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Types of work and labour

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Introduction

As work and the workplace have undergone a series of transformations, we have come to recognise that there are different types of work. For example, the rapid construction of office-buildings and rise of 'white collar' work from the late nineteenth century (Saval 2014) and the explosion in interactive customer-facing service that occurred a century later (Korczynski et al. 2000; McDowell 2009) both produced new workspaces and new work activities, as well stimulating new ways of understanding work. Changing political, social and intellectual currents have also influenced our understanding of work. For instance, second wave feminism problematized the division between public and private spheres across various realms of social life – from politics to sexual relationships (Whelehan 1995). More recently academics, along with feminist, disability and fat-activists, have drawn attention to the relevance of the body within everyday life (Shilling 2004; Wolkowitz 2006). Such political-intellectual critiques have provided both the incentive and analytic framework to focus on new aspects of what occurs at work – including embodiment, emotions and sexuality. Thus, the definition of new types of work reflects both changes in work, including who performs work and where it occurs, and changes in how we socially, politically and intellectually experience and understand work. This chapter provides an overview of various types of work and labour and outlines differences in the ways in which scholars have understood variability in types of work and labour. The chapter also examines the ways in which workers performing different types of work are differentiated based on age, gender, migration status, ethnicity, disability and social and cultural class location.

Studies of types of work and labour are rooted in two different, although often interrelated, motivations. The first is a desire to develop a general argument about the changing nature of work – that a new type of work has emerged or become dominant. Arguments that emerge from this motivation are often primarily concerned with broader changes to society or capitalist production – changing types of work may, therefore, be deployed as evidence of change, rather than the core interest. The second motivation for analytically distinguishing types of work and labour is to better understand the pressures and tensions that define particular labour processes and labour markets. For example, if aesthetic labour is a type of labour that involves workers embodying a desired 'look', then as more jobs require aesthetic labour the management of workers' appearance will increasingly form part of worker-management relations. Analyses that fit into this second group may additionally make claims about changes in the composition of work. For instance, in her seminal work on emotional labour, Hochschild (1983) argued that the number and proportion of jobs requiring emotional labour had increased. However, unlike analyses that primarily focus on epochal transformation, Hochschild pays careful attention to everyday experiences of work and her analysis is rooted in an empirical understanding of the labour process.

The chapter is organised in two parts. The first part focuses on 'epochal' claims about types of work or labour. These analyses present different types of work or labour as intertwined with socio-economic change. The second part of the chapter explores the use of 'types of work' as analytic categories – to delineate either a) aspects of the labour process or b) sets of jobs. These analyses have largely focused on clarifying and classifying the experiences of work in the service sector, in part because of the extent to which this sector has grown and diversified.

Types of work and labour: epochal change

The rise of manual labour

Early theories about work and labour emerged alongside, and as a critique of, dramatic changes wrought by the development of capitalism and the rise of industrial factory production (c.f. Engels 1993). However, the type of work that materialised with capitalism, and which famously transformed urban landscapes, concentrating masses of workers and horrifying social commentators – blue collar industrial labour – quickly became seen as emblematic or typical. So much so that, today, the mental image conveyed by ‘worker’ and by ‘manual worker’ are virtually identical: a man (this is an implicitly gendered term) in dirty blue overalls, probably wielding a wrench, hammer or soldering iron (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Ideal-typical manual work



[Available: <https://pixabay.com/en/welding-factory-produce-palette-1628552/> - CCO Public Domain image]

Manual labour in the form of industrial work accounted for a large (albeit, rarely majority) share of employment in most OECD countries through the mid twentieth century, and in many cases for longer. Industrial production was not simply defined by a relationship between workers and the production process. It was also associated with particular forms of organisational management, namely Taylorism (Taylor 1914), which standardised the labour process and minimised workers' control. To the extent that Taylorised management successfully separated conception from the execution of work, manual labour became the preserve of the 'mentally sluggish' (Taylor 1914) worker, whose muscularity was his defining characteristic (Wolkowitz 2006). Voluminous accounts of manual worker resistance to managerial power and local retention of workplace knowledge (c.f.

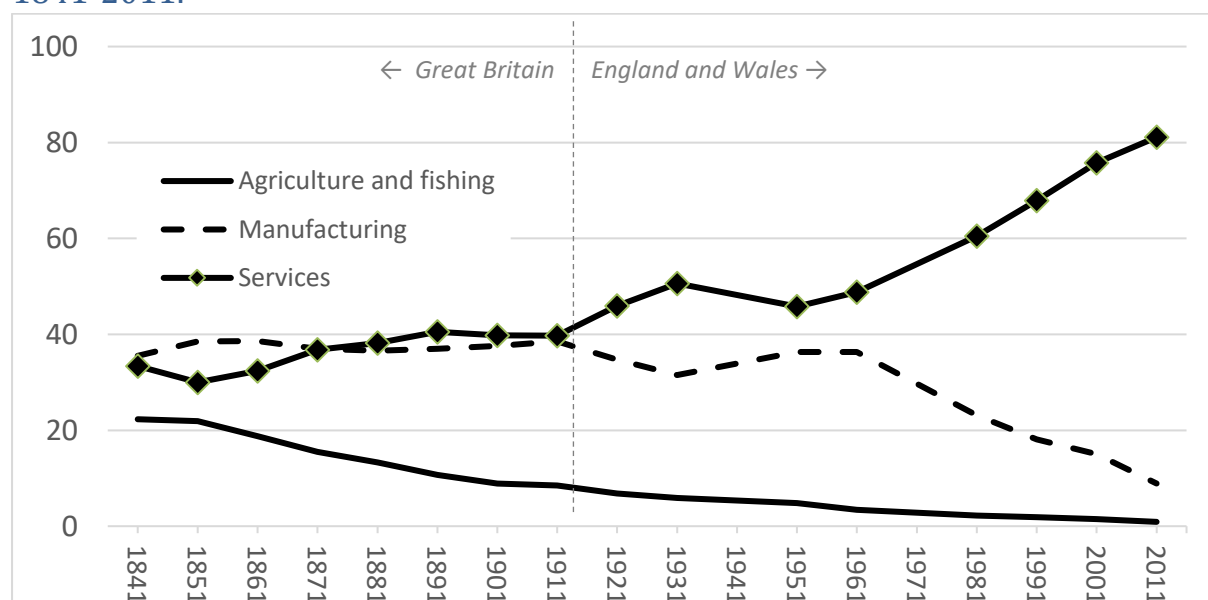
Burawoy 1979) indicate that the above description is a serious oversimplification, but as a typification – defining ‘manual labour’ within the popular imagination – it retains potency.

The identification of the male manual – and industrial – worker as representing an early twentieth century norm involves a little selectivity, however. First, it involves the analytic bracketing off of the ‘professions’ and white collar office workers, where the growing middle classes could already be found by the beginning of the twentieth century (Hughes 1960; Saval 2014). Second, it requires an inattention to women’s paid employment. By mid-nineteenth century, over half of all women in employment in London were engaged in personal services (Stedman Jones 1984, cited in Graham 1991: 70). By the turn of the twentieth century indoor domestic services – work that occurred in spaces intertwined with domestic life - accounted for a third of all women’s employment and well into the 1930s remained the largest occupational group for British women (Graham 1991: 71). Female domestic servants engaged in heavy lifting, cleaning, and a variety of interpersonal care tasks – work that was physically exhausting and involved manual dexterity – yet this work is not categorised as manual labour nor, as we shall see, reflected in theories of radical change.

The rise of the service sector

Over the last fifty years, albeit at different rates, most developed capitalist countries have experienced rapid falls in the proportion of workers engaged in manufacturing and a continued fall in the agricultural workforce, a decline that had begun earlier. As an example, Figure 2 shows the percentage of employment in agriculture, manufacturing and services between 1841 and 2011 in Britain. There has been a relatively large increase in the proportion of the workforce in service employment, something that accelerated from the 1960s.

Figure 2. Changes in employment share in industry, agriculture and services. UK 1841-2011.



Note: Census data. Available from the Office for National Statistics:

<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census-analysis/170-years-of-industry/rft-tables.xls>. Data from 1841 to 1911 covers Great Britain. Data for 1921 to 2011 covers England and Wales. There are no data for 1941 and inconsistencies with the 1971 data and so it is omitted. Data points for ‘Construction’ and ‘Energy and Water’ are not shown, but together account for between 7.8 and 14.2 percent of employment in any year.

The importance of the service sector for employment became evident by the 1970s, especially after the 1973 oil-price shocks and worldwide contractions in manufacturing. Consequently, the service sector became ever more central to studies of work. Typically, analysts and policy-makers explored how service sector jobs differed from, or were similar to, manual (industrial) work. Some commentators identified important similarities. Thus, in mid twentieth-century, the influential sociologist, Wright Mills, described white collar work in a way that resonated with previous descriptions of manual labour: 'more and more people, and among them the intellectuals, are becoming dependent salaried workers who spend the most alert hours of their lives being told what to do' (Wright Mills 1951: 152). Maintaining that we were witnessing the 'rise of the technician', Wright Mills argued that the increasingly bureaucratic organisation of work heralded the end of the craftsman and of intellectual creativity at work (Wright Mills 1951: 224). Yet, over the next half century influential thinkers would look at the same types of work and come to the opposite conclusion to Wright Mills: that what we were witnessing was not the subjugation of the creative or intellectual instinct, but rather the dawn of an age in which knowledge and creativity were central to working lives, the creation of value and economic success (Bell 1976; Drucker 1988; Florida 2002). These analyses employ a common framework: a binary understanding of working life, with a clear before/after division: industrial versus post-industrial society and, associated with this, manual versus knowledge or creative labour.

Knowledge work

Bell's *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* initiated and exemplifies this current. Bell claimed that the problems of investment and class conflict inherent in industrial society 'have been muted if not 'solved'' (Bell 1976: 116). He offers statistics on increases in the size of the service sector and the growth in the white collar and professional labour force (Bell 1976: 127–43). He argues that the 'axial principle' of post-industrial society is 'centrality of and codification of theoretical knowledge' - an axial principle he claims is analogous to industrial society's 'economic growth' (Bell 1976: 117). Thus, knowledge replaces manufacturing in driving economic growth. The new centrality of knowledge for the economy has implications for wider social relations and class struggle – with a new social divide between highly knowledgeable professionals and the blue collar workers that Bell suggests will be de-skilled and displaced by robots. In these processes, Bell assigns a central role to technology - it is through technological progress that industrial society's conflicts are 'solved'. This depiction of white-collar employment is at odds with that charted in the same period by Braverman (1974), who identified processes of deskilling and argued that office work was increasingly denuded of its creativity (and workers of their control). Later writers have, however, taken up many of Bell's themes. For instance, Block (1990) argues, like Bell, that social and economic changes have led to the increasing importance of 'human capital' (or knowledge). More recent evidence about the nature of skill and the role of knowledge is inconclusive (Felstead et al. 2007). More problematically, because Bell employs a liberal understanding of what is included within knowledge work, it is unclear to what extent knowledge is the defining feature of this type of work, nor is it clear that manual labour, with which it is juxtaposed, lacks equivalent knowledge.

Creative work

Florida's (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class* echoes many of the claims of Bell, and even focuses on many of the same workers, including computer programmers and professionals, yet Florida identifies creativity, rather than knowledge as central to the labour of these workers. The different nomenclature is consequential – not least because it has meant that claims about the economic value of the creative industries, which incorporate data about profits made by computing firms

(including financial sector IT), are commonly misinterpreted by policy-makers as demonstrating the economic value of the arts and culture.

As noted above, 'programmers, designers and information workers' epitomise Florida's (2002:viii) creative labourers, but his definition is much wider. For instance he identifies hairstyling as creative (Florida 2002: 65–7). The creative class, therefore, involves those we most often think of as doing creative work – actors, musicians, artists, designers. Additionally, it includes allied roles such as marketing, production management and advertising, but also software engineers and other technology workers, business, education, law and medical professionals and, perhaps, hairdressers. In the revised edition of his book, Florida (2014:224-225) suggests that there are three types of skill that underpin creative work: 1) 'basic physical skill of the sort associated with traditional work', 2) 'cognitive skill' or 'the ability to acquire knowledge, process information and solve problems' and, finally, 3) 'social skill' or, 'social intelligence' central to which are 'discernment, communications abilities, leadership, awareness, and the like'. What is, perhaps, notable about this list is how wide its scope and how unspecific the labour described. Perhaps inadvertently, given Florida's much wider focus, attention to creative labour has reinvigorated study of work in the cultural and creative industries. This has highlighted the importance of creativity to some, albeit not all, roles but also that workers in this sector are often required to engage in high levels of self-exploitation – working long hours or taking on unpaid internships or repeated insecure contracts. It has also identified the ways in which the social construction of work in the cultural sector as 'creative', and therefore 'good' may make workers more likely to tolerate poor conditions of work (Gill and Pratt 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010, 2013).

Immaterial labour

The non-standard work found in the cultural industries has, arguably, increased elsewhere and has increasingly figured within analyses of changing types of work. Early analyses of non-standard work were celebratory, focusing on flexibility (Piore and Sabel 1984) and the possibilities for reintegrating work and home life (Toffler 1981). This optimism has since been overtaken by critical analyses, highlighting precarity (c.f. Ross 2009; Standing 2011). It is within the latter tradition that Hardt and Negri (2001, 2005) developed analysis of immaterial labour. They claim that there has been a rise in non-standard employment relations, which they classify as 'distributed networks' and alongside this, of work that does not directly produce a fixed product, 'immaterial labour'. Immaterial labour includes those largely middle-class, white and male occupations designated, respectively, by Bell and Florida as knowledge or creative labour. Immaterial labour also includes swathes of work involving service interactions, including retail salespeople and care workers; occupations most often employing working-class females of colour. As others have noted (Camfield 2007) this somewhat confusingly conflates the work of artists with computer software programmers, with those whose work is dependent on computer technology, with workers involved in personal service roles. It also abstracts from the conditions in which much of this labour occurs – for instance analyses of both retail (Pettinger 2006) and care work (Twigg 2000b) have emphasised their embodied materiality.

To summarise this section, analyses that define types of work and labour in order to make claims about macro-societal change have tended to overstate the extent to which the previous period was exemplified by manual labour. As Figure 2 highlighted service sector work is not new, even if this part of the economy has grown over the last fifty years. Analyses of radical change are also relatively poor at constructing categories that can empirically differentiate types of work. For instance, are there any types of work in which knowledge is completely irrelevant – and if not, how do we know when something is knowledge work? The same can be said about creativity. Or, to focus on immaterial labour, do retail workers and software engineers really have significant commonalities, just because they are not directly involved in the production of material commodities? Such fuzzy

boundaries may not matter if the objective is to make claims about changing structural relations or about shifts in economic value. They are, however, unhelpful in saying much about the experience of work. Lack of specificity notwithstanding, these conceptualisations – knowledge work, creative labour and immaterial labour – continue to be used, especially in popular and business media (McQuaid 2016; Zumbun 2016).

Types of work and labour: analytic categories

We do not have to accept that there has been a fundamental social transformation to recognise that there has been an increase in service sector work and that this involves activities – or types of work and labour – that may be distinctive in ways that matter. This second section, therefore, moves away from epochal claims to analyses that presume that different types of work or labour co-occur, but analytically delimit particular activities. Various ways of classifying types of work have been used and this section explores the logics underpinning these, while highlighting points of overlap.

There are two common analytic approaches. On the one hand, there are analyses that highlight and seek to differentiate different types of work or labour that may co-exist *within* a single job – for instance, as we shall see it has been argued that some jobs, like nursing, involve workers in performing *both* emotional labour *and* body work. Analytic frameworks that take this form include emotional labour, aesthetic labour, sexualised labour and body work/labour. On the other hand, there are analyses that seek to differentiate whole jobs or occupational groups (with their bundles of tasks) from one another. Included here are analyses of care, intimate labour, reproductive labour, sex work and display work. Each approach is discussed in turn and the ways in which the two approaches overlap is outlined in the conclusion of this section.

Perhaps surprisingly, within most of these analyses the standard – or the comparator against which other work is compared, sometimes explicitly, sometimes implicitly – is still manual industrial labour. This is seen, for instance, in *The Managed Heart*, which Hochschild (1983: 3–8) opens with a comparison between emotional labour and factory labour. Likewise, Wolkowitz (2002: 497), and drawing upon the titular similarities, begins her article on *The Social Relations of Body Work* by comparing work on others' bodies to the work performed in automobile 'Body Shops'. Yet, in contrast with the analyses of epochal change, and perhaps because the analyses considered here were developed by writers defining themselves as feminist, or influenced by feminism, there is some ambivalence about deploying the male manual industrial worker as a historic norm. Thus, even as it operates as an analytic comparator, manual work is framed as a gendered and partial understanding of work – historically and, even more so, today. This step allows scope for identifying continuities between the work that women (often classed and racialized women) now perform within formal employment relations and the work that women have historically performed within the household – whether the provision of emotional support or physical care or the embodiment of sexuality. As such, these analyses of new types of work are able to hold a critical lens to the assumed separation of work and home, highlighting continuities and inter-connections between paid and unpaid activities (Glucksmann 2005).

Types of work and labour – differentiating within jobs

With large majorities of the workforce working in the service sector, 'service work' has become a less and less useful way of characterising particular jobs. Yet there are characteristics of work in the service sector that differentiate it from other work. Most notably, whereas analyses of work and the labour process had previously attended to relations between owners, managers and workers (including co-worker relationships), by the 1980s it was apparent that service sector work frequently involved additional actors. Among these new actors were customers and clients, as well as a varied

array of others, including users, patients, prisoners and students. Common to work involving these actors was that it required workers to engage in interactions with a third party (Korczyński et al. 2000; Lopez 2010; McCammon and Griffin 2000).

Before discussing this in more detail, it is worth considering the novelty of interactive service work. Much interactive service work is not new. For instance, as noted above, domestic work was a common type of employment, especially for women, throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth century (Graham 1991); hairdressers were active from the nineteenth century, with increasing numbers of female stylists in the early to mid-twentieth century (Willett 2000; Zdatny 1993); and there were upwards of one million shop assistants in the UK by 1907 as retail developed into an important site of employment for women workers, turning the ‘shop girl’ into a popular cultural archetype of the period (Sanders 2006). Other interactive service work is, however, newer, or has increased dramatically in recent years. For instance, the work of flight attendants (famously documented by Hochschild (1983) and by others since (Bolton and Boyd 2003; Tyler and Taylor 1998)) emerged alongside commercialised consumer air-travel and has expanded with growth in this form of transportation. Similarly, personal service occupations have mushroomed with the development of new consumption trends – for instance for plastic surgery, manicure and tattooing, but also expansion in the sex industry (Gimlin 2002; Kang 2010; Sanders and Hardy 2014).

This section details four types of interactive work: emotional labour, aesthetic labour, body work (sometimes discussed as body labour or bodily labour) and sexualised labour (or erotic labour). As Table 1 suggests, each type of labour can be conceptually associated with a different type of interaction and different object. This conceptual division does not imply that only one type of labour is employed at any one time. Thus, while it is possible that jobs simply require that workers put customers at their ease (an emotional connection), it may be that to do this, workers are additionally required to present themselves in a certain way – for instance, employing the correct tone of voice and dressing appropriately. In such cases workers simultaneously produce an aesthetic impression and an emotional connection. The object – that which is produced or transformed by labour – is either, or both, of the worker or another party within the interaction (this distinction is oftentimes murky, in a context of interactional interdependence).

Table 1: Types of work or labour in interactive service work

Type of work/labour	Interaction	Labour = the Production/Transformation of...
Emotional	Emotional connection	one’s own/others’ emotions
Aesthetic	Aesthetic impression	one’s own body, including appearance and voice
Body	Touch / inter-corporeality	others’ bodies
Sexualised	Sexual stimulation	one’s own/others’ sexuality

The distinctions in Table 1 emphasise differences in the interactional requirements of concrete work. An alternative would be to employ Brook’s (2009b) approach. Brook draws on Hochschild (1983) to suggest that all work involves a mix of physical, mental and emotional labour. This is conceptually persuasive: it is evidently true that to engage in *any* work, including manual labour, we need to develop and deploy our physical, mental and emotional capacities: to act, to determine how to act and to moderate our mood sufficiently to act. Brook, however, frames types of labour as capacities (or dimensions of our capacity to labour), akin to Marx’s (1867) concept, ‘labour-power’. This

produces problems for studies of work which analyse (and can only analyse) workers' concrete or materialised labour, not labour-power, since the latter exists solely as a potential. If Brook's approach is weak at empirically differentiating jobs or the object of work it also reinforces a Cartesian mind-body division. This has come in for criticism, not least because studies have highlighted corporeal knowledge, and the merging of manual and intellectual capacity (Shilling 2004; Wolkowitz 2006). The following discussion, therefore, assumes that we possess bodies, minds, emotions and sexual appetites and that these intertwine in the production of labour power, but also that these capacities are not the same as the types of concrete labour described below. For instance, emotional capacity is needed for, but not equivalent to, the production of emotional labour.

Emotional Labour

The most influential analysis of interactive labour is by Hochschild (1983). She documents the working lives of flight attendants and bill collectors, or what she describes as the 'polar extremes of emotional labour' (Hochschild 1983: 138). In both occupations workers interact with customers and must evoke an emotional state in those customers. Yet, while flight attendants are required to develop sympathy with their customers and promote good will, thereby enhancing customer status and gratitude to the company, bill collectors must command and even humiliate customers, deflating their status. Both perform emotional labour insofar as they 'induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' (Hochschild 1983: 7).

As Macdonald and Sirianni (1996:4) note, whereas the assembly-line worker's attitude was 'his own problem. For the [interactive] service worker, inhabiting the job means, at the very least, pretending to like it, and, at most, actually bringing his whole self into the job, liking it, and genuinely caring about the people with whom he interacts'. As this suggests, workers can either learn to feel the emotion required by the job ('deep acting') or can put this on ('surface acting'). Hochschild contends that surface, but especially deep acting produces alienation (see also Brook 2009b). Empirical studies have not discerned penalties from deep acting. However, surface acting, and the experience of 'emotional dissonance' that occurs when feelings are expressed but not felt, has a consistently negative impact on workers and causes burnout (Wharton 2009).

Of course, emotion management occurs beyond the workplace; we all manage our emotions – for example, to protect the feelings of those about whom we care. We also adjust our emotions to meet cultural norms and expectations, relating to emotional display. The emotional management we perform in our private lives is, in Hochschild's terms, 'emotion work'. Drawing on Marx's (1867) distinction, Hochschild (1983: 7) suggests that while emotion work has a 'use value', when it 'is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value' it is transformed into emotional labour.¹ Simply put, emotional labour is the commodified form of emotional work. Hochschild has been criticised for this construction by authors who dispute the extent to which emotional labour is commodified. For instance Bolton (2004, 2009) suggests that where workers freely 'gift' emotional responses to public sector patients, this comprises an uncommodified form of emotion management, even when occurring within the workplace. In contrast, Brook (2009a) argues (largely with Hochschild) that the requirement to sell our labour power underpins the commodification of all labour, including emotional labour.

Hochschild identifies various ways in which employers develop formal 'feeling rules' to guide workers' emotional labour – these comprise both the standardised instructions to 'Smile!' and say 'Have a nice day', but also encouragements to empathise and 'really feel' for customers. Employer attempts to manage emotional labour have achieved variable success, in part because of workers' resistance to following standardised feeling rules (Leidner 1993). Employers do not, however, simply

rely on instruction. Rather, workers are selected based on their suitability for emotional labour performances. This selection process is gendered and classed. For example, Nixon (2009:302) argues that 'men's masculine working-class habitus is antithetical to many forms of entry level service work, particularly the need to show deference to customers during the service encounter'. This removes working class men from what is a relatively buoyant labour market and from the 'emotional proletariat' required to express deference. Yet, middle-class men may benefit from their fit with 'privileged emotion manager' roles, such as doctors, socialised to convey professional detachment (Macdonald and Sirianni 1996; Wharton 2009: 151–2).

Customers monitor workers' emotional labour within interactions, provide feedback to employers and can (although this varies) increase managerial control (Korczynski et al. 2000). Where customer evaluation is immediately consequential, for instance where workers earn commission, are self-employed or depend heavily on tips, workers are likely to perform additional, and at times inconvenient, forms of emotional labour (Billingsley 2016; Cohen 2010). Billingsley's (2016) study shows that restaurant servers rely on classed and racialized stereotypes to quickly size up customer's predicted generosity. These short-cuts in navigating emotional exchanges are consequential, with differently classed and racialized customers receiving different kinds of service.

Aesthetic labour

Conceptualisations of 'aesthetic labour' and 'body work' emerged as reactions to the widespread adoption of emotional labour within analyses of interactive service work. In both cases, the aim was not to supersede emotional labour, but to re-balance a perceived over-emphasis on the mind/emotions at the expense of the material body (Wolkowitz and Warhurst 2010). How scholars have brought the body back in has varied, however. Analyses of aesthetic labour honed in on the increasing importance of, and managerial control over, workers' embodiment (Witz et al. 2003). In contrast, analysis of body work/labour highlight workers' work with, or on, the bodies of patients, clients and customers (Kang 2003; Wolkowitz 2002). Analytically, therefore, aesthetic and body labour, respectively, focus on the corporeality of workers versus the corporeality of workers' interactions.

Developed in the first instance by Witz, Warhurst and Nickson aesthetic labour simply put, is the labour of 'looking good and sounding right'. Workers' bodies thus form part of the organisational hardware (Chugh and Hancock 2009; Pettinger 2004; Witz et al. 2003). Quoting Warhurst et al. (2000: 2):

Within significant sectors of the economy it is clear that employers are utilising labour and seek labour markets that do not, in the first instance, require acquired technical skills but, instead, rely to a large extent upon the physical appearance, or more specifically, the embodied capacities and attributes of those to be employed or are employed, providing what we term 'aesthetic labour'.

Employers are not, however, passive recipients in the production of aesthetic labour. Rather, they 'mobilize, develop, and commodify [workers'] embodied dispositions through processes of recruitment, selection and training, *transforming* them into 'skills' which are geared towards producing a 'style' of service encounter which appeals to the senses of the customer' (Witz et al. 2003: 37). Mears (2014) has suggested that analyses of aesthetic labour implicitly or explicitly employ a conceptualisation of cultural capital that draws on Bourdieu. This is because it is not simply what someone looks or sounds like that is being managed, but rather that employers seek to produce and profit from an impression and this relies on the cultural associations communicated by workers' embodied dispositions.

Analyses of aesthetic labour highlight the attention employers pay to current and potential employees' appearance. This may be mutually beneficial – with workers selecting workplaces that fit with their personal identity (Pettinger 2004). Studies have, however, identified widespread 'lookism' – discrimination against workers on the basis of what they look like, including but not limited, to their perceived attractiveness (Warhurst et al. 2009; Zakrzewski 2004). The retail chain, Abercrombie and Fitch, has come to typify the demand for aesthetic labour in retail (Mears 2014); known for its attractive shop-workers, including top-less young men sporting 'six-pack' abdominal muscles. The company's requirement that shop-workers encapsulate the brand has led to various reported incidents of discrimination, including one case of the company requiring a disabled employee with a prosthetic arm to work in the 'back room', rendering her less visible (Topping 2009). Such overt policies have at times faced considerable resistance. For instance, the worker described above won a legal case for discrimination. Additionally, in response to negative publicity and legal pressure, Abercrombie and Fitch has been forced to somewhat moderate its recruitment policies (McGregor 2015). The high profile, albeit limited, success achieved by opposition to Abercrombie and Fitch is, however, exceptional. As against that sits mounting evidence of employer preferences for particular and potentially discriminatory worker aesthetics within retail and hospitality jobs (Pettinger 2004; Warhurst and Nickson 2007, 2009), acting and modelling (Dean 2005; Entwistle and Wissinger 2006), domestic work (Anderson 2000), hairstyling and stripping (Chugh and Hancock 2009; Sanders et al. 2013).

If most analyses of aesthetic labour focus on the production of attractive bodies (Warhurst and Nickson 2007), there are times when embodying the 'right' aesthetic for the job involves moderating attractiveness or developing an alternative aesthetic identity. For instance in much care and domestic work a 'maternal' impression is sought (Palmer and Eveline 2012), while nightclub bouncers typically seek to embody masculine aggression (Hobbs et al. 2007). Irrespective of whether 'attractiveness' or an alternative aesthetic is sought, aesthetic labour is interwoven with social prejudices about the (un)suitability of particular bodies for particular tasks.

The requirement that workers sound right has received less attention than looking good, but been explored in a few studies. These highlight that it is similarly discriminatory – for instance, excluding workers who stammer (Butler 2014) or who have a regional or working class dialect (Eustace 2012). While, for call-centre workers based in India, serving customers in Britain and the US sounding wrong may lead to nationalistic abuse (Nath 2011). These examples serve to highlight the gendered, classed, racialized and disablist judgements that occur when the embodied attributes that socially differentiate us in the private sphere are systematically exploited within working life.

Body work/labour

From its inception, analysis of body work has been concerned with revealing the material and embodied nature of interactions; that often it is not simply the mood of the customer, client or patient that is transformed by labour, but their body as well. Body work is 'work that focuses directly on the bodies of others: assessing, diagnosing, handling, treating, manipulating, and monitoring bodies, that thus become the object of the worker's labour' (Twigg et al. 2011: 171).ⁱⁱ It was first conceptualised by Twigg (c.f. 2000b, 2000a), Kang (2003, 2010) and Wolkowitz (2002, (2002, 2006).

Body work may involve caring for, repairing, pleasuring, aestheticizing, training or controlling the body worked-upon. Within these categories, respectively, body work is found in jobs as diverse as nursing, dentistry, prostitution, hairdressing, yoga therapy and security. Korczynski (2013) has suggested that because different kinds of body work assign different contextual meanings to the body – understood variously as an object of medical rationality, the container for imminent violence

or a site of adornment – so body work also produces different points of tension between workers and those they work upon.

Body work takes the living body as its material of production. This is consequential for the labour process, constraining (re)organisation because as Cohen (2011) argues, bodies comprise a unique material of production – variable, unpredictable and indivisible. These features of the living body mean that it is extraordinarily difficult to deliver improvements in productivity through standardisation or concentration, typical Taylorist methods. This limits the ability to extract profits except by increasing the rate of exploitation. Because body work involves forms of intimate touch it is often performed in private spaces, screened from view (Wolkowitz 2006). The consequences of these structural and spatial constraints are that body work is characterised by poor conditions for workers and high levels of non-standard or precarious employment (Cohen and Wolkowitz 2017).

Like aesthetic and emotional labour, body work is highly gendered. For instance the 2011 UK census indicates that just over 6% of employed men, but 18% of employed women perform body work (Cohen and Wolkowitz 2017). In part this is because male and female touch are understood differently (Cohen and Wolkowitz 2017; Wolkowitz 2006). Employers draw upon (and exploit) such differences when hiring workers. Thus, male *au pairs* are avoided out of fear of sexual predation (Anderson 2007). Similarly, whereas the touch of male nurses is sexualised and seen as problematic, female nurses' touch is experienced as expressive of care (Harding et al. 2008). Additional differentiation is produced within sectors – for instance male health workers are clustered in jobs requiring professionalised and less intimate forms of touch, while women and ethnic minority workers do the 'dirty work' (Simpson et al. 2012; Twigg et al. 2011).

If the bodies of workers produce social hierarchies in body work, so too do the bodies of those worked-upon. These are materially differentiated, with poorer, ethnically 'other', differently gendered and aged bodies, likely to smell, touch and feel different and, importantly, imbue touch with different meanings (Cohen et al. 2013: 14). An example of the intersection of these social hierarchies is the concentration of South Asian doctors in gerontology posts in Britain. This associated a disadvantaged group of professional workers with stigmatised ageing (and leaky) bodies (Raghuram et al. 2011). The close symbolic relationship between the body worked-upon and the worker's body, may mean, however, that changes in the bodies worked-upon, opens up possibilities for new groups of workers. For instance, the requirement to search female nightclub customers created spaces for female bouncers, for whom touching women's bodies was more socially acceptable than it was for male bouncers (Hobbs et al. 2007). A focus on body work, therefore, highlights the ways in which social inequalities in the bodies of workers intersects with inequalities of those that they work-upon to co-construct the social meaning of labour and (re)produce labour market inequalities.

Sexualised/Erotic labour

Analyses of both emotional labour (Hochschild 1983) and aesthetic labour (Tyler and Taylor 1998) repeatedly identify gendered sexualisation, but relatively little analysis specifically addresses sexualised or erotic labour. Warhurst and Nickson (2009) identify sexualised labour as distinctive, but suggest it is most frequently produced in an informal or *ad hoc* manner, with only limited 'attempts by organizations to mobilize and develop employee sexuality explicitly' (Warhurst and Nickson 2009: 395). The examples they provide of management intervention relate to prescribed clothing rules that may 'mobilize and develop employee sexuality'. This way of conceiving sexualised labour positions it relatively narrowly as a sub-category of aesthetic labour; occurring at the tipping point where aesthetics become sexualised (Tyler 2012: 902). 'Erotic labour' similarly characterises work oriented towards sexualising or eroticising interactions (Kong 2006; Selmi 2013). However, it is

not rooted in aesthetic or emotional labour, but rather builds upon Hakim's (2010:2) contention that workers, especially women, possess 'erotic capital', which is, she claims 'just as important as human and social capital for understanding social and economic processes'. Both erotic and sexualised labour closely identify this type of work with women, in large part because of the gendering of sexualised objectification within society writ large, but also because of their lack of alternatives within the labour market.

Studies set within the sex industry have most systematically explored sexualised/erotic labour. For instance, Sanders (2005: 322), studying sex workers, suggests that they 'undergo a reconceptualization of their own sexuality in the workplace that is distinct and purposely separate from the construction of their identity in other spaces such as in their intimate romantic sex lives, or as mothers, daughters, friends and citizens'. Sexualised labour is, therefore, transformative of identity, going beyond the aesthetic realm that is Warhurst and Nickson's focus. It is also a product of the workplace, rather than a direct translation of pre-existing erotic capital. Selmi's (2013) study of phone-sex workers similarly demonstrates that erotic labour may serve particular workplace aims; while Deshotels and Forsyth (2006) outline strippers use of 'strategic flirting'. Across these studies, female workers draw on feminised tropes to produce a desired sexual identity, but they do so reflexively, making choices contextually. Tyler's (2012) ethnographic research in sex-shops also highlights the importance of context for sexualised labour, specifically the spaces and places within which interactions occur.

Despite a relatively scant literature on sexualised labour, outside of the sex industry, analysis shows that desexualisation is required in many jobs. For example, Vietnamese manicurists resist their customers' attempts to overlay a racialized sexuality on their work (Kang 2013). Similarly, masseurs attempt to dissociate themselves from the sexual connotations of some massage parlours (Oerton 2004; Purcell 2013) and, as discussed above, men in caring roles may find they have to overcome the taint of sexual aggression or predation (Hancock et al. 2015; Harding et al. 2008), while within the sexualised environments of sex shops desexualisation is all but impossible (Tyler 2012). Future analyses of sexualised or erotic labour may, therefore, examine desexualised as well as sexualised labour.

Types of work or labour – grouping jobs

Whereas the above types of work and labour differentiate different activities that may co-occur within an occupation, another group of analyses differentiate sets of occupation. Here we briefly consider five of these: sex work; display work; intimate labour; care/care work; and reproductive labour. These analyses relate in large part to work within the service sector but the boundaries they draw, including the extent to which unpaid or domestic work is included within particular types of work, varies.

Sex work

Whereas sexualised labour may be found across a diverse set of occupations, sex work delimits work that occurs within the sex industry, including, but not limited to prostitution (Cohen et al. 2013). Although sex work has existed for a long time, there is evidence that the commercial markets for some types of sex work have grown – for instance erotic dancing (Sanders and Hardy 2014) and pornography (Fazzino 2013). As O'Connell Davidson (2014) points out, sex work is highly embodied – consumers seek to employ sex workers whose body fits preconceived types, including but not limited to types relating to gender, age and race. Thus, aesthetic labour is fundamental to sex work. Even where sex work occurs remotely, workers seek to verbally and symbolically re-create sexually appropriate bodies as part of their performance (Selmi 2013). Yet, the extent and type of aesthetic

labour required of sex workers, as well as the types of emotional labour and body work performed varies considerably. For instance, Brents *et al.*, (2010) show that prostitutes in a Las Vegas brothel variously focus on their bodily skills (for example, the ability to time masturbation and client climax appropriately) or on emotional connection. In contrast, some sex work – for instance, glamour modelling – may involve neither body work nor emotional labour. Analysis of sex work as a type of work, as opposed to (simply) misogynistic exploitation, remains controversial (Hardy 2013), but has gained increasing currency amongst scholars of work and employment. Essential to recognising sex work as work is, however, identification of what it has in common with other work, for instance that forms of aesthetic and emotional labour are performed by self-employed strippers and self-employed hairdressers (Sanders et al. 2013).

Display work

Mears and Connell (2015) have built on analyses of aesthetic labour to conceptualise ‘display work’, defined as ‘the display of sexualized bodily capital for wages’. Display work is performed by fashion models, porn stars, actors, dancers, cheerleaders and strippers among others. In this type of work display is the primary purpose; it is what workers are paid for. Whereas retail workers, for example, may perform aesthetic labour, but are still required to accomplish sales transactions (Mears 2014). Display work jobs involve ‘consumers pay[ing] for the opportunity to watch display workers’ performances of athleticism, eroticism, beauty, and artistry’ (Mears and Connell 2015: 335). Display ranges from passive to skilled, with fashion models at the passive end of the spectrum and ballet dancers at the skilled. Notably, women both perform the vast majority of display work, but also typically out-earn men, who are discursively stigmatised and devalued. Mears and Connell (2015:349) suggest that this ‘inverted wage gap will emerge when the job involves sexualized and seemingly deskilled bodies’. As a type of work peculiarly oriented around aesthetic labour, display work is often racialised, ageist and disablist as well as gendered.

Intimate labour

The conceptualisation of ‘intimate labour’ developed from critiques of the increasing commodification of intimacy, which revealed the varied ways that our domestic and personal lives are organised on the market (Hochschild 2003; Zelizer 2000). A diverse set of jobs are counted within intimate labour (Boris and Parreñas 2010). These include work that occurs within the home (domestic labour), work involving familial care (child-care through to wedding planning), and work involving sexual or romantic relations (including various forms of sex work). The construction of this tranche of roles as ‘intimate labour’ initially seems to indicate an intense version of emotional labour, but some of the work (for example, domestic cleaning) involves little emotional labour. Rather, the intimacy involved relates to forms of closeness: emotional, social and biological, but also spatial. Intimate labour may, however, best be seen as a historical argument, in that it identifies a type of work that was in the not-too-distant past performed as unpaid labour, but which is now, at least sometimes, performed for pay.

Care and reproductive work

The last two types of labour, care (work) and reproductive Labour overlap considerably and are often discussed together (Duffy 2005). Both come from a feminist standpoint. Both explicitly reveal the oftentimes invisible work of women, especially marginalised and racialized women involved in ‘global care chains’ (Duffy 2005; England 2005; Glenn 1992; Parreñas 2012). Care - sometimes simply defined as care, sometimes as care work - is and has long been a core concern of feminist researchers (Graham 1983). Care involves two processes - caring about and caring for (Cronqvist et al. 2004), which can approximately be mapped onto emotional labour and body work (see also

James 1992). Care spans paid and unpaid work. It is overwhelmingly feminised and often racialized (Glenn 1992). England *et al.*, (2002) and colleagues have demonstrated that, typically, work involving care is lower paid than other work.

Understandings of reproductive labour are rooted in Marxist feminism and the recognition that reproduction is necessary for production, despite its historic invisibility. Reproduction includes all activity that reproduces the social and biological conditions of existence, day-to-day or inter-generationally (Duffy 2005: 70). As such it encompasses most of that work characterised as care, but also, for instance, any work that involves the preparation and serving of meals or the education of new generations (Duffy 2005; Glenn 1992). Like care, reproductive labour is organised across market and non-market spaces.

This section has suggested that analytic categories of types of work differentiate work in two ways, attending either to activities (or modes of interaction) or, alternatively, to clusters of jobs. Table 2 considers how the former might fit within the latter, asking which types of labour (emotional, aesthetic, body and sexualised) are commonly found within sex work, display work, intimate labour, care and reproductive labour. Sex work almost always requires sexualised and aesthetic labour and at least sometimes emotional and body labour, something that speaks to the centrality of embodied interaction. Care typically requires emotional labour and, often, also body work. It is unlikely to involve sexualised labour, and is only likely to require aesthetic labour insofar as this is conceived as realisation of an appropriate embodied state, rather than an emphasis on attractiveness. In contrast, reproductive work sometimes but not always requires body and emotional labour, but does not where reproductive work involves cooking or cleaning for instance. It also sometimes requires sexualised labour – since sex and intimacy are part of reproduction – but is unlikely to otherwise involve aesthetic labour. Intimate labour will likely on occasion require any or all of these types of labour, but may not always. Display work rarely involves body work, while emotional labour is primarily employed to get and keep work, whereas aesthetic labour and often sexualised labour are essential.

Table 2: Service work – intersecting conceptualisations

	Involves the following types of work/labour			
	Emotional labour	Aesthetic labour	Body work (labour)	Sexualised labour
SEX WORK	Sometimes	Always	Sometimes	Always
DISPLAY WORK	Rarely	Always	Rarely	Sometimes
INTIMATE LABOUR	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes	Sometimes
REPRODUCTIVE LABOUR	Sometimes	Rarely	Sometimes	Sometimes
CARE WORK	Most times	Rarely	Most times	Rarely

Conclusion

Analysis of types of work and labour involves the production of typologies to categorise different activities as, broadly and in some important way, sharing qualities. This matters because how those qualities are defined and identified affects the patterns we are able to see in examining the contemporary world of work. This chapter has suggested that analysis of different types of work have been motivated by material changes that have taken place in work and by new ways of trying to understand work. The latter has included a greater sensitivity to women's work and, related, the intellectual impetus of feminism.

Common to most analyses of types of work, is that male manual work is used as a starting point – either for historical or analytic comparison. Where comparisons of types of work are couched within a framework of historic change or contrasting epochs, they chart a trajectory, from manual to white collar 'knowledge', 'creative' or 'immaterial' work. These conceptualisations tend to focus on information technology as driver or facilitator of new types of work. Because, however, the intention of these analyses is to identify change in society or the economy, rather than the workplace, the categories produced – or the types of work described – are rarely very clearly differentiated, and often involve a wide variety of quite different concrete activities. In contrast are analyses that have attempted to differentiate work within the growing service sector, paying particular attention to jobs that involve interaction with third parties: customers, clients, patients or others. These analyses have not focused on whether the work described encapsulates a new era, but rather how different types of work change workers' experiences of work and the labour market.

A focus on the different types of interaction required by work highlights the ways that activities, but also judgements and embodied social identities, from our private, or non-work, world, are brought into work and exploited by employers. This breaching of boundaries on the one hand exposes many of the activities that were previously unpaid, done in private and largely by women, and which now form part of the landscape of paid work. It also, however, means that many of the, discriminatory, classed, racialized, gendered, disablist, gendered and sexualised modes of differentiation that operate within our social world are not only incorporated within the world of work, but are exacerbated to generate profit. This affects us as workers, but also as members of society who interact with workers.

The development of arguments about and care and reproductive labour are explicitly political; these frames have been deployed to transform the ways in which scholars, policy makers and the public understand work and the economy. They do this by emphasising the contribution of unpaid (or unvalourised) as well as paid work and by seeking to expose labour that is otherwise hidden, not least to argue that it should be better remunerated (England et al. 2002), or simply counted (Folbre 2006). Similarly, analyses of sex work are political because they position a set of activities as a type of work, with both differences and, importantly, similarities to other types of work. In these ways the formation and identification of types of work or labour can be part of a process of transformation.

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ⁱ Others have suggested that the commodification of our emotional work is occurring in increasingly diverse ways, including in the production of reality television which relies on unpaid participants display of appropriate forms of ‘authentic’ emotion, be these tears, shock or anger (Wood et al. 2009).

ⁱⁱ This breaks with earlier meanings of ‘body work’ which typically refer to work on the self (Gimlin 2002).