

**EMOTION WORK AND THE RATIONALIZATION OF A MENTAL HEALTH
INSTITUTION**

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This thesis examines how the rational reorganization of a mental health institution following a merger affected long-term employees and shaped their practice of emotion work. Studies of emotion work have typically presented coercion and enjoyment as zero-sum. This paper argues that coercion and enjoyment are not poles of a single continuum, but in fact represent different dimensions of emotion work. Through semi-structured interviews with eight long-term employees, this study found that as an organization of custodial care grows increasingly coercive, emotion work can become more apparently enjoyable as a site of refuge and resistance. Furthermore, workers can feel pleasure from not only resisting rationalized norms of emotion work, but also from accommodating them

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

“I would go to drumming, I would go to yoga, I would go to guided imagery, I could do [recreational] therapy, I could go out on the ropes course. I could do all of that. I can’t do any of that now. There’s no time. I can do an individual session and a family session and just getting that done you know that’s the priority so oh I used to be able to hang out in the milieu. I used to provide supervision to staff. There’s just, first of all there’s a hierarchy of how somebody else would do all of that. Probably the saddest part is really the lack of contact with the kids. There’s literally just no time for that.”

-Ms. Honness¹, long-term employee at Woodland Hills²

Ms. Honness has been a therapist at Woodland Hills, a psychiatric residential treatment facility for children and adolescents, for close to two decades. In 2009, due to fallout from the economic crisis of 2007 and increasing competition from managed care corporations that exploit economies of scale and consolidation to drive down costs, Woodland Hills was forced to merge with Helping Hands, Inc., a national non-profit dedicated to helping youth with emotional and behavioral issues. The resulting reorganization of this institution prompted significant changes in its organizational culture. In this paper, I examine how these shifts in organizational culture have affected long-term employees, and focus specifically on how they practice and give meaning to the emotion work that accompanies “contact with the kids.”

¹ All names are pseudonyms. I am subscribing to standard naming conventions at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, which dictate that workers be called by their last names with appropriate honorifics (Mr., Ms., Dr.).

² I have changed the names of all organizations, foundations, and their locations to protect the anonymity of my research subjects. “Woodland Hills” refers to the organization before the merger, “Helping Hands” refers to the organization with which “Woodland Hills” merged, and “Helping Hands-Woodland Hills” refers to the post-merger organization.

As a national organization, Helping Hands is more bureaucratized than Woodland Hills was—a point alluded to by another of my respondents, Mr. Halsey, who remarked that the “best kind of analogy [to Woodland Hills and Helping Hands] is comparing like a mom and pop restaurant to a McDonald’s.” The bureaucratization of this institution brought with it an emphasis on standardization and surveillance—techniques of a new system of disciplinary control. Ms. Honness comments on this process when she notes that now “there’s a hierarchy of how somebody else would do all of that.” This process introduced a new disciplinary regime that altered the organizational culture and changed dramatically the relative value of employees’ practices. Specifically, as Ms. Honness notes above, the reorganization of this institution has affected workers’ practices of emotion work; her commitment to being with the kids is less valued than it was before the merger, a fact that she attributes to both a lack of time and the implementation of a hierarchy that determines who spends time doing what.

Based on my interviews with eight long-term³ employees at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, I examine the new system of disciplinary power and analyze how it shaped workers’ practice of emotion work. The central questions this paper seeks to answer are:

- 1) How has the reorganization of this institution changed its dominant labor management strategies (i.e., strategies for implanting and cultivating disciplined workers) and how have workers responded strategically to these changes?
- 2) What kinds of tensions have emerged as a result of these changes, specifically in terms of push factors and the compensatory pleasures of resistance and compliance?

To answer these questions, I use a theoretical framework that combines Max Weber’s understanding of “rationalization” as an ongoing historical process with Michel Foucault’s

³ I define long-term employees as people who have worked at the facility for at least five years, placing them there for at least one year before the merger.

notion of disciplinary power as supporting this process. I apply this theoretical framework to a critical reading of the literature on emotional labor.

After setting out my theoretical framework, I present my methods of gathering and analyzing data and then describe and interpret my findings. I present a substantive analysis of how my respondents perceived the rational reorganization of Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, focusing in particular on how the shift in disciplinary regime has affected the content and meaning of emotion work.

Processes of rationalization are supported by the imposition of disciplinary strategies. In the context of an organization of custodial care, these strategies place limits on the type and amount of emotion work that employees are sanctioned to perform. Yet, as the norms of emotion work become increasingly coercive, it does not necessarily become less enjoyable. Workers respond strategically to normalizing sanctions by accommodating, surviving, or resisting the disciplinary regime of emotion work.

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 WEBER ON RATIONAL ACTION AND BUREAUCRACY

The reorganization of Woodland Hills into Helping Hands-Woodland Hills is an example of what sociologist Max Weber calls “rationalization.” Rationalization refers to the process by which attitudes and procedures of efficiency, calculability, and predictability have come to dominate the economic, legal, political, and religious spheres of Western societies. For Weber, the development of bureaucracy as a form of legitimate authority is the best example of this process. Bureaucratic organizations are characterized by what Weber (1978) calls “formal rationality” and instrumental (*zweckrational*) action, which takes into account and weighs the “end, the means, and the secondary results” of any social action in order to increase successful results and control under conditions of uncertainty (p. 26).

Despite being a major concept in Weber’s writings, rationalization is not his most unambiguously defined idea. However, as Giddens and Held (1982) point out, “in its core meaning it refers to the extension of calculative attitudes of a technical character—epitomised [*sic*] in scientific reason and given substantive expression in the increasing role that science and technology play in modern life” (p.9). Weber views the expansion of bureaucracy as an unavoidable corollary of an increasingly rationalized society. Bureaucracy is the most efficient kind of organization and in its ideal type is characterized by hierarchy, internal regulation,

standardization, and clear boundaries of authority. For Weber, bureaucracy extends beyond the state and is characteristic of “all forms of large-scale organization...business firms, unions, political parties, universities, hospitals, and so on” (Giddens and Held, 1982, p. 10).

Bureaucracy is associated with, and in fact emerges from, rational-legal authority, which is one part of Weber’s tripartite typology for legitimate authority. Rational-legal authority hinges on “a belief in the legality of enacted rules and rights of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands” (Weber, 1978, p. 215). For Weber and subsequent social theorists, authority is legitimate(d) power. Under a system of rational-legal authority, rules derive their legitimacy from coherence with procedural laws dictating how rules should be enacted and obeyed. Furthermore, in a rational-legal order, rules are obeyed because they are enforced by a government that has a “monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force” (Weber, 1991, p. 78).

Rational-legal authority and bureaucratic administration are the ultimate expressions of what Weber called “formal rationality.” Formal rationality refers to “the extent of quantitative calculation or accounting which is technically possible and which is actually applied” (Weber, 1978, p. 85). A system of economic activity is formally rational to the extent that “the provision for needs, which is essential to every rational economy, is capable of being expressed in numerical, calculable terms, and is so expressed” (ibid.). Under a system of formal rationality, individuals do not make decisions based on advice from broader value systems (e.g., religion), but on the basis of institutionalized rules that dictate the optimum means to ends (Ritzer, 2008, p. 25).

Formal rationality conflicts with what Weber calls substantive rationality. Substantive rationality designates the extent to which action is shaped by a commitment to values and considerations of social justice and social equity irrespective of the character of the ends. As

Morrison (2006) notes, “whereas formal rationality is based on an orientation to decision-making with regard to norms of efficiency and practical costs, substantive rationality is based on the qualitative content of judgments which may be bound by ethical or aesthetic criteria” (p. 287). The movement to formal rationality is foundational to the emergence of modern capitalism, which depends on rational accounting techniques and a standardized system of laws.

The move from affective or traditional forms of action based on emotion and habit to rationalized, instrumental action is, for Weber, a distinctively modernizing phenomenon (Garland, 1990). Weber contends that formal rationality, especially as it is inscribed in bureaucratic organizations, will grow continually more dominant in Western society – specifically to the detriment of substantive rationality. He avers that as science, calculation, and technical knowledge replace belief, commitment, and tradition as the primary bases for social action, practices and institutions become more instrumentally effective.

As institutions and practices grow more rationalized and instrumental, however, they become less “emotionally compelling and meaningful for human agents” (Garland, 1990, p. 179). In lieu of motivating traditions and beliefs, institutions must devise other strategies to compel obedience. While Woodland Hills and Helping Hands are both examples of modern capitalist organizations, Helping Hands is more formally rational and its orientation to action more instrumental than Woodland Hills. This paper examines how the formal rationalization of this institution entailed new strategies for ensuring obedience, and, in turn, how workers responded strategically to the new labor management practices.

2.2 FOUCAULT AND DISCIPLINE

French philosopher Michel Foucault's notion of disciplinary power offers a way of thinking about connections between rationalization and obedience. Though Foucault has a much more decentralized understanding of power than Weber, they are both concerned with the concept of discipline and understand it similarly as combining processes of habituation and obedience (Rudolph, 2006).

Like Weber, Foucault is interested in the forces of rationalization, discipline, and bureaucracy and their human consequences. Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* can be read as mapping the rationalization of punishment. As Garland (1990) notes, *Discipline and Punish* demonstrates how the "broader rationalization process has transformed [punishment] from being a morally charged and emotive set of ritual practices into an increasingly passionless and professionalized instrumental process" (p. 179).

Foucault extends Weber's conception of rationalization and rational-legal authority and applies it to the body. Foucault proposes a "physiology of bureaucracy and power," which grounds "the legal-rational accounting process in techniques for the administration of corporeal, attitudinal[,] and behavioral discipline" (O'Neill, 1986, p. 45). Although Foucault's (1977) most famous discussion of disciplinary power takes place in the context of penal discipline, his ideas can be transferred to an analysis of labor discipline.⁴ I draw from Foucault in my conceptualization and analysis of the change in disciplinary regime that took place with the merger of Woodland Hills and Helping Hands.

⁴ For a useful discussion of isomorphism between the disciplining of prisoners and of workers see Jackson and Carter, 1998

Foucault (1977) defines discipline as an ‘art of the human body’ that coercively links utility and obedience so that the body becomes more useful as it becomes more obedient, and vice versa (pp. 137f). Discipline proceeds from technologies that regulate space and time (such as ranking systems and time tables) and its success in producing ‘docile bodies’ (i.e., bodies that are useful and obedient) derives from three instruments: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgments, and examination (Foucault, 1977). In the context of the present study, we can think of these three instruments or techniques as rational strategies for labor management.

The exercise of discipline depends on hierarchical observation, or a mechanism that coerces by means of constant surveillance. The paradigmatic disciplinary institution is one in which it is possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly. Disciplinary power functions through hierarchized surveillance by making people self-conscious and thereby producing modifications in their behavior; it is a coercive, but not violent, relation of power (Foucault, 1977, p. 170ff). In its ideal form, surveillance inculcates self-control, rendering the actual exercise of disciplinary power unnecessary (Foucault, 1977, p. 201). In this sense, disciplinary control is productive rather than repressive; it produces subjects who regulate their own behavior.

Normalization, or normalizing judgment, is a method of sanctioning that is “essentially corrective rather than punitive in orientation, concerned to induce conformity rather than to exact retribution or expiation” (Garland, 1990, p. 145). Normalizing judgment depends on a standard of conduct (i.e., the Norm) against which people are measured. People are sanctioned (i.e., ranked and classified) according to their degree of correspondence with the Norm. That is, people are rewarded for compliance and punished for noncompliance, or nonconformity. The disciplinary power of institutions operates by comparing, differentiating, hierarchizing,

homogenizing, and excluding individuals (Foucault, 1977, pp. 182f). Disciplinary power produces subjects who regulate their own behavior to conform to the Norm.

The examination unites the techniques of surveillance and normalization. Examination is a method of control that compels the visibility of its subjects for purposes of observation, differentiation, and evaluation, thereby turning them into objects. The examination situates individuals in a system of documentation, in which the individual is written about and turned into a “case” to be analyzed. Institutions like hospitals, prisons, and schools are examining machines (Foucault, 1977, pp. 184ff). Examination produces a systematic knowledge of individuals. The procedures of notation, registration, and measurement that “allow this knowledge to develop are, at the same time, exercising power and control over the individuals who are isolated—and, in a sense, constituted—within their gaze” (Garland, 1990, p. 146). Knowledge, then, is produced by and through disciplines and takes on power in examining institutions.

The merger of Woodland Hills and Helping Hands introduced a new disciplinary regime to the institution. Adams and Padamsee (2001) talk about regimes as having four components: signs, subjects, strategies, and sanctions. Setting aside the concept of signs, which is not especially useful to the present study, a disciplinary regime can be defined as a set of management strategies for imposing and cultivating discipline with accompanying normalizing sanctions, which, in turn, give rise to subjects and their varied strategies of accommodation, survival, and resistance (p. 16).

Since the merger, workers have been subjected to management strategies of increased surveillance (particularly in the form of micro-management), standardization, and examination. Workers have also been subjected to increased time discipline (Thompson, 1967) through the introduction of training tables that demand the exhaustive use of time. The change in disciplinary

regime has not only affected the workers, but also their relationships with patients/clients, who are also subjected to increased examination. This paper examines workers' understandings of changes in labor management strategies and looks at how sanctions (both positive and negative) shape their perceptions of these changes and their strategic responses to them.

2.3 HOCHSCHILD AND EMOTIONAL LABOR

The rationalization of Helping Hands-Woodland Hills and its shift in disciplinary regime has shaped workers' practice of emotion work. Whereas prior to the merger, workers were rewarded for engaging emotionally with patients/clients, they are now rewarded for efficiency, i.e., for behavior that enables the success of bureaucratic control (O'Neill, 1986, p. 56). Positive and negative sanctions regulate subjects' strategic actions, namely, how they accommodate, survive, and resist discipline (Adams and Padamsee, 2001, p. 16). This paper examines subjects' strategic responses to changes in the ways their emotion work is disciplined.

In the sociology of work, the dominant paradigm for understanding interactions between workers and customers/clients is Arlie Hochschild's (1983/2003) theory of emotional labor. Hochschild (1983/2003) defines emotional labor as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" within the workplace (p. 7). She argues famously that employers coercively regulate the feelings of their employees by requiring them to align their inner emotions and outward displays with prescribed "feeling rules." Workers' emotions, she contends, become commodified when their displays are sold for a wage, that is, when they are given an exchange value. The commodification process transforms emotion work, i.e., the

management of feeling in private life where it has use value, into emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983/2003, p. 7n).

In their study of “gender work” and bond-centered practice in veterinary medicine, Irvine and Vermilya (2010) point out that emotional labor does not characterize all work performances that entail concern or responsibility for clients’ emotional welfare. In veterinary medicine, the emotion work involved in attending to the human-animal bond does not turn into emotional labor, i.e., it is unremunerated. Like veterinary medicine, work at a Psychiatric Residential Treatment Facility (PRTF) does not convert emotion work into emotional labor; the emotional investment of caretakers is not billable (Irvine and Vermilya, 2010, p. 66). Nevertheless, at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, organizational cultural and hegemonic notions of best practices for therapy with youth present the formation of genuinely caring and trusting relationships between workers and residents as essential to effective service provision and integral to creating a socially just environment for institutionalized youth. Like veterinary medicine, in the sense that it is not remunerated yet still expected, emotion work at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills is “invisible work” that long-term employees see as a central, if not principal, component of their jobs (ibid.). Unlike veterinary medicine, however, Helping Hands-Woodland Hills does attempt to rationalize different dimensions of emotion work through labor management strategies like standardization, surveillance, and time discipline.

According to Hochschild, as work organizations implement and regulate emotions for their benefit, over time service workers become alienated from their feelings and their “true selves” in the same way that production workers are alienated from their labor and their product. Emotional alienation takes two principal forms: surface acting (where the worker pretends to feel what she does not) and deep acting (where the worker experiences feelings that are socially

engineered as her own). The second form of alienation is Hochschild's primary concern; she argues that a successful "transmutation" of feeling from private (individual) to public (organizational) will result in a false consciousness that enables a new form of exploitation based on workers' inability to answer questions about who they "really" are and what they "really" feel (Lopez 2006).

Using case studies of flight attendants and bill collectors, Hochschild (1983/2003) elucidates a continuum of coercive emotional labor, with flight attendants coached to heighten the status of clients by performing deference and to be empathetic to them and bill collectors trained to avoid both deference and empathy. This continuum corresponds to a gender divide in the kinds of work that men and women are called on to do; women are more likely to "specialize in the flight attendant side of emotional labor, men in the bill collection side of it" (Hochschild, 1983/2003, p. 163). In general, emotion work is more important for women than it is for men because women are in a subordinate social stratum (ibid.). Both men and women in service positions perform emotional labor, but due to occupational sex segregation women are more likely than men to hold jobs involving emotional labor, particularly jobs involving care work. Furthermore, even for men and women who hold the same job, the "assumption of male authority" acts as a shield against emotional abuse from customers/clients (Hochschild, 1983/2003, p. 177).

Since Hochschild published *The Managed Heart* in 1983, researchers have applied her theory of emotional labor to a variety of occupational settings including "bond-centered" practice in veterinary medicine (Irvine and Vermilya, 2010), "gamesmanship" in litigation and negotiation (Pierce, 1996), and "pampering," "expressive artisanship," and "respectful competence" in nail salons (Kang, 2003). The majority of studies of emotional labor have

followed Hochschild in framing this type of labor as an inherently alienating, coercive, and negative component of service work (Shuler and Sypher, 2000), and most have portrayed emotional labor as feminized.⁵

Some scholars, however, have problematized the conceptualization of emotional labor as inherently coercive. In particular, scholars of care work have argued that emotional labor can be something that workers genuinely enjoy and seek out (Tolich, 1993; Lopez, 2000; Shuler and Snyder, 2000). These researchers have challenged what appears to be Hochschild's underestimation of workers' emotional agency. They acknowledge that while unequal power arrangements in the workplace condition workers' decisions about how and when to use their emotional skills, workers understand themselves as autonomous, which allows them to derive enjoyment and pleasure from their relationships with customers. However, I argue that these scholars wrongly present enjoyment and coercion as opposing forces.

This confusion in the literature on emotional labor stems from the under-acknowledged multidimensionality of the concept. Coercion and enjoyment are not poles of a single continuum, but in fact represent different dimensions of emotion work. There are many jobs that call for emotional labor and individuals who hold those jobs can experience emotional labor as completely coercive and simultaneously as entirely enjoyable. Just because an individual enjoys the emotional component of her job does not mean she is not being coerced; even if an employer does not prescribe explicit feelings rules, emotional investment is normative in care work, which has particularly gendered expectations. Organizations of care call on workers to provide emotional support and comfort to clients, and view these activities as "natural" expressions of

⁵ But, Pierce's (1996) study of "Rambo litigators" demonstrates that emotional labor is not always feminized and that it can be a means for domination of customers/clients, while still being coercive (because it is a requirement of occupational success) to the worker.

women's character in general. As such, these activities are not considered skillful, if they are considered work at all (Daniels, 1987). While care workers are expected to manage clients' and their own emotions, they are not remunerated for these activities; their emotion work is not turned into emotional labor (Irvine and Vermilya, 2010). This does not mean, however, that doing emotion work is necessarily less coercive or less sanctioned (positively or negatively) than emotional labor.

A Foucauldian analysis is oddly absent from much of the literature on emotional labor—an absence that I believe is partially responsible for confusion surrounding the co-occurrence of coercion and enjoyment in emotion work (but see Tracy, 2000). For Hochschild (1983/2003), emotion is “real” only when it is free from organizational control; she fails to acknowledge that coercive emotion management often takes place outside of commercial organizations (Tracy, 2000). Even in their critiques of Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labor, scholars such as Tolich (1993), Lopez (2006), and Shuler and Snyder (2000) have neglected to consider how mechanisms of self-control can operate even in the absence of indiscreet supervisory control, which Foucauldian theory reminds us is the perfection of disciplinary power. Furthermore, Foucault (1978/2010) proposes that the instruments of discipline have a “double impetus: pleasure and power” (p. 324). Pleasure, for Foucault, derives from both the exercise of power that produces knowledge through surveillance and examination, and the evasion of and resistance to such knowledge-producing power relations. Workers, then, can find enjoyment both in internalizing or accommodating disciplinary power and in resisting it.

Hochschild's relentlessly pre-Foucauldian notion of the “real” private self as conflicting with “fake” public performance posits emotional labor as ultimately distinct and estranged from the “real” self. Foucault tells us, however, that there is no “real” self that exists outside of

disciplinary power and organizational norms; rather, the self is continuously constituted through consent and resistance to a number of organizational norms. From a Foucauldian perspective, the reorganization of Helping Hands-Woodlands Hills has provided workers with new opportunities for and imposed new constraints on self-understanding, particularly with respect to norms of emotion work. The trauma some workers have experienced from this transition is due not to workers losing their “real” selves, but to having to construct their identities under a new disciplinary regime of emotion work (Tracy, 2000).

The rationalization of this organization, the commodification of mental health care, and the imposition of a new regime of disciplinary power has made it more difficult for workers to perform certain dimensions of the emotion work they deem necessary for effective service provision and that they enjoy. In short, the process of rationalization imposed by this regime change has produced an organizational culture that disciplines workers’ emotion work differently. Whereas prior to the merger, emotion work was encouraged, it is now second to efficiency concerns, which are, in the final analysis, concerns about profitability.

Evidence from my interviews with long-term employees about changes in how they practice and understand emotion work will show that the merger has moved workers on continua of both enjoyment and coercion. Data from a rationalizing organization demonstrate that enjoyment and coercion are not zero-sum; as an organization more coercively regulates emotion work, it can become more apparently enjoyable. More specifically, in an organization where rationalization processes are emptying the work of its few enjoyable components (e.g., autonomy and staff camaraderie), emotion work can become compensatory.

In the following paragraphs I review the work of two scholars whose research is directly applicable to my study, Teresa Scheid and Debora Bone. Scheid (2003; 2008; 2010) and Bone

(2002) examine the effects of rationalization processes, specifically the transition to managed care, on emotion work in health care organizations. While these authors demonstrate convincingly that the corporatization of health care is limiting physicians' and nurses' abilities to provide emotional support to their patients, they partially naturalize corporate management strategy by not interrogating its disciplinary aspect. Furthermore, neither author considers workers' strategic responses to the rationalization of emotion work.

2.4 EMOTION WORK AND MANAGED HEALTH CARE

Over the past decade, sociologists of health have studied how system-wide restructuring to a 'managed care' model affects health care workers and shapes their ability to carry out meaningful emotion work with patients. Managed care is the health care sector's response to institutional demands for efficiency, measurable outcomes, and cost containment, "whether for profit based systems or to save 'scarce' public funds" (Scheid, 2003), and is a component of a broader trend toward medical neoliberalism (Fisher, 2007). To varying degrees, techniques of managed care conflict with normative standards for mental health care, which are determined to a great extent by mental health professionals who, due to personal predisposition and professional socialization, are chiefly focused on providing quality care to the maximum number of patients possible (Scheid 2008). Bone (2002) and Scheid (2010) have demonstrated that the apparent conflict between cost containment and quality care negatively affects care workers' ability to engage in desirable and necessary emotion work with their patients.

In Bourdieuan terms, the transition from a professionally based logic of mental health care to a rationalized, bureaucratic, managed care logic creates a conflict between the 'habitus',

or system of dispositions that is structured by objective conditions but also structures subjective experience and actions, of mental health care professionals and the habitus required for work under a system of managed care (Bourdieu, 1977). Costello (2005) identifies four elements of habitus that together influence the ease with which one adopts and internalizes the professional identity required by her work: *weltanschauung* (an unconscious worldview), taste, embodied identity (taken-for-granted bodily stances, gestures, and expressions), and emotional identity (emotional orientation). Eventually, continual work under a managed care system may increase the consonance between mental health care workers' past and present professional identities, but palpable identity dissonance makes the transition traumatic.

In a qualitative study of nurses' therapeutic emotion work, Bone (2002) examines the trajectories of emotion work in nursing in the context of the transition to managed care. Managed care conglomerates implement corporate management strategies that focus above-all on profitability with strategies of cost-containment aimed at reducing labor costs. These strategies increased nurses' workloads and squeezed their ability to perform meaningful emotion work due to its gendered lack of visibility and accountability. As Daniels (1987) argues, efforts for which people are not paid (such as emotion work) are not recognized as work, even if they occur in public and are considered useful. Because they are not remunerated and are therefore unrecognizable as work in a modern capitalist system, these efforts, which are typically gendered feminine because of their association with social reproduction, remain largely invisible.

Based on several interviews with experienced nurses, Bone (2002) finds that while this system-wide restructuring has reduced the opportunity for emotional labor by decreasing the time available for nurse-patient interactions, it has simultaneously accentuated the demand for emotional competency to ensure patient satisfaction. The impulse of a commodified health care

system—where patients are customers and nursing services are products—is to rationalize and standardize nurses’ emotional labor, which Bone (2002) contends will reduce nurses’ tacit knowledge to a one-size-fits-all model that misses the nuances involved in therapeutic care.

Scheid (2010) reinforces Bone’s (2002) finding that an emphasis on cost-containment, measurable outcomes, and performance assessment places limits on the positive and desirable emotional labor of care workers. To test the consequences of managed care for mental health providers, Scheid (2010) performed a longitudinal study of one public sector mental health care organization over four years, from 1996-2000. Contrary to research that finds psychological burnout is a consequence of doing too much emotional labor, Scheid (2010) finds that increased psychological burnout is a consequence of increased monitoring and curtailment of emotional labor under systems of managed care.

Bone (2002) and Scheid (2003; 2010) demonstrate the historical contingency of emotional labor norms in mental health care by showing that longitudinal changes in these norms are the result of a movement to managed care. Furthermore, they historicize the movement to managed care by characterizing it as a response to decreased state support for the public health sector and rising insurance premiums in the private sector. However, to the extent that these authors pose professional demands for emotional labor (as a part of quality care) as “normative” and corporate/market demands for efficiency as “technical” (see Scheid, 2008), they naturalize neoliberal corporate management strategy as an economic imperative. Furthermore, to the extent that these authors view the tasks of management as only productive, they ignore the “dressage function of labor,” which is to produce obedience for its own sake (Jackson and Carter, 1998).

This paper assesses workers understandings of changes in the norms of emotion work in the context of commodification and other rationalization processes. Furthermore, unlike previous

studies of emotional labor, this paper examines a variety of workers' strategic responses to the change in the disciplinary regime of emotion work. Evidence from my interviews with long-term employees at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills will show that despite the negative sanctions for doing emotional work (i.e., it is not remunerated or otherwise valorized), some long-term employees continue to see it as an important part of their jobs and persist in doing emotion work because it is pleasurable. One participant has internalized the norms of the new disciplinary regime and no longer finds it necessary to engage in certain dimensions of emotion work. By resisting, surviving, or accommodating the rationalized norms of emotion work, my research participants have responded strategically to the normalizing sanctions of the new disciplinary regime.

3.0 METHOD

3.1 RESEARCH SITE AND PARTICIPANTS

Helping Hands-Woodland Hills is a Psychiatric Residential Treatment Facility (PRTF) for children and adolescents, ages 6 to 21, suffering from severe emotional and behavioral issues combined with other needs. Helping Hands-Woodland Hills sits on over a thousand acres and is located outside of a major southeastern city. The facility has 120 beds, but its census typically falls somewhere between 90 and 120 patients/clients. Prior to the merger and the movement of Medicaid to managed care, patient lengths of stay often lasted for more than a year. Now, the typical length of stay is between 60 and 90 days. Children attend a campus school and receive a variety of experiential therapies in addition to more traditional individual and family sessions. The model of treatment at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills is Dialectical Behavior Therapy (DBT).

Many of the youth are adjudicated to Helping Hands-Woodland Hills as an alternative to a Youth Detention Center (YDC). Others are sent by their families (foster or biological), with the assistance of social workers, because of uncontrollable behavior in their home. The vast majority of the youth at Helping Hands-Woodland hills live on locked units and all of the youth are supervised twenty-four hours a day. Youth are not allowed to leave the facility until the duration of their treatment is complete, and when a child runs away the police are informed and he/she is

sent back to the facility or to jail upon retrieval. The facility is, therefore, as custodial as it is therapeutic.

The Woodland Hills campus has over 300 full- and part-time employees, and as a national organization Helping Hands has over 2,000 employees. At Helping Hands-Woodland Hills the career advancement track goes from counselors, who are the direct care staff, to supervisors, who monitor direct care staff, to therapists, who provide individual and family sessions, and, finally, to program managers, who are part of the campus management team and oversee the documentation and ensure adherence to the treatment model by all staff below them. As workers move up the career ladder, they become more responsible for training, monitoring, and managing staff, and for observing documentation completion and compliance standards.

I interviewed eight people who have worked at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills for at least five years, placing them there for at least a year before the merger. Two of my participants are men and six are women. My participants hold a variety of positions at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills: two are therapists, two are educators, two are managers, one is a direct care counselor, and one currently manages a volunteer program but is a former direct care counselor. Two of my participants are Black (one of the managers and the direct care counselor) and the other six are White. All of my participants have at least a Bachelor's Degree, and three hold graduate degrees.

I recruited my participants through a contact at the organization, who sent my recruitment script to all employees who had been working at the facility for over five years. People who were interested in participating contacted me by email and I interviewed all people who expressed interest, with the exception of one person with whom I lost contact after he failed to answer the phone during our scheduled interview time.

3.2 PROTECTING ANONYMITY

Because my respondents offer critiques of their employer, I conceal their identities as much as possible. In addition to changing their names, I also de-specify their job titles and their length of tenure, as well as the groups of patients/clients for whom they are responsible. My concern for protecting their anonymity means that I am unable to reproduce in this paper some of their responses because oftentimes they draw on examples that are specific to their jobs. In these cases, I paraphrase or redact their responses to protect their anonymity. I do so only when it is possible to remove sensitive information without affecting the integrity of their statements. Edits for clarity or to preserve anonymity within quoted material appear in [square brackets] (Brush 2011, p. viii).

3.3 DATA GATHERING

Data for this study are drawn from semi-structured interviews. Interviews lasted anywhere from 60 to 120 minutes. I conducted three of the interviews in person and the other five over Skype. Nearly all of my interview questions were comparative, i.e., they called on respondents to compare different elements of their jobs before and after the merger. The use of retrospective longitudinal questions allowed me to get at the merger as a turning point in the organizational culture of this institution. In particular, my questions focused on changes in the usefulness of training, the character of performance assessment, the meaning of emotional support, the level of autonomy, and the quality of care. I ended each interview by asking the respondent to reflect on the two most positive changes and the two most negative changes since the merger.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Because of the small number of interviews, I hand-coded the data rather than using software. I read and reread interview transcripts looking for recurring patterns, which I crafted into categories. Using a method of constant comparison between text-incidents, I categorized the data based on similarities and differences, continually redefining categories to fit the additional data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). My reading and rereading of the data was informed by literature on the sociology of work, so the categories I constructed from emergent patterns reflect themes in the literature on rationalization and emotion work/emotional labor.

3.5 LIMITATIONS

Because I interviewed only eight people, my data are not representative of all of the long-term workers at this institution. Despite my small sample size, however, I did receive a variety of responses to the reorganization of this institution. Additionally, my findings agree with the findings of larger studies of changes in emotional labor at health care facilities, which suggests that my study may be more broadly generalizable than its sample size would intimate. However, I am not studying the prevalence or frequency of particular experiences or perspectives, but examining how differently situated workers perceive the content and meaning of changes in norms of emotion work and the organizational culture more generally.

As with all voluntary response samples, there is a risk of response bias, i.e., bias resulting from an overrepresentation of people with strong enough feelings to respond. Researchers typically consider voluntary response samples unreliable because of the overrepresentation of

people with *negative* opinions in particular. As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, however, people who chose to participate in this research project hold a variety of opinions on the merger. Some of my respondents do have negative opinions, but others are more moderate, and at least one respondent has what I would characterize as a positive outlook on the merger.

4.0 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF REORGANIZATION

Work at a Psychiatric Residential Treatment Facility (PRTF) is physically and emotionally demanding. Direct care and supervisory staff routinely perform physical restraints on the children and adolescents in their care when they deem those children “out of control,” i.e., a harm to themselves, others, or expensive property. In order to provide what they consider effective therapeutic care, therapists and other staff seek to not only control the emotions of residents, but also their own emotions. To do so, workers perform multiple dimensions of emotion work. The majority of long-term employees at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills perceive emotion work as a necessary and enjoyable component of their jobs. The majority of my respondents have experienced the rationalization of this organization and the imposition of a new disciplinary regime as disenchanting their work and as making it more difficult for them to perform certain dimensions of emotion work.

Nonetheless, some workers continue to find meaning in emotion work and persist in doing it despite negative sanctions; even though it is not remunerated, long-term employees seek out emotion work as compensation in an organization where processes of rationalization have emptied their jobs of other enjoyable aspects and connections. One respondent has internalized the rationalized norms of emotion work and no longer perceives certain dimensions of emotion work (namely, spending time and processing with kids), as valuable.

Most of my interview respondents described dimensions of emotion work that elude or are not amenable to processes of rationalization; no amount of formal training or education can totally prepare employees for the emotional demands of the work. Learning to “deep act”—to feel and experience compassion and sympathy for children and their families and simultaneously to take tragic stories and incidents for granted—are two dimensions of emotion work that require continuous effort and tacit knowledge.

Interview respondents’ reflections on the reorganization of their workplace can be grouped according to two primary labor management strategies imposed by the new disciplinary regime: standardization and surveillance. For most of my interview respondents, these strategies have made their work less enjoyable and affected their abilities to perform certain dimensions of emotion work. While it is possible to separate these two labor management strategies as categories of analysis, it is important to note that participants describe these strategies as operating synergistically.

The aim of these labor management strategies is twofold. Not only do employers deploy labor management strategies to increase profitability; obedience is also a goal for its own sake. Work organizations achieve increased profitability through strategies that encourage cost-containment via the reduction of labor costs in particular. These same strategies can be simultaneously employed for reasons unrelated to production or other economic functions. While organizations may legitimate these strategies by appealing to erstwhile economic imperatives, they also operate discretely (yet synergistically) as means of encouraging obedience and discouraging deviance (Jackson and Carter, 1998). As Wright (2005) notes, according to the Marxist construction of class analysis, because workers have the capacity to resist their exploitation, employers use endogenous methods for manufacturing consent such as the creation

of internal labor markets (e.g. career ladders) and the development of ideologies (p. 29). The development of internal labor markets in particular is a normalizing sanction that accompanies labor management strategies as techniques for both reducing labor costs and producing worker loyalty.

These strategies serve what Jackson and Carter (1998), citing Foucault, call a ‘dressage function,’ which they define as labor that is “non-productive, non-utilitarian and unnatural behaviour [*sic*] for the satisfaction of the controller and as a public display of compliance, obedience to discipline” (p. 54). Dressage, in this sense, has three denotations: discipline, taming, and performance. In addition to their explicit descriptions of the profit motives of labor management strategies, participants in this study also detail implicitly their perception/assessment that these strategies are a form of dressage.⁶

I begin this section with a discussion of the multiple dimensions of emotion work that my respondents described performing and their perceptions of the centrality of emotion work to their jobs. I then move on to analyses of each of the two principal labor management strategies employed by the new disciplinary regime, focusing in particular on how my respondents perceive these strategies to be affecting the content and meaning of emotion work. Additionally,

⁶ Jackson and Carter’s (1998) article is not empirical and they do not address how a researcher using their theory would be able speak to employers’ “real” intentions. They cite as a contemporary example of labor as dressage Research Assessment Exercises (RAE) at universities in the UK, according to which the government distributes funds to universities. The RAE evaluates research based solely on quantitative measures, i.e., the amount produced, rather than on its contribution to the production of knowledge. Universities, then, stimulate the quantity of research to placate the RAE, but not for productive reasons. Universities have economic incentives for stimulating publication of research, but, according to Jackson and Carter (1998), neither the stated intention to encourage research nor the effect of the RAE can be justified in terms of the productive function of the labor of research (p. 62). Instead of trying to get at universities’ and government’s “real” intentions, the authors reveal that the RAE does not fulfill its stated intention because it does not serve a productive function of the labor of research. Rather, it is rather a form of labor as dressage; it disciplines researchers to increase the volume of publications, rather than contribute to knowledge. Since I do not have access to Helping Hands-Woodland Hills even stated intentions of their labor management strategies, I examine instead how workers interpret the rules and rule-imposition process as dressage.

I examine how my respondents have reacted strategically to processes of rationalization by accommodating, surviving, or resisting the new disciplinary norms of emotion work.

I argue that the new regime of disciplinary power has imposed coercive labor management strategies that attempt to rationalize emotion work and that make it more difficult for workers to perform certain dimensions of emotion work. For many of my respondents, processes of rationalization have disenchanting their work. Yet, the increased coerciveness of the institution has not made emotion work any less enjoyable; for most respondents, it has increased the apparent pleasures of doing certain dimensions of emotion work, in particular being available to patients, families, and coworkers. In fact, many of my respondents find solace in doing emotion work, which allows them to continue constructing themselves as people who help troubled youth rather than as unimpassioned custodial workers.

4.1 THE MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF EMOTION WORK

All of my respondents described emotion work as central to their jobs. As Ms. Walker, a program manager, said, “You can’t work here and not be emotionally involved.” All of them also described some dimension of emotion work as their favorite part of working at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills. On any given workday, my interview respondents perform multiple dimensions of emotion work, which require “emotion memory,” “deep acting” (Hochschild 1983/2003), “body labor” (Kang, 2003), and what I am calling availability, or the ability to be present when needed. They do emotion work in their interactions with patients/clients, families of patients/clients, and fellow staff. Importantly, getting to a place where workers can take traumatic patient histories for granted also requires emotion work.

“Emotion memory” is a repository of emotional resources on which workers draw to manage their emotions in the present. Oftentimes, institutions direct workers on how to properly use emotion memory in interactions with clients (Hochschild, 1983/2003, pp. 48ff). Many of my interview respondents described how their emotion memories of experiences with their families influenced the way they felt toward the children in their care. The following excerpt from my interview with Ms. Kenn, a manager who was once a counselor, shows how she uses emotion memory in her interactions with patients/clients.

SP: What was the easiest part of your job when you started working at Woodland Hills?

Ms. Kenn: I think the easiest part was working with the kids...I guess this is a little bit of a personal thing, but I'm a very older sibling...I could relate to the kids that I worked with as far as feeling part of a family, rather than seeing them as kids who are just bad kids...When you're day-in and day-out you can start to see [the bad things] rather than how they fit within the bigger world and how they need to get home and be with their families...working with the kids was very easy for me. That part I could always come back to...I could always come back to treating them as a child who was valuable.

The excerpt from my interview with Ms. Kenn points to an important facet of emotion work, namely, that it is a continuous or “day-in and day-out” process. Unlike learning other work-related skills, learning to “deep act” is an ongoing process. Workers must continually cultivate and manage their feelings to fend off those feelings that seem to occur “naturally” or “easily” but are not deemed helpful or appropriate. Ms. Honness, a veteran therapist, pointed to the threat of unwanted feelings in the interview excerpt below:

SP: How do you provide emotional support to the kids at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills?

Ms. Honness: Being respectful for starters in interactions, being consistent, being available, following through. Trying to honor them [and] honoring families. It's especially easy to try to make the parents [and] the families [into] the bad

guys...They're not the bad guys by any means. They've got their issues, they've got their struggles, but they grew up in families too.

Ms. Honness' understanding of emotional support suggests a way of thinking about human agency as a capacity for action that is not synonymous with resistance to domination. Mahmood (2001) conceives of human agency as a "capacity for action that specific relations of subordination create and enable" (p.210). She argues for rethinking the definition of agency to include the operations that one performs on her "thoughts, body, conduct, and ways of being" to attain a desired mental and physical state that is specific to certain disciplinary conditions (p. 210). In the excerpt above, Ms. Honness, then, described disciplining herself by engaging in emotion work on her own thoughts, feelings, and conduct. She did not passively receive a commitment to honoring kids and families; her commitment was an achievement, the result of continuous effort and struggle.

In my interview with Ms. Vogel, an educator at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, she positioned deep acting, which in her articulation is "true belief," as a necessary component of the work. As the following excerpt demonstrates, her ability to skillfully perform emotion work gave her a sense of personal serenity. For her, doing emotion work appeared as almost a transferrable skill—something that made her not only a better employee, but a better person.

SP: Would you say that you use the physical, emotional, and therapeutic techniques that you learned in training in your day-to-day work with kids?

Ms. Vogel: Oh absolutely. One of the reasons that I'm very grateful for my job, one of the reasons that I love it [is] I think that [we use] the therapeutic techniques [and] the physical and emotional practices...in various forms every day and I think that it makes us not only better employees but better people. So I think I'm a better parent because of the ways that Woodland Hills has trained me to work with young people. I think I'm a better person, I'm more at peace because I'm able to discern between students' emotional crises and who they really are as children of G-d, you know? You truly have to believe when you work here that every person has worth and that this could be you or your own child in this situation...I definitely feel like I'm much better being here.

Like Ms. Kenn, Ms. Vogel saw as central to her work true belief in the value or worth of all children. For Ms. Vogel, however, “true belief” implicates not only how workers should view children, but also how they should see themselves and their own children.

At Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, emotion work is not strictly conversational; a large portion of the emotion work that employees perform is embodied. Kang (2003) defines “body labor” as “the provision of body related services and the management of feelings that accompanies it” (p. 820). Though Kang’s (2003) study takes place in Korean-owned nail salons where a primary dimension of body labor relates to the physical appearances of diverse customers, her findings are instructive for considering the bodily demands of emotion work in a mental health institution where workers are trained and expected to verbally de-escalate *and* physically restrain children and adolescents who “act out.”

At Helping Hands-Woodland Hills, the parameters of “best-practices” for how to perform physical restraints are ever-evolving, but the criteria for when to perform them have consistently been the same—the patient/client must be a harm to self, others, or expensive property. The patients/clients at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills range in age from six to twenty-one, so in many cases restraining them requires more than one staff member. While in restraints, or in the process of getting into one, children and adolescents bite, spit, kick, punch, and scream at staff members who are restraining them. Staff members are expected to control their own physical and emotional responses to these actions while simultaneously attempting to emotionally de-escalate the restrained patient/client.

When patients/clients are harming themselves, whether through self-mutilation or attempted suicide, as was the case in the story that Ms. Walker related in the excerpt below, workers are expected to manage their own emotions and to understand that restraints are helpful.

SP: So, what was the biggest challenge you faced when you began working here?

Ms. Walker: Restraining kids! That's just not natural...My first situation was a girl [who] tried to commit suicide and she was hanging in the bathroom and [someone said], "Get her down, restrain her!" and I'm like, "No! Do you see her hanging?" She was turning different colors. I panicked. I didn't know what to do. That's just not natural to want to restrain somebody so that was my biggest challenge. Once I realized I was doing it to help them and it was a preventative measure then I was able to get the hang of it.

For Ms. Walker and others, performing physical restraints is “just not natural”; it is a learned embodied emotional response to a precarious yet fairly common situation. As deep acting, this bodily dimension of emotion work at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills can become routinized as long as the performance of physical restraints is accompanied by appropriate feelings and understandings; once Ms. Walker learned that physical restraints were helpful and preventative, she was able to perform them without panicking.

In one form or another, all of my respondents mentioned availability as an important facet of emotion work. My respondents described “being there” to listen open-mindedly as central to their interactions with both patients/clients and fellow workers. From the perspective of my respondents, processes of rationalization and the imposition of a new disciplinary regime have most dramatically affected this dimension of emotion work.

In the context of interactions with fellow staff members, nearly all of my respondents drew a contrast between the “family” culture of Woodland Hills and the “corporate” culture of Helping Hands. Changes in the organizational culture have shaped the ways my respondents are able to give and receive emotional support from fellow employees. In turn, workers’ perceptions of the content and meaning of their work have changed. These changes are illustrated by excerpts from two separate interviews: one with Mr. Abbott, the manager of a volunteer program, and one with Ms. Roberts, a counselor.

SP: What does emotional support mean to you?

Mr. Abbott: I think providing the necessary assistance day to day whether it be a physical presence in assisting with a task or just...you know, someone having an open mind and an open ear and listening to you and being able to talk to someone. That's something that I think Woodland Hills excelled at. I almost felt like Ms. Honness, for instance, was my therapist. If I ever had a problem I'd go talk to her about it.

[A few minutes later in the interview]

SP: How would you describe the organizational culture at Woodland Hills?

Mr. Abbott: It was a lot more family-oriented, as I think I said before...It was a lot more of an open culture. I think since it was a small organization it was really easy to interact with the CEO for instance. When [the CEO] was here his office was right here on campus, he knew everybody...if you needed something it was an open door policy. You could come talk to him...That was how it was then. Now, it's completely different.

SP: So how is it completely different now?

Mr. Abbott: Now, being a larger organization, we don't know everybody. We talk to a lot of people via email and we don't know who the heck we're talking to. If I've got a problem with a background check or using a new system I'm talking to somebody I've never met before. The turnover is extremely high for entry-level positions, much higher than it was...It's much more corporate...I think it's a much more stressful environment. It feels a little faker.

The stress and fakeness that Mr. Abbott described were echoed by Ms. Roberts in the interview excerpt below. Ms. Roberts linked changes in her relationships with fellow staff to her self-understanding and how she feels about the value of her work. Furthermore, she reflected on the difficulty of her work and pointed out how the absence of staff camaraderie since the merger has demystified that difficulty, or made it all the more apparent.

SP: What do you miss most about your work before the merger?

Ms. Roberts: I think the staff [was] in better spirits [before the merger]. So, our job was what it is. We have difficult things that we work with, but when you're dealing with difficult staff and the kids it's not a good combination. So I miss having support from my team, the old team...I think right now everybody is out for

self. It's we come to work, we work as a team, and when we do vent to each other it's bullshit....Before I felt like I was doing something. I was making a change. Now, it's I'm just here. I miss that. I miss feeling like I made a difference and I don't feel that anymore. I feel like I'm just here to make it look pretty so when we have our walk-throughs it looks good and everybody is happy when the unit or the milieu is clean and...the supervisor walks through with somebody who may be visiting from [corporate headquarters] and it looks good. Then she's happy, then everybody else is happy here. The bullcrap.

The reorganization of this institution has shifted the organizational culture from “family-oriented” to “corporate.” Mr. Abbott and Ms. Roberts have experienced these changes as disenchanting the work, that is, as making what they once enjoyed less pleasurable and meaningful. Rational labor management strategies imposed by the new disciplinary regime have contributed to this disenchantment by emptying the work of what many of my respondents perceive as its most enjoyable components. Corporate strategies of standardization and surveillance, which are enacted to increase profitability and obedience, have rationalized the norms of emotion work. My interview participants have responded strategically by accommodating, surviving, or resisting the new disciplinary norms, and by seeking out emotion work as unremunerated compensation for their disenchantment.

In the following three sub-sections I analyze my respondents' perceptions of labor management strategies of standardization and surveillance, focusing in particular on how these strategies affect the content and meaning of emotion work. I also explore my research participants' varied responses to rational strategies for imposing and cultivating discipline. I show that despite negative sanctions for performing emotion work, some long-term workers persist in doing it because it is pleasurable and provides unremunerated compensation for the general disenchantment of their work that accompanied the corporate take-over.

4.2 STANDARDIZATION

The following excerpt from an interview with Ms. Walker, a program manager, demonstrates one participant's initial reflections on the changes that have resulted from the reorganization of her workplace.

SP: So, how did the Woodland Hills organization provide emotional support to you?

Ms. Walker: Like I told you, I came from a close-knit family and I went to a college that was very small also. So, when I came [to Woodland Hills] they had that same close-knit feeling. Everybody was like family, you know, so umm, that's what I value the most. Umm, Woodland Hills was about the people, whereas Helping Hands is about the process. Whether that person is here or not, this is the process, go with it, whereas Woodland Hills it was the people. Like, I could see how both are good and then I can see how both are beneficial, and I think I can see how one is not as personable as the other. So with Woodland Hills, if Ms. Walker wasn't there on second shift it didn't go right, whereas with Helping Hands if Ms. Walker is there or not it still flows because the staff [is] taught the process, not this is how it is with Ms. Walker.

In her response to my question, Ms. Walker described one of Helping Hands' primary labor management strategies: standardization. Standardization, and the depersonalization that ensues from it, is a central feature of rationalized work organizations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Frederick W. Taylor developed the idea of scientific management, which Henry Ford would apply later in his (or, more aptly, Ford engineers') invention of the assembly line. Taylorism, or the scientific management of work, emphasized replacing inefficient traditional production methods with methods based on efficient means-to-ends-calculations. In addition to greater efficiency, Taylorism focused on increasing predictability through the creation of well-defined standards (based on optimum means to ends calculations) that every worker could and would follow to ensure they all did a given job the same way (Ritzer, 2008, pp. 29f). In a broader sense, scientific management transferred both explicit and

tacit knowledge of skill, materials, production processes, and the like from workers to technical observers, engineers, and ultimately management. This is one way in which an emphasis on “efficiency” is designed to extract simultaneously value and resistance from workers, to reduce the bargaining power of labor through deskilling, and to produce “docile bodies” (Wright, 2005).

Businesses that adopt Taylor’s methods increase their profitability by reducing labor costs; the standardization of methods, whether of production or treatment/care, means that businesses do not have to rely on professionals or workers with high skill levels, who are the most expensive employees. Standardization, then, facilitates deprofessionalization, or “the process by which highly educated and skilled professionals are first displaced and then replaced with individuals of inferior training and compensation” (Dionne, 2009). Standardization also has a dressage purpose; standardization of workers’ environments and practices operates to suppress deviance, which in a work organization can be seen as “any act [that] expresses an identity beyond that of worker, which therefore may escape the requirement to submit to control” (Jackson and Carter, 1998, pp. 59-60).

Later in the interview, when I asked Ms. Walker about changes in the model of care at the institution, she connected the “process over people” philosophy of standardization to deprofessionalization and the rationalization of emotion work.

SP: How would you describe the model of care at Woodland Hills before the merger? For example, what kinds of therapies there were, the role of medication in therapy, and the primary goals of treatment.

Ms. Walker: I think there was a big difference just because at Woodland Hills as far as medicine you had doctors that were employees whereas with Helping Hands you have doctors that are contracted. And, umm, with doctors that are employees they’re here all the time. They’re on the payroll, you know, they’re here. So, they’re more invested. So, whereas Helping Hands we had to ask our doctors to be part of treatment team and they don’t necessarily have to be there.

And a lot of information is about, once again, the process. So we can just tell the doctor what happened with the youth and then they’ll determine what kind

of medicine to give them. Whereas at Woodland Hills our doctor was there all the time. She saw what we saw. She would have groups with the kids. So, we would sit in groups with the doctor. The doctor was so beneficial. Our head medical director, before she was head medical director, Dr. Jones, she was the doctor on my unit. She taught us so much. She would have groups. She would have supervision with the staff. We would have supervision with the doctor. As in, I was able to go to the doctor and this is outside of treatment team, and I would be able to say this girl comes from this type of projects and I've never experienced this type of aggression. She's hypersexual, and [the doctor] would actually guide the staff. Like, we had biweekly supervisions with the doctor on how to deal with the kids because yes we've learned what we've learned when we first came in through the training but now you really need some type of psychiatrist to tell you how to deal with this mental issue or this psychological issue that this child is going through that our training didn't cover.

The training doesn't go over the diagnosis, the specific diagnosis and we're working with everything from kids that are narcissistic to self-harming to bipolar to borderline schizophrenic. I didn't know what to do when a child told me, "Suzie Q told me to punch you." The first thing I said, was "You and Suzie Q both better [move on] haha." "You AND Suzie Q," as in go get whoever told you that and now both of y'all taking a time out.

I remember going home and telling my family, I told her and her imaginary friend that y'all both better take a time out. I [didn't] know if that was the right way to deal with that, but then in supervision with the psychiatrist she would tell you how to deal with that and then she would be able to identify immediately what to adjust with the medication whereas our doctors are only in treatment team. They have a quick, probably 10 minute moment with the kids [every two weeks if they are present].

One way the corporate strategy of standardization reduces labor costs, and thereby increases profitability, is through deprofessionalization. As the excerpt above illustrates, in the case of an organization of care, deprofessionalization limits the ways that workers can perform emotion work. Without the assistance of a psychiatrist, Ms. Walker felt uncomfortable in her decision of how to approach a child diagnosed borderline schizophrenic. Furthermore, deprofessionalization limits doctors' abilities to do emotion work with both patients/clients and staff. As Ms. Walker noted, prior to the merger, doctors were more engaged with both patients and staff. Lastly, Ms. Walker pointed out how certain facets of emotion work are impervious to

standardization; the training she received did not rationalize the emotion work she found it necessary to perform.

Two interview respondents, who are now in managerial roles, articulated a connection between standardization, training, and management. Over the course of their respective interviews, Ms. Walker and Ms. Kenn related how Helping Hands provided managerial development trainings and an “evidence-based manual” that gave them a standardized set of solutions to both managerial and clinical problems.

The following excerpt from my interview with Ms. Walker demonstrates how Helping Hands’ strategy of standardization attempts to govern not only how workers do emotion work with patients, but also how they do emotion work with one another. That is, Helping Hands prescribes “feelings rules” with which workers are expected to align their emotional expressions in interactions with patients and coworkers (Hochschild 1983/2003).

SP: How does this kind of corporate atmosphere [that you mentioned in your answer to the previous question] affect what you do at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills?

Ms. Walker: I can tell you Helping Hands trains you better...Helping Hands is going to teach you social styles, how to communicate and how to meet a person halfway. They taught me that I was a structurer, but it's called a driver. You know, I'm a driver. I'm expressive, you know, where Woodland Hills didn't teach me that. Helping Hands taught me how to meet an analytical person. Helping Hands taught me how to meet [and] identify that another person is analytical but also how to meet them somewhere so we can both get our needs met where Woodland Hills didn't. So...Helping Hands has [given me] the tools to be a manager whereas Woodland Hills taught me how to be a manager off the role models you had. [Woodland Hills was] about the people so that's the difference.

Whereas Helping Hands, if they can think of a class to send you to whether it's time management to learn how to work in [our computer system] and mark down everything in your calendar and carry it everywhere with you, social styles to teach you what type of person you are, to identify other people, to even crucial conversations. [There's a training to] have a conversation with a person without thinking you're arguing. [To be able to tell someone] their performance is not up to standard at this time and how to say that to a person. Woodland Hills didn't.

Ms. Kenn, who is a manager and also a therapist, echoed the contrast that Ms. Walker drew between learning from role models under the management practices of Woodland Hills and having a set of standard rules under Helping Hands. The interview excerpt below illustrates the growth of an instrumental approach to action since the merger, as well as a move away from authority embodied in a person toward rational-legal authority, or authority embodied in the rules that compel obedience. As her responses indicate, this transition has affected norms of emotion work at the institution:

SP: What was the biggest challenge you faced when you began working at Woodland Hills?

Ms. Kenn: Well, I think early on I was coming out of school with a very academic perspective on things and it felt to me like you're being thrown to the wolves. It was direct experience. I had to get in there hands-on. I had the staff that I worked with both when I was a [counselor] and also when I went into the therapist position, my supervisors at the time were really helpful, but as far as an organizational structure there wasn't a whole lot to say, "this is what you're supposed to be doing." It [was] more [like], "here's a staff person modeling it for you."

[A few minutes later in the interview]

SP: Has the amount of time that you are able to spend with [patients/clients] changed?

Ms. Kenn: I think when I first started I thought [spending time with kids] was what I needed to do. I thought I needed to spend time with the kids in order to get to know them so well that I could figure out how to help them...Another thing you mentioned earlier was modalities of treatment. When I first started here there wasn't a model to go by as far as therapy goes. So, sure I felt like I needed to spend tons and tons of time with the kids and I think that's great don't get me wrong. I think spending time with the kids can help but if my goal is also to help them go home faster, then I don't need to become their parent...I would say now I don't think I spend as much time [with the patients/clients], but I also have an evidence-based practiced model and the way that we do treatment plan development now is based on evidence-based practice...We did not have an evidence-based manual before [the merger], so as far as therapy goes now, yeah my time and my planning as a therapist is the evidence-based practice. Evidence-

based practice says if you work on x, y, z, if you're saying this is the problem, if you work on x, y, and z, it is researched it is known to be proved and effective.

Ms. Kenn has internalized the rationalized norms of emotion work, particularly with respect to the dimension of availability. Her belief in the utility of being available to patients/clients is secondary to her differently disciplined assertion that evidence-based practice provides a procedural, means-ends solution to treatment. For Ms. Kenn, perhaps because her professional identity is consonant with the habitus required by the new regime, the rationalization of emotion work through the introduction of evidence-based practice is a welcome change.

As we saw above, Ms. Walker accommodated some of the organizational feeling rules for emotion work with coworkers, but, unlike Ms. Kenn, Ms. Walker has resisted strategic attempts to rationalize the availability dimension of emotion work. In the following excerpt, Ms. Walker remarked on the hierarchical standardization of roles since the merger and states that despite changes in disciplinary norms, she persists in doing emotion work that she enjoys.

SP: Is [spending time interacting with youth] encouraged as much [since the merger] as it was [before the merger]?

Ms. Walker: Umm, well, that's a difference. I think right now we just have good managers and good staff so they continue to stay hands-on. With Helping Hands, I think they want managers to be managers because we have two supervisors under us and each supervisor is over a unit. So I have one supervisor over unit [x] and one supervisor over unit [y] and they're directing the staff who are right up under them so it's encouraged to let them run the unit because they are the supervisors over the unit. But I like to be in it too. Yeah, you can't take me away from my kids.

In Ms. Walker's estimation, the mark of "good managers" and "good staff" is continuing to "stay hands-on" despite the creation of rigid, hierarchical boundaries dictating who should and should not remain available to do emotion work with youth. In her normative evaluations of her

coworkers and her persistence in doing and ascribing meaning to the availability dimension of emotion work, Ms. Walker practiced resistance to the new disciplinary regime.

Similar to Ms. Walker, Mr. Halsey, a therapist, conveyed that he would resist any attempt to rationalize how he performs emotion work.

SP: So, how do you provide emotional support to the kids here?

Mr. Halsey: How I do it when I'm working with kids is I provide a platform of safety but a platform that pushes them to feel those emotions... [A certain kind of therapy] allows people to be put in a situation where they're not going to be comfortable, where they're not going to be able to hide those emotions. They're going to be raw and very very much on the surface, but provide it in a way that they're not going to feel threatened. To be able to not have to hide those things and feel safe that they're going to be safe physically and emotionally. That I'm not going to let them fall emotionally, like they're not going to tell me something and I'm not just going to run and tell everyone and...discredit those things that they're feeling.

SP: Has how you provide emotional support to kids changed at all over the course of the merger?

Mr. Halsey: No, because I think that's a philosophy more than I think that's something that can be dictated by someone, by anything. I'm going to approach things the way I approach things because I know that's best therapeutically for our kids. Helping Hands is not going to tell me to do it differently. They may tell me to do it differently, but I know what works, I know how it works, and I've got letters and I've got kids who've come back and talk about their experiences to prove that it's a good approach. I think that if it came to that point that I had to change that way I probably wouldn't be here anymore.

In this interview excerpt, Mr. Halsey contended that a certain aspect of his work—his philosophy of how to provide emotional support to youth—cannot be “dictated.” In asserting this belief, he simultaneously affirmed his professional expertise as an authority on how to do emotion work. He drew his claim to legitimacy not from compliance with a manual or standard treatment model, but from the kids who are his former patients/clients. Since the merger, however, rule-based legitimacy claims have become hegemonic; though of course, like Mr. Halsey, not everyone consents to them.

The increased dominance of rational-legal authority—of authority derived from following rules and procedures dictated by state standards—is also reflected in workers’ comparisons of training before and after the merger. Whereas prior to the merger, training focused on clinical techniques and experiential learning methods to help therapists and counselors do different dimensions of emotion work with kids, training now focuses on policies and procedures. The following excerpts from interviews with two different employees demonstrate a shift from substantive to rule-based training, as well as a shift in the utility of training, particularly as it relates to emotion work.

SP: What formal training did you have when you first arrived at Woodland Hills?

Ms. Antin: You had your regular orientation training, your therapeutic crisis intervention and your CPR, and there was on-going... staff development. And different speakers would come in and everybody was invited to come and you would rotate so that direct care staff could go, and teachers would stay with the kids...it was all training in mental health...you know, different interventions, different educational therapy...how to do the service-learning, the experiential piece, how to integrate the curriculum, I mean it was ongoing. I mean, my brain was just stimulated constantly...I couldn’t believe I worked some place that cared so much about developing their personnel. I mean, morale was high.

[45 seconds later in the interview]

SP: Can you describe the training grid [that you just mentioned]?

Ms. Antin: Well, [Helping Hands] has little online trainings, like 20, and they all take half an hour. It depends on how much time you actually go through each slide and actually try to learn it. If you’re a test taker and you’ve done it so many times you get through it a little more quickly. But, you know, it’s cultural competency, it’s fire safety, I mean the list goes on and each year you have to keep up on that. Twice a year we have to do [Crisis Prevention Intervention] and of course, we have our CPR. You keep up on it yourself. They’ll keep sending you reminders if you don’t and if you fall behind on your every six months CPI you will be suspended until you get it...this is all to keep us legally on the newest laws you know and for JCAHO [Joint Commission on Accreditation of Healthcare Organizations]...we’re just under a lot of pressure to make sure that all the information is distributed to every single employee so everybody is you know familiar with the whole entire legal structure of a mental health facility, not to mention a business...We never did any of this before and we did much more

enriching training. You know, training that inspired you and you went out and did some cool stuff. This, you just kind of go away and go, "oh my gosh."

Mr. Abbott noted similar changes in the quality and utility of training during my interview with him:

SP: Would you say that Woodland Hills' training was more realistic?

Mr. Abbott: I think that what was taught in training was more accurately reflected out on the units. I think that people tended to follow those rules better. They followed the R&O, the rules and order, a little bit better. I think there's a much larger disconnect now with Helping Hands with their training than there was at Woodland Hills. Umm, Helping Hands has several forms I can't think of specifics right now but there are a lot of forms—I don't know if it's boundaries or first aid—that says the very last thing you sign when you leave the training room after training says that I have read these rules and understand that if I do not follow them, I will be terminated and blah blah blah and restraints and stuff like that. You can't leave the training room until you sign that, but realistically you know you're going to sign that and do what everybody else is doing. That type of thing...didn't exist at Woodland Hills. Umm, [with] Helping Hands [it's] a more cover your rear end type of thing. They just want you to sign that piece of paper so that they're covered and if you do something you're not supposed to do you're out the door. That we see a lot of at Helping Hands and we didn't see that at Woodland Hills. And if you don't hear that from other people, I'll be really surprised to be honest with you. That's a huge difference.

SP: Why do you think there's this bigger disconnect?

Mr. Abbott: I think Helping Hands takes a more cookie-cutter approach. Everybody else has a set path, set promotion path umm set positions and things like that like you come in here as a [counselor] then you become a unit supervisor then a program manager then you become, you know, whatever...So I think it's a more cookie cutter approach and I think that tends to work better in a corporate environment, which Helping Hands is definitely more corporate and I also think they're more business savvy...so they make sure they dot all there i's and cross all their t's. One of the first things they changed for instance was making all the counselors into salaried positions. That's something that a lot of people didn't think would fly. They thought it would be illegal, it wasn't. They did it as a cost-cutting measure...they're a lot more business savvy than Woodland Hills ever was, which is why we were merged with them or we were bought out because we had problems with our finances. We had some good, caring people, but they couldn't manage their money.

Ms. Antin and Mr. Abbott drew connections between the strategy of standardization (the “cookie-cutter approach”), cost-containment, and rational-legal authority. They also hinted at the dressage purpose of standardization, which is to subject labor to control for the sake of control itself rather than for productive or utilitarian reasons. Furthermore, Mr. Abbott pointed to links between the internal labor market, a positive sanction for obedience, and standardization. During my interview with Ms. Honness, the veteran therapist, she recalled an explicit instance of the new disciplinary regime using standardization as dressage.

SP: Have the core beliefs, values, and morals of the organization changed?

Ms. Honness: Well...I mean Helping Hands is huge...and the fact is everything has to be so standardized, there's a sense of things being rather impersonal. Whereas Woodland Hills...was just this little entity on its own so there was a much more personal, much more intimate kind of work environment...Now I think it's much more impersonal...Like, our building, if you can walk into [it], and this is as it should be I'm sure, you can walk into our campus and you know it's a Helping Hands building [and] program if you've been to anywhere else. These programs all look the [same], buildings are all painted the same, they have the same interior decorator. So the same you know little knick-knacks and everything. [It] is like one person kind of decorates all these buildings, all these facilities, you know they all look alike. One of the earliest examples was when they came in and changed offices, when they came over we all had to get rid of our furniture [and] we all had to have the same kind of furniture in our offices. We weren't allowed to have personal items. All the offices really kind of needed to look the same if somebody stuck their head in...Somebody even took some personal items out of somebody's office because they weren't supposed to [be there]...it was just crazy early on. I think the initial transition was pretty heavy-handed so as not to have like a, haha, I don't know to have a revolt or something. I don't know, it was very heavy handed to make sure we got on board, like we were going to be rebels or something.

Personal items on a worker's desk have no impact on productivity, but they are a sign that the worker has an identity as a person beyond work. The dressage purpose of standardization is to produce subjects who are workers and not persons. Throughout the excerpts in this section are references to the impersonality of Helping Hands' bureaucratic structure and approach to

management. The dehumanization that Helping Hands exhibits is not an unintended consequence of its quest for profitability; it is the direct result of strategies for managing and disciplining workers' behavior (through normalizing sanctions) to bring it in line with the standards of those in control.

In addition to standardization, the reorganization of this institution has imposed a labor management strategy of increased surveillance. As we will see in the next section, and as the quote above indicates, at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills the strategy of surveillance relates in interesting ways to the other management strategies in the web of labor discipline. Surveillance facilitates the enforcement of standards through normalizing sanctions (such as the removal of the worker's personal belongings from her office), and it is also tied in complex ways to cost-containment and deprofessionalization.

4.3 SURVEILLANCE

Since the merger with Helping Hands, surveillance at the institution has increased across the board. Managers, therapists, counselors, *and* patients/clients are subject to more surveillance and documentation. In this sense, the strategy of surveillance at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills is closer to Foucault's (1977) notion of examination, which combines elements of observation, measurement, and normalization (or what I am calling standardization) into one of the most potent tools of discipline and control in modern society (Hopper and Macintosh, 1998).

The counselors, or direct care staff, complete documentation on the youth and their paperwork is assessed by their supervisors, who complete scorecards, which are documents about the quality of counselors' documentation. These scorecards, as well as other

documentation prepared by program managers, are assessed by the campus director and the director of residential services, who prepare reports, i.e., more documentation, for the Helping Hands research department and the state, which contracts with managed care companies.

The therapists complete documentation on the youth in their care, which is assessed by their supervisors, but they also complete consultations with psychiatrists, who since the merger have become contract employees. The increased supervision and consultations are meant to ensure compliance with the company's standards and the scorecards act as normalizing sanctions. Supervisors and consulting psychiatrists review their subordinates' documentation and create scorecards based on how well the staff's documentation and the therapists' treatment plans follow the rules, regulations, and manuals. Worker performance is therefore measured by how well-disciplined workers are, that is, how completely they comply with the demands of work discipline in terms of both process/practice and documentation.

Through techniques of surveillance and the imposition of scorecards, the new disciplinary regime has attempted to rationalize multiple dimensions of emotion work. In particular, the amount and type of required documentation has limited workers' availability to do emotion work with patients/clients and coworkers.

In the following interview excerpt, Ms. Honness elucidated the relationship between surveillance, standardization, and normalizing sanctions. Furthermore, she pointed to an interesting relationship between deprofessionalization, which is a primary cost-cutting tactic of medical neoliberalism, and surveillance. Ms. Honness noted that the removal and/or absence of full-time psychiatrists, licensed therapists, and experienced direct care staff (whom the facility started to lay-off) from the facility fosters the demand for increased oversight.

SP: What was the biggest challenge you faced when you began working at Woodland Hills?

Ms. Honness: ...the early on Woodland Hills, my case load might have been 30 or 40 kids and I would maybe see a kid once a week and his family once and...the documentation was all paper, it was like one progress note, a treatment team note and that was pretty much it and then you had supervision where we talked about clinical issues. Contrast that to now, where the documentation is off the charts, very consuming documentation...and [times have changed] also of course with Medicaid and insurance and certainly that has required more [detailed records]. But that is probably what is so stunning over the years has been just the amount of paperwork [and] documentation...The employment training is just hugely different. In terms of supervision...that part is different once you get your license there's a umm a little bit lesser degree. We have a lot more meetings [and] Helping Hands has...very much of hierarchy of how they will run...I think that the way Helping Hands is set-up is that it's sort of designed to hire less experienced staff I think a lot of times sometimes not even master's level staff and because of that it's just built-in a tremendous amount of sort of micromanagement, [or] supervision. There's a manual and you have to choose your intervention, choose your treatment from this manual, there's like a formula and that is evidence-based—that therapy, that manual is evidence-based, you know, best practices and that sort of thing. You've got to have that to be able to...collect data and do research and that sort of thing so...there's just an extreme amount of micromanagement.

And Scorecards, now there's scorecards, quality assurance, [and] the utilization review. Everything [has to be done] within 24 hours and...you know some of this certainly is best practice kind of stuff. In the old days there was no...[I] just had to get that chart in, get that note in, but it could be within that week or something but now it's 24 hours and all of that is followed up on. It's part of your evaluation. [It's] very detailed of what needs to be a part of each report and there's a scorecard for that, [which] you get marked and that's like facility-wide, everybody has scorecards, everybody has grids, so that's very, that's pretty intense. Umm, so that's a huge difference.

[A minute later in the interview]

SP: Has the way you provide emotional support [to the kids] changed at all since the merger?

Ms. Honness: ...Since the merger...we do have consultations [with the contracted psychiatrists], hahaha, so we do have consultations but the consultation is about making sure folks have followed that manual [and] making sure that...the treatment plans have that formula and that you're using skills from the manual kind of thing. So it's that kind of consultation. It's not umm so much being able to come in and talk about a kid...you've got an hour and half to go over these kids [and] you've gotta stay real focused on that agenda so that's kind of interesting.

From this excerpt, it is clear that deprofessionalization is linked to surveillance in at least three ways. First, because it has hired less-experienced staff and therapists, Helping Hands-Woodland Hills has put pressure on management to more closely oversee workers' practices. Second, workers' performance assessments are based on how well their documentation and treatment plans conform to the manual, not on the quality of their interactions and therapeutic interventions with youth. Third, by turning what were once full-time psychiatrist positions into contracted positions, Helping Hands has reconstructed these positions as less clinical/therapeutic and more supervisory.

In fact, Helping Hands has reconstructed the entire facility as less clinical/therapeutic and more custodial. Nowhere is this clearer than in Ms. Walker's brief statement that, "at Woodland Hills the therapists were over the managers, [but] Helping Hands is vice versa. The managers are over the therapists." The shifting management structure and the increased attention to documentation have had a significant effect on the quantity and quality of workers' emotion work, particularly their ability to be available and emotionally responsive to the kids in their care.

Ms. Roberts, a counselor who has worked at the facility for close to a decade, talked about how the reorganization of the institution and the ensuing emphasis on surveillance and paperwork has affected her ability to provide emotional support to the youth who live at the facility.

SP: [Has the way you provide] emotional support to the youth at Woodland Hills [changed since the merger]?

Ms. Roberts: I mean, that's part of my job, and also with Helping Hands this is part of my job so this is what I do. I don't think much has changed with that simply because that is my job [and] it's always been my job to, you know, provide emotional support. I feel with Helping Hands now that the emotional support I

need to give to some of them or some of them are seeking we can't do simply because of all the other paperwork that needs to be done.

SP: Can you elaborate on that at all?

Ms. Roberts: We have a lot more paperwork I feel with Helping Hands that has to be done and it is something that we are micromanaged about and if it's not done we hear about it in staff meetings...It's like everything is wrong if those things are not done correctly or in a timely fashion. It's "we are all so bad" [and] anything that goes on that is like good...we're not praised about that. But if the paperwork isn't done and charts are not done and the schedule is not up...that is what we are being scrutinized about.

So it's like listen, sometimes [the kids] come in [saying], "Ms. Roberts, can I [talk to you]?" and I can't because I have to get paperwork done, this has to be caught up and you know everything has to be done by 3:30. I think every Monday they pull these particular papers to take to some meeting or that have to be e-scanned so by the time they get to this meeting it's all there and if it's not there, like I said, we hear about it. So this is what our day is basically about...paperwork! and making the place look good.

Ms. Roberts' final comment about "making the place look good" was echoed by other respondents who talked about the centrality of appearances to the new disciplinary regime of Helping Hands. Performance is an element of labor as dressage that is educed by the strategy of surveillance. Performance at work demonstrates obedience to organizational demands, like, for instance, correct and timely paperwork and an uncluttered work environment. The audience for the performance is comprised of all those people who hold a stake in documentation being done in the prescribed way.

Surveillance is a corporate management strategy for ensuring what the historian E.P. Thompson (1967) called "time discipline," a point alluded to by Ms. Roberts in her assertion that "you know everything has to be done by 3:30...and if it's not...we hear about it." Thompson (1967) argues famously that during the European industrial revolution, employers began to use clock time as a way to measure labor inputs, which eventually engendered (after much struggle and resistance from working classes) labor discipline based on the idea of time as a commodity.

In closely regulating workers' time through paperwork and training grids in particular, the new disciplinary regime has affected workers relationships with kids and one another, curtailing their availability. In the following interview excerpt, Ms. Antin explained that time pressures are making it difficult to do emotion work with kids and to receive the emotional support she desires from her supervisor. However, in her answer to the second question she remarked on her strategic resistance to surveillance and time discipline.

SP: What does the term emotional support mean to you?

Ms. Antin: ...I try to be as objective as I can at the same time being as human as possible because of the field that we're in....As a department, Sam, we're not as close as we used to be, and I am trying to be as candid as possible because there is just no time [to be close]...More and more paperwork, paperwork, paperwork is taking us away from the human factor and it's taking us away from the kids. I mean, [my supervisor], thirteen years ago she would go through the classrooms daily, she was on campus...checking on things, offering support, giving kudos, helping out, and now it's just everything is on the computer, everything is done remotely, there's all this paperwork...and I barely see her anymore.

SP: How has your ability to provide emotional support to the kids changed?

Ms. Antin: ...I used to chart on the group and all the kids and sometimes I would do up to 30 charts a day and I felt like that was one thing that kept me from kids more...I felt a tremendous pressure at the time of the merger to get the paperwork done, but after I [switched jobs] I stopped doing paperwork. I just decided I'm going to be with the kids, and if they ask me to do paperwork on everything I do I will, but until they do I'm just going to serve the kids...the paperwork is very important to the corporation, but I don't think I'm real important to tell you the truth, so they're not looking at my paperwork...I work with the kids individually, I'm offering them services and I'm putting little notes in their education chart and I go to their therapist and I report to the therapist, who does the note. I think that's completely adequate and I can spend more time with kids.

Ms. Antin's decision to resist the corporate disciplinary norms of emotion work by foregoing paperwork to remain available to kids was based on her assessment that she is not "real important" to the corporation and therefore does not have to do what *is* "very important" to the corporation, namely, paperwork. Instead, she can persist in doing what is important to her,

which is being available to work with kids. Emotion work, then, becomes a kind of compensation for losing her sense of personal importance to the organization. As we will see in the final sub-section before the conclusion, many workers have found compensatory solace in the face of rationalization processes that have emptied their work of some of its most enjoyable aspects.

4.4 COMPENSATORY EMOTION WORK

Almost all of my interview respondents expressed having lost a sense of autonomy, comfort, and sociability at work. As long-term employees (some with tenures over ten years), my respondents had a unique perspective on how “things used to be,” and articulated connections between corporate management strategies and increased stress at work. When Woodland Hills merged with Helping Hands, many long-term employees were replaced by incumbents in the Helping Hands administration or their positions were removed completely as a means of cost-containment for the purpose of profitability. The loss of long-term employees and the increased pressures that workers face have contributed to a palpable sense that the organizational culture has shifted as a whole, which is a sentiment Mr. Halsey articulated in the interview excerpt below.

SP: So what do you miss most about your work before the merger?

Mr. Halsey: I would say probably the amount of passion that was around...I think as a campus as a whole, I think the passion of working with these kids...is just a lot different. I think that's what I appreciate the most from back then [before the merger] and what I would miss is...the amount of people who were here, you know, 10 to 30 years because they loved Woodland Hills, they loved how we did things, why we did things, and they loved the kids that we worked with and the philosophical part of it, but also the family atmosphere.

For Mr. Halsey and others, one of the primary effects of this cultural shift is the change in norms of emotion work. Whereas prior to the merger, passion for doing emotion work was normative, it has been replaced by what Mr. Halsey later in the interview called a concern for “the bottom line, as opposed to what’s best for the youth, for the kids.”

In the midst of an organizational shift that has depersonalized the work and emptied it of other enjoyable aspects, some workers have continued to subscribe to the norms of emotion work that were hegemonic under the old disciplinary regime. Despite negative sanctions for doing emotion work, workers continue to do it because it offers them compensatory solace. As Ms. Walker said in a previously quoted excerpt, “you can’t take me away from my kids.”

During my interview with Ms. Walker, she remarked on the discomfort she felt throughout the merger, especially with respect to the surveillance practices of the new regime and conflict between Woodland Hills’ and Helping Hands’ employees.

SP: What did you do or think of doing in response to the merger?

Ms. Walker: As an individual you just have to stay focused while you’re here. I’m very good with centering myself so it’s a lot of hoopla going on around you, new people coming in, a lot of people—the older people—talking bad about the new company. You have a lot of people coming in to look over our shoulders and where they were supposed to come in to help us merge and help us do these things, they were really making us uncomfortable just coming in and looking at us. So, I have a thing that any time I feel off-task or unfocused, I just center myself in the midst of the kids. I have to remember why I’m here, which is the kids. I’m like I could care less about y’all. Let me on my unit [and] I’m good.

In the stress-inducing atmosphere of rational organizational change, Ms. Walker took refuge in emotion work, using it to “center herself.” For Ms. Walker, being available to the kids became a way to manage her emotional response to the new regime. Ms. Walker used emotion work as a coping mechanism for dealing with organizational change. To refocus her work efforts, she drew on her emotion memory that she is there for the kids. The compensation of

being available to kids enabled her to state affirmatively that she “could care less about y’all,” with y’all being the new disciplinary regime and the people causing her distress.

The phrase “I’m good” implies a state of satisfaction and fulfillment, as when a restaurant server asks if there is anything else she can bring you and you say, “No, I’m good.” Ms. Walker stated that she is “good” when she is on her unit, i.e., with the kids, suggesting that without the ability to be available to the kids, she would not be fulfilled.

In my interview with Ms. Honness, she reflected on the emotion work involved in coming to terms with the merger and the changes in her work. She pointed to her relationships with staff, kids, and their families as compensation for her disappointment with the reorganization of this institution. Like Ms. Walker, Ms. Honness described using the availability dimension of emotion work as an emotion memory on which she could draw to manage her emotional response to organizational change.

SP: Over time have your feelings about the merger changed?

Ms. Honness: Haha, it's not sounding too good, is it? Haha, oh G-d! [The] biggest struggle of my job is keeping that in check...it's just letting go, letting go, letting go, letting go...I think for the first year or two I was just angry, angry, angry. It was one thing after another, after another, after another, and everything was disappointing...and then being angry, wanting it to be another way and of course...it was not...That's true for a lot of us and still true haha, but yes, so a lot of anger with that transition and truly to this day it's keeping that in check and all I can kind of do is kind of dissociate from it.

You know, the organization is out there and it's doing what it's gotta do and I have like a little micro piece of that and that's like [my] little [unit] or something. [I have to] kind of focus on that and my kids and my team. And, I'm choosing to do this. I'm choosing to be here. There's lots of advantages for many different reasons and [I have] to focus on that, [not] wanting things to be different. I just really have to keep all that in check...The Woodland Hills staff that are still there, everybody still struggles with that...If you focus on it too much you're just miserable and there's just no point in being there...If I was younger in my career or something and if I was maybe interested in [the career ladder] it might be a different ballgame...I need to be respectful of the organization and work within that but ummm, I don't know what to say...but to be realistic about the situation that we're in and you know not to expect it to be something different.

I think we all have to monitor how much energy we want to put in that because it's not productive, you can't do anything about it...Even like with this [new] medical record [system], all I can do is look at that as a huge learning curve. It will be much better in about 3 weeks, 4 weeks. It's still worth it to kind of just go through this stuff so I'm still choosing to do it. It really is just a matter of choice. So, umm, but do I love the kids? Yes! Do I love the sessions? Yes! Do I love the families? Yes! Do I love Ms. Walker and my team? Yes! Haha, umm, am I ten minutes to my daughter's high school? Can I come and go? Yes! Do I have my evenings and my weekends with my family? Yes! So it's just trying to balance all that.

Despite the seemingly incessant disappointment, Ms. Honness has, in her words, *chosen* to stay at the facility. She has elected to stay because she still has her “micro-piece” of the organization, which is the unit comprised by her kids and her team. Her assessment that “it is still worth it to just go through all this stuff” was based not on the career ladder that the reorganized institution can offer her, which due to her age is unappealing, but rather her love for the kids, the sessions, the families, and her team. The availability dimension of emotion work (along with her ability to be there for her family) is compensation for the organizational changes that emptied her work of other pleasurable aspects.

5.0 CONCLUDING THOUGHTS ON WHY WORKERS STAY

Ms. Honness' reflective discussion of her *choice* to “do this” and to “be here” points us to an important question: why, despite the push factors associated with the rationalization of this organization, have long-term employees at Helping Hands-Woodland Hills remained committed to their work? Or, more simply, why did they not quit their jobs?

The availability dimension of emotion work, which is a category of analysis grounded in my respondents' reflections on the changing character of their jobs, is central to understanding why workers stayed. For most of my respondents, the imposition of rational labor management strategies of standardization and surveillance made it difficult to remain available—to “be there” and to listen open-mindedly and provide emotional support—to both the youth in their care and one another. Changes in the disciplinary norms of emotion work did not, however, make it less enjoyable.

The notion of compensatory emotion work runs counter to claims that coercion and enjoyment are zero-sum. My data suggest that as an organization of custodial care grows increasingly coercive, availability can become more apparently enjoyable as a site of refuge and resistance. Furthermore, workers can feel pleasure from not only resisting rationalized norms of emotion work, but also from accommodating them, as was the case for Ms. Kenn, who rejoiced in having a standardized, instrumental approach to spending time with kids.

At the end of each interview, I asked the respondent to identify the two most positive and the two most negative changes since the merger. In some form, all of my respondents identified as a positive the continuing presence and financial stability of the institution. All of my respondents therefore continue to see as important the work they do, even if they might not feel important personally. Regardless of the norms of emotion work to which they subscribe, availability is the site on which long-term employees construct the importance of their jobs. One reason my respondents stayed is that through strategies of survival, resistance, or accommodation to the new disciplinary norms of availability, they were able to find pleasure in their work and give it meaning.

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