Advising Students to Value and Develop Emotional Labor Skills for the Workplace

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Emotional labor, the sociological term for the vocational use and suppression of emotion, represents valuable human capital in most occupations in the new economy. However, Millennials often fail to recognize emotional labor as a transferable skill necessary for acquiring and succeeding in future careers. We explain the concept of emotional labor, describe the skills necessary to properly control and express vocationally appropriate emotions, explain the reasons that emotional labor is important in postindustrial labor markets, and make recommendations concerning the ways academic advisors can help Millennials to respect and deliberately practice emotional labor in advising, academic, and customer service work.

KEYWORDS: accidental careers, career advising, customer service work, horizontal labor markets, human capital, transferable skill, VUCA environment

In fall 2010, one of us (Zalewski) read the following excerpt from a student's class paper, where she described the gendered division of labor at a retail employer, and was struck by the student's description of customer service work as "mindless" (emphasis added):

> I work as a bather at a store for animal products. Through my observation I've noticed that tasks in our workplace are often separated by gender….*When it comes to assigning an employee to the register, a mindless task*, a woman is always selected first, and when no woman is available a male employee is then selected….

This example is instructive. The student describes the experience of working the register and checking out customers as void of emotion and thought, requiring little in the way of skills, and attributing little benefit or satisfaction to the customer service worker. No advisor should ignore the general apathy Millennials often give to the emotional performance involved in many customer service jobs (Payment, 2008). Less than enthusiastic approach to this work underscores, for advising purposes, a lack of respect for the social aspects of emotional skills as well as little foresight about how learning to use the emotional territory of these jobs can improve students' affective acumen and help solicit job prospects that yield more choices in future careers.

Sociologically, the required emotional performance in customer service work has been conceived as *emotional labor* (Hochschild, 1983). NACADA members who attended the 2010 Annual Conference in Orlando, Florida, witnessed a first-hand demonstration of a fully trained, emotionally skilled workforce: the employees of Walt Disney World. Disney employees are considered the world's best-trained exponents of emotion labor skills (Bryman, 1999). Disney, the organization, has become the eponym for training in emotionally skillful customer service, conveyed when sociologists refer to the imitation of Disney's training techniques as *Disneyization* (see, e.g., Bryman, 1995, 1999). All service workers are held to a standard in which service is delivered with a friendly smile and an apparent desire to please each customer. While the emotional tone of various service jobs differs from that of the theme park, all service-worker training inculcates the willingness and the skills to meet customers' needs.

At first glance, the skills of emotional labor might appear to be necessary only for the most rudimentary types of service work. However, recent sociological research has documented that these skills are critical to success in a variety of professions and paraprofessional occupations, including medicine, law enforcement, and emergency response (Tracy, 2005). In addition to controlling their own emotions, professionals often need skill in helping their clients manage their own emotions. Commenting on professional training in dangerous occupations, Scott and Myers (2005) noted that

> employees who work in emotionally-charged human service occupations not only labor to manage their own emotions, but often emotions of their clients in their efforts to comfort, seek cooperation and compliance, or provide advice and treatment, frequently in the context of life-threatening and tragic events. (p. 68)

Emotional labor, we argue, is valued human capital in knowledge and service work, but many college students do not recognize its significance for professional jobs and careers. We believe that academic advisors can play an important role in preparing students for careers by encouraging their advisees to recognize and deliberately seek opportunities to practice the range and nuances of emotional displays and apply emotion like capital in their interactions with instructors, peers, supervisors, coworkers, and customers.

In this article, we define and explain emotional labor and show that it is a basic feature in most professional jobs. We describe its value as a portable, transferable skill in professions and toward building social networks and leveraging the career opportunities they tend to foster. This is especially pertinent in the labor markets of the 21st century, which exist in an economy we conceive as a *VUCA environment* (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a). Characteristics of the new economy—for example, ongoing technological changes, company reorganizations, the growth of contingent work, free agency, and *accidental careers* (Ryan, 2009; Zalewski, 2011)—all mandate that professionals today be flexible and adaptive. Emotional labor, we argue, is especially valuable in a VUCA environment because it can be used to cultivate professional opportunities whenever and wherever they fortuitously arise. We conclude this article with techniques for advising college students on the value of emotional labor for their careers.

Emotional Labor: Human Capital in Knowledge and Service Work

Emotion has been an important topic in psychology and sociology, but its instrumental use in the workplace has only been a recent focus of research (Lewis & Haviland-Jones, 2008). The term *emotional labor* originates from sociologist Arlie Hochschild's book *The Managed Heart* (1983), an examination of flight attendants and bill collectors at Delta Airlines that became the foundation sociological study on the comodification of emotion work. Hochschild began by making a distinction between *emotion* work, the efforts people put into managing their emotions in their private lives and social interactions, and *emotional labor*, her term for the management of the feeling by frontline workers in service work who enact *feeling rules* and other control measures mandated by employers. Feeling rules refer to the normative expectations of actors' feelings in a given situation.

Psychologist Paul Ekman (Ekman & Friesen, 1975) added the complementary term *display rules* to refer to the visible manifestations of inner feelings that are normatively expected to be shown in a particular situation. For example, employers sometimes emphasize the importance of projecting particular emotions (such as appearing to enjoy their work) and other times emphasize the suppression of other emotions (such as appearing bored or disinterested). *Emotional intelligence* is the collective term for an individual's knowledge of the social expectations for feeling and conduct in a given situation coupled with acquired abilities to conform to these expectations in either a social or an occupational setting (Goleman, 1995; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2008). Individuals begin to learn the expectations for their feelings and expressions of them as emotion work. Later, they learn to transfer these abilities as emotional labor or to comport themselves appropriately in a work setting.

In their analysis of lower-end service work, Hochschild (1983) and Leidner (1993) emphasized that feeling rules are control measures employers use to ensure their employees participate in efficient and satisfying customer-service interactions. These workers learn to control their emotions—they perform the prescribed emotional labor—in exchange for the wages paid by employers. Emotion work is transformed in the process of the economic transaction, and it becomes the commodity of emotional labor. Hochschild (1983) used the term *acting* to refer to a worker's conscious efforts at personal control in the management of most behavior and emotion in the workplace. To accomplish the emotional labor required of the customer service worker, she distinguished between approaches she called *surface acting* and *deep acting*.

With surface acting, employees change their performance to suit contextual factors such as work roles, feeling rules, and cultural norms, but it involves little more than making the superficial changes commonly called *pretending*. The goal of surface acting is to appear to feel the emotion prescribed by the feeling rules that govern a particular work situation, whether or not one actually experiences that feeling. Learning to smile while asking a customer "What can I do for you?" would be an example of surface acting by a worker striving to fill the role of a friendly sales representative. In Hochschild's (1983) view, employees engaged in surface acting are less likely to experience feeling subjugation or co-option by people or ideologies of power: Surface acting is mostly about the countenance or comportment that is displayed.

Deep acting, however, involves the person's efforts to develop genuine feelings required of them by their employer by consciously conflating or suppressing emotions and feelings following a stimulus. For example, funeral directors who learn to feel and express genuine sadness for the loss of loved ones by consciously empathizing with the mourners or remembering their own grief over their own losses is engaged in deep acting (Tracy & Tracy, 1998). In repeated service exchanges, feeling rules get cast and recast under the purview of the employer's controlling interests to the point that the rules supersede the innate signaling function served by human feelings. In fact, a service worker may accept the employer's designed feeling rules and use them and their corresponding meanings in their interactions in their private lives. Both types of acting are implied in our continued discussion of emotional labor.

As recently as the end of the 20th century, literature on the sociology of work and organizations was still dominated by studies of employee action in labor processes (e.g., Braverman, 1974) and showed relatively little emphasis on the role emotions play in the performance of work (Tracy & Tracy, 1998). Rationality was seen as the key to effective and efficient organizational functioning and emotionality was treated as either a private matter or a problem. That picture, however, is rapidly changing. Scholars are increasingly voicing the position that emotion is integral to social interaction in any context and is arguably the key to corporate excellence (Bierema, 2008; Mumby & Putnam, 1992; Putnam & Mumby, 1993; Tracy & Tracy, 1998).

Early studies of emotional labor selected frontline customer service employees, such as airline flight attendants and bill collectors (Hochschild, 1983), fast food workers (Leidner, 1993; Reiter, 1996), and Walt Disney's theme park employees (Bryman, 1999) as subjects of the study. Disney instituted a comprehensive employee-training program known as Disney University where workers are taught a distinctive vocabulary, tutored in dressing and grooming, well versed in the delivery of scripted interactions with customers, and coached in delivering their services with convincing displays of friendliness and helpfulness (Bryman, 1999). Companies consciously have borrowed the techniques used at Walt Disney's theme parks to socialize workers for their own businesses.

Over time, researchers widened their lens to look at other service workers with jobs requiring high levels of skill, autonomy, and discretion. These studies extended knowledge of emotional labor among occupations such as police officers (Ehrlich, 1999; Stenross & Kleinman, 1989); firefighters (Scott & Myers, 2005); corrections officers (Tracy, 2005); emergency responders (Tracy & Tracy, 1998); nurses (Bolton, 2001; Vitello-Cicciu, 2003); midwives (Hunter, 2001); mortuary scientists (Cahill, 1999); social workers (Barlow & Hall, 2007; Leeson, 2010); teachers (Hebson, Earnshaw, & Marchington, 2007; Oplatka, 2007); and hospitality providers (Payne, 2009). While training in these fields often included consideration of emotional labor topics and skills, researchers found that workers in these fields also reported acquiring emotion management skills through more informal, social means such as discussing cases with peers, consulting with a mentor, or reflecting upon recent performances. These instances of occupational socialization were often referred to as "learning to act like a professional."

Most recently, studies of high-end service work show that emotional labor is also a performance feature of many of the traditional and the emerging professions. For example, Pierce (1995) described the emotional techniques trial lawyers use during litigation to help them win cases. Lawyers conflate emotions in *intimidation displays*, or they soften them in actions Pierce calls *strategic friendliness*. Another study—that included a cross-national sample of service, sales, and knowledge workers in the financial, communications, and computer service industries—showed that varying levels of emotion are required because of the interdependent and collaborative nature of service work (Frenkel, Korczynski, Shire, & Tam,1999). Frontline service and knowledge workers consult with colleagues and clients to troubleshoot issues, determine needs, as well as develop and facilitate technical solutions. Physicians have also begun to recognize that they can improve their expressions of empathy with patients by consciously developing their skills at both surface and deep acting (Larson & Yao, 2005). Clearly, workforce education and training must include conscious consideration of the role of emotion in excellent performance in any line of work, and educators and trainers must find ways of selecting and preparing new members of the workforce to meet the emotional—as well as the rational—demands of any occupation.

The practice of emotional labor has critics (Bierema, 2008). For example, should employers be limited on the demands placed on their employees? That is, should employers legitimately try to control the private and personal aspects of

employees' lives, including their emotions in the workplace? Feeling rules benefit employers and customers but represent a comodified iron cage to the service worker. As Hochschild (1983) and Leidner (1993) very poignantly described, employers such as Delta Airlines and McDonalds leave little room for authentic human interaction in the feeling rules and scripts they prescribe for their employees. Another criticism involves the ethical and unethical use of words and actions demanded in a service job. Whether in personal emotion work or in vocational emotional-labor settings, surface acting raises familiar questions concerning the ethics of everyday life (Rietti, 2009). For example, the simple acts of smiling and saying "thank you" to someone upon receiving an unwanted or unliked item constitute acts of deception however benign such accepted gestures appear. Treating rude customers as if they were valued friends is a form of social deception as well. Criticisms associated with the politics of power in the workplace and with the ethics of deceptive practices are legitimate issues that both advisors and advisees should understand and address as they prepare advisees in emotional labor for future careers.

Use of emotional labor draws criticism in terms of the personal costs associated with practicing it, especially over the long-term. One cost of emotion labor is the feeling called *emotional dissonance*, the discrepancy between emotions actually felt and emotions managed and displayed (Bierema, 2008). The immediate, distasteful experience of faking one's emotions, which Millennials describe as "feeling like a phony," exemplifies emotional dissonance. Also, what is the range of long-term, detrimental effects on workers' self-awareness and sense of personal identity? Hochschild (1983) argued that employees, especially those who master the skills of deep acting, lose touch with their true feelings during interactions and become confused about their own attitudes and values. "They have learned how to con themselves," Hochschild (p. 73) wrote, "and no longer know who they really are." Emotional dissonance has now been reported in connection with a number of negative consequences of emotional labor including job dissatisfaction, burnout, and loss of physical health (Bierema, 2008).

The key to determining workers' abilities to engage in successful and healthy emotional labor over time seems to be the worker's identification with the idealized role of a professional within each particular occupation or organization (Ashforth & Maslin-Ostrowski, 1993). For example, if a physician or a nurse internalizes the role's demands as his or her own standard of professionalism, then he or she will more easily accept the obligation to show empathy to patients and their loved ones as well as—over their working lifetime—master the abilities of both surface and deep acting (Larson & Yao, 2005). Thus, attempts to improve emotional intelligence for future employability should be coupled with an exploration of the professional identities associated with career choices.

Popular psychological writings using the term *emotional intelligence* tend to be expressed in terms of personality traits that are often assumed to be innate and immutable. However, contemporary approaches to positive psychology start with the premise that desirable traits can, in fact, be acquired over a lifetime (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Seligman, Rashid, & Parks, 2006). The abilities to manage one's emotions in the service of doing productive work that expresses one's personal identity in a sustainable, healthy manner—in principle—should be no exception (Sardo, 2004). The term psychologists have come to use for the profile of adaptive traits applicable to the 21st century work environment is the *proactive personality* (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Crant, 2000; Thompson, 2005). Workers with proactive personalities take initiative to affect positive changes in the organization and to manage personal growth (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Crant, 2000; Thompson, 2005). Academic advisors need to help students understand that they need to develop a realistic sense of their current traits and attitudes—including emotional intelligence—and begin working toward cultivating their abilities at managing emotions to serve their continuing occupational adaptability in the future.

The New Contract, Accidental Careers, and Emotional Labor in Postindustrial Labor Markets

Doing emotional labor—that is, consciously determining the most emotionally useful way to accomplish the work task at hand and then doing it—is a central action in the performance of service work, and because of this, we argue that it represents a valuable transferable skill. According to microlevel sociological theories of workplace organization, the appropriate use of emotion and a suitable stance are instrumental in "the process of working things out" or satisfactorily completing work regardless of industry, occupation, or profession (Corbin & Strauss 1993, p. 73). Successfully completing these microprocesses requires inter-

personal negotiation and the appropriate use of emotional displays such as an interchange of deference and demeanor on the part of each participant (Goffman, 1956). Many situations demand controls over emotions that, when displayed appropriately, show that a person is willing to adapt to the consensus and desire of the group.

We have observed in our work experiences that colleagues do not appreciate others perceived as rigid, nor is inflexibility effective in negotiating interactions and moving work forward. In general, a microlevel sociological paradigm emphasizes that all interactions have emotional elements to them. For example, respected sociologists such as Georg Simmel say that faithfulness and gratitude—feelings characterized with heavy emotional overtones—are needed for interactional exchanges (and society for that matter) to continue (Wolf, 1950). Whether in regard to people, markets, or everyday life, emotion must be considered an important characteristic to understand and utilize.

Emotional labor is also transferable because of new organizing strategies in the workplace. An important aspect of *high performance* or *forward thinking companies*—buzzwords often used in management circles—is the common use of teams to produce and deliver goods, services, and knowledge work (Appelbaum & Batt, 1994; Sardo, 2004). Scholarship on teams shows the emotional joys of close collaboration with committed colleagues and, conversely, it also describes the challenges that working on a team can bring (Barker, 1993; Graham, 1995; Smith, 1996; Zalewski, 2006). For example, emotional labor helps decentralized team members at an outsourcing company work quickly and successfully to resolve unexpected problems. It also helps sooth the strains of peer scrutiny in teams located in the same physical environment.

Moreover, in a world of new technologies and the increasing global web of business relationships (Reich, 1991)—the new digital territories of the workplace where emotion also must be consciously developed and displayed—people benefit from doing emotional labor. A study of Irish software developers employed by a Silicon Valley firm describes the challenges the Irish employees faced working with their American-based colleagues because of the technical constraints of the telecommunications tools they use and also because of high rates of attrition in contingent labor markets (O'Riain, 2002). To deliver new products within contracted specifications and deadlines, developers must utilize an interactional and emotional *toolkit* (Swidler, 1986) that includes surface and deep acting and supports the collaboration of work groups across a large geographical divide.

We can expect the saliency of emotional labor to become greater because of ongoing demographic changes in American companies. Shaffer (1998) argued that due, in part, to the growing diversity in the American population, students should work at strengthening their *multicultural competencies*. For example, growing diversity means that Millennials will be working and interacting closely with others who have different norms of expression for politeness. Applying interactional and emotional measures, such as surface and deep acting, to demonstrate respect for verbal, nonverbal, and emotional differences is showing multicultural competency. Knowing how to apply effective recovery strategies for potentially divisive interactions is also characteristic of multicultural competency.

Projections about the 2020 workplace (Meister & Willyerd, 2010) suggest that changing organization, demographic (including aging of the population and the workforce), technology, and presumably other factors will lead to greater generational diversity, more mentoring and reverse mentoring between sub- and super-ordinates, the institution of real-time feedback loops in hierarchies and across teams, and the growing importance of *third places* (the location of one's phone) in delivering work. In sum, the greater diversity, interconnections, and transparency of the 21st century workplace will make the emotional labor in most professions increasingly more central and important to external perceptions of proficiency and the experience of personal success in labor markets and professional careers.

As Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1989) says in the title of her book to compete in the new global economy, corporate "giants [must] learn to dance." Bureaucratic or multinational companies must adapt to the greater risk that a global economy poses by adopting flexible relationships with suppliers and labor as well as continuously reengineering aspects of their own organizations to adapt to the new economic environment. We have argued that the global economy closely resembles the military conception of a VUCA environment (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a). In its original usage, the words in the acronym—volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous—refer to an environmental context, like a battlefield, in which strategic decision making is very challenging. VUCA also aptly describes circumstances in the global economy and, most important in the context of emotional work in the 21st century, the conditions faced by professional

workers in roles, jobs, labor markets, and careers in the postindustrial society.

Since the 1970s, sociologists of work have described the rise of *peripheral labor markets* and *nonstandard work arrangements* (Barker & Christensen, 1998; Edwards, 1979; Henson, 1996; Kalleberg, 2000; McNally, 1979; Parker, 1994; Zalewski, 2006). Jobs in peripheral labor markets, as compared to ones in the core, are characterized by lower wages, less authority, and fewer professional benefits. For example, jobs in the periphery do not have established *career ladders*. They offer fewer social benefits, such as personal inclusion in strategic decision-making meetings or festive gatherings at the organization. Peripheral labor markets also have considerably higher rates of job loss than those in the core because they are structurally designed to give employers the flexibility they desire in relation to labor. Employees in peripheral labor markets serve as *staff augmentation*, which signals the use of a *just-in-time* human resource philosophy that corresponds with the highs and lows of customer demand and with other organizational needs. Nonstandard work arrangements refer to the growth of temporary, part-time, contract, and consulting work.

Increasingly, conditions of jobs in core labor markets are reflecting those in the periphery. Most important in light of emotional work, postindustrial labor markets today have far more employment *contingencies*. Employers, to increasing degrees, are reducing their commitments to labor by hiring more people on a temporary basis only. Limited commitments, like these, by employers are part of *the new contract*. In this new milieu, college graduates face the elimination of career ladders within companies, many more lateral job changes within and across companies, and greater employment contingencies that characterize nonstandard work (Barley & Kunda, 2004; Gallie, White, Cheng, & Tomlinson, 1998; Grimshaw, Ward, Rubery, & Beynon, 2001; Meiksins & Whalley, 2002; Simpson, 1999).

Because of greater contingencies in postindustrial labor markets, job mobility and careers often take a haphazard course. Ryan (2009) identified *accidental career* paths in which workers accumulate successful work histories in occupations they entered by happenstance as they took advantage of opportunities that presented themselves. For example, Zalewski (2011) conducted interviews with outsourced information technologists and found that many described their career paths as accidental. These interviewees now work in the information technology (IT) field because, when the opportunity arose, they were willing to learn about the IT systems at jobs they took after graduating from college. Their initial jobs were often unrelated to IT, and their degrees were from seemingly unrelated fields such as English, marketing, and finance. The participants in Zalewski's study expressed a willingness to explore a divergent and unclear career path and thus demonstrated the ability to emotionally adapt to new and unexpected situations. In this case, the unexpected situation represented an opportunity, the benefit of going into a relatively new and evolving professional field. Many participants in Zalewski's research continue to find ongoing challenges in the IT field because of changing technology applications and the new needs this central feature of a VUCA environment engenders. The downside of ongoing changes in this and other professional fields is the guaranteed future obsolescence of the vital human capital of today. Because of mergers, outsourcing, obsolescence, or another unexpected causes for job loss or job gain, most IT workers recognize that they need to keep abreast of changes in their field, continue to be flexible, and maintain important social networks (*social capital*) to better leverage job security and future job opportunities in today's economic environment (Barley & Kunda, 2004; Meiksins & Whalley, 2002; Osnowitz, 2010; Zalewski, 2011).

From our experiences with career advising, many college students still harbor outdated images of professional careers. For example, many still think that they can plan a career path and that job progression is defined by a vertical ladder. We have argued that this is not usually the case and that today, in a VUCA environment, workers should conceive of careers as *long-term employability* (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a). One of the problems that academic and career advisors face, therefore, is getting Millennials to prepare both their skill sets and their mind sets for the probability of unexpected work situations and accidental careers. Most important, they should recognize that they can actively take steps to ensure they have consciously decided on satisfying careers. They can use emotional labor like capital to benefit their personal careers in postindustrial (VUCA type) labor markets.

We have identified important strategies that college students should apply to better leverage employability in professional labor markets (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a). Professionals most likely maintain employability when they offer employers

special knowledge and skills, or human capital. They should supplement special knowledge and abilities with "transferable skills [such as] interpersonal communication, teamwork, negotiation, conflict resolution, and leadership skills" (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a, p.70). Transferable skills are important human capital for the *protean* (continuously learning) professional worker. To this list of transferable skills, we add competency in emotional labor.

Emotional labor is a salient characteristic of jobs across professional labor markets. Additionally, in all work arrangements participants need to show some level of emotional performance to resolve problems, take advantage of opportunities, and meet goals to the satisfaction of the professionals, employers, and customers involved. Emotions and emotional work, both surface and deep acting, are explicit features of all the transferable skills we discussed. Because of the flexible nature of the economy, the new contract, and the rise of accidental careers, emotional labor can also help professionals adapt more effectively to a VUCA type economy and the contingent labor markets that it produces. In this context especially, emotional labor has immediate and strategic *use-value* (Tucker, 1978) for the professional worker, who can utilize it to navigate and adapt to VUCA conditions as well as build professional "communities of purpose" (Heckscher, 1995, p. 9) that foster opportunities. It also aids in the self-management of accidental careers in postindustrial labor markets.

To succeed in a VUCA environment, particular attitudinal traits are especially useful (emphases added):

> Workers need to maintain *equilibrium* and good judgment in a VUCA environment. They also need to be *comfortable with ambiguity*; evaluate the quality of available data; maintain a clear view of the larger picture; identify options when blocked, challenged, or rebuffed; scan media widely and efficiently; accurately identify the core issues in a conflict; challenge conventional methods, systems and thinking; and *generate reasonable optimism*. (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a, p. 70)

We emphasize the attitudinal traits, equilibrium, comfort, and optimism because they demand some measure of emotion and surface or deep acting. To obtain equilibrium and show good judgment in a chaotic context, one must undertake emotion work—especially a willingness to be flexible, adaptable, and to show patience and constraint in the face of conflict and ambiguity. Not only does being skillful at emotional labor engender more effective information processing capabilities in the workplace, but "maintaining equilibrium and good judgment" (Shaffer & Zalewski 2011a, p. 70) in the wake of ambiguity inspires the confidence of others and fosters their trust and enthusiasm to cooperate, collaborate, and achieve acceptable outcomes for parties involved in work arrangements. Others perceive professionals who demonstrate emotional work as dependable, cooperative, and proficient in their work roles. These perceptions help to gain and maintain the trust of others, can lead to important mentoring relationships, and better ensure employment security in the immediate job context.

In important ways, emotional labor in the present also has strategic (or future) use value. Satisfactory outcomes in current working arrangements help to increase the breadth and depth of social capital among colleagues, supervisors, and customers. *Social capital*, according to social network theory, correlates with greater job opportunities as well as organizational and career advancement (Granovetter, 1974). In postindustrial labor markets, emotional labor and the social capital it can foster will better prepare and position professionals for accidental careers. Findings in sociology repeatedly show, among other benefits, the value of social networks for getting a job, accessing mentors, learning new skill sets, understanding a broader range of circumstances, and enjoying a better quality of life (Granovetter, 1974; Nelson & Smith, 1999; Podolny & Baron, 1997; Venkatesh, 2008; Whyte, 1993). Learning to recognize and work out the emotional territories of jobs usually grows the quintessential social capital that provides more job opportunities and yields more (and likely qualitatively better) career choices. Because of the growing diversity in the American workplace and the global expansion of large employers, consciously developing multinational competencies and building similarly diverse social networks can boost the benefits of social capital in postindustrial labor markets.

Advising the Development of Emotional Labor for Career Preparation

We have several recommendations for academic and career advisors who wish to help students recognize and respect the emotional labor they are required to show in their entry-level customer-service jobs.

1. Introduce advisees to the concept of emotional labor and explain the value of this transfer-

able skill in the new economy. The terminology of emotional labor and the techniques for accomplishing it will be unfamiliar to most advisees, and the rationale for becoming proficient at its practice will probably require some explanation. These qualities are not completely foreign to students with some work experience; however, they are probably discussed under different labels such as *displaying a good attitude* or *acting like a professional*. Faculty members who advise in departments with integral links to professional occupations (e.g., nursing, criminal justice, social work, or psychology) can orient advisees to the emotional labor requirements of their respective career options. Nursing students, for example, should realize that "desired emotions consist of displaying a genuine caring demeanor, expressing empathy for patients and their loved ones, and showing an understanding for patients in pain" (Vitello-Cicciu, 2003, p. 30). Students should also recognize that these emotional displays would also be valuable, and therefore transferable, to other occupations as well.

2. Encourage advisees to identify and reflect upon occasions where they were aware of their own attempts to control their own emotions in a social situation. If advisees have not yet had extensive experience in the workplace, their first recognition of their own efforts and abilities to control their emotions may be in instances of doing emotion work rather than emotional labor. However, the skills they acquire in emotion work can transfer to instances of emotional labor, and they can begin to identify and develop their own affective strengths and recognize their limitations by reflecting on social interactions. For example, one physician with a reputation as being a master diagnostician and medical educator traced his skills as a physician and coach to his experiences working as a salesperson in his father's jewelry store and as a busboy and a waiter in resorts in the Catskill Mountains (Savett, 2008). He consciously asked himself, "What did I learn from each experience?" The goal of such advising is to encourage advisees to become their own coaches and to make a habit of learning from all experiences—especially negative ones.

3. Encourage advisees to begin the habit of documenting their skills in emotion labor as a part of developing a portfolio or functional resume in preparation for applying for postgraduate education or entry into the workforce. We have described the importance of documenting the acquisition of skills and special knowledge for portfolio careers in recent articles in the *NACADA Journal* (Shaffer & Zalewski, 2011a, 2011b). Students can document their skills at emotional labor through such means as retaining course or work evaluations, collecting letters of recommendation, saving relevant training materials, or asking persons who are aware of their emotional management capabilities to serve as references.

4. Help advisees build these skills by identifying formal courses as well as service learning, volunteer, and paid work opportunities, including internships, that provide experiences for developing emotional labor. Each means, in its own way, introduces students to organizations, their cultures, and the common expectations for emotional labor in particular occupational roles. Course work in professional curricula often includes modules devoted to emotion labor. For example, nursing students learn the importance of emotional labor when they are taught techniques for coping with the emotional demands of nursing roles as well as skills in facilitating the emotional tone in their conversations with hospital staff (Davies, 2009; Vitello-Cicciu, 2003). Many general education courses also provide a very useful context for gaining knowledge of the dynamics of human emotions and deliberately practicing emotional labor. For example, theater classes require performance elements that, with public practice and critique, can build confidence speaking with acquaintances or strangers. Public speaking courses can help students understand the theory behind particular forms of discourse; instructors may require them to practice and strengthen particular discursive and emotional skills in front of groups.

Volunteer, customer service, and internship jobs can offer opportunities to use, develop, and refine a repertoire of emotional displays. We recommend that advisors encourage advisees to perceive the entry-level service job as a venue to deliberately practice the range and nuances of emotion work (Gladwell, 2008). Sociology majors at West Chester University regularly intern at political offices, social service institutions, and in corporate administration. Interns get experience in professional work settings, develop a stronger sense of the forms and types of emotional displays common there, and get the opportunity to deliberately practice their repertoires in mentoring relationships. Internships can provide real (compared to simulated) interactions within the scope of professional roles and allow students to become more effective at managing the emotional tone of new and challenging situations in the initial stages of a professional career.

5. Help advisees identify entry-level jobs and

possible future career directions based on identifying a good fit between advisees' willingness and skill at engaging in emotional labor and the known emotional labor requirements of those jobs and careers. Every field in the postindustrial economy makes demands on the emotion management skills of workers, and advisees' abilities to make realistic self-assessments of both their skills and their willingness to engage in the emotional labor required of successful workers can facilitate their making good occupational choices for themselves. Developing emotional repertoires for people with preferred levels of intimacy and interactions and in consideration of personality type, showing a level of comfort with new people, and being able to establish quick emotional connections with others are personal features that will distinguish one job candidate from others. We recommend that advisors take time to get to know students' strengths and weaknesses in this regard and include this knowledge in advising.

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