Identity, emotions and learning in the new economy: researching call centre workers

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Abstract
The concept of emotional labour is generating increasing discussion among educational researchers. Dominant accounts present emotional labour as an oppressive and totalising form of control, but recent studies have started to explore worker agency. Drawing on two case studies of experienced women call centre workers, I argue that while emotional labour can be linked with anxiety and performativity, workers also engage actively with affective aspects of the labour process, taking pride in the skills involved. This reinforces rather than reduces the significance of emotional labour for educational research and practice, suggesting that we need to understand the educational implications as they work out through the life course, influencing and being influenced by a range of formal and informal adult learning.

Introduction
The idea of emotional labour has been widely debated in recent years. Interest in the concept arises from wider debates about occupational change in what has been loosely labelled the ‘new economy’, as well as from growing academic interest in workers’ subjectivity and agency. First, the transformation of work in established industrial nations has led to significant increases in service work requiring competent human interaction; this, it is argued, places a growing premium on affective competences that were previously ignored or taken for granted. Second, the transformation of everyday life in western societies, above all the decline of inherited routines and established support systems, has thrown individuals back onto their own resources; in a world characterised by informality and apparent spontaneity, people may have to read and navigate each social encounter afresh (Misztal 2000).

In addition, the cultural turn in social research has renewed interest in workers’ subjectivity as a significant factor which will shape how they engage with the job. In management literature, this inevitably leads to analysis of how worker subjectivity influences performance. In trade union and political campaigns over gender equality and against low pay, the value of emotional labour has been highlighted, along with the ways that experiences of work influence workers’ - particularly women’s - subjectivity. This debate has spread recently begun to interest educationalists, including those who study adult learning and worker development.

This paper is part of on-going work, undertaken together with my colleague Irene Malcolm, which explores the ways in which people learn to work with their emotions, and learn through working with their emotions. It sits alongside the paper given at a previous meeting of this network in which Irene explores qualitative life history research as a process of emotional labour (Malcolm 2006). Our evidence was gathered as part of the Learning Lives project, a large-scale multi-method study drawing on longitudinal data to understand identity, agency, change and learning in adult life, including adult working life. Our research involved life history interviews with workers in contexts, including call centres and social work, in which women usually form a significant proportion of the workforce, and which are seen as associated with a “feminisation” of work.

1 Further details of the Learning Lives project, including accounts of data collection and analysis, are available on www.learninglives.org. The project is funded under the Economic and Social Research Council’s Teaching and Learning Research Programme.
This paper explores the ways in which the experiences and meanings of emotional labour can be said to relate to recent changes in how adults learn, specifically how they learn for work. It presents cases of two women interviewees employed in jobs involving high levels of affective work in the call centre sector. Both learn informally from emotional labour, while responding actively to tensions between surveillance and discretion; experiences of work and learning are shaped by gender, while interacting with the workers’ sense of self. These themes can be related to recent trends in adult learning, as well as to the cultural turn in adult learning research.

**Emotional labour and the new economy**

In *The Managed Heart*, Arlie Hochschild addressed the ‘emotional labour’ that employees are required to perform as an everyday part of their job (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild argued that, due to their position of social subordination, women perform most emotional labour and are required to take responsibility for the feelings of others. According to Hochschild, emotion management in employment is distinguished from similar processes in kinship-based caring, since it is scripted by company management, and directed and supervised by others for payment. She sees this as a form of colonisation of worker subjectivity and control over worker affect. This has a marked gender dimension, as “soft” skills have been mislabelled as “natural”, and presented as inherently feminine in nature, rather than arising from gendered processes of socialisation (Hochschild 1983, 167). Further, the management of emotions can become an act of alienation, in which the worker engages in ‘surface acting’ (pretence) in a way that is inauthentic and potentially harmful. When the gap between ‘natural self’ and performing self becomes too wide, she argues, the personal authenticity of the worker is challenged, leading to stress, anxiety and burn-out.

Hochschild’s account has been increasingly influential as service employment has continued to replace manufacturing and extractive work in western societies. It is often argued that in an expanding service sector, as well as in many knowledge-intensive occupations, communication and interaction play a central role in determining client satisfaction and competitive advantage (Du Gay 1996). Jason Hughes similarly argues that the management of emotional competences may signal:

> a further move towards totalizing regimes of organizational domination in which employee identity becomes effectively subsumed within the workplace and opportunities for resistance are greatly limited (Hughes 2005, 613).

There is, then, more to it than a check-out operator’s ‘Have a nice day’.

Hochschild’s theorisation was published over twenty years ago. Before considering subsequent work, though, it is important to stress the real conceptual and empirical gains that have arisen in the course of the debate. First, it has shone some analytical light on the role of emotion in the labour process and on expectations of women’s work, a topic which had previously been largely neglected. Second, it has challenged some dominant accounts of skill and skills development. Third, it has connected the analysis of emotional labour to debates over occupational well-being and workplace stress. The debate has stimulated new conceptual and empirical work, much of which explores the claims made by Hochschild and others. Finally, away from the researcher’s keyboard (or is it?), it has helped underpin workers’ campaigns against inequality, insecurity and low pay in a rapacious service sector.
Some researchers challenge aspects of Hochschild’s depiction of emotional labour. Some identify a one-dimensional depiction of workers as passive subjects who suffer alienation as a result of the demands made. These authors argue that workers are agentic (Payne 2006), creating as well as reflecting their circumstances, and not mere ‘cultural dupes’ (Hughes 2005) who simply pursue an imposed managerial agenda. Studies of care-givers, for instance, report that these service workers often go way beyond their contracted obligations (including those of the tacit contract), and still feel in control of the ‘bounded emotionality’ which they perform in their work (Ashforth and Tomiuk 2000). Furthermore, workers may see emotion management as part of who they are, as a way of supporting their authenticity and expressing their identity (Ashforth and Tomiuk 2000, 195). Some treat the performance of competent emotion work as an important part of building identity and developing agency.

Other feminist writers have also sought to develop Hochschild’s theorisation by highlighting the positive uses of emotion in constructing and sustaining identity. Helen Colley’s study of trainee nursery nurses shows how this group of young women increasingly came to see their management of feeling as a marker of maturity and personal as well as professional worth, and as a departure from their former – presumably ‘immature’ - selves (Colley 2006b, 115). Workers are agentic and can adopt coping strategies of different kinds; indeed, they may even deploy emotional competence in strategies of resistance.

Some question what they see as narrow and excluding definitions that set boundaries round emotional labour. Hochschild’s account is confined to service work, but emotion management is pervasive across a range of workplaces. Callaghan, in a study of staff and volunteers in a not-for-profit organisation, noted that while there were broad differences in the nature of emotion work carried out by different groups of workers, all were involved in one way or another; even members of the armed services carried out emotion management, albeit negotiated through humour and other practices of disguise (Callaghan 2000, 255-9).

Finally, the debate over-emphasises novelty and neglects continuity. Some workers have always performed ‘emotion work’. Butlers and footmen, maidservants and waiters, shop assistants and hairdressers, tailors and dress-makers: all of these occupations, which flourished in pre-industrial, proto-industrial and industrial society, involved a high level of emotion management. What has changed, perhaps, is not the ubiquity of emotional labour, but the gendering of roles and the technological systems of control used in the scripting and surveillance of some performances. This has long-term implications for worker identity require scrutiny in adult learning.

**Learning working lives and emotional labour – Sue and Jeannie**

Call centres are an important industry in Scotland, both in terms of the size of the sector and the nature of its labour process (Callaghan and Thompson 2002). Call centres have attracted significant attention from academics, but relatively limited attention has so far been paid to learning identities or to recruitment and training, and insofar as the latter have been studied (Callaghan and Thompson 2002), it has been from a critical organisational perspective. This paper places workplace experiences in the broad narrative of the life and learning of two women who worked in the same medium-sized call centre company, performing and managing rather different forms of emotional labour as they developed their working identity and their learning.
Sue Martin was in her late twenties at time of interview, and working in the Human Resources department. She presented her current work in HR as involving very significant levels of interpersonal contact: *I guess the kinda thing I deal with on a day-to-day basis are, it’s most people, mostly managers at all levels in the business.* Jeannie Taylor, in her mid thirties and employed by the same company as a call centre manager, supervises the work of call agents. Jeannie’s role included recording calls, and coaching agents on their techniques, a position she moved into after working as an agent herself. She described her role in the following terms:

> When you call a call centre and there’s usually a wee announcement that’ll say “For quality and training purposes your call may be monitored”, that’s what I do, I record the calls and I listen to them and I give feedback based on the recorded calls.

Sue left school at 16 and came from a working class family background. She was attracted to her present job because, *I had a bit of call centre experience and I like the environment, ’cause it’s a very young, a very busy, a very fun environment.* When she first joined the company,

> I came here and I knew nothing, I knew nothing, I hadn’t worked in the call centre industry for four years so the technology and the way things were done had moved on in leaps and bounds, em, and it’s a very different type of environment as well, this is not a high volume call environment, it’s customer service, it’s low volume calls, it’s deal with the customer, resolve the issue, it’s nothing like what I worked in before, and I was terrified, absolutely terrified.

Her description indicates a form of anxiety, much as identified by Hochschild. Yet Sue had sought this job as a way of avoiding what she saw as the mindless repetition and stress of sales work, where she had worked before, and *hated it with a passion:*

> Sales is not me, it’ll never be me, you know, I enjoyed having a job to fill, interviewing people, sending the candidate to the client, getting the job filled, it was really, really rewarding, but, you know, you’d have twenty jobs to fill, and it’d be “Have you made your sales calls today”, “Well, no, I’m kind of dealing with this”, “We have to make sales calls”.

Sue was therefore critical of a management who operated by bureaucratised routines.

Sue was employed to manage human relations and perform emotional labour in an industry associated to some extent with women’s work. Her emotional labour involved supporting those who managed the call agents and ensuring that their actions were in accordance with company policy and company ethos. She clearly experienced some anxiety in the role, but did not seem concerned about her authenticity, tension between deep and surface acting, or between her ‘performing self’ and her ‘authentic self’. On the contrary, Sue emphasised confidence in her strong sense of expertise, rooted in experience. Expertise led to trust, providing Sue with recognition:

> now they’ll come to me with anything and that’s trust that you build through proving that you do have the ability and you do have the knowledge and you do have the legislation experience.

Rather than presenting herself as a stressed out ‘docile body’, Sue consistently claimed to enjoy her job in general, and mostly she took pleasure in the emotional labour that it entailed.
Sue’s positive view of the kind of emotional labour she performed seems to have been linked to her valuing of learning through experience. A previous employer had sent her to study for a part-time university diploma in HR, and she felt much of it was:

* a complete waste of time because sometimes you’re standing in front of a lecturer who’s been in HR ten years ago, and you’re like, yeah, your theory’s great but that doesn’t work in an office environment.

She had dropped out, resuming study some years later with a different university, aiming to move on – and upwards – when she had the diploma.

Experience was particularly significant to Sue’s development of emotion management. She described one example, taken from a previous position in a small firm that she spoke of them as like a family. The informal ethos was, it seems, taken to a degree that was incompatible with survival, so Sue walked out. She compared the decision to where, you know, you split up from a relationship and you miss something, you might not, you miss the familiarity, you miss the . . . [pause]. She learned from this not to be so attached and to try and distance myself from it a bit and remain professional. She described a very similar process of emotion management in her family life. Her fiancé’s mother had visited Sue on the morning of her wedding; *she [Sue’s mother-in-law] was crying and I said “What’s wrong with you?”*, “Oh, I’m just emotional” and I said “Well, I’m sorry but I’m really calm, and I don’t really need you to be like that with me . . . . I don’t really need anyone round about me who’s upset or who’s emotional”. For Sue, then, the wedding was the staging of an emotional performance: competent emotion management was to be admired; uncontrolled emotions indicated lack of personal (and professional) control.

Jeannie Taylor, unlike Sue, went straight into university from school and took a degree in French with Marketing. Her educational trajectory therefore followed what might be called the standard biography for middle class girls of her generation, but after graduating she *just kinda bumbled about for two years* working in a shop, entering telephone banking in her mid twenties. Jeannie was responsible for managing the quality of the calls made by the call agents and her role was to ensure that the agents and team leaders delivered what the customer required.

Jeannie’s customer (usually a global company) outsourced customer care to her company and she described how the details of the commission, including the script for call agents, were discussed:

* . . . we will also sit down with the clients and the business and say, “Well, what is it you want your guys to be doing”, so we’ll have certain guidelines that says you are supposed to use this script, you have to ask that question, and then when I listen to the calls that’s what I must bring out, or do they comply to what we need them to do, are they using the systems the way that that should be using them.*

While Sue’s job was to support managers through face-to-face communication, Jeannie’s was focussed on managing the scripted emotional performance of call agents in technically mediated communication. When giving feedback, Jeannie sat down with the call agent:

* . . . and because the calls are recorded or most of the calls get recorded, so we can play that back to the agent and say “What did you think of your
performance, what would you have done differently, what did you do well?”, and we can coach them on their performances.

Having worked as an agent herself, she knew the pressures: you personally get the blame. But she described it as a brain dumb job, it’s not really a brain dumb job but there are certain tasks that you can do very, very easily. Unlike Sue, Jeannie raised the issue of authenticity as a source of concern, but in terms of tedium rather than a tension between authenticity and surface acting. Even as a team leader:

you get really bored doing that, so you have to keep your own motivation up, you have to not sound robotic but when you’ve got a hundred calls in the queue it’s kind of hard to do.

In a previous job, she had taken calls when the customer’s a screamer and they demand to talk to a manager. However, at one stage she had been taking over calls for sport. She drew on her own experience but unlike Sue who seems to have been able to exercise some control and achieve consistent emotional management, this was not always possible in Jeannie’s work due to the immediacy of technically mediated work and the pressures of emotional performance:

With me, I know I’m a weeper, when things get far too much for me I know that I just cry, so when I start to recognise those signs then I know that I need to do something different.

For Jeannie self-knowledge was vital to survival.

Jeannie had learned by observation of fellow-workers, as well as from family life. So, in her management approach, she had learned from a colleague who was managing three or four projects and he will still make the time to come in and say to people, “How are you getting on, how did you get on with your house purchase, did your wee boy pass his exams?”, he’s great people skills in there. Jeannie suggested that call centre agents need strong interpersonal skills to deal with customer complaints. By contrast, her mother – a teacher – reported to a head teacher who was a career person and not a people person and she’s obviously been on a feedback course and she’s learned a feedback sandwich that you give two bits of positive feedback then you give the negative and then you finish with a positive. Jeannie thought this an incompetent way of giving feedback, lacking in authenticity and inadequate to the emotional demands of the industry where she worked.

Compared with Sue’s more sceptical stance, Jeannie had a clear commitment to training. As well as giving direct feedback in her current role, she had become a trainer in her previous job, which involved a mix of soft skills and hard skills. The soft skills included things like listening and questioning, much of which was taught through role-play and other activities. Her employer used neuro-linguistic programming, developing this to include attention to the body’s posture and gestures such as smiling, as well as how would they sound and getting them then to emulate that, so that they can fake that confidence on the phone.

Jeannie drew on her skills as a linguist, continuing to learn as she evaluated the key ingredients that needed to be monitored for the performance of emotional labour:

. . . even the job I do now, you learn to listen for the intonation, the inflection and the emphasis in someone’s voice, the tone, the pace, and that’s part of what you train them.
She was an active learner, pursuing courses on coaching and hypnosis (including self-hypnosis), and learning about tarot. At the time of the fourth interview, she had just taken a short course in belly dancing as part of the company’s participation in Learning at Work Day. When her job came under threat as a result of a takeover, she was actively considering teaching adults as a career.

As well as some differences, there were similarities in the way the two women viewed training. Like Sue, Jeannie valued personal disposition and life experience. Describing her previous job, she said that:

. . . one of the best workers we ever, ever had in there was actually a retired teacher, it was just because he had the life experience that he was bringing to it, so he knew, he knew how to talk to people and he knew, yes, he was maybe that little bit slower on picking up the technical side of things, but the softer side of things made up for that.

Ultimately, she treated interpersonal skills as part of identity: *a lot of that does cross over into, the who you are aspect.* Good call centre skills were a form of *acting*, so that in the end *some people can and some people can’t.*

Gender differences, linked to identity, were significant in Jeannie’s descriptions of work. Firstly, the product that the agents were discussing with clients was an engineering product and its identification with forms of masculinity sometimes made it difficult for women call agents to be taken seriously by customers: *traditionally men know about [product] and women don’t, so sometimes the girls, the women who take the calls sometimes they have a bigger barrier to beat if they’re talking to, certainly some of the older customers or some of the more arrogant customers ....again depending on the role or depending on the person, then sometimes the women have a tougher time.*

Secondly, Jeannie described gender differences in the nature of the pressure to which the agents were subjected:

*because they are men and they know everything so it’s OK to spout jargon at them, it’s OK to shout at them because they’re men and they can take it…*

Lastly, there were gender differences in the way men and women responded to pressure when the emotional labour got too much. It was here that Jeannie perceived differences in the way men and women approached the job:

*I’ve never seen a man crying, sometimes the abuse that some of the customers dish out and some of the people that you speak to dish out is just absolutely unacceptable…*

Like Sue, Jeannie presented stories of emotional management and control, but she presented gender differences in what came after the telephone call had ended. In such circumstances the call agents behaved “professionally” and the only outward sign that Jeannie described of the men’s emotional labour was a change in their pallor. For the women call agents, tears immediately following the call were a common occurrence. Jeannie described an informal policy for dealing with this, based on talking things through with the worker aimed at affirming her professionalism.

When Jeannie’s job ended as a result of relocation, she took what she called the *professional* approach to handing over to the incoming supervisor:

*it was nothing personal, it was the situation, it was the company. . . . maybe it’s just about this is my legacy, but I mean it’s something over the years that I think is just, reputation and dignity are kind of big ones for me.*
At the time of the sixth interview, Jeannie was working as a client administrator in another company which had a call centre as part of its business. Much of this job involved administrative tasks, which she thought of as mind-numbingly boring and tedious. She had little or no direct contact with customers or agents. Although she had been told there was the possibility of another role in the company, she was biding her time and looking at the Herald jobs page. Our impression is that she had learned not to trust her managers too much. Looking towards the future, To be honest just now I can’t see very much past Christmas and New Year: family had moved up her scale of priorities, just as the job had moved down.

Jeannie saw her competence in emotion management as part of her wider skillset, and she also spoke of it in more general terms as part of one’s identity. It was important to preserve ‘professionalism’ at all times. It is difficult to know if Jeannie herself was “faking it”. She transferred skills from work to home, drawing consciously on her coaching skills to handle her partner’s thirteen-year-old daughter, and I think that’s just an acquired and a practised skill and experience. She seemed comfortable with her account of herself as someone who enjoys listening to others and interacting with them, and told admiring stories of agents who were good at ‘faking it’. While Jeannie noted marked gender differences in the agents’ ways of dealing with emotional labour, she did not view it as involving intrinsically female attributes, believing that skilled and less skilled workers could be found among men and women alike.

Learning to ‘fake it’
We do not wish to suggest that emotional labour is unproblematic. Jeannie’s story in particular describes a degree of ‘colonisation of the self’, and a mobilisation of qualities and attributes that are treated conventionally as part of the private sphere. But both narratives are consistent with critical analyses that emphasise worker agency. Sue and Jeannie are not passive cultural dupes, assenting submissively to an imposed process. Informal policies of emotional support among the call agents were initiated and implemented by workers themselves. Those who are skilled emotion workers seem aware of their ability to manage their emotions, and understand it as part of a process of professionalism which binds the skilled together and promotes professional pride in a high standard of performance. It is also built into people’s processes of identification, becoming a strong part of their sense of who they are.

Relatively little previous attention has been paid to the implications of emotion work for education and training. In so far as it has been discussed, it is usually with respect to the management of emotion in formal classroom settings or in early career development, as in Helen Colley’s studies of childcare education and training (Colley 2006a and 2006b). Colley’s research with novice nursery nurses shows that, while it forms part of a developing sense of professionalism and maturity, there are costs in emotional labour. She depicts the child care course as gendered, teaching students ‘docile subjectivities and uncomplaining caregiving’ (2006a, 27). However, there is not enough detail to ascertain whether she has also looked for sceptical views and dissenting voices among the students once they had left the classroom.

By contrast, the two cases in this paper concern adult women who have reached managerial positions, albeit relatively modest ones, at this stage of their careers and a number of issues emerge from their stories. First, while there were similarities in the emotional labour performed by Sue and Jeannie, there were also differences. Both
valued good emotional performance and competent emotional management which preserved professionalism, including when the job that has required it has been removed and the worker (Jeannie) made redundant. Sue operated in a more “traditional” work format which relied mainly on face-to-face communication and was subject to less direct management surveillance. Jeannie, on the other hand, had worked as and now supervised call agents who undertook technically mediated communication which was scripted and monitored by management. Where differences in emotion work and emotional labour existed, these were likely to have implications for workers’ learning and identities - for example, in sustaining identity, preserving a worker’s sense of authenticity and in performing gender.

Secondly, in identifying with the company, workers were required to use strategies of resistance with customers to overcome gendered expectations, for example, of the women call agents’ product knowledge. However, the way in which such forms of resistance interacted with identity, agency and gender requires further analysis in relation to developments in technology (Faulkner, 2006) and in the surveillance of “soft” skills. Learning about the self in the world and management of one’s role and identity were significant to worker survival and to possibilities for resistance.

Lastly, emotional labour was not a purely individual activity and in survival and resistance interviewees drew on mutual support among fellow-workers. This was particularly important when workers were pushed to breaking point in customer interactions. Both interviewees had experience of training in aspects of emotion work, and while they had reservations about its effectiveness for some people, it did not evoke particular anxieties within their narratives.

Conclusions
How does this analysis affect the practice of teachers and trainers in workplace and adult learning? While emotional labour certainly has implications for adult learning, they are rather ambiguous. Some question whether these are indeed skills, and whether they can be deliberately taught and learned, particularly in adult life. Jonathan Payne for example sees affective competences as the product of primary socialisation:

Even if we accept the argument that such emotion work is incredibly complex and has become more so over time, this may still be seen as an ability that most people learn to perform (often unconsciously) during the course of their early socialisation. Thus, although this process may appear extremely complex at a very deep level, at another level it might also be seen as a relatively mundane or ordinary accomplishment (Payne 2006, 16).

Such doubts are widely shared, and were expressed by our interviewees.

Two sets of implications spring immediately to mind – for the self-reflective practices of teachers and others concerned professionally with supporting adult learning; and for the identities of the learners with whom we work. First, teachers are also knowledge workers in the “new” economy for whom emotion work is significant in their everyday teaching labour. They work with the emotions of others, mainly in face-to-face encounters and while there are always attempts to regulate and routinise the behaviour of teachers, they usually exercise considerable discretion over the ways in which they carry out tasks. This discretion extends to the emotion work that teachers undertake; and we would suggest that where adult and workplace learning
move towards more interactive and practice-based forms of instruction, so the significance of emotion work and emotional labour increases.

Second, teachers and trainers must be aware of the role of affect in learners’ everyday working lives. Recognition of the agentic self of the learner does not mean denial of structure, even less of systemic hierarchies of privilege and dis/advantage, but implies an appreciation of workers’ ability to negotiate meaning and help create institutional cultures and processes that make work – and organisations – possible. The question then arises as to the stance that educators should adopt in the face of increasing demands for emotion skills in the workplace. What are, for example, the long term implications for learning and identity of the scripting of workers’ performances and how are we as adult educators and trainers to understand and deal with these? Preparing learners for and supporting learners in such working environments implies a need to analyse the interaction between technology and emotion in technically mediated environments where workers are expected remain “authentic” as their work is harnessed to contribute to an organisational ethos. What pedagogies are needed in the face of technically-mediated work whose immediacy requires emotional labour that challenges worker control and sometimes worker identity?

Workers are not simply ‘docile bodies’ inhabiting a quasi-Foucauldian world of surveillance and discursive power (Du Gay 1996), and embodying the requisite skills in a passive and unreflexive manner. Hermine Scheeres and Nicky Solomon suggest that it is too easy sometimes to portray “contemporary work practices as oppressive and disempowering, particularly for women workers” (Scheeres and Solomon 2006, 103), overlooking the ways in which workers actively deploy their emotional and other resources to position themselves more securely within the context of the new economy. It follows that affective competences can be an important aspect of people’s occupational identities, and even a source of worker resistance.

The development of identities in this way has implications for the adult educator’s role. Emotion work can be read both as context and as practices. Colley is surely right to insist on a social rather than an individualised understanding of how emotion work is learned and practised. But this should encourage us to understand emotion work as arising out of processes of biographical learning, which are intrinsically iterative in nature, blend aspects of formal, informal and non-formal learning, and involve workers in an active engagement with their world. This in turn affects workers’ views of and engagement with workplace learning and job-related learning, within the wider context of how they handle change and learning across their lives. An alternative approach might be to engage more fully with the demands of emotional labour, while applying older, critical traditions of learning which examine and challenge classed and gendered relations of inequality to the new contexts where adults learn and work.
References


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