/or sexualized discourses, including the office 'mistress' and the office 'wife', to construct particular power relations between them and their male bosses. While flirting and having fun was a common script for male boss-female secretary interaction, as well as the extension of office duties into 'homemaker' tasks (making coffee, arranging food at meetings, buying flowers for the office or gifts for the boss's household, for example), between women bosses and women secretaries the social relations were both more straightforward and less deferential and typically confined to more strictly defined office-based and work-related activities.

As Pringle argued, employees are not merely passive objects in these relationships. Instead, they are active agents who both construct and resist these different positions. Identities are not fixed as people enter the workplace, but are open, negotiable, shifting and ambiguous. Gendered sexualized identities are thus constructed and challenged through workplace practices in official and unofficial arenas and practices that are saturated by notions about gender and sexuality in ways that position women, in particular, as sexualized bodies. Thus:

> Sexual skills are acquired and incorporated into the organizational role. The organization acquires command over the sexuality of its employees, within certain limits. Women with jobs that require, implicitly or explicitly, an attractive appearance – hostesses, saleswomen, receptionists, secretaries – are duty bound to be agreeable or seductive, and must be or pretend to be 'sexy' in their dealings with the public. (Gherardi 1995: 43)

It is clear then that workplaces and organizations are not only (if at all) rational bureaucracies, but also locations and sites for the construction of identity, in which men and women 'do gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987) and construct and enact versions of sexuality through everyday interactions. Workplaces are dynamic and changing and are themselves embedded within wider social structures and attitudes and assumptions about gender and sexuality. Socio-spatial relations operating across different scales and times interact in the construction of workers' identities. Economic migrant workers, for example, may have difficulty in reading the scripts that structure sexualized performances in workplaces.

Theorizing Embodied Identities, Exploring Complexity

A growing number of studies have drawn on Pringle's path-breaking work, exploring the consequences of theorizing gender and sexuality as fluid and mutable in analyses of deferential performances in a range of occupations.

Expanding the definition of sexuality from sexual acts per se to include representations, everyday interactions and social regulations, as well as ideas of fantasy and desire, has opened up new areas of research about the economy. These studies have demonstrated how conventional attributes of hegemonic gender identity and a dominant version of heterosexuality are performed and confirmed in daily and institutional practices in workplaces in ways that benefit (certain) men. In the main, these studies draw on two connected sets of theoretical arguments. The first is Foucault's (1978) insistence that the body is an inscripted surface, in which self-discipline and normalization based on multiple discourses (temporally and culturally specific sets of ideas, images, institutional structures, practices and regulations) are crucial in the production and maintenance of an approved body. Thus through the operation of a wide range of forms of social regulation including self-discipline, 'conforming' or 'docile' bodies are produced and reproduced though everyday social practices. These bodies tend to conform to conventional social notions of acceptable versions of masculinity and femininity, but are open to redefinition through resistance to the norms.

The second set of work is that dominated by the arguments of the feminist theorist Judith Butler (1990, 1993, 1997), who draws on psychoanalytic, feminist and poststructuralist theories in her work on identity. She insists on the provisional status of identity which is performative, constructed within language and discourse. Gender is thus a 'regulatory fiction' constructed within discourses that normalize heterosexuality. Her notion of performativity is not one of an individualized and voluntary performance, but rather the creation of identities that are constructed through pre-existing discursive structures (Salih 2002). Through these structures, gendered identities are continually produced and reproduced, made material through schemes of surveillance, discipline and self-regulation. Thus, gendered identities are never singular nor fixed but fluid and complex, often contradictory, reiterative and performative, and so made and remade in social relations in the workplace. Masculinity and femininity are mutually but also multiply constituted, variable and relationally constructed, rather than being a categorically separate and unvarying binary division. Although gendered identities are context dependent and temporally specific they are nevertheless, as Butler insists, always inextricably embedded and produced within dominant representations of heterosexuality in western societies.

Gender, Butler argues, is routinely produced through 'a heterosexual matrix', a term that she uses 'to designate that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders, and desires are naturalized' (Butler 1990: 151). In this grid, a hegemonic version of sex is established and through this a notion of gender that is 'oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality' (p. 151). Normative heterosexual identities are maintained through the policing of hegemonic performances and the

shaming of 'abnormal' performances, through a process of othering. Thus the very acceptance of 'intelligible' or normative gender identities depends on the contrasting presence of an abnormal or 'unintelligible' gender – the terms are Butler's. Consequently, heterosexuality and gender are inherently unstable as each relies on the contrasting presence of the Other. However, heteronormativity is dominant, set within a complex matrix of power relations that together constitute the hegemonic regulatory regime within a particular society.

As feminist analysts of the labour market have shown, this heterosexual matrix regulates social relations in the workplace, both through the social construction of certain jobs as appropriate for men or for women, and through the regulation of organizations and everyday social practices on the basis of heteronormative principles (Pringle 1988, 1998; Adkins 1995; Adkins and Lury 1996, 1999; McDowell 1997, 2003; Halford and Leonard 2006). In this regulatory system the embodied performance of an acceptable workplace identity is central. And although this matrix is malleable and open to rearticulation, sets of accepted constraints – both subjective and socially constructed discursive practices – limit the extent and possibilities of transgression. Transgressive performances are possible, however, challenging the association of masculinity or femininity with particular jobs and occupations – men doing 'female' jobs, for example, such as nursing or domestic service, that demand the sort of deferential or docile performance typically associated with femininity (Lupton 2000) or women undertaking masculine work such as heavy manual labour or rational calculating tasks. In chapter 7 the position of men in nursing and care work is explored. Adopting Butler's notion of the heterosexual matrix in analyses of the production of 'appropriate' working bodies thus allows interesting questions about employment practices to be addressed.

What these theoretical arguments allow is the linking of sexuality and gender to Wolkowitz's (2002, 2006) arguments about the body. In embodied, sexualized performances the attributes of a desirable and desiring body play a part. Attributes such as weight, complexion, hair, accent, clothes and gestures all become part of the interactions between providers and consumers. An employee in interactive occupations is usually trying to persuade the purchaser to buy something, be it a burger (Crang 1994), a hotel room (Adkins 1995; McDowell et al. 2007), financial advice (Halford et al. 1997; McDowell, Batnizky and Dyer 1997), a toy for a child (Williams 2006) or a ride at Disneyland (Van Maanen 1991). Some organizations make the requirement of an idealized, typically white, clean, slim and young, and often sexualized, body an explicit part of the recruitment process. When the Euro Disney Corporation was first recruiting in Paris in the 1990s, for example, a series of rules were laid down about appearance at work – no facial hair, no single earrings for women and none at all for men, women had to wear black tights and trousers could only be worn by women if they

negotiated permission. Similar rules are common in the airline industry where the sexualized bodily performance of both men but especially women flight attendants is notorious, perhaps culminating in the sort of campaigns airlines were running in the 1980s and 1990s (Cathay Air ran advertisements in the 1980s featuring an attractive young woman with the tag line of 'I'm Cindi, fly me'). This emphasis on looks and age, on weight and appearance in the airline industry has been subject to legal challenges, however, and the age limit for working as part of the cabin crew has been raised.

In this industry, however, as in many forms of routine service work, interactions with clients are highly scripted, regulated and monitored and often depend on the manipulation of the employees' sexualized emotions, including the manipulation of sexual desire (Leidner 1993). In her now-classic study of a range of jobs including airline stewarding, Hochschild (1983) described these types of work as dependent on a 'managed heart' in which an affective relationship is established with passengers through the manipulation of emotions. Thus cabin crew produce a performance that combines deferential service with an authoritative knowledge of security and safety issues. In this performance, both hetero- and homosexual desire is a significant part of client-employee interactions and of interactions between workers. Du Gay (1996) has documented a different type of scripted exchange in retail outlets aimed at the teenage mass fashion market. In this case, a scripted exchange based on an ideal of youthful equality, rather than the heterosexist interactions Hochschild noted in the airline industry, is common. Further, the conventional distinction between the workers and clients is blurred in interactions that depend increasingly on the similarity of the sales staff and the customers and their participation in a sociable, yet scripted, ritual based on false notions of equality and familiarity. In these exchanges a groomed, trimmed, tamed and toned, sexually desirable body, preferably well dressed in the firm's products, and the capacity for continual self-discipline and improvement are a significant aspect of the employment relationship. Casual flirting is also a recognized part of the script, as it helps to sell clothes.

Grooming the body and dressing the part have long been acknowledged as central to the social construction of femininity. The hard work that is involved in producing an acceptable version of heteronormative femininity is nicely captured in this description of the female body by Andrea Dworkin (1974: 113–14):

> Standards of beauty describe in precise terms the relationship that an individual will have with her own body. They prescribe her motility, spontaneity, posture, gait, the uses to which she can put her body....
>
> In our culture, not one part of a woman's body is left untouched, unaltered. No feature or extremity is spared the art, or pain, of improvement.... From head to toe, every feature of a woman's face, every section of her body is

> subject to modification, alteration. This alteration is an ongoing, repetitive process. It is vital to the economy, the major substance of male-female differentiation, the most immediate physical and psychological reality of being a woman. From the age of 11 or 12 until she dies, a woman will spend a large part of her time, money and energy on binding, plucking, painting and deodorizing herself.

The constant attention to weight, odour, looks and appearance is not only the focus of individuals' daily routines but, as Dworkin notes, the basis of multi-million pound industries. And in the three decades since Dworkin described the construction of a woman's body, the body has become even more central to both individual identity and to the health of the economy. Bodily standards increasingly apply to men too, as they become the subjects and objects of advertising and marketing campaigns. For both men and women in the new millennium, the body is not only the subject of anxiety but also the last frontier of control as the lived experience of embodiment is increasingly an area of choice and modification through diet, exercise and surgery (Turner 2008).

The idea that body work *on oneself* is a central part of the new service economy is not a new idea either. Erving Goffman in his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, first published in 1959, used metaphors from the stage in arguing that identity work involved performances, role playing, scripts and audiences in which individuals were seen as both the product and the producers of social meaning. He talked about the body as a peg on which something of 'collaborative manufacture will be hung from time to time' (Goffman 1959: 245), although in Foucauldian analysis the body itself is constructed through inscription: it too is part of the collaborative manufacture, rather than an unchangeable physical object as Goffman implied. The social construction of bodies is thus a social and interactive process in which individuals have agency (Featherstone, Hepworth and Turner 1991; Bordo 1993; Shilling 1993; Tseelon 1995). Although people are not necessarily the dupes of consumer capitalism – tricked into purchases and interventions against their will – they are nevertheless constrained by appropriate versions of embodied identities. And as more and more people engage in forms of work in which appearances matter, the body increasingly becomes the subject of self-improvement.

Writing more than thirty years after Goffman, British sociologist Anthony Giddens (1991) argued that bodily appearance had an even more central relevance than in previous generations. He acknowledged that dress and adornment have always been a signalling device of gender, class position and occupational status, but suggested that in late modernity – the period from the 1970s onwards – the very design of the body itself becomes an ideal to work on. No longer just a 'peg' as Goffman assumed, material

bodies might themselves be reformed and reconstructed to achieve the desired – above all, youthful – appearance. Thus, he argued, 'bodily regimes are the prime means whereby the institutional reflexivity of modern social life is focused on the cultivation – almost, one might say, the creation – of the body' (p. 100) and so 'we become responsible for the design of our own bodies' (p. 102). Men, as well as women, are the subjects and objects of this redesign as the self becomes a project to be consciously and continuously 'worked at' (Gill, Henwood and Mclean 2005). Men's bodies are on display alongside women's on billboard, in films, in both popular and specialist magazines and as fashion icons. The image of a hairless, toned David Beckham (in an Armani advertisement in 2008), in tight white pants and splayed legs, revealing his splendid equipment as the object of both the hetero- and homo-erotic gaze, is a classic example of a male body coded in a way that gives permission for it to be looked at and desired by men as well as by women (Simpson 1994).

Like Turner, Giddens (1991) argues that this emphasis on the desired and desiring body leads to anxiety, insecurity and self-criticism in a society characterized by greater risks (this is a reference to Ulrich Beck's (1992) thesis about late modern society as a risk society) as the conventional structures of family, class and gender become more fluid and subject to renegotiation by individual action. Thus, in parallel with Susan Bordo's (1993) work on eating disorders and the female body, he argues that the rise of eating disorders among young men as well as young women, as well as other forms of body hatred and body dysmorphic disorders and self-harming, is in part a consequence of the focus on embodiment in contemporary society:

> Anorexia and its apparent opposite compulsive over-eating, could be understood as casualties of the need – and responsibility – of the individual to create and maintain a distinctive self-identity. They are extreme versions of the control of bodily regimes which has now become generic to the circumstances of everyday life. (Giddens 1991: 105)

Naming workers

In interactions with clients in the work spaces of service economies, the expectations that the customers hold about the ways in which a service should be provided and who is a suitable worker enter into decisions not only about the performance of the task but also who should be appointed to do it. In service labour markets there is a triadic or three-fold relationship involved in workplace practices: the key actors are managers/employers, workers and customers. Williams (2006), in her case study of the ways in which customer expectations affected recruitment policies in retail outlets in two localities in a large US southern city, showed how class and ethnic

differentiation between the areas was reflected in employment practices as the outlets recruited staff who mirrored the different expectations of the residents in each area. In her work, Williams (2006) drew on the concept of interpellation. Interpellation (call and response) is an Althusserian concept, applied to labour market analysis by Michael Burawoy in his book *Manufacturing Consent* (1979) to capture the ways in which employers/managers construct idealized or stereotypical notions of idealized workers. This naming of others in the workplace is in turn internalized by workers themselves so that they come to conform to or recognize themselves in the managerial naming. Thus subjects are constituted in and take meaning from social relations in the workplace. Identity is not an inherent attribute of the individual, but a social construction. Workers who come to embody managerial assumptions/stereotypes – about docile femininity, for example, or embodied masculine strength – are in part conjured up by managerial fantasies.

In recent work, the concept of interpellation has been extended in its confrontation with the feminist studies I outlined above, and their recognition that identities are more fluid and malleable as well as multiple than earlier labour market theorists suggested. Salzinger (2003) and Williams (2006), for example, drawing in particular on the work of the feminist film critic Teresa de Lauretis (1987), have insisted, unlike Burawoy, that workplace identities, which he saw as constituted only in and by class divisions, are not singular but multiple, and indeed may be contradictory, the site of resistance as well as conformity to managerial namings. Wright (1997, 1999, 2006), for example, in her analyses of women's manufacturing work in Mexican macquiladoras (factories on the US/Mexico border), showed, like Salzinger (2003), that Mexican women in different circumstances are able to challenge their construction as 'Woman', as stereotypical docile female subjects, through a range of workplace strategies. Thus Wright suggests that interpellation is a *contested* process, 'paralleled by strategies of resistance, as workers challenge the dissonances between their own desires and self-identities and managerial/client expectations' (Wright 2006: 56). It is important, however, also to recognize the multiple discourses of managers and employers and not to see these as singular or unchanging stereotypes. They too are located within organizational structures that produce and reproduce certain versions of managerial discourses that emphasize particular attributes of desirable future employees. Thus workers are 'formed in dialogue with other workers ... through comparison, contrast and opposition to multiple imaginaries' (Salzinger 2003: 20), although as Williams (2006: 55) noted, 'workers typically consent and embrace the stereotypes (*employed by management*), since their opportunities depend on their conformity to these managerial imaginings'. As Bourdieu (1999) argued about a form of aggressive masculinity that characterizes young working-class men's sense of their identity, it is often less painful 'to make a virtue out of necessity' (p. 433) than to challenge stereotypes, to resist categorization or change behaviours.

While Salzinger and Wright's case studies were of manufacturing workplaces, Williams' study was of service employment, where customers, as well as managers and co-workers, also construct a series of imaginaries in anticipating service interactions. In service jobs and occupations interpellation takes what Williams termed a *dual form*, as workers not only have to conform to managerial imaginations of an idealized embodiment of service but also to the expectations of customers, from airline customers who expect service with a smile to accompany a speedy check-in process, to the guests of the hotel who want efficient but authoritative service in the restaurant and the invisible servicing of their rooms when they are unoccupied (Waldinger 1992; Guerrier and Adib 2000). Front-stage service workers (Goffman 1959) are thus the visible objects of the multiple desires and fantasies of clients who not only purchase a service but also a set of expectations – whether about luxurious pampering and 'time-out' or an efficient business service. Indeed, as Gabriel (2004), Ritzer (1999) and others (e.g. Bryman 1999, 2004) have argued, in consumer-based industries, 'enchanting' the clients has become a key part of service provision, and service workplaces become 'more oriented towards the "fantasizing consumer" than the "toiling worker"' (Hughes 2005: 609).

In high-tech and high-status occupations the sexed body and sexual desire are paradoxically both present and absent. Although an aestheticized, sexually attractive and sexually conformist (heterosexual) embodied and interactive performance by individual employees is highly valorized (Bauman 1998), the status of these types of occupations depends on their construction as cerebral and disembodied: attributes which are, of course, traditionally associated with a particular version of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995, 2000). In the idealized version of bureaucratic or scientific work, the worker is a rational, calculating instrument, free from the messy emotional demands of everyday life and, rather like a medieval monk or old-fashioned Oxbridge academic (Massey 1995), freed from the need even to provide his (and the model is a masculine one) own meals. In this version of the working world, relationships are based on reason and not emotions which are seen as inappropriately intrusive in the workplace. However, in the world of 'soft' capitalism identified by Thrift (2005), new sets of relationships within organizations based on ideas of coping with complexity and uncertainty and the need to produce learning environments in knowledge-based organizations have become significant, at least rhetorically. In devising structures to deal with complexity and uncertainty, the need to 'engage hearts and minds' (Thrift 2005: 32) became significant, almost as if it was suddenly recognized that 'organizations were made up of people after all', not just 'heads' and 'role occupations' (Handy 1989: 71).

Ideas about pleasure, emotions and embodied or tacit knowledge began to pervade the management literature as organizations searched for ways to deal with uncertainty and diversity and to build trust in different circumstances. Management turned to a range of different sources to help high-level workers 'get in touch with themselves', including, in the 1990s, New Age ideas. A range of organizations from the Bank of England to the large insurance company Legal & General sent top executives on courses to learn the Whirling Dervish dance in search of inner peace (Thrift 2005: 42)! The management literature and practices, however, developed in almost complete isolation from feminist analyses of the significance of embodied emotions and sexuality at work, drawing on Polanyi's (1967) ideas from gestalt psychology (his most famous saying was 'we know more than we can tell') rather than the work of theorists who were more influential in feminism and in the theoretical social sciences, such as Bourdieu (discussed below). However, it is clear that traditional ideas about disembodied cerebral practices in the workplace were being challenged in practical ways in many organizations, as embodied emotions were admitted into the workplace, even into the board room.

Unlike organizational theorists, feminist philosophers looked elsewhere for ideas about the significance of the lived body. In a review of the work on embodiment, US philosopher Iris Marion Young (2005) argued that an analysis of social structures must be added to understandings of how normative heterosexuality constructs/positions different bodies. As she argues, 'social structures position individuals in relations of labour and production, power and subordination, desire and sexuality, prestige and status. The way a person is positioned in structures is as much a function of how other people treat him or her within various institutional settings as of the attitude a person takes to himself or herself' (2005: 20–1). This chimes with the Althusserian notion of interpellation and is a further reminder that in service economies, the attitudes (or assumed attitudes) of customers, as well as employers, are significant in explaining who gets what sorts of work. These attitudes, however, are constructed within social structures. The categorical inequalities of class, gender and ethnic origin still matter. But Young also reminds us that individuals may occupy multiple positions in structures and so different attributes and positions are salient in different arenas of life. In her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (1990), which is a theoretical critique of notions of distributive justice, she explores the connections between the division of labour and embodiment, arguing that contemporary structures of inequality are composed of what she terms 'five faces of oppression', involving 'social structures and relations beyond distribution' which create hierarchical differences between groups of people (p. 9). The five faces of oppression she identifies are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, violence and cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism is the face that is most relevant here and perhaps the least self-explanatory. It is defined

by Young as the 'universalization of the dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm' (p. 59), which works to stereotype the views and experiences of people outside this dominant norm and construct them as 'Other'.

One of the key aspects of cultural imperialism involves the body or bodily image and its presentation. As Young argues, ugly, fat, non-white, elderly bodies are inadmissible in societies that valorize an idealized white, slim, young, unwrinkled, typically heterosexualized body, and so such bodies are out of place in the interactive sales/advice-giving industries and occupations that increasingly dominate in advanced industrial societies. In these consumer societies, 'dynamics of desire and the pulses of attraction and aversion' (Young 1990: 60) influence the scope and content of interactions between workers, their peers, superiors, clients and customers, a reaffirmation of the earlier argument about the significance of consumers in service economies in expecting to be served by desirable bodies. The ability to achieve the most desired image is constrained not only by income and resources but also by ageing and bodily decline, as well as the extent to which diverse bodies can be manipulated to achieve what is most highly valorized. And the bodily ideals presented in television and film and representations in magazines and in advice columns are themselves typically unattainable: not achievable identities but rather fictions (Frost 2005) or the simulacrum identified by Burawoy (1979).

The centrality of desire to the economy as whole, as well as to workplace performances, has been addressed by Zygmunt Bauman (1998) in his assessment of the consequences of the rise of consumer societies. He argues that the transition of advanced industrial economies from mass societies, mass producing a limited range of consumer goods for relatively undifferentiated markets, to economies based on the development of a highly differentiated range of products for niche markets has, in large part, been based on the successful manipulation of desire, associated with the rise of advertising. He argues that as consumer societies are volatile and temporary, objects of desire not only must be instantly available but must also bring instant satisfaction which just as quickly wanes. 'Consumers must be constantly exposed to new temptations in order to be kept in a state of constantly seething, never wilting excitation and, indeed, in a state of suspicion and disaffection' (p. 26). In an even more explicit parallel with sexual desire he argues:

> It is often said that the consumer market seduces its customers. But in order to do so it needs customers who are ready and keen to be seduced. In a properly working consumer society consumers seek actively to be seduced. They live from attraction to attraction, from temptation to temptation. (p. 26)

The rapid gratification of consumer demands is thus a driver of economic expansion, as well as a central element in the construction of self-identity.

The purchase of 'lifestyle' choices becomes a way of marking out both distinctiveness and distinction (Bourdieu 1984), as affluent consumers are increasingly able to buy exactly what they need to mark themselves out from others in a 'society organized around desire and choice' (Bauman 1998: 29). Almost everything is for sale. Customers are able to buy a 'facelift, Armani suit, liposuction, phalloplasty, Porsche, blow job, a whipping or bondage session ... to enhance their self-esteem in the most appropriate way' (Hawkes 1996: 117). And so in this type of consumer-based society the role of the providers and sellers of goods and high-quality services in niche markets as agents of seduction assumes a highly significant role. In growing numbers of service occupations, the interaction between clients and providers is an exchange based on the manipulation of emotions and the satisfaction of desire, and in these transactions the bodily performance of the server is a key part of the exchange: whether literally or as a symbolic representation of the service. From sex work, through elder care to university teaching, an embodied performance is a central part of the exchange.

Clearly, the recognition of the ways in which gendered identities are a key part of workplace social relations has been central to the work that I have summarized so far. However, bodies are also differentiated by age, by sexual preference and by different levels of physical ability, as well as by social class. As Robyn Dowling (1999) noted in an assessment of geographical work on the body, until that date there had been an almost complete neglect of the fact that bodies also have class positions written on to them as well as gendered attributes, although she ignored Burawoy's use of the concept of interpellation to explore class-based practices. In the last part of this chapter, I consider other dimensions of embodiment and the ways in which they interact in the labour market to produce hierarchies of desirable and appropriate bodies for different types of work.

Class Practices and Ethnic Penalties: Recognizing Complex Intersectionality

So far in this discussion about embodied labour and the construction of identities in the workplace, the focus has been on gender divisions and gendered social relations, in part because the associations between femininity and emotions, gender and embodiment are so obvious and significant in understanding new divisions of labour. But bodies bear the traces not only of gender relations but are also marked by class and ethnicity and the sets of assumptions that accompany these differences. In feminist theory and in the work on embodiment more generally, it is now widely recognized that identities are complex, multiple and fluid, continuously (re)produced and performed in different arenas of everyday life. Responding to criticisms that

gender is not a single category, untouched by class position or skin colour, feminist theorists now insist that subject formations and social relations are constructed through *intersectionality* – a set of relationships among the multiple dimensions of being. Thus, identities are theorized as complex and diverse and, in a formulation that appeals to geographers, as historically variable and spatially contingent – in other words, time and place matter (McCall 2005). The dimensions of difference typically referred to in discussions of complex intersectionality include race, gender and ethnicity; class, sexuality and age are sometimes addressed too and there are now numerous, often empirically sophisticated, studies that focus on connections between these dimensions in explorations of labour market change. Typically, these analyses draw on qualitative research methods, unpicking connections through careful and detailed interviews or ethnographic research with small groups of individuals or communities, showing how men and women of colour, workers with alternative sexualities and older workers find themselves disadvantaged in particular labour markets, disqualified from some positions and crowded into others, typically at the more precarious end of the labour market where rewards for work are lower than average (see, for example, Beneria and Roldan 1987; Ong 1987; Hanson and Pratt 1995; Kim 1997; McDowell 1997; Chatterjee 2001; Salzinger 2003; Chari 2004; Chari and Gidwani 2005; Wright 2006; for an excellent review, see Mills 2003). To end this chapter, I want first to discuss the connections between class, embodiment and employment and then turn to questions about ethnicity and skin colour in the labour market.

Class practices

The production of class as a location in the sphere of production typically has been theorized as the outcome of economic change rather than as part of its explanation. Class, it is argued, is an objective location. It consists of structurally defined categories, which in Marxist theory are constituted by a relationship to the means of production. Capitalist societies in their simplest form consist of two classes with opposed interests: the owners of the means of production – the bourgeoisie – who profit from the labour of the working class who must sell their labour power in the market to exist. As societies become more complex, new divisions are created between, for example, owners and mangers who control the labour force on their behalf, but nevertheless class is seen an a consequence of rather than an input to economic relations. Interestingly, Marx himself did not ignore the body. Rather, he argued that there is a mutual and constitutive relationship between the body and work: the body is both the source of labour and its output, altered in different ways by the labour process. In a telling phrase Marx defined the outputs of employment – goods in particular – as the

'memorialization' of embodied work. He also argued that the tools used by labourers might be seen as an extension of the body. These arguments are perhaps easier to relate to the types of heavy manufacturing employment that were growing as Marx wrote in the nineteenth century, although service sector work in finance and business, for example, was also growing rapidly at the same time. In service work, where the output is often ephemeral, weightless or used up in the exchange, the labouring bodies are not memorialized in concrete form but rather in reputation, enjoyment or the prospect of future contacts. And as I argued earlier, Marx himself ignored service employment.

But class is more than a structural location, as the recent turn in class analysis to analysing the sets of cultural practices that construct and reinforce class differences demonstrates (Cannadine 2000; Savage 2000; Devine 2004; Skeggs 2004a; Devine et al. 2005; Sayer 2005). Here the work of Pierre Bourdieu has been helpful in understanding how ways of living, consumption practices and embodiment are all part of the production and maintenance of social divisions, positioning some people as superior to others in terms of their attitudes, beliefs and ways of living as well as in their occupational status and standard of living. In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu explored the ways in which the French middle class distinguished itself from the working class through the ownership of sets of belongings and lifestyles that defined their owners' moral superiority. Bourdieu used the term *symbolic violence* to capture the ways in which certain groups were constructed as morally inferior. Symbolic violence is different from physical violence: it is a more insidious form of power, constructed in both laws and practices of social institutions and everyday life. As Bourdieu (2001: 38–9) notes, 'it is a form of power that is inculcated on bodies, operating at "the deepest level of the body", and its efficacy is derived from the fact that it continues to exist long after external forms of violence are removed.' He argued, for example, that women's increased access to occupations, formal education, the political sphere and the right to vote cannot completely 'undo' the effects of the internal barriers that are imposed on women by acts of symbolic violence. In his view, a process of 'self-exclusion' takes over from 'external exclusion', thereby perpetuating male domination over women (Bourdieu 2001: 39). These arguments parallel Foucault's notion of disciplinary power and Butler's heterosexual matrix.

Bourdieu's (1984, 1990, 2001) work is insightful about the connections between embodiment, class position and class practices. He demonstrated the ways in which the body is marked by class signifiers and practices – made visible in the way in which people stand, in their gestures and habits, as well as through the ways they speak and dress. Thus the disposition of the body, he argued, is a social not a natural phenomenon: subjectivity is constructed through a person's location in a social field or set of social

relationships – a feature that Bourdieu captured in the term *habitus*. Habitus is thus the set of structured and structuring relationships that frames bodily conduct. This conduct itself Bourdieu termed *hexis*. As Bourdieu (1984: 466) recognized, 'social distinctions and practices are embedded in the most automatic gestures or the apparently most insignificant techniques of the body – ways of walking or blowing one's nose, ways of eating and talking'. In social interactions, one of the hallmarks of practice is the way in which the appearance of the body is significant. Assumptions and connections are made that occur without the explicit intervention of a discursively based consciousness or reflection. As Bourdieu has argued, 'there is a logic that unfolds directly in bodily gymnastics' (1990: 130). This claim parallels more recent discussions in other disciplines (Ahmed 2004), including geography (Davidson, Smith and Bondi 2005; Tolia-Kelly 2006; McCormack 2007), about the significance of 'affect' and emotions in social exchanges. Almost instantaneous, typically unreflexive reactions based on visceral emotions label and categorize actors in particular social circumstances. These emotions, as Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (1964) argued decades ago, are based on an inextricably intertwined combination of gesture, physiological processes and conscious experience. And so, social actions are always embodied just as embodiment is constructed socially. 'The social is incorporated into the body' (Skeggs 2004: 5) and vice versa.

Furthermore, embodiment is fluid and changeable. As individuals move between different social arenas, their habitus may change as they acquire new sets of skills and social dispositions over their lifetime, building on what Bourdieu terms their social, economic and cultural capital. Social capital is generated through family position and its relationship to wider society and is constituted largely though social networks, bringing useful contacts for some and excluding others from the networks that confer social advantage and privilege. Economic capital is wealth, either inherited or earned as income through interactions between individuals and economic structures. In an interesting comparison of young women in the US, Fernandez Kelly (1994) showed how the differential possession of social and economic capital of girls of colour growing up in the ghetto differentiates and disadvantages them from the moment of their birth. Cultural or symbolic capital is that set of social relations manifested in status and prestige, and interpersonal qualities such as charisma (Bourdieu 1984). Clearly, these capitals are interconnected and constructed over the lifetime through participation in different social arenas. These capitals all have an economic value if they are in short supply and so sought after. Thus attributes of social capital ranging from an elite education to modes of thinking or qualities of style are differentially evaluated and have different values in the labour market, constructing and maintaining patterns of social and economic exclusion (Brown 1995), as I illustrate in later chapters.

Reflexivity and individualization

In an interesting series of arguments, Lisa Adkins (2000, 2003, 2005), a sociologist interested in gender and work, has brought together a critique of the arguments about knowledge economies as increasingly individualized with Bourdieu's arguments about habitus and field to suggest that one of the consequences of service sector growth has been a reconfiguration of gender relations rather than their decreasing significance as Ulrich Beck, among other theorists, has suggested. Beck, a German sociologist, is one of the most influential commentators on recent social changes in industrial societies. He argued that western societies have become risk societies (Beck 1992) in which the traditional mechanisms of class solidarity and social movements to ensure security have been destabilized both by greater risks – of famine, disease, war, nuclear threat – and by a shift in economic and social policy towards a neoliberal version of individualization or individual responsibility. Thus, Beck argues, the traditional constraints of the former industrial society are weakened. The new post-industrial world is one which is distinguished by self-reflexivity – 'the ability to think and reflect on the social conditions of ... existence and to change them accordingly' (Beck 1994: 174). In work with Giddens and Lash, Beck (1994) has dubbed the current era one of 'reflexive modernization' in which new opportunities for social (and physical) mobility have emerged. People – social agents – have greater freedom to experiment, to move and learn, and to take different jobs over their lifetime than in industrial economies. The most successful are people who are able to build 'portfolio' careers, able to construct and sell their individual experiences in the knowledge-based economy in which performance, style and confidence are as important a part of working life as more traditional skills. Categorical inequalities (Tilly 1998) – the structural constraints of class and gender – are becoming less significant as notions of individual rights and responsibilities become more important. Thus Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1996: 29) have suggested that 'people are being released from the constraints of gender ... axes of difference, such as class, gender and sexuality (even life and death itself), are more a matter of individual decisions'. This claim seems astonishing on first reading, although it is evident that new technologies such as post-menopausal assisted conception and assisted suicide support it. I want to argue below, however, that class and gender and ethnicity – the traditional axes of difference – retain their salience in the contemporary workplace.

This optimistic theoretical scenario about the significance of reflexivity nicely parallels the focus on individual effort in the neoliberal economic and welfare policies that characterize the British state at present, as well as the business rhetoric about the need for flexible workers, able to reskill and retool as the economy demands. It is, however, important to note that Beck

(2000), like the theorists discussed in chapter 2, also recognizes growing polarization in the new economy. Indeed, in a somewhat apocalyptic scenario he identifies the potential 'Brazilianization' of western economies as the self-reflexive elite live lives increasingly separated from the urban dispossessed, trapped without work or in poor jobs that bring insufficient income for a decent standard of living. It has, however, been the optimistic side of Beck's arguments that has appealed to many theorists, seeing opportunities for the 'detraditionalization' of new knowledge economies.

Adkins (1995, 2000, 2003, 2005) disagrees with these optimistic assessments, arguing that these opportunities for remaking life remain strongly gendered as gender identities seem stubbornly resistant to reflexive rethinking. She suggests that a new gendered binary is being constructed in dominant theoretical explanations of the post-social era. Drawing on Lash's (1994) arguments about life chances in the post-social era – what Lash refers to as the structural conditions of reflexivity in which access to the mode of information replaces access to and place in the mode of production – Adkins argues that men are what Lash (1994: 133) termed the 'reflexivity gainers' and women the 'reflexivity losers'. Women are excluded from the higher ends of the high-tech information and knowledge economy, becoming part of a new under or lower class in the polarizing labour market. It is in this class position, Lash suggests, that the 'ascribed characteristics of "race, country of origin or gender"' (Lash 1994: 134) are of crucial significance. So while men become the active subjects in the new mobile post-social order, many (most?) women remain trapped in the social, repositioned as they enter the labour market in growing numbers and yet trapped within a location that mirrors the old class and gender hierarchies of industrial societies because of their exclusion from the cultural field that valorizes reflexivity and mobility. Thus in Lash's work, Adkins (2004: 147) argues, women are located 'as *over-determined* by the social and men as freed from the constraints of the social, or at least from the constraints of socio-structural forms of determination' (original emphasis). Ironically, Adkins notes that Beck, in a belated gesture to feminist arguments that previously he had ignored, now insists that 'gender is part of an older modernity and moreover women find it difficult to remove themselves from these social traditions and become individualized subjects' (Beck 1992: 151). So women are now trapped in the social rather than the pre-social, as regulation theorists such as Aglietta and Lipietz argued (see my critique in McDowell 1991), forever doomed, it seems, to lag behind men's progressive march forward to individual freedom, and so unable to 'achieve the form of personhood required to participate in the new modernity' (Adkins 2004: 152). Women are still committed, presumably by their consciences, if no longer by oppressive gender relations requiring them to remain in the home, to a version of freely given care and love for their dependants, unable to become the mobile individualized subjects of

a new post-social networked space. As Adkins (2003: 28) notes, 'theories of reflexive modernization run the risk of reinstating the disembodied and disembedded subject of masculinist thought', leaving women undertaking emotional labour in different spheres much as usual, despite their large-scale entry into the social relations of waged work. As the chapters in part two document, women are the central component of the workforce undertaking emotional labour and caring work, as well as performing the same sorts of functions for 'love' in the home.

While Adkins draws on, or critiques, the theories of Beck and Lash, as well as Bourdieu, other feminist theorists (Skeggs 1997, 2004a; McNay 2000; McRobbie 2004; Moi 2005) have usefully built on Bourdieu's work in a different way – to analyse the ways in which social class divisions *between* women are increasingly marked on the bodies of women, especially working-class women, through the mechanism of symbolic violence. Skeggs, for example, has documented the recent rise of class antagonism and a discourse of moral superiority in the UK that position working-class bodies as morally inferior, as too big, too loud, too present (Skeggs 2004a, 2004b). At the turn of the twenty-first century, rather than being seen as the repository of decency and industrial solidarity, the British working class is now discursively constructed as unmodern, anti-cosmopolitan, backward and worthless, not playing its part in the newly competitive and multicultural Britain: defined and denigrated by what Haylett (2001) has argued, drawing on Bourdieu, is a form of class racism. Further, as the economic dependence on interactive service employment deepens, bodily performance has become increasingly significant in the lived practices that constitute and reinforce class antagonisms (Adkins and Skeggs 2004). Working-class bodies are marked as increasingly unacceptable in the tanned, toned world of the service economy and in commodified forms of consumption and entertainment (Young 1990; Wolkowitz 2002). McRobbie (2004), for example, has analysed the rise of reality TV 'make-over' programmes in which (usually) unattractive, fat, working-class or otherwise abject women are shown ways of transforming their embodied selves by so-called experts in the hope that the acquisition of new forms of social and cultural capital will improve their status and their life-chances. As McRobbie points out, these programmes typically involve a range of interactions that can be defined as symbolic violence, from a strict ticking off for poor posture, inadequate diet or bad hair, to outright sneers and on occasion outright humiliation of the participants. Thus McRobbie suggests that these programmes 'actively generate and legitimate forms of class antagonism particularly between women in ways that would have been unacceptable until recently' (p. 100).

This growing disdain among the more affluent for the less fortunate, and indeed for what are popularly seen as working-class attitudes more generally, is a more widespread phenomenon than in reality TV. Other examples include

the adoption by the media of mocking discourses, labelling working-class youths as 'chavs' – a lumpish youthful proletariat distinguishable by their clothes and jewellery. Indeed, young people wearing sports-tops with hoods – the eponymous hoodies – were banned from a shopping centre in southern England in 2006, solely on the grounds that their dress reflects expected anti-social behaviour. The so-called 'respect agenda' and the continual use of the term 'yob' in discussion about the lack of respect in contemporary Britain is another part of the demonization of working-class youth (McDowell 2006b). Ferdinand Mount (2004), a right-wing 'one-nation' conservative, has argued that a new class divide is emerging in contemporary Britain based in cultural attitudes and divisions that are far wider than in earlier generations, as new forms of consumption and new methods of defending space emerge that increasingly act as markers of distinction and/or of disdain. Interestingly, Mount identifies the growth of a new form of cultural condescension towards the masses among the ruling class, in some ways paralleling Zygmunt Bauman's (1998) arguments about the growing significance of class divisions based on consumption practices rather than labour market divisions.

Recent evidence of this class condescension, or perhaps what might more accurately be termed a discourse of moral disapproval, has been identified by class theorists as well as in popular texts and the media. Sayer (2005) and Skeggs (2004a, 2004b), for example, both argue persuasively for the inclusion of a cultural and moral dimension in the construction and analysis of contemporary class divisions. Skeggs (2004b) has suggested that the significance of visceral emotions has been underestimated in explanations of class divisions. Middle-class disgust and resentment are, she argues, key factors in contemporary forms of class representations and class divisions. This disgust is, in large part, reflected in judgements made about the inappropriateness of the bodies of others, and so is of growing significance in the types of jobs that are currently expanding at the bottom end of the economy.

Racialized Others

I want to conclude this argument about the significance of embodiment with a discussion about skin colour, race and ethnicity and their connections to judgements about acceptable labour market performances, drawing parallels between racialization and the construction of gendered identities. There is a huge literature documenting the 'ethnic penalties' suffered in the labour market by people of colour (Heath and Cheung 2008). However, as most of this literature takes for granted rather than problematizes the associations between skin colour/nationality and evaluations of the worth or appropriateness of particular embodied performances in the workplace, I have ignored it here. Instead, I want to consider the ways in which ideas about

subjectification developed by Foucault and Butler might be applicable to understanding the 'raced' as well as the gendered body at work.

While the arguments that I outlined above about the construction of sexed identities as lying in the repeated regulation of the norms of sexual difference are now widely accepted, Butler and other theorists of performativity and subjectification have been largely silent about how to theorize the relationships between gender and other dimensions of social difference, while not denying the need to think about these connections. Butler (1990: 3), for example, recognizes that 'gender intersects with racial, class, ethnic, sexual and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities'. Indeed, she claims that 'as a result, it becomes impossible to separate out "gender" from the political and cultural intersections in which it is inevitably produced and maintained' (p. 3). However, her belief in the contingent foundations of all identity categories is less fully realized for categories other than gender. How does gender interact with ethnicity and nationality, with skin colour or social class, for example, in thinking about who gets what forms of work for what reasons in interactive service employment? Are other differences also performative, constructed through multiple systems of regulatory norms that are established in discourse? And how are they connected? There has been little agreement among feminist theorists, for example, about how to address these questions of complex identities, of the intersections of class and ethnicity with gender, other than a desire to move beyond earlier notions about the serial or additive construction of difference (Flax 1990; Alexander and Mohanty 1997; hooks 2000; Mohanty 2002). But the consideration of the position in the division of labour of people of colour and economic migrants (the two are not necessarily coincident) demands the theorization of ethnicized and racialized differences, as well as gendered identities and class positionality and practices.

In Britain and the USA it might be argued that the black/white binary division acts in a similar way to gender in making subjects and making workers. In these societies whiteness is the hegemonic norm against which the abnormal Other is defined. It is now widely accepted that race and ethnicity are also socially constructed categories. The purported attributes of inferiority that are mapped on to skin colour in these countries parallel the way in which gender is constructed as a binary distinction in which superiority is associated with masculinity and inferiority with femininity. A similar binary division is evident when white and black are compared and evaluated. Whiteness is constructed both as the unmarked norm and as conferring superiority on those with white skins (Frankenburg 1993, 1997; Dyer 1998; Bonnett 2000). Whiteness connotes goodness, 'all that is benign and non-threatening' (Dyer 1998: 6), in comparison to the darker skins of multiple Others, typically lumped together as Black. However, an interesting set of historical studies in the USA has documented the ways in which

whiteness is also fluid and performative rather than a categorical distinction. Ignatiev (1996), for example, documented the way in which Irish migrants in the USA became white as Black workers moved from the South to the North; Roediger (1991, 1999) has documented a parallel process among European Jews and later migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe who also became white (enough). In comparison, more recent migrants to the USA from South and East Asia, for example, found that they were Black (Ong 2003). In the UK too, a black/white binary distinction was established as immigration began to increase, especially after the end of the Second World War (Winder 2004). The majority of in-migrants to the UK in the second half of the twentieth century were subjects from ex-colonies and on entry to the UK they found, to their surprise and/or shame, that they were uniformly regarded as Black (Fryer 1984). A stark binary division replaced the status hierarchies based on skin tone – termed pigmentocracies – found both in the Caribbean and in South Asia (Hall 1995): a distinction that is still significant. As Freeman (2000) found in her study of women's work in Barbados, a light(er) skin confers superiority in the labour market.

As Ong (2003) has shown in her analysis of the position of Koreans in the USA, hierarchical schemes of racial difference develop that include ideas about difference and the right to belong (or not) to the receiving nation. Racialized differences are also constructed through the attribution of a range of other despicable or inferior characteristics to visible Others. Discourses of racialized differences intersect, for example, with heteronormative constructions of gender as racial and ethnic markers are deeply gendered. In terms of suitability for different types of employment, examples include discourses about the different skills and talents that are apparently 'natural' attributes of some groups. The attributes are both racialized and gendered and so construct (in)appropriate bodies in different arenas. Ideas about different national work ethics, differently sexualized bodies, and about different roles in family and household, all affect options in the labour market (ideas of good wives, daughters, significance of family life, etc.) and coincide to confine migrants/people of colour to particular inferior spaces as both workers and (potential) citizens. Thus newcomers from different parts of the world and their descendents born in the USA and the UK are judged/placed within given schemas of racial difference, civilization and economic worth which substantially restrict their labour market opportunities. Stereotypical representations of Black men and women as erotic and carefree, of Black women as fecund and Black men as threatening or sexual predators, of Asian men as feminized, and Asian women as ultra-feminized and as caring and loving, are common in both North America and the UK (Webster 1998; Paul 1997; Pratt 2004; Kelly and Moya 2006): all of which map onto ideas about appropriateness for different types of work in the service economy.

For people of colour and migrant workers, bodily presentation also often confirms their social construction as 'less legitimate' (Bauder 2006). Accent, dress, self-presentation, behaviour, skin colour, hair, jewellery and height, especially in service-dominated economies, are used to mark migrants/minority populations as inferior subjects and workers, in jobs where the white heterosexual, slim body is the hegemonic ideal (Young 1990) and where 'human capital, self-discipline and consumer power are associated with whiteness' (Ong 1996: 739). Insights from post-colonial theorists add to explanations of how these discourses and markers of difference operate in western economies. Migrants from third world societies, for example, are constructed through the colonial gaze as Other, as backward and non-modern in comparison to the subject of western modernity (Bhabba 1994; McClintock 1995; Young 1995; Spivak 1999), and second-generation minorities continue to bear these markers on their bodies. Thus, the complex intersectionality of gender, class and ethnicity/skin colour produces subjects who are coded as inferior through the operation of numerous binary and categorical distinctions that are, through discursive practices, made complex, but also challenged, resisted, altered and transformed.

In post-millennium Britain, new questions about the location and ethnic identities of migrant workers are being raised as post-imperial subjects are being displaced/replaced as low-wage workers at the bottom end of the service sector by white-skinned migrants from Eastern Europe. The rapid rise in the number of migrants from the 'new' Europe on the accession of ten new states (Cyprus and Malta plus eight former communist states – Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Slovakia) in 2004 and a further two (Bulgaria and Romania) in 2007 has added a considerable degree of complexity to the debates about the connections between nationality, skin colour, class and gender and the suitability of differently produced bodies for different categories of employment in the contemporary British labour market. New discourses of (lack of) worth based on national stereotypes, as well as the common European heritage and white skins of these new migrants, have disrupted the previously relatively stable connections between migration, ethnic origins and skin colour established since 1945 (Paul 1997; McDowell 2005, 2007).

It is clear that constructions of difference – whether based on class, gender, race, nationality, language or skin colour – are produced and maintained through discourses and practices that operate at and across different spatial scales and have come to have growing salience in a new service economy where personal interactions are a crucial element of labour market exchanges. The practices that construct and maintain difference include ideological assumptions, multiple regulatory systems, structures of power and domination, and spoken and enacted everyday practices in multiple sites,

operating at both conscious and unconscious levels. While these practices are discriminatory and exclusionary they are also open to contestation and renegotiation. Thus a range of issues about the connections between embodied difference, labour market practices and challenges to contemporary structures of oppression and inequality arise that can be answered only by empirical analyses, drawing on multiple theoretical perspectives, from poststructural theories of identity formation to structural explanations of economic change. In the next sections of this book I turn to an analysis of some of the exciting empirical work on service sector occupations that has been undertaken in the last decade, illustrating the diverse ways in which working bodies are constructed as suitable for different types of work in the new service economy. Although the focus is on the UK in many of the examples, the scale and pattern of global migration mean that the workers themselves increasingly are part of the global division of labour, often born elsewhere and, increasingly, working for transnational firms, even when employed in the most local of jobs, perhaps providing cleaning services for the local hospital or caring for elderly Britons in their own homes. I have organized the chapters, rather loosely I admit, by scale, as well as by a number of other factors including a notion of confinement in terms of where the work takes place and of (un)willingness to perform it, as well as by skills and social status.

In part two there are three chapters that focus initially on the most local of scales – the home – and the close, personal and sometimes intimate connections between service providers and their clients that take place therein. In all cases the focus is on waged work. I look first at people working in the homes of others, in close daily contact with their employers, including nannies, 'dailies', domestics and other types of home-based servicing. Here ideas about the appropriateness of workers – their class attributes, their gender especially and their nationality all affect who is seen as an acceptable 'body' and so allowed into the private arena of the home. The second set of 'home' workers includes sex workers, especially those who are held against their wishes, including trafficked women forced into sex work. This chapter branches out beyond the home into massage parlours and the streets, as a large proportion of sex work takes places in public spaces, albeit often in secretive less well-surveilled spaces beyond the public gaze, as well as in the more private spaces of cars and rooms. For these workers, their body is a direct part of the exchange: they literally sell their body. And notions of desire and otherness as well as disgust are part of the exchange between seller and client. In this world, danger and violence are part of the everyday social relations of exchange. I continue this theme of embodiment and danger into chapter 6, where the workers in question also sell their bodies – in this case, their strength – as boxers, doormen and bouncers, and firefighters. In this chapter the workers in question are predominantly men, relying

on stereotypical associations of men and masculinity with strength and aggression to sell their bodies in the labour market. This association raises often problematic questions about the meaning of femininity for women, including the sportswomen who also rely on bodily strength and who may feel that their skills/talent challenge their sense of themselves as 'proper' women.

The scale then shifts in part three more centrally into the larger public arena and includes what are typically regarded as more conventional workplaces, including shops and fast food outlets, hospitals, care homes and hotels. I look again, as in part two, at ways in which attributes of masculinity and femininity are mapped onto congruences between appropriate bodies for different tasks, as well as issues about race, skin colour and ethnicity in a range of types of work that involve performativity and emotional interactions between workers and clients. In some of these jobs there is a high degree of touch, as the work involves intervention on the bodies of others: these are the tasks defined as 'body work' by Wolkowitz (2006). In other jobs the contact established is less directly embodied – in shops or restaurants, for example, where the interactions are based on emotions such as empathy and deference. They fall into my definition of embodied interactive work where embodied characteristics are part of explanations of who is employed. Here the concepts of cultural imperialism and interpellation explored in this chapter are central.

In some of these chapters I draw on my own empirical research, but I also rely on case studies of service work undertaken by sociologists, geographers, economists, psychologists and others. I hope I have done justice to their arguments. In each chapter I examine who does what types of work under what circumstances, where and with what consequences. I look at how workers are assembled across space, often producing a transnational labour force, even in the most localized and spatially restricted types of work – caring for the bodies of children and the elderly. I explore questions of fantasy and desire, examining the construction of suitable workers – through interpellation and stereotypical assumptions and through the operation of the heterosexual matrix. I show how ideas about emotions, caring, servicing and the body are written into workplace social relations, into the formalized or less formal scripts written for service workers, as well as at the ways in which talk at and about work in the service sector often draws attention to, whether explicitly or not, bodies and emotions. In all these examples, there is no doubt that what is for sale in service exchanges is the bodies and emotions of the workers themselves as part of the service.

Part II

High-Touch Servicing Work in Private and Public Spaces

WORKING BODIES