

## **Introduction: why study emotional labour in criminal justice and criminology**

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction: why study emotional labour in criminal justice and criminology**

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### **Abstract**

Overall, this edited collection seeks to consolidate and extend our knowledge on emotional labour in criminal justice and criminology. In this chapter we begin by providing an overview of the concept of emotional labour and provide some examples of how it has been deployed in academic research. In doing so we touch on key terms such as surface and deep acting, and display rules and briefly go over what evidence exists on the impact of emotional labour on people who perform it as part of their role. The concept has been used less widely in the field of criminal justice and criminology and so we also begin to think about why we – as criminologists - should study emotional labour. We argue that it provides a lens with which to examine an array of issues that are directly relevant and pertinent to criminal justice work and finish with a brief overview of the chapters contained within the volume..

Keywords: Emotional labour, criminal justice, emotions, criminology

### **Introduction**

Emotional labour, a term coined by Hochschild (1983) in her seminal work *A Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, alerts us to the ways in which people are required to manage and display their emotions in order to achieve the goals of the organisation that they work for. Although initially developed in the context of the private sector and with a focus on how emotions can be appropriated and deployed for the purpose of profit, more recent academic attention has focused attention on the ways in which professionals and those working in public services use emotional labour as part of their work. This body of knowledge has explored the reasons for using emotional labour in public services, its impact in terms of effective governance as well as on the consequences of that emotional labour on employees. Emotional labour brings to the fore the relational element of public service with a focus on trust and the role of the ‘encounter’ between state and citizen. In this chapter we begin by providing an overview of what emotional labour is in order to lay some definitional groundwork for subsequent chapters. We then discuss why emotional labour is particularly pertinent to the field of criminal justice and criminology and finish by providing an overview of the structure of the book.

### **The Concept of Emotional Labour**

Emotional labour is ‘the management of a way of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display...which is for a wage’ (Hochschild, 1983: 7, fn). The fact that emotions are being managed for a wage is central to Hochschild’s definition of emotional labour because it illustrates the way in which human feelings are increasingly being commodified by organisations. Although, as we see in this volume, this definition has been stretched in recent years to include work that is done for other non-pecuniary benefits.

Workers engaging in emotional labour are expected to control their own, and others, feelings.

This requires effort, planning, time and knowledge (Skilbeck & Payne, 2003; Morris & Feldman, 1996).

As is readily recognised with physical work, emotional labour can be hard work. Hochschild (1983) provides three criteria which must be fulfilled in order for a worker to engage in emotional labour:

First...face-to face or voice-to voice contact with the public. Secondly, they require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person...Third, they allow the employer, through training and supervision, to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of the employees. (1983: 147)

The first criterion means that workers must interact directly with people as part of their job for emotional labour to be possible. When emotion management moves into the public domain emotions become commodified and so emotional labour primarily occurs in 'frontline' or customer-facing roles. That said, jobs can demand emotional labour between employees within an organisation. For example, the secretary may need a pleasant disposition towards the attorneys they assist and, doing so, must perform emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983: 148).

The second criteria required for an employee to perform emotional labour is that the worker is expected to manage *their* emotions *as well as* the emotions of the recipient of their emotional display. For example, police officers regularly have to control their own feelings, as well as the general public with whom they are required to interact, and 'who are often at their worst-injured, upset or angry' (Martin, 1999: 561). We can start to see that, given the nature of work within the field of criminal justice and criminology, where extreme emotions such as despair, anger and revulsion are commonly felt, the expectation to manage the emotional displays of both the worker and the recipient are often particularly challenging.

Although the original studies on emotional labour focused on the need for face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact as paramount to a job requiring emotional labour, in recent years,

modern information technology has developed which serves to replace or enhance human services and these kinds of jobs are being seen to demand emotional labour (Froehle, 2006; Jin and Oriaku, 2013). Consequently, studies are now beginning to be conducted on the effects of automation on emotional labour and the emotional labour expectations of online customer service workers. For example, in his study of tutors based in a private European online tutoring centre, Webb (2012) discovered that while the amount of online interaction is, to some extent limited, tutors still engaged in considerable emotional labour with learners. In a separate example, Ishii and Markman (2016) found that online service workers engaged in emotional labour and in particular were expected to display positive emotions to customers when they were aggressive or they demanded additional attention.

The third criteria for emotional labour is that the employer must have a certain amount of control over the emotional displays of the worker. The focus of Hochschild's initial study was the commodification of emotion by organisations in relation to 'frontline' human service workers such as air stewards and bill collectors. This has led some to argue that professionals cannot perform emotional labour because they have a much higher degree of autonomy.

Hochschild's (1983) focus on control over worker's emotional activities through training and supervision precluded a number of job roles such as those inhabited by 'professionals'. These workers were seen differently because they are not considered to be performing whilst under the direct supervision of a superior. This narrow definition of who can do emotional labour has been challenged by a considerable body of work on the emotional labour of public service workers (Mastracci *et al*, 2012; Guy *et al*, 2008).

Whilst professionals are self-regulating - i.e. workers can use discretion and have autonomy in how they work - they are also governed by formalised codes of practice that prescribe universal standards (Harris, 2002). This unique form of standard setting has an impact on the

nature of the emotional labour performed. Such workers might be described as 'privileged emotion managers', in contrast to the 'emotional proletariat' (Orzechowicz 2008: 143 and 144, cited in MacDonald and Sirianni 1996). Orzechowicz (2008) suggests that these types of workers conform to informal emotional labour expectations, based on codes of practices and professionals socialisation. The use of the term 'privileged emotion managers' suggests that workers who self-supervise are considered to be affluent and implies that their 'income and reputation might decrease the impressiveness of the "exploitation" and the "costs" of emotional labour, and that is perhaps why they are excluded' (Wouters, 1989: 100). That said, workers in what Wouters (1989) describes as 'the true professions', such as lawyers, social workers and therapists who are not directly supervised can be seen to possess stronger emotional management skills than those who are closely supervised. Indeed, the changing nature of service work provided by professionals such as 'have been called upon to become more 'customer focussed' and management have attempted to directly control the professional's 'feeling rules' (2000: 164). It might be argued that professionals and – for the purposes of this volume, criminal justice practitioners – are not as far away from the service workers in Hochschild's study as we might think. This is important because emotional labour is about the commodification of emotion by organisations and is thus 'sold for a wage and therefore has *exchange value*' (Hochschild, 1983, 198: 7fn).<sup>i</sup>

### **Drivers of emotional labour**

How people know what emotional labour to perform is a key question posed by scholars in this field. The answer lies, to some degree, in Hochschild's concept of feeling rules; 'rules or norms according to which feelings are judged appropriate to accompanying events' (1983: 59). Some researchers prefer to use the term display rules instead of feeling rules (Morris & Feldman, 1996; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989). This term is more attuned to emotions that are publicly displayed rather than the internal feelings of the worker

(Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Consequently, display rules can be defined as ‘behavioural expectations about which emotions ought to be expressed and which ought to be hidden’ (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989: 8), and therefore ‘provide standards for the appropriate expression of emotions in the job, emphasising the publicly observable side of emotions rather than the actual feelings of employees (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003: 284).

Feeling rules or display rules are further divided into three types: societal, organisational and occupational norms (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Societal display rules play a role in shaping the performance of emotional labour as they:

guide interpersonal behaviour in all cultures and provide general rules regarding how and what emotions should be expressed in the work environment. This is because the expression of emotion in organizational roles is influenced by the more general norms of the culture in which the organization is based. (Mann, 1997: 5. See also Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Organisational feeling rules are rules or guidelines, the purpose of which is to achieve the aims and objectives laid down by the organisation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993).

Occupational norms derive from ‘occupational communities’:

who consider themselves to be engaged in the same sort of work; who identify (more or less positively) with their work; who share with one another a set of values, norms, and perspectives. (Van Maanen and Barley, 1984: 287).

These occupational cultures establish cultures which are based on codes of practice which dictate proper and improper behaviour, and develop task rituals and work codes for certain routine practices (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) organisational and occupational feeling rules are generally in alignment.

## **The performance of emotional labour**

Emotional labour 'requires one to induce or suppress feelings in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others' through the use of one of two types of acting: deep acting or surface acting (Hochschild, 1983: 7).

### *Surface acting*

Surface acting is where a worker simulates the emotions to be displayed in order to produce a desired emotional reaction in another person. This way of performing emotional labour results in the emotion that is being displayed differing to the one(s) being felt. For example, Per-Ake Nylander et al explores the use of surface acting by Swedish prison officers. He maintains that this type of acting is the predominant mode of performing emotional labour in security wings of prisons, with the often-expected requirement that Swedish prison officers 'wear a mask' and simulate behaviours they did not feel' (2011: 475). Similarly, Bhowmick and Zubin (2016) discuss surface acting as a useful strategy for Indian police officers who are required to engage in negative emotional displays such as anger and intimidation over attempting to change inner emotions which brings with it the risk of emotional alignment with those negative emotions.

### *Deep acting*

Deep acting is where a worker engages in the emotional display either directly or indirectly through the alignment of inner feelings with emotional labour expectations. This can be achieved through either invoking those emotions through experience or through a trained imagination. In this way the worker regulates their emotions in order to harmonise them with those expected by the organisation (Grandey et al, 2007; 2005; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).



This type of acting has been further divided into two types of deep acting. The first, active deep acting, is akin to the description above, and requires the worker to expend effort in order to invoke the expected emotions. An example of this type of deep acting can be seen in the study of probation practitioners by Fowler et al (2018), where one participant states that:

; no two lives are identical but...everyone's got some sort of life experience, whatever that may be...and I think that's how you, you know, you kind of click into those, those feelings and those, your own background to be able to say, well, you know it wasn't always easy for me but, you know, look at, this is how you do it...

The 'clicking into' those feelings is an active way of engaging in deep acting for this probation practitioner in order to empathise with their clients. Passive deep acting, meanwhile, is where a worker may already feel the emotion expected in a certain situation and so requires no conscious effort to align their feelings with expected emotional displays (Bono & Vey, 2005; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). For example, Bruhn et al. (2012) describe situations where Swedish prison officers engage in passive deep acting in particular wings, such as the treatment wing. Prison officers working in this wing were able to develop more personal relationships with prisoners, and therefore displayed genuine anger when prisoners did not behave appropriately. Even though there is some degree of alignment between displayed and felt emotion in these examples, it is important to note that there is still some degree of emotional suppression occurring.

#### *Genuine emotional responses*

The third way of performing emotional labour is genuine emotional responses (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). Here, a worker's feelings may align with the emotional expectations of an organisation leading to that worker displaying a genuine emotional response. That said,

emotional labour is still required because the genuine emotional response still needs to be regulated in order to be appropriately displayed. For example, Bhowmick and Mulla (2016) provide evidence of an Indian police officer who described being physically unable to fake emotions. Authenticity was the reason he gave as to why he was only able to display genuine emotions, even if these were negative emotions such as anger.

### *Detachment*

Finally, researchers have identified a fourth way of performing emotional labour: detachment. Detachment occurs when dealing with particularly difficult customers or clients and consists of a worker removing any kind of emotional engagement or support from that person (Wolkomir and Powers, 2007; Sutton, 1991). For example, Kadowaki describes situations where US attorneys found a client to be particularly unpleasant and thus found it impossible to perform emotional labour through deep or surface acting. In these cases, they resorted to detachment by effectively taking emotion out of the relationship in order to depersonalise it and stick to 'strictly business' (Kadowaki, 2015: 338). In this way detachment is 'self-protective' but still requires the use of emotional labour 'to strip away niceties, suppress feelings of anger and frustration, while still meeting requirements set by organizational feeling rules' (Kadowaki, 2015: 328).

### **Consequences of performing emotional labour**

Emotional labour is a 'double edged sword' because its performance can have both positive and negative consequences for workers (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993: 96; and see Pugliesi, 1999). Many of the chapters in this book deal with the consequences of emotional labour and so it is useful to go over what we already know here.

### *Negative consequences*

The negative consequences of conforming to emotional labour expectations are particularly well documented. Workers can wholeheartedly associate with the job by engaging in active deep acting, which can cause burnout. At the other end of the continuum, a worker may consciously separate themselves from the job, and thus engage in surface acting which, in turn, can result in feelings of insincerity. Alternatively, a worker can adopt a more positive approach to their work - considering this separation and the surface acting they perform as positive - although with this comes the risk of alienation from, and scepticism towards, the acting which needs to take place as a result.

Studies have revealed that the performance of emotional labour can result in negative consequences. For example, Jeung et al (2018) provide an overview of the health-related consequences of emotional labour and many have made the link between emotional labour and burnout (Tolich, 1993; Wharton, 1993). Other negative consequences include stress (Mann & Cowburn, 2005), role overload (Wharton & Erickson, 1993), poor self-esteem, cynicism, role alienation, self-alienation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Fineman, 1993), emotional exhaustion (Harris, 2002), emotional dissonance (Abraham, 1998) and emotional deviance (Fineman, 1993; Tolich, 1993). Mann (2007) also highlights serious medical conditions such as coronary heart disease and cancer as a potential consequence of performing emotional labour.

### *Positive consequences*

While there has been much focus on the negative consequences, performing emotional labour can bring positives. Of particular interest to us is the idea that the findings for workers who undertake emotional labour gain more job satisfaction than workers who do not engage in emotion management (Wharton, 1993). This may be because workers who have job roles requiring emotional labour may be more inclined to perform emotion management and

therefore are more drawn to such work. In their work on emotional labour in public service, Guy et al (2008) highlight the positive effects of emotional labour in terms of it giving meaning to one's work. Other positive consequences that have been highlighted are task effectiveness (Harris, 2002; Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993); increased satisfaction, security, self-esteem (Strickland, 1993; Tolich, 1993; Wharton, 1993), decreased stress and psychological well-being (Conrad & Witte, 1994) and an increased sense of community (Shuler & Sypher, 2000).

### **Why study emotional labour in criminal justice?**

This – albeit brief – overview of emotional labour has included some examples from emotional labour research that has been carried out in the criminal justice. These examples provide some idea about how useful the lens of emotional labour is in terms of analysing criminal justice work and criminological research. Emotion is important because 'it is through emotion that we see the world' (Hochschild, 2013: 4). Thus an examination of emotion and the effort required to manage emotions sheds light on the cultural constraints imposed on employees by the institution for whom they work. Emotion thus becomes a means with which to understand what organisations are seeking to achieve, and how they seek to achieve those goals through an examination of the management, display and suppression of emotion. As Crawley (2004: 414) suggests in relation to prison officers, emotional labour is key to much work in this field:

emotions are not freely expressed. Rather, prison officers try to ensure that when they perform emotion they do so in the `right` circumstances and settings. Consequently, prison work requires...an (often significant) engagement in emotion-work and, relatedly, the employment of specific emotion-work strategies.

In short, prison officers are obliged to manage their *own* emotions as well as those of prisoners.

Guy, Mastracci and Seung-Bum (2019) ask why ‘emotional labor matters in public service’. Their argument is that ‘governance, collaboration, coproduction, citizen engagement, and relational contracting’ all rest on a single foundation: ‘the relationship between citizens and between citizen and state’. Guy et al (2019) make the critical point that ‘for governing to be effective, citizens must *feel* good about those who govern’. This is of particular relevance to the field of criminal justice because legitimacy - a concept which encapsulates Guy et al’s (2019) argument - is key to many facets of criminal justice work and its effectiveness. For example, Tyler’s (2006) work on why people obey the law demonstrates that where people see the government and the laws it passes as legitimate they are more likely to obey the law. As the main institution for enforcing those laws, the emotional labour deployed by the police in enforcing the law becomes critical in terms of enhancing the legitimacy of the law in the eyes of members of the public. In the context of prisons and probation, evidence suggests that where ‘offenders’ see their sentence and the way it is carried out as legitimate they are more likely to comply and, in turn, stop offending (Brunton-Smith and McCarthy 2016; McCarthy and Brunton-Smith, 2018).

Not only does emotional labour help us understand how citizens engage with criminal justice, it also speaks to other contemporary debates in criminology, specifically the ways in which policy manifests in practice. Importantly, analyses underpinned by emotional labour show that it is not the policy which makes a citizen see a system of governance as legitimate, and thus worth engaging with. Rather, it is the way in which that policy is relayed to them by an agent of the state - a police officer, probation officer, domestic violence worker - through

face-to-face or voice-to-voice interaction which creates that sense of legitimacy. Thus, citizens' behaviour cannot be manipulated simply by pulling the lever of policy. Rather, the behaviour of citizens rests on co-relation and coproduction between the citizen and the state which is mediated by those who activate those policies: through the 'encounter' between civil servant, and member of the public. That encounter will always involve emotion and thus every single one of those interactions will involve some form of emotional labour. Such an analysis is similar to that of Lipsky's (1980) notion of a street level bureaucrat whereby individual practitioners' uses of discretion are based on their own understanding of the situation and shape the way that policy gets implemented. Emotional labour focuses our attention on the use of emotion in that context. It is the argument in this book that we need to examine those interactions and, specifically, the emotions that are managed and displayed within them to ascertain the impact of that interaction on the person with whom the state agent is working, be that member of the public, defendant, witness, victim, potential victim, prisoner or probationer.

Through the concept of feeling rules, the emotional labour requires us to think about how organisations shape emotional display through formal rules and policies as well as through the occupational cultures which exist within those organisations. The lens of emotional labour shows us how criminal justice agencies manipulate employees' emotion to achieve the goals of their job. This has potentially serious consequences for those working in the field and so emotional labour also enables us to understand the impact of working in criminal justice settings. This is particularly pertinent in a sector in which people work with potentially dangerous people, in dangerous situations.

Emotional labour has relevance to criminal justice in other ways, too. In addition to chapters on criminal justice policy and practice we have included chapters on the process of doing

criminological research. Criminological research is used - to varying degrees - to inform policy and practice within the field of criminal justice. By examining the process of doing research through the lens of emotional labour we can begin to see how knowledge is created and disseminated. In turn this results in policies which will have certain effects. If we understand the process of knowledge generation then we can begin to analyse the potential impact of that knowledge on policy, practice and the broader aims of criminal justice.

Emotional labour shifts our gaze away from a top down understanding of policy and reinforces the idea that in order to truly understand how criminal justice functions we need to 1) understand the processes which underpin citizens' engagement with those policies and 2) appreciate that those interactions will involve some degree of emotional labour. Thus, research in this field alerts us to the way in which emotional labour is incorporated by the penal industrial complex. Each of the chapters in this book engages with those processes in a range of contexts - both institutional and jurisdictional. As such, we hope that readers will be able to use this book to both gain an in-depth understanding of the use and role of emotional labour in specific contexts and institutions as well as gain a broader insight into how emotional labour relates to the whole field of criminal justice and discipline of criminology.

### **Overview of the book**

This book has two main aims: 1) to bring together the existing literature on emotional labour in the field of criminal justice and criminology and 2) to extend our knowledge through presenting new empirical chapters on the use of emotional labour in criminal justice and criminology. The book is split into two parts roughly along these two aims. Thus, the chapters in Part One are, in the main, literature review chapters which seek to synthesise and highlight the main findings from extant research. In order to make each chapter useful to

criminologists working in different fields, we took the decision to split these chapters, roughly, along the lines of individual criminal justice agencies.

Chapter Two, by Black and Lumsden, focuses on existing research in the police by exploring the shifting structures and expectations placed on police officers in carrying out their duties. In doing so, they suggest that efforts to reduce the strains related to the performance of emotional labour in the police would be better targeted at the structures create the stress, rather than the symptoms of those stressors. Chapter Three, by Westaby and Subryan, focuses on the role and form of emotional labour in the legal professions, a discipline which puts rationality on a pedestal and sees emotion as something which muddies judgement and clear thinking. By focusing on the rules which dictate the way that emotional labour is performed they show that practising law requires a significant amount of emotional labour, partly down to the many different display rules to which they must conform. In Chapter Four Phillips, Westaby and Fowler trace the history of emotion work in probation where they argue that emotions fell out of favour in probation policy in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They then draw on the – albeit limited – extant research in this field to show what types of emotion work probation involves as well as what the consequences of this are. Chapter Five by Nylander and Bruhn provides an overview of the emotion work involved in being a prison officer. They emphasise the importance of the individual prison and its particular circumstances which shape the use of emotion as well as the impact of this on the prisoner themselves.

Chapter Six takes us way from the formal criminal justice system and to an analysis of the emotional performed by workers in the penal voluntary sector. Quinn and Tomczak unpick the tensions between the traditional aims of the voluntary sector - citizen engagement, advocacy and empowerment - and the penal system which has, increasingly, made use of the



voluntary sector to achieve its aims become apparent. The final chapter in Part One by Waters, Fowler, Phillips and Westaby concerns the emotional labour of doing criminological research. In this chapter we bring together the limited research on the emotional labour of doing research, arguing that the nature of much criminological research means that emotional labour is likely to be necessary. The type of emotional labour required can be linked to what it means to do 'good' and/or 'rigorous' research and is thus highly disciplinary with emotion work being seen to 'muddy' the scientific process of analysis. On the contrary, we argue that to ignore emotion can result in damage to the research process.

Part Two takes a more empirical approach and comprises ten shorter chapters which focus on specific areas of criminal justice and criminology in order to deepen and extend our knowledge of emotional labour. Thus, Chapter Nine by Carol Robinson explores the emotional labour involved in providing end of life pastoral care to prisoners. Here we see prison officers manage emotions in a way which allows them to walk the tightrope between organisational and occupational norms and rules and the real feelings experienced when a prisoner dies. Chapter Ten by Duggan focuses on the work done by Independent Domestic Violence Advisors and the way in which they use emotion to support victims of domestic violence. Duggan argues that there is a real emotional toll for workers in this unexplored area of criminal justice. Anne Robinson's chapter focuses on youth justice; a relatively unexplored area when it comes to emotional labour. What stands out in Robinson's discussion - when compared to other criminal justice institutions - is the unique place of youth justice in the broader penal field. What shapes emotional labour in youth justice is the tension between the preventative aims and largely welfarist ethos of youth work working in a 'system' which demands the imposition of punishment on young people. Chapter Twelve by Ellis picks up on the themes from Chapter Seven by offering an auto-ethnographic account of the emotions required when conducting research in 'high-risk environments'. In particular Ellis examines

the way in which his own biography shaped his use of emotion in his research and how that, in turn, resulted in particular forms of data that were collected. Chapter Thirteen by Flower takes us back to the law and, in particular, the courts with findings from an innovative piece of research which involved observations of the emotions displayed and deployed in Swedish courtrooms. Swedish lawyers, Flower argues, manage emotions in whole range of ways that linked to professionalism and client expectations. Adams and Mastracci, in Chapter Fourteen, make a distinction between the emotional labour performed and experienced by different types of police officer in the US arguing that perceived organisational support is critical in terms of reducing the risk of burnout - one of the most significant adverse effects of emotional labour.

In Chapter Fifteen, Borelli takes us to the borders of Europe in an analysis of the way in which police border guards display and manage emotions when dealing with people who are identified as being in breach of immigration rules. This chapter focuses attention on the tensions contained within single roles - dealing with crime and dealing with immigration issues - and the implications that this has for those caught up in the middle. Chapter Sixteen by Nixon looks at the use of emotional labour by prison listeners who, despite not being paid, receive other benefits and privileges for the work they undertake which, in the prison context, is analogous to payment. Being a prison listener, Nixon argues, and performing emotional labour, allows prisoners to step back and view their own situations differently. Britton and Knight's chapter focuses on special constables - volunteer but fully warranted police officers - in England. They highlight the structures and contexts in which they perform emotional labour and argue that much more needs to be done to both understand and support specials in their role. Chapter Seventeen takes us back to the US and back to the field of law with an examination of the emotion work undertaken by defence lawyers working with people on death row. This chapter picks up on the concept of emotional culture which pushes us to

think more deeply about the occupational display rules which are at play in the field of law. The chapter focuses on the use anger by defence lawyers - not, as one might expect, anger towards those convicted of murder but anger directed to the death sentence itself. Linked to the previous discussion about the consequences of performing labour, the chapter highlights a potential positive effect of emotional labour - an emotion which drives them to work harder for their clients and which also opens them up to other emotions such as compassion and empathy which might not otherwise occur.

This overview of the chapters contained in this volume book has already served to highlight some key themes that run throughout: a lack of knowledge, the importance of context, circumstance and structure and how these factors shape the performance of emotional labour. In the concluding chapter we bring these together and reflect on what we have learnt and where we need to focus attention as we move forwards. We finish this introduction by reiterating our aims for the volume: to both consolidate and extend knowledge on the performance of emotional labour in criminal justice and criminology.

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<sup>i</sup> Hochschild contrasts this definition with emotion work or emotion management, which unlike emotional labour is conducted in the private context and therefore has 'use value'. Whilst emotional labour highlights the way in which emotions are done for a wage, emotion work merely connotes the work that is done.