Sociology 3308: Sociology of Emotions
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Overheads Class 15:
Emotion & Emotion Management 1: Hochschild on Emotions

* Generally: Sociology of emotions links:

    -Cultural ideas
    -Structural arrangements
    -Aspects of feeling (see below)

* Theoretical/methodological orientation: Emotion not just another dependent variable.

* Today we will discuss 4 aspects of Hochschild's work:

(1) Three general models of emotion (in her view)
(2) Hochschild's interactional model
(3) Socioeconomic context & techniques of emotional labor/management
(4) Emotional norms (expression and feeling rules).

Three Models of Emotion:

* According to Hochschild, there are generally 3 models of emotion:

(a) the organismic;
(b) the interactional; and
(c) the social constructionist.

* Organismic model (Darwin, Freud, and James):

- Most biological/ emotion motored by instinct
- Social influences elicit feeling/ regulate expression *only*
- Fixity/ basic similarity of emotions across board
- Labelling, assessing and managing emotions extrinsic to emotion
- Emotion prior to introspection
- Interested in the origins of emotion

* Interactional model (Mead, Gerth and Mills, Goffman):

- Social factors also operate *during* the experience of emotion
  (i.e. formulation, management and expression)
- Biological factors included as ingredients
- More flexible approach
- Past work (e.g. Goffman) too focused on surface situation, not
  inner experience

* Social constructionist model:

- Biology not involved in causation
- Feeling entirely constituted by social influences
- Past work: Gordon's early work on sentiments (e.g. nostalgia/
  sympathy)

* Hochschild: "most emotions, most of the time, fit the interactional model."

Hochschild's Interactional Model:

* Hochschild's *own* conception of the interactionist model.

* Emotion = an awareness of four elements usually experienced together:

(a) appraisals of a situation;
(b) changes in bodily sensations;

(c) the free or inhibited display of expressive gestures; and
(d) a cultural label applied to specific constellations of the first three

* A "feeling" = "an emotion with less marked bodily sensation."

* "Signal function" of emotion: Emotion functions like/ is a sense:

    - Communicates information to the self
    - Informs of 'what is out there from where I stand'

* This position draws elements from three above approaches

Emotional Labour and Emotion Management:

* Paradox: a feeling happens to us, yet is also what we do to make it happen

* Both tied up in issues of political economy:

    - Class and gender variations
    - Growing service sector of the modern economy
    - *The emotional style of offering the service becomes a commodity*
    - Emotional labour: working to feel/show the "right" feeling for the job
    - Shown in work on flight attendants/ bill collectors: most jobs in between

* Emotional labour: 2 methods:

    (1) Surface acting: changing emotion from outside in/ deceiving others (e.g. acting friendly to feel friendly/have feelings reinforced);

    (2) Deep acting: changing emotion from inside out/ deceiving self (e.g. deep breaths, prompting self, narrowing mental focus or visualizing situation differently).

* In emotional labour, these tasks unevenly distributed:

    -Others/institutions act as director
    - May become alienated from feelings.

* In private life, known as "emotion management"

    - Both surface and deep acting involved
    - Example: fighting feelings of love for commitment shy lover
     by emphasizing negative qualities/ vice versa for stagnant relationship
    - "What distinguishes theatre from life is not illusion, it is the honour
     accorded to illusion."

Emotion Norms:

* Importance of emotion management lies not in success (we often fail), but in homage paid to *emotion norms*.

* Two types:

    (1) *Expression rules*: (e.g. trying to *appear* amused, pleased or sad as generally considered appropriate to a situation);

    (2) *Feeling rules*: (e.g. "try to feel *actually* amused, pleased, or sad as generally considered appropriate to a situation).

* Both operate like "zoning regulations" that indicate how much of a given feeling, held in a given way, is crazy, unusual, but understandable, normal, or inappropriate for a given context.

* We recognize these by inspecting:

    - how we assess our feelings
    - how other people assess our emotional display, and
    - by sanctions issuing from both.

* We may be off on our timing, & in the duration, or intensity of our feeling

* Operate in roles specific to an occasion (e.g. weddings, funerals), but even more important to roles that last longer and go deeper (e.g. parents, spouses).

* When emotion norms conflict, problems in management are amplified (e.g. subcultures).

* Emotional "experts" further complicate this (e.g. psychiatrists, counsellors).

* Feeling rules govern social/emotional exchange: two types:

    (1) Straight (e.g. "Inward bow")
    (2) Improvisational (e.g. self-depreciating humour)

* Emotion management may be integrated into emotional exchange:

    -Feigning owed feeling (surface acting)
    -Amplifying genuine feeling (variation of deep acting)

* Absence of such management/adherence to feeling rules inhibit exchange:

    -Non- payment   -Anti-payment

* Exchanges, adherence to emotional norms and emotion management complicated by social inequality (both privately and in work environment)

* Finally, feeling/expression rules establish zones of appropriateness or understandability ("emotion lines" such as "anger lines" - the last straw).

* Types of emotion lines: jealousy lines, love lines, sadness lines - notions of how much it would take of certain provocative events to inspire just how much "appropriate" feeling

* Societies and subcultures, families and individuals vary in their ideal

emotion lines

* If we don't apply feeling rules to ourselves, others may remind us

* Some cultures may give more weight to expression rules and surface acting/ others to feeling rules and deep acting.

> "Thus, the study of emotion leads us, on the one hand, from emotions to emotion management, emotion rules, and emotional culture. On the other hand, it leads us to the social structures that pin a person into his or her immediate social world, and to the influences of that social world, which evokes the emotions a person feels."

* In the next class, we will focus on Hochschild's perspective as applied to gender issues in the family.