Book Reviews 69

downward pressure on wages and working conditions across networked organizations in an increasingly globalized world.

There is something for everyone to take away from this book, academics, managers, union leaders, and policy makers alike. Doellgast also leaves the reader with some hope. Convergence on poor working conditions and low pay is not the inevitable outcome for noncore service workers. Differences in national industrial relations institutions and strategies adopted by worker representatives to pursue dignity in the workplace can reduce economic inequality and fundamentally alter management strategic choice in adoption of high- versus low-road employment models.

Mirchandani, K. (2012). Phone Clones: Authenticity Work in the Transnational Service Economy. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 192 pp. \$23.95 (paper).

**Reviewed by:** Melissa M. Sloan, University of South Florida Sarasota-Manatee, Sarasota. FL. USA

DOI: 10.1177/0730888412467766

The outsourcing of customer service work has become essential to the success of Western corporations. Advances in technology facilitated a shift from faceto-face to voice-to-voice delivery of customer service and allowed for the establishment of clear lines of communication between distant nations. This technological innovation, combined with the availability of low-cost labor and appealing national policies, has led to a dramatic increase in the globalization of service work, with the majority of outsourced service work taking place in India. Its colonial history, large educated and English-speaking population, and tax advantages provided to technology-based companies make India an ideal location for Western call centers. For Indian workers, these customer service jobs come with the benefits of relatively high pay and clean, organized workspaces; however, they must perform their work while confronting Western backlash against outsourcing. This work necessitates what Kiran Mirchandani terms "authenticity work" for Indian workers to appear similar enough to their Western customers to provide high quality service while seeming different enough not to threaten Western jobs. In *Phone Clones: Authenticity Work in* the Transnational Service Economy, Mirchandani draws on data from one hundred in-depth interviews with frontline call center workers in New Delhi, Bangalore, and Pune, who serve customers in Australia, Canada, the United

Kingdom, and the United States, to develop the concept of authenticity work and highlight its implications for transnational service workers.

The authenticity work that Mirchandani describes does not involve being real or true to oneself. Rather, it relates to authenticity as an accurate representation or copy, a clone, and "authenticity work" refers to the efforts made in claiming legitimacy as an ideal service worker. Indian call center workers must negotiate constructions of themselves as different and deficient while at the same time establishing the familiarity with Western clients deemed necessary to provide quality service.

Indian call center workers are constructed as different through their use of the English language and their physical location in a foreign land. Indian customer service agents are required to undergo extensive English language training where the Western English accent is considered correct and Indian speakers of English are considered inadequate in their use of the language. Further separating the Indian workers from their customers is the requirement that workers reveal to customers that they are indeed working in India. This practice exposes workers to angry outbursts from customers fearful of outsourcing. Mirchandani argues that revealing workers' geographical distance serves the purpose of providing Western customers with opportunities for everyday expressions of nationalism.

At the same time that Indian call center workers are aware that they are objects of hate, they need to appear "just like" their Western customers. This process is initiated by the Western companies through the use of elaborate recruitment and monitoring practices. While call center jobs are advertised as being open to anyone, the workers that are hired are the ones considered most clone-able—those already conversant with Western culture. Once hired, workers are expected to reflect the attitudes and lifestyles of their customers, and they are closely monitored to ensure that they meet Western standards of customer service. Indian call center workers must also engage in emotion work to sound caring and deferential to their frequently disrespectful customers. Dealing with irate customers and overt expressions of racism is considered a job skill, a normal part of customer service work that call center workers must respond to with understanding.

An additional way that Indian call center workers become cultural clones of their Western customers is by working on Western time. The commitment of Western corporations to provide customer service around the clock means that much of the work in Indian call centers occurs throughout the night, when the rest of the country is asleep. Workers alter their schedules and sleeping patterns, juggling family care responsibilities and often traveling to work at dangerous times. Thus, Indian call center workers go to great lengths to make themselves familiar to their Western clients. Authenticity work is

Book Reviews 71

necessary to negotiate familiarity and difference in order to provide customer service that meets Western expectations.

*Phone Clones* is thoroughly researched and the data are impressive. Throughout the book, Mirchandani supports her arguments with interview excerpts. This allows the reader to hear the words of the call center workers themselves and provides tremendous insight into the experience of transnational service work.

Mirchandani argues that studying the globalization of service work provides insight into the microprocesses of global economic capitalism. *Phone Clones* highlights the hidden skill involved in the "bridging activities" necessary for successful customer service across national boundaries. Although the study focused on Indian call center workers, authenticity work is a necessary part of all transnational customer service and is sure to be an important concept in scholarship on the globalization of service work.

Mullaney, J. L., & Shopes, J. H. (2012). *Paid to Party:Working Time and Emotion in Direct Home Sales*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 208 pp. \$24.95 (paper), \$72.00 (cloth).

Reviewed by: Kathryn J. Lively, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, USA DOI: 10.1177/0730888412458419

Situating their analyses somewhere in the nexus of Arlie Russell Hochschild's *The Managed Heart* (1983), *The Second Shift* (1989), and *The Time Bind* (1997), Mullaney and Shopes introduce us to the world of Direct Home Sales [DHS], a billion-dollar industry that is changing the way that women navigate the demands of work and family. Striking the perfect balance between theory and empiricism, *Paid to Party* is a must have for any scholar interested in work, emotion, gender, or family.

Epitomized by baskets, candles, makeup, and sex toys, "The business model [of direct selling] involves the sale of a consumer product or service, person-to-person, away from a fixed retail location, primarily through inhome product demonstrations or parties" (p. 5). To distinguish themselves from typical forms of work, DHS recruiters often market themselves using a series of so-called *F words*. Historically, these have included words like females, friends, food, and financial perks. Recently, however, this list has grown to include flexibility, fulfillment, freedom, family first, fantasy, and feelings—all of which may hold more appeal to more contemporary women.