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Service Work

Critical Perspectives

Edited by
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For Sebastian

To Rob

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Acknowledgments

Critical Perspectives on Service Work

An Introduction

MAREK KORCZYNSKI AND CAMERON LYNNE MACDONALD

"Have a nice day," says the smiling fast food worker in a McDonald's advert. "Certainly, sir, I can sort that out for you straight away," says a call center worker, positively purring with contentment in a car insurance advert. "If there's anything else you need, just ask," says the smiling nurse to the patient in an advert for private health care.

Everyday, we are bombarded with images of smiling service workers, happy to be able to serve customers. There is also a managerial, quasi-academic, literature which seeks to peddle similar images of happy service workers creating happy customers. Here, we are told about how service work can be organized for a win:win:win scenario for customer, workers and managers. Zemke and Schaaf's discussion of Marriott Hotels captures this nicely (1989, p.118):

> The current Mr. Marriott credits his father with the philosophy of taking care of employees as he wanted them to take care of the customer. "My father knew if he had happy employees, he would have happy customers and that would result in a good bottom line."

In order to study the realm of service work we need to pan beneath the surface of these fairy-tale images of the smiling customer service interaction. We need theoretical lenses to focus the camera to allow us to see the Disney employee stripped of his dignity and his job for having his hair too long (Van Maanen, 1991), to see the increasingly detailed managerial

instructions to employees regarding personal appearance in service jobs (Nickson *et al.*, 2005), to see meter-tall signs saying "Smile" and "Be Friendly" in the staff-only space of a supermarket (Tolich, 1993), to see the tears of pain and resentment among call center employees who have been abused one too many times by customers on a given day (Korczynski, 2003), and to see the resistance among staff who have been told to sell more to customers, but who do not want to force products on customers (Korczynski *et al.*, 2000).

Each of the authors in this book has taken up this challenge and uses a different theoretical lens with which to focus the camera upon the organization and experience of contemporary service work. The book can be thought of as a follow-up to *Working in the Service Society*, published in 1996, and edited by Cameron Lynne Macdonald and Carmen Sirianni. That book featured a series of micro-analyses of different forms of service work, from bank workers to fast food workers and from nannies to waitresses. By bringing those analyses of different service occupations in one place, that book played an important role in placing service work as central to a new sociology of work. The last decade has seen a burgeoning of research in similar areas. For instance, we have seen an explosion of research into the organization of, and experience of call center work, hotel and resort work, and care work of all kinds (Adler and Adler, 2005; Sherman, 2007; Zimmerman *et al.* 2006).

Such a turn to unearth the nature of service jobs, within what after all is a service economy, is very much to be welcomed. However, while the empirical gap in our knowledge of service work is being filled, there is a lingering sense that our *overall theoretical understanding of service work has not advanced in the same way*. Hence, the need for this book. We may have a good deal of empirical research into emotional labor demands made of flight attendants, into control systems in call centers, into peer relations in hospitality jobs, and into the pains and pleasures of care work, but there have been few attempts to develop our theoretical understandings across various types of service work, across service work *per se*. Our primary aim, with this book, is to kick-start work at this theoretical level. And this level is a fundamentally important one. The book brings together authors with different perspectives to offer answers to the key questions: *What types of service jobs do we have? With what implications for workers?* The answers offered at the theoretical level seek to articulate key essential elements in contemporary service work across various types of service occupations. What is *essential* within the nature of contemporary service work, of course, is a contested issue. Different theoretical perspectives tend to highlight different aspects of jobs as capturing the essence of the jobs. While class, control and resistance are the essential aspects of jobs from a Marxist perspective, from a feminist perspective, essential elements in the nature of

jobs are the ways in which gender is played out and reproduced. Different perspectives give different ways of looking at different points of focus and lead inevitably to different answers to the same core root question (Korczynski *et al.*, 2006). Such differences are at the very heart of debate, and debate is what we need to take forward further our understanding of service work. If the book provokes such debate, then it will have served its purpose well. Yiannis Gabriel's concluding chapter certainly offers some important pointers on how such a debate may usefully develop.

The rest of this introductory chapter sets out the context for the specific chapters in the book. It does this, first of all, by defining what we mean by service work, and by laying out how service work has historically been neglected within theoretical approaches to the sociology of work, and finally, by raising the critical questions that the chapters that follow will address.

Service Work and Its Analysis

When attempting to define service work, it is useful to take as a starting point the simple abstraction that all jobs involve work on materials, information or people. Service work can be defined as work that involves working on people. The presence of the service-recipient within the labor process is the central definitional element of service work. Sometimes, such jobs involving direct contact with a service-recipient are labeled front line, or customer-contact, service jobs, and are distinguished from back-of-house, or back-office workers. The latter may work in service organizations but have no direct contact with service-recipients. The main, but not exclusive, focus of the chapters in this book is upon the service jobs involving direct contact with service-recipients. Service work in this sense involves intangibility, perishability (service work cannot be stored), variability (of service recipient expectations and actions), simultaneous production and consumption and inseparability of production from consumption. Scholars have taken one or more these aspects and drawn up sub-categories of service work against them, giving rise to such categories of mass services, service shops and professional services (see Korczynski, 2002). For instance, Leidner (1993) has charted three types of service work against the dimension of inseparability (of the service interaction from the product being sold). First, there are jobs with a weak degree of inseparability such that the service interaction has little bearing on what is sold and consumed. Fast food jobs are good examples here. Second, there are jobs where "a product exists apart from the interaction, but a particular type of experience is an important part of the service. For example . . . airline passengers who buy tickets primarily to get from one place to another are promised friendly service on their journey." Finally, there are

jobs where "the interaction is inseparable from the product being sold or delivered – for instance, in psychotherapy . . . or teaching." This book's main focus is on the first two types of service jobs – jobs which are mainly occupied by the "emotional proletariat," to use Macdonald and Merrill's phrase from this volume. Macdonald and Merrill estimate that 29 percent of workers in the US labor force work in the emotional proletariat.

Whyte has pointed out that "when workers and customers meet . . . that relationship adds a new dimension to the pattern of human relations in industry" (1946, p.123). At the very least, then, the worker-service recipient relationship constitutes an aspect unique to the sociology of service work. Within studies of specific service jobs and occupations, the worker-service recipient relationship has been examined in terms of sexualization, of degrees of worker or service-recipient servility, of who controls the interaction, and of degrees of social embeddedness and economic instrumentalism. More profoundly, it has been argued that the addition of this "new dimension to the pattern of human relations" has crucial knock-on effects upon key aspects of work organization, such as the labor process, division of labor, nature of control and forms of authority, and upon the subjective experience of work (Korczynski, 2002). Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* (1983), with its exploration of emotional labor within service occupations, constituted the first important step in this direction. Hochschild alerted us directly to a key unexplored aspect of the service labor process, but also indirectly to how emotional labor demands have important implications for forms of management control and peer relations.

More recently, the emerging literature on aesthetic labor (Warhurst *et al.*, 2003) has also signaled the need to study a previously unexplored part of the labor process that while not unique to service work is likely to be more salient for service work than for work on information and materials. The recognition of the impact of the service-recipient within the labor process upon the wider organization of work has also led some authors to suggest the need to move away from a focus on a management-labor dyad within employment towards to a conceptualization based around a customer-worker-management triangle (Leidner, 1993). Such an approach may necessitate a rethinking of such core sociology of work concepts as conflict, resistance, control and perhaps, by implication, class.

Service Work and Social Theory: Chapter Outlines

The terrain for social theory's analysis of work, and the neglect of service work within this, was set by Marx, Weber and Durkheim. Readers hoping for a serious consideration of service work in any of the writings of these founding fathers will be disappointed. Each, in his own way, was concerned with the internal logic of work organizations, and with articulating the best way to conceptualize the dyadic relationship between employer and worker. We may forgive their neglect in the sense that their theorizing was primarily informed by the key ruptures in society and in work organizations that occurred during the time of their writing. The rise of the factory system and the development of a civil service bureaucracy stood before Marx and Weber as the two emblematic developments of their time. But, of course, during all this time, forms of service work continued to be key sites of employment.

If social theorists did not turn their eyes to service work, at least some artists did. For instance, we can think of the unsettling picture of the young woman serving behind the bar in Manet's (1882) *Bar at the Folies-Bergère.* And there is Charlie Chaplin's depiction of a singing waiter in his classic *Modern Times* (1936). It has been our historical blinkers that have cast his mocking of factory work as the key motif of this film. Refreshingly, Janet Sayers and Nanette Monin in the second chapter of this book remind us that an important part of the film actually involves Chaplin and his sweetheart involved in service work at the Red Moon Café. Sayers and Monin argue that there is much that is prescient in the scenes at the Red Moon Café. They focus their analysis on the scene in which Chaplin, laughably, has to perform as a singing waiter – just after he has flung off the lyrics to the song that were written on his shirt cuffs. For Sayers and Monin, however, there is nothing laughable in the underlying message that Chaplin is articulating about service work as a commercialization of humanity.

Some of the first theoretical formulations of the implications of the shift to a service-based economy came from George Ritzer and Alan Bryman. Ritzer's McDonaldization hypothesis extended Max Weber's famous theory of rationalization and of the ultimate instrument of rational organization, bureaucracy. He argued that the increasing pervasiveness of rationalization can best be conceptualized in terms of McDonaldization. He sees McDonald's as a clear and easily recognizable manifestation of how far rationalization has gone in contemporary societies. McDonald's epitomizes the process of McDonaldization, but for Ritzer, this process applies to many spheres of life other than just a popular fast food chain. Ritzer defined McDonaldization as encompassing the process of rationalization along four dimensions: efficiency, calculability (or the emphasis on measurement), predictability and control. Wherever there is an emphasis on these four dimensions, the process of McDonaldization can be said to be in motion. At McDonald's the emphasis on these dimensions has been such that a Big Mac is prepared and served in precisely the same way anywhere in the world, accompanied by the compulsory cross-selling garnish, "would you like fries with that?" The fact that the consumer knows exactly what kind of interaction to expect and how to interface with

workers in every chain, be it in a fast-food restaurant, a nail salon, or a phone sex service, creates uniform quality for the consumer, economic success for the owner and spiritually deadening interactions for the service worker. Ritzer (1998) has also explicitly argued that McDonaldization can be seen as a dominant force in the service sector of economies. Although the McDonaldization thesis has come under sustained criticism, not least from writers from other critical perspectives (Smart, 1999; Korczynski, 2002; Warhurst et al. this volume), it did set an important benchmark in the need for social theory to critically engage with the service economy.

In Chapter 3, Ritzer (with co-author, Craig D. Lair) applies both his McDonaldization thesis and the argument presented in *The Globalization of Nothing* (2004), to understand key trends in the nature of contemporary service work, epitomized by the trend towards outsourced call center work in India. The concept of "nothing" refers to the proliferation of interactions, products, and concepts that are centrally conceived and controlled, and therefore devoid of any distinctive content. Ritzer advances this concept in opposition to that of "something," that is locally specific, culturally rich, and indigenously controlled social forms. Ritzer, previously, has articulated the concept of "nothing" with reference to consumption. In this chapter, he extends the argument towards service and he centers his analysis on the global call center work as an example of a content-free job. Interactions are carefully scripted and the worker is expected to erase all aspects of the local and specific from the customer service interaction to the extent of masking his or her geographic location.

In Chapter 4, we reprint Alan Bryman's 1999 original statement of his thesis of the Disneyization of society. He extends Ritzer's McDonaldization hypothesis to apply aspects of postmodern theory to consumer culture and the service organizations that organize it. Here the author emphasizes how theming, the dedifferentiation of consumption, merchandising, and the extraction of emotional labor from workers combine to create a distinctly inauthentic and hypercapitalist workplace. As Bryman points out, "the ever-smiling Disney theme park employee has become a stereotype of modern culture." One need only visit the newly-sanitized corporate-branded theme park that is New York's Times Square to see how far Disneyization has penetrated into consumer culture, and thus service interactions.

Chapters 5 and 6 offer a glimpse of what Weber and Marx might have theorized had they lived to see service-based economies. Marek Korczynski explores the contradictions that emerge when bureaucratic principles of efficiency and impersonality are joined with the service organization's need to provide the customer with an enchanting sense of sovereignty. Korczynski argues that service organizations seek to not only create

profit by emphasizing efficiency, but also by appealing to customers' sense of service quality, or enchantment. He examines the way in which service work is organized along dual principles of bureaucratization and customer-orientation. Implicitly, service work is organized as a customer-oriented bureaucracy. It is this contradictory structure of the organization of service work that gives rise to the common finding from research that service workers' lived experience of their jobs is a contradictory one. The customer, for instance, is often conceived of as "our friend, the enemy."

Chris Warhurst, Paul Thompson, and Dennis Nickson apply labor process theorizing, originally rooted in Marxist analysis, to service work in Chapter 6. They argue against those who posit service work as the production and consumption of "nothing" and service economies as based predominantly on consumption rather than production. For these authors, claims about qualitative breaks associated with service work, or particular aspects of it, are over-stated and labor process theory offers a vital source of critique of such claims. They point out that service is still focused on the provision and preparation for sale to customers of materiality – beds, burgers and handbags for example. Research within the labor process tradition, from Braverman on, has long had a focus on service work. Indeed, they point out that some of the key developments in the analysis of aesthetic labor and emotional labor within service work have come from research informed by the labor process tradition.

Cameron Lynne Macdonald and David Merrill turn in Chapter 7 from the process of service production to the equally important question, "Who fills what service jobs and why?" Focusing on jobs in the "Emotional Proletariat," they apply theories of intersectionality to explore how and why the emotional proletariat is a gendered ghetto that is simultaneously segmented by ethnicity and social class. Applying feminist theories of intersectionality to discrimination in hiring practices, they demonstrate how the complexities of the service interaction – the implications of customer "preferences" in the service triangle, the investment of the service worker's gendered or ethnic identity as both a selling tool and an inextricable aspect of the service itself – create new and more intractable forms of discrimination in hiring.

Rhacel Salazar Parreñas takes this understanding of gendered service work further in Chapter 8 by pointing to the theoretical significance of the thousands of women who migrate from poor countries to rich ones to provide caring labor. As she points out, the international market in care work leads to an unequal distribution of care resources in the global economy, affecting not only the economies of sending and receiving countries, but also the families left behind by care workers and the lower-tier care workers who care for them. Caring work is after all, women's work, once provided gratis by wives and mothers to their families. This "reproductive

labor" now must be replaced in rich countries where women find economic opportunities outside the home and must outsource or replace their housework, childcare and elderly care. Parreñas makes a convincing case for the role of the state in the unequal distribution of care work, not only in migration policies, but in the extent and nature of welfare provisions and the degree to which families must privately contract for care.

Dorothy Sue Cobble and Michael Merrill's chapter on the prospects for service sector unionism brings together aspects of the preceding chapters to indicate both the challenges and opportunities for the labor movement. As they point out, many governments (particularly the US), prevent service-sector organizing by legally forbidding a substantial percentage of service workers from forming unions. Relationships with customers can be an important lever in workers' attempts to mobilize broad support. On the other hand, the extent to which workers identify with their jobs means that workers may privilege self-images as altruistic carers over fair pay and working hours, for example. The extent to which service workers must bring aspects of the self to their work plays both an enabling and an inhibiting role in worker activism. Workers may organize collectively around ethnic, gender and occupational identities, facilitating the creation of non-government organizations and other social support organizations. In this respect her conclusion brings us full circle to classical social theory, offering a vision of occupation-based solidarity that might make Emile Durkheim proud.

In the concluding chapter, Yiannis Gabriel takes up many of themes outlined in the book to look in a new way at the "the tug of war between employees and employers" that has been reconfigured as a customer-worker-management triangle. He focuses particularly on the aspect of care, which he sees as a key dimension in many forms of service work. Care constitutes a key element in the distinctiveness of service work for it cannot be reduced to the enactment of different emotional scripts or resistance to such scripts. Applying psychoanalytic theory, he proposes that care work unleashes certain emotional dynamics that stem from early life experiences that all humans have when, in a state of infantile dependency, they must rely on others for their survival and well-being. This generates a deep ambivalence both for service workers and their customers and this leads to a process of "splitting" to cope with such ambivalence. The psychological process of splitting itself implies a key role for the unleashing of fantasies within service work encounters. He argues that the likelihood of the playing out of fantasies from both customer and worker means that there is a considerable degree of unpredictability and even unmanageability at the service interface. Attempts to theorize this interface must address this unpredictability and unmanageability.

It is apt indeed that the concluding chapter seeks to explore and draw out the importance of ambivalence in service work, for, as these chapter summaries suggest, taken together, the various theoretical perspectives that comprise the critical analysis of service work do not leave us with pat answers. While individual chapters throw up key insights, there appears, on the surface, to be little in the way of shared clear-cut conclusions among the authors. There are three main approaches that can be adopted in the face of such insights presented from multiple critical perspectives. The postmodern approach would be to accept such theoretical ambivalence as reflecting the ambivalence of social reality. Life is a collage and so social theory must also exist as a collage, in which disparate insights from disparate perspectives co-exist. This is the inevitable state of social theory and there is nothing to be gained in seeking to push such forms of knowledge into one frame, or meta-narrative, of contemporary service work. A second approach is to throw one's weight behind one perspective and to construct a case for the superiority of that perspective against others. There is certainly something of this approach within the spirited case put forward by Chris Warhurst and colleagues for labor process theory in this volume. A third approach, that, for us, is likely to be the most fruitful, is to seek to build analytical bridges between some of the perspectives put forward in this volume, to highlight the points of shared understandings that can drive forward a broad critical sociology of service work. Certainly, the approach of intersectionality, that underpins the chapter by Cameron Lynne Macdonald and David Merrill, is embedded in the need for dialogue between analytical approaches. Similarly, the conclusion of Marek Korczynski's chapter on understanding service work through the ideal type of a customer-oriented bureaucracy asks for the productive interplay between critical sociological perspectives. If this volume throws up ambivalence, we invite readers to take up the challenge to develop the critical sociology of service work so that future anthologies on service work can begin to construct synthesis from ambivalence.

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CHAPTER 2

Chaplin's *Modern Times*

Service Work, Authenticity, and Nonsense at the Red Moon Café

JANET SAYERS AND NANETTE MONIN

Introduction

In *Modern Times*, Chaplin's masterpiece about work, he discusses in depth and with much subtlety and humor, the effect of the relentless modernizing machine on the Self. The first factory scene of *Modern Times* is a very powerful allegorical statement about the effect of automation on the individual, but in the Red Moon Café and dance hall which is the final workplace for the Little Tramp, Chaplin also shows a sophisticated understanding of the challenges, ambiguities and contradictions that face the service worker. He shows service workers are even more pervasively controlled than those toiling in the factories.

Chaplin's movie is prescient and still brilliant, and the issues he raises in this film have now been taken up in contemporary critical management literature. These issues include: the management of the body, emotional labor, aesthetic labor, the role of the customer as both co-producer and manager in service work, and the issue of authenticity, amongst others (Abercrombie, 1994; Hochschild, 1983; Korczynski, 2002; Leidner, 1993; Sturdy *et al.*, 2001).

Modern Times is famous for its political and social polemic. Chaplin, in middle-age and at the height of his creative powers when this movie was made, was a political man with firmly held humanitarian views. Chaplin

The Disneyization of Society

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Ritzer's (1993) concept of McDonaldization represents a stimulating and important attempt to address large-scale issues concerning social change and the nature of modernity and to link these topics to some minutiae of everyday life. Ritzer is at pains to point out that McDonald's is merely a symbol of McDonaldization though it has undoubtedly been a major force behind the process. McDonaldization refers to "the process by which *the principles* of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world" (Ritzer, 1993, p.3, emphasis added). This means that McDonaldization is not simply about the spread of McDonald's restaurants or of restaurants explicitly modeled on them; nor is it a process that can be specifically attributed to McDonald's alone, since the restaurants incorporate practices that were formulated long before the McDonald brothers started their first restaurant, such as scientific management, Fordism, and bureaucracy.

The purpose of this chapter is to propose that a similar case can be made for a process that I will call "Disneyization," by which I mean:

> the process by which *the principles* of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world.

My view of Disneyization is meant to parallel Ritzer's notion of McDonaldization: it is meant to draw attention to the spread of principles exemplified by the Disney theme parks. Of course, the Disney theme parks are sites of McDonaldization too. A number of Ritzer's (1993)

illustrations of the four dimensions of McDonaldization – efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control – are drawn from Disney parks and from theme parks that appear to have been influenced by them. There are, moreover, numerous parallels between McDonald's restaurants and the Disney parks (Bryman, 1995, p.123; King, 1983). Bryman (1995) has addressed the question of whether the Disney theme parks can be regarded as McDonaldized institutions in the context of a discussion of the "McDisney theme park." While he found that the model of McDonaldization applied broadly, he was less convinced that it applied well to the calculability dimension. Even if Disney parks could be regarded unambiguously as sites of McDonaldization, it is not at all certain that this would capture their significance. Indeed, the notion of Disneyization has been coined in order to reflect and build upon the suggestion that there is more to the parks than their being McDonaldized institutions. Further, we may well find that the McDonald's fast-food restaurants will be bearers of Disneyization, in much the same way that Disney theme parks are bearers of McDonaldization.

There are at least two terms that seem to be extremely similar to Disneyization. The first is "Disneyfication." It has been used by one of Walt Disney's biographers to refer to

> that shameless process by which everything the Studio later touched, no matter how unique the vision of the original from which the Studio worked, was reduced to the limited terms Disney and his people could understand. Magic, mystery, individuality . . . were consistently destroyed when a literary work passed through this machine that had been taught there was only one correct way to draw.
>
> (Schickel, 1986, p.225)

For Schickel, then, Disneyfication referred to the often criticized way in which Walt Disney, his co-workers and their successors put an original work through a Disney mincer to emerge with a distorted version of it. The outcome of the process was and is instantly recognizable as a Disney product. This is a view that has been voiced by many critics over the years (Sayers, 1965), and as soon as a new Disney feature film is released, it occasions a nearly automatic criticism for its perversion of stories and contexts.

Warren (1994) writes about the Disneyfication of the metropolis and as such is concerned with the way in which the Disney parks have been taken to represent "a whole approach to urban planning" (1994, p.90). Disneyfication is not explicitly defined, but can be inferred from the components of the Disney city. First, it is a social order which is controlled by an all-powerful organization. Second, we find a breach between production and consumption which is achieved "through the visual removal of all hint

of production and the blanketing of consumption with layers of fantasy so that residents are blinkered from seeing the actual labor processes that condition and define their lives" (1994, p.92). Thirdly, it is only residents' capacity to consume that is viewed as in any sense significant or important. Haas (1995) also writes about Disneyfication but in the context of the gangster novel in the form of the Disney version of E.L. Doctorow's novel, *Billy Bathgate*, which was filmed by Touchstone Pictures, a division of Disney. For Haas, the novel underwent Disneyfication in the sense that the Disney version of the story was "sanitized" and "clean and civilized" (1995, pp.74, 79). Disneyfication is also evident in the themes of patriarchy and innocence that are overlaid on Doctorow's story. These notions of Disneyfication are illuminating but are meant to have limited domains of application: literary works and urban planning. The notion of Disneyization being presented here is meant to have a broader frame of reference in a manner that is parallel to McDonaldization.

A second term that borders Disneyization is Ritzer and Liska's (1997) notion of "McDisneyization." The concept is not defined, but it is clear that it represents a fusion of the principles of McDonaldization and distinctively Disney-like characteristics, though the latter are not outlined in a formal manner. However, the analytic slant of the term is largely upon the "Mc" part of the process because the significance of Disney seems to lie mainly in being an agent of McDonaldization in relation to tourism. For example, the authors suggest that:

> While McDonald's itself has not been without influence in the tourist industry, it is Disney and its phenomenal success that has been most responsible for bringing the principles of McDonaldization . . . to the tourist industry.
>
> (Ritzer and Liska, 1997, p.98)

While Ritzer and Liska's analysis is instructive, the present exercise will emphasize the Disneyesque elements.

Various writers have also produced motifs which have affinities with Disneyization. Wasko (1996) writes about the "Disney Universe." The use of this term is meant to denote the near-universality and hence global reach of the company and its products and the fact that it "has created a self-contained universe which presents consistently recognizable values through recurring characters and familiar repetitive themes" (Wasko, 1996, p.349). Thus, Wasko notes that the classic Disney Universe, as revealed primarily in the feature films, comprises: escape and fantasy; innocence; romance and happiness; sexual stereotypes; individualism; and the reinvention of folk tales. Yet another kindred term is Rojek's (1993) discussion of "Disney culture," by which he means a moral order imbued by an image of leisure as "rational recreation."

These various conceptualizations and discussions of Disney parks and the company's other products suggest that various writers have been seeking to assess their broader salience and significance. With the possible exception of Ritzer and Liska's (1997) notion of McDisneyization, the writers have tended to emphasize the ideological underpinnings of Disney phenomena and have been only tangentially concerned with the wider proliferation of these features. Also, as has been suggested, the treatments of Disneyfication have tended to have limited domains of application. The present discussion will seek to build upon these fruitful beginnings by emphasizing the principles associated with the Disney parks which have spread increasingly beyond their gates. As far as possible, an attempt will be made not to stumble into McDonaldization territory, so that the distinctiveness of Disneyization can be retained. This distinctiveness will be further investigated in the conclusion where the contrasting theoretical roots of McDonaldization and Disneyization (in Weber's concept of rationalization and consumer culture respectively) will be explored.

In the following account of Disneyization, four dimensions will be outlined. In each case, the meaning of the dimension and its operation in the context of the Disney parks will be outlined, its diffusion beyond the realms of the Disney parks will be indicated, and aspects of any of the dimensions which precede the opening of the first Disney theme park (Disneyland in California) in 1955 will be explored. The overall aim is to identify large-scale changes that are discernible in economy and culture that can be found in, and are symbolized by, the Disney parks. As with Ritzer's (1993) treatment of McDonald's in relation to McDonaldization, it is not suggested that the Disney parks *caused* these trends, though the parks' success may have hastened the assimilation of Disneyization.

The four trends are:

1 theming
2 dedifferentiation of consumption
3 merchandising
4 emotional labor

This list is probably not exhaustive, any more than McDonaldization's four dimensions can be so regarded. They are meant to be considered as four major trends which are discernible in and have implications for (late) modernity.

Theming

Theming represents the most obvious dimension of Disneyization. More and more areas of economic life are becoming themed. There is now a veritable themed restaurant industry, which draws on such well-known and accessible cultural themes as rock and other kinds of music, sport, Hollywood and the film industry more generally, and geography and history (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999). These themes find their expression in chains of themed restaurants, like Hard Rock Café, Planet Hollywood, All Sports Café, Harley-Davidson Café, Rainforest Café, Fashion Café, as well as one-off themed eating establishments. Diners are surrounded by sounds and sights that are constitutive of the themed environment, but which are incidental to the act of eating as such, though they are major reasons for such restaurants being sought out. In Britain, themed pubs are increasingly prominent and popular, while in the USA, bars themed on British pubs are big business too. Hotels are increasingly being themed and it is no coincidence that two of the more successful themed restaurant brands – Hard Rock Café and Planet Hollywood – are being deployed for such a purpose. Ritzer and Liska (1997) suggest that cruise ships are increasingly becoming themed. In Las Vegas, virtually every new hotel on the "strip" is heavily themed. The famous strip now contains such themes as Ancient Rome (Caesar's), Ancient Egypt (Luxor), ye olde England (Excalibur), the movies (MGM Grand), city life (New York New York), turn-of-the-century high life on the Mediterranean (Monte Carlo), the sea (Treasure Island), and so on. It seems quite likely that this penchant for themed hotels will proliferate though possibly not with the exotic façades that adorn the Las Vegas establishments. Certainly, the theming of hotel rooms as in the Madonna Inn near San Luis Obispo, California, and in the Fantasy Hotel in West Edmonton Mall (see below) seems to be becoming increasingly prominent (Eco, 1986; Hopkins, 1990).

Shopping in malls is increasingly being accomplished in themed environments. Mall of America in Minneapolis and West Edmonton Mall in Edmonton, Alberta exemplify this feature. Cohn, quoting it would seem from a publicity leaflet about Mall of America, notes that:

South Avenue was "chic sophisticated ... cosmopolitan shopping and flair"; North Garden "lushly landscaped ... a park-like setting with gazebos, trellises and natural skylights"; West Market "reminiscent of a European railway station"; and East Broadway a honky tonk, all neon and chrome.

(Cohn, 1996, p. 4.1, ellipses in original)

Cohn also notes that the Muzac changes according to which land one is in. In West Edmonton Mall, one encounters arcades modeled on the boulevards of Paris and on Bourbon Street in New Orleans along with the conventional juxtapositions of North American malls. Similarly, the MetroCentre in Gateshead contains themed shopping areas like the Mediterranean Village (Cheney, 1990). Adjacent to Caesar's in Las Vegas is a small mall (though soon to be greatly expanded) called the Forum Shops

where the shops and restaurants, which include a Planet Hollywood, are surrounded by signs of Ancient Rome.

Gottdiener (1997) suggests that airports are increasingly becoming themed environments. It must also not be forgotten that many amusement parks have also been themed, so that one tends to hear much more about theme parks than about amusement parks. Even Knott's Berry Farm, which is close to but predates Disneyland, has taken on the trappings of a theme park with the familiar layout of themed "lands." In spite of Gallic horror at the arrival of Euro Disneyland (now Disneyland Paris) in 1992, Parc Asterix is not only a theme park constructed around the well-known cartoon characters, but also comprises themed lands. There is, then, evidence of a growing use of theming, to the extent that Gottdiener (1997) writes about "the theming of America." But what was the thinking behind the theming of Disneyland?

Accounts of the founding of Disneyland agree that Walt Disney hit upon the principles of theming as a device for differentiating his vision from the tawdry and grimy amusement parks to which he had taken his daughters. He noticed that many parents were like him in that they only frequented these parks to appease their children. He felt that it should be possible to create an environment which adults would be just as keen to visit as children. In fact, he was more than successful in this regard, because the ratio of adults to children visiting the parks has been estimated as 4:1. For Walt Disney and his successors, theming was a mechanism to achieve the goals of appealing to adults as much as children and of distinguishing Disneyland from amusement parks. It is well known that Disneyland was conceived as a celebration of America's past and as a paean to progress, or as Walt Disney put it: "the older generation can recapture the nostalgia of days gone by, and the younger generation can savor the challenge of the future" (in Mosley, 1985, p.221). The former element allowed Walt Disney to lace many of the attractions and environments with heavy doses of nostalgia that he felt would have a direct appeal to adults. Main Street USA, the thoroughfare to the attractions, exemplifies this sentiment with its unashamed harking back to turn-of-the-century middle America with which many American adults could associate themselves. Similarly, Frontierland recalls the era of the Wild West but in a very cinematic mold and was designed to provide therefore a set of images to which adults could easily relate. Moreover, the very process of theming was central to this product differentiation strategy, since most amusement parks were loose assemblages of rides of various degrees of thrill.

Theming accomplished at least two things in this connection. First, it established coherence to the various rides and attractions in Disneyland and the environments in which they were located. Second, in the design of rides and attractions, the accent was placed on their theming rather than

on the thrill factor, which was the emphasis in traditional amusement parks. Indeed, Walt Disney initially did not plan for roller coaster rides in order to set his park apart from the amusement parks he loathed so much. Gradually, such rides have been incorporated as a result of pressure from younger visitors who found Disney fare too tame. However, when such rides were built they were in heavily themed form, for example, Big Thunder Mountain Railroad (themed on prospecting in the Wild West), Space Mountain (space travel) and Splash Mountain (*Song of the South*). By establishing coherence to rides and by placing an emphasis on the theme rather than on thrills, Walt Disney was able to differentiate Disneyland from the traditional amusement parks that he so disliked. Much of this is captured in the Euro Disneyland share prospectus which was issued in October 1989. The prospectus outlines the "Disney theme park concept":

> Rather than presenting a random collection of roller coasters, merry-go-rounds and Ferris wheels in a carnival atmosphere, these parks are divided into distinct areas called "lands" in which a selected theme . . . is presented through architecture, landscaping, costuming, music, live entertainment, attractions, merchandise and food and beverage. Within a particular land, intrusions and distractions from the theme are minimized so that the visitor becomes immersed in its atmosphere. (p. 13)

But it would be a mistake to think of Disneyland as the progenitor of theming. It may have (and almost certainly has) acted as a high profile spur to a realization of the significance and possibilities of theming, but its basic principles can be discerned in a number of forerunners. Two types of precursor stand out. One is amusement parks which had incorporated elementary theming features at an early stage. Coney Island's Luna Park and Dreamland Park provide examples of this, in that attractions were clothed in exotic and sometimes erotic motifs (Kasson, 1978). A second type of forerunner is the exposition which acted as a means of displaying modernity's wares by suffusing them with a sense of continuing scientific and technological progress and with utopianism. A number of writers have drawn attention to the continuities between the Disney theme parks and expositions and world's fairs (Findlay, 1992; Nelson, 1986). Marlin (1994) has suggested that the Chicago Railroad Fair of 1948 was a particular inspiration for Disneyland. The fair was designed to celebrate the centenary of the first train to enter the city. It showcased many futuristic trains and an even greater number of trains of the past. It therefore combined the celebration of the past with visions of the future which would be a feature of Disneyland. Furthermore, the rolling stock was surrounded by carefully recreated models and settings. According to Marlin these included: a model dude ranch; a mechanical representation of Yellowstone Park's Old

Faithful geyser; and a French Quarter, Indian Quarter and an area modeled on the beaches of Florida's Gulf Coast. There were also numerous shows including re-enactments of historical events. Marlin argues that what was significant was not the originality of these ideas, many of which could be seen in the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1933; instead, the significance lay in the "coherence and concentration of the experience" (1994, p.105). It was this aspect of the fair, in particular, that she regards as a major inspiration for the form that Disneyland assumed. Disneyland's originality lies in the combination of the transformation of themed *attractions* into one of themed environments with the transformation of the world's fair/exposition concept into a *permanent* site.

Dedifferentiation of Consumption

The term "dedifferentiation of consumption" denotes simply the general trend whereby the forms of consumption associated with different institutional spheres become interlocked with each other and increasingly difficult to distinguish. For one thing, there has been a tendency for the distinction between shopping and theme parks to be elided. Walt Disney realized at a very early stage that Disneyland had great potential as a vehicle for selling food and various goods. Main Street USA typified this in that its main purpose is not to house attractions but to act as a context for shopping. As Eco puts it: "The Main Street façades are presented to us as toy houses and invite us to enter them, but their interior is always a disguised supermarket, where you buy obsessively, believing that you are still playing" (1986, p.43). Nowadays, the Disney theme parks are full of shops and restaurants to the extent that many writers argue that their main purpose increasingly is precisely the selling of a variety of goods and food. With many attractions, visitors are forced to go through a shop containing relevant merchandise in order to exit (e.g. a shop containing Star Wars merchandise as one leaves the Star Tours ride in the two American Disney parks and Disneyland Paris). In the EPCOT Center, a Disney World theme park which opened in 1982, there is an area called World Showcase which comprises representations of different nations. But one of the main ways in which the nations and their nationhood is revealed is through eating and shopping. Indeed, the buildings which iconically represent some of the countries do not contain attractions at all (e.g. Britain, Italy), or perhaps contain little more than a film about the country concerned (e.g. Canada, France). However, each "country" has at least one restaurant (some, like France, Mexico and China, have two) and at least one shop. It is not surprising, therefore, for many commentators EPCOT and indeed the other parks are often portrayed as vehicles for selling goods and food. Thus, the Euro Disneyland share prospectus presented as one of the main

management techniques associated with "the Disney theme park concept" the fact that "Disney has learned to optimize the mix of merchandise in stores within its theme parks, which consequently are highly profitable and achieve some of the highest sales per square meter for retail stores in the United States" (p. 13). If we add hotels into this equation, the case for dedifferentiation in the parks is even more compelling. At Disney World the number of hotels has grown enormously since Michael Eisner took the helm at the Walt Disney Company in 1984. In addition to being themed (see previous section), there has been a clear attempt to ratchet up the number of guests staying in its hotels by emphasizing their advantages over non-Disney ones. For example, Disney guests are able to enter the parks earlier and can therefore get to the main attractions before the arrival of hordes of tourists. They are also able to secure tables for the sought after restaurants (especially the EPCOT ethnic ones) from their hotels rather than having to take a chance on their availability when they turn up at the parks. Also, for some time now Disney has been offering its hotel guests inclusive length-of-stay passes to the parks. It is striking that it was recognized during the days when Euro Disneyland's financial troubles were common knowledge that one of the reasons for its problems was not the number of visitors to the parks but the fact that they were not spending as much on food, souvenirs and Disney hotels as had been predicted (Bryman, 1995, p.77). Thus, we see in the Disney parks a tendency for shopping, eating, hotel accommodation and theme park visiting to become inextricably interwoven. Any distinctions are further undermined by the fact that Disney have created what is essentially a mall in the center in Disney World (Disney Village, formerly called Disney Marketplace) and have announced that they will be developing a mall adjacent to Disneyland Park (Finch, 1997).

In some very large shopping malls, the opposite has happened, though this too represents further evidence of the dedifferentiation of consumption: the mall designers have built theme parks and other leisure facilities. This extends well beyond the eateries and cinemas that are standard mall fare. At Mall of America is a seven acre theme park called Knott's Camp Snoopy, which features 23 rides. There is no entrance fee and visitors pay for each ride. In the first six months of operation, the park took more than 4 million rides (Spellmeyer, 1993). Early research showed that the average visitor spends 3.1 hours in the mall which includes a half-hour visit to Camp Snoopy, but since then the average visit to the mall has been calculated as 2.6 hours (Cohn, 1996). As is well known, West Edmonton Mall has similarly incorporated a giant water park and theme park attractions in "Fantasyland." One of Ghermezian brothers who own and operate the company that was responsible for the Mall's design was apparently very influenced by the Disney theme parks (Hopkins, 1990: 9–10). The

MetroCentre similarly contains "an enormous fantasy kingdom of fairground rides" (Urry, 1990, p.149). The rationale for this hybridization of consumption and theme park attractions is well summed up by the mall developer, Bill Dawson, who is quoted as saying: "the more needs you fulfill, the longer people stay" (in Crawford, 1992, p.15). Moreover, in broadening the range of facilities on offer, the mall transforms itself from a local amenity to a tourist attraction and at least one investment analyst predicts that the trend towards injecting amusements into malls will continue (Barber, 1995, p.132). Further illustrations of dedifferentiation of consumption include the way in which many airport terminals are being turned into mini-malls (Hamilton and Harlow, 1995) and such simple manifestations as the tendency for many museums and heritage attractions to force visitors to exit through a shop. Moreover, hotels and casinos using the Hard Rock Café and Planet Hollywood brands are being built in different locations. McDonald's is frequently involved in a form of dedifferentiation of consumption when it links its fare with Disney cartoon characters and films. It also attached itself to the opening of the Segaworld theme park in September 1996 by offering free burgers to visitors.

Las Vegas is possibly a better illustration than the Disney theme parks of Disneyization in the form of dedifferentiation. For a start, the hotels mentioned in the previous section could equally be described, and probably more accurately, as casinos. Each houses a massive casino, although they could equally be described as casinos with hotels attached. But in recent years, dedifferentiation has proceeded apace in Las Vegas. You may enter the forum shops at Caesar's on the moving walkway but the only exit is to walk through the casino. More than this, in order to attract families and a wider range of clientele (Grossman, 1993), the casino/hotels have either built theme parks (e.g. MGM Grand, Circus Circus) or have incorporated theme park attractions (e.g. Luxor, Stratosphere, New York New York, Treasure Island, Excalibur). In the process, conventional distinctions between casinos, hotels, restaurants, shopping, and theme parks collapse. Crawford has written that "malls routinely entertain, while theme parks function as disguised marketplace" (1992, p.16), but current trends imply that even this comment does not capture the extent of dedifferentiation.

Merchandising

In this discussion, I will use the term "merchandising" simply to refer to the promotion of goods in the form of or bearing copyright images and logos, including such products made under license. This is a realm in which Disney have been pre-eminent. Walt Disney's first animated star was arguably not Mickey Mouse, but Oswald the Lucky Rabbit, around which he and his studio had created a popular series of shorts in 1927. When he tried to negotiate a better financial deal over these shorts, Walt found that it was not he but the distributor that owned the rights to them. As a result, the studio had no rights to Oswald's name and therefore to the small range of merchandise that had begun to appear bearing the character's name and image. Thereafter, he zealously guarded his rights in this regard. A major factor may well have been the revenue-producing capability of merchandise bearing Oswald's image, including a pop-up puppet, stencil set, celluloid figures and posters (Tumbusch, 1989: 28).

Merchandising and licensing proliferated, however, in the wake of Mickey's arrival in November 1928 (deCordova, 1994). A year later, Walt Disney Productions was transformed into four mini-companies, one of which dealt with merchandising and licensing. Deals were handled through first of all by George Borgfeldt and in 1934 onwards by the flamboyant Kay Kamen. Walt Disney certainly did not create the idea of merchandising or even of merchandising animated cartoons characters. Felix the Cat was the subject of a large range of merchandise in the mid-1920s (Canemaker, 1991). What Walt Disney did realize was its immense profitability. In the years after Mickey's arrival, the company did not make large sums from its cartoons, because Walt Disney's incessant quest for improvements in the quality of animation cut deeply into the studio's profits. To a very large extent, he was able to finance expensive technical innovation and his unyielding insistence on quality by using profits from merchandise. Klein (1993) has suggested that about half of the studio's profits were attributable to merchandise (see also, Merritt and Kaufman, 1992, p.144). Indeed, some writers have suggested that in later years, the design of cartoon characters, in particular their "cuteness," was at least in part motivated by a consideration of their capacity to be turned into merchandise (Bryman, 1995; Forgacs, 1992). It may also account for the changes in Mickey's increasingly less rodent-like appearance over the years (Gould, 1979).

The Disney theme parks have two points of significance in relation to merchandising as a component of Disneyization. First, and most obviously, they provide sites for the selling of the vast array of Disney merchandise that has accumulated over the years: from pens to clothing, from books to sweets and from watches to plush toys. Sales from merchandise are a major contributor to profits from the parks. The parks are carefully designed to maximize the opportunity for and inclination of guests to purchase merchandise. Second, they provide their own merchandise. This occurs in a number of ways, including: tee-shirts with the name of the park on them; EPCOT clothing or souvenirs with a suitably attired cartoon character on them, such as a "French" Mickey purchased in the France pavilion or a sporty Goofy purchased in the Wonders of Life pavilion; merchandise deriving from characters specifically associated with the

parks, such as Figment (a character in the Journey into Imagination ride in EPCOT); and a petrified Mickey looking out from the top of the Twilight Zone Tower of Terror (a Disney-MGM Studios attraction) emblazoned on clothing. Thus, while the merchandising of Disney creations predates the first Disney park by nearly thirty years, the parks exemplify this aspect of Disneyization by virtue of their substantial promotion of a host of items. Indeed, Davis (1996) suggests that theme parks have become major vehicles for merchandising and that this at least in part accounts for the growing tendency for media conglomerates to buy or build them. Davis writes somewhat more generally about the "cross-promotion" of goods, which itself can be seen as a principle of Disneyization, but as she observes, merchandising is central to the appeal of cross-promotion: "Licensed images and . . . merchandise are at the heart of the matter, and the potential of the theme park industry to sell and support licensed products is central to synergy" (1996, p.407). Fjellman, similarly, refers to the merchandise associated with Disney films as being part of "an endless round of self-referential co-advertisements" (1992, p.157).

Over the years, it has become increasingly apparent that more money can be made from feature films through merchandising and licensing than from box office receipts as such. While hugely successful merchandise bonanzas like those associated with *Star Wars, Jurassic Park* and *The Lion King* are by no means typical; they represent the tip of a lucrative iceberg. Like many movies, television series also often form the basis for successful lines of merchandise and indeed it has sometimes been suggested that they are devised with merchandise and licensing potential very much in mind. There are no guarantees, however. If a movie flops, like *Judge Dredd*, even though based on a popular comic book character and having superficial merchandise potential, the products will either not be developed or will not move out of stores. Also, the merchandising of even fairly successful films like *Flintstones* and *Casper* can be disappointing (Pereira, 1995). Certainly, Disney seems to have been very disappointed with the merchandise sales associated with *Dick Tracy*, produced by Touchstone Pictures (Grover, 1991, p.261). Even so, the potential for merchandising in relation to movies is reckoned to be huge and is an important element in what Wasko *et al.* (1993) refer to as "the commercialization of US films" and more generally in "the commodification of culture" (1993, p.271). The potential of merchandising lies behind the tremendous growth in studio stores, like those associated with Disney and Warner Brothers, a market into which MGM, Sony and others are moving. Moreover, there has been a trend in recent years for licensing firms buying up the rights to merchandising of a variety of traditional characters, including Thomas the Tank Engine, Noddy and other Enid Blyton characters, *Marvel* comic characters, and Sooty (Alberge, 1996; Fox, 1996; Lee, 1996).

But it would be a mistake, of course, to view merchandising purely in terms of the movies and cartoon characters. The new themed restaurant chains all follow the lead of Hard Rock Café of developing extensive lines of merchandise, including the ubiquitous tee-shirt which simultaneously informs where wearers have been on their holidays and acts literally as a walking advertisement for the chain. You do not necessarily have to eat in the establishment in order to purchase the items. Very often, if not invariably, you can enter the shop area without needing to eat the food. In the case of the Rainforest Café chain, the shopping area is often as big as many restaurants; this contrasts somewhat with the small booths in Hard Rock Café, All Star Sports and Planet Hollywood restaurants. Professional sport has succumbed to the attractions of merchandising and in Britain major clubs and events can be the focus for successful merchandising (Longmore, 1996; Truss, 1996). Kuper, for example, has written that Manchester United Football Club "tripled its turnover to £60m over the last five years, largely thanks to merchandising" (1996, p.2). While British universities have lagged behind their North American counterparts, it appears that they too have realized the potential of what one news reporter appropriately refers to as "Disney-style merchandising" (Swanton, 1997, p.vi).

Emotional Labor

Ritzer (1993) was somewhat silent about the nature of work under McDonaldization, but it is clear from his view that since it incorporates Scientific management and Fordism the work tends to be dehumanizing and alienating. More recently, Ritzer (1998) has written about "McJobs," that is, jobs specifically connected to the McDonaldization of society, and links his reflections with insights from labor process theory (Braverman, 1974). While he finds the insights of this theory instructive, he notes that there is more to these jobs than their being "simply the deskilled jobs of our industrial past in new settings" (Ritzer, 1998, p.63). McJobs have a number of new characteristics including "many distinctive aspects of the control of these workers" (1998, p.63). In particular, Ritzer draws attention to the scripting of interaction in service work. Not only does this process result in "new depths in . . . deskilling" (1998, p.64) but also it entails control of the self through emotional labor, which has been defined as the "act of expressing socially desired emotions during service transactions" (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993, pp.88–9). Drawing on the work of Hochschild (1983) on airline attendants and Leidner (1993) on insurance salespersons at Combined Insurance in the USA, he notes that in addition to interaction with clients being controlled, the organization seeks to control "how they view themselves and how they feel" (1998, p.64). This is revealed in the insistence that workers exhibit cheerfulness and friendliness towards

customers as part of the service encounter. There is some uncertainty about how far emotional labor is associated with McJobs. Leidner (1993) conducted research on work in a McDonald's outlet (where presumably one finds the archetypal McJob) and argued that the kind of emotional labor discerned by Hochschild could be found among counter workers. Such a finding would be consistent with Reiter's research on Burger King which "urges employees to be pleasant, cheerful, smiling, and courteous at all times" and to "show obvious pride in their work" (1996, p.136). However, Ritzer (1998) argues that emotional labor is not a feature of McDonaldized organizations, because they are mainly interested in workers' overt behavior rather than with how they feel about themselves.

There is some disagreement, then, about how far emotional labor accompanies McDonaldization, but there is no doubt that many aspects of this form of control are spreading, as the work of the authors cited in the previous paragraph suggests (for reviews of much of the evidence for this trend, see Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Wharton and Erickson, 1993). But emotional labor is in many ways exemplified by the Disney theme parks. The behavior of Disney theme park employees is controlled in a number of ways and control through scripted interactions and encouraging emotional labor is one of the key elements (Bryman, 1995, pp.107–13). The friendliness and helpfulness of Disney theme park employees is renowned and is one of the things that visitors often comment on as something that they liked (Sorkin, 1992, p.228). Moreover, anyone with even a passing knowledge of the parks *expects* this kind of behavior. The ever-smiling Disney theme park employee has become a stereotype of modern culture. Their demeanor coupled with the distinctive Disney language is designed among other things to convey the impression that the employees are having fun too and therefore not engaging in real work. In one instance, at least, the diffusion of emotional labor from the Disney theme parks was very direct: Findlay (1992) maintains that the city of Anaheim's stadium and convention center, built in the mid-1960s, consciously adopted a Disney-style approach to handling customers. He quotes a local newspaper article as saying that at both organizations could be found "an attractive and smiling staff" who had been tutored in a "Disneyland vocabulary" (1992, p.101).

It was not quite that way at the beginning, however. In Disneyland's very early days, Walt Disney was appalled by the behavior of some of the park's staff toward visitors. The staff, many of whom had been hired by lessees, lacked training and were gruff and unhelpful towards visitors. The only employees who exhibited the kind of behavior Walt wanted were the attraction operators who had been trained by the company itself. According to Randy Bright, a Disney Imagineer: "What Walt really wanted were employees with a ready smile and a knack for dealing pleasantly with large

numbers of people" (1987, p.111). The Disney University was created precisely in order to inculcate the necessary training and was responsible for a new vocabulary. According to the founder of the Disneyland University, one of the central elements of the early training approach was to inculcate the principle that "[i]n addition to a 'friendly smile', we sold the importance of 'friendly phrases' " (France, 1991, p.22). Since then Disney has developed seminars which introduce executives from a variety of organizations to its distinctive approach to human resource management (Blocklyn, 1988; Eisman, 1993) and has publicized this approach more generally (e.g. Johnson, 1991). These seminars may have been instrumental in the further diffusion of this aspect of Disneyization. Moreover, a number of management texts have emphasized this ingredient of the success of the Disney theme parks (e.g. Connellan, 1996; Peters and Waterman, 1982; Zemke, 1989).

Needless to say, the manifestations of emotional labor are sometimes repudiated and behavior that is inconsistent with Disney principles of how hosts and hostesses should act is exhibited, as a number of commentators have observed (e.g. Koenig, 1994; Sutton, 1992; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989). However, to concentrate on these features is to miss the point: as Van Maanen and Kunda (1989) observe, there is an almost remarkable acceptance among Disney staff of the emotional requirements of the job. Moreover, the very fact that these emotional requirements sometimes occasion considerable resentment among hosts or hostesses (Project on Disney, 1995) is a reflection of the demands of emotional labor just as it was for Hochschild's (1983) airline attendants. Even among some former Disney hosts or hostesses who have had adverse employment experiences, there seems to be a certain ambivalence that combines a certain degree of admiration with a recognition that the job was not for them (Zibart, 1997).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to position the concept of Disneyization in two different ways and senses. On the one hand, I have employed a term that has been used much less often than "Disneyfication" which now has a number of connotations, some of which are pejorative. By adopting a term with less conceptual baggage, it is possible to outline its features in a more untrammeled manner. Second, I have had in mind a kind of analogue to Ritzer's (1993) influential concept of McDonaldization. In other words, like McDonaldization, Disneyization is depicted as a large-scale social process which is made up of a number of analytically separate components. Many institutions may be described as *both* McDonaldized and Disneyized, thereby perhaps warranting being referred to as McDisneyized, following Ritzer and Liska (1997). Shopping malls and theme parks

are prominent examples. However, Disneyization and McDonaldization may sometimes overlap with respect to certain institutions but they are distinctively different processes. What is more, as this chapter has suggested, institutions may be McDonaldized but not Disneyized or Disneyized but not McDonaldized or may even be Disneyized in some respects and McDonaldized in others. The Disney theme park itself may be an example of this last pattern. Bryman (1995) has argued that it displays characteristics of three of the four dimensions of McDonaldization and is obviously a Disneyized institution.

McDonaldization and Disneyization can be depicted as having contrasting intellectual traditions. Ritzer positions McDonaldization in relation to the classical concern in social theory with rationalization exhibited by Weber and others, whereas the intellectual heritage of Disneyization is much closer to recent more theoretical concerns about consumerism. This contrast could be taken to imply that they are grounded in different images of society. Ritzer (1993, pp.156–8) has unambiguously located McDonaldization in relation to modernity, but as he also observes "consumption . . . is often considered the hallmark of postmodern society" (1998, p.9). This raises the consideration of whether the grounding of Disneyization in consumerism and the consumer society implies a quite distinctive intellectual heritage from McDonaldization and equally a different vision of the nature of the society in which each flourishes? Disneyization can be depicted as having points of affinity with many of the attributes of a consumer culture identified by writers like Baudrillard (1970/1998), Bauman (1998), Featherstone (1991) and Jameson (1991) who emphasize the sign value of goods and their connectedness to notions of life style and individuals' personal identity projects. There are different aspects to this current of thought, not the least of which is that it encapsulates both the propensity of people to respond to goods and services in terms of sign value and the conscious manipulation of signs by the suppliers of goods and services. These features can be discerned in relation to Disneyization in the growing use of theming devices and in the deployment of copyright images in merchandising coupled with the individual's preparedness to respond to them. The dedifferentiation of consumption is also relevant here as it is to do with the ways in which people are encouraged to get on with their consumption projects while actually giving the impression that they are doing something else. Emotional labor serves to convey a sense that the employee is not engaged in work, so that the consumer is not reminded of the world of work and can get on with the happy task of buying, eating, gambling and so on. The smiling, helpful demeanor may also encourage spending in its own right.

The identification of Disneyization with theories of consumer culture seems to imply that whereas McDonaldization is a modern phenomenon,

Disneyization is a post-modern one. However, one has to be cautious about such simple connections, not least because Ritzer's (1998) more recent writing on McDonaldization displays a greater preparedness to associate it with postmodern themes and writings. Certainly, there are many features in Disneyization that are frequently associated with post-modernity: the proliferation of signs, dedifferentiation of institutional spheres, depthlessness, cultivated nostalgia, and the problematization of authenticity and reality. However, it is important not to fall headlong into an immediate association with postmodernity: as Beardsworth and Bryman observe in relation to themed restaurants, for consumers to enjoy the experiences associated with trends like Disneyization ". . . they must know that their feet remain firmly planted on modern ground in order to be sure of the reassuring securities of modernity: punctuality, physical safety, comfort, reliability, hygiene, etc." (1999). On the other hand, Disneyization and the consumer culture in which it is embedded (and which it cultivates) appear to betoken a sea change of considerable proportions. On that basis, Disneyization would seem to be inconsistent with McDonaldization. In fact, as has been suggested above, they represent contrasting trends which co-exist. My purpose here has been to suggest that the growing interest in McDonaldization and its spheres of application (e.g. Hartley, 1995; Parker and Jary, 1995; Prichard and Willmott, 1997; Smart, in press) should not obscure the significance of other trends and that the apparently all-encompassing tone of the notion of the McDonaldization of society should not blind us to aspects of the modern world that do not appear to be readily subsumed by it. Disneyization is one of the "other trends" that needs to be considered in tandem with McDonaldization while it also represents an attempt to capture certain features of the modern world with which McDonaldization does not readily deal.

McDonaldization and Disneyization also differ is that the precursors to the former – scientific management, Fordism, and bureaucracy – have been underway for a century or longer. It has been possible to point to a number of precursors to Disneyization, but in most cases its chief impact has been felt in much more recent years. Further, Disneyization is almost certainly nowhere near as extensive as McDonaldization – at the moment. McDonald's itself gave a huge boost to the spread of McDonaldization, but whereas fast-food restaurants can crop up all over the place, Disney-style theme parks cannot. Thus, while the lessons of the Disney theme parks are widely emulated (selling and theming strategies, use of emotional labor), the fact that they are less prevalent and prominent almost certainly means that their lessons diffuse more slowly. None the less, the pace of diffusion of the four dimensions of Disneyization seems to be increasing (e.g. Gottdiener, 1997, pp.1–4), so that its significance may well be similarly accelerating.

In the end, the crucial question is whether the concept of Disneyization is useful. Many writers have found the idea of McDonaldization helpful as a capsule statement about the nature of social change and of modernity and as a reference point for discussing these changes. It has been used as a reference point for discussions of specific institutional spheres (for example, Bryman, 1995; Hartley, 1995; Smart, in press). It is in a similar context and with similar purposes in mind that the concept of Disneyization has been proposed. However, in the case of Disneyization there is one further purpose. The term "Disneyfication" has been deployed in a variety of ways with a variety of meanings to a variety of objects. Clearly, writers have felt that "Disney" signifies something meaningful in terms of its effects, but the general approach to writing about Disneyfication lacks coherence and has rather pejorative overtones. I have been concerned in this chapter to provide a specific set of denotations for the term "Disneyization" and in large part to avoid the disparaging tone of much previous writing.

Note

1 This is a reprint from *Sociological Review* (1999), 47, 1, 25–47. Thanks to Blackwell for granting permission.

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CHAPTER **5**

Understanding the Contradictory Lived Experience of Service Work

The Customer-Oriented Bureaucracy

MAREK KORCZYNSKI

In this chapter, I lay out how a body of research has shown the existence of deep-seated contradictions within the lived experience of front line service work.[1] This research shows that for many contemporary service workers there are simultaneously pleasures and pains within their experiences of work. There are both tensions and spaces in their work lives. I then present the model of a customer-oriented bureaucracy as a lens through which to understand the contradictory nature of contemporary service work. The final section of the chapter considers the uses and limitations of the customer-oriented bureaucracy as an analytical tool.

Introduction – The Contradictory Lived Experience of Service Work

There is now a substantial body of research into service work which shows the existence of deep contradictions within the lived experience of service workers. In this section, I briefly lay out some of the key points of contradictions uncovered within this research, focusing particularly on the relations between workers and service-recipients (customers, from hereon). I then show how this research has also shown the existence of simultaneous tensions and spaces within the experience of service work.

In one of the finest studies of service work, Benson (1986) shows how

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CHAPTER **6**

Labor Process Theory

Putting the Materialism Back into the Meaning of Service Work

CHRIS WARHURST, PAUL THOMPSON
AND DENNIS NICKSON

Introduction

Service jobs now account for around three-quarters of all jobs in the advanced economies generally. Indeed, if Britain was once a nation of shop-keepers, it is now a nation of shop-workers, with over one in ten of the working population employed in retail (Wilson *et al.*, 2006). Retail is also predicted to have the largest expansion of jobs for the next ten years, further consolidating the dominance of services in Britain. That manufacturing is in decline and displaced by services jobs is not doubted – though caution must be exercised about the "newness" of some of these services (see Warhurst and Thompson, 1998). Retail companies such as Gap and McDonald's are held up as icons of this shift, replacing the big four auto companies as emblematic of economic development and stability (Friedman, 1999). Manufacturing-associated paradigms used to both describe and explain the structure and operation of the capitalist economy have been jettisoned in favor of those associated with services, and a number jostle each other for attention, most obviously "McDonaldization" (Ritzer, 1993) and, more recently, Disneyization (Bryman, 2004).

If the shift to services is not in doubt, what is contested is the meaning of this change and how it is to be interpreted and researched. Because,

unlike manufacturing, service work often, but not always, entails interaction with a "third party" – the customer or client – it is often claimed that service work is unique and analysis must be distinct (see for example Korczynski, 2002; Leidner, 2006). Sturdy (2001, p. 5) on the other hand notes that the "distinctions between service and manufacturing labor processes are sometimes overdrawn." However, there is a further and more wide ranging claim, made particularly by post-modernists that the shift to a service economy is associated with a new capitalism in which production itself is said to have been displaced by consumption as the site of meaning and so the focus of analysis. We challenge this position in this chapter through an exposition and interpretation of Labor Process Theory (LPT) and services. What our analysis demonstrates, aside from the continuing utility of LPT as a framework for analysis of services, is that work and employment have not lost their meaning, and that the employment relationship and the labor process remain central to the production and reproduction of capitalism.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. We start with an outline of the post-modern position on services, consumption and the new capitalism We draw into this discussion Ritzer's (2001; 2004, this volume) latest takes on the service economy, which whilst not post-modernist per se offers a sociology of consumption in which production is displaced analytically and work is negated empirically. We demonstrate the weaknesses of these approaches before moving on to outline LPT and affirming the centrality of materialism to its analysis, which, it should be noted, from its origins with Harry Braverman (1974) included services in its account of capitalism. We then illustrate how and why LPT informs key conceptual and empirical developments in the analysis of emotional labor and aesthetic labor in services. We conclude by emphasizing the continuing relevance of LPT for current and future analysis of services.

Services, Consumption and the Eclipse of the Employment Relationship

We would argue that there is a difference between services being the dominant feature of a capitalist economy and claims that a service economy marks a qualitative break in the system of production. Such thinking has a long history in post-war social science. In the immediate post-war period a "logic of industrialism" (Kerr et al., 1963) was posited with which common organizational and technological imperatives requiring more and better educated labor was displacing capitalism. This argument could only exert influence as long as industrialism itself was seen to be the characteristic form of modernity. That assumption was largely abandoned as increasing numbers of social theorists embraced some variant of

theories of post-industrial society. Though it took various forms, a personal service (Halmos, 1970) or service class society (Dahrendorf, 1959) was pushed to the fore in such arguments. By the 1970s, social science became enveloped in debate about the "post-industrial" social division of labor and the class consciousness and cohesiveness of these service workers; more particularly whether or not, as educated labor, these workers comprised a new middle class usurping or supporting capitalism (see Darr and Warhurst, 2008).

Within these debates emphasis was sometimes placed on the individualized nature of service work, its scope for the exercise of personal discretion and interaction with other employees rather than machines. However, the concern continued to be class rather than work. True, stylized contrast was made between manufacturing and service work. Bell (1973) for example argued that the "game against fabricated nature" had been usurped by the "game between persons." In this respect, post-industrial theorists such as Bell tended to emphasize the shift to highly skilled and specialized professionals but only brief indication is made of their work – that these workers "handle people" and are involved in "some phase of research and development" or "teaching" (p.230). In this respect, Kumar (1978, p.206) notes an, "apparently inescapable tendency on the part of writers on the service economy to take as the general pattern of work the conditions in the most attractive and prestigious parts of the service sector."

Elsewhere, we have criticized this tendency to either simply ignore work in favor of occupational label-gazing (Darr and Warhurst, 2008) or focus on the "better" service jobs and overlook the working reality of the more prevalent routine service jobs (Thompson et al., 2001). Occupational and skill trends indicate a polarization of jobs as an hour glass economy emerges with expanded management, professional and associate professional labor at the top and expanded caring, cleaning, waiting and selling jobs at the bottom. Within this polarization, Frenkel (2005, pp.357 and 369) states that most service work is "located at the lower range of the skills, creativity and knowledge continuum [and is] indecent in the sense that it is often poorly rewarded and provides little intrinsic satisfaction." This is a point with which even Reich (1993) and Florida (2002), surprisingly, agree if readers care to continue beyond the headlines of "symbolic analysts" in The Work of Nations and the "creative class" in Florida's The Rise of the Creative Class. In both cases, a larger number of "personalized service workers" (Reich) or "decreatified," "menial" workers (Florida) involving cooking, cleaning, clerical and caring work are recognized to exist and be required to support the privileged, headline occupations.

For Lash and Urry (1994), this shift to the creating and trading of non-material products with services has a more profound implication: a "weightless economy" now exists. The products of this economy are of

two types; first, "post-industrial goods" such as software programs with a cognitive content based on knowledge and information and, second, "post-modern goods" such as film and music with an aesthetic or symbolic content based on signs and symbols. Both claims suggest an increased importance being attached to consumption and the inconvenient truths about the extent of job shifts within production are an irrelevance. Instead, the focus on services leads not just to the marginalization of production but to the eclipse of the employment relationship in all forms of work, for the hallmark of a service economy is consumption.

The term "consumer society" has been around since the 1950s but, in its Fordist context, primarily referred to the virtuous circle of mass production and mass consumption. Now, according to post-modernists, the meaning and identities that individuals once derived from production have been displaced by meaning and identity derived from consumption: we are no longer what we make but what we buy. Of course consumption matters, particularly "competitive consumption" that exacerbates existing social inequalities and gives rise to spiraling personal debt amongst those who can least bear it (Schor, 2000). However it is a huge leap from acknowledging the importance of consumption within capitalism to suggest that consumption heralds a new form of capitalism. Nevertheless, such claims are made as part of post-modernist claims of consumption-driven, status-centered societies (see for example Pakulski and Waters, 1996; Bauman, 1998). In making a critique of this perspective, two qualifications need to be made at this point. First, LPT has nothing to say about consumption and consumers per se. Its core concepts have been developed to analyze work and employment relations. Second, it does not seek to dismiss or downgrade analyses of consumption, and recognizes the full circuit of capital (see Kelly, 1985). What LPT does seek to do is refute the argument that (the rise of) consumption is at the expense of production of goods and services, and instead seeks to develop frameworks that can explain the interface between workers and customers in the provision of services. This distinction is important. In an influential contribution Bauman (1998) argues that late modern or post-modern society is characterized as a "society of consumers" (p.2). In this passage from a producer to a consumer society, the most profound change is the way in which "people are groomed and trained to meet the demands of their social identities" (p.24). In Bauman's world, with the death of the work ethic, work is decentered, and meaning, cast as "identity," is no longer derived from production. Instead, Bauman believes "the aesthetic of consumption" and what is "currently available in the shops" (p.29) now provides individuals with their identity. As Frank (2002) wryly notes, in this approach, consumption is cast as democracy, market populism as human liberation; and both offered as the triumph of the popular will. We all now have the power,

and are either driving or subverting the corporates, defining our own meaning through consumption.

Returning to inconvenient truths, Bauman's decentering of work has been challenged by Bradley et al. (2000) who, by contrast, suggest that a "cult of work" exists in long working hours,[1] the permeation of work into home life and the multiple jobs held by some workers (see also Warhurst et al., 2008). Bauman's claim to the end of job stability also falls at the first hurdle of evidence (see for example Auer and Cazes [2003] for data on the stability, not decline, of job tenure). In addition the immaterial argument is often over-stated and the material in services under-appreciated. Whilst it is true that much service provision centers on self-service, the most obvious example being supermarkets, and that other services require sales to be made by workers and so might involve the "enchantment of customers" suggested by Korczynski (2005), the provision of service requires a range of other tasks additional to actual selling and much of these other tasks involve engagement with material commodities. Many workers in interactive services make beds, stack shelves and flip burgers – all of which involve tangibles being bought by consumers. Pettinger (2006, p.48) also points out that shops are the end point of a long chain of tasks involving material objects, from design with computers to garment manufacturing machines in factories to haulage trucks that delivery the clothes to the shop for sale. "All of this work is fundamental to economic exchange," Pettinger asserts, "as it creates products as objects of consumption and precedes both self-service work done by consumers and customer service provided to consumers by workers" (p.60). Claims of intangibility in services therefore provide inadequate understanding of the nature, not just of work, but also of industry.

It is easy to rail against the excesses of post-modernism. A more fruitful engagement is with Ritzer's (2001) work on the sociology of consumption, given the prominence of his Weberian analysis of rationalized service work (Ritzer, 1993). Ritzer's earlier work has considerable overlaps with LPT and he continues to make explicit parallels between the control and exploitation of workers and consumers. However he now proclaims a kind of paradigm break: "In twentieth-century capitalism, the focus shifted increasingly from production to consumption, resulting in a parallel shift from control and exploitation of workers to that of consumers" (2001, pp.111–12). This new focus too requires a shift of analytical focus from the means of production to the means of consumption. The latter consist of those things – notably shopping malls, superstores, home shopping television, theme parks and cruise ships – that supply goods and services for exploitable hyper-consumption.

Though borrowing from Weber and Marx for some of this terminology, Ritzer is attracted by the post-modern emphasis on consumption as

spectacle (as in "cathedrals of consumption") and work in services as simulation and performance. With reference to the latter, he gives the usual examples of people dressing up as Mickey Mouse and the like, extending the illustration to the claim that "most of the people we encounter in the new means of consumption are simulations, even if they are not wearing costumes . . . [and] are all playing well defined roles" (2001, p.137).[2] This is a theme that has also been taken up by Bryman (2004; this volume) with Disneyization. This is "the process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world," creating "the highly sought after template for the service sector" (pp.1 and 12). Again its focus is primarily consumption and, in "a post-Fordist world," the creation of "spectacular" shopping and leisure experiences for consumers (pp.5 and 76). No substantive evidence is offered of this "spectacularization," only marketing and marketing executive hype. Nevertheless, elsewhere Bryman does provide evidence, drawing heavily on the empirical research of writers closely associated with LPT, to make his points about the strictures of these Disneyized jobs (for example citing Bain and Taylor, 2000; Callaghan and Thompson, 2002; Warhurst and Thompson, 1998). As a consequence there is no evidence that performative labor is as spectacularly transformed as the places in which it takes place, and Bryman, thankfully, is less seduced by the claims of "fun factory" jobs. Rather than being spectacular, performative labor is standardized and no less tightly controlled by management than any burger flipper in McDonald's. Performative laborers' feelings and bodies are "formally prescribed" to elicit appropriate behavior, attitudes and appearance and "inculcate the demeanor that Walt wanted to engender" (pp. 109 and 110).

Such careful qualification is not present in Ritzer's recent trajectory, claiming to have identified another "general historical trend" in which the loss of meaning in work now reaches its apotheosis (see Ritzer, 2004). This trend is towards "nothing" by which he means, applying the concept to work, it is "devoid of distinctive substantive content" (p. 32). Thus as those employees of Disney World step into their costumes they now become "a high degree of nothingness" (p. 37). The same is true for fast-food, call center and retail workers; he claims; they are "non-persons" employed to perform "non-services." Despite the rhetorical claim of being "relatively content-less" (p.6), given his previous analysis of fast food jobs it would be amnesic of Ritzer to claim that such work is not physically and psychologically demanding. Instead Ritzer argues that because of the high degree of job content predetermination by employers, the individual human element is "squeezed out" leaving only automatons, whose actions and interactions with customers are "controlled and decided in advance by the corporation" (p. 37).

Both positions – that work is "nothing," or at least nothing more than simulation and performance – are typical of the Ritzerian methodology of excessive generalization from a minority trend. Most of the people with whom we have service interactions are either doing routine things (selling us a product such as a newspaper) or are experts (selling us a specialized service such as legal advice). And the "total control thesis" has already been countered, noting that claims of the death of worker resistance for example, whether individualized or collectivized, are greatly exaggerated (Ackroyd and Thompson 1999; see also Taylor and Bain, 2003, for call centers and Paules, 1991, for restaurant workers). Indeed, there is plenty of evidence that Disney workers also resist or reshape their employer's demands – for example being more or less helpful and courteous to customers than is required, so "disabling" any required simulation or performance – unless of course workers stealing, taking drugs and having sex dressed as Minnie and Mickey Mouse is all part of the script (Project on Disney, 1995; Van Maanen, 1991). Employers may seek to predefine such jobs, but they cannot be made "inhuman" in the sense of completely stripping out worker discretion and achieving total conformity, as Ritzer claims. For employees, the Project on Disney (1995, p.127) claims, "The stricter the rule the greater the challenge in breaking them."

For Ritzer, the focus on simulation derives from an attempt to foreground those acts of consumption most compatible with the overall paradigm break thesis. This pattern continues as Ritzer moves to analysis of new sites of immaterial consumption. E-tail and the e-net provide dematerialized consumption sites, where "the electronic impulses emanating from a cybermall are a far cry from the bricks and mortar of a shopping mall or a superstore" (2001, p.146). This move is bad for the consumer who cannot tell where the transaction has taken place but is good for the capitalist who no longer has to contend with the indeterminacy of labor: "no matter how scripted, the human employee can never be as controlled as the completely automated process in cyberspace" (p.150).

This impossibility of human control may be true, but e-tail is not a simple tale of de-materialization. In a capitalist economy, materiality is based on the commodification process and should not be confused with the physical (as in "bricks and mortar"). As Ritzer (2001) admits, many of the biggest firms in the electronic marketplace (Amazon for example) have conventional work settings with an invisible army of employees in warehouses and offices carrying out routine work in conventional employment relationships. Whilst download music sites are a better fit for the chosen narrative of change, Ritzer's emphasis invokes another set of unrepresentative examples that discount or marginalize the employment relationship. Towards the end of the book, he quotes a consultant addressing advertisers who boasts about how consumers can be persuaded to pay $37 for a $3

item. Whilst the mysteries of merchandising and marketing may account for this deception, sociologists of work should surely focus on revealing what goes on in production and employment relations to enable such transactions to take place. In casting consumption as revolution and shifting the gaze away from production, residual structural antagonisms are overlooked, making post-modernists kindred spirits with free market eulogists and, ultimately, conservative in their thinking (Frank, 2002). This perceptual deficit is the gap that LPT continues to fill in its research programs and to which we now turn.

A Material(ist) World: Labor Process Theory and Service Work

The labor process is sometimes loosely termed "work organization" but was defined by Marx (1946 [1887]) as consisting of three elements; the act of working, a predefined product being worked upon (a good or service) and the instruments, usually some form of technology, through which working creates the product. These products have a "use value" but within capitalism, as commodities, also attain an "exchange value" on the market. LPT proceeds from a series of claims concerning the central features of the labor process under capitalism. These claims comprise what has been described as a core theory. Space prevents a full description here (though see Thompson and Smith, 2001; Thompson and Newsome, 2004), but it is worth emphasizing the centrality given to the nature of labor as a commodity. That commodity is unique in that it is indeterminate – labor power is a potential for work that has to be converted into profitable labor. LPT therefore prioritizes the capital-labor relationship as a focus for analysis of work and employment relations; sees the transformation of the labor process and labor power as central to capital accumulation; argues that there is a control imperative arising from the need to reduce indeterminacy; and that such dynamics and potentially divergent interests generate the conditions for resistance, compliance, and consent. None of these tendencies tell us anything about the specific forms of control, conflict or skill utilization operative in a particular workplace, sector or time period. Although Braverman (1974) stated that deskilling through Taylorism was the form of control, the subsequent second wave of analysis, principally A. Friedman (1977), Burawoy (1979), Edwards (1979) and Littler (1982), demonstrated that other forms exist, though for the same purpose. These forms can only be identified and explained by linking the core theory to concrete analyses of work and employment relations in the context of particular conditions and categories of capitalist political economy.

As we have shown, there has been a continual tendency to present service work as somehow involving a break with one or more of the features of the capitalist labor process. Yet, for LPT in principle, these features apply equally to manufacturing or services, though they may be manifested in different ways. For example, the presence of the consumer does not obviate the requirement for control of the employee but may influence the concrete practices through which control is affected. LPT is a dynamic body of work that cannot be reduced to Braverman or any specific contingent claims. We will demonstrate that LPT not only can incorporate analysis of service work into its research programs, but has already done so.

Whilst much research has continued to focus on developments in manufacturing, services too have been a feature of labor process analysis from Braverman onwards. Kitay (1995) points out that ideas from labor process have become mainstreamed in much Anglo-Saxon academia and suggests that "it is hard to imagine non-managerial research in the broad areas of work and employment which is not influenced by labor process insights." Leidner (2006), for example, has recently acknowledged the influence of LPT on her earlier research, principally that focused on fast work and insurance workers (Leidner, 1993) and further echoes, particularly that of Friedman, resonate in Frenkel's (2005) recent review of interactive service work and his positing of empowerment or rationalization as managerial strategies.

In this respect it is important to note that Braverman's starting point in 1974 was also the "heralded 'service economy'," though he questioned the optimistic thesis that it was supposed to "free workers from the tyranny of industry" (p.373). In a chapter on services, he makes a familiar case that if we look beneath the hype about educated labor within service occupations; we find the reality of routine clerical and sales workers. Moreover he argued that service jobs could be Taylorized, noting that the majority of what are now called the "3Cs" jobs of cleaning, caretaking and caring were being standardized, reutilized, rationalized and subject to the same processes of organization and control as factory labor. "The capitalist," Braverman argued, does not care "whether he [sic] hires workers to produce automobiles, wash them, repair them, repaint them, fill them with gasoline and oil, rent them by the day, drive them for hire, park them, or convert them into scrap metal" (p.364); what is important is not whether goods or services are produced, only that this labor is made profitable. As a corrective, his conceptual point is well made. However Braverman was also trapped within traditional, over-generalized class categories. Determined to counterpoise proletarianization to professionalization, he enrolled service workers in "the giant mass of workers who are relatively homogeneous" (p.359). From this viewpoint, low pay and limited skill is the characteristic feature for all but elite groups such as police and firefighters. Worse, rationalization, new technologies and standardization are leading to mechanized self-service[3] and disappearing crafts for chefs and others: "So far as retail trade is concerned . . . a revolution is now being prepared

which will make of retail workers, by and large, something closer to factory operatives than anyone had ever imagined possible" (p.371).

Whilst Braverman failed to offer any credible empirical analysis of the distinctive operation of service labor, particularly where it has an interactive character, his broader theoretical argument does make useful distinctions. Braverman explains the growth of services in the conventional Marxist way – by referring to the penetration of the commodity form into areas that were once dominated by our own labor or that of servants. When making this case, he incorporates the consumer as a distinctive facet, without producing the fallacious argument that "intangibility" marks the essential characteristic of a service. He rightly observes that many factory workers do not directly manufacture an object with their own hands but may design or move it about. Similarly the labor of chambermaids produces a tangible and vendible commodity and the labor process is organized in a similar manner to manufacturing – indeed, there may be little difference to the work of cleaners in a factory: "When . . . chambermaids in hotels . . . make beds they do an assembly operation which is not different from many factory assembly operations – a fact recognized by management when it conducts time and motion studies of both on the same principles" (p.361). Certainly the continued imposition of standard operating procedures for hotel room cleaning would suggest that Braverman's observation still has analytical purchase (see Dutton et al., 2008).

Irrespective of any similarities, Braverman regards the conceptual mistake as trying to classify labor by its determinate form. Instead, what matters is "its social form, its capacity to produce, as wage labor, a profit for the capitalist" (p.362).

Commodification thus creates one form of tangibility. However, whilst Braverman was correct to observe that the capitalist is indifferent to the particular form of labor, the consumer is not and this other interaction may make a difference to the way profits can be made – as the groundbreaking research of Fuller and Smith (1991) highlights with an additional form of managerial control of employees enabled by customers in interactive services. Even this recognition, however, does not lead to a categorical difference between manufacturing and services. There are two principal ways in which the capitalist seeks to ensure a profit from (interactive) service labor. First, this is undertaken by seeking to remove as much of the indeterminacy as possible. As this labor is simultaneously produced and consumed, the most likely means is to impose standardized scripts and verbal or aesthetic recipes. Second, management is compelled to seek a more intensive utilization of labor power. For example, it not only seeks to appropriate and transmute workers' knowledge, as Braverman highlighted, but also workers' feelings and bodies. LPT has long accepted that required

new conceptualizations. Warhurst and Thompson (1998: 10) argued that there are two important innovations – emotional labor and the extension of normative controls.

In some areas, notably though not exclusively in the service sector, capital has also sought to mobilize the emotional labor and "extra-functional" skills of employees. By moving away from a predominantly technical and task-based definition of skills in favor of a broader range of social competencies, employers aim to stretch and broaden performance criteria (Thompson 2003, pp.362–3). Such arguments and other features of contemporary labor process research are best examined within the context of particular case examples.

Suits You Sir! Applying Labor Process Theory to Contemporary Interactive Services

If in the early stages of the services dominated economy, employers simply bought personality on the labor market (Mills, 1956), employers have since sought to intervene in the labor process to affect the employee attitudes and appearance that comprise this personality (Hochschild, 1983; Nickson et al., 2001; cf. Mills, 1956). Recent research of interactive services, particularly call center, retail and hospitality work, whilst analyzed through the paradigms of emotional labor and, more recently, aesthetic labor, draw extensively on LPT to explain how and why such work is organized and controlled.

Case Study 1: Call Centers and Emotional Labor

Frenkel et al.'s (1998, 1999) influential work on front-line service workers criticized labor process approaches for neglecting such workers and the growth of knowledge work, arguing that the need to meet diverse customer requirements places constraints on the extent to which work can be reutilized. Though partly bureaucratized, call centers include elements associated with professional or knowledge-intensive settings. Whilst the accusation of neglect of customer-facing service work may have some degree of truth, it is inaccurate with respect to call centers. A decade after the emergence of a significant literature on call centers, Ellis and Taylor (2006, p.107) could confidently assert, "We now know a great deal about work organization, surveillance, managerial control strategies and other central concerns of labor process analysis." In one sense this claim is not surprising as LPT-influenced researchers, notably Bain and Taylor (2000), were at the forefront of this field of enquiry.

A simplistic reading of this analysis would see LPT proclaiming the rise of industrialized, mass services and high tech office factories as confirmation of the tight control and deskilling theses (wrongly) associated with

the perspective. Such arguments do exist – but not from LPT. For example, Poynter (2000, p.151) resuscitates the proletarianization thesis once popular in Marxist treatments of office work. Mental labor has become variously Taylorized, de-professionalized, reutilized and manual, "sharing many of the characteristics of the assembly line," he claims.

By contrast, labor process research has tried to chart a path that recognizes elements of continuity and change. Although there are examples of knowledge-intensive operations, the vast majority of call centers operate at the mass, standardized transaction end. This positioning is primarily due to the underlying economic drive to gain economies of scale in restructured, rationalized and de-regulated markets in the finance and related sectors. It also reflects the opportunities available to management to fashion a socio-technical system that combines capacity to handle high call volumes and high surveillance of performance.

However, skills and control show distinctive patterns that are different from classic Taylorist, factory-like organization. Potential customer service representatives typically lack job-specific qualifications but are not unskilled. Call centers, like many other services, put considerable emphasis into identifying potential employees who are predisposed to become effective customer service representatives. The perceived centrality of social skills and competencies leads management to use rigorous selection and training procedures more usually associated with high discretion jobs. To use terms such as deskilling not only under-estimates the importance of those qualities, which companies do seek to identify and develop, it is also based on a false comparison with traditional white-collar occupations such as those in banking. Interactive service work is distinct from rather than a debased version of such work. One key difference is the centrality of emotional labor, which clearly does not fit neatly into the classic manual/mental divide.

Researchers utilizing LPT have consistently drawn on and extended concepts of emotional labor as a key explanatory tool (Taylor and Bain, 1999; Taylor, 1998; Callaghan and Thompson, 2002). Stephen Taylor's (1998) account of telesales employees at "Flightpath" was one of the earliest applications of emotional labor to interactive service work and he is careful to link Hochschild's work on emotional labor to core LPT, including the indeterminacy of labor – in this case the tendency of enhanced emotional demands to provoke strong resistance from employees. Consistent with the labor process perspective on workers as active agents and Bolton's (2005) new typology of emotion work, such studies have demonstrated that far from being passive providers of management requirements, employees can be active and skilled emotion managers in their own right. There is, therefore, an emotional effort bargain that constitutes a hidden and contested dimension of the call center labor process. As Hochschild

(1983, p.89) notes, "Emotional labor is . . . about how to feel and how to express feelings . . . set by management, . . . when deep and surface acting are forms of labor to be sold."

As for control, and replaying wider debates, labor process researchers spent some time refuting the early Foucauldian "total control" line, and illustrating the capacity for formal and informal resistance by call center workers (Bain and Taylor, 2000; Taylor and Bain, 2003). Whilst acknowledging the significance of surveillance, studies have drawn on the one of the greatest strengths of LPT – its ability to identify a variety of modes on control – to identify the distinctive features of new systems in call centers. Callaghan and Thompson's (2001) article has been the most explicit attempt to locate new developments within the corpus of material on control. They use their Telebank case study to develop a view that call centers operate through integrated systems of technical, bureaucratic and normative controls. The practical process of integrating bureaucratic and technical control systems emerges from the supposedly "objective" statistical information, which is combined with bureaucratic standards concerning values and behavior.

One of the key points of emphasis in such studies is the significance of normative controls. Though intensive technical and bureaucratic controls are available, they are insufficient to handle the complexities of the process (Deery and Kinnie, 2002). As Taylor and Bain's (1999) classic paper memorably put it, this time the assembly line is also in the heads of employees. Employers recruit attitude, then seek to shape and specify appropriate social competencies (Callaghan and Thompson, 2001). Aside from selection and training process, normative controls are most obvious in the attention paid to social and recreational events inside and outside work designed to ameliorate the intense nature of call center working and persuade employees to identify with the company and its brand (Baldry et al., 2007), as well as in the widespread use of teams. There is little or no teamwork in call centers but teams provide a further normative control opportunity for management (Thompson et al., 2004).

Overall, the call center labor process is based on a distinctive hybrid that Houlihan (2002) labels a high commitment, low discretion model. In her four case studies, a variety of human resource practices and normative control measures were used to generate commitment and mediate the tensions arising from the organization and control of the labor process. Ultimately the latter outweighed the former: "The common theme to these cases was low discretion, reutilized customer service" (p.82). The central role assigned to human resource management by a number of key commentators to cope with the tensions between serving customers and managing employees (Korczynski, 2002) has not come to pass. It could be argued that off-shoring strategies offer the advantages of the existing high

commitment, low discretion model by transferring operations to countries such as India, which can supply high quality but much cheaper employees (Taylor and Bain, 2005). These authors also note however the limitations of this off-shoring as the supply of appropriate labor shrinks, impacting negatively on the quality of the employee-customer interaction.

The hybrid labor process has similarities with the customer-oriented bureaucracy conceptualization. However, the latter (Korczynski, 2002; also this volume) is underpinned by the idea of a "dual logic" of efficiency and bureaucratic standardization versus customer-oriented service quality. Whereas it is relatively straightforward to identify an "efficiency" logic that flows through economies of scale, standardization and surveillance of employees, a customer equivalent appears to lack a mechanism other than a vague inference of a desire for quality and diversity. Whilst the (indirect) presence of the customer does impact on the work, what is notable is that customers are managed through the same technology and management system as employees. For example, software streaming technologies allow the identification of customers with a specific profile or who fit high value criteria, who can then be cross-sold other products or diverted to more specialist staff.

Case Study 2: Retail, Hospitality and Aesthetic Labor

If, over recent years, emotions have been discovered to be here, there and everywhere in the workplace (Bolton, 2000), the same might now be said for aesthetics (see Felstead et al. 2005, pp.78–96). With many front-line service workers now expected to embody the company image or required service, it is the commodification of workers' corporeality, not just their feelings that is becoming the analytical focus.

Indeed, although less eloquent (or verbally convoluted) than Bauman but probably selling more copies as a New York Times bestseller, Postrel (2003) claims a "major ideological shift" as we reach the "tipping point" into an aesthetic economy, heralding the age of look and feel. Now, form usurps function and sensory perception is the new organizing principle. This aesthetic economy is allegedly driven by consumers' alleged demand for beauty and pleasure and a belief that aesthetics and design, not price and performance, create product differentiation in highly competitive markets.

Labor is part of this shift. Referring to Warhurst and Nickson (2001), Postrel states; "When style is strategy . . . how employees look can be as much a part of the atmosphere [of companies] as the grain of the furniture or the beat of the background music" (p.127). The employment relationship is regarded as unproblematic and uncontested. Employers choose stylish and handsome employees because of those employees fit with the organizational aesthetic; stylish and handsome employees choose to work

for an organization because it fits their aesthetic identity. Where aesthetic dissonance occurs, employers should be free to sack employees; employees can vote with their feet and choose another employer.

However, long before claims of an aesthetic economy, the importance of employee appearance at work was recognized. In McKinlay's analysis of the hiring of the "model" bank clerk in the nineteenth century, management appraisal entries refer repeatedly to potential employees' looks. In one, the ideal senior banker is described as being "handsome" with "hazel eyes, aquiline nose, iron-gray hair, firm moustache, oval chin [and] cheeks slightly tinged with red" (2002, p.607). C. Wright Mills' 1950s classic account of white-collar workers notes a female department store worker who "focuses the customer less upon her stock of goods than upon herself . . . attract[ing] the customer with modulated voice, artful attire and stance" (1951, p.175). What is clear from such research is that despite employers appreciating the importance of employee appearance for obtaining and doing jobs, managerial intervention to shape this appearance was absent. Appearance was bought as is, and was devoid of organizational intervention.

It is assumed in some accounts that this "hands off" approach still exists. For example, Tyler and her colleagues, whilst making a useful contribution to analyze the gendering of bodies in the recruitment, training and management of female flight attendants still conceptualize the required "body work" as "invisible," with the demand to be aesthetically pleasing to customers argued to be "beyond contract" (Tyler and Taylor, 1998, p.165). Instead, the deployment of personal aesthetics by female flight attendants is deemed to occur "by virtue of being women" (Tyler and Abbott, 1998, p.440); the presenting and performance of the body by these female flight attendants as a "gift" to men. It is an "aesthetic exchange" that takes place "outside of formal, contractual relations" (Tyler and Taylor 1998, p.166).[4] Hancock and Tyler (2000a, p.97) claim too that, whilst it is "central to the maintenance of working bodies," body work "is carried out outside of the formal domain of wage labor." Hancock and Tyler suggest that there is "no actual training or instruction" in this aesthetic labor, as it is now termed, and is "neither remunerated nor particularly acknowledged by management, clients or even the flight attendants themselves" (2000b, pp.119–120). In sum, this body work or aesthetic labor is "unworked" (Hancock and Tyler, 2000b, p.119) and so unrecognized, untrained and unrewarded by management.

Materialist accounts, however, recognize that what is happening now, as services dominate the advanced economies, is that organizational intervention in workers' corporeality is occurring. As Wolkowitz (2006, p.96) notes, "In customer services . . . there seems to be a new, or at least more explicit, emphasis on bodily discipline and appearance." What Postrell and Tyler

and her colleagues fail to recognize is how the workers are now being controlled by management in an attempt to ensure aesthetic labor.

As first conceived by Warhurst et al. (2000), aesthetic labor refers to employees' bodies being organizationally produced or "made up" to embody the desired aesthetic of the organization and intended to provide for organizational benefit. This aesthetic labor rests on embodied "dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1984). Such dispositions, in the form of embodied capacities and attributes are, to some extent, possessed by workers at the point of entry into employment. However, crucially, employers then mobilize, develop, and commodify these embodied dispositions through processes of recruitment, selection, training and management, transforming them into "skills" which are geared towards producing a "style" of service encounter that appeals to the senses of the customer. In other words, aesthetic labor is a key feature of such employees' wage-effort bargain.

In a survey of UK retail and hospitality employers reported in Nickson et al. (2005), 90 per cent rated employee appearance as critical or important in recruitment and selection. Significantly, 61 percent thereafter offered training in dress sense and style, 56 percent provided other appearance training including employee body language and 34 percent provide training in personal grooming. It is clear therefore that employers are concerned now with not only recruiting appearance, but they also intervene to ensure that appearance is mobilized as part of the service encounter. As with emotional labor (see Hochschild, 1983), different "looks" can be required of employees through their aesthetic laboring by different organizations targeting different market segments (see for example Pettinger, 2004; Warhurst and Nickson, 2007). As such, these organizations are attempting to convert that potential into actual, desired labor, prescribing, most obviously, the sight and sound of their employees in exchange for wages. Employees, for example, are hired because of the way they look and talk; once employed, staff are instructed how to stand whilst working, what to wear and how to wear it and even what to say and how to say it to customers.

This emphasis on employees having the right appearance does not shunt but complement the demand for employees having the right attitudes. Other UK surveys as well as those from the US and Australia reveal that retail and hospitality employers want customer-facing employees with the right attitude and good appearance, both of which employers perceive of as skills to be employed and then deployed at work (HtF, 2000; Martin and Grove, 2002; Jackson and Briggs, 2003). What aesthetic labor highlights is that in interacting with customers, many employees not only have to be skilled emotion managers but also manage their appearance in order to "make the body more visible in customer service" (Wolkowitz, 2006: 86). Employees are required to be "the animate component of . . . the

corporate landscape" according to Witz et al. (2003, p.44) and, in this process of becoming "human hardware," their corporality is appropriated and transmuted by the organization. Moreover, as with emotional labor, aesthetic labor has a clear purpose – corporate commercial gain (Nickson et al., 2001). What Taylorism sought to do with employee knowledge and emotional labor with employee feelings, aesthetic labor does with employee corporeality. Thus with aesthetic labor, employee heads, hearts and now bodies feature in the wage-effort bargain, and are appropriated and transmuted within the employment relationship of interactive services in a attempt to overcome the indeterminacy of labor and secure market competitiveness for some employers.

Concluding Remarks: The Continued Relevance of Labor Process Theory

We have argued two fundamental points in this chapter. First, that qualitative breaks associated with service work, or particular aspects of it, are over-stated and that LPT has operated as a vital source of critique of such claims. Although services jobs now dominate the advanced economies, these services do not herald a new capitalism centered on the consumption of intangibles. Given its core theory, LPT is inherently skeptical of any attempt to assert the existence of a distinctive service economy outside the dynamics of capitalist political economy, whether in post-industrial or post-modern forms. With this in mind, much service is still focused on the provision and preparation for sale to customers of materiality – beds, burgers and handbags for example. Likewise, production is not irrelevant and meaning has not been stripped out of work. Ritzer's claim that work is now "nothing" or nothing but a simulation or performance, confuses the topical (Disney) with the typical and is evidence-lite in asserting that workers have become no more than marionettes controlled by management. Spectacle makes money, or at least organizations believe that it will but to generate and secure that profit, employers must ensure that employees convert their potential labor into actual labor – hence the provision by management of scripts and role descriptors that prescribe the performance or simulation. But even when dressed as Mickey Mouse workers are real people who may be willing or unwilling to provide the labor required: hence both management's need to control and workers' capacity to resist. Understanding these processes has been the strength of LPT. Far from being decentered, the organization and control of the labor process of services remain central to employers' generation of profit, and reveal why workers' feelings and bodies are being commodified and therefore why the employment relationship matters. As such, LPT helps bend back the stick from consumption to production, from analysis that

over-sells the role of the customer or unquestionably accepts the hype of marketing executives to one that foregrounds the demands of management and the experiences of workers.

Second, LPT has always provided a focus on services. Its associated research has been innovative, whilst emphasizing the continuity of concepts centered on issues such as the transformation of labor power, control and resistance. For example, emotional labor has been the dominant research paradigm of interactive services research for the past decade or so and aesthetic labor is emerging as a key, new concept being applied in this research. Whilst both are cited as "the primary forms" (p.127) of the "performative labor" in the latest "ization" claimed for the service economy – Bryman's (2004) Disneyization – as we have shown, they have been used and developed in a materialist manner by labor process researchers. We would argue that whilst the theoretical influences are diverse, the focus on labor power and its commodification has provided a key resource for the development of both concepts. At the same time, the characteristics of labor power, as understood by LPT, provides a corrective to claims that capital can engineer the transmutation of feelings in a relatively unproblematic way. As Bolton (2005, p.63) notes, "Hochschild fails to recognize is that the indeterminacy of labor is further exacerbated within the contested terrain of the emotional labor process." This contestation is not simply a matter of the persistence of resistance but, as Bolton has demonstrated in her work, that employees can be active emotion managers within the varied constraints of capitalist and non-capitalist employment relations. In this sense, contrary to Hochschild, workers need not be conceptualized as necessarily being alienated or estranged from their own feelings given that they own the means of this particular production.

Whilst LPT has sought to incorporate new developments in services and society more generally into its body of concepts, those who search for something new to say about labor often over-interpret empirical trends. For example, even the "new" forms of labor control cited by Bryman (2004) as featuring in Disneyized jobs are largely familiar: direct by managers, indirect through mystery shoppers and real customers and remote via technology, usually CCTV. In addition, aside from being a natty nomenclature, "performative labor" adds little conceptual understanding of contemporary interactive service jobs beyond that already provided by LPT.

In sum, LPT has long folded services into its analysis of workplace developments. Indeed, the expansion of services, the growth of educated labor and assumptions of better technical-scientific jobs were the stimulus in Braverman coming to write Labor and Monopoly Capital and also his point of departure from those, optimistic writers such as Daniel Bell. Research informed by LPT has been at the forefront of recent path-breaking

developments in analyses of services and has helped put back the meaning in the interactive service work.

Notes

1   Though we would qualify this judgment by reference to household and female working hours rather than aggregate hours (see Roberts 2007).
2   Our emphasis added.
3   Pre-dating Ritzer by twenty years, Braverman referred to the "displacement of labor" occurring in automated service functions that also incorporate the labor of customers.
4   Authors' emphasis.

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CHAPTER 7

Intersectionality in the Emotional Proletariat

A New Lens on Employment Discrimination in Service Work

CAMERON LYNNE MACDONALD AND DAVID MERRILL

Introduction

Feminist theorists were among the first to speak to the significance of the rise of the service sector. It is well established that the vast majority of service sector jobs are held by women, and most of these can be said to be "typed" female. In fact, the growth in services in industrialized nations coincides nicely with the rise in female labor force participation, creating a cycle in which women left home to enter predominantly female jobs (teaching, nursing, social work, etc.), leaving behind a gap in reproductive labor (cleaning, cooking, childcare) that was in turn filled by other women entering these occupations. However, this work was not only gendered, but raced. In her now-famous essay, Evelyn Nakano Glenn (1996) demonstrated that in the U.S, as African American women moved out of domestic work into the lower tiers of the formal service sector, immigrant workers moved in to take their places, working in the homes of middle and upper-middle class White women, who had moved into managerial and professional service work.

We also know that a large proportion of jobs in the service sector require what Hochschild (1983) has termed "emotional labor" and that emotional labor is also sex-typed. In *the Managed Heart*, she studied the