



2012 Issue No. 22 — Hyperaesthetic Culture

Smiling in the Post-Fordist “Affective” Economy

By *Kaima Negishi*

1. Introduction

From early childhood, we are repeatedly taught when to smile and learn different situations in which smiling is encouraged, expected, seen as offensive or even tabooed. In many societies, the act of smiling is guided by very implicit codes of conduct that members of society are expected to follow. These codes may be spelt out in words or acquired from a cognitive learning process. Even if we are not familiar with these rules or mindful of our own actions, however, we still modulate the act of smiling according to the situations in which we find ourselves. The significance of this is that our bodies non-consciously interact with, affect and are affected by, proximate bodies much more than we might imagine. Focusing on this intensely corporeal relationality, I will in the following explicate on the event of smiling in the context of the late post-Fordist service-oriented economy. In doing so, I will discuss some of the key characteristics of the contemporary post-Fordist economy in relation to affect theories.

In recent times, an increasing number of social and cultural theorists have been interested in the concept of “affect.” [1] “Affect” refers to “the body’s capacity to enter into relations of movement and rest ... the power to affect and be affected,” as Brian Massumi puts it (14). They are engendered “non-consciously” in a web of *interacting* bodies. These interactive bodies are always simultaneously flowing and mutating in relation to each other, undergoing ceaseless processes of de-forming and re-forming. This complex relationality with the world around us is underpinned by the fluidity of bodily boundaries. Contrary to the popular perception that bodies are manoeuvred by the individual sovereign will, this perspective allows us to critically re-conceive how agency is in-formed by “pre-subjective” forces, and the visceral intensities that operate in the world in which we live (Manning, *Always More than One* 119; Thrift, *Intensities of Feeling* 70). Much communication between bodies is therefore *beyond signification* and takes place at the level of “lived affect” (Venn 154). In short, affects are a pre-personal, unformed and unstructured experience potential of intensity that cannot be wholly realised in language (Shouse). They are distinct from feelings and emotions where the former belongs to the personal and biographical realm, and the latter the social realm. [2]

Given that a subject is conceived through one’s engagement and negotiation with the world, the event of *being-with* is the vital condition for one to bring one’s body into being. Recently, a growing number of social and cultural theorists have claimed that one’s body is always already embedded in a complex web of interrelating bodies that simultaneously affect and are affected by one another. For instance, Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth contend that “the capacity of a body is never defined by a body alone but is always aided and abetted by, and dovetails with, the field or context of its force-relations” (3). This emerging agenda reconsiders the relationality of our bodies and the intricate link between the “incorporeal” and the “corporeal.” Moreover, it

advances the claim that one's body is constantly being "undone" and "re-done" where it navigates and channels the flow of energies in a multi-layered assemblage of social and affective forces (Braidotti 21).

Although it might first appear that this idea of "affect" is limited to abstract discussions among academics, they are not the only ones interested in exploring its potentials. In fact, many businesses are nowadays exploiting the affective capacities of our bodies in order to win the hearts of customers and ultimately extract surplus value. A powerful example of this is how in the contemporary service-oriented economy, employers increasingly prize employees who put on a big cheerful smile. The Australian Service Awards website lists a number of suggestions to "make service sparkle." At the top of the list reads, "Speak to customers – be cheerful and smile at people – frowns use 72 muscles while a smile takes 14!" As such, we can see that higher premiums are attached to workers with smiles that transmit particular affects, who have the capacity to manipulate and produce a particular affective response in their customers.

This "culture of smiling" reflects the growth of service industries where an "immaterial" form of labour has prevailed over an "industrial" form of labour to become the hegemonic mode of production (Hardt and Negri 209). Subsequently, the significance of these "affective workers" for service sectors has increased exponentially in what is now known as the "post-Fordist" economy, which is primarily oriented to the production of social relations rather than commodities (Lazzarato 142-43). One key characteristic of the post-Fordist economy is that workers' bodies are being trained to manipulate their customers' bodies. In doing so, service workers have become the principal instructors of the disciplinary practices that shape, adjust and harmonise bodies and embed and activate them in relation with other bodies. The event of smiling enables workers to stimulate customers' corporeal registers and manipulate their bodies to a certain degree. This paper will thus illustrate the growing significance of the event of smiling to the contemporary post-Fordist affective economy.

The first section of this paper introduces the Smile Scan technology and explores its potential to activate service workers' bodies by incorporating a more-affective smile, which enables them to engineer and cultivate particular affective responses in their customers' bodies. The second section moves forward to consider the growing significance of the event of smiling in the post-Fordist "affective" economy. To do so, it will illuminate how the enhanced smile produced by the Smile Scan technology facilitates the creation of differently-susceptible bodies. In the course of this investigation, moreover, this paper expounds on the "gluing character" of affects that galvanises bodies to coalesce into a collective. With a particular focus on the railway station, the third section spotlights the mechanism by which thousands of anonymous bodies are transformed into desirable bodies that are subject to management in public spaces. In doing so, I will argue that the orchestration of multiple anonymous bodies is predicated on "affective" disciplinary power which (re)produces desirable bodies through modulating their corporeal capacities for affective synchronisation. By situating this discussion in relation to the archetypally post-Fordist enterprise, the fourth section aims to grapple with both the corporeal and the incorporeal dynamics of the human face, using the notion of performativity. Finally, I conclude by suggesting that the event of smiling becomes indispensable since it functions as the invisible social glue that mediates affective relations between service workers and customers. [3] Moreover, I put forward that we should look more closely into the power of relationality beyond consciousness and will, in order to re-emphasise the notion of disciplinary power as a *productive enabling force*.

2. Smile Scan

Underscoring the significance of smiling in the late post-Fordist economy, the Japanese electronics company Omron developed a device called a "Smile Scan" in 2009, to measure one's "smile degree" and intended for staff training and development purposes. It automatically detects faces

from a video camera and grades their smiles from 0 to 100%. It also provides feedback on how to produce a better smile, for example, "lift your cheeks," "raise your eyebrows," "narrow your eyes" and so on. The scan bases its assessment on 10,000 sample faces collected over a 10-year period by Omron. As the scan is designed to evaluate smiles by the same criteria at all times, Omron claims that it allows for an objective and quantitative assessment of a smile which cannot be done by the human eyes. This point implies that the machine is capable of assisting the production of a more refined and truthful smile.

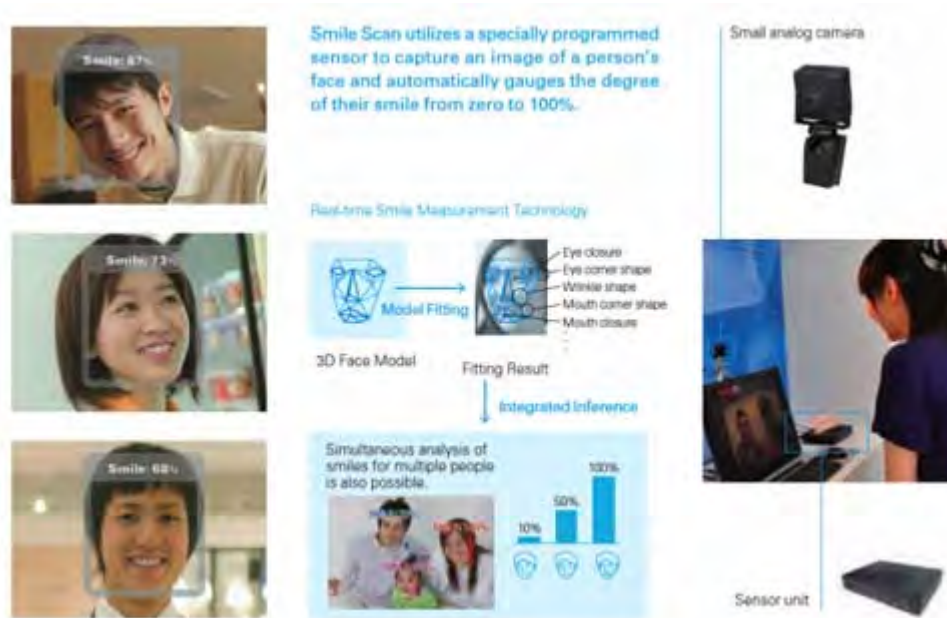


Figure 1. Omron's promotional material on the "Smile Scan" Technology. [4]

The Smile Scan adapts Omron's OKAO Vision face-sensing technology, which was originally developed for digital cameras to identify and focus on smiling faces. According to Omron, this technique derived from a consumer product is embedded in the scan to locate targeted areas of the face on the image and compares distinctive facial features such as eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth and face contour, with the faces compiled in the database (OMRON Global). The scan then estimates the age, gender, and ethnicity of the subject and constructs particular facial characteristics according to these measures. The database combines various types of 3D face-models from the database, on which the recognised facial parts are fitted to work out the subject's "smile degree" as a percentage. Although there is no data available to confirm its "accuracy," these face models are most likely to show a "genuine smile" that is characterised by the contraction of the muscles around the eye and which lifts the edges of the lip. Hence, this Smile Scan technology is designed not only to match up human visual processing capacities but also attempts to capture and visualise elusive information such as the facial expression of emotion, which has long been thought impossible for machines to process.

However, many people who have posted comments in online discussion forums perceive the Smile Scan to be a catalyst of the Orwellian dystopia where human emotions constantly become subject to surveillance. As one commentator in the BBC online forum states, "Whilst it's always nice when staff are friendly and helpful this has taken it too far. I'd imagine the prospect of being monitored and told you're not smiling enough is more likely to make you unhappy anyway!" Yet under this system of control, self-reflexive exercises are designed in a way that workers *do not* feel that their subjectivities are being managed. Put differently, their senses become highly anaesthetised. Governing their subjectivity in this way creates an illusion that there is "no conflict between the pursuit of productivity, efficiency and competitiveness ... and the 'humanization' of work" (Rose 56). Alluding to the mutual benefit that both employers and employees may be able to jointly achieve, this ideological ethic of labour represses the instances where workers'

subjectivities are exploited by the employers and alienated from their bodies.

In the early 1980s, American sociologist Arlie Hochschild observed a tendency among experienced workers to excel at “developing a ‘healthy’ estrangement, a clear separation of self from role” (188). The Delta Airline’s staff training that Hochschild documented aimed at preserving the distinction between “inner-essence” (private-self) and “outer-face” (performance-body) through a patterned repetition of particular acting techniques. Without adhering to certain patterns of performance, the distinction between the performance-body and the private-self easily gets disrupted and undone. For this reason, Hochschild indicated that the worker’s double subjectivity – performance-body and private-self – was most sustainable through performances by which the boundaries between natural and unnatural, genuine and pretention, inside and outside are constructed and *consciously* policed.

While emphasising the intensifying management of emotions, Hochschild constructed a binary distinction between the “managed heart” and the “unmanaged heart.” Nonetheless, the distinction between these two domains is often rather vague and nuanced. In fact, one’s emotions are almost always subject to a certain level of self-management not only in the “public” sphere but also in the “private” sphere. Given that emotion management may be practiced outside the “public” domain, what Hochschild called the “unmanaged heart” would rarely be found anywhere, even at home. Drawing upon Erving Goffman’s conceptualisation of emotion work, which highlighted the consciously orchestrated nature of performance, Hochschild insisted on the clear boundary between on-stage performance and off-stage selfhood. Nonetheless, these spheres were hardly ever mutually exclusive and, increasingly, today’s post-Fordist economy puts an extra pressure on service workers to relinquish this separation. As such, the reverse of what Hochschild illustrated appears to hold true. That is, the categorical boundaries between “work” and “life” and “performance-body” and “private-self” have become much more ambiguous. In light of this point, one can argue that the more experienced the worker, the more difficult it becomes to bring two selves into play interchangeably. As part of the training process archetypal of the contemporary moment, the Smile Scan technology is designed to bring the non-conscious habit of smiling to the surface of the consciousness in order to modify it into a more affective smile. Put differently, the Smile Scan technology nurtures a mindful awareness over the already-incorporated act of smiling so that workers can “*sway*” their customers with more vitality.

Soon after the release of the Smile Scan in 2009, the Keikyu Corporation, which operates a railway service in the southwest part of Tokyo, announced that it would set up the technology at fifteen key stations and in one staff training centre. The press release emphasises that the primary goal is to improve employees’ quality of service and make the stations more comfortable and pleasant spaces to be (Keikyu Corporation). To achieve this objective, staff are encouraged to check their smile before starting their work and carrying out operations that involve serving their customers face-to-face. Also, as part of an on-going personal development scheme, they are required to print out and carry a photo of their best-scored smile recorded on the scan to remind them to keep smiling. With such regular and frequent exercises, these railway staff are expected to habituate the practice of responding to their customers with a smile. As the company aims to “tangibly” engender the feeling of comfort, security and safety in railway passengers, the staff are now subjected to an increasing level of surveillance.

Cultivation of consciousness is one of the central components of what Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri call “affective labour” (292-93). Improving service quality today requires workers do more than just put on a performance. This means that some businesses differentiate their services by training their workers to engage with customers’ bodies so as to evoke particular affective responses. In consequence, affective labour obliges the labouring-body to put private-life to work in order to engineer and cultivate certain types of affects. While breaking down the border between public (work) and private (life), this emerging mode of labour opens the workers’ bodies in the sense that it facilitates an uninhibited transmission of affects. [5] In other words, workers’

bodies are opened up and made more susceptible to being affected. This increased susceptibility enables the workers to receive even the most diminutive affective signals seeped out of customers' bodies. In this way, the Smile Scan technology removes the communicative impasse that lies between workers and customers, and accelerates circulation of affects between them. Consequently, the production of somatic effects triggered by these affective intensities becomes an unmediated process and this leads the affective bodies to coalesce and shape a sociality more smoothly.

In this sense, the repetitive stylisation (or disciplining) of workers' bodies through the Smile Scan technology diminishes the boundary between the "performing-self" and the "private-self" as the latter makes its way into the former. Their bodies thus incorporate the disciplinary intervention that their employer imposes. Here, the Smile Scan becomes a "technology of the self" (Foucault 18). Whilst the balancing act between these two selves requires workers to discern public from private, the boundary has become ever-more obscure and difficult to maintain in the current post-Fordist economy. Moreover, employers also demand their workers' bodies be fully engaged generating positive affective sensations in customers. Since a "surface" act is not quite capable of engineering these impressions, the workers are instructed to undo their performing-self and instead, bring their whole body into play. That is, the employers ask their workers to smile as they do in their private time at home. Seen in this light, workers' private lives are increasingly put to work so as to engender particular types of affects. Activating workers' private lives at work and subsequently unleashing customers' bodies for affective interaction and responsive transformation become the primary concerns for the business operators in post-Fordist service-oriented capitalism.

The Smile Scan is, therefore, designed to condition the workers' bodies to become more susceptible to affective gestures. In contemporary "affective" capitalism, the quality of being attentive to affects becomes one of the key factors for any business to be successful. In this regard, the Smile Scan technology particularly targets one of the most receptive surfaces of the body in seeking a more productive way to engineer affects and inflect customers' bodies. The human face is one of the central corporeal surfaces responsible for projecting and capturing an excess of affect, facilitating affective contagion among the interacting bodies. The Smile Scan technology is thus intended to transfigure one of the most responsive affective corporeal surfaces. This modulation of the face extends its potency for affecting and being affected. Crucially, the contagious quality of affective intensity is almost always engineered and transmitted through the face. The face is where most expression and communication of affect takes place (Gibbs, *After Affect* 191). For this very reason, the face is most susceptible to being manipulated.

The Japanese philosopher Tetsuro Watsuji has asserted that the facial surface "is not simply one part of the physical body, but it is none other than the seat of the subjective that subdues the physical body for itself, that is, the seat of personality" (154). From this perspective, the face can be thought of as the skin that fosters the cohesion between inside and outside, psychic and social, and mind and body. Although bodies in the contemporary affective economy are conditioned to become more receptive to affective charge, affective workers, in contrast, train their bodies to retain a "critical distance" from the affective flow of intensity. These workers are disciplined to be always wary of suspicious bodies that may potentially trigger unanticipated events to disrupt the orchestration of railway systems. As a result, they develop immunity against particular kinds of affects. [6] While engineering positive affects such as pleasure and contentment to manipulate passengers' behaviours, they are trained to stay mindful to prevent their own bodies from being affected to the same degree.

The face certainly plays a central role in mediating positive affective communication since facial musculature appears to be the location where happiness is most profoundly simulated (Oberman et al. 176). Charged with a strong affective intensity, the smiling face accelerates the proliferation of pleasure, comfort and joy to establish a collective among those sharing the space. This means

that the affective energy shapes “not the subjectivity of an individual, but the subjectivity of an associated milieu that orients before it directs” (Manning, *Always More than One* 126). Regulating and manipulating this intensity, affective workers attempt to mould customers’ bodies in a certain fashion so as to control space. To investigate the mechanism by which intense flows of affective energies are modulated, I now turn to examine how railway staff might actually carry out this “affective labour” in the transit space.

3. Affective Capture

In everyday life, we encounter various ephemeral sensations such as excitement, comfort, anger, disgust, fear, shame and pain that cannot be fully articulated in language. Massumi argues that the affective flow of non-conscious intensity “disconnected from meaningful sequencing” is capable of infecting one’s body and altering it (25). For instance, waiting for a delayed train on a platform or lining up in a long queue at a ticketing office, gives rise to an intense charge of affective energy, which easily takes hold of passengers’ bodies. In many cases, this corporeal charge is so powerful that it cannot be repressed by conscious “will” (Bissell, *Passenger Mobilities* 276). It surmounts one’s rationality and seizes the body. In the post-Fordist economy, transit workers put on an affective smile to temper this intense affective energy in railway stations. In this sense, these workers are a subset of what has come to be known as “affective workers.” These workers, at customer service desks, ticket offices, or striding through the flow of passenger bodies on platforms, intervene into and modulate passengers’ temperaments, which in turn maintains the affective atmosphere of the railway station. In the architecture of the transit space workers are not situated as directional object-signs. While they assist and guide the passengers through the space like signposts and maps, they share with passengers a biological body at the basic physiological and somatic level. This most rudimentary tie enables the workers to approach the bodies of passengers differently from these material directories. Commanding the passengers’ capacities for affecting, and being affected, transit workers are able to direct these passing bodies with an improved efficacy in an encounter that ideally generates trust, happiness and contentment.

Being attended by the “affective” transit workers, the passengers’ bodies are tacitly yet progressively disciplined to incorporate desirable comportment such as being calm and still to avoid tempers from flaring in times of crowds and delay. The tensed bodies are relaxed as the transit workers manipulate them by modulating the intense energy flow. The effectiveness of this disciplinary practice is accomplished through opening up the capacities of passengers’ bodies and enhancing the capacity of transit workers to be affected. These two mechanisms epitomise the role of transit workers. The potency of affective communication through non-verbal registers such as sight, sound, smell, taste, gesture and movement, should not be underrated. Adjusting these affective registers allows transit workers to contrive a particular affective intensity in the bodies of passengers and refashion them as more susceptible bodies. In the contemporary post-Fordist economy driven by the creation of social relations, it appears that disciplinary power is increasingly practiced through affective means. In this regard, Ben Anderson has pointed out that “[t]he excess of affect is now not so much regulated as induced, not so much prohibited as solicited. Modulation replaces constraint” (168). So the Smile Scan modulates the bodies of transit workers, which in turn inflect rather than hamper the passengers’ bodies in prompting them to conform to a certain set of desirable comportments such as standing still quietly and patiently while waiting for trains to arrive. Seen from this angle, smiling is not just an emotional expression, it is also a technique to provoke the irreducibly bodily and autonomic capacity of both workers’ and customers’ individualised bodies to coalesce and shape the “collectivity of a life” (Manning, *Always More than One* 117-18).

With the Smile Scan, transit workers are able to put on affective smiles to productively integrate a range of bodies including the suspicious bodies that are marked as deviant a priori in transit spaces. [7] Hence, they become “tipping points” from which positive affects such as joy, comfort

and security can disseminate over a wide population. When the event of smiling becomes incorporated into a diversity of bodies and generates somatic effects it produces an incipient potential of the virtual. To explore this point further, I would now like to investigate the performative facet of the human face which assembles individuated bodies to shape and coordinate masses in the railway station.

4. Performativity of the face

Our faces are a highly receptive medium of communication. Even without conscious attention, we are often able to automatically “catch” various affective signals expressed in subtle facial movements on the lips, nose, cheeks and eyes. Since our faces are extremely responsive to these affective signals, they get affected non-consciously in response to them. Significantly, they not only catch but also mimic the face of the interacting partner. Jessica Lakin et al. argue that this disposition to “adopt the behaviours, postures, or mannerisms of interaction partners without awareness or intent” has played a fundamental part in the history of human evolution (147). Since the formation of social groups is fundamentally important for the human species to survive in the constantly evolving physical and ecological world, humans have developed the act of non-conscious mimicry to facilitate a harmonious relationship amongst community members (149). In the field of social psychology, a number of studies have indicated that mimicking the behaviours of others creates rapport with them and a feeling of inclusion in the group (150). This rapport gets amplified between group members and leads them to repeatedly mimic each other, which in turn generates more rapport. Here, non-conscious mimicry functions as “social glue” and plays a vital role in taking on the emotions and moods of others.

This “social glue” entails an integrative power that productively disciplines bodies to conform to group-specific compartments. According to Judith Butler, this incorporation of desirable bodily compartments confers on them “the very condition ... [they] depend on [for their] existence and ... harbour and preserve in the beings that [they] are” (*Gender Trouble* 2). And importantly, this engenders rapport amongst group members. To maintain this rapport, they repeatedly perform certain practices to “performatively” style their bodies in a desirable fashion. Bodily comportment is one effect of such repetitive inscription where cultural meanings are externally attached and incorporated. Butler asserts that this reproduction of the disciplined body then becomes the necessary condition that renders one visible as a subject (*Imitation and Gender Subordination* 28). Occupying the position of the “subject,” the body is compulsively modulated to express prevailing norms. Since the body is constantly exposed to an intense pressure to undo itself, a continuous reproduction of regulatory norms confers the subject a social existence. This involuntary act of reiterating disciplinary practices becomes routinised and gradually fades into the non-conscious realm. In the face of non-conscious engagement, the reproduction of norms continues to be the instrumental force that brings one into being.

Non-conscious mimicry is the performative mechanism by which regulatory practice is reproduced to bring the subject into existence. Operating from within the prevailing power structure, subjects repeatedly mimic and reproduce desirable comportment to construct intelligible bodies. This, according to Anna Gibbs, is “a necessary process fundamental to social continuity and stability” (*Affect Theory and Audience* 260). The regulatory conformity may be attributed to the material resources that these subjects do not have access to (Adams 524) and for which they cannot seek any alternative stylisation of the body. This non-conscious act of performative mimicry (repetition) is also actively performed in the interaction between affective bodies. Non-conscious mimicry is not just simple visual copying of an act but is a multisensory communicative process through various sensory and affective registers. This process, described by Gibbs as “mimetic communication,” drives synchronisation between bodies as they affect each other to reinforce the regulatory power of conformity (*After Affect* 186). Affective bodies stimulate other bodies to mimic and resonate with them. As they enter into affective relations, they non-consciously adjust their corporeal temperature and reciprocally attune to each other. This

affective-tuning may be described as a “relational merging” or “co-constitutive becoming” (Manning, *What if it Didn't* 39).

The process of integration only goes so far as *stimulating* suspicious bodies to mimic disciplined bodies. In other words, this integrative power does not force, but only induces undesirable bodies to behave in a “correct” manner. This point verifies Foucault’s assertion that power does not operate in a top-down direction but in a diffusive fashion to discipline individual bodies (Foucault 153). The potent non-conscious corporeal dynamics enact the (con)formative power to assimilate undesirable bodies with desirable bodies. When railway workers spot suspicious bodies, they produce an affective charge and prompt them to correct their bodies with reference to the former. This affective practice thus narrows the margin between the workers’ disciplined bodies and the passengers’ bodies to proliferate particular norms to an extensive populace. While smiling at these undesirable bodies in interaction, transit workers’ orderly bodies affectively discipline them. With the use of the Smile Scan, therefore, transit workers train their bodies to enhance their capacities to catch and respond to affects in order to flexibly accommodate customers with different levels of desirable bodies.

In transit spaces, however, the affective atmospheres produced through corporeal interactions are temporary and erratic, since the affective bodies move to other spaces and merge with other bodies. That is to say, it is highly space-dependent and only produced in “being-with” and “here and now.” Yet, these atmospheres exert a potent force on the bodies to align themselves and form a “mobile collective” (Bissell, *Vibrating Materialities* 485). This affective energy involved in the transmission of affects is so concentrated and sticky that it virtually arrests bodies as the robust shot of affective energy rapidly flows through the bodies. The immediate infusion of affective energy is nevertheless not just a momentary event but continues to have enduring effects on bodies.

Whilst bodies just pass through railway stations, affective sensations capture these bodies and continually discipline them. The transient, yet extremely intense charge of affects that passengers receive in passing dwells in their bodies to continually modify their biochemistry. The intensity of this affective “pull” is certainly not as strong as its first impression once it has seeped through and settled in bodies. Hence, most of them of these affects gradually wane and recede into the background. But in some cases, enduring affective energies intensify and rise to the surface of consciousness, where they get discharged as emotional outputs (Massumi 35). The remains of these sensations from past affective atmospheres frequently dislocate the regulatory working of bodies. Affective energies seize bodies to constitute their behaviours and actions beyond the surface of consciousness. In this way, the embodiment of affects is achieved by “what remains, what persists, what survives, when intention and activity ebb and flow away” (Harrison 432).

5. Conclusion

The Smile Scan plays a pivotal role in embodying transit workers’ affective smiles, which enables affective sensations to be circulated more effectively. This allows transit workers to produce “the invisible glue” (Massumi 217) that facilitates the affectual navigation of passengers. As these affective energies seep into passengers’ bodies to provide enduring sensations, the management of anonymous crowds passing through transit public spaces such as railway stations becomes feasible. The Keikyu Corporation’s initiative to implement the technology thus demonstrates the growing significance of the affective smile as an inventive technique to take charge of transient bodies in public spaces.

For many contemporary service-sector businesses, understanding this somatic, non-conscious process has become vital to their successful operation. In fact, the increasing popularity of the Smile Scan technology strongly signals this emerging trend. As we saw earlier in the railway operator’s initiative to implement this technology, it has today become almost necessary for

service-sector businesses to engineer, cultivate and manipulate affects so as to navigate anonymous bodies and to secure particular spaces. It is thus crucial for us to grapple with these dynamic corporeal undertakings which operate beyond one's conscious realm in order to understand the current post-Fordist "affective" economy. The development of the Smile Scan technology indicates that these undertakings are today "increasingly available to be worked on and cultivated through a kind of performance management," as Thrift puts it (*Non-representational Theory* 241). Above all, this article has put forward that the Smile Scan technology rather than human managers, is increasingly being conscripted as part of the "performance" management of service workers.

Having said that, however, this paper has extended its observation to the dynamic capacity of the Smile Scan technology for transforming our bodies and acting as "invisible social glue," which is more than the performance management Thrift speaks of. Importantly, this affective method of collectivising individual bodies prompts us to reconsider the power of relationality beyond consciousness and to re-emphasise the notion of disciplinary power as a *productive enabling force*. As such, there is a pressing need today to reassess the relationship between our bodies and what are known as "technologies of the self," in a manner that reflects their complexities.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank David Bissell for reading through and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper. I would also like to thank the two anonymous referees for their generous advice and insightful comments.

Kaima Dan-Negishi is a Ph.D candidate in the School of Sociology, The Australian National University. His current research looks at the gesture of smiling as an "affective event" in effort to understand the role of railway station staff in the post-Fordist service-oriented economy.

Endnotes

1. Most of these theorists are heavily influenced by and draw upon Gilles Deleuze's writings, notably, Brian Massumi and Nigel Thrift.
2. Here it is crucial to distinguish "affect" from "emotion." To do this, it is useful to consider the infant's expression of emotion. Notwithstanding a lack of biography and language skills to experience feelings, infants display emotions (Shouse). If emotions belong to the social, then the infant's display of emotions seems to be pure expressions of affect. With affect, the infant feels feelings. Infants orient their feelings solely with their innate capacity, that is, affect. Using various corporeal registers of expression, infants are capable of conveying feelings. In this sense, affect emerges prior to will and consciousness. The infant's body reacts to numerous stimuli that impinge on it by "infolding them all at once and registering them as an intensity." In this way, affect may be transmitted between bodies that resonate with one another beyond consciousness, "independent of context or meaning." At the same time, when habituated through routine practices, affect becomes glued onto one's body and begins to exert a certain degree of control over one's behaviour (see for instance, Bissell's theorisation of habit in *Agitating the Powers of Habit*). As Megan Watkins has suggested with reference to Merleau-Ponty, when affect becomes incorporated into "muscular memory"

- (279), it bypasses will and consciousness, creating a vacuum which affect inhabits alongside cognitive properties. Seen in this light, affect is a powerful social force that allows us to re-conceptualise many forms of media and technologies that have long been branded as mere ideological apparatuses.
3. This article may only offer a theoretical and somewhat hypothetical account given that I have not conducted any empirical fieldwork at this stage.
 4. Please see Toto's article on TechCrunch.com for media coverage.
 5. One might also argue that the distinction drawn by Hochschild is from the onset very artificial as it presumes the strong dialectic tension between the "performance-self" and the "private-self." Informed by the Goffmanesque dramaturgical approach, this clear-cut separation discounts their complex interrelations. Therefore this distinction conceived by Hochschild may actually constitute continuity.
 6. Thrift calls these affects "firework affects" that intensify imaginaries to intervene or impede one's corporeal capacity for being affected (*Non-representational Theory* 241).
 7. In the post-Fordist economy, the regime of security employs various affective technologies and techniques in effort to regulate and align individuals and preserve social cohesion. In fact, news reports, TV drama series on cold case murders and crime fictions ceaselessly reproduce the discourse of fear to mobilise and manipulate populations. The fear invented by these devices stigmatises particular segments of society and particular conducts as "fear factors" and "dangerous enemies." In consequence, these bodies and practices become "marked." For instance, Muslim men are often marked as potential threats and thus become subject to rigorous scrutiny (Noble and Poynting 129). In effect, the widespread fear over these marked bodies tightly limits their movements and hinders them from entering into "spaces of local and national belonging" (137). Such biopolitical control of particular bodies (and conducts) is very powerful in the sense that it prompts these non-conforming bodies to assimilate with the unmarked, already-conforming desirable bodies.

Works Cited

- Adams, Matthew. "Hybridizing Habitus and Reflexivity: Towards an Understanding of Contemporary Identity?" *Sociology*. 40.3 (2006): 511-528.
- Anderson, Ben. "Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of 'Total War'." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010. 161-185.
- The Australian Customer Service Awards. "Service with a Smile." *ServiceExcellence.com.au*. (n.d.). 29 July 2011
www.serviceexcellence.com.au/content_common/pg-customer-service-with-a-smile.seo
- BBC "Have Your Say: How Important Is a Smile?" (n.d.). 25 July 2011
newsforums.bbc.co.uk/nol/thread.jspa?sortBy=2&forumID=6735&start=0&tstart=0&edition=2&ttl=20110922005340#paginator
- Bissell, David. "Passenger Mobilities: Affective Atmospheres and the Sociality of Public Transport." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 28 (2010): 270-289.
- . "Vibrating Materialities: Mobile-Body-Technology-Relations." *Area*. 42.4 (2010): 479-486.

- . "Agitating the Powers of Habit: Towards a Volatile Politics of Thought." *Theory and Event*.15: 1 (2012).
- Braidotti, Rosi. *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. Cambridge: Polity, 2002.
- Butler, Judith. "Imitation and Gender Insubordination." *Inside/Out Lesbian Theories, Gay Theories*. Ed. Diana Fuss. New York: Routledge, 1991. 13-31.
- . *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Foucault, Michel. *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.
- Gibbs, Anna. "After Affect: Sympathy, Synchrony, and Mimetic Communication." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Eds Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010. 186-205.
- . "Affect Theory and Audience." *The Handbook of Media Audiences*. Ed. Virginia Nightingale. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011. 251-266.
- Gregg, Melissa, and Gregory J. Seigworth. "An Inventory of Shimmers." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010. 1-27.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Harrison, Paul. "Corporeal Remains: Vulnerability, Proximity, and Living on After the End of the World." *Environment and Planning A*. 40 (2008): 423-445.
- Hochschild, Arlie. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.
- Keikyu Corporation. "News Release: Ekikakariin no edao-do wo sokutei dekiru smile scan wo dounyu itashimasu." Keikyu Web (30 June 2009). 18 July 2011
<www.keikyu.co.jp/company/news/2009/detail/000802.html>
- Lakin, Jessica L, Valerie E Jefferis, Clara Michelle Cheng, and Tanya L. Chartrand. "The Chameleon Effect As Social Glue: Evidence for the Evolutionary Significance of Nonconscious Mimicry." *Journal of Nonverbal Behaviour*. 27.3 (2003): 145-162.
- Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Lazzarato, Maurizio. "Immaterial Labor." *Radical Thought in Italy: A Potential Politics*. Eds. Paulo Virno and Michael Hardt. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. 133-147.
- Manning, Erin. "What if it Didn't All Begin and End with Containment? Towards a Leaky Sense of Self." *Body and Society*. 15.3 (2009): 33-45.
- . "Always More than One: The Collectivity of a Life." *Body and Society*. 16.1 (2010): 117-127.
- Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Oberman, Lindsay M., Piotr Winkielman, and Vilayanur S. Ramachandran. "Face to Face: Blocking Facial Mimicry Can Selectively Impair Recognition of Emotional Expressions."

Social Neuroscience. 2.3-4 (2007): 167-178.

OMRON Corporation. "OKAO Vision." *OMRON Global* (n.d.). 25 Aug. 2011

Rose, Nikolas. *Governing of the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*. 2nd ed. London: Free Association Books, 1999.

Shouse, Eric. "Feeling, Emotion, Affect." *M/C Journal* 8.6 (2005). 11 Aug. 2011

Thrift, Nigel. "Intensities of Feeling: Towards a Spatial Politics of Affect." *Geografiska Annaler* 86.B (2004): 57-78.

---. *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008.

Toto, Serkan. "Smile Scan: Omron Updates Its Smile-O-Meter." *TechCrunch.com* (28 January 2011). 22 July 2011

Venn, Couze. "Individuation, Relationality, Affect: Rethinking the Human in Relation to the Living." *Body and Society*. 16.1 (2010): 129-161.

Watsuji, Tetsuro. "Mask and Persona." Trans. Carl M. Johnson. *Japan Studies Review*. XV (2011): 147-155.

Watkins, Megan. "Desiring Recognition, Accumulating Affect." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Eds. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010. 269-285.