Baristas: The Artisan Precariat

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ABSTRACT

My research on the work identit(ies) of baristas demonstrates that different workplaces, in conjunction with individual biographies, produce different kinds of work identities. Connected to these differences are the actual and perceived levels of skill and/or social status ascribed to workers within the service work triadic relationship (customers, co-workers/managers and workers). The higher the level of skill or social status, the greater the capacity of workers to experience more autonomy in their work and/or access improved working conditions. These findings are informed by my research approach, which incorporates three key methods: key informant interviews; observation/participant observation; life history interviews; all of which is underpinned by the mystory approach and autoethnography.

My findings from the case study research on the barista work identity are expressed in the following. (1) The different work identities within a specific occupation contribute to the heterogeneity of service workers and service work. This heterogeneity, in turn, obscures the range of skills utilised in the technical and presentational labour mobilised in service work. The skills are obscured by the social and practice-based nature of knowledge transmission in service work like that of baristas, as well as by the dynamic and shifting alliances that may occur in the triadic relationship of customer, workers and employer/manager. (2) Interactive service workers are involved in providing labour or work that is more complex than is socially understood and recognised. This complexity stems from the ways in which presentational labour is commodified, appropriated and mobilised in the workplace within the spaces of the organisational context, internal practices, and the service encounter. (3) I further argue that service workers are also dehumanised as part of the service encounter through the structure of capitalism, specifically the application of commodity fetishism to workers by customers, colleagues,

managers, capital and at times themselves. Commodity fetishism dehumanises workers, creating an empathy gap between customers/managers and workers. As such, the commodity fetishisation of service workers also reinforces and promotes compliance with the insecure and precarious employment practices common to occupations in the service sector. (4) As the conditions of precarious work continue to spread, the employment relationship is being altered in relation to consumption practices. Based on this shift in employment relations, I argue that we are moving towards a labour market and society shaped by the practices of the consumer society as well as the traditional production-based economy. However, the increasing influence of consumption practices stems from neoliberal inspired changes in employment relationships rather than the consumer society emphasis on agentic identity projects. As such, the self-determining identity projects highlighted by researchers engaged in aspects of service work and consumption-based research also need to be accompanied by an understanding of the political economy and structural forces which shape the labour process.

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PREFACE

Lewis Carroll invited the millions who have read his books to go down a rabbit hole. (This is a fitting metaphor that researchers know well, from the balancing act of learning about something from the outside in and then from the inside out.)

I invite you, dear reader, to join me on my outside, inside–inside, outside journey. An important aspect of my journey into and through the written text is my use of an autoethnographic story at the start of each chapter, signalled to the reader through the use of italics.

In line with the practices of autoethnography from time to time an inner monologue has been included as part of the main body text of chapters. When these inner monologue comments appear, this will be signalled to the reader through the use of text that is also in italics.

Autoethnography as part of the mystory approach is defined in Chapter 1 and discussed in Chapter 2.

Lastly, although the APA 6th Edition is to use double quotation marks to signal emphasis, the use of slang, or terms used in an ironic manner and single quotation marks to signal quoted text, in line with British punctuation, this thesis uses single quotation marks for emphasis and double quotation marks for quoted material.

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CHAPTER ONE: BARISTAS

I first noticed the barista occupation in Wellington, when my work colleagues would only go to certain cafés on certain days to make sure they got a coffee made by the 'right' barista. Until this point in time (late in the year 2000), I had never really thought about the person making the coffee. I investigated my work colleagues' focus on specific baristas by talking to a barista with a coffee cart in the street below my building. Waiting for your coffee at a cart, rather than being seated at a café, had the added benefit for me of bringing the baristas out of the backspace of production into service provision. I came to realise that baristas create tangible relationships with customers via very short conversations. I began to see why some baristas attracted customers who followed them from business to business—and that, similar to hairdressers, they were a 'special' kind of worker providing an individualisable service beyond the technical tasks of cutting hair or making coffee.

My interest deepened as I watched some baristas attract regular customers and maintain a flow of steady business, even when they engaged in authoritative, angry and dismissive behaviour. An important part of good customer service is treating customers well, as if they are always right, or as a queen or king. Therefore, abusing customers verbally or through body language is inconsistent with the standard expectations of servility associated with service work.

My insights raised a number of contradictory thoughts that were expanded as I further considered the occupation of baristas. For example, as I was listening to ZM Radio one morning in 2003, the DJ listed the top five most popular jobs, and the job of barista was number three. I wondered what was it about this job in hospitality—an industry characterised as having poor working conditions, low pay and the high turnover of staff—that made it overall the third most popular job. The power of this narrative of *desirable or popular work was demonstrated to me further after I heard a story of a barista who left law school to work full-time in a café. I realised then that the image of the barista work identity was one of such glamour and popularity, it could out-compete the prospects of a high wage professional career. My observation of the 'cool' factor was reinforced by the ways the occupational identity of baristas is represented in popular culture and everyday life.*

Another point of interest to me was that even though training programmes are run in polytechnics and schools, most baristas I knew had not participated in any formal training leading to certified qualifications. Training, if it was provided to workers, was on- rather than off-the-job. The lack of emphasis on training I had noted is consistent with many parts of service sector occupations. However, given the relatively low cost of courses and the ability to access government-funded training, I did not understand why both employees and café owners were reluctant to use the formal training on offer. Furthermore, despite the reluctance to participate in or purchase systematic training, my experiences with baristas in Wellington suggested that their work required high-level skills.

For example, not everyone can make good espresso coffee. Equally, when the drink is made, the barista's skill or lack thereof can be immediately detected from the quality of the foam, the sloppy or complete lack of latte art, the colour of the crema, or the presence of grounds in the cup. These are just visual checks–taste and smell also reveal the baristas' capability to pour a shot.

In sum, these points of interest or contradictions are:

- *that the occupation of baristas has moved from the backstage space of cafés or bistros to the front spaces where coffee-makers can now engage with customers, and by doing so unite production and service labour processes.*

- *that baristas can operate successfully without adhering to the customer service rhetoric that the customer is always right or a sovereign consumer.*
- *a disconnect between the image of baristas employed in a popular, fashionable and sustainable occupation, with the poor working conditions associated with the precariat class, of which the barista can be a part.*
- *café and coffee bar owners' disengagement from participating in or purchasing state-sponsored or supplied off-the-job training.*
- *contrasting social perceptions of the occupation of barista as either high or low skilled workers.*

Given the complexity of these issues, the case study of the barista work identity provides important insights about the changing nature of work, skill, globalisation and neoliberalism, as well as the unique nature of service work.

Introduction

I began this chapter by explaining the origins of my research interest and discussing the contradictions embedded in my early insights about the barista work identity. I also used this discussion to foreground the inclusion of personal narrative and storytelling in the structure of the thesis as a way of introducing my use of the methodological tools of autoethnography and *mystory*. As such, the purpose of starting the chapter this way was to demonstrate that my thesis is the production of a text that draws on the analysis of memories as well as academic literature and material from popular culture.

The purpose of the following parts of this chapter is to introduce important concepts that underpin my thesis research. In the first section, I describe in more detail my methodology of mystory and autoethnography, and I also list my research questions. Second, I outline my theoretical framework and introduce, in turn, key concepts of my thesis, which are:

- consumer society;
- the service economy (service work labour process[1]);
- identity;
- the revival of artisanship and the artisan; and
- the increase in non-standard, insecure work and the rise of the precariat class.

The chapter concludes by providing an outline of the thesis structure.

Mystory and Autoethnography

Honouring the traditions of autoethnography and mystory, my PhD research weaves together and makes connections between scholarly literature, popular culture and my time in the field with my personal everyday life as an academic, teacher, former retail worker, student and avid coffee consumer. My analysis of the connections between my everyday life, the different identities that shape my experiences, and my research enquiry form the basis of stories designed to provide *resonance*. Rather than presenting insights designed to inform generalisations, I have instead provided narratives from which others may recognise threads of their own experiences. The recognition of themselves in my stories is a form of validation that I conceptualise as resonance. The stories I tell in my thesis stem from my combination of autoethnographic methods with a form of Ulmer's (1989) *mystory*.

The combination of these methods enables me to create insights which connect to and make sense of everyday experience. Sensemaking, in terms of my research, privileges "the process of social construction that occurs in interactions between people, as meaning is negotiated, contested and co-constructed" (Hultin & Mähring, 2017, p. 568).

[1] The labour process is "1. Purposeful activity of man, directed towards work. 2. The object on which the work is performed, in the form of natural or raw materials. 3. The instruments of that work, most often the tools or more complex technology." (Thompson, 1989, p. 39) In the case of service work the customer and the worker are part of the object on which the work is performed and the workers' embodied identity is an important instrument of service work.

By drawing on my own stories, those of my participants, as well as those found in academic literature and popular culture, I am compiling a range of stories that have been analysed using the mystory approach. Ulmer (1989) developed the *mystory* approach or *teletheory* in order to grapple with the changing forms of representation presented by visual media such as television and the additional semiotic knowledge such media can present. His grammatology or approach to dealing with these shifts was to appreciate and draw on a wider range of cultural developed material. Ulmer (1989) draws from Lacan to discuss how mystory can be used to adapt interactions between the *imaginary* and the *symbolic* by bringing together "discourses of specialized disciplines, popular culture, and autobiography" (p. 120). Thus, a mystory is the juxtaposition of different levels of discourse–"expert, popular and personal" or "private, public and learned spaces of culture" (Ulmer, 1989, p. 129). By drawing together these discourses I have generated insights that may illuminate the complexity of everyday life–taking a pluralist rather than essentialist stance. Furthermore, the use of these methods enables me to be cognisant of my positionality to and within the research and privileges the part-time and longitudinal nature of my studies as a strength.

In making connections between these narratives (stories), I also draw on the sociological imagination[2] (Mills, 1970) to incorporate analysis of structure and agency within the mystory structure that shapes each chapter. Therefore, the range of materials or stories from both primary and secondary sources that I use to conceptualise and theorise about experience serves as a form of triangulation (Denzin, 2013; Ulmer, 1989).

[2] Mills argues that "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both" (1970, p. 11). However, most individuals do not consider their lives and the struggles they contain against the wider structural changes in society, as we as individuals are entrenched in the practices of our everyday life. Mills (1970) advocates that public intellectuals and academics need to develop a specific way of thinking–a sociological imagination–that enables the connections between our individual lives and private troubles (biography) and the public issues that operate at the level of society (history) to be highlighted.

The stories I have collected from the field and from popular literature are co-constructed often telling only part of the story, at times in contradictory and contested ways. The stories are also incomplete, have evolved during my research and will continue to evolve afterwards. In the context of storytelling in organisations using the theatre production Tamara, Boje (1995, 2001) has termed some of these stories antenarrative. To Boje, "Tamara is a way to describe how storytelling as ante narrative occurs in complex organizations. It is before narrative closure; it is speculative, and it is in the flow of experience" (2001, p. 4). Therefore, the triangulation achieved by weaving these different narratives together also reflects the sense-making processes of my participants and myself (Hultin & Mähring, 2017).

The usefulness of this concept of antenarrative is also that the stories are understood as being situated and co-constructed[3] (Boje, 2001; Hultin & Mähring, 2017). Thus, the discourses articulated through the mystory approach also focus on the analysis of specific events or moments that provide a basis for recognition as well as sense-making. Furthermore, the combination of these discourses is also what permits a form of triangulation to occur, one that stretches, confirms, or challenges insights found in established literature.

I have adapted the mystory approach and blended it with autoethnography in order to enable a weaving together of knowledge that recognises and challenges the traditional separation of the general from the particular. The blend of autoethnography with mystory provides me with a distinctively grounded opportunity to pursue the connections between biography and social structures (Anderson, 2006; Denzin, 2006).

[3] "The Tamara ante narrative speculation highlights the plurivocal interpretation of organizational stories in a distributed and historically contextualized meaning network -- that is, the *meaning of events* depends upon the locality, the prior sequence of stories, and the transformation of characters in the wandering discourses [my emphasis]" (2001, p. 4).

Autoethnography is a particular form of ethnography, where the researcher is the primary subject of inquiry (Denzin, 2013; McIlveen, Beccaria, Preez, & Patton, 2010: Rinehart & Earl, 2016). This form of research usually features narrative texts that may include concrete action, emotion, embodiment, self-consciousness, and introspection (Ellis, 2004). Furthermore, it is research that does not claim to be free from bias or colloquialisms (Averett, 2009). As such, it is a writing and research style which facilitates a form of writing where authors can be emotional, personal and subjective (Cann & DeMeulenaere, 2012).

My adaptation of Ulmer's (1989) mystory connects to autoethnography, because mystory also places the researcher at the centre, allowing the researcher to approach their subject matter by questioning from "within," establishing a reflexive practice from the beginning of the research process. Ulmer's mystory approach is rooted in psycho-analysis, which also places the experience of emotions at its core. As such, strong feelings become the prompt for story-telling through "the sting of memory" (Ulmer, 1989, p. 209). Denzin (2014) adds to this, arguing that the epiphanies of life, the (self-identified) significant moments that cut to the core of a person's identity, are the basis of an autoethnographic approach to mystory. Thus, it is the commonality of autobiography that fuses the mystory approach to *autoethnography*, but one of a particular kind that is grounded in the recollection of significant moments (Denzin, 2014; Giorgio, 2013)

Thus, in each chapter, I draw on my memories both creatively and analytically, using academic literature triangulated with empirical information (key informant interviews, observation/participant observation, and life history interviews), memories, and popular culture (websites, blogs, television, movies, and other media) (Giorgio, 2013; Tedlock, 2013). Just as this chapter did, each chapter will begin with an autoethnographic account providing a lens through which to explore the material presented in later sections.

Research questions

Making and drinking coffee is a ritualistic practice that is part of everyday life for many people. Furthermore, as a plant and as a product, coffee has a complex political history. Aside from its most recent resurgence as part of the 'latté revolution', when coffee begins to become institutionalised as a form of public life (e.g., during the Ottoman Empire, London coffee-house, 1960s coffee bars), those in positions of power have often treated the consumption of coffee with suspicion (Ellis, 2004; Wild, 2005).

Coffee is an intensely political product that can illuminate the connections between everyday actions and wider public issues, making it an ideal focus for the concept of the sociological imagination (Giddens, 2003; Mills, 1959). When we make our coffee each morning or head to purchase our espresso from our barista, we do not necessarily make these connections to the political context. Instead, there is the satisfaction of feeding a habit and for some, like me, receiving a hand-crafted product, well made, beautiful to look at and taste. For me, this is a pleasurable experience, and my desire to tell the story of baristas was to share what I thought was a positive story of service work. However, service work, like coffee, is also fraught with tension in terms of what it demands from workers and how it positions customers. My investigation into the work of baristas has brought me many insights and experiences, both positive and negative. Based on this, I cannot promise the good news story that shaped my initial enquiries. Instead, I tell the bittersweet stories of consumption and service work, through coffee and baristas. The stories I share here are designed to resonate with the following research questions:

What insights can the barista work identity and the work context of cafés provide about:

- *the shift to and the nature of work in the consumer society and service economy;*
- *the embodied labour process, identity formation and learning of service workers;*
- *the revival of artisanship, and the notion of craft, and*
- *the rise in non-standard employment and the emerging precariat class*

Theoretical framework

Literature examining consumption and service work includes two assumptions of change that have occurred alongside the increased pace of globalisation, which underpin my research. The first assumption is that an accompanying change from a production-based society to a *consumer society* has occurred, fundamentally altering the political economy that governs the nature of work. The second assumption is that contemporary Western society has undergone an epochal change, in terms of a shift from a production-driven form of capitalism to a service-driven form—or a shift from a production economy to a *service economy*. The arguments that inform the assumptions of the consumer society and the service economy are outlined in the following subsections.

Consumer society

The first set of assumptions that underpins the research questions for this thesis is around the argument that society has changed due to the growing influence of the logics of consumption, rather than the logics of production, being a regulatory structural or hegemonic force (Bauman, 2003; Du Gay, 1996; Fleetwood, 2008; Mansvelt, 2005, 2010; Shields, 1992; Zukin, 1995). In the literature, this shift is often characterised based on a perceived increase in the significance of consumer culture as a form of agency attached to the changes associated with post-industrial society. The evidence used to support this argument is that the identity structures of traditional workers are declining, and, instead, there is “a growing salience of lifestyles based on leisure and consumption activities” (Jagger, 2000, p. 45).

Consumption practices are not new *per se*. Rather, what is new is the:

> synthesis of leisure and consumption activities previously held apart by being located in different sites, performed at different times or accomplished by different people…. Everyday shopping activities are foregrounded as if on a *theatre* stage, to be observed by passers-by who may vicariously participate in the bustle and lively activity of consumption without necessarily spending money [my emphasis]. (Shields, 1992, p. 6)

Performance is now part of the consumption experience, highlighting a greater level of complexity when it comes to questions of inequality and power, as the place or site of consumption also becomes a space to be seen and to see others (Goffman, 1959; Shields, 1992; Zukin, 1995). This quality of the ‘spectacle’ is especially present in the floor-to-ceiling windows or pavement tables where people-watching and being seen are a core part of the café experience that customers (and in some senses workers) consume (Shields, 1992).

Along with the discourse of the consumer society is the notion of “consumer sovereignty – the sovereign-like rule of consumers over producers” (Fleetwood, 2008, p. 33, also see Du Gay 1996). Status games then play out not through a social exchange of words but rather through bodily placement, garments and regard. The aesthetics of baristas and cafés play a part in this process. Performative aspects send clear messages of belonging or not, although this process is not straight forward. Cafés play an important role in the intersection between the symbolic and material economy.

In terms of analysis, consumption “does not fit easily into the frameworks of productivist economics” (Shields, 1992, p. 2), because consumption is often examined as a cultural artefact. This is because the practices of consumption are also embedded in the practices of culture (Shields, 1992). The consequence of a productivist form of analysis is that issues of the economy are traditionally separated out from culture. The assumption that consumption rather than production regulates society (culture) challenges the traditional separation of the economy and culture. To fully address the complexity bound up in the notion of the consumer society, it is important to consider the role of culture, identity, work and consumption in the regulation of society and the economy (Bauman, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernshiem, 2001; Giddens, 2003; Lury, 1996).

The primacy of consumption in the economy and society, particularly the epochal aspect of some of the associated arguments, has been critiqued. One line of reasoning put forward by academics, such as McDowell (2009), is that it is too simplistic to see post-industrial society and the forces of consumption that shape it as a clear break from industrial society. Another is that while consumption choices and the role choices play in society have changed significantly, these changes are experienced unevenly, mediated by individuals' access to cultural capital (social, as well as economic). This uneven capacity to exercise agency in consumption practices demonstrates the continuing salience of productivist logics (e.g., class structure and the subordination of marginalised groups). However, consumption based on the decision to represent or embody particular lifestyle choices or particular identities challenges the construction of identity based on occupational class-oriented categories. Thus, the changing understandings of identity and how identities are formed (agentic identity projects) is a crucial part of assertions made in the literature that we have moved (are moving) to a consumer society that warrants further investigation (Bauman, 2003; Lury, 1997; Mansvelt, 2005, 2010; Shields, 1992).

Service economy

As part of the shift to post-industrialism and/or the knowledge economy, there has been massive growth in the service sector of highly-skilled professional knowledge work and low-skilled manual work (Grint & Nixon, 2015; Piercy & Steele, 2016). As a result, service sector roles now dominate the labour market in terms of employee numbers (Grint & Nixon, 2015; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007). Based on the growth in service work, arguments have been developed stating that the nature of work in contemporary society has changed fundamentally in the last fifty years. Many theorists and commentators emphasise changes in the nature of work, using terms like 'post-Fordist' and 'post-industrial' to describe the break away from the productivist structures established across the West in the first half of the twentieth century (e.g., Bauman, 2007; Fuller & Smith, 1996; Giddens, 2003; Leidner, 1996; Matthews, 1989; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; Thompson & Smith, 2011; Warhurst, Nickson, Witz, & Cullen, 2000). However, the epochal vision of changes to work has been challenged, as some authors also emphasise the continuing patterns of work established once society began to industrialise (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; McDowell, 2009; Thompson & Smith, 2011; Warhurst et al., 2001; Williams, 1977). For example, in terms of the continuity argument, work in the service sector has always been an integral part of the labour market (Grint & Nixon, 2015; McDowell, 2009). Another example is that service work is now and historically has been gendered (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009). Service work has also historically included occupations that were precarious or insecure (McDowell, 2009).

However, in terms of difference, service sector roles now dominate the labour market regarding the numbers of employees who are engaged in such work (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007a). For example, in Britain in 2009, 80% of employment was provided by the service sector while only 10% of employment was in manufacturing (Grint & Nixon, 2015). Based on the way the labour market is dominated by service sector jobs, some theorists now posit that Western-developed economies have moved from production- to service-work-dominated economies (Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Edgell, 2011; Grint & Nixon, 2015; MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009).

Arguments regarding the shift to the service economy intersect with the notion of a consumer society where part of the growth in service sector work is driven by consumers seeking leisure and identity-based experiences (Bauman, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernshiem, 2001; Bookman, 2013; Giddens, 2004; Jagger, 2000; Lury, 1996; Shields, 1992; Witz et al., 2003). Another driving force behind the growth in service work is the changing nature of work–in this case, changes to the way in which work is organised, perceived and remunerated (see the section on the precariat class for more information on these changes). The transition of work tasks formerly completed within households as unpaid labour to paid labour (personal services) has also contributed to the growth in service work jobs (McDowell, 2009).

Women tend to be employed more closely to the customer (what some researchers call the front line), and women are not as often in job roles that occupy positions of authority or higher wages (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996). Therefore, women more often find employment in service work in roles that are precarious or insecure. The inequality caused by the gendered employment opportunities is exacerbated by the lack of clear career pathways and promotion opportunities that reinforce the pattern of fewer women in more senior positions (Ehrenreich, 2002; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996). To understand why women numerically dominate frontline service work but also do not equally appear in high numbers in senior positions in service work, the role of gender stereotypes must also be considered (Forseth, 2005; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; Nickson & Korczynski, 2009). For example, gendered pay rates reflect societal assumptions that men work to provide for family (the breadwinner model) while women work to supplement a family's income. Therefore, women have long been preferred by employers because they are cheaper to employ than men. Furthermore, women, particularly mature women, are employed in increasing numbers because they are viewed by employers as having the right kind of emotional intelligence or skills for interactive service work (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005)

Despite the increasing numbers of workers employed in the service sector, and a substantial and growing body of empirical work, it is still a sector of work and occupation that is poorly theorised and understood from the perspective of the sociology of work (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2011; McDowell, 2009; Korczynski, 2005, 2009; Vincent, 2011). Therefore, an understanding of the nature of paid service work is still being established, as "it is only in the recent past that research on service sector work has become part of the 'empirical mainstream in the sociology of work'" (Korczynski, 2009, p. 952; see also Korczynski, 2005b and Leidner, 1996). My thesis contributes to the body of work illuminating the nature of service work, with a focus on interactive service work in personal services (Hodson & Sullivan, 2011; McDowell, 2009).

Identity

Identity is also a central part of this thesis, as I seek to not only describe aspects of the barista work identity but to explore the ways in which the barista work identity is shaped by agency and structure. Identity is used in a range of ways in academic literature for a range of reasons. Therefore, it is vital to my research to explain the concept of identity.

For this thesis, identity is conceptualised as having elements of fluidity, which reflect the dynamic relationship between agency and structure. Positioning identity as a pluralist concept also facilitates an explanation of individual identity as embodying a unique constellation of identities (Hetherington, 1998). The perception of identity as a constellation of identities does not exclude the conceptualisation of identity as constituting a distinct and continuous sense of 'self': rather, it is an acknowledgement that identity is comprised of identities with permeable boundaries that facilitate identity re-formation. The challenge of conceptualising identity as pluralist does mean that identit(ies) cannot ever be captured completely analytically (Hetherington, 1998; Jenkins, 2004). However, the benefit from a pluralist conceptualisation of identity is that the relationship between identity and experiences can be brought into the foreground.

Based on the notion of permeable rather than fixed boundaries, our identit(ies) are subject to change as we participate in social interactions (Jenkins, 1996; Marks & Thompson, 2010; Olesen, 2001). Socialisation and how we experience and negotiate structural forces play important roles in primary identity (re)formation.

As part of a socialisation process (Jenkins, 2004), our individual identit(ies) becomes comprised of different categories which we seek out (agentically) or have imposed on us. These labels can be collectively-held aspects of identity, such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity, able-bodiedness and class. Alternatively, labels may emerge from factors such as the stage in our life course, as we take on different roles over our life time, for example, child, teenager, student, wife, uncle, grandparent and worker (Jenkins, 2008; Weedon, 2004). Collectively-shared identities can mediate our experience of power and structure in society because of how they can be imposed and/or chosen (Jenkins, 2004).

Sub-tribes or expressive identities are collectively understood identities of smaller groups than those mentioned above (Hetherington, 1998). Membership into sub-tribes tends to be more agentically pursued rather than imposed through societal structures (Hetherington, 1998; Maffesoli, 1996; Shields, 1992). Expressive identities are situated in specific 'events' incorporating values and practices that are collectively understood and recognised by group members. The notion of expressiveness is important to this conceptualisation of identity, because it emphasises the way in which identity can be recognised through situated, embodied performance.

As such, expressive or sub-tribe identities can be considered in relation to the practices and environment they are situated within. The examination of situated identities allows the incorporation of the multiplicity of meaning identity connotes. Recognition of belonging is fundamental to the acquisition and performance of identity. In other words, identities need to be validated or recognised by those occupying the space of elective affinity or community of practice (Hetherington, 1998; Jaros, 2010; Marks & Thompson, 2010; Wenger, 1999, 2003). Group membership is often conditional on learning *correct practices*, and is contingent on recognition by others, coupled with the individual's desire to belong. Therefore, "identity is articulated through the relationship between belonging, recognition or identification and difference" (Hetherington, 1998, p. 15).

In summary, *identity*, for the purpose of this thesis, has multiple components. Collectively-held identities that mediate our experience of power and structure can also include smaller groupings of eclectic affinity or belonging, such as sub-tribes. As such, identity encompasses aspects that are the result of agentic action on the part of individuals to participate in activities associated with a specific identity. Identity can be deliberately crafted and pursued, even in contexts where such identity has to be earned and bestowed by others. Work-based or occupational identities are specific fields with clear power relationship, but also include occupations that individuals are drawn into or pursue in agentic ways (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Hetherington, 1998; Shields, 1992; Jørgensen & Warring , 2001). As such, investigation into a specific work occupational identity, such as that of baristas, can shed light on the relationships between wider structural forces and individual level social interactions.

Understanding the barista work identity, therefore, is a process of gathering knowledge that reflects the kind of plurality of identities which coffee preparation in a workplace denotes. Based on this argument, I also assert that the work identity of baristas needs to be understood as a bricolage or assemblage, an 'identity project' both individual and collective (Giddens, 2003). Two constellations of work-based practices and identities relevant to the barista work context are those of the artisan and the precariat.

The artisan and the precariat

Both labels of the artisan and the precariat class have been used to describe the work of baristas. However, the terms represent very different conceptualisations of work practices and conditions as well as work identities. The use of these almost-oppositional categories of work illustrate the contradictions inherent in the pluralistic nature of the barista work identity. In the first sub-section, I explain my conceptualisation of artisanship and what artisan denotes in terms of practice. I also highlight the connection between artisanship and social movements to highlight the recent revival of terms associated with craft (Ocejo, 2017). I argue that it is important to understand the history of artisanship because the conceptualisation of the 'artisan' includes stories which represent residual as well as emergent cultural values in relation to consumption-based activism (Williams, 1977).

Precarious, or insecure, work also has a long history, but the concept of the precariat as a nascent class category and a defining aspect of service work is emergent (Williams, 1977). The precariat class characterises a group of people, but what is more difficult to define is the work which shapes these people's lives. Therefore, it is important to note the "slippage between" the precariat and other associated terms such as precarious, precariousness and precarious employment (Campbell & Price, 2015, p. 314).

The artisan

There are five conceptualisations of the word *artisan* that are relevant to this thesis. The first conceptualisation is the historical usage of the word, which I categorise as "the medieval craftsman." This conception of the word was established and used before the

Industrial Revolution. The second conceptualisation developed during the Enlightenment. The third conceptualisation is a usage established after and in reaction to the Industrial Revolution, established and typified by 'the arts and crafts movement'. The fourth conceptualisation is the contemporary revival of the word *artisan*, where the slow food, farmers' markets and other food-associated social and consumer movements have revitalised cottage production and the language of the artisan. Drawing these themes together is the fifth conceptualisation: Sennett's (2008) arguments regarding the application of artisan or craftsmanship. This usage also helps us to better understand the changing nature of work in the knowledge society.

The *medieval artisan*–also called a *craftsman*–is a skilled manual worker who uses tools and machinery in a particular craft (Thompson, 1975). Artisans joined occupational guilds licensed by local authorities. Master craftsmen as guild members set standards and certified those in training through an apprenticeship system of on-the-job learning. Training, as well as production and distribution, were important areas where guild members maintained quality control through guild-set standards for apprentices and journeymen. The control over production led craftsmen and their families to occupy a middle social grouping in society during the Middle Ages. As such, artisans had social standing in their community, and their higher status meant that they were represented as labour aristocrats of the working classes (Kelly, 1992; Sennett, 2008; Thompson, 2014; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007). Echoes of the apprenticeship training system and graduated career progression (apprentice–journeyman–master) in small business are present in the career paths which are open to baristas. Most notably, the revival of these historical institutions includes the use of the word 'guild' to describe the organisation that baristas can join (Weissman, 2008).

The term *artisan* is also historically located in relation to the conception of an educated and politicised working-class worker–*the Enlightenment artisan* (Williams, 1989). As technology displaced different occupational groups during the years of the industrial revolutions, values from the collective and occupationally determined guild system were adopted and incorporated into the practices of groups such as adult educators, the union movement and trade associations (Kelly, 1992; Newman, 1994; Thomas, 1982; Williams, 1989). The process of certification, as well as the involvement of the working-class artisan with the political and scientific endeavours of the Enlightenment, gave the Enlightenment artisan a higher social status (Thompson, 1975; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Williams, 1989). These labour aristocrats were an essential part of the class struggle and the labour movement. For example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand the Engineering unions used their higher economic, educational and social status to drive through improvements to their working conditions specified in industry awards. These improvements achieved through the process of arbitration and conciliation then became the basis for pushing through improved working conditions in other industry-based agreements through a trickle-down system that benefitted working-class occupations more generally (Deeks, Parker & Ryan, 1994).

The inclusion of labour aristocrats in the 'working class' was the result of the distance between the artisans and the ownership of production and distribution of goods, a distance which increased as the focus of capitalism shifted from trade to production. However, the *arts and crafts movement* sought to recapture and support the more traditional ideals associated with the term artisan, which emphasised the 'art' of artisanship. Unlike the Enlightenment artisan's focus on certification and utilitarianism, the focus of the arts and crafts movement was to reunify the practices of consumption and production (Dormer, 1995, 1997). As such, the movement serves as an initial example of crafters and consumers coming together to revive historical (medieval) practices and to seek an alternative consumption choice to mass-produced goods. Key ideas around the arts and crafts movement centred on unity of design and execution, and the importance of individual expression and creativity. The four principles forged by the arts and crafts theorists, such as William Morris, are “design unity, joy in labour, individualism, and regionalism” (Cumming & Kaplan, 1991, p. 7).

The fourth conceptualisation is the contemporary revival of the word *artisan*, where the slow food, farmers’ markets and other food-associated social and consumer movements have revitalised cottage production and the language of the artisan (Holmes, 2003; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). The increasing numbers of markets, both travelling and static, provide an infrastructure to sell home-based crafted goods. Goods are sold in person at the markets, drawing on marketing or branding frameworks that emphasise that the products are hand-made, crafted with ‘love’, with individual imperfections that make each and every one unique (Holmes, 2003). These *gentrified artisans* appeal to the middle-class pursuit of consumption-based identity projects. Micro-roasters who are just starting out can use farmers’ markets and baristas to market their coffee for consumption in private homes. As part of their marketing and brand development, such businesses draw on aspects of artisanship–using the following kinds of language: *hand-crafted, high quality*, and *aesthetically* pleasing–to highlight how their coffee offers more than mass-produced coffee.

Farmers’ market-based consumption or *glocalisation* is the practice of buying local products where the producer is personally known to consumers (Guthman, 2003; Jubas, 2015; Ritzer, 2008). The desire to purchase with ethical, green and health considerations in mind directly from producers shares many of the same values as the arts and crafts movement and again revives the idea that the producers of hand-made individualised products are artisans. The capacity for consumption practices to deliver outright resistance towards capitalism is small, but it holds significance to people’s identity projects, as well as connection to coffee and its politicisation through, for example, the fair trade social movement (Jaffee, 2014; Johnston, Szabo, & Rodney, 2011; Jubas, 2007; Simon, 2011). Conscientious consumption, such as fair trade, also embodies the arts and crafts movement's explicit critique of capitalism and the inequality it produces (Dormer, 1997). These movements also serve to demonstrate the residual social democratic values of equality, collectivism and community (Taylor, 2007; Williams, 1977).

Sennett (2008) uses the term *craftsman* in a way that draws on the traditions of craft and artisanship, but he applies it to a range of modern occupations. In doing so, he captures in part the revival of respect for craft-based working in the same fashion as farmer's markets, and slow food. He also connects back to creativity and pride in one's work as important aspects of the work practices of the artisan or crafter. Sennett's arguments also connect back to a conceptualisation of work and workers united by labour processes which highlight synergistic relationships between the head and hand. In sum, the nature and legacy of the guild/trade associations, the principles of the arts and crafts movement, and the contemporary food production associated revival of the term artisan, alongside Sennett's (2008) unification of head and hand in order to do 'good', are all relevant to the contemporary barista labour process. This is particularly the case in employment contexts which claim or embody the values and practices of the Third Wave of coffee (See Chapter 4). Discussion on the Third Wave of coffee positions those in the coffee industry and the retail end of the coffee supply chain, roasters and baristas, as artisans. The claim of artisanship stems from the application and appropriation of 'craft' to the tasks of roasting and coffee making based on practices which aim to bring out the best in the bean (Weissman, 2008)

The precariat

The concept of the precariat class has been discussed in connection with anti-capitalism movements in Europe since the late 1990s and early 2000s (Bremen, 2013). However, Guy Standing's (2008, 2011) work on conceptualising the precariat has captured the imagination of the public and academics alike. As such, I have chosen to focus on Standing's (2008, 2011) arguments to define the emerging precariat class.

The ‘precariat identity’ has resonated with many people, because it both explains and highlights the results of a complex set of changes to the nature of work and global labour markets. Globalisation, technological change, and neoliberal discourses of flexibility, underpinned by the growth in service work, have driven these changes. There have also been alterations in the regulation and treatment of the job-seeking unemployed by the government and potential employers. Moreover, how skills are accessed, acquired, recognised and utilised has been re-shaped as well, towards lifelong learning that embraces employability rather than community and sociability (Lindeman, 1989; Kraus & Vonken, 2009).

Fleetwood (2008) implicates consumer practices in these changes. He argues that lower wages and flexible working are being maintained because hegemonic consumer culture discourse “encourages consumers to see relatively inexpensive commodities in terms of there being a ‘bargain’, rather than the result of someone else’s low pay” (p. 35). The expectations of bargain basement priced services and products mean that there is a continual demand for precarious workers in informal and formal labour markets. In addition, as part of consumer demand for greater convenience, the logic of the sovereign consumer legitimises consumers’ expectations that flexible and unsocial working practices should be met by workers with a smile on their face (Hall, 1993, Nixon, 2009).

Against the backdrop of the precariat, a range of important phrases is used to describe the various conditions and impacts associated with the work in which the precariat is engaged. The first is *precariousness in employment*. The second level is *precarious work* as a form of ‘waged work’ that exhibits precariousness–work that tends to feature more strongly in some segments of the labour market than others such as service work. The third level is *precarious workers*, which can include sub-groups, such as youth, ethnic minorities, migrants and women. The fourth level is the emerging class category of the *precariat,* described below. The fifth level is *precarity*, where aspects of precariousness or insecurity creep into other domains of life such as health, housing, food, power, and social security, as a result of precarious work but also as a result of changes to the welfare state (Campbell & Price, 2016).

Standing (2011) describes the precariat as a worker who, through their lack of access to ongoing employment, has their social contract with the labour market, rather than with a single employer. The lack of access to stable ongoing employment for job seekers and those employed is evidenced by a labour market that offers employment opportunities that do not match the expectations associated with the traditional social contract. Standing (1997) characterises the expectations associated with the traditional social contract as jobs that include one or more of the following seven forms of employment security. These are labour market security, employment security, job security, work security, skill reproduction security, income security, and representation security (Standing, 1997).

Standing (2011) lists three characteristics of the labour process that drive this growing category of workers and represent the loss of security: numerical flexibility (ease of hiring and firing); wage system flexibility (decentralised collective bargaining, and removal of access to employment benefits); and for those nations that have them, a shift in the focus of welfare state services away from social insurance to means-tested social assistance. These changes to the policy context of employment relations and the welfare state have been driven by globalisation and the political ideology of neoliberalism (Cheyne, O'Brien, & Belgrave, 2008; Deeks, Parker, & Ryan, 1994; Ellison, 2012; Krause & Vonken, 2009; Lafer, 2004; Piercy, 1999; Rasmussen & Deeks, 2009).

Standing (2011) argues that as a result of these policy changes, the labour market is now divided between different groups of workers. The first identifiable group is the *salariate*—upper middle-class workers who have jobs that still embody aspects of the standard employment relationship. There are also *proficians*, who embrace non-standard working relationships as consultants but do so based on the security of high wages and the possession of competencies or skills that are in high demand. Below these two groups are the *traditional working-class*, who still have access to standard employment relationships. These three groups still have different forms of security as part of their employment relationship. In contrast, the *precariat class* are a group of workers employed or working in contexts in which most of the seven forms of security are absent and are a form of labour power selected to provide organisations with wage and numerical flexibility.

Standing (2011) asserts that different groups of people become part of the precariat class for a variety of reasons. Some workers are marginalised into precarious employment opportunities as working-class identities and skill sets become less desirable in the labour market. Others are instrumental precariats. For example, migrants may end up being located in precarious work as it is more accessible and may include wages and conditions that are above their traditional expectations. The last group is young, educated people who are entering precarious work to combine employment with their studies but find themselves 'stuck' in precarious work after graduation (Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Lloyd & Payne, 2012). I would argue that in contrast to migrants, the middle-class identity and/or high levels of education of this latter group may give them a sense of security from a fall-back position (savings or qualification reliant) that the proficians also rely on when they engage in precarious work (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Campbell & Price, 2016).

Workers' subjectivity, identity or social position co-determines the extent to which precarious working conditions impact upon individuals. High school and college-age students in flexible part-time work do not, on the whole, experience precarious work as precarious, as it allows them to combine work with study and an active social life

(Besen-Cassino, 2014; Campbell & Price, 2016). Furthermore, the income received from such work is supplementary, as work is often (but not always) sought by students to provide additional disposable income. Therefore, although baristas may be employed in jobs that have working conditions considered to be precarious, the baristas do not necessarily experience work as such. However, the effects of precarious work can equally be 'amplified' for groups in society whose social position increases the levels of precarity that they may experience across a number of spheres in their lives (Campbell & Price, 2016; Williams-Crenshaw, 1991; Williams, 2013).

Thesis Outline

Chapter 2*, Imagining and being in the field–cafés, roasteries and competitions,* is organised into two halves. In the first half of the chapter, I explain the relevance of labour studies and trace the development of my research topic, approach and questions. In the second half of the chapter, I identify key theories that comprise the main forms of analysis and most importantly describe the methods (key informant interviews, participant observation, life history interviews and autoethnography through mystory) I used as well as when and where those methods were deployed.

In Chapter 3 *Agency and commodification in consumer society,* I discuss the consumer society in greater detail than in Chapter 1. I do this in order to define what is meant by the consumer society and significance of identity (re)formation as an agentic and reflexive project exercised through consumption practices. I discuss consumer culture in the rest of the chapter by describing consumption practices associated with: cafés; fashion and branding; the social movements of slow food and ethical consumption; the appropriation of these movements' language and symbols by industrial capitalism (described as fair-, green, and craft-washing); commodity fetishism and the impact of consumption on the nature of work.

In Chapter 4*, The Ethnographic Setting–coffee and café culture,* I discuss the consumption practices and work context of cafés and other locations that serve espresso coffee. I begin by considering the history of coffee and the coffee industry in order to describe ideas and arguments that influence coffee culture and café culture. I then explain and discuss the three 'Waves' of coffee in order to trace recent changes in the specialty coffee industry to highlight the ways in which espresso consumption practices have changed over time. The chapter ends by describing the specific practices that are associated with the Third Wave of coffee.

In Chapter 5*, The service work labour process,* I first consider arguments made regarding the shift to the service economy and examine some of the conceptual changes I have encountered in my research into service work. Second, I examine the social relations of service work by describing the service work triadic relationship and the way in which service work is organised across different spaces that include: organisational culture, internal working practices and the service encounter. In the third section, I discuss the significance of the labour strategies that are deployed by organisations and experienced by workers. The purpose of highlighting the experiences of workers is to connect to the following chapter, which considers identity in terms of workers' capacity to exercise agency and negotiate structure in the workplace.

In addition to creating a platform to further consider the relationship between structure and agency, in Chapter 6, *Capturing Identity through the lens of work*, I examine the significance of identity to the idea of performance. First, I consider identity in connection to four barista identities I have encountered and, second, in relation to performance and work more generally. In the third section of the chapter, I highlight the ways in which inequalities in service work may be amplified based on collectively-shared identities such as gender, class, sexuality and ethnicity. As part of this discussion, I also continue to emphasise the ways in which identities are situated in order to explain the ways in which identities are co-constructed in the context of specific practices that can be shared by a group of like-minded people (community of practice).

In Chapter 7, *The embodied nature of service work*, I continue my analysis of the service work labour process by focussing on the way in which service work is embodied. In order to do this, I explain and discuss the significance of presentational labour, which includes emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labours. In particular I discuss the intangible and identity-based elements of presentational labour in order to return to the theme of workers' capacity to exercise agency and negotiate structure.

In Chapter 8, *Embodied identity–business models and learning at work*, I discuss embodiment in relation to learning and the sensory nature of the work of baristas. I extend the examination of learning in the barista labour process by describing four business models that typify the kinds of strategies businesses that sell coffee use to gain competitive advantage. These different business models also contribute to the development of different constructions of the barista work identity.

In Chapter 9, *Baristas–the artisan precariat*, I conclude my thesis by presenting the different ways in which the barista work identity may be represented. I also discuss the pluralist nature of the barista work identity and the ways in which the practices of the labour process provoke contradictions that workers may respond to with ambivalence, resistance and denial, depending on their life history. In my discussion, I present different avenues for future research outlining how insights from my thesis could be taken further.

Conclusion

This chapter has canvassed the topics of autoethnography and mystory, my research interest in the barista occupation in relation to the contradictions the occupation seems to imbue, and defined the service economy, consumer society, identity, artisan and precariat. The purpose of this first chapter was to introduce the reader to the character that is the basis of my case study of interactive service work: the barista. The rationale of introducing the barista first and foremost is that not all people drink coffee of any kind and of those who drink coffee, not all drink the kind of speciality or espresso coffee which requires preparation by a barista. An understanding of baristas is second nature to me as a "caffeine addict," but it is important that my work be relevant and understood by more people than those who crave the taste of an espresso coffee on a daily basis. Thus, this chapter also provides a platform for resonance, prompting the application of the sociological imagination in terms of the structural ideas embedded in consumer society and the service economy as well as the more everyday experience of consuming coffee.

CHAPTER TWO: IMAGINING AND BEING IN THE FIELD–CAFÉS, ROASTERIES AND COMPETITIONS

I sit here in a Starbucks drinking Guatemalan Clover-brewed[4] *coffee, writing on a computer–I could be anywhere in the world: China, the United Kingdom, or Aotearoa/New Zealand. In each locale, my surroundings would look, sound, smell and feel similar: the green and brown surrounds of fixtures and fittings; and the smells of coffee, milk and sugar. The cacophony of sounds: the hiss of steam that changes to a roar as it hits the milk; some easy listening, ethnic or indie sounds; and baristas talking to each other–exchanging views on the weather or stock control in between yelling out drink orders. Customers mill around searching for somewhere to sit, while already-seated customers stare into electronic devices; isolated individuals who are taking advantage of the free Wi-Fi. Via the social contract bound up in the Starbucks brand, customers understand that no matter how long they stay they will not be kicked out, which is a blessing on a rainy day like today.*

It seems somewhat fitting a cafe is where I begin writing up the history, design, process and output of my thesis. I am, in fact, in the United States, the birthplace of Starbucks, drinking what to my palate is an over-roasted but punchy coffee. I am in a town on the border of Maryland and Washington D.C.: Silver Spring, where one of the most popular cuisines is Ethiopian. Ethiopia is claimed to be where coffee first originated. I feel inspired by being connected to coffee's past and present (Allen, 2003; Kingston, 2015; Weissman, 2008; Wild, 2005). I had tried to go to an Ethiopian café early this morning to be 'even

[4] A Clover is a brewing machine designed with multiple parameters that can be manipulated by the barista to coax the best features of different single origin coffees, like the grind of the beans and the brewing time. In contrast to espresso machines, the Clover is designed to produce one cup of filtered coffee at a time. Not long after the Clover came out, Starbucks bought the exclusive licence for the product, effectively preventing any but the earliest adopters in independent cafés from buying one.

more authentic,' but the door was locked. I looked through the window and saw two shadowy (and perhaps masculine) figures, and so I made a gendered assumption that, as in Ethiopia, the café during the day is a space for men, not women: thus, my retreat to the ubiquitous but also unisex locale of Starbucks. I took my retreat from 'authenticity' not as a setback but instead as a reminder of how relevant gender roles are to the exploration of coffee, cafés and my focus: baristas.

I deliberately created a service sector research project, a sector dominated by women, to escape my research origins in engineering, a sector dominated by men. I often felt out of place in my earlier research because of my youth as well as my gender. Despite my shift in focus, and despite the historical role of women in coffee serving and waitressing, ironically men and masculinities still dominate my case study, both traditional and new. Gender, my gender, the gendered nature of the industry, and the genders of the participants illustrate how work identities can be understood and experienced. In the following chapters, I will draw attention to gender roles in relation to café culture (Chapter 4) and service work (Chapter 5).

Introduction

The mystory approach I take in this chapter is to weave together insights from my disciplinary training in labour studies (1995-2000) with relevant theory that I encountered as an academic (2001-), in order to outline the theoretical framework, I developed for my thesis. I share this history to illustrate how and why I chose to broaden the lens of labour studies to incorporate identity and biography in order to consider the connections between the micro, meso and macro contexts. In the second half of the chapter, I describe the methods I used to conduct a deep reading of the labour process and skills development of the occupational work identity of baristas and the speciality coffee industry in which they work. I conclude the chapter by describing how my adaptation of mystory and the practice of autoethnography underpin my three methods of key informant interviews, life history interviews and observation.

Finding the field: Locating labour studies

I am a labour studies academic; as such, my approach to research is interdisciplinary. In my thesis, I have drawn on sociological, psycho-social (societal), labour process analysis, organisational studies, cultural (human) geography, workplace learning, and education-based disciplines. One of the reasons I have drawn on this wide range of disciplinary insights is because the lens of labour studies has shaped who I am as an academic and prompts why and how I frame my research questions. Given that the autoethnographic focus of my research is an important part of understanding my positionality as a researcher (as well as how I have framed my PhD research), it is vital that the interdisciplinary field of labour studies also be understood. Therefore, the purpose of this subsection is to describe the origins of my research topic and the context of labour studies. This section also serves to explain the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. For example, labour studies informed by Marxist traditions conceptualises the employment relationship as pluralist and shaped by conflicting priorities and class tensions. The labour studies perspective is in contrast to management literature that also encompasses accounts of employment that envisages a workplace where a united organisational perspective re-shapes the class struggle into unitarism.

The term *labour* provides some clues as to where to begin defining what labour studies means as an academic discipline. Standing (1999) argues that distinctions between work, labour and employment need to be made to understand the terms conceptually, as the differences between the three terms are not just a matter of semantics.

Work is defined broadly by Standing (1999) as a purposeful activity. He states that pleasure, pride and satisfaction can be found in the realm of work (paid or unpaid). Given Standing's (1999) emphasis on creativity, there are parallels between his conceptualisation of work and work as artisanship or craft. Standing (1999) makes the point about work being creative and positive in part to highlight that labour, in contrast to work, is generally about toil and hardship. Labour is work or activity completed under duress and experienced by workers as exploitative and alienating. Labour, is a form of work that is exploitative and takes a toll on the body and mind of the worker doing it. This distinction is important because the terms work and labour are often conflated in discussions of employment.

Furthermore, the term labour is significant because of its connection to the labour movement, the political left, the union movement, and associated values and ideals such as socialism and social democracy (Standing, 1999). All of these are socio-political movements devoted to ameliorating the worst effects of capitalism on the working classes and wider society (Page, 2008; Taylor, 2007). Labour as a term and an academic discipline also has important connections to social change, political ideology and policy development.

Employment is a type of work where the worker receives payment in exchange for the worker's labour power or capacity to labour. However, the use of the term 'labour' and 'labour power' does not mean that all work that takes the form of employment is laborious, but rather that the term labour is used by a range of academic disciplines to describe what workers sell to employers. In other words, it is how our capacity to engage in activity shifts from purposeful action inspired by the desire to create, to commodified purposeful action completed in the pursuit of profit.

Interactive service work has been called the work of the *emotional proletariat.* Therefore, the 'labouring' that people do within the context of work is of central importance to the exploration of service work (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996). The emphasis on the language of 'labour' is reinforced by the use of the terms *presentational, emotional, aesthetic* and *sexualised* labour in literature discussing the service work labour process (Hochschild, 2012; Sheane, 2011; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009; Vincent, 2011). My interest in the barista work identity is driven by my desire to be able to describe the skilled nature of baristas' technical and social practices and the influence perceptions of skill have on the way alienation may be experienced by workers in the context of service work.

My master's research, which was focused on metal work and engineering industry training reforms in the 1980s/1990s, discussed the influence of post-Taylorism[5] and industrial democracy in the workplace through the training system. Specifically, I proposed that recognition of workers' skills is a way of enabling workers to control or have input into the pace and goal setting of their work or labour, thereby reducing alienation (Piercy, 1999). My thesis focussed on the role of unions in these debates in Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1980s.

However, despite the introduction of the Employment Relations Act 2000 that promoted collective bargaining, union membership in Aotearoa/New Zealand has not increased much since its dramatic decline in the 1980s, with union density hovering between 19-23% (Rasmussen & Deeks, 2009). Based on these trends, after my master's research, I began to question the focus of labour studies on unions. If labour studies only shares the story of unionised workers, then 80% of the workforce is excluded from that storytelling. I believe that stories from the non-unionised workforce are just as important as those who are unionised. As a labour studies academic, I also want to understand and

[5] Taylorism is a term used to describe scientific management–the study of work, typically using time and motion studies–to determine the optimal way of completing tasks in the workplace and leading to an increasingly specialised division of labour. Historically, this form of investigation is associated with the work of Frederick Taylor, in particular his assertion that there should be a separation between the conception and execution of tasks in factory settings (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012). Post-Taylorism is associated with Japanese and German management techniques which use self-managing teams that allow workers to participate in the conception and execution of work tasks – hence the moniker of 'post' (Piercy, 1999).

highlight the experiences of non-unionised workers, particularly those who are exploited, such as the *emotional proletariat*.

My teenage years, which began in 1989, were shaped by the ideology of neoliberalism; therefore, I am acutely aware of individuation and the hegemonic power of individual responsibility (Beder, 2000; Du Gay, 1996; Giddens, 2003). However, the theoretical framework I developed within the discipline of labour studies for my master's meant that I did not have the conceptual framework to incorporate workers' experience at an individual level. I have addressed this gap in my conceptual thinking by drawing on other disciplines shaped by the Frankfurt School of critical theory, which as its basis draws from the theories of Marx and Freud (Geuss, 1981).

In particular, I have focussed on theories which have been used to understand the intersections between work, learning and education; subjectivity, experience and everyday life is developed using the ideas of Adorno, Leithauser, Alheit and Wenger (Olesen, 2004, 2015). This European literature has exposed me to important concepts like *beruf*, the idea that occupations have vocational identities that are culturally bound and understood (Clark & Winch, 2001; Schneider, 2012), and *verstehen*, which is about interpreting research findings from the participant's point of view or from their experience (Martin, 2000; Sallaz, 2009). Other important new ideas were Wenger's Communities of Practice (1998) on the collective nature of learning, Giddens focus on agency and action (1984), and Bourdieu's notion of habitus (2010), all of which prompt a focus on biography and identity (Hodkinson, Biesta, & James, 2008; Jørgensen & Warring, 2001).

Communities of practice (CoP) is a social theory of learning. Historically, it has been very loosely defined as individuals who come together when they have a shared interest (set of practices) that are situated in a particular context (Bathmaker & Avis, 2006; Cope, Cuthbertson, & Stoddart, 2000; Mallinson, Popay, Kowarzik, & Mackian, 2006; Oborn &

Dawson, 2010; O'Donnell & Tobbell, 2007; Wenger, 1999). However, Wenger (as cited in Farnsworth, Kleanthous, & Wenger-Trayner, 2016) elaborates that the idea of the community of practice is a reference to "a social process of negotiating competence in a domain over time" (p. 143).

The focus of the theory on situated learning and the shifts in identity that can accompany learning through the different levels of membership/competence (novice to expert–newcomer to old-timer) in a group has meant that this theory has been used in a variety of ways, including the conceptualisation of learning in specific occupational or practice-based settings with socially constructed identities (Chan, 2013, 2016; Farnsworth et al., 2016; Merriam, Courtney, & Baumgartner, 2003; Jørgensen & Warring, 2001).

In relation to CoP and the accompanying conceptualisation of apprenticeship, learning is not just a collective activity: it is one of improvisation and performance of experiment and rehearsal determined by the social context of the learning rather than observation and imitation determined by an expert or mentor (Bathmaker & Avis, 2006). Identity in this instance is constituted through practices mediated by "how you express your competence in that community, how others recognise you as a member or not" (Farnsworth et al., 2016, p. 145), as well as the extent to which the participant can see themselves as being part of the group (Chan, 2016; Farnsworth et al., 2016; O'Donnell & Tobbell, 2007). "Entry into a community of practice necessitates progression through the process of legitimate peripheral participation on the outer rim of the community, before gradual acceptance, membership and full inclusion." (Chan, 2013, p.476)

It is important to note that power relations may determine whether or not a member is able to move from proximal to legitimate proximal participation in the periphery of the CoP and then to participation as belonging, a level of membership provided by validation from members of the CoP (Chan, 2016, 2013a; Mallison et al., 2006).

Significantly, the life history of the novice may also determine belonging, as membership may be perceived as alignment or not with the novice's own internal sense of identity (Bathmaker & Avis, 2006; Chan, 2016; Farnsworth et al., 2016; Hodkinson et al., 2008). Thus, members, in terms of their identity formation, move through the state of dreaming (goal of membership–imagination), becoming (novice/apprentice–engagement), and being/belonging (expert/master–alignment) (Chan, 2016; Farnsworth et al., 2016; Hodkinson et al., 2008; Oborn & Dawson, 2010; Wenger, 1999). However, practices and learning shift over time; as such, one could argue that members–even old-timers, if they are open to it–remain in a state of becoming[6] constantly learning, as well as belonging. Antenarrative stories are part of the way members of CoP may shift between the dynamic and fluid categorisations of becoming and belonging (Boje, 2001).

Niels Warring and Christian Helms Jørgensen (2001) use the theory of CoP in their examination of learning in the workplace. Warring and Jørgensen's theorisation of the ways in which membership, biography and identity produce an intersubjective context that frames learning in the workplace is an important part of my theoretical approach due to the central position they give to *identity*. Their conceptualisation of workplace learning demonstrates how "the interplay between work-related training and education and learning and development at work can be analysed as a complex relation involving different policies and rationales at macro-level and different interests and rationales at the micro-level" (Jørgensen & Warring, 2001, p. 218). Warring and Jørgensen (2001) examine these complex relations by depicting the social-cultural environment in the workplace in terms of three intersecting communities–economic, political and cultural–

[6] Learning as becoming in this instance refers to the ways in which experience and interaction also may contribute to identity (re)formation. Hodkinson et al. (2008) argue that "Within any situation, an individual may learn, through the integrated processes of participation and their on-going (re)construction of their own habitus. In these processes, that which is learned can be modified as it becomes part of the person." (p.41)

highlighting the way the environment frames employees' capacity to learn (Jørgensen & Warring, 2003; also see Billet, 2002, 2006, 2008 and Hodkinson et al., 2008).

Four significant insights in this research that I have applied as part of my investigation of the work identity of baristas are: (1) situated learning, (2) the influence of autonomy, (3) the integration of macro and micro contexts into studies of workplace learning, and (4) the role of the life history approach, experience and identity in such studies.

The first significant insight is how the theory of communities of practice highlight how learning occurs within a social context: that learning is a collective, situated and practice-based activity. The conceptualisation of learning at work as a collective and social activity can capture some of the challenging aspects of conceptualising the intangible nature of apprenticeship. For example, on-the-job learning or learning by watching–by being situated in the job (learning by osmosis)–is an important feature of apprenticeship training, but it includes tacit knowledge or intangible skills presenting challenges to researchers seeking to analyse such learning[7]. While baristas do not complete an apprenticeship officially, for the most part, and similar to apprentices, baristas do learn on the job. As such, Jørgensen and Warring's (2001) framework of the socio-cultural environment of the workplace offers a way to think through how learning at work occurs.

The second significant insight from Jørgensen and Warring's (2001) framework is the relationship they highlight between autonomy at work and alienation. As stated earlier, I argue that recognition of the skills that workers possess within the workplace can mitigate aspects of alienation. However, the notion of autonomy that Jørgensen and Warring (2001) highlight explains that while workers can be skilled, this does not mean that those same workers have the opportunity to deploy those skills. Furthermore, even

[7] Significantly these ideas also connect to the medieval and Sennett's conceptualised of artisanship I outlined in chapter 1.

if the workers can deploy said skills, that does not mean that they are given opportunities in ways that allow them to exercise autonomy. Understanding the role of autonomy enables me to more clearly articulate what kinds of work could be considered to be post-Taylorist, as well as the kinds of workplaces where skill plays a role in making a difference to how workers experience levels of alienation. A question that is relevant to the barista identity as artisan and/or precariat.

The third significant insight is how the life history approach provides a focus on identity and biography. Warring and Jørgensen (2001) argue that too often in investigations of workplace learning the "link to society and the employees' lives outside the workplace are forfeited" (p. 215). However, "[i]t is the understanding of the subjective perspectives that makes the individual biographies an important element in analysis of workplace learning" as the "… dynamics within these micro-social groupings in the workplace cannot be understood separately from the larger societal context" (Jørgensen & Warring, 2001, p. 215). Their use of individual biographies through the life history approach demonstrated to me how to incorporate the micro context of individual lives into studies of the workplace.

The fourth significant insight is how the consideration of the connection between macro and micro context (or structure and agency) when considering the three intersecting communities: economic, political and cultural within the workplace. By conceptualising the workplace as incorporating different cultural contexts that are shaped within and outside the organisational context illuminates how we can experience the dynamics of the changing nature of work and the demands of lifelong learning as "a struggle between different discourses" (Jørgensen & Warring, 2001, p. 218). This struggle also links to the formation of identity, as workers make efforts to integrate themselves (or not) into the different communities in the workplace. Workers can experience these efforts as working towards belonging, or as resistance or tension when cultural patterns clash.

The efforts of workers to resolve the struggles between different discourses imposed on them in the workplace also sheds light on how the representation and performance of identity in everyday life is experienced (Olesen, 2004). This biographical life history approach connects Marxism with social psychology by combining concepts from Lorenzer (language games) with Leithauser (everyday life) (Olesen, 2004, 2015). The focus on identity, as well as wider societal and structural forces, enables a discussion on changes to the nature of work not just in light of changes to the political economy and policy, but in changes experienced by individuals.

The life history project centres on understandings of the work-based identity or everyday life of a profession, as well as communities of practice (Olesen, 2004, 2007; Olesen & Weber, 2001). The life history approach allows a reflexive and critical understanding of work to develop that incorporates an acceptance of the collective learning processes (Olesen, 2004). Insights are gained by the examination of the role of learning, the status of the work identity, and the types of knowledge used in work.

The psycho-societal (rather than psycho-social) approach inherent in this model facilitates the development of individual and societal understandings. Moreover, this approach captures change over time in terms of knowledge and status through a focus on the contradictions and ambivalence (the role of identity and psychic strains) of the subjects. The emphasis on biography and psychic strains sheds light on the fluidity that exists in the ‘real’ world of workers’ identity and experiences, to trace the changes to the nature of work and learning (Olesen, 2004). The approach examines policy, practice and social construction, and creates a nexus between the subjective (life history approach) and the objective (organisational science, adult education and psychology) (Jørgensen & Warring, 2003).

Much of the research more widely published by this group focuses on professionals, such as nurses, care workers, teachers and doctors. However, other research has focussed on sales staff, engineers and butchers. Finn Sommer's (2004) research on the occupation of butchers used the life history approach to discuss the impact of globalisation and mass- versus niche-production in the workplace. The focus on the butcher occupational identity, and the ways in which changing practices in the industry illustrated the shift to both post- and neo-Fordist ways of working, demonstrated to me the power of using one type of work (or workers, such as baristas) to discuss much broader changes to the nature of work as a whole. Such an approach also captures the connections between public issues and private troubles (Mills, 1970), as well as the ways in which individuals express themselves in light of dealing with structure in agentic ways (Olesen, 2004).

Labour studies framework for this thesis

Based on the insights shared above, my training during my master's degree, and the work I subsequently took as a researcher in the Centre for Labour and Trade Union Studies, I argue that labour studies is a critical social science, focussed on supporting the union movement, in order to advocate for change. These aims are congruent with Denzin's (2014) critical conceptualisation of autoethnography and mystory. Traditionally, in labour studies support is provided in terms of analysing policy, completing research that highlights, firstly, issues of importance to the nature of work and, secondly, the power imbalance within the employment relationship. However, as discussed above, if *verstehen* is used, labour studies can also be about providing a voice for unions and their members, and narratives–stories of work from the workers' point of view.

The focus of labour studies on the way in which work–the activity of employment–is organised, at the macro level of legislation as well as at the level of the workplace, is interdisciplinary. History enables an understanding of the different legislative frameworks that shape employment relations. Political science and economics (political economy) provide a theoretical foundation to identify the different political ideologies that help explain why particular forms of capitalism and employment relations frameworks lead to the use of specific kinds of labour processes.

I argue that my use of autoethnography and mystory enables the strength of auto and biographical accounts to extend the insights gained through the use of a psycho-societal approach. By including the micro level analysis of individual biography alongside the (macro) structural changes that impact on the workplace, individual non-work, as well as work identities and the permeable boundaries between them, can be part of the analysis. As such, part of understanding myself and the non-unionised workers in interactive service work includes incorporating understandings of how workers as individuals can negotiate and resist the structure of capitalism (agency and structure). I argue that the combination of the psycho-societal approach with auto-ethnography and mystory deepens and broadens the capacity of labour studies to address questions related to the nature of work, its place in society and individuals' relationships with both: for instance, how workers experience their work as individuals and resolve the contradictions and ambivalences that wider structures such as capitalism and gender place on them.

Therefore, in my thesis, I aim to give voice to workers within and outside the union movement by shedding light on their experiences of the labour process in the context of the consumer society and the service economy, through a case study of the barista work identity.

Being in the field: Methods in action

To remain open to the kinds of contradictions discussed in Chapter 1, I have taken an abductive approach, integrating theory with empirical observations through the practice of reflection. The abductive approach is neither inductive nor deductive. Instead, like grounded theory, observations are guided by insights from literature and theory (Gomez, Bouty, & Drucker-Godard, 2003). My use of autoethnography with mystory is designed to enable an abductive approach that incorporates reflections from the field, and observations by my participants with insights informed by social theory (structure and agency) (Denzin, 2013; Olesen, 2004). Given my approach, I have sought stories that create resonance and can enable generalisations about wider categories (such as service workers) to be critiqued or extended (Aull Davies, 2008).

Telling the story of baristas is about making connections between the personal and the political: using the sociological imagination to shine a light on the part of the world that many take for granted (Mills, 1970). By doing so, workers who may be taken for granted, who are 'othered' by customers, co-workers or perhaps even themselves, can be made more visible. In the case of my research, I seek to give voice to workers who have their identity appropriated and commodified as part of providing a specific service, in this case, cups of coffee (Brook, 2009a; Fleetwood, 2008; Korczynski, 2005; Witz et al., 2003).

My research approach includes four methods: autoethnography, key informant interviews; life history; and unobtrusive observation and participant observation. All are underpinned by the mystory approach that is a form of analysis and writing technique. As a result of these methods, my research involved a substantial amount of fieldwork involving human subjects. Therefore, in accordance with the University's Regulations Governing Human Research Ethics, applications for each phase of the fieldwork were filed in June 2008 for participant observation and November 2008 for the interviews. Ethical approval for participant observation of the research was granted after minor modifications in early July. (See Appendix C letter granting approval with minor modifications and Appendix D for the final application.)

My application for the interview methods was much more complex for two reasons. Firstly, approval was being sought for two different phases of the fieldwork, key informant interviews and life histories. Secondly, the ethical considerations of these interview methods are more complex than that of participant observation. As a result, further modifications were required to this application creating a minor delay. However, the ethical approval was granted in late December. (See Appendix E for the letter granting approval and Appendix F for the final application.)

In addition to meeting the regulatory requirements, my methodological approach of this study incorporates reflexivity (Aull Davies, 2008). I have taken this approach to enrich the research findings of this study and ensure that great care is taken with the research participants in the field. For example, the participants were empowered in the informed consent process to tailor their involvement in the research process, extending or limiting their contribution depending on their wishes. As part of my approach, in addition to giving participants opportunities to check the material I have used in my thesis, I also shared my findings with key informants, returning to three key fieldwork sites in 2015: Kontra Coffee; The Coffee Collective in Copenhagen, Denmark; and Rocket Coffee in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. (See Table A4: in Appendix A for a list of visits made.)

Key informant interviews

I conducted interviews with industry members to provide insider knowledge about the coffee industry and why it worked the way it did. These kinds of in-depth interviews are suited to unravelling theoretical or empirical puzzles, such as those presented by the contradictions in perceptions of the barista occupational identity (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). I also used key informant interviews to identify industry experts, such as roasters and baristas involved in competitions in New Zealand and internationally, and sources of important contextual information such as the book *God in a Cup* (Weissman, 2008). I had many opportunities to speak to influential people in the industry from key cities

(San Francisco, Portland, and London) contributing to the Third Wave of coffee, including four competitors who have won the Barista World Championship. These key informant interviews form the backbone of my thesis.

As part of the interview process, participants were familiarised with the information sheet and given consent forms to sign, and the interviews were often but not always recorded, depending on the context. During the consent process, participants were able to select a sliding scale of options on what to agree to in terms of identification. This is because I knew that I would not be able to provide anonymity. The speciality coffee world is small internationally, and even smaller in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Therefore, it was absolutely vital that my informants understood what they were consenting to and that they had control over that process (See Appendix F for my ethics application for the interviews).

The interviews were semi-structured, more like conversations, and they ranged from 30 minutes to two hours, depending on the time the informant had available. Most key informants worked full-time in the coffee industry, and, as such, interviews of the key informants mostly took place at their place of work or a location that directly related to their workplace activities. The key informant interviews were very important in terms of accessing networks in the coffee industry. For example, the owners of Rocket Coffee, who are part of an international community of practice developed through a mutual passion for micro-roasting, were important brokers who connected me to significant roasting sites and other key informants all over the world. A full list of my formal key informant interviews is provided in Appendix A. I strongly encourage the reader to take a moment now to read through the table to get a sense of who I talked to and how their roles and work context also allowed me to engage in useful observation. The informants are identified by their role within the coffee industry, and the business is named when consent was given to do so. The informants who agreed to be identified were also sent extracts of the material discussing their insights for correction.

The involvement of my key informants in the coffee industry created a number of limitations I needed to negotiate. For example, most informants were incredibly busy, and, as such, time constraints were a major limitation to having prolonged discussions. If they were able to provide more time often it was when they were still engaged in work tasks. I overcame these challenges by re-visiting my observations and conversations by interrogating my memories, notes and photographs as part of the mystory approach I developed for my thesis.

The most important limitation I negotiated was the need to be cognisant of respecting confidentiality, as insights could be shared with me that related to competitive strategies in the context of the World Barista Championship (WBC) and internal politics in the specialty coffee association. Many of my key informants were small business owners, as such I also needed to protect the business tactics they used as part of their competitive strategy. Therefore, while many insights were given to me by key informants, whenever possible I also found internet-based sources to corroborate what I was told in confidence. If I was not able to find verification of an insight online, then these insights were re-interrogated through observation and autoethnographic reflection. The opportunity to engage in further observations and prolonged autoethnographic driven reflections, in order to re-interrogate key informants' insights, was possible due to my part-time enrolment in my thesis. Evidence for this can been seen in the length of time over which the key informant interviews took place: 2009-2015 (See Appendix A). Furthermore, the technique of combining participant observation with in-depth interviewing helped me see participants as social actors embedded in but also actively reproducing their social constructs–*verstehen*.

Life history interviews

The life history approach investigates meaning and experience by prioritising participants' voice (*verstehen*), informed by the researcher's awareness of the structural and institutional constraints that influence participant's choices (hermeneutics). As a research approach, life history is associated with methods located "in the nexus between deterministic structures and individual agency" (Musson, 2004, p. 35). Building on the work of C. Wright Mills, Aull Davies (2008) argues that "[e]thnographers collect and study life histories not primarily out of interest in individual stories but in order to improve understanding and knowledge of social and cultural practices more generally" (p. 207). The life history approach also draws the researcher's attention to processes of change over time. The interview process may highlight the events, factors, or circumstances that transform a person's life path, ideological outlook and sense of self. Thus, the overriding objective of conducting life history interviews with baristas is not only to understand how they perceive themselves, but also to draw out the social and cultural constructs that shape their occupational identity.

Each of the life histories was a powerful learning experience, enriching my understanding of the speciality coffee, café and service work more generally. The participants of the life history interviews were selected purposively. Phil, the first life history participant was a barista from the city I lived in Hamilton. He had heard about my research project and had reached out to me wanting to participate. Phil, in between jobs was able to give his time generously and acted not just as a life history participant but as local key informant. Findings from his interview corroborated material offered by other local key informants such as the Franchise management I spoke with and the Roast Master at Rocket Coffee.

Significantly, Phil represented the life path of an ordinary barista, but one talented enough to move into different roles such as barista trainer and roaster and at the time of the interview he was moving into a new role of café owner. In contrast, the second life history of Troels was with an extraordinary barista who had won the Barista World Championship contributing to the coffee industry in Denmark and internationally as a leader. I share this not just to highlight how Troels embodies the skills of a barista to the level of virtuosity but to highlight that unlike Phil, Troels story and career stood outside of everyday life.

As such it was really important to me that the third life history interview was with someone grounded in the everyday life experience of baristas and preferably was a woman. Sofia worked at the Coffee Collective, an important fieldwork site in Copenhagen. When I explained my research project to the owners and the part-time baristas who worked there Sofia who was also studying agreed to participate as she had the interest and time spare to meet with me. Sofia as an itinerant barista had worked in Sweden and Norway as well as Denmark and the Coffee Collective was her second time working with a World Barista Champion. Therefore, Sofia's story crossed between the contexts of everyday life and the more intense skill-oriented contexts of the World Barista Championship.

Given that I had two participants from Denmark it was important to me that my last participant was from New Zealand and also was a barista who was not connected to the competition circuit. I regularly shared insights from my thesis research with students I was teaching and one of them Michael worked at McDonalds but as a barista in the McCafé context, his interest in my research, about him meant that he was excited and keen to be my last life history interview.

The different journeys of each barista shed light on how their paths mirror other empirical research on service work. As such the findings from the life history interviews were important prompts that influenced the specific combinations of materials in the different mystory approaches taken in each of the chapters. Therefore, I strongly encourage the reader to move to Appendix B that includes more material on the life histories. However, I share in the following paragraphs some of the more significant patterns I noted about the findings of the life histories as a collection.

The baristas presented a clear awareness of the role as an occupational identity and that it was theirs, even when they possessed multiple identities. Their identity as a barista was reinforced by an internal recognition of being 'good' at their job, from the workplace (either from managers or customers) as well as within themselves, and the humble pride that accompanied that internal knowing. The role of other identities, such as working as a barista while also being a student, was presented as complementary and also a competing identity narrative with the barista identity.

Their work history stories also connected with other research on service work: for example, the use of casual/informal approach to recruitment (social networks or recruitment of customers). The participants, in different ways, expressed an attachment or connection to learning kinaesthetically (head and hand) and to knowledge which had a craft component to it that for me reinforced Sennett's (2008) arguments regarding craft (see Chapter 1).

Despite my capacity to see the connection to Sennett's notion of craft, the awareness of the embodied nature of knowledge and skills associated with being a barista did not always come through in the interviews. In contradiction with the literature, the baristas had strong labour market mobility within and between businesses, and a clear career path from barista to barista trainer and then roastery to business ownership. Finally, the interviews in combination with participant observation revealed a wide range of attitudes towards sharing knowledge, from reluctant protectiveness of skill and employability, keeping secrets from competitors, to between firm co-operation and open and enthusiastic sharing.

Participant observation

I used participant observation to complement interviewing techniques because "the most truthful, reliable, complete and simple way of getting that information is to share their experience" (Douglas, 1976, cited in Waddington, 2004, p. 154). Furthermore, Aull Davies argues that participant observation enables "a more open and meaningful discussion with informants" (2008, p. 81), reinforcing the usefulness of combining participant observation with interviews (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002).

My participant observation has been multi-sited across countries as well as workplaces, due to my capacity to dip in and out of the field and gain insight into the everyday life experience of baristas and other coffee industry players. The multi-sited nature of my research required and enabled me to move between the participant observer and the unobtrusive observer roles (Aull Davies, 2008; McBurney, 2001; Woldorf, Lozzi, & Dilks, 2013).

My approach for the most part, in line with Burgess's (1984) model of different and specific research identities, was "participant as observer," where the researcher "forms relationships and participates but does not conceal purpose to observe" (cited in Waddington, 2004, p. 154). In these situations, as per the conditions of my ethical approval, consent was gained from the owners of the sites for me to be there as a researcher (See Appendix D).

On many other occasions, I have used visits to public spaces of cafés simply to observe in a more unobtrusive fashion (McBurney, 2001; Woldoff et al., 2013), facilitated by my identity as a customer in the first instance rather than a researcher. For example, whenever I have travelled to London, Melbourne, Toronto, Vancouver, San Francisco, New York and Seattle, I have made time to visit third wave cafés and coffee bars to further immerse myself in the culture. My observations from these visits form the backbone of the stories and insights I share in Chapter 4 that explains the ethnographic setting of my thesis in more detail.

The most important sites for participant observation have included: The Coffee Collective and Kontra in Copenhagen, Denmark; Momento cafés and Rocket Coffee in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand[8]; as well as competition sites, such as, the Aotearoa/New Zealand regional finals in Auckland and the Aotearoa/New Zealand competition in Christchurch in 2009 and the World Barista Championship (WBC) held in London in 2010; and Third Wave Walking Coffee Tours in Portland, Oregon. In all these settings, aside from the WBC London 2010, I sought explicit consent through email correspondence with the organisers/owners of the activity or site.

At the 2010 WBC London competitions I had two key goals. The first overall aim was to reconnect with key informants and industry insiders who had previously consented to be part of my research. The second was to observe at the public event, which became a yearly industry fair–Caffe Culture. However, whenever I engaged in direct contact with people I met for the first time at the event, I disclosed that my purpose in attending was as a researcher. The decision to take this approach within the context of participant observation and observation was discussed at length, and approved by my thesis supervisor Dr John Paterson, who had been the head of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science ethics committee (McBurney, 2001).

I needed to negotiate through two key limitations when I engaged in observations. The first limitation was myself. Due to my age–mid to late 30s–my gender, and status as an academic, I felt like an outsider, someone who was essentially not cool enough to be there and was even in the way at the industrial spaces I visited. These feelings of misalignment can be understood through Wenger's theorisation of identification as

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[8] Please note that I received consent to identify these businesses by name.

phases of imagination, engagement and alignment (Farnsworth et al., 2016). I imagined myself as not being cool enough to belong, and so I had issues with engagement that would help me feel aligned to the identities within the intersecting communities of practice (Wenger, 2003).

Furthermore, according to communities of practice, I was on the periphery of the barista community. Being located on the periphery stemmed from my own classification as a person as an outsider or novice of the coffee industry and competition circuit. My early observation experiences taught me that I needed to become comfortable with the position of outsider. These feelings did ease somewhat, but I also need to acknowledge that as I participated in 'deep hanging out' in various coffee locations, I engaged in informal workplace learning, which meant that over time I became received as more of an insider, achieving alignment.

The most important technique was the use of intermediaries or brokers who demonstrated acceptance of me (Wenger, 1999), which meant that my proximal participation shifted to legitimate proximal participation in the community of practice (Chan, 2013, 2016), enabling me to act and be accepted as an 'outside' insider.

There were two key ways in which my participation was legitimated through brokers. First, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, a former barista who was part of my social network introduced me personally to the owners of Rocket Coffee, who in turn provided advice on where to visit when I was able to travel overseas. Their knowledge sent me to the right people who were able to set me at ease, as well as provide important opportunities to conduct key informant interviews. Second, both of my main fieldwork sites (Kontra Coffee and the Coffee Collective), suggested to me by the owners of Rocket Coffee, included business owners who had attended Roskilde University. My attendance at the same university as a visiting PhD scholar provided common ground on which to build the rapport needed for infrequent visits over a number of years. Lecturers and students at the university also provided me with important contextual knowledge, which furthered my understanding of the other fieldwork sites such as Estate Coffee and Café Europa, where I conducted non-obtrusive observation as a customer.

The information I gathered from my participant observation was used to trace patterns in the social interactions, particularly in relation to language and practices that occur in more than one field site (Aull Davies, 2008; Waddington, 2004). I also analysed other literature relevant to the workplaces and their practices in this way, presenting a basis to complete limited textual analysis and the beginnings of triangulation (Crang & Cook, 2007).

By participating and observing in the different sites mentioned above, I was able to build my knowledge of the professional language and context of the speciality coffee industry. My regular observation of and participation in the consumption experience of coffee helped me understand aspects of the barista–customer relationship, as well as how the consumption and production of coffee are integrated. Through my attendance and participation in speciality coffee professional development, I was able to gain an understanding of the formal and informal learning processes of baristas and keen home coffee enthusiasts.

An autoethnographic approach to writing

Autoethnography is research, writing and method that connects the autobiographical and personal to the cultural and social. Autoethnography has the charge of self-indulgence thrown at it based on the assumption that it is simply navel-gazing (Ellis, 2013; Sparkes, 2002). However, it is also a research approach that can provide voice and a way for political action to be taken (Denzin, 2013). Most significantly, autoethnography acknowledges the importance of incorporating the researcher's positionality into the research approach and provides a range of methods to do so (Denzin, 2013; Madison, 2012).

In order to draw auto-biographical and research insights together, autoethnographic writing usually features concrete action, emotion, embodiment, self-consciousness, and introspection (Ellis, 2004). Often, the most powerful autoethnographic accounts are evocative, moving the reader towards understanding through exercising their own agency stirred by the powerfully felt emotions in the reader's reaction to what is written (Ellis & Bochner, 2003). The practice of autoethnography is incredibly diverse, but it tends to focus on more creative techniques in terms of writing.

For example, Popovic's (2011) autoethnographic approach includes an evocative and poetic description of taking a yoga class. She begins by representing her body in the third person, introducing each limb as a different personality. Her use of humour is charming, forging connections with readers. For me, however, it was her representation of embodiment that was commanding. Her complex shifts in focus from her limbs to her mind, to presenting herself as the teacher, and then elaborating on her yoga class as the focus of her research enabled the provision of multi-layered insight in a short amount of writing. The research purpose, questions and answers, were provided in a fashion that was unexpected and moving (Popovic, 2011). Autoethnographic accounts such as Popovic's helped me understand how the use of my voice for reflection, and my positionality as a researcher, could give me the tools to make sense of my experiences in the field (Madison, 2012).

Discovering the significance of autoethnography was important, as initially I was not comfortable finding a way to conceptually resolve the variety of identities. However, I needed to, as the more I engaged in the field, more diverse identities emerged. As I travelled between hemispheres, I felt a sense of growing disquiet with my assertion that baristas are artisans. I began to realise that I had a romantic and glamorised view of the barista, a view that did not match with my encounters with baristas, nor the encounters of friends/colleagues who knew baristas personally.

I read and was told about stories of baristas hungry to learn, who wanted to become artisans, but their managers and employers were dismissive of the workers' desire for training. In my observations, I saw the work tasks of baristas being replaced by different kinds of automation, invoking Braverman's de-skilling thesis (Edgell, 2012). For example, Starbucks automated their coffee machines, prioritising consistency over quality in their stores located in the Northern Hemisphere[9] and reducing the level of skills baristas need to deploy when making coffee. The change in the labour process shifted the focus of training from the control of the coffee-making process to a stronger focus on maintaining positive customer service interactions.

Even though I had met the rock stars of the coffee industry and observed how the organisations they work for or own follow business practices that allow baristas to become artisans in many cafés, I realised that for most baristas the values of artisanship were not part of their labour process or work identity.

I discussed my feelings about my romanticised image of the barista and the reality I had encountered with a person involved in service work training, and she presented me with a possible answer–that different business models/owners' emphases and value systems produced different kinds of contexts, which in turn shaped and produced a range of worker identities. Her insight resonated with the new material I had been reading on skill formation, that if policymakers want to understand skill formation, then assessment of product market strategies needs to be included (Keep, 2006; Storey & Salaman, 2008).

Throughout the writing process I have drawn inspiration from the following quote from Hannah Arendt: "What is important for me is to understand. For me, writing is a matter of seeking this understanding, part of the process of understanding" (Gaus, 1964).

[9] Starbucks stores in New Zealand and Australia still use less automated espresso machines.

Writing up the thesis also became my way of seeking and gaining deeper understandings of my topic as well as of myself as a researcher, academic and former service worker.

With the help of autoethnography and the forms of analysis the mystory approach provided as part of the writing process, I realised that I could take my different identities and the memories that shaped them and use them as still points (or the basis of epiphanies) around which to build my thesis. My epiphanies would not require the 'sting' of emotion to give them power. Instead, my epiphanies would be fuelled by the way in which my different identities intersected with the communities of practice (CoP) I encountered in the field. These intersecting CoPs are: (1) competitions and roasting associations who set standards for brewing practices and recipes, (2) the labour processes in workplaces (cafés and roasteries), and (3) the creation and sharing of industry-based literature on- and offline, including the ways that baristas are represented in popular culture (fiction and news media). The shifts between my identity-oriented epiphanies and the insights in literature and from the field also facilitated a consistent focus on the relationship between structure and agency through the examination of the macro and micro contexts.

In terms of my epiphanies and my positionality, I have been engaged in service work (retail) from the age of 15 till my early 20s. Even though I have shifted to the path of a teacher/researcher (academic) after the completion of my master's, this role is still part of the service sector. As such, I am immersed in the labour process of service work as a worker and a researcher. Moreover, I began this research not as an academic but as a customer. My passion for coffee and cooking, along with my neoliberal drive to pursue middle-class lifestyle (identity) consumption choices also drive this research. The danger of this approach, as outlined earlier, could have been to let my identities take over the narrative, verging on navel-gazing, hence the vital importance of not just taking an autoethnographic approach but also including my adaptation of mystory as a form of analysis.

Combining insights from literature and the field, alongside the consideration of my own stories as a service worker and consumer, allowed me to engage with the critical reflection labour studies demands. Immersing myself in academic literature also pushed me to consider my findings from a range of perspectives and reflect on the empirical material with fresh eyes. This approach was built on my practice as a qualitative researcher, which is thematic analysis. Although thematic analysis has some limitations (Saldaña, 2016), it is a well-established way of analysing literature and empirical material (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2013).

For example, the themes which inform the discussion in Chapter 3 began with the important labour studies ideal of resistance. As a consumer, I had engaged with the narratives of the slow movement and took heart from the movement's statement of resistance to industrial capitalism and mass production. As I examined the arguments of the consumer society and the representations of slow food within these arguments, as an academic I had to let go of my personal passion. In my critical reflection, I needed to acknowledge the limitations exposed by the middle-class co-option of resistance and appropriation of peasant food and values. However, the tensions and appropriation reflected in the slow movement was part of the power relations I had observed in the field between baristas who were able to exercise and perform in ways associated with artisanship and the many more baristas who were much more constrained by the organisational contexts in which they work.

The literature on the consumer society reconceptualisation of identity (re)formation as an agentic and reflexive project exercised through consumption practices also helped me make sense of the brand narratives different businesses embody to attract particular kinds of customers. This is an observation that resonated with the role of business models leading to differences in the barista work identit(ies). An examination of consumer culture and consumption practices pushed me to maintain a sense of becoming, of pluralism, as brand narratives cannot just be imposed on customers: they are co-constructed. Thus, even though the capacity to exercise consumption choices is not evenly distributed throughout society, this does not negate consumers and workers' opportunities to engage in the practices of de-commodification, resisting capitalism's imposition of commodity fetishism.

For each chapter, based on my initial thematic analysis I considered ideas and concepts from my own experience and assumptions (inductive). These themes were then reconsidered in light of the key informant interviews, life histories and participant observations (deductive). I then took insights from academic literature considering the issues of service work and consumption which resonated with my insights from the field (abductive). These ideas were then re-interrogated in relation to my observations of the intersecting communities of practice (CoPs) which contribute to the barista work identity that included literature from popular culture, blogs, and books written by industry players such as baristas.

As I considered and reconsidered my findings from the field and academic literature I then created autoethnographic accounts to explore the themes in more detail. Based on this iterative process the threads from each of the different types of stories was then woven into a coherent set of narratives that were produced in the form of chapters. As part of this process in each chapter, I have included autoethnographic accounts taken from my different identities, of worker, academic, researcher and consumer; for instance, I share an autoethnographic account to begin Chapter 3 that draws on my experiences as an academic.

Thus, mystory in combination with autoethnography provides a format to weave together my insights as a researcher and as a frequent coffee consumer, material from blogs and popular culture or journalistic literature, stories from the field, and material from academic literature. The mystory method of construction–the melding of the personal, popular, historical with academic–has provided a way for me to make sense of but also highlight the different types of information I had accessed, to make sense not of the barista work identity, but the barista work identities.

CHAPTER THREE: AGENCY AND COMMODIFICATION IN CONSUMER SOCIETY

I first became aware of the increasing influence of consumption practices on society when I read Naomi Klein's now-seminal text <u>No Logo</u> (2000). Her powerful rhetoric on the shift by multinational corporations as body corporates (rather than manufacturing companies) from production to brand management helped me to understand the changing nature of work due to globalisation. Klein's arguments also helped me see that changes in branding and consumption were leading to a loss of democracy and public space, as more parts of and spaces in our lives are being commodified. Her work also illustrated that there was potential to resist the encroaching commodification through the paradoxical increase in consumer power through the changes in brand management. Klein's arguments–about the consumer-based marketing of brands–illustrated that the unique and innovative ways in which consumers re-fashion products can be an act of re-appropriation, which may drive the way in which brands became signifiers of identity and status. One example she gave, of the way in which the re-purposing of products could lead to brands becoming fashionable, resonated with me. Run DMC's use, in their music videos, of Adidas tracksuits and Adidas shoes without laces meant that when I was an eleven-year-old starting at a new school in 1987 small town Aotearoa/New Zealand, Adidas's now iconic three stripe tracksuit pants were an essential clothing choice to signal belonging and status.

This example illustrated that consumption practices, while occurring within the structure of capitalism, can also be a space of more individualised expressions of identity. For example, Klein's arguments also demonstrated that consumers who were fashion forward like Run DMC had been repositioned as resources for information on consumption trends, placing companies in the position for searching out the latest *trends. Klein (2000) argued that this kind of market research can also give consumers agency, as they contribute to the re-shaping of brand messages through new product lines or celebrity endorsements. The change in approach to marketing also focussed on the way in which brands create attachment through associations made by consumers. The focus of market strategies on creating associations also leads to the co-construction of brands by consumers and companies as part of everyday life (Bookman, 2013, 2014). Klein's (2000) emphasis on consumer agency in relation to social movements indicated to me that there was hope–that consumers could influence corporations through practices like boycotts, petitions, and direct action such as protests. These are important forms of resistance against the way in which multinational corporations bestow symbolic value by managing brand logos. Thus, when I first began considering the concept of the consumer society and the practices of consumption for my thesis, my awareness of and interest in branding, corporate power, and consumer resistance formed a meaningful background to my investigations.*

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore consumption practices and the ways in which these practices can facilitate agency and create space for resistance within a consumer society. The mystory approach I have taken is to weave a small number of insights from my findings and my own life as a consumer into arguments taken from a wide range of academic and more popular journalistic literature. In the first section, I explain the concept of the consumer society in relation to identity and agency, distinction and cultural capital, mediated by consideration of issues related to inequality. Second, I discuss consumption practices and outcomes, which focus on the ways fashion can influence individuals or may seek out alternatives to mainstream culture. I also discuss how the appropriation of these counter-culture consumption practices by mainstream capitalism, through fair, green and craft-washing, undermines the capacity of consumers to exercise agency critically as well as reflexively. Third, I highlight how consumption fetishises the products being sold, and how the resistive practices of conscientious consumption seek to prevent fetishisation through the practices of decommodification. In this section, I also explain how being part of the service encounter fetishises these workers. Finally, I examine the relationship between consumption and work, to highlight how consumption practices, including commodity fetishisation, are changing the nature of work and the employment relationship.

Consumer society

The changing relationship between consumption and identity formation gives the most salient indications that a shift towards a consumer society has occurred. As part of this shift, academics have argued that lifestyle choices, such as decisions on what to wear, what to eat and where to relax, are now more relevant to the practices and processes that form identity. Additionally, these identity-oriented choices are reformed as individualised reflexive projects rather than being driven by occupational categories such as class (Bauman, 2007; Beck & Beck-Gernshiem, 2001; Bookman, 2013; Giddens, 2004; Jagger, 2000; Lury, 1996; Mansvelt, 2005, 2010; Shields, 1992). The rapid expansion of the service economy has also facilitated the shift to a consumer society, as it is services that satisfy the increased demand for lifestyle-oriented consumption choices (Giddens, 2004; Hannigan, 1998; Jagger, 2000; Shields, 1992; Shilling, 2012; Zukin, 1995). Thus, the practices of consumption more so than production are driving the formation of identity, illustrated by the ways in which individuals exercise their cultural (social and economic) capital (Bourdieu, 2010) in the status games of everyday life (Goffman, 1959).

An important argument connected to the formation of identity in relation to consumption practices is that of the sovereign consumer. Du Gay (1996) argues that the sovereign consumer is self-enterprising, and due to the way in which identity construction is a reflexive project, is also self-monitoring (see also Campbell 2005; Dale, 2012; and Leidner, 1999). Wider power relations in the workplace are also relevant to concept of the sovereign consumer. These power relations are based on the notion that the customer should be treated 'like a queen or a king' when they are engaged in consumption (Fleetwood, 2008; Korczynski, 2005; Leidner, 1999; McDowell, 2009; Taylor, 1998; Williams, 2006). Given the master–servant(slave) connotations, understanding the sovereign consumer is an integral part of understanding the embodiment of power relations in the workplace as a site of consumption (McDowell, 2009), a discussion I will return to at the end of this chapter.

The notion of the sovereign consumer is reinforced by the ways in which the practice of consumption focuses on the creation of a lifestyle and identity performance that is hedonistic (Giddens, 1991; Lury, 1996). Lury (1996) emphasises the notion of hedonism, explaining that consumers now have a 'duty' to have fun and follow fashion. The practices of fun and fashion are also the means that individuals can use to create, perform and project status. This idea connects to the notion of conspicuous consumption[10], where the goods consumed and displayed can indicate the identity and often the class level of the consumer (Campbell, 1995; Mansvelt, 2005; Veblen, 2005). The use of consumption practices in order to augment identity also resonates with Bourdieu's (2010) notion of habitus, because how people make consumption decisions–the product of deeply socialised habits–demonstrates (or betrays) one's class origins.

The use of consumption as the means to create, express and reproduce identity is an inherently unstable process, whereby "individuals use commodities and their random open-ended meanings to continually reinvent themselves" (Jagger, 2000, p. 52). Part of this rationale connects to the idea of the democratisation of consumption; regardless of

[10] Conspicuous consumption "is concerned primarily with the ostentatious display of wealth" and was traditionally perceived as a part of 'exceptional' consumer behaviour rather than the norm (Mason, 1981, p. vii).

one's status or job, one can go to the public/private spaces of consumption (Edgell, 2012; Langman, 1991; Shields, 1992). Another aspect of this kind of argument is the idea that people express identity through membership in sub-tribes, rather than large collectives like the working-class (Maffesoli, 1996; Shields, 1992). Sub-tribes, unlike class, "are intense but unstable associations, unfixed by institutional parameters…. Consumption both solidifies the sense of personal self, and confirms it as social through common membership in a shopping fraternity" (Shields, 1992, pp. 14-15). Furthermore, membership in sub-tribes enables the opportunity to experiment or browse or try on identities as consumers do when shopping for clothes (Shields, 1992).

When engaging in their reflexive identity projects, consumers can choose to assume various kinds of consumption-based identities. Therefore, identities "are not reducible to class.… Instead, anyone can be anyone–as long as they have the means to participate in consumption" (Jagger, 2000, p. 52). However, these choices may not be as agentic as these arguments seem to indicate. The construct of capitalism actively shapes consumption practices. Marketing firms trade on identity and fashion-based information garnered from 'trend-setting' consumers. This information is then fed through into the construction of brands, to ensure that the brand speaks to the kinds of identities that will increase consumption of a specific product or service (Klein, 2000). Consumers can respond to these marketing campaigns and brands in a variety of ways.

Campbell (2005) highlights two traditionally-depicted responses in the consumption literature, the dupe and the hero. The first depiction is a consumer who is easily influenced and exploited, who uncritically pays for products, often paying too much–hence the moniker of the *dupe*. In a more contemporary setting, the dupe is a victim of fashion trends or of uncritically engaging with the messages of distinction conveyed by brands. Thus, the dupe, constrained in identity formation as a reflexive project by their lack of engagement, potentially betrays their class origins or habitus in 'bad' decision-making (Bourdieu, 2010; Campbell, 2005). The second depiction is an agentic consumer or ‘hero,’ who makes rational and carefully calibrated decisions based on the scarcity of goods and services. In a more contemporary setting, such a consumer critically engages with brand narratives, signalling their cosmopolitanism through their consumption choices that are global and conscientious (Bartley, Koos, & Samel, 2015; Bookman, 2013; Campbell, 2005). These consumers are Klein’s (2000) heroes critically engaging in their relationship with capitalism by exercising informed consumption choices as acts of resistance.

The binary nature of these depictions of the consumer as dupe or hero is problematic, as consumption practices are inherently subjective and fluid. By focussing on the sovereign consumer engaging in consumption as part of a reflexive identity project, self-enterprising and self-monitoring opens up the depiction of consumers beyond the dupe or hero (Campbell, 2005; Du Gay, 1996). For example, Campbell (2005) argues for another significant consumer-based identity: the ‘craft consumer.’ The craft consumer is someone who subverts consumption practices within the confines of mass-production to their individualised identity project. More like the hero than the dupe, neither brands nor the structure of capitalism directly influence craft consumers’ choices.

This is because the consumption practices of craft consumers are to take products and re-purpose them to give a more unique, potentially ironic, authentic, and individually *crafted* consumption response to identity expression and performance (Campbell, 2005; Mansvelt, 2005; Michael, 2015; Ulver-Sneistrup, Askegaard, & Kristensen, 2011). The notion of the craft consumer, therefore, can reinforce the arguments that people shape identity more so by choices made than by structure (also see Chapter 1).

These depictions of different consumer responses also illustrate the way in which consumption is a performance, where “the body plays a mediating role between consumer activities and the cultural constitution of the self” (Jagger, 2000, p. 46).

Therefore, consumer lifestyles and the body intertwine with identity, as the body's corporeality becomes an important vehicle for the post-modern reflexive project of identity management and transformation (Blackman, 2008; Hancock et al., 2000; Mansvelt, 2005).

The adornment, enhancement, and transformation of the body are where the material and symbolic (brands) interact to project messages of difference and belonging (Bookman, 2014; Hetherington, 1998; Huat Chua, 1992; Hancock et al., 2000; Shields, 1992). Embodiment is an integral part of consumption, because distinctions can be signalled through bodily displays (Blackman, 2008; Hancock et al., 2000; Jagger, 2000; Mansvelt, 2005; Thomas, 2013). Therefore, research suggests that when making purchasing decisions, consumers do not just consider the goods' inherent value. Instead, the "style or social status associated with" (symbolic value) a brand is considered as a way to ensure the identity the consumer wishes to project is either maintained or enhanced (Jagger, 2000, p. 49; Ulver-Sneistrup et al., 2011).

The role of consumption practices in establishing identity in society means that "[t]he lack of opportunity for less privileged socio-economic and cultural strata, together with the constraints of patriarchy, amplify the pressures of inequality and disadvantage, poverty and exploitation" (Shields, 1992, p. 12). Therefore, when access to cultural and economic capital is taken into consideration, limitations to these agentic arguments can be identified. For instance, consumption-based identity construction is more problematic for women than for men, given the gender pay gap and a host of other factors (Hancock et al., 2000). Furthermore, the way in which advertising uses images that promote beauty myths spreads the idea that women need to spend more to enact socially-accepted forms of femininity (Blackman, 2008; Jagger, 2000; Shields, 1992). The limitations that impinge on women's capacity to exercise agency at an individual and structural level also play out in relation to the ways the intersections of class and ethnicity can compound inequality (Blackman, 2008; Jagger, 2000; Shields, 1992; Williams-Crenshaw, 1991).

The construction of different versions of femininity and masculinity reinforces connections between the projection of gender roles and gendered exhortations to participate in the consumption of commodities (Jagger, 2000). Gender inequality in terms of consumption is exacerbated by the symbolic, in that women "experience a relative lack of control in self-definition" (Jagger, 2000, p. 47), because women are simultaneously the "objects and subjects of consumption" (Jagger, 2000, p. 55), being consumers who are also consumed by the male gaze (Berger, 1977; Jagger, 2000; Shields, 1992). Therefore, how people experience agency in relation to consumption-based identity construction is complex, as the "cultural resources for the creation of the modern self are not equally available to all" (Jagger, 2000, p. 57).

However, as the example of the craft consumer indicates, consumption, as part of a reflexive identity project, can also be used to subvert and resist dominant notions of femininity and masculinity through parody or other ironic expressions. For example, cis gender roles can be resisted through bodywork and identity projects (Blackman, 2008; Jagger, 2000). The practices of consumption can also be appropriated "as sites of deflected and displaced resistance" (Shields, 1992, p. 12), as even the most disadvantaged have the "ability to steal the opportunity for pleasure in the 'clever art' of appropriation" (Shields, 1992, p. 12).

Despite these opportunities for resistance, it is vital to acknowledge the limitations of the consumer society depiction that identity formation is an agentic project. As such, the argument that we have moved into an age of the consumer society evidenced by reflexive identity projects needs to be challenged in three ways. The first is that the emphasis on agency can obscure the continuing influence of structural forces in identity formation. Second, identity formation based on consumption draws attention away from examining the growing inequality in society. Third, given that material means are unevenly distributed, so are the opportunities to engage in identity formation as an agentic project.

Consumer culture

To translate the practices of consumer society into consumer culture, I discuss how cafés (as part of my case study of the barista work identity) provide opportunities for consumers to present and perform identities shaped by connoisseurship, fashion, music, style and politics (Hetherington, 1998). One of the ways fashion and politics make their way into consumer culture is by the use of the symbolic meaning or signs associated with brands. Brands are a way for businesses to get attention and signal the way in which they are different from their competitors (Bookman, 2013; Schroder, 2014). Companies, particularly large multinationals, invest vast amounts of resources in the management of their brands (Klein, 2000). As such the product can become secondary to the need to engage consumers in the brand relationship (Simon, 2009). The narratives businesses use for consumers to connect to and build association with illustrate that brands influence society through cultural as well as economic means. For example, because "brands engage customers and companies in an ongoing dialogical exchange" (Visconti, 2010, p. 234), the brand can be co-opted by consumers into their reflexive identity project.

Signalling difference through brands

When discussing restaurants' role in cultural production, Zukin (1995) makes the point that: "[t]he accents and appearance of waiters affirm distinctions between restaurants as surely as menu, price and location" (p. 155). Warhurst and Nickson (2007b) also claim that certain segments of the retail and hospitality industry emulate particular kinds of *style* (as part of their branding) designed to differentiate businesses in competitive markets (also see Sheane, 2011). Implementing a style or brand-based strategy also involves "aligning product and labour" (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b, p. 793), whereby businesses use an array of means to provide symbols that convey feelings of familiarity and belonging, including the presentational labour of the businesses' workers, as well as the wider aesthetics of the workplace, music, furniture, art, and other props.

The niche markets that the owners or investors in coffee bars and cafés seek to exploit reflect particular styles, which are also informed or matched to specific consumer identities. It could be the parsimonious customer seeking the best coffee and muffin deal, the conscientious customer only buying from fair-trade coffee cafés, the craft-focused customer going to Third Wave coffeehouses to be part of the artisan coffee scene, or the hedonistic customer seeking a specific production detail unavailable elsewhere. The latter is illustrated by a visiting American tourist's comment to a friend in Denmark: "I like coming here to get the coffee with the tiny bubbles that make foam taste so much better." For those in nations where there is no coffee-drinking tradition (such as Taiwan), the consumer may be seeking an identity that connotes familiarity with Western sophistication, or with modernity rather than tradition (Allan, Choiu, & Chang, 2006; Lin, 2012; Rannals, 2014). It can be about exoticism, about being the first to experience the newest café, or about community and having a 'local' where customers are treated like privileged family.

Workers are a core part of how organisational aesthetics are enacted, perceived, appreciated, co-constructed, and consumed by customers. For example, in high-end clothing stores, the workers signal who is and who is not a suitable customer by providing social interaction that legitimises or de-legitimises customers' right to be there (Chua, 1992; Pettinger, 2005). In bars and clubs, workers recognise the right of regulars to service and may deny newcomers attention and service for prolonged periods of time (Hall, 1993; Ocejo, 2017; Riach & Wilson, 2014; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b). Thus, the status games of becoming 'a regular' play out in the workplace between workers and customers, as well as between the more traditional relationship between manager/employer and worker.

The othering of customers demonstrates the ability of workers to exercise power by deciding which customers are welcome in the workplace and which customers deserve service and what kind: good, bad, or in between. As argued in Chapter 1, the barista work identity includes workers considered as artisans and workers who may be a member of the emerging precariat class. The barista as labour aristocrat is a worker who has benefitted from the gentrification of their work identity and work environment. In contrast, baristas' precariat status does not come from *being* a barista, but rather from being a service worker lacking employment security. Thus, workers reflect the brand values, aesthetics, or habitus of businesses that serve coffee in a way that cultivates and reflects the class values of the market the businesses wish to capture (Bookman, 2014; Williams, 2006; Wright, 2005).

Therefore, brands "are spun into the fabric of urban life" (Bookman, 2014, p. 86), contributing to the transformation of the cityscape[11]. Part of the transformation of the cityscape also includes a spatial dimension of material and symbolic activities, or the consumptionscape, created through dynamic relationships between consumers and capital (Bookman, 2013a, 2014). Workers, space, time, and place come together to shape a particular kind of consumption experience, which may provide a sense of belonging or an idealised identity, communicated through the brand (Bookman, 2014). Part of the sense of belonging comes from the relationship building that recasts the customer as a regular, through the "construction of an elaborate community of formal

[11] "The urban equivalent of the notion of landscape. A cityscape focusing upon sport stadiums and leisure and consumption facilities would be a form of conceptual mapping of public and observable spaces in the urban setting" (Tomlinson, 2010).

relationships between the patron and clerks" (Shields, 1992, pp. 13-14; see also Pettinger, 2005, in relation to clothing stores).

Cafés sit in a nexus of the servicescape, and consumptionscape. The servicescape:

> demonstrates the relationship between the physical ambience and place and its impact on service delivery and perception, both for customers and for staff. Also known as service setting, the framework takes account of ambience, temperature, lighting, furnishings, colour, scent, music, and use of space on the quality, delivery, and perception of services. It also examines the stimuli acting on staff and customer psychology caused by the physical setting and environment. The servicescape is particularly important in services' marketing because of the unique characteristics of services, particularly their intangibility and perishability, the inseparability of production and consumption, and heterogeneity in delivery quality. ("servicescape", 2016)

Brands are part of the servicescape and provide information to consumers, and that information influences the decision-making customers deploy to ensure their preferences express their identity appropriately. These decisions can either comply with or challenge dominant values about general social mores, and capitalism more specifically. The consideration of brands also demonstrates how capital, but also individuals, can exercise power in relation to those identity choices. For example, different business models have assorted brands or niche aesthetics that represent the businesses' identities (Schroder, 2015). Consumers respond to the material and symbolic messages within the brands as a "template for the symbolic fashioning of identities and lifestyles" (Bookman, 2014, p. 87). The process of brand identification may also be aspirational, prompted by desire, where consumers make choices to transform themselves (Jagger, 2000).

Given that coffee is a more affordable status symbol or identity marker than many other purchases, visiting cafés provides an economically viable way for consumers to engage in conspicuous consumption (Avila, 2015; Prynn & Sinmaz, 2012; Veblen, 2005). For example, the use of coffee brands as a signifier of status is illustrated in a blog post where a former barista admitted to giving their friends empty Starbucks coffee cups, which the friends carried around filled with cheaper coffee in order to be 'cool' (Osberg, 2014). The purchase of products provided in branded containers (coffee cup or a bag), which stays with the consumer as they leave the shop, is a corporate marketing strategy that consumers may appropriate for themselves as a means to communicate their identity and status (Shield, 1992). The power of consumer-led marketing stems from the aspirational nature of consumption practices, particularly those associated with the notion of being *fashionable*.

Consuming cool: The rejection of labels as fashion

The sociological interest in consumption and the idea of the consumer society is the continuation of "a long-standing interest in the urban, the hip and the cool" (Hetherington, 1998, p. 1). Fashion, as well as coolness, plays a key role in how particular lifestyle choices come to denote status and identity. An important part of what is sold in coffee shops is image or fashion related, demonstrated by Bookman (2013a, 2013b, 2014) in her studies of Starbucks and Second Cup in Canada, and Lin's (2012) studies of Starbucks in Taiwan. Bookman (2013a) argues that the cultural capital purchased and conveyed by the act of consuming in these cafés is a form of globalised cosmopolitanism, expressed by Lin (2012) as the desire to emulate Western culture. The servicescape of world music and coffee from around the world enables consumers to be transported to different places, to a clean environment (Lin, 2012) or to Europe or developing nations that supply the coffee to Starbucks (Bookman, 2013a). Participating (seeing and being seen) in these café locations may convey the status of the consumer to themselves and others, as taste-based distinctions reflect the ability to recognise and be a part of different social milieu (Bourdieu, 2010).

Another way of making a brand successful is by creating rather than harnessing the perception of being cool or 'hip.' Part of the problem, however, is that it is not hip to be a follower of trends, but it is by being at the forefront and establishing them. It is important for hipsters to establish that they are not followers, to ensure that identity performance is both authentic and individualised (Michael, 2015). Thus, there is a tension between the hipster identity and identity formation practices reliant on mass market brands because of the brands' connection to mass-production and consumption.

Brands associated with mass-production, such as Starbucks, are not seen as hip, because globalised brands feature in the consumptionscape in ubiquitous ways; as such, businesses represented by global brands are not unique, individualised or authentic. Therefore, business owners who want to position their business as 'hip' must overcome the ubiquitous messages of global brands by at least reflecting the values (if not the reality) of authenticity and individuality (Michael, 2015; Ocejo, 2017; Strong, 2016). Small businesses can more easily develop and promote an image or a brand that embodies individuality and authenticity.

Sites of consumption that are positioned as hip generally resist the use of logos and labels. Instead, these sites of consumption and the workers within them create a sense of exclusivity and status through practices associated with high cultural capital (Carfagna et al., 2014; Ocejo, 2017). Ocejo (2017) elaborates, explaining how the craft cocktail bars in New York he researched either use very small signage to indicate where their business is to passers-by or have actually hidden themselves at the back of a different store, supplying no signage. Part of the challenge of locating these bars involves being in the 'know,' which conveys a sense of exclusivity, cosmopolitanism and high cultural capital (Bookman, 2013a; Carfagna et al., 2014; Ocejo, 2017).

These practices are also used in the context of cafés; for example, a small coffeeshop, Grey Gardens, is down an alleyway in an old industrial building (Irvine, 2015). Not only do aspiring hipster coffee consumers have to know which alleyway to walk down (there are four to choose from on the stretch of road used), consumers also need to know that a coffeeshop existed down one of the alleyways in the first place. The SL28 coffeeshop in London includes an option of membership that entitles members to stay at the coffeeshop for as long as they like, with the point being that non-members will need to move on swiftly after making their purchases (Luckhurst, 2015).

Cafés and roasteries are incredibly diverse; therefore, in one sense, these locations represent an ever-widening array of potential brand or niche identities–a diversity that prevents a strong and singular brand message from being established. However, brands are not just reliant on logos or signs: they are narratives co-constructed between consumers and the corporate marketing messages. As the discussion above illustrates, part of this co-construction process includes specific practices–the recognition of this by consumers can constitute a brand. The Third Wave[12] pursuit of individuality also reveals the commitment to skill, traceability and craft that is recognisable to some customers and claimed by some businesses (Manzo, 2014).

The recognisable practices that provide material and symbolic signals of the Third Wave of coffee brand include: the use of La Marzocco machines, industrial interior design, showcasing the roasting process, the purchase of beans via the Cup of Excellence awards, as well as the use of language like speciality coffee. The use of these practices creates a brand but one that is not a label or a logo.

A business which develops a 'brand' identifiable by practices can also mobilise different identity discourses shaping the field of consumption (music, style, sports, fashion), and

[12] See Chapter 4 for a full explanation of the Third Wave of coffee.

by doing so can further differentiate the particularly individualised form of their market niche (identity). For example, to different extents, many of the roasters and baristas I have met embody identities or practices (brands) associated with aspects of slow food, ethical, green, and fair consumption.

Consumption as activism

Consumption is not just about identity as fashion; it is also about identities that connect to political and protest movements, to ideas of democracy, citizenship and agency, as well as resistance (Bartley, Koos, & Samel, 2015; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). The pursuit of consumption choices framed by ethics, glocalisation (the pursuit of products sourced locally, rather than globally), and mercantile capitalism (the material and manual) is an explicit rejection of consumption choices associated with brands that represent practices associated with mass-production and corporate (global) capitalism (Carfagna et al., 2014). Cafés can be a focal point where consumers and workers can locate themselves in their local economy and region, in relation to counter-culture values such as glocalisation (Manzo, 2015: Ritzer, 2008). Therefore, the choices of where to work and where to consume coffee (and what kinds of coffee) send important messages about coffee consumer identities (Bookman, 2014; Lin, 2012).

These choices also demonstrate the intersection between coffee culture and café culture, as the industry embraces or reshapes these kinds of counter-culture or cosmopolitan identities shaped by ethics and fashion (Bartley et al., 2015; Bookman, 2013a; Carfagna et al., 2014). Detailed below are some social movements that typify the intersection between consumption choices and the production of identities shaped by these counter-culture values.

Slow food

Slow food is part of a wider *slow* movement, which, while it can take on institutional forms, is not a formal organisation; rather, it is a self-proclaimed social movement

(Honoré, 2006; Petrini, 2003; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). The movement holds at its core a belief “that we can live better if we live more slowly” (Honoré, 2006, p. 2). The slow food movement started in Bra, Italy (also the home of espresso coffee), in 1986, as part of an explicit rejection of McDonald’s being built in Rome next to the Spanish Steps (Bossy, 2014; Honoré, 2006).

However, *slow* is now being used as shorthand for a better/more balanced way of doing things, spurred perhaps by nostalgia or a rejection of hyper-consumerism (Shove, Trentmann, & Wilk, 2009). The following extract from Honoré (2006) sums up the ethos of the wider movement:

> The secret is balance: instead of doing everything faster, do everything at the right speed. Sometimes fast. Sometimes slow. Sometimes somewhere in between. Being slow means never rushing, never striving to save time just for the sake of it. It means remaining calm and unflustered even when circumstances force us to speed up. (p. 275)

The authenticity of ingredients, of making things from scratch, and of using domestic or even local and seasonal produce, are all associated with slow food (Honoré, 2004; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). The emphasis on peasant food could be seen as democratising food (Honoré, 2004; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010), or taking a more critical stance; it could also be seen as middle-class appropriation of peasant-based practices (Albala, 2013; Carfagna et al., 2014).

The focus on peasant culture is an important link to the medieval conceptualisation of artisanship (see Chapter 1). For example, slow food has played a key role in reviving interest in the consumption of traditionally–and regionally–made bread, cheeses, and wines. Therefore, slow food is a political and economic movement that has contributed to the way that we see and understand the concepts of craft, artisanship, and locally-produced products in today's society (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010; Ulver-Sneistrup et al., 2011). However, consumers who can make choices based on politics and ethics rather than price are dominated by the middle-class strata of society (Guthman, 2003). As such, slow food, "like many other alternative consumption initiatives, faces the issue of economic and cultural access" (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010, p. 203).

Connected to the desire of the slow food movement to embrace local and to reject mass-production are goals of de-commodifying products and creating more traceability from farm to plate. "De-fetishization–or the illumination of the production relations which are embedded in commodities–are [sic] chained to the primary focus on material culture as slow, trained and responsible appropriation" (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010, p. 219). Therefore, a person who wants to be seen as a gastronome, a conscientious consumer aware of the material conditions of the products they consume, identifies with slow food and, by doing so, demonstrates the high cultural capital (Carfagna et al., 2014).

The connection between slow food and consumers is the movement's focus "on materiality as culture. This seems to imply a foregrounding of the subject-object relation, with taste and its refinement via practical training (savouring, smelling, but also cooking, presenting, etc.) being a major device for consciousness raising" (Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010, p. 219). The primary way in which the campaigns from the slow movement seeks to raise consciousness is through food pedagogy or education–training the consumer to buy the 'right' things (Bossy, 2014; Flowers & Swan, 2015; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010). The emphasis on food pedagogy is a part of how slow food seeks to de-fetishise/de-commodify products.

Connected to the more recent manifestation of slow food is *Terra Madre* (Mother Earth): a gathering and promotion of ideals that focus on biodiversity and sustainability. The advocacy of Terra Madre and slow food relates to another form of protest consumption:

green, ethical, and fair consumption, as discussed in the next section. Slow food is separate from these forms of critical consumption, because, at its heart, quality and the sensory experience override other considerations. The tension between quality and the capacity to experience the pleasure of food makes the slow food movement different from other critical consumption choices, which are aligned more clearly with social justice (Bossy, 2014; Sassatelli & Davolio, 2010; van Bommel & Spicer, 2011).

Ethical, green, fair, and craft-based consumption

Ethical, green, and fair consumption practices, also known as *critical consumption* and *political consumption*, are consumption strategies that have become parts of intersecting social movements that challenge industrial capitalism, globalisation and advocate for the environment and the rights of animals. The basis of these intersecting social movements is the promotion of the consumer practice of boycotting specific products made or branded by companies that exploit one or all the following: the environment, their workers, or the suppliers of raw product (Bartley et al., 2015; Bossy, 2014; Jubas, 2007; Simon, 2011; Thompson, 2011).

These social movements have engaged in varying actions to galvanise people at different moments in time to create social change. In terms of shaping consumption practices, the primary form of engagement has been protesting, through naming and shaming processes that facilitate customer boycotts (Bossy, 2014; Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Bryant, 2011; Mansvelt, 2010; Thompson, 2011). These social movements also use 'buycotts' that encourage consumers to purchase from ethical organisations (Balsinger, 2014; Bossy, 2014).

There is a debate about the use of boycotts as an effective means of creating change due to middle class capture (Bossy, 2014; Carfagna et al., 2014), but the green and fair-trade movements have led to changes in business practices. One example is the creation of industry standards that are either self-certified or certified by independent bodies that enable consumers to choose products based on their classification as ‘fair’ or ‘organic’ or ‘cage-free’ (Reed, 2010). A second example is the notion of corporate social responsibility. The efficacy of standards and corporate social responsibility to deliver on social justice has been called into question in literature discussing ethical consumption practices (Bartley et al., 2015; Jaffee, 2014; Mansvelt, 2010). However, companies have responded to changes in consumption practices–in this case, developing marketing strategies that co-opt consumption-based identity choices framed by a discourse of protest, ethics, environmental awareness and politics, as well as fashion (Bossy, 2014).

Coined by David Bellamy and used by Greenpeace in the early 1980s, *greenwash* is a term used to describe the ways companies co-opted Greenpeace’s environmental cause whilst simultaneously continuing to exploit natural resources and damage the environment (Visser, 2013). The use of notional efforts or false claims of green or environmentally aware practices creates a challenge for consumers wishing to engage in consciousness consumption (Hostovsky, 2010; Rands & Rands, 2010). The token efforts at corporate social responsibility demonstrate that the identity choices consumers assume to be ethically made may instead just be a response to clever marketing (Bartley et al., 2015; Mansvelt, 2010). Such actions by companies can turn a customer seeking to be the consumer as ‘hero’ into a consumer as ‘dupe’ (Campbell, 2005).

The capacity for companies to engage in essentially fictional marketing campaigns has be facilitated by inconsistent industry responses to social movements. For example, fair-trade certification processes and products have proliferated, creating a plethora of options from which customers can select in order to consume conscientiously (Jaffee, 2014; Smith, 2010). Due to the confusion between these different processes and the use of fictional content in marketing campaigns, the term *fairwash* was created (De Carlo, 2011; Jaffee, 2014; Mathews, 2009). What green and fairwash have in common “is the sense that most assurances one finds on a product are nothing more than public relations efforts" (Bartley et al., 2015, p. 19).

Given the shifts which can occur between the consumer as dupe and the consumer as hero due to green and fair washing, Bartley et al. (2015) argue that it is better to use the term *conscientious consumer* than 'political' or 'critical' consumer. The term 'conscientious' has broader, well-meaning connotations, and can capture the wider spread of consumer identities and consumption practices. This is because while some consumers may consistently make the same ethical choices, other consumers will be influenced just as much by price or by the vagaries of their identity formation in line with fashion or lifestyle trends.

Craft washing: Fetishising the artisan

The consumption of artisanal products is another consumption trend, represented by the proliferation of craft products (Albala; 2013; Ulver-Sneistrup et al., 2011). However, like green and fair consumption practices, what is and is not craft or artisanal is up for debate. For example, small businesses produce craft beer, as well as larger businesses that produce a range of products that may include beer branded as 'craft.' Beer produced in these larger industrialised factory settings can, in some contexts, still be considered craft beer, based on the taste profile, ingredients, recipe, and style of beer (Murray & Overton, 2016). However, the ability of the product to be mass-produced potentially places craft beer as a mainstream product. Therefore, as with fair wash, questions need raising as to the salience of *craftwash* if the 'crafted' aspects of the product are fictive, as Murray and Overton (2016) suggest in relation to the branding of Aotearoa/New Zealand's capital Wellington as a 'craft' beer city[13]. Furthermore, what fair and greenwash suggest is that people make consumption choices with fashion

[13] Their point being that beer is not made or 'crafted' in Wellington, it is only consumed there, making the Wellington City Council's claim that it is New Zealand's craft beer capital a fictive construct (Murray & Overton, 2016).

trends as well as activism in mind. In turn, this motivates industrial capitalism to co-opt innovative ideas to wrest back control of the product market (Bossy, 2014).

This tension was highlight to me when I observed McDonald's launch of a new burger product line in 2015, with its marketing based around using artisanal products as part of their burgers. I share my observations about their marketing campaign which led to my conceptualisation of craft washing below.

> *Aside from the farcical nature of its claim, which had me sniggering with laughter while in line at McDonald's in New York (mass produced artisanal bread, an oxymoron indeed! (Singh, 2017)), some regulators and consumers took exception to the claim of artisanal quality. McDonald's was taken to task by regulators in Ireland because their claims of artisan bacon did not meet the criteria of 'artisan-based' food specified in Ireland's Food Safety Authority regulations. As a result, McDonald's was forced to alter their marketing campaign and remove their statement that they use artisanal products in their burgers (Oaklander, 2015; Pope, 2015).*
>
> *After the introduction of the same product line in Aotearoa/New Zealand, I noted that the language of artisanship did not appear. Significantly, however, the burger buns were still marketed as brioche. Brioche is an old French recipe sold as a sweet, bread-based product in many cafés. Its revival as a popular product could be a nod to the peasant food principles of slow food. Furthermore, the presentation of the product line was in keeping with café style rather than McDonald's line of mass-produced and standardised burgers. McDonald's may have used different wording, but their desire to capture market share from cafés was unmistakable.*

The re-branding of fast food or mass-produced products in line with artisanal slow food practices provides evidence of the desire of mass-market capitalists to attract back the middle-class ‘conscientious’ consumer. The adoption of terms such as ‘craft,’ ‘batch,’ ‘traditional,’ ‘handed down,’ ‘handmade,’ ‘unique,’ and ‘artisanal’ indicates a craft-washing advertising strategy. Like green and fair washing, craft-washing is designed to convince consumers into picking the mass-produced option, which may not be able to deliver on ethics, quality, or traceability but is attractable to the consumer because they believe that it represents all those qualities.

In relation to coffee, Starbucks’ marketing is a clear example of craft-washing. Over time, Starbucks has hired and trained less technically skilled labour from their workforce through the use of automation. As such, while Starbucks might call their workers baristas, and their drinks might be ‘hand’-crafted, the parameters, principles, and uniformity of mass-production prevail. Starbucks might offer single origin coffee, but to ensure its uniformity of taste Starbucks roast the beans to the second crack; in the words of a Third Wave coffee fan, “they burn the beans” (Participant Observation: Portland Coffee Tours, 2015).

While the menu options at Starbucks may allow for an individualised consumption experience, the business model, skill profile, and environment all suggest that mass-production is the overriding construct effectively undermining the brand’s ability to fulfil its message of an individualised hand-crafted product. Thus, instead of the authenticity of a craft experience, consumers are offered the *fetishisation* of craftsmanship.

Craft and artisanship then become more about identity consumption choices, rather than a political statement rejecting mass-production. That consumers are willing to buy products that have fictive claims of artisanal craft associated with the brand demonstrates that the symbolic consumption matters far more than the material.

Branding and fashion seem to contribute more to why consumers make the choice that they do when coffee consumers buy their sugar and milk-based drinks from Starbucks.

Craft washing hides the skills, time, and work that artisans put into handcrafting their batch products, whether it be roasted coffee, bread, cheese, sausages, beer or a handcrafted flat white. Craft washing may also undermine the political message consumers wish to signal when they make their consumption choices as part of wider social movements. Craft-washing can equally dismiss the efforts and political will of workers who commit to cottage industry as owners and employees.

The appropriation of language is also a sign that ethical and now artisanal consumption is an opportunity for firms more often associated with industrial capitalism, such as Starbucks and McDonald's, to exploit new markets to increase profits. McDonald's is trying its best to provide craft-branded products in an industrialised setting. Starbucks is responding to the success of Third Wave cafés by creating a series of work sites that embody the Third Wave principles of direct trade and control of the product by roasting on-site (Halzack, 2016).

Commodity fetishism and decommodification

Commodity fetishism is an integral part of Marx's theories of alienation. "A commodity is any good or service produced by human labour and offered as a product for general sale on the market" (Willis, 2009, p. 350). Alienation is something that occurs to and between workers, based on the way in which capitalism separates workers from the means of production due to ownership and control being held by capital and management, respectively (Standing, 1999). Consumers are also separated from the production processes of commodities by alienation. Marx called this process of separation 'commodity fetishism,' whereby the efforts made by workers to produce goods are rendered invisible or abstract to consumers when the goods take on 'exchange value' (Brook, 2009b, 2011; Fleetwood, 2008; Mansvelt, 2005; Merskin, 2010). As such, “commodity fetishism conceals the systemic exploitation of both workers and the non-human world by capitalism.”

Fleetwood (2008) uses Marx's concept of commodity fetishism to explain why workers who, when they are in their role as consumers (particularly the sovereign consumer), often lack empathy for the workers who serve them as part of their consumption experience. He argues that unless consumers are engaged in ethical consumption or decommodification, the focus of the consumer is on the ‘thing’ the consumer desires. The single-minded focus of the consumer means that the worker(s) who made the product and their working conditions are made invisible.

The case discussing commodity fetishism that Fleetwood (2008) makes about consumption relates to the purchase of products. However, as outlined earlier in this chapter, consumption includes both the symbolic and the material. Interactive front-line service workers unite production and consumption in temporal space. As such, the purchase of service turns the worker into a ‘thing,’ thus rendering the aspects of the worker as a person invisible to consumers (Merskin, 2010). Customers swept up in the experience of consumption can gain a sense of power or ownership over the worker, which if there is an empathy gap (Messing, 2014), leaves the consumer free to abuse their ‘slave’ object as they see fit. Therefore, the identity and body of service workers can become sites of consumption (McDowell, 2009). The theory of commodity fetishism suggests that aspects of the worker as a human being are rendered invisible as part of the consumption practice.

Decommodification or de-fetishisation, therefore, is a process that may make the efforts of workers and the processes of production more visible to the consumer (Bartley et al., 2015; Campbell, 2005; Mansvelt, 2005; Fleetwood, 2008). Therefore, both worker and consumer can seek to resist the process of fetishisation by engaging reflexively during the interactive exchange. Workers can also resist fetishisation by identifying with non-work identities more strongly (Sturdy, 2008). I further consider the ways in which consumption practices have reshaped the nature of work in more detail below.

Consumer culture enters the workplace

Given the use of workers' embodied performance in the service work labour process, one could argue that workplaces are now consuming workers' identities as part of the labour process. Therefore, the way in which service work incorporates workers' bodies as a site of consumption also illustrates how consumer culture is impinging on workplace practices more broadly. Increasingly, firms are recruiting specific kinds of workers whose presentational style (identities) is consistent with the firm's brand image. If workers consistent with the brand image are not available, then new recruits may be restyled as part of the induction process. For example, a firm may require workers to change hairstyles, clothes, make-up, or skin care and even voice modulation (Mirchandani, 2014; Witz et al., 2003). The appropriation of presentational style and identities formed outside the workplace (non-work identity) is a highly-significant shift in the way the workplace utilises workers' embodied performances (Endrissat et al., 2015; Sturdy et al., 2011), illustrating the impact of consumer culture.

Workers' emotionality, physicality, and identity being exploited and commodified by the workplace can come at a very high cost (Bloom, 2013; Brook, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Dale, 2012; Fleetwood, 2008; Sturdy et al., 2011). For example, Butler and Harris (2015) draw attention to a service worker selling a diet programme, who shifted from empowered self-identification with the brand as a top dieter, to an exhausted worker suffering from a serious eating disorder and an addiction to diet pills. Besen-Cassino (2014) discusses the recruitment of young shoppers to specific workplaces through the lure of a discount: they are then placed in a perpetual cycle of debt to that workplace by spending most of their wages on the workplace's products.

However, the consumption of workers work- and non-work identities is not one way.

Besen-Cassino (2013, 2014) argues that the reason behind elevated levels of labour force participation by affluent youth in the United States is that these young people are consuming work as a product. The affluent youth pursue jobs associated with cool brands or locations–in other words, fashionable jobs to add to their self-perception as a fashionable person. Furthermore, the jobs provide a sense of freedom from parental control, a space for social experimentation, all while engaging in behaviour that contributes to their employability, thereby justifying their actions as beneficial. Thus, the affluent youth gain both short- and long-term benefits. Their capacity to select work options that match their consumption-based interests and identity formation provide short-term benefits. Long-term, the affluent youth gain valuable service work experience that can be deployed in a different part of the labour market once they have completed their higher education (Besen-Cassino, 2014).

The re-framing of the employment relationship that re-positions some workers as sovereign consumers, empowered to choose the kind of employment relationship they want (Dale, 2012), obscures the ways in which the capacity to consume is distributed unevenly in society. For example, while affluent young people seek out jobs that reflect the kind of cosmopolitan urban cool they wish to portray, potential workers who do not match the brand are dismissed. However, their dismissal is positioned as a recruitment mismatch and not seen as racism or sexism, as these workers simply do not have the 'right' kind of fit with a particular brand (Cable & Judge, 1996). Workers who see employment choices as consumption further obscure the asymmetric nature of the employment relationship, leaving other workers to end up feeling responsible for their own alienation (Bloom, 2013; Ehrenreich, 2005). This self-blame allows the workplace to abdicate from a level of responsibility towards its employees as the workers blame themselves (Sturdy et al., 2011).

Until a moment of crisis occurs to reveal the power imbalance or the self-alienation, the worker/consumer sees their participation in work as another lifestyle choice aligned with the branded identity they are buying through the employment relationship. Work in this instance is another layer of their lifestyle identity crafting, turning work into a site of play, a leisure activity as well as employment (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Dale, 2012; Sturdy et al., 2011). Workers gravitate towards firms where their friends work. When these young affluent workers do so, their workplace becomes integrated into the social lives of different sub-tribes to the point that they will hang out at work even when they are not rostered on a shift (Besen-Cassino, 2014). The idea of work as fun, as identity construction, and as a lifestyle choice, reinforces the arguments of a consumer society whereby consumption is the primary device by which identity is fashioned.

Conclusion

Consumption practices provide the means for workers and consumers to exercise degrees of agency; however, structural forces still need to be considered. These considerations are necessary because structural forces temper identity formation processes and act as a constraint on individual agency.

Consumers, as part of their self-enterprise and self-monitoring (sovereign consumer) need to negotiate a dazzling array of symbolic messages, and their varying capacities to do so positions consumers as dupes, heroes or craft consumers. Consumers perform their identity, leveraging off the brands or reputations of those businesses in which they shop. Fashion plays a key role in the crafting and communication of the symbolic economy and drives some aspects of the ways in which distinctions are signalled by identity projects. In a dynamic and co-determined process, brand narratives intersect between the companies’ construction with consumer agency and by doing so influence identity formation and embodiment.

Consumer activism and forms of resistance, associated with social movements like slow food, mean that consumption practices can also be used as activism. Consumer boycotts and craft consumption challenge, appropriate and re-purpose organisations' brand narratives. Commodity fetishism and the ways in which service workers are fetishised through consumption practices represent a further critique of the consumer society and the practices of consumer culture. This is an important concept given Besen-Cassino's (2014) argument that workers are approaching job seeking and employment from the position of a *consumer*. Organisations use consumption practices to reframe the ways in which they manage workers. Furthermore, workers, particularly those with greater levels of agency–such as affluent youth–approach recruitment and workplace choice as part of consumption-shaped identity performance. As such, the employment relationship is reframed, introducing a form of commodity fetishism into the production of social relations in service work.

The slow food movement is also significant, as it is part of a more extensive range of consumption practices that has revived the medieval notion of workers as artisans. However, the revived notions of artisanship have proven to be fashionable and as such industrial capitalism has co-opted the language and some practices of craft. I argue that the appropriated language, recipes and actions represent a form of craft-washing. Significantly, for the purposes of my thesis, cafés and coffee-makers are just as guilty of craft-washing as McDonald's. Despite this, the development of industry standards and signs that delineate the practices of artisanship from claims of artisanship have created a basis for firms and practitioners to claim artisanship legitimately as part of their brand/identity as businesses and workers.

The following chapter discusses the relevance of artisanship in relation to the work context of baristas, in order to more deeply discuss the application of the work identity of barista as artisan to the practice of coffee-making. As such, in Chapter 4, I continue to consider consumer practices, specifically, the practices that inform coffee culture and café culture, to describe the work context of baristas. I also discuss the history of and brand-based narratives in the coffee industry to provide a context that explains in part why baristas are perceived as unskilled or semi-skilled workers, or highly-skilled artisans.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING–COFFEE AND CAFÉ CULTURE

I first began thinking about café culture through an academic lens when I needed to demonstrate the differences between the two broad disciplinary areas in which I was teaching between 2003-2007– Bridging Arts and Bridging Social Sciences[14]. I decided to use the concept of culture and the example of café culture (the focus of this chapter) to demonstrate potential areas of difference between the arts and social sciences. Given the influence that this teaching had on my thinking, I share here the way in which I used café culture to help students explore different disciplinary traditions.

Raymond Williams (1988) explicates different interpretations of the word culture, three of which are particularly relevant to identifying the subtle differences between the arts and social sciences. The first interpretation refers to the process of becoming cultured or "the process of intellectual/spiritual/aesthetic development" (Williams, 1988, p. 90). Part of being a barista in some work contexts is teaching consumers about the product they are drinking and the broader context of the coffee industry. To illustrate the idea of 'becoming more cultured,' I shared personal stories with students on the ways in which baristas had increased my intellectual understanding of coffee drinks, their origins, and the different principles, practices, and products related to espresso coffee. I argued that baristas have improved my intellectual appreciation for coffee by educating me on how European nations inspire different titles and recipes for espresso coffee drinks, and by illustrating the place of Aotearoa/New Zealand cafés in a globalised world.

The second interpretation refers to culture as that "which indicates a particular way of life … whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general" (Williams, 1988, p.

[14] These two papers/courses were electives in a pre-degree university entry/preparation programme.

90). Different cafés embody inter-related communities of practice to which, in time, the workers and customers belong. I argued that for customers and workers, café culture embodies a particular way of life. I demonstrated this to the students by discussing the different consumption practices of specific societal groups: for example, ladies who lunch at new places, students who dawdle over one coffee for hours, business people meeting in neutral locations to close deals, and academics who linger over successive coffees while marking papers. I also highlighted that cafés (the ones that I would come to understand as being Third Wave) that illustrated a way of life embodied by conscientious and slow consumption practices.

The third interpretation describes culture as the works and practices of intellectual–especially artistic–activity, or 'high culture' (cosmopolitanism). Williams argues that "culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film" (1988, p. 90). Cafés often operate as galleries, implicitly (as part of their servicescape) or explicitly, exhibiting art, and often offering it for sale. Cafés can also be performance spaces for local musicians. Aesthetically, cafés' servicescape may include artistic displays that are a pastiche, reflective of modern art. Cafés, through the recruitment of diverse individuals, also express creativity through the embodied performance of their workers' personal styles. Finally, the act of preparing an espresso coffee is also a blend of craft and art, which is why, in some contexts, baristas are referred to as artisans. Customers are encouraged to read, write and play games like chess, all of which purposefully create an association with intellectual pursuits, and therefore with high culture. By sharing these examples with students, I began to see cafés not just as sites of personal consumption but as locations providing rich ethnographic insights about the reproduction of, as well as a revolution in, important, globalised, symbolic and material culture.

Introduction

The mystory approach I take in Chapter 4 weaves together insights from my time in the field, popular and industry-based literature (including online materials such as blogs and news articles) with academic literature. In this chapter, I describe the ethnographic setting of my research and highlight how coffee and café culture are interrelated but distinct, both contextually and in relation to their communities of practice. Coffee culture comprises intersecting communities of practice that are focussed on the coffee bean first and foremost, along with the craft or the technical aspects of coffee brewing and the desire to understand the history and politics of coffee. Café culture is different from coffee culture, because the intersecting communities of practice are more focussed on the retail end of coffee preparation that includes practices more focussed on food rather than the quality of the bean or the craft. As such, café culture is more focused on consumption practices, particularly those associated with themes discussed in Chapter 3: brand recognition, lifestyle choices and agentic identity projects (of business owners, workers and consumers). As I did in Chapter 2, I mention gender roles throughout the chapter to signal the role of structural forces in the creation and reproduction of the material and symbolic in coffee culture and café culture.

In this chapter, I first explain the nature of coffee and the wider coffee industry. Second, I outline, briefly, the difference between commodity coffee and specialty coffee. In the third section, I consider these three aspects (craft, history, politics) of coffee culture together when I describe the development of the specialty coffee industry and discuss the *three waves* of coffee. I discuss and explain the three waves of coffee to highlight the historical, aesthetic and practice-based influences on contemporary café culture and the work contexts the different waves have produced. By discussing changes in the retail end of the coffee industry, I also illustrate how the role of the barista has become increasingly visible as a service worker since the 1980s.

Coffee culture

Understanding the history and social construction of the coffee bean is central to understanding coffee culture. This is because coffee culture has been, and is, framed by different stories, including antenarratives (Boje, 2001), that organisations have used in the construction of brand narratives. The coffee bean has also inspired a myriad of myths that include threads of antenarrative that have been incorporated into grand narratives.

I use the word *myth* deliberately, because many of the stories about coffee–both historical and contemporary–as I explain below are unfounded, exaggerated or shrouded in mystique. Therefore, in order to critically understand the stories of coffee, one also needs to be aware of alternative narratives that draw out the stories of violence, social change in the urban landscape, and rituals, both domestic (private) and public that coffee has inspired (Ellis, 2004; Pendergrast, 1999; Standage, 2007; Wild, 2005).

Most origin myths detailing the discovery of coffee are romantic tales of animals[15] and farmers (Jacob, 1962). However, there is no clear evidence as to how coffee made its way from Ethiopia to being cultivated in Yemen in the sixteenth century (Wild, 2005). It is more likely that slavery[16] and proselytising Sufis[17] played key roles (Wild, 2005). The trans-Atlantic slave trade also played a significant role in the cultivation of coffee in colonies such as Indonesia (Standage, 2007).

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[15] Most animals, including humans, are not able to masticate coffee beans (seeds) in the sweet but sparse flesh of the coffee cherry; goats are the only exception (Wild, 2005).
[16] Wild (2005) speculates that the contemporary and religious practice of consuming roasted coffee beans cooked in butter, a mix that is also used to supplement the diet of hunters and soldiers going on long journeys, holds some clues to how coffee could have travelled from Ethiopia to Yemen.
[17] The first confirmed written records of coffee originate in the sixteenth century in relation to the practices of Sufis, as it was an aid to help them remain awake during prayers and contemplation. However, coffee was already being intensively farmed in Yemen by the sixteenth century, so these writings, while describing the use of coffee, do not clarify how coffee cultivation shifted from Ethiopia to Yemen (Wild, 2005).

Social change, including bloody, political revolution, is also part of the history of the public consumption of coffee regarding the coffeehouses of London and Boston, and Parisian cafés (Ellis, 2004; Pendergrast, 1999). In more contemporary times, coffee in South America has been the site of resistance but also violence as part of the Zapatista movement and other struggles (see Wild, 2005, and Pendergrast, 1999). Habermas' theory of the public sphere was inspired by these tales of revolutionary thought (Cowan, 2005; Laurier & Philo, 2006), but this public sphere was one only available to men (Ellis, 2004).

Until the coffee bars of the 1960s, women were excluded from public sites of coffee consumption, with women only emerging into these public spaces as workers (makers, servers and prostitutes). Residual messages regarding the nature of gender roles continue to operate within the spheres of coffee culture and café culture, influencing the practices of business owners, workers and consumers in the coffee industry (Williams, 1977). Thus, the coffeehouses and the coffee drinking rituals created in their public spaces could only be emulated by Ottoman and later European and colonial women in the private domestic sphere[18].

Other more contemporary myths, or stories, reflect coffee's symbolic place in society, which, perhaps due to its addictive properties, leads to the exaggeration of coffee's importance. Coffee is often characterised as the second or third most-traded commodity after oil and petroleum (The coffee guide, 2012; Investors guide, 2016). However, some economists argue that this is not the case, as coffee does not even feature in the top five most-traded commodities (Hoffmann, 2014; Pendergrast, 2010). The caffeine-fuelled hubris regarding the myth of the economic dominance of coffee emerges from nations

[18] For the purposes of my thesis, I am only discussing public consumption of coffee; however, the importance of the transfer of ritual from the public to private sphere should be noted. For example, practices that were derived from the Ottoman Empire are also still in use today, like making spiced coffee on a stove with an ibrik (Turkish coffee) (Banks, McFadden, & Atkinson, 2005; Bruce, 2007).

that consume the most coffee, revealing that a Western, white privilege perspective shapes the representation of coffee in popular culture.

It is important to note the hegemonic influence of Western, white culture on the construction of coffee stories. Aside from nations that produce and consume coffee (such as Brazil and Ethiopia), there is a divide between nations which grow coffee—mostly in developing nations—and nations who consume coffee—mostly in developed economies. In addition to remaining cognisant of the darker side of coffee's stories to take a critical stance, recognition of the contested spaces of coffee, then and now–economically, socially, and culturally–further illuminates the diverse ways in which baristas, roasters, and their workplaces embody the romantic myths and symbolic meanings of coffee. Understanding this diversity is an important part of de-constructing the brand narratives which are communicated to and co-constructed with consumers.

Coffee: An introduction

The coffee bean is a seed encased in a small amount of flesh. It can be red or yellow, and looks like a cherry, except it is more oval like an olive. The skin is firm like homegrown grapes, the flesh is very sparse but juicy, and the taste is similar to watermelon (Bruce, 2007; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Roast Master, 2015). Caffeine, a naturally-occurring insecticide present in all parts of the coffee tree, is concentrated in the coffee bean. A survival strategy of the tree–to protect its seed from insects–is what gives some of us our morning buzz (Banks et al., 2005; Bruce, 2007; Weinberg & Bealer, 2002).

There are two primary species of coffee used commercially by the coffee industry: Canephora and Arabica. Canephora, more commonly known by its main variety Robusta, is a type of coffee that is hardy (as its name suggests), grows at lower altitudes and has higher crop yields than the Arabica varietal (Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015). Robusta is the main type of coffee used by the commodity-based coffee industry and is commonly used in instant coffee blends.

Arabica (of which there are two main varieties: Bourbon and Typica), grows at higher altitudes and is vulnerable to leaf rust, a plant disease that can lead to crop failure. In contrast to Robusta, the Arabica varieties give an extensive range of soluble flavours, providing a more diverse taste profile (Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015). Due to the wide range of flavours that can develop through the roasting and brewing processes, the specialty coffee industry prizes Arabica varieties. In contrast, the commodity coffee trade cannot afford and therefore do not prioritise the Arabica varieties.

Arabica varieties are an important part of the increasing emphasis that roasters, baristas, and consumers place on acknowledging the provenance of individual farm and field lots. The capacity to emphasise traceability (origin of coffee) connects to the social movements discussed in Chapter 3 such as *slow food* and *ethical consumption*, as well as the application of the principles of wine appreciation to coffee consumption (Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015; Participant Observation: Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2015). Baristas, when brewing single origin beans, are expected to know about the terroir or characteristics of coffee in the same way that a sommelier knows about the characteristics of wine and its production (Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015).

The rise of specialty coffee

The production of espresso coffee remained a predominantly Italian-based consumption practice for the first half of the 20th century, but this changed in the late 1950s and 1960s when appetites for social and culinary change emerged–characterised by industry insiders as the rise of specialty coffee. North American troops during WWII took Coca-Cola and coffee with them wherever they set up military bases or sent troops for rest and recreation, and introduced coffee as a staple to many tea drinking nations.

After the war, migrants from Italy, Holland, Austria, and Scandinavia all wanted higher-quality roasted coffee beans than those available, adding a further drive that changed the consumption of coffee in tea-drinking nations, such as Australia and Aotearoa/New

Zealand. Rationing, shortages, and a lack of emphasis on high-quality coffee in the settler colonies these immigrants had travelled to left the migrants with poor quality commodity coffee. Historical accounts from this time period highlight the prevalence of Robusta-based instant coffee–with taste additives like chicory–over brewed and espresso based-options (Attwell, 2000; Ellis, 2004; Mercer, 2000; Pendergrast, 1999; Weissman, 2008).

Growing public demand for and consumption of quality-roasted coffee beans were facilitated by migrant-owned coffee bars in many countries, including in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand (Pendergrast, 1999; Toth, 2000; Swarbrick, 2000). An important figure in the North American narrative of immigrants changing coffee consumption practices is Alfred Peet, who promoted the beans he roasted for private consumption in San Francisco by serving his coffee in a café. The café was not a central part of Peet's business: the roasting was, but his café would become famous due to it patronage by important beatniks and hippies in the 1960s (Kurlansky, 2005; Pendergrast, 1999; Wild, 2005). The roasters or coffee traders engaged in quality batch production/sourcing, like Peet, were more focused on selling roasted blends or green beans for private home-based consumption of coffee. Given the emphasis on private home-based consumption of coffee in the 1950s and early 1960s, baristas were not a visible part of coffee culture landscape outside of Italy.

During this time, women–like Erna Knutsen–began to challenge the gender imbalance in the wider coffee industry. Knutsen's work as a taster and green bean buyer blazed a path for women into the coffee supply chain. Her other claim to fame is that she coined the term *specialty coffee* to describe the emphasis on batch-roasting high-quality Arabica beans (Castle, 2016; Pendergrast, 1999; Weissman, 2008). Peet and Knutsen left rich legacies. Peet's high-quality batch-roasting inspired the founders of the Starbucks coffee roastery in Seattle, and his name is still attached to the coffee chain Peet's coffee and tea, while Knutsen created space for women to enter the male-dominated coffee production industry.

The increasing provision of specialty coffee for migrants also facilitated the rapid spread of fashionable coffee bars, a trend begun in Soho[19], London in the late 1950s (Ellis, 2004). The new coffee bars created an appetite for espresso coffee beyond the confines of Italy. The invention of the Gaggia machine meant that the water used for the espresso was kept just below boiling point. The capacity to control temperature prevented the boilers from blowing up (Toth, 2000) but, more significantly, led to the brewing of coffee that lessened its bitter flavour, making espresso coffee palatable to a broader range of people. Coffee bars in the United Kingdom, similar to the coffee-houses of the 15th and 16th centuries, spread rapidly due to the high-profit margins associated with cheap coffee beans and customers' tolerance of the (mostly) amateurs making espresso coffee (Ellis, 2004).

The 1950s coffee bars, decorated in modernist décor and evoking exotic environments, welcomed young men and *women* of different ethnicities. Historically, coffeehouses in the Ottoman Empire and London were public spaces created solely for men. Coffee bars in the United Kingdom and Aotearoa/New Zealand reflected social movements and fashions of the time (the 1960s), and attracted bohemians of all kinds, reflecting a European sense of a public space where art, music, and poetry could exist, flourish, and be appreciated (Ellis, 2004; Swarbrick, 2000). In London and New York, the presence of women as consumers in public spaces in the 1960s, along with inter-racial mixing, were key points of departure from the coffeehouse traditions in coffee-related symbolic and material cultural reproduction.

[19] In an interesting parallel, Flat White, a small café owned by an Australian and initially managed by baristas originally from New Zealand, was set up in Soho in 2005 and was one of the first London cafés to provide both the moniker and beverage of the flat white to Londoners (rjk, 2005; Symons, 2011).

Despite the popularity of espresso coffee in the 1960s and its association with beatnik poets (San Francisco) and the appropriation of black culture to appear cool and hip (London and New York), baristas did not feature as significant characters in stories from the coffee bar revolution (Ellis, 2004; Greif, 2010). Perhaps one reason was that many of the youth-club-oriented coffee bars relied on instant coffee more than espresso machines. Espresso machines were hard to get import licences for and could be unreliable and difficult to fix (Ellis, 2004; Pendergrast, 1999; Toth, 2000). The rising price of coffee, economic recessions, as well as changing social practices, squeezed marginal coffee bars out of the market, and widespread public consumption of coffee waned in the 1970s and early 1980s (Ellis, 2004; Swarbrick, 2000).

The three waves of specialty coffee–the spread of café culture

Trish Rothgeb (nee Skeie) used the phrase ‘the three waves of speciality coffee,’ a phrase first applied to coffee by Tim Castles (Gold, 2008), to highlight the changing practices of baristas and explain the evolution of the specialty coffee industry (Cho, 2005; Skeie, 2003; Weissman, 2008). The three waves of specialty coffee/coffee-making are significant, because these phases of change illustrate how coffee culture and the consumption practices associated with cafés or café culture began to overlap.

Restaurant critic and food commentator Jonathon Gold (2008) argues that the First Wave began in the nineteenth century. In contrast, Skeie (2003) argues that the First wave started in the 1940s, linked to immigrants seeking higher quality beans in the United States. Either way, the First Wave of specialty coffee was characterised by growth in the sale of commodity coffee and the establishment of instant coffee brands as household names, and the emergence of markets for quality coffee outside Europe (also see Pendergrast, 1999).

As illustrated in the previous section, the post-WWII Second Wave of specialty coffee was a period of global change in the consumption of coffee and the coffee industry. The growth of consumption of espresso coffee in the late 1980s and early 1990s has been linked to the latter part of the Second Wave of coffee. Unlike home-based consumption that characterised the First Wave, this type of coffee consumption was part of the public sphere. The North American narrative highlights the development and impact of Starbucks and other coffee-house chains, where, like the coffee bars of the 1950s/60s', espresso coffee practices were appropriated from Italy and adapted to the local context (Cho, 2005; Gold, 2008; Simon, 2009; Skeie, 2003).

The consumption practices of the 1980s and 1990s focused on customers, creating café experiences as well as the beans. During this time, coffee-based drinks were made palatable to the broadest cross-section of society through the use of milk and syrups– what some call the *latte revolution* (Ellis, 2004; Ponte, 2002; Simon, 2009). Significantly, however, it was changes in the political economy of coffee a decade earlier that facilitated the Second Wave *latte revolution*.

In the 1970s, coffee cultivated in the colonies took on greater economic importance once the countries began to work towards independence (Galbraith, 1994; Pendergrast, 1999; Wild, 2005). These changes led to a tense political landscape, with nations supplying coffee using different strategies (such as stockpiling) to push up the price of coffee. These tensions were exacerbated when agricultural crises created genuine coffee shortages (Pendergrast, 1999; Wild, 2005). Part of the tension was between competing attitudes towards trade. On the one hand, nations supplying coffee for the most part favoured regulation and interventionist policies associated with the International Coffee Agreement (ICA). On the other hand, countries such as the United States increasingly favoured a neo-liberal inspired free market approach to setting the price of coffee (Pendergrast, 1999; Wild, 2005).

The tension between approaches to settling on the price of coffee came to a crisis point in 1989, when the United States refused to participate in negotiations after the latest

ICA expired. As a consequence, the price of coffee fell from US $1.30 to 80 cents a pound in less than a month (Pendergrast, 1999; Wild, 2005). The low price of green beans, along with the social, economic, and cultural changes (globalisation) that intensified after the fall of the Berlin Wall, created an environment internationally where young (mostly) men saw opportunities to challenge entrenched consumption practices (Marsland & Scott, 2016; N. Warring, personal communication, January 31 2010; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Roast Master, 2009).

New businesses (cafés and roasteries) emerged; for example, Midnight Espresso (1989) (Havana) and Caffe L'affare (1990) in Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand, and Café Europa in Copenhagen, Denmark (Marsland & Scott, 2016). Thus, the independent urban café began to replace tearooms as part of the service and consumptionscape (Hall et al., 2010). Other adventurous souls, such as the owners of Rocket Coffee (1994), decided to emulate these businesses and start roasting coffee to support the new kinds of cafés and restaurants that were popping up all over Aotearoa/New Zealand. Havana, which negotiated an exclusive trading relationship with Cuba in the mid-1990s, was particularly inspiring, as they made having a coffee roasting/café business appear to be a) possible, b) principled and/or political, and c) tonnes of fun, for example travelling the world to find good coffee (Marsland & Scott, 2016; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Roast Master, 2010).

In rural, town, and city locations across Aotearoa/New Zealand, these alternative, funky, and fun cafés welcomed all comers, signalled by the eclectic, tattooed baristas, as well as the second-hand décor arranged to forge connections to collective memory (Hall et al., 2010; Liberty, 1998; Marsland & Scott, 2016; Interview: Rod, 2009; Sayers, 2009; Sheehan & Burton, 1994).

In an important difference to the North American Second Wave narrative, these Aotearoa/New Zealand based quirky cafés that were set up in the 1990s combined parts of European culture. They provided French inspired bistro-style dining at night, cakes to linger over Vienna-style by day, as well as Italian-inspired coffee (such as Lavazza or Illy), pistachio shortbread, and bread supplied by Pandoro Panetterria (2008), an Auckland based Italian bakery set up in 1992.

Most importantly for the story of baristas, many of these cafés had an open kitchen, where the chefs could be seen working, and the espresso machine was on the front counter (see images in Sheehan & Burton, 1994 for illustrative examples). The hidden back-spaces associated with diners no longer existed (Paules, 1996). Part of the consumption process and practices now included the performance by the back- as well as the front-facing staff (Fevre & Bancroft, 2010; Goffman, 1959; Liberty, 1998; Mansvelt, 2005; Marsland & Scott, 2016). Thus, the barista, their workspace, and their presence in the Aotearoa/New Zealand labour market were part of a significant change in consumption practices that began in the 1990s.

These businesses draw from Italian, Parisian, Viennese and–to some extent–even London and Ottoman coffeehouse traditions, which, while they appear to be different, illustrate the dual processes of glocal and globalisation (Ritzer, 2008). As such, the cafés I have visited offer distinctive consumption experiences, reflecting specific aesthetics, identities and brands. Based on these servicescapes, customers may experience a sense of displacement that may encourage the consumer to leave, or they may identify with these spaces and obtain a deeper sense of belonging through being welcomed as regulars. Such identification reflects how one's choice of café could also represent one's affiliation with particular sub-tribes, be that the coffee geek specialised cafés or the more middle-class, standardised settings of the chain café.

The Second Wave café and roastery-driven transformation of coffee consumption in Aotearoa/New Zealand, accompanied in the Northern Hemisphere narrative by the efforts of Howard Schultz to make Starbucks an international phenomenon, made the barista work identity more familiar in terms of pop culture. As such, the identity of baristas became symbolically, as well as materially, a more central occupational role to the servicescape of cafés. However, the way in which baristas were and are perceived has been influenced by the Second Wave narratives regarding the difference between independent cafés and standardised chains.

The evocation of yesteryear (decor evoking the 1960s coffee bars of Soho with kitsch collectables and furniture) embedded within café servicescapes is a motif also shapes the physical aesthetics in chains like Starbucks and Second Cup. International chains like Starbucks seek to create a 'third place' (Oldenberg, 1999; Simon, 2009) but really offer a standardised experience. This standardisation is contrary to Oldenburg's (1999) arguments that the 'third place' is tied to specific settings at the heart of communities (local) exemplified by a range of places, including the independent café. Therefore, Starbucks' appropriation of the third place could be framed as a contradiction in terms, given their supply of a mass-produced, international, standardised, inauthentic or Disneyifed[20] experience (Hannigan, 2005; Oldenburg, 1999; Zukin, 1995).

Using the concept of antenarrative, the grand narrative of Starbucks as 'third place' can be challenged, reflecting an organisational context that can be seen as a Tamara-land (Boje, 1995, 2001). For example, a critique levelled at Starbucks' appropriation of the 'third place' is that the sanitised chain-based environment is not social. Instead the outlets are isolating, full of customers on their laptops focussed on connecting with the external world via Wifi rather than connecting with other patrons (Simon, 2009). Despite these concerns with isolation that can be achieved in café settings, I have observed that

[20]Disneyfication is the practice of taking a theme or recognisable construct from society and sanitising it so it appears safe and clean (Disneyfication, 2013). Also known as Disneyization, which Bryman couples with Mcdonaldization (as cited in Harris & White, 2013), which is "the process by which four dimensions exemplified in the Disney parks—theming, differentiation, merchandising, and emotional labour—are found increasingly in other sectors of society" (Harris & White, 2013). Brand by practice as discussed in Chapter 3 is similar to the notion of *Theming,* which is where the service and consumptionscape is designed to establish a coherent semiotic message for consumers to identify with as a lifestyle choice or identity project.

the cultivation of regulars can occur in chains as well as in independent cafés. Community seems to occur where the barista and the customer make it happen (Lin, 2012; Manzo, 2014; Pozos-Brewer, 2015; Woldoff et al., 2013). Thus, I argue that despite the inauthentic surrounds, given a core part of any café's function is to serve as a meeting place, the sociality of cafés cannot be denied even in the context of standardisation, as consumers play a significant role in co-constructing the consumptionscape (Bookman, 2014).

I have spent just as much time in chain-based locations as Third Wave independent cafés. In contradiction to my critique implied by the reference to the Disneyfied context of Starbucks, the mainstream welcome of all comers that chains provide has delivered more for me in terms of comfort. Knowing to an almost intuitive level how to access Wi-Fi, toilets, and tables–regardless of country or city–meant that standardised chains became a refuge for me when travelling. These ubiquitious contexts also provided a haven for me, as I never felt too uncool to be a part of these chain-based café contexts as a customer and researcher.

The coffee-making practices of chains also provoke contradictory insights in that the differences between mass-produced versus individual-artisan-produced is not clear-cut. For example, the differences between factory-produced and artisan-produced bread can be seen, felt, tasted, and discussed between the maker and the consumer. However, the main marketing strategy of Starbucks–that their coffees are made to order–reflects the individualised aspect of artisanal values, and even though the physical context makes it challenging, one can talk to the barista making coffee. Two significant differences, potentially, between the chain and independent businesses, are the level of control the baristas have over their labour process and their knowledge about the locations from which coffee was farmed and roasted. The extent to which baristas can assert control over the labour process is a topic to which I will return in Chapters 5, 7, and 8.

Even though the occupation of baristas began to feature more in the public domain and popular culture accounts of the café landscape the 1990s, the role was still not codified and communicated systematically across the hospitality industry. This lack of widespread knowledge was something I had noted long before I started my project. For example:

> *I have a clear memory of laughing at a job advertisement in a print newspaper that sought out a barrister (a job title of a lawyer who appears in court in common law legal systems) to make coffee. Goodness, I thought to myself, this business is painfully illustrating their lack of understanding of what coffee-making is about by not being able to spell the name of the type of worker they are looking for.*

The lack of codified knowledge about the work of baristas illustrates how the barista work identity can be interpreted by employers, workers and customers very differently. The lack of codified and documented knowledge about being a barista changed, however, as the Third Wave of coffee brought the work of baristas even more to the fore through new kinds of workplaces like roasteries, competitions, books, blogs and *YouTube* as well as organisations like the London Coffee University providing off-the-job training.

Third Wave coffee practices: The intersection between café culture and coffee culture

Third Wave coffee as a concept has a controversial reputation in the blogosphere. Some of the controversy stems from arguments over when the specialty coffee industry began to focus on increasing the quality of a range of practices in farming and retail. Other reasons for debate stem from industry attitudes towards the label 'Third Wave,' with some coffee aficionados and industry experts dismissing the concept, and some aligning with it–claiming its practices for their own (Cho, 2005; Home-Barista, 2010; The shot, 2006). Personally, I believe that many of the 1990s independent cafés in Aotearoa/New Zealand that chronologically would be classified as Second Wave included practices much more in keeping with the Third Wave emphasis on quality espresso production.

Third Wave coffee (making and roasting) includes practices that are argued to be distinctly different from the trends in the First and Second Wave of coffee roasting (Castle, 2016; Cho, 2005; Gold, 2008; Skeie, 2003; Weissman, 2008). The practices which belong more to the Third rather than the Second wave are: (1) rising numbers of small scale niche businesses rather than standardised chains pushing for mass production and consumption of coffee; (2) the desire to increase the quality of green bean coffee production through relationships with the farmers; (3) challenging the reliance on milk and sugar to make bad coffee more palatable rather than barista- and roaster-based expertise; (4) promoting higher quality roasting and a wider range of brewing techniques by establishing guilds, challenging the leadership (old guard) of the standard setting organisations and participating in competitions; and (5) movement towards direct trade in order to provide consumers with the same quality markers as the wine industry, such as traceability and terroir (taste) and food pedagogy.

Influenced by different coffee rating systems, such as the Cup of Excellence, coffee-roasters sought out various sources of coffee, moving from dealing with brokers of the large coffee suppliers to direct trade with specific countries and farms. The desire of Third Wave baristas and roasters to challenge the power brokers in the supply chain, and embrace conscientious consumption (see Chapter 3, e.g., traceability and transparency) motivated the move to direct trade (Alliance for Coffee Excellence, 2014; Interview: Coffee Collective, Barista trainer; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Roast Master 2009; Weissman, 2008). Furthermore, as part of the Third Wave desire to lift quality in all aspects of the supply chain, some roasters involved in direct trade wanted to share knowledge and help farmers better understand what the roasters needed. For example, farmers in many cases have never tasted their product and are not aware of the roasting or brewing processes (Cho, 2005; Weissman, 2008). Now, as part of direct trade[21], roasters often bring farmers to Europe or North America to help them understand the consumption/retail side of the coffee industry (Observation: Kontra Coffee, 2010; Participant Observation: Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2015; also see Weissman, 2008).

The Third Wave focus on the more political, ecological, and ethical aspects of the coffee industry could be taken on its merits, but it may also be questioned (Sunderland, 2012). For example, even though coffee culture emphasises the need to ensure that farmers are paid a fair price, the retail end of the coffee supply-chain is where most of the profits are made. Members of the Colombian coffee industry are addressing inequality, taking back their experiences of retail coffee in the United States and using their knowledge to change consumption practices in Colombia. This has included the creation of their own coffee chain franchise that charges a low price for good quality coffee to ensure as many Colombians as possible are able to afford coffee, a move made in direct and purposeful contrast to the high prices charged by Starbucks that is also available in Columbia (Faiola, 2017).

The pursuit of a range of roasting profiles and brew methods highlights the barista's skills to a much greater extent, leading to the depiction of baristas as artisans (Weissman, 2008). The use of interior design (long bars and walls of glass), alongside the presence of sophisticated espresso machines from brands such as La Marzocco (a brand well known to coffee geeks), signalled a change of the *performance* expectations of baristas (Manzo, 2015; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Roast Master, 2014: Weissman, 2008). La Marzocco is an Italian firm dedicated to producing stylish but also functional espresso machines. The company works closely with roasters and baristas dedicated to the Third

[21] Some niche roasters were engaged in direct trade during the 1970s and 1980s; for example, the US-based co-operative Equal Exchange started importing Nicaraguan coffee in 1986 to help the Zapatistas (Equal Exchange, 2016; Pendergrast, 1999; Talbot, 2004).

Wave of coffee making, such as David Schomer of Vivace Coffee in Seattle (Weissman, 2008). The collaborations between baristas and La Marzocco engineers (street teams) have led to the creation of machines such as the Strada (La Marzocco, 2015). These kinds of collaborations are now more commonplace, but La Marzocco pioneered integrated learning from client to firm leading to key product changes. As a result, the La Marzocco brand has become a proxy for signalling a café’s commitment to quality espresso coffee production (Observation 1: Four Barrel, 2010; C. Frethey, personal communication, February 20, 2009).

Many of the Third Wave café/roastery spaces have large tables. These tables provide the utility of a table for meetings (for customers, as well as staff) and training and further illustrates the pedagogical focus of the Third Wave shared by the slow food movement (see Chapter 3). The large tables that force customers to share space also evoke the Enlightenment era coffeehouse and Habermas’ notion of public space (Cowan, 2005; Ellis, 2004; Laurier & Philo, 2007; Pozos-Brewer, 2015).

Interestingly, the emphasis on the skills of baristas, the teaching they do and the equipment they use is referred to by some as the Fourth Wave of coffee (Castle, 2016). Still others refer to the trend of developing closer relationships with farmers as the Fifth Wave of coffee (Dotcross Coffee Project, 2013; Metcalf, 2015; Pistol & Burnes Coffee, 2015; Sprudge, 2014). Despite the inclusion of a ‘so-called’ Fourth and Fifth Wave by some commentators, these industry changes overlap. Furthermore, some businesses have adopted many of the practices associated with the Third Wave, while other businesses have only adopted a few. In my thesis, I will continue to use the more conventional ‘Three Waves’ categorisation (Cho, 2005; Manzo, 2014, 2015; Skeie, 2003; Weissman, 2008), although I acknowledge, based on conversations in the field, that some roasters and baristas reject the three-wave thesis outright.

Despite my caveats regarding the contested nature of Three or Five Waves of coffee, I have paid attention to the Third Wave, because many of the businesses associated with the Third Wave draw on the knowledge of coffee industry specialists who started out as baristas rather than roasters (Pendergrast, 1999; Weissman, 2008). These baristas cum café owner/roaster/trainers give a different view from the old guard, who tended to enter the specialty coffee industry from the point of view of roasters (Weissman, 2008).

Ocejo (2017) makes a similar distinction to Rothgeb's (Skeie, 2003) discussion on phased changes in the coffee industry when examining the occupations of bartenders, butchers, barbers and distillers. He makes the salient point that the first generation of business people entering the 'craft' space for these occupations came from a range of diverse backgrounds. The first-generation entrepreneurs shaped the different craft-based occupations using their vision of the world, essentially making things up as they went along. However, the second-generation investors and masters of the craft had a unique perspective on their respective industries, because they had begun as workers in the industry first. The second-generation interpretation of the craft-based occupations is informed by the practices of doing the job first as well as building on knowledge and trends set by the first generation (Ocejo, 2017).

One of the contributions of these second-generation industry members has been to codify the practices of baristas to a much greater extent. There were only a small number of texts on espresso making in the 1990s, and getting access to published, written codified knowledge was not easy. Roasting was equally bereft, with most roasters also relying on a single technical tome for information that was difficult for the layperson to understand (Starbucks Reserve Seattle, Roast Master, personal communication, June 29, 2017).

The second-generation baristas-turned-roasters/café owners in the 2000s want to highlight and improve the technical skills involved in making espresso coffee (Weissman, 2008). The desire to showcase the skills of those involved in the coffee industry is demonstrated by the establishment first of the World Barista Championship[22] (WBC) in 2000 and later the Coffee Masters[23] in 2015. However, the competitions were just the start. A plethora of books on coffee and espresso making and a range of tradeshows provide a forum that continues to drive the establishment, refinement and communication of codified standards in terms of practices and recipes (Hoffmann, 2014, 2017; Kingston, 2015; Rao, 2008, 2010; Schomer, 1996, 1997; Weissman, 2008). However, access to information is still inconsistent, being mediated by business practices, workers' biography (identity), as well as wider structural barriers.

The decision-makers who set the standards, those who compete, as well as the baristas who command higher status, reflect the presence of structural barriers in the occupation of baristas. These distinctions run along class lines and also reflect inequality between the genders and ethnicities (Pozos-Brewer, 2015). There are a few female judges (although they are still in the minority), as competitors from the earliest days have been women. And women continue to do well in the competitions; for example, in the 2015 and 2016 WBC competitions, Charlotte Malaval from France placed sixth and fifth respectively, and Ericka Lee Vonie won the Coffee Masters in New York in 2017. Aotearoa/New Zealander Emma Markland-Webster, who was also Aotearoa/New Zealand's first competitor in the WBC in 2001, placed fifth in 2002 in the WBC in Oslo (Markland-Webster, 2018). Similar to Erna Knutsen, these women are role models, whose presence and media profile in the industry makes space for women in a coffee supply chain dominated by men in many production aspects: farming, warehousing, and roasting (Sheridan, 2014; Weissman, 2008). However, it is important to note: to date

[22] See http://www.worldbaristachampionship.org/
[23] See http://www.coffeemasters.org/about/

(2018), no woman has won the WBC, and female competitors are still in the minority (Brown, 2015).

The lack of representation by women in competitions is in stark contrast to the numbers of women who are employed to make coffee. For example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the 2013 Census included the occupational category of barista for the first time and the gender split was 3510 women to 1362 men. However, in my observations I have noted that the numerical domination by women in the retail sector of 3:1 is not evenly spread across espresso-focused worksites. In many Third Wave worksites I have visited, most of the employees have been men. An extreme example is Joe and the Juice, a Danish juice bar chain (now international) that has worked with Third Wave baristas, where only 6% of the employees are women (Carlström, 2016; Ross, 2017).

Weissman (2008) represents Third Wave baristas as appearing androgynous, which really is a masculinised embodied identity. These masculine discourses present in Third Wave coffee work sites could explain why when I began my studies I had the perception that the occupation of baristas is a bastion of masculinity. Furthermore, the historical practices of café culture where women were excluded from public consumption of coffee is reflected in many Third Wave coffee contexts, represented by the mostly male gender profile of the WBC competitors. Industry insiders, aware of this gender imbalance, have also set up opportunities for women to network, such as Barista Connect set up by Austrian WBC competitor Sonja Zweidick with meetings held in 2015 in Aarhus, Denmark and in 2016 in London, United Kingdom (Brown, 2015, 2016).

The presence of Bicycles (racing and vintage) is a motif I have noticed in many the Third Wave locations I have visited. For example, one of my observation sites, Rocket Coffee, has links to cycling; race jerseys and bikes have adorned the walls at different times. Rather than environmentally-damaging cars or trucks in urban locations, bikes can be used as delivery systems, connecting to narratives associated with environmental concerns (Participant Observation: Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2015). I speculate that the bicycles, like beards and tattoos, are another space or set of practices that allow baristas to illustrate a form of competitive masculinity (racing). I have also wondered whether fixing bicycles is another way to flex engineering muscles and machine-based know-how, as well as to create nostalgia for the nineteenth century. In relation to this sense of nostalgia, I also acknowledge that bicycles are an important part of the hipster identit(ies), as bicycles along with clothing choices are used by hipsters to represent narratives of vintage, eco-friendliness and geeky engineering (Strong, 2016).

Making the production process public is an interesting trend in consumption–part of the conscientious consumption discussed in Chapter 3. Incorporating practices from the wine industry and farmers' markets, artisan production like beer breweries, distillers and cheese-makers are making their production spaces visible, promoting their brands and forming an important part of their service and consumptionscapes to individual consumers rather than industry customers (Ocejo, 2017). Like the original coffee bar Peets opened in the 1960s, roasteries sell coffee for private consumption to showcase their roasting skills, but like many Third Wave coffee destinations, the businesses also seek to highlight the skills of their baristas. A societal understanding of the barista work identity has emerged through these kinds of workplaces and the wider industry changes that occurred during the Second and Third Waves of coffee making/roasting.

However, the showcasing of the roasting process indicates that the space is first and foremost for production-oriented work. It is a service and consumptionscape that sends strong semiotic messages of industrial (but not industrialised) production. The blends of practices and the intersections of production, service and consumption send confusing messages that may only be recognised as thematic to consumers familiar with the Third Wave brand by practice (see Chapter 3). The potential confusion of customers showing up to buy a cup of coffee is a reasonable response, as most roasteries' main clients are the cafés they supply with beans, machines, training and maintenance rather than customers seeking out a café. Despite the mixed messages that the industrialised service and consumptionscape of roasteries may send, I have noted during observations that some of the customers who visit one my sites, Rocket Coffee, are regulars.

In a Third Wave context, baristas are performers, and their coffee production is a creative practice and artisanship, most obviously illustrated by latte art (Weissman, 2008). The perception of baristas and roasters as experts, guiding consumers' connoisseurship in the consumption of coffee, has repositioned specialty coffee and its workers as teachers leading their 'student' consumers into conscientious, fashionable–yet conspicuous–consumption (Veblen, [1899]2005). Therefore, workers' performance as baristas is part of what is sold with the cup of coffee (Liberty, 1998).

Conclusion

The distinctive consumption practices characterising coffee bar, coffeehouse, roastery and café locations have been accompanied by the increasing visibility of baristas. As part of changing consumption practices (Second and Third Wave) since the 1980s, baristas have become more visible. As such, the barista work identity has become a recognisable part of the popular culture of coffee, intersecting with fashion and conscientious consumption.

While coffee culture overlaps with café culture, not all cafés embrace coffee culture, sometimes choosing standardisation over craft or falling somewhere in-between. The businesses that seem to embrace or represent aspects of coffee culture emphasise the nexus of production and consumption practices. Third Wave coffee practices best represent the unification of these two cultures. The Third Wave's emphasis on the technical craft aspects of making coffee, including positioning of baristas as artisans, and highlighting the inequalities experienced in the broader coffee industry (decommodification as per Chapter 3), reflect the desire to re-make rather than cater to existing consumption practices.

In my observations, there have been many times when I have lost myself in my love of coffee and the romantic myths present within the service and consumptionscape of cafés. However, the darker sides of these stories and the use of them to peddle coffee have kept me vigilant to what has been left out of those brand narratives. Given that the history of coffee consumption is still represented in the way in which the rituals of consuming coffee encompass public and private spaces simultaneously, understanding the aesthetics of contemporary coffee consumption locations, and the role of genders, requires an appreciation of that history. For example, the gendered nature of café work and uneven participation in competitions cannot be ignored. The tensions and contradictions represented in the exclusion or marginalisation of women is also a broader and important theme in service work literature discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE SERVICE WORK LABOUR PROCESS

The world of work I entered into in 1991 was one vastly different from that of my lecturers in Labour Studies. As baby boomers, my lecturers had easily gained access to high paying blue-collar work during the summer breaks while they were studying in the 1960s and 70s. Despite the middle-class nature of their work as academics, their work history included work identities and experiences that matched the working class or union movement focus of labour studies. In contrast to their intimate connection, I could only reflect and understand–in a derivative fashion–the focus on the practices of factories that drives much of the discourse in labour studies and the sociology of work. Thus, when I was a student listening in lectures, often their examples seemed incomplete to me, missing insights that matched my parents' white-collar work experiences and my own in retail-based service work.

My work identity is intimately shaped by my experiences, perceptions and beliefs in the importance of good customer service. My experiences of work were framed by: the pressures of providing high quality customer service; my personal struggles with shyness; and using maths and technology on the job. The challenges I faced when being required to execute multiple tasks simultaneously meant that I only had limited capacity to deliver on customer/employer expectations of eye contact and smiles, as well as mastery of technical tasks like operating a till. While it took time, during my last retail job I became proud of my ability to deliver on customer service and technical tasks simultaneously.

The life history research approach (see Chapter 2) helped me to understand why my interpretation of work conflicted with that of my colleagues and former lecturers. It was because of my everyday life experiences. My negotiations through the structures of capitalism were mediated in fundamentally different ways because of my life history. Part of my desire to understand the nature of the service economy is to better *understand myself and my own work experiences and work identity. By examining the service work labour process, I will be able to appreciate the differences between my formative experiences of work and those of my current colleagues, whose experiences of work originally came from a manufacturing context.*

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to conceptualise and consider the implications of the service economy, based on an examination of the ways in which the service work labour process[24] is managed. The mystory approach taken in this chapter weaves together arguments in the literature focused on service work with my personal experiences working in the service sector, as well as my observations of the work of baristas. I begin by explaining the conceptual challenges outlined in the literature by those seeking to theorise and understand the nature of service work. In the second section, I explain and discuss the significance of the triadic relationship between employer/manager, customer, and worker to the conceptualisation of service work. Third, I discuss the implications of the triadic relationship in relation to the labour process of service work, by outlining the different labour strategies that are deployed in the service sector. Finally, in order to address the challenge of understanding the differences between service and production-oriented work, I return to the dynamic nature of the triadic relationship. In this section, I discuss the multi-directional or fluid nature of the triadic relationship, which contrasts with traditional conceptualisation of employment relationships being asymmetric in favour of employers.

[24] The labour process is "1. Purposeful activity of man, directed towards work. 2. The object on which the work is performed, in the form of natural or raw materials. 3. The instruments of that work, most often the tools or more complex technology." (Thompson, 1989, p. 39) In the case of service work the customer and the worker are part of the object on which the work is performed and the workers' embodied identity is an important instrument of service work

Service economy reprise

The main evidence supporting the idea that Western developed economies are increasingly being shaped by logics associated with service work, rather than production-oriented work, is the sustained growth in the number of occupations and job roles that can be or have been classified as being part of the service sector (Edgell, 2012; Grint & Nixon, 2015; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Piercy & Steele, 2016; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007). For example, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the proportion of workers employed in the service sector grew from 60% in 1986 to “around 73%” in 2016 (Paterson, 2016). In Britain and the United States, 80% and 85% of employment respectively was provided by the service sector in 2009 (Grint & Nixon, 2015; Lopez, 2010). Significantly, the growth in service work has corresponded with a decline in the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing and agriculture and an increase in women’s participation in the labour market (Edgell, 2012; Grint & Nixon, 2015; Lopez, 2010; McDowell, 2009).

The growth in service sector work is reputed to be based on consumers seeking leisure and identity-based experiences, influenced by neo-liberalism, globalisation and the logics of the consumer society (Edgell, 2012; Grint & Nixon, 2015; Hannigan, 2005; Lury, 1996; Witz, Warhurst, & Nickson, 2003; Zukin, 1995). The growth in service sector work is also argued to be based on the growing labour force participation by women since the 1970s (Edgell, 2012; McDowell, 2009). As part of this increase in labour force participation by women, a large amount of domestic work has shifted from the private to the public sphere in the form of employment in personal services. A gendered division of labour has shifted from the household into the labour market as part of this change. Therefore, when considering service work, the role of gender stereotypes must also be considered (Forseth, 2005; Hall, 1993; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). Many of the employment options available in the service sector are part-time, facilitating women’s capacity to balance employment with domestic care and reinforcing the salience and impact of gender norms. The impact of gender norms is most clearly observed by the way in which women numerically dominate frontline service work, while the low numbers of men who enter into service sector occupations dominate in terms of management positions (Forseth, 2005; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; McDowell, 2009; Nickson & Korczynski, 2009; Williams, 1992). Despite the increasing numbers of workers employed, and a substantial and growing body of empirical work about the service sector, it is a sector which is inconsistently theorised and understood (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2011; Korczynski, 2005b, 2009; Lopez, 2010; McDowell, 2009; Ocejo, 2017; Vincent, 2011).

Conceptual challenges of analysing the service work labour processes

A number of conceptual challenges need to be negotiated when considering the service work labour process. This is particularly the case for investigations of *interactive service work*. Leidner's (1993, 1996) definition of interactive service work is a labour process that involves a direct and immediate relationship with the customer (Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Edgell, 2012). This relationship can be face-to-face and/or voice-to-voice and/or body-to-body (McDowell, 2009; Michandani, 2014; Warhurst & Wolkowitz, 2011). Some of the challenges which need to be considered in the examination of interactive service work are: (1) the differences between the labour processes in service and production based work, for example, the ways in which the control of the service work labour process blurs the boundaries between workers' public and private lives (identities) (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; Lopez, 2010); (2) the interpersonal nature of service work: the ways in which the service work labour process incorporates workers' corporeality and emotions (Bolton, 2011; Brook, 2009; Lopez, 2010; Pettinger, 2005; Sheane, 2011; Williams & Connell, 2010; Vincent, 2011); (3) the levels of heterogeneity between and within service sector jobs (Warhurst &

Nickson, 2007b, 2009); and, (4) the tacit and intangible skills utilised in the service work labour process (Bolton, 2004; Korczynski, 2005b). In my thesis I have addressed some of these challenges by focussing on identity (Chapter 6), presentational labour (Chapter 7) and sensual nature of learning in the workplace (Chapter 8). In this chapter I focus on the triadic relationship, however, before I outline the social relations of service work I first want to elaborate on the nature of these challenges in more detail.

Production-oriented understandings of work do not necessarily fit with the nature of service work due to key differences in the way service sector work is organised (Edgell, 2011; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Wharton, 1993). One way in which service sector work is different is how time and space orient service work, as it is customers who determine the pace of work rather than work flow. The second is to do with the inclusion of the customer in the labour process through the triadic relationship (rather than the traditional dyad of worker and employer considered in production work). The triadic relationship places workers in a position where they are required to take orders from customers as well as from shift supervisors and employers, which, Leidner argues, “complicates considerably the struggle over control in this type of work” (1996, p. 39). The potential for dual exploitation and control of workers by both the customer and employer situates service work as being alienating in ways which are different from production work (Brook, 2009a; Hochschild, 2012; Lopez, 2010). More agentic arguments, however, illustrate that there is variability within the social relations of service work (Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Lopez, 2010).

A further challenge stems from the use of theories developed from the traditional emphasis in the sociology of work on manufacturing or production, which results in aspects of service work being hidden or de-emphasised. Two examples are: the way in which the roles of peers and consumers in the service work labour process have been de-emphasised by a focus on the impact of the employer or self-surveillance, and, the need to develop new frameworks to capture the intangible elements of the service work labour process (Edgell, 2012; Hochschild, 2012, Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Korczynski, 2009; Lopez, 2010). For example, when it comes to power relations in the workplace, the "contests over control of the labor process are often more implicit than explicit" (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996, p. 4).

Korczynski (2005b) argues that the intangible nature of service work is one of its key characteristics and that service sector jobs need to be conceptualised as having both tangible and intangible elements. Significantly, the intangible aspects of service work are the most difficult for management to control, because interpersonal work includes internal aspects that are controlled by the worker themselves, such as emotional intelligence and identity-based self-presentation (Bolton, 2011; Bolton & Boyd, 2003). The intangible elements of service work represent an important difference from production-oriented work that needs to be understood, because much of the labour provided by service workers is emotional and aesthetic based on the interpersonal nature of service work.

By harnessing workers' emotions and corporeal form, the managers of service workers are utilising workers' personal identities and bodies in ways that Macdonald and Sirianni (1996) argue have historically been considered as off-limits. As such, the service work labour process represents a permeable boundary between workers' public and private lives, their spaces and identities. Furthermore, the spatial boundary-crossing in service work places different demands on workers, because service sector workers are *themselves* part of what is being sold (McDowell, 2009).

The way in which workers' corporeality (or their embodied performance) is used in service work links to the following discussion in Chapter 6, which discusses how work identities are situated in specific practices that are collectively understood. Therefore, part of the conceptual challenge for researchers broadly, and this thesis specifically, includes the need to acknowledge the role that workers' biographies or non-work identities play in the creation, regulation and articulation of the labour that draws on workers' emotions and corporeal form (Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; Sheane, 2011; Jørgensen & Warring, 2001). On the surface, the aim of capturing the heart, mind and body of workers by managers may seem entirely appropriate and may even appear essential, as expressed by service workers in studies conducted by Leidner, (1996), Witz et al. (2003), Warhurst et al. (2000) and Warhurst & Nickson (2007a). However, if the blurring between the public and the private is re-considered with the alienating and exploitative characteristics of work under capitalist regimes in mind, questions can and should be asked about the appropriateness of workers' emotionality, physicality and identity being commodified by the workplace (Brook, 2009a, 2009b; Sturdy et al., 2011). The interpersonal nature of service work presents a conceptual challenge that can be resolved with the use of new frameworks developed in relation to emotional labour, which are discussed further in Chapter 7 (Bolton, 2011; Brook, 2009; Hochschild, 2012; Leidner, 1996, 1999; Lopez, 2010; Pettinger, 2005; Sheane, 2011; Williams, 2006; Vincent, 2011; Warhust et al., 2000; Witz et al., 2003).

The levels of heterogeneity within service sector jobs presents a further conceptual challenge to researchers considering the service work labour process. The heterogeneity of service work within the labour market is vertical–status based, as well as horizontal–based on increasing task/firm specialisation, demonstrated by the shift of work from intra to inter-firm and the shift of unpaid tasks into paid work or the labour market (Edgell, 2012; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; McDowell, 2009; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b, 2009). For example, the role of status within an occupation varies due to the impact of consumption practices. The wide range of consumption experiences that stem from different café contexts (see Chapters 3 and 4) illustrates that broad categorisation of the work of baristas as work of low status is problematic. While the work of many baristas is routinised and automated, baristas may also be seen as being artisans and craft workers, or as fashionable and cool.

The heterogeneity in service work stems not from task or occupational variation per se but from the role of status negotiated through the service work triadic relationship. Arguments in service work literature indicate that roles associated with higher social status (white-collar) tend to have higher degrees of autonomy in the job, while roles associated with low status (blue-collar) feature high levels of standardisation in the labour process (Edgell, 2012; McDonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Rigby & Sanchis, 2008). If baristas work in an environment where they are perceived to have a high-social status, then it is also likely they will have a labour process which is subject to less standardisation and includes greater capacity for them to exercise individual agency. Therefore, the social perceptions of the status of baristas, as well as the labour process practices of some cafés and roasteries, mean that the work of baristas could be seen as incongruent with the delineation of standardisation associated with blue-collar service work.

A further conceptual challenge presented in the literature also based on the interpersonal nature of service work (emotions and corporeal form) is the debate about the extent to which the deployment of emotional and corporeal based labour is skilled labour. These discussions on the intangible skills service workers deploy are important, because they provide insights on the heterogeneity that can be observed between and within occupations and on the complex requirements imposed on workers due to the interpersonal nature of service work (Bolton, 2004; Gatta, Boushey, & Applebaum, 2009; Hampson & Junor, 2010, 2015; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005a; Korczynski, 2005b; Payne, 2010).

Service work researchers have used a range of arguments to claim that the service sector workers do deploy a broader range of skills than currently perceived, remunerated or understood. These intangible skills (also called 'soft skills') are challenging to quantify, in part because the skills, and how the workplace draws on them, also represent boundary crossing between public and private spheres of practice. Some researchers declare these skills are attributes which cannot be learned but are part of the worker's personality (Payne, 2010), and others argue that soft skills (emotional labour) are quantifiable (Bolton, 2005; Korczynski, 2005b), and still others fall somewhere in between (Vincent, 2011). This debate is further complicated by the ways in which the gendered nature of service work obscures the high level of skills that is required for emotional labour (Bolton, 2004; Gatta, Boushey, & Applebaum, 2009; Hampson & Junor, 2010; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; Korczynski, 2005b).

It is important to note that these arguments do not fully deal with the social construction of skill within wider society and the workplace itself. For example, a worker's capacity to labour–which includes their skill–is not realised until they are employed in an occupation (Bolton, 2004; Marginson, 1993; Standing, 1999). Therefore, the value of skill is inherent in its use, performance, or application. Moreover, even though skill adheres to the individual, it is the workplace rules, regulations, and culture that determines if the worker is allowed to exercise said skill (Hampson & Junor, 2015).

Skill levels vary between individual workers: more than once I have been told that there are some people who can just make good coffee almost immediately and that it is a talent. Payne (2010) illustrates this distinction by arguing that skill can be seen as *mundane* accomplishment–skills that are acquired in an everyday way and can be acquired by most people–or as *virtuosity*: skills that not everyone can acquire. Baristas who compete at the level of the world championship could be argued to perform their work at the skill level of virtuosity. However, given the use of automation and standardisation present in many café contexts, many baristas perform their tasks at the level of mundane skills. The variation in skill levels emphasises that the acquisition and deployment of skill cannot be separated from an individual's biography and the conditions of the workplace (labour process), which includes the collective capacity for learning. Therefore, an important part of understanding the dimensions of skill in an occupation is also appreciating the nature and impact of the workers' labour process, which in service work is shaped extensively by the triadic relationship.

The service work triadic relationship

Power relations in the context of service work are significantly different from those in production work, because all three groups (customers, managers and workers) have the capacity to exert and/or resist, but also comply with, workplace practices (Edgell, 2011; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Leidner, 1996; McDowell, 2009). Furthermore, the inclusion of consumption and customers as part of the labour process "complicates considerably the struggle over control in this type of work" (Leidner, 1996, p. 39).

However, the triadic relationship, similar to the dyadic relationship of production work between worker and employer, is still asymmetric in terms of power (Edgell, 2011; Leidner, 2003; McDowell, 2009). Tension can be created within the triadic relationship based on the way in which "each of these three parties has different criteria for the success of the interaction" (Hodson & Sullivan, 2012, p. 237). For example, the inclusion of the customer in the labour process through the triadic relationship (rather than the traditional dyad of worker and employer considered in production work) places workers in a position where they are required to take orders from customers as well as from shift supervisors and employers. The potential for dual exploitation and control of workers by both the customer and employer situates service work as being alienating in ways that are different from production work (Brook, 2009b; Hochschild, 2012; Lopez, 2010).

Warhurst, Nickson, Witz and Cullen (2000) suggest a useful way of breaking down the triadic relationship (see Figure 6.1). Their model of relational dynamics highlights the multi-directional potential of these relationships, and demonstrates that the power relations in a service sector workplace can be contested in three different relational spaces.

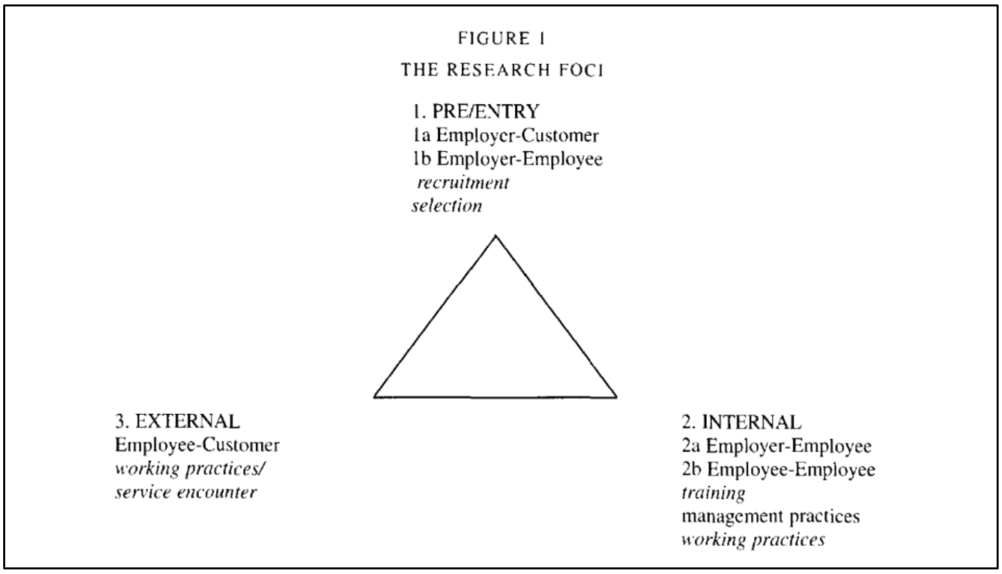

Figure 6.1: Research Foci

Source: Warhurst, Nickson, Witz & Cullen, 2000, p. 11.

The different spatial environments in which those relationships are exercised more specifically are: (1) *the organisational context*, which includes employer-driven relationships with customers or with employees; (2) *the service encounter*, which includes customer-driven relationships with employers and/or employees; and (3) *internal working practices* (those which exclude customers), which includes employer-employee and employee-employee relationships.

I have adapted this figure (Warhurst, Nickson, Witz, & Cullen, 2000, p. 11) in order to more clearly highlight the relationships and the different spatial environments they appear in for the purposes of my research (see Figure 6.2). The inclusion in Figure 6.2 of *employee-to-employee* or peer-based social relations addresses a significant gap in service sector literature, which often conceptualises service workers as interacting in isolation with their customers (Lopez, 2010). Service workers do not operate alone, even though the service encounter is often only experienced as being between the worker and customer as individuals. Furthermore, peer relationships between workers also influence how the triadic relationship is experienced and managed, to workers' benefit and disadvantage.

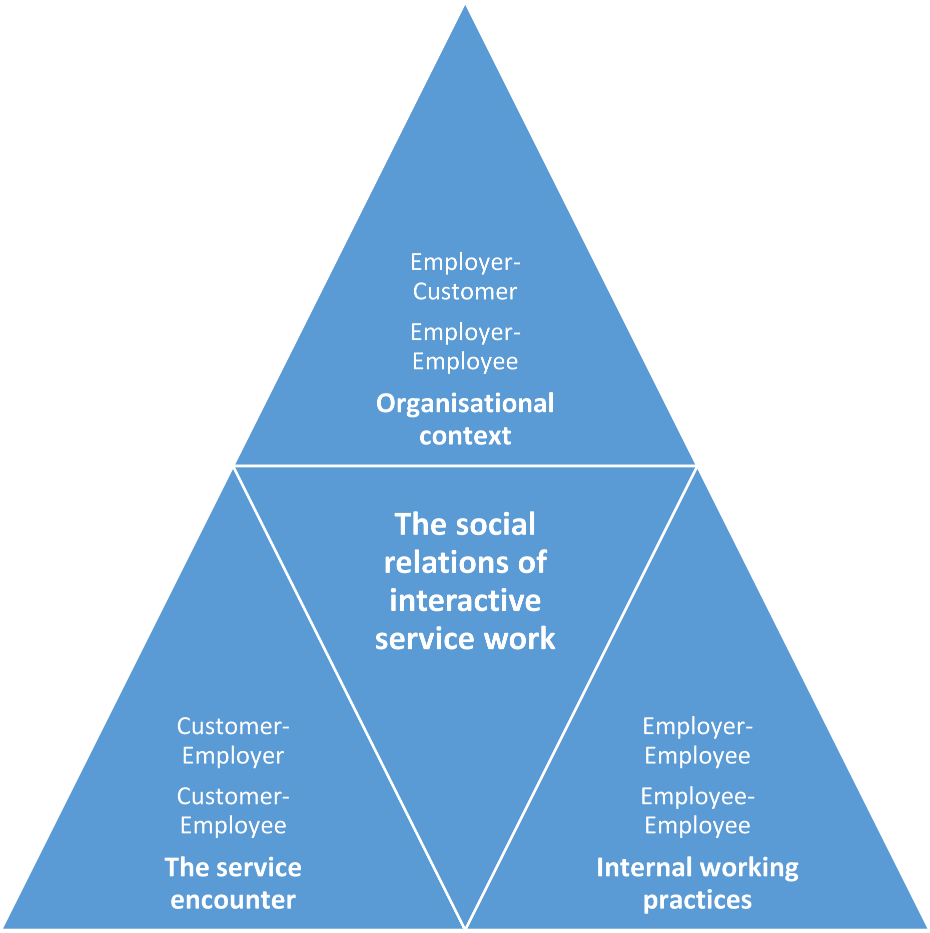

Figure 6.2: Relational dynamics of interactive service work

Source: Piercy 2018, adapted from *Figure 1: The Research Foci*

The spaces listed in Figure 6.2 (organisational context, the service encounter, internal working practices) can be located in specific areas in the workplace but can also be delineated by embodied practices and orientation (Riach & Wilson, 2014). Based on the boundary crossing between public and private spheres, spaces and identities, it is important to note that these three areas are experienced, negotiated and constructed in ways that are informed by practices outside of the organisational context.

The *organisational context* is material and symbolic, including brand narratives as well as the service and consumptionscapes (see Chapter 3). However, the organisational context can be extended beyond the physical workplace as part of brand management. For instance, some roasteries have social media and web-based presence in order to maximise their capacity to communicate a specific brand message regarding their organisational culture and vision to customers. Roasteries may include messages about the importance of direct trade to illustrate how their brand narrative is in line with the values of conscientious consumption. Marketing material could include featuring the organisation's relationships with the farms they buy from, which include sponsorship activities, such as building schools, as well as promoting different kinds of farming practices.

Internal working practices tend to play out in physical spaces that the customer does not have access to visually, such as an employee breakroom. In the case of my research, a large espresso machine may also create the illusion of private space through the prevention of engagement with customers by the barista's inability to make eye-contact (also see Manzo, 2015). The exclusion of the customer from these types of spatial areas could also be determined by *bodyspace*. *Bodyspace* is the way in which members of the triadic relationships may supply embodied signals–material and symbolic–that are jointly negotiated and constructed and can be used to create more symbolic boundaries (Riach & Wilson, 2014). I have observed this kind of behaviour in baristas who are making coffee but do not want to engage with their customers. They might avoid eye-contact by looking down, or take defensive postures, crossing part of their arm over the body or angling their entire body away from the customer.

The *service encounter* is also spatially framed. The servicescape can facilitate a service encounter which is fast and occurs in a fixed location, such as McDonald's (drive-thru or front counter). Equally, the service encounter could include multiple encounters and traverse a range of spaces within the servicescape, such as clothing retail, where multiple encounters can take place anywhere in the store (front door or floor-based greeting, changing room, or sales counter). However, regardless of the length of service, the encounter still concludes in a specific area used to trade the goods/service that normally includes a counter, till or other device designed to manage payment and contribute to stock control. Therefore, the service encounter is constrained, relationally and physically, by the practices of consumption.

Much of the service work literature focuses on the role of customers. However, employee-employee relationships, whether they be hierarchical employee-manager or peer-based, are an important part of how power is mediated in the workplace. These relationships also contribute to the ways in which the workplace's spatial environment can be re-orientated by the focus of workers' activity. For example, when examining the deployment of sexual labour in the workplace, Riach and Wilson (2014) illustrated how public spaces blur into private through the formation of relationships that are non-pecuniary. Sandiford and Seymour (2013) make a similar point in their studies of bar workers who live where they work and shift between a range of roles: domestic or private roles and public roles of consumer/worker.

Workers taking on different roles within these relationships can collude in order to act in ways consistent with private backstage spaces, even when the labour process takes them into the front, customer-facing space. 'Private backstage space' is a reference to a more traditional practice where the production areas in a service sector workplace are not visible to the customer via interior design (Billett, 2002; Crang, 1994; Goffman, 1959; Mansvelt, 2005; Paules, 1996). This could be a hidden room at the back of the store, or the use of barriers that may hide parts of the kitchen from customers. An important part of how workers move through these spaces relationally is also framed by the labour strategies that organisations use to prescribe behaviour within the triadic relationship. The following section explores these relationships and the spaces they operate in more deeply through the consideration of the motivations and types of labour strategies deployed in the context of service sector work.

Labour strategies in service work

Labour strategies deployed in service work contexts need to take into account both the triadic relationship and the complications it brings to the labour process. They also must consider aspects related to the interpersonal nature of service work that draw on workers' intangible and embodied labour (Leidner, 1996; Macdonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Sturdy, 1998; Taylor, 1998). Labour strategies are part of how the labour process is regulated and communicated to workers in both tacit and explicit ways. Therefore, labour strategies play an important role in the ways that baristas acquire and articulate their work-based identity. In order to consider the complexity of service work, alongside the regulation of the labour process, in the following section I examine the logics of bureaucracy and the logics of customer-orientation (Korczynski, 2005b). I draw out the impact of these logics by highlighting the potential contradictions that emerge from their use in relation to more specific labour strategies such as recruitment, standardisation, task discretion, and the acquisition and deployment of skill.

The logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation

The service work labour process is controlled by labour strategies informed by the logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation (Korczynski, 2005b). Korczynski (2005b) defines these two logics as: “the logic of bureaucratisation, of cost minimisation and efficiency; and the logic of customer-orientation, of needing to structure work to appeal to customers not just through low price but also through service quality” (p. 6). As such, the logic of *customer-orientation* frames a range of strategies enacted by organisations in order to create a servicescape that will appeal to and privilege the position of the customer as the sovereign consumer (see Chapter 3).

The two logics work together within the organisational context to enable service sector businesses gain value, because often in the provision of services, workers are the main source of difference between firms’ competitive strategies (Bolton, 2004; Korczynski, 2005b). Moreover, they lead to the deployment of labour or management strategies that are driven by an emphasis on maintaining service quality, while controlling price (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; Sturdy, 1998; Taylor, 1998).

Within these two logics, a range of labour strategies can be used to control worker behaviour. Leidner’s (1996) research into the work context of McDonald’s highlights different forms of control: three that are consistent with the logics of bureaucracy and a fourth that is more aligned with the logic of customer orientation. The first is “direct (or simple) control,” whereby the manager is present directing the behaviour of the workers through verbal instructions or observation. The second is “technical control,” implemented through the use of technology. For example, computer screens can provide direction via lights or messages on a screen to prompt worker behaviour. Technical control demonstrates the importance of acknowledging the impact of non-human sources of control over workers’ performance (also see Mirchandani, 2014; Saval, 2014; Sturdy, 1998; Sturdy et al., 2011; Taylor, 1998). The third form of control is “bureaucratic control,” where both management and workers have their behaviour and self-presentation prescribed through corporate policy or broader business aims (e.g., written instructions) (Leidner, 1996, p. 37).

A fourth form of control that Leidner highlights is more aligned with the logic of customer orientation than the logic of bureaucracy. This is “customer-based control” (Leidner, 1996, p. 37). Supervision by customers can be achieved by direct observation, by making demands, by either complaining about the workers or praising them. Customers can also be co-opted by management to control workers through the use of mystery shoppers, evaluation and feedback forms (see also Fuller & Smith, 1996; Korczynski, 2009; Lopez, 2010).

The forms of control discussed above are all overt. However, the logic of customer orientation is shaped by the sovereign consumer–a social construct that workers embody when customers consume services. As such, a wealth of tacit information shapes the service encounter and influences the behaviour of customers and workers. Based on the influence of this tacit knowledge, behaviour in the service encounter may not need to be directly controlled by management. Internal working practices are co-constructed between workers, in conjunction with their interactions with management and customers that draw on social mores. Older women are often recruited into the service due to influence of gender stereotypes regarding what good customer service includes (Forseth, 2005). Many baristas are young, and as I discussed in Chapter 1, may be depicted as providing coffee with surly or grumpy manner. I have observed this form of behaviour being tolerated by co-workers, albeit condoned by customers. This kind of behaviour could demonstrate how internal working practices can be altered to encourage or support workers to behaviour in ways that are inconsistent with the logics of customer orientation.

Significantly then, internal working practices can be expressed as managerial edicts or as tacit and intangible behaviour expectations communicated in social interactions, language, and status games. Noting context, therefore, is important, because not all workers are subject to management controls to the same degree. The capacity for levels of control to vary applies in the ways that different organisations select labour strategies. However, in terms of better understanding why service work is heterogeneous within and between firms, it is important to acknowledge the role of labour strategies. For example, staff who operate away from the *gaze* of the customer are subject to very different forms of control (Leidner, 1996). As stated earlier, the positioning of the espresso machine can hide baristas from customers, as can the Taylorised practice of using front facing service staff to take orders while the baristas just make coffee. Both strategies position the barista as production-oriented worker rather than server. In contrast, the barista who serves customers and whose labour process is clearly visible to the gaze of the customer by the position of the espresso machine provides service, product and performance.

The different occupational spaces of McCafé and the McDonald's main front counter both operate under the gaze of the customer, but the baristas at McCafé have more control over their pace of labour than other frontline McDonald's workers. I have observed a similar division of autonomy between baristas and table runners, or floor staff, in some other workplace contexts. In this sense, baristas, like maître d's or labour aristocrats, have a higher status, associated with perceptions of higher skill and, therefore, greater autonomy built into their labour process (Hall, 1993; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b). For example, to 'wait' has associations of professionalism and technical knowledge whereas to 'serve' is associated with more menial tasks that spilled over into female workers having to complete tasks, such as cleaning.

Distinctions based on status also reflect the ways in which organisations' internal working practices may be gendered (Forseth, 2005; Hall, 1993; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). For example, Nickson and Korczynski (2009) use the metaphor of the glass escalator to argue that in professions, such as teaching, which are numerically dominated by women, men tend to be promoted more than their female colleagues and are even pushed to take on senior positions (also see Williams, 1992, 2013). Therefore, it is important to note how constructed stereotypes of femininity and masculinity play a role in the gendered division of labour in service work within organisational contexts. Riach and Wilson (2014) found gendered distinctions in bar work, where a woman who was a karate expert was not allowed to operate as a bouncer and protect other staff. Brickner and Dalton's (2017) investigation of a union drive in four cafés highlighted that part of the motivation to unionise came from the dissatisfaction felt by some staff due to the favouritism shown towards cis-gendered men, including the promotion of a man to a senior position even when he had less experience than other female/queer(LGBQT) staff members.

Recruitment

Recruitment techniques are an important part of how tacit information can be communicated, and normative strategies can be exercised, over the labour process. Workers need to be deemed 'appropriate' in terms of their ability to interact with customers as well as *fit* with the culture or brand/style of the workplace (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Ehrenreich, 2005; Mirchandani, 2014; Witz et al., 2003; Wright, 1995). Ensuring brand-based or cultural 'fit,' recruitment advertising and other techniques are used to purchase cultural capital and other intangible aspects of workers' embodied performance by emphasising that potential recruits need to have the capacity to 'have fun,' 'be part of a team,' or 'love partying' (Sturdy & Flemming, 2010). This kind of cultural capital and the associated skills are often seen as mundane or are classed as attributes which adhere to the individual. The location of the development of these skills or identities in everyday life, in part, explains why the soft skills associated with emotional labour are recruited for, rather than developed once people are in the workplace (Piercy & Steele, 2016).

The informality of service work recruitment practices allows the appearance and demeanour of potential workers to be assessed without that assessment being an explicit part of the recruitment process. Furthermore, recruitment practices that hone in on cultural capital can ensure that workers are aware of their customers' needs and have the cultural capital to make 'correct' judgements without close supervision (Korczynski, 2005; Wright, 1995). For example, one of my life history interviewees became a barista after the owner of her favourite espresso bar in Malmö, Sweden, got to know her as a regular, and asked her if she wanted to jump onto the other side of the bar one day. By knowing her first as a customer the owner was able to be 'sure' that Sofia had what it takes to be a barista.

Employers argue that they can provide the technical 'know how' once workers begin their work, but they cannot make a shy person an extrovert (Leidner, 1999; Sturdy, 1998; Witz et al., 2003). It should be noted, however, in standardised but also highly stylised contexts, that companies facilitate the acquisition of cultural capital and soft skills as part of the workplace's induction processes. Via induction processes, the appearance, voice and manner of the worker can be reshaped to fit the brand. Workers' identit(ies) also shifts in line with the norms of the workplace built into internal workplace practices–which can be expressed tacitly and explicitly (Crang, 1994; Leidner, 1996; Mirchandani, 2014; Riach & Wilson, 2014; Witz et al., 2003). Therefore, recruitment is a vital way for the control strategies used by organisations to leverage off workers' capacity for self-monitoring.

The targeted recruitment of a particular type of person (identity) that also fits the customer profile/market segment of the organisation helps explain why it is quite common to recruit workers from businesses' regular customers. As I highlighted in Chapter 3, brand messages are co-constructed between organisations and customers. Furthermore, as customers are also subject to the logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation as part of the triadic relationship and spatial environment of organisational culture, these workers may come into the workplace already understanding some tacit and explicit aspects of the labour process. Therefore, the recruitment of regulars demonstrates how the logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation have been extended more broadly into the labour market, reinforced by brand narratives and the social construction of the sovereign consumer.

Contradictions arising from the two logics

The ways in which the logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation influence the organisation of work practices in service work may place contradictory pressures on workers when they perform their jobs (Korczynski, 2005; Leidner, 1996; Sturdy, 1998, Taylor, 1998). The logic of bureaucratisation is the driving force behind moves to routinise service work, reinforcing the assertions of Ritzer (2013) that service work has become highly Taylorised (McDonaldisation) (Edgell, 2011; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). However, the logic of customer-orientation pressures workers to alter their tasks and behaviour spontaneously, "in accordance with variable customer behaviour and perceptions" (Korczynski, 2005, p. 6). In the service encounter, the demand to be 'authentic' encourages workers to depart from the prescribed routine in order to provide an individualised consumption experience.

Some service work researchers argue that it is the contradictory pressures of routinisation and individualised service that place the most stress on service workers. This is a balancing act that is often impossible to achieve, as workers struggle to provide the kind of service their customers demand within the parameters of the standardised internal working practices (Korczynski, 2005a; Leidner, 1996, 1999; Sturdy, 1998, Taylor, 1998). Workers may be able to manage the contradictory pressures that service work places on them when they have the emotional and technical levels of skill required and are provided with a level of autonomy to exercise the choice to go off-script within the internal workplace practices. The following three subsections consider these contradictory pressures further, by examining the practices of standardisation and task discretion and the implications of these practices in terms of skill acquisition and deployment in the service work context.

Standardisation

Standardisation is an approach used by firms to combat the indeterminacy of workers' emotional states and to ensure consistency of service during the interactions that workers have with customers (Bolton, 2005; Korczynski, 2005). The standardisation of work tasks is a labour strategy used to extend greater levels of control over the service encounter. Furthermore, as higher level technical skills are not needed within standardised labour process, standardisation also increases the pool of potential workers that can be recruited.

In addition to increasing workplace control over the labour process, standardisation can lead to higher productivity. However, as outlined in Chapter 4, many Third Wave coffee businesses resist mass-production elements and standardisation. The movement away from espresso brewing, which is a very fast way of preparing coffee, to the slower clover, siphon and aeropress brewing, is because in these other methods the brewing parameters can be controlled to a much greater extent by the barista. These non-espresso-based brewing methods allow the barista to control the volume and heat of each element to a greater extent. They also demonstrate that baristas need to have access to technical skills beyond the neo-Taylorised push-button context of Starbucks.

One of the most common tools used to standardise the exchange between customer and worker is the use of scripts and spatial features to routinise the behaviour of both customer and worker. A potential impact that this kind of standardisation can have on baristas is exemplified by an exchange I participated in, in a McCafé in March 2014. During our discussion, the barista threw the bag of beans up on the counter and showed me that the only information on the very large packet was McDonald's branding. In an angry and frustrated tone, he explained that he could tell the customers nothing about the quality of the beans, or their origin. He told me that none of the other places that he had made coffee in were like this. His frustration with the way in which the McDonald's standardised system stopped him from meeting his personal work performance expectations demonstrated, to me at least, strong feelings of powerlessness. It is important to note that these kinds of conditions do not just exist in chain stores. Any café that emphasises standardisation and consistency over quality, the production of speciality coffees, and the skills of their barista, will reduce the capacity of the barista to exercise agency, and create an alienating work environment.

This kind of negative experience for baristas who have experienced jobs with more autonomy is compounded by the intrusion of technology. Automation in coffee making can vary from espresso machines with preprogrammed settings, to coffee dispensing machines common in the workplace, to those produced by pod machines, such as Nespresso. Coffee produced via pod or push-button technology does not require the skill of a barista at all; in this instance, a robot could make espresso coffee proficiently (Lebowitz, 2017; Mims, 2013; "Robots will soon make your coffee", 2016).

The deskilled nature of standardised and automated coffee preparation connects trends in the work of baristas to the classical arguments of Bravermann in the 1970s about the impact of technology on the nature of work (Edgell, 2012; Grint & Nixon, 2015; Hodson

& Sullivan, 2012; Leidner, 1996). The implications of a labour process managed in this way are summed up well in the following quote:

> …in the same way that Fordism deskilled and dehumanized factory work and democratized car ownership, it has also deskilled and dehumanized interactive service work and democratized eating out in restaurants [as even the] distinctive interactive dimension ... has also been Taylorized and standardized. (Edgell, 2011, p. 127)

The process by which workers are dehumanised in service work can be resisted, through the decommodification efforts of the Third Wave or through the respectful acknowledgment of a workers' skills and role as an expert (Manzo, 2015). Furthermore, even in these kinds of deskilled contexts, the social relations of service work may be distinctive and complex (Leidner, 1996), a point I return to in the following subsection focussing on task discretion.

Task discretion

Despite the controls that can be imposed through the logics of bureaucracy and standardisation, the logic of customer-orientation can also provide space for task variation and discretion. One example of task variation and discretion is 'service recovery,' where workers can resolve a customer complaint outside the boundaries of standardised behaviour: occasionally, a waitress may provide a disgruntled customer with an extra glass of wine (Burton, 2012; Burton & Piercy, 2013). In such cases, workers can demonstrate a small level of autonomy in deciding when and/or how service recovery should be deployed. I have observed many baristas re-making drinks that are then 'comped' if the customer does not enjoy the coffee or if the order was not quite right, even when the customer may have consumed most of the drink. Many exchanges with regulars include queries from the barista seeking to make sure that each coffee they make meets the needs of that specific customer.

The demand for authentic, individualised service embedded in the logic of customer-orientation can also be evoked by the organisation's deployment of empowerment rhetoric or a service worker's personal desire to make a difference. Organisations which have flatter organisational structures associated with lean production or high-performance work devolve decisionmaking–or at least claim to–through the use of rhetoric designed to support workers to participate in (be empowered) a wider range of work activities (Gatta, Boushey, & Applebaum, 2009; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Korczynski, 2005; Leidner, 1999; Piercy, 1999). In high-trust workplace relations associated with empowerment rhetoric, research suggests there is also likely to be a high degree of worker autonomy and task discretion, and a greater requirement for skilled labour. However, where there is a low-trust model, the level of task discretion is likely to be exercised between tightly prescribed guidelines constraining the capacity for agency (Bolton, 2004; Gatta et al., 2009; Korczynski, 2005; Lopez, 2010; Sallaz, 2009, 2012). In low-trust models, internal working practices and the service encounter are likely to exemplify the ways in which the logics of bureaucracy and customer-orientation can contradict, clashing with workers' capacity to exercise tasks with discretion (Korczynski, 2005).

The capability to exercise discretion can also be connected to societal perceptions of occupations or professions. Service workers who have their own self-determined set of rules that govern their beliefs about their work role will often follow their profession's rules rather than those specified in an organisation's internal working practices (Bolton & Boyd, 2003). The desire by the McCafé barista mentioned earlier to share information about the origins of the bean with me as a customer is an example of the desire to provide a service in line with *his* personal expectations of what a barista should do. Making decisions independently during the service encounter in order to resolve conflict or to provide individualised service is argued to be skilled work (Bolton, 2004; Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Korczynski, 2005; Leidner, 1996). This argument is based on the assertion that technical as well as emotional knowledge is needed in service work jobs that involve discretion and responsibility. Therefore, task complexity, when considered alongside discretion, determines the degree of autonomy that workers can exercise in the service encounter. Often, the greater the level of complexity in the type of service provided, the greater the level of agency workers can exercise and the more autonomy they experience (Hampson & Junor, 2010; Korczynski, 2005).

Despite the struggles of the barista seeking to educate customers about the origins of the coffee, the work that McCafé workers engage in is more specialised and complex than the work tasks of the front counter. Therefore, the more complex nature of the work tasks may provide McCafé workers a greater level of autonomy than the workers operating in the wider and more routinised context of McDonald's, autonomy which stems from the more complex and skilful work required of McCafé workers, particularly in relation to working the espresso machine.

Skill

Skill and the capacity to deploy skills in service work play an important role in mediating workers' experience of the labour strategies used to control them in the service encounter. For instance, how observable and replicable a set of skills is has a relationship to how easily (or not) the execution of those skills can be controlled. For example, the more intangible or less observable a skill is, then the less likely it is that the manager is also able to execute that skill. If the manager cannot replicate the skill, then it is much more difficult for them to correct or provide advice on the performance of the skills. As a result, technical skills that need to be executed to a high level are potentially associated with more agency with workers, because it is less likely the employer/manager would able to be observe and correct the deployment of those skills. Furthermore, the intangible nature of interpersonal skills also means that they cannot be observed easily–as such, the deployment of emotional labour must come with more agency. While these skills could be seen as mundane, the effort put in place by managers trying to recruit workers who already have these skills suggests something more complex is occurring.

Leidner (1996) argues that while McDonald's would prefer that their window staff welcome each customer with a greeting and a smile, if a worker is speedy and efficient then allowances will be made for that worker in terms of the deployment of labour. Thus, the value that the workplace puts on emotional labour will be trumped by the need for productivity. Therefore, the barista's capacity to make good coffee (alongside the addictive properties of caffeine) can mean that management and customer alike will tolerate the barista's lack of desire to comply with the logics of customer-orientation. The skills workers can exercise and the extent to which their skills are valued by the workplace can therefore provide baristas with the capacity to openly resist the logics of customer-orientation. Based on my observations of baristas, it is my impression that some are highly skilled emotional labourers, while many do not deploy social skills at all. Therefore, emotional labour is important to the role of the barista, but it is not essential.

The fluid and dynamic nature of the triadic relationship

The asymmetric nature of the dyadic relationship in a traditional production environment reflects the inequality between the employer and the worker. The asymmetry of the dyadic relationship is also a significant part of the service work triadic relationship. However, the power exercised within the triadic relationship is fluid and multi-directional, with the potential for each party to exploit the others in turn (see Figure 6.3).

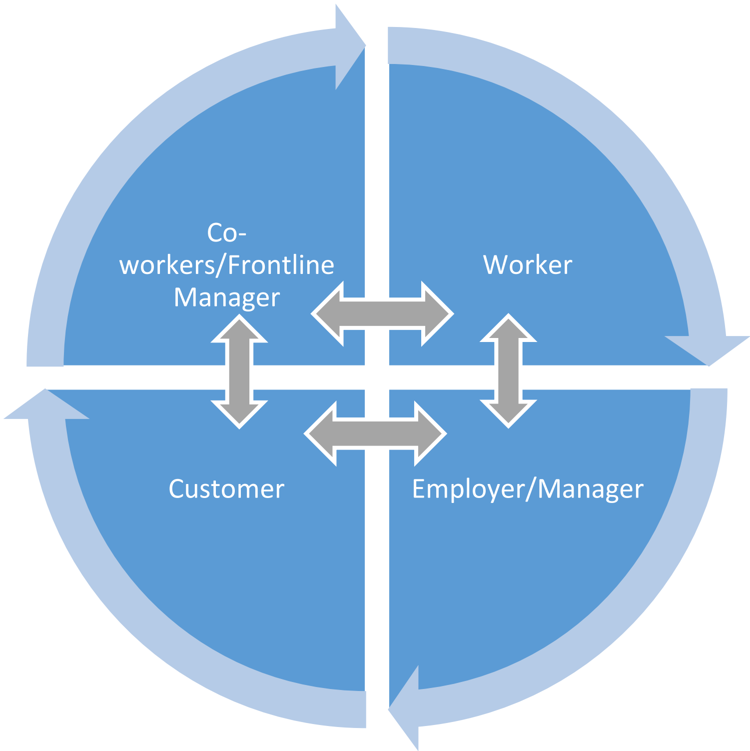

Figure 6.3 The multi-directional power relations in the social relations of service work

Source: Piercy, 2018.

Status games based on social mores are part of the shifting dynamics of the service work triadic relationship. For example, in a reverse of the expected trajectory of power relations in the service encounter, baristas who know more than customers or owners about coffee can often give advice and direct their own labour process. Therefore, the baristas' greater levels of expertise may allow them to impose power on other parties (customers/manager) in this triadic relationship, in contrast with the typical service worker or employee, who is generally subordinate.

Warhurst and Nickson (2007b) used the traditional conceptualisation of the *labour aristocrat*[25] (including the concept of working-class artisan–see Chapter 1) to discuss the

[25] Also see Ali (2011) and Mogalakwe (2008) for discussions on the better working conditions and higher social status of labour aristocrats in the context of domestic and expatriate and resort workers.

ways in which service workers can exercise power over customers in the service encounter. The labour aristocrat represents a “reconfiguration of the service encounter in which *employees* [emphasis added] have control of and enhanced status in relation to customers” (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b, p. 792).

Labour aristocrats act as arbiters of taste and as gatekeepers in their work context, demonstrating how status games may play a role in facilitating workers’ agency. Using examples from clothing stores and bars, Warhurst and Nickson (2007b) make a compelling argument illustrating how the status games of the master-servant can be disrupted by workers’ capacity to send signals of belonging and exclusion to customers. Labour aristocrats potentially have higher bargaining power with employers, disrupting the traditional power relations of the asymmetric worker-employer dyadic relationship.

However, part of the stigma or assigned status associated with service work is also structured through hegemonic norms associated with heteronormativity, and the ‘white’ and ‘male gaze’ (Berger, 1972; Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Wissenger, 2011). For example, gender norms are also relevant to the way in which status or social stigma can be assigned to roles or specific workers with service work occupations (Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Hall, 1993; McDowell, 2009; Nixon, 2009; Pozos-Brewer, 2015). Workers may incorporate beliefs and assumptions from their non-work identities, which includes their gender(s), into the job performance. Customers will also enact gendered scripts and so too will managers through labour strategies that prescribe behaviour in line with gender stereotypes (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). A consideration of power relations within the triadic relationship, therefore, should include an awareness of wider societal structures and their potential influence.

The relationships between customer, manager and worker can also fall into different types of alliances through the application of different labour strategies (Fuller & Smith, 1996; Leidner, 1996). For example, the use of mystery shoppers and evaluations places customers and managers in an alliance whereby they both can shape/control the labour of service workers (Edgell, 2011; Fuller & Smith; 1996; Korczynski, 2009). Different labour strategies can also bring customers and workers into alliance against management (through worker autonomy/discretion) or workers and managers into alliance against customers (through the use of standardisation) (Leidner, 1996). These additional ways in which the triadic relationship can rotate is why Figure 6.3 has a fourth dimension to it: that of the frontline manager.

This further power differential between a frontline or shop-floor manager is common in interactive service places of employment that have multiple worksites (such as franchises/international chains). As a 'boss,' they are responsible for enacting policies; however, as part of that process, they need to 'manage up' as the policies are created in a head office elsewhere. In dealing with regional and head office management staff these frontline managers may experience powerlessness as the scope for their agentic decision-making could be very narrow. As part of dealing with being able to access power but more often experience powerlessness, these frontline managers shift between manager and co-worker. This process of role changes is further complicated if the manager is promoted from the shop floor. During conflict with upper level management and/or customers, frontline managers may side with and try to protect/empower workers as part of their managing down strategies, or they may reprimand the worker to make the customer happy. In either scenario the managers risk either being reprimanded by upper management or the customer or in enacting the sovereign consumer degrade themselves and their colleagues (Bolton & Houlihan, 2010).

Customers in neo-Taylorised, fast-food, mass-production settings, such as McDonald's and Starbucks, are controlled alongside workers. Customers are controlled through the management of space, for instance through rails to coordinate queuing. Customers may also be controlled by standardisation through the use of set menus and scripts. The boundaries that are imposed in terms of place and space mean that customers “are exploited to an even greater extent than the low paid workers who serve them and are similarly dehumanized by the assembly line eating process and scripted interaction” (Edgell, 2011, p. 128). Thus, power relations in service sector workplaces need to be conceptualised as fluid, largely shaped by labour management strategies.

Conclusion

The agency workers can exercise in the triadic relationship demonstrates that the power relations of the triadic relationship are not exercised in straightforward ways. For example, the control that customers can deploy relies on an organisation’s culture, and the extent to which the organisation incorporates the logics of customer-orientation into their internal working practices. However, if the workplace does not place much emphasis on these logics, then the traditional principles of the asymmetric dyadic relationship of production work will apply equally to service work. It would be a mistake, however, to dismiss the role of customers completely. Instead, what needs to be acknowledged is that the triadic relationship is one of shifting alliances, injecting a level of dynamism that is not present in production work labour processes. The management of these shifting alliances by workers is part of what can make service work physically and emotionally exhausting: this can be intensified if the logics of customer-orientation and bureaucracy pull workers in different directions in terms of task prioritisation.

Differentiated labour processes demonstrate that service work, even within a specific occupation, includes different opportunities for workers to exercise agency in the deployment of technical and soft skills. As such, the level and type of skills that can be deployed by service workers can shed light on the opportunities workers can take to exercise agency within the labour strategies that are used to regulate their work. Furthermore, the way in which agency can be exercised illustrates how a specific work identity could be interpreted. The acquisition and deployment of skill does not just occur within the boundaries of the workplace. As the recruitment of service workers demonstrates, far more is being sought by employers than technical and social skills– worker corporeality and non-work identities also play roles.

The decision by workplaces to follow the logics of customer-orientation and bureaucracy to different degrees and still be commercially successful demonstrates one of the ways in which service work is heterogeneous between different occupations and within specific occupations. Another source of heterogeneity is the extent to which standardisation is used as part of the labour strategy in controlling customers and service workers. In terms of the work of baristas, this kind of heterogeneity is demonstrated in the differences between Starbucks' more automated model and that of the Third Wave independent coffee roasters/espresso bars. Starbucks is highly standardised in terms of technical and social skills, whereas the Third Wave context can include a labour process with much greater task discretion and variety, allowing workers to exercise higher levels of technical and intangible (soft) skills. The following chapter provides further consideration of the roles that corporeality and non-work identities, and the skills associated with them, play in workers' capacity to exercise agency and resist the labour strategies used to control their behaviour.

CHAPTER SIX: CAPTURING IDENTITY THROUGH THE LENS OF WORK

The long black is the epitome of cool, the preference of all true coffee aficionados. As a coffee consumer, I wanted to be that cool person, so I did my best to drink my coffee black. But as much as I want to be cool, the waves of nausea and the shakes I have to deal with after drinking coffee without milk means that I am much more likely to order a mochaccino. Unlike the masculine, short or long black, mochas are an indulgent, feminine drink. This is because customers get all these extras: fluffy velvety micro-foam milk, chocolate flavour and topping, marshmallows, latte art as well as a shot of espresso coffee that can barely be tasted (a plus or a minus depending on one's palate).

Even though I am an orderer of the uncool mocha, I still became a valued regular at the café on campus, treated well, and given a glimpse into a world that is cool, avant-garde, musical and artistic by my tattooed, caffeine-addicted and free-spirited baristas. The baristas at this café are incredibly patient with me as I asked them questions and veer wildly from one drink to the next. Caramel syrup, soy, almond and coconut milks have all been different accompaniments to my coffee. In the process, I gained an education on flavours and shots, as well as the ways in which drink choices can denote status. For example, anyone who orders a half-strength shot and lots of hot milk is sneered at for their vapid drink choice, a breakfast drink for children in Italy.

Third Wave baristas have taught me not to be so snobbish and introduced me to the pleasures of coffee beyond the confines of the espresso shot. I now know that I prefer the fragrant bergamot and apricot flavours of Ethiopian coffee and that I would choose a Geisha variety over a juicy Bourbon (two types of Arabica coffees). I also know that espresso is not the pinnacle of coffee brewing because it is a brew method designed to overcome imperfections in the beans rather than showcase the 'best in the bean'.

Although my gender, age and distinct lack of hipster vibe do not mark me as such, I am a coffee geek, an identity I wear on the inside.

Introduction

The purpose of Chapter 6 is to highlight and discuss the complex and situated nature of occupational and workplace identities. The mystory approach in this chapter weaves together insights from the field and my work history with literature that discusses identity in relation to everyday life and subjectivity, as well as the workplace. I begin by considering my findings, and listing different interpretations of the barista work identity I have encountered in the literature and the field. In the second section, I discuss identity in the workplace to highlight how context, agency and structure play roles in how workplace identities are acquired, articulated, performed and recognised. I also consider the notion of identit(ies) in relation to the ways that labour strategies control and/or co-opt the gamut of identities workers bring into their workplaces. At work, the capacity to exercise agency is mediated not just by the identity workers formulate in a specific workplace, but by the aspects of identity they bring in with them through their life history. Examining identity in this fashion further illuminates the significance of power relations in the workplace and the myriad of ways occupational identities are co-constructed.

Third, I examine the interplay of agency and structure in relation to the social identity categories of gender, and to a lesser extent class and ethnicity. The purpose of this section is to highlight the role of biography and other social identities we bring with us into the workplace. I also use this section to indicate the ways in which inequalities reproduce in the workplace, demonstrating further limitations in the consumer society depiction that the pursuit of specific work identities, such as baristas, is agentic.

Multiple representations of the barista work identity

The online community, as well as my research participants, have represented different understandings of barista work identity. The range of interpretations is significant, because it demonstrates that the barista work identity and the symbolic and material elements that contribute to it are experienced, performed and understood in different ways. However, branding, industry standards, popular culture and academic analysis are increasingly codifying the practices associated with the barista work identity.

Etymologically, *barista* is the word for bartender in Italian ("barista, n,"2017). One of the many tasks that bartenders have in Italy is to make coffee, in addition to preparing alcoholic beverages. In contrast, the barista as an exclusive espresso maker, rather than a bartender in general, is a recent development. The espresso making barista is a Westernised work identity connected to the *latte revolution* and the second wave of coffeemaking, as explained in Chapter 4 (Ellis, 2004; Liberty, 1998; Pendergrast, 1999; Weissman, 2008). Therefore, the place of baristas in the global labour market, and identity-based understandings about the occupation, are still developing. However, it is now possible to travel throughout most of the world and get some form of espresso coffee served by someone recognisable as–and who may even call themselves–a barista.

Previously, I argued that the role of barista became progressively more widely recognised through the development of specialty coffee roasting and the Third Wave of coffeemaking. As part of these changes in coffee consumption practices, discussions about occupational identity of baristas feature beyond industry circles–in magazines, newspapers and academic journals (Knox, 2016; Laurier, 2013; Liberty, 1998; Manzo, 2014; Weissman, 2008).

The perceptions and performance of barista work identity have been informed by café and coffee culture, and popular culture, prompting the different stories about baristas that I mentioned in Chapter 1. For example, in an episode of the television series *Ally*

McBeal (Pontell, 2000), Ally dates her barista–who also happens to be a judge. The episode represents the story of baristas working in cafés to pursue personal passions and escape the boredom of white collar work. The storyline embodies two aspects of the *glamorised* barista work identity: (1) the perception of baristas as objects of sexual desire; and (2) the work identity or labour process of baristas is preferable to the money and prestige associated with white collar work.

The TV show *Ellen* had a barista as a regular member of the cast (Marlens, Black, & Rosenthal, 1994-1998). The barista worked in Ellen's independent bookshop/café, a coffee consumption context that exemplified the tradition of the 'great good place' (Oldenburg, 1999). However, the show represented the barista as an over-caffeinated, irritated and irritable man who would not hesitate to interfere un-hygienically with customers' drinks if he felt disrespected. This representation of the barista conveys a sense of superiority in two ways: (1) the notion that the skill required to make an espresso coffee was such that it could not be easily replicated at home (Pendergrast, 1999); and (2) the blatant disregard for the practice of respectful treatment towards the customer in the service exchange (Osberg, 2014).

Despite a growing awareness of the occupation and the different ways the work identity is codified (tacitly through practice and explicitly through published recipes and standards), the representation of baristas is still inconsistent. Therefore, I argue the work identit(ies) of baristas needs to be considered as reflecting a plurality of meanings. The life history of workers who engage in tasks associated with barista work identities mediate these meanings. I describe four definitions of the barista work identity I have developed from observations and interviews below, ranging from precariat to artisan.

Precariat McJob

The first example is a fast food image of baristas, grounded in the practices and context of industrial capitalism and the standardised mass provision of services. The multinational image of Starbucks, alongside their saturation of city locations and use of fast food production principles, gives the barista role a decidedly neo-Taylorist or McJobs air (Bookman, 2014; Edgell, 2011; Ellis, 2004; Ritzer, 2008; Weissman, 2008). Neo-Taylorism is a continuation of the separation of conception and execution that characterises scientific management or Taylorism, but its implementation is in contexts beyond production, along with greater intensification and standardisation of tasks (Edgell, 2012). In more recent times, the ethos of standardisation, 'fast food,' and 'mass production' has been taken even further through automation.

A McJob is a term coined by George Ritzer to describe an occupation where the following four principles shape the working conditions: calculability, efficiency, predictability, and control–all of which stem from how the fast food industry organises work (Germov, 2015; Ritzer, 2008). In other words, this precariat barista's occupation is one that is time-pressured, requiring low levels of skill, and has poor working conditions, including low pay (Knox, 2015; Lloyd & Payne, 2012). Thus, these baristas fall within the classifications of the emotional proletariat or precariat service workers (MacDonald & Sirianni, 1996; Standing, 2008).

If the barista experiences her/his job as one shaped by precarious employment, she/he may not have a connection to the work as a profession, a community of practice, a career or a clear sense of work identity. However, even in cafés like Starbucks, some baristas seem to understand who they are as workers and take pride in their work (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Blake, Buchholz, Pan, & Kelly, 2005), showing the strength of an occupational narrative that has been incorporated into popular culture.

Nevertheless, neo-Taylorist practices are present in Starbucks, as the coffeehouse chain extensively uses a coffee production method of push-button espresso machines such as, in the Northern hemisphere, the *Mastrena* (Observation: Four Barrel, 2010; Participant observation: Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2015; The shot, 2008;). The use of automation has removed the need for some of the technical and sensory skills involved in brewing coffee from the production process. Such a move values consistency of product over quality, or reflects the use of standardisation to extend control over workers; either way, the use of technology fundamentally alters the practices of baristas in these locations, challenging the notion of baristas as highly-skilled workers.

The 'not yet' barista

The 'not yet' barista may not be a precariat; however, my observation of this type of work identity has demonstrated to me the importance of the role of authority in the provision and removal of work identities (as well as seeing work identities as situated in specific practices). I met a young woman called Beatrice[26] at a cupping competition at the Coffee Collective in Copenhagen in early 2010. I asked her how long she had been making coffee, to which she replied: "around four years." I then asked, "Would you call yourself a barista?" Her reply astonished me, because she firmly said no. I asked, "Don't you make coffee?" Beatrice flicked back her hair and said:

> Yes, well sometimes. Where I work now you are allowed to make coffee when the bosses ask. Then they will try it–if it is good enough you will be allowed to make more coffees but if it isn't you don't.

I was so confused. I asked, "Haven't you been making coffee for years?" She replied in the affirmative but clarified that it was for a different café. I was still confused though, so I asked, "Didn't anyone tell you that your coffeemaking needed work?"

Beatrice sheepishly told me that:

> Errr well … my friends and family thought I made great coffee actually. Even I thought I was good till I worked for this new place. I know now I don't know very much about what I am doing, that is why I don't think of myself as a barista

[26] Not her real name.

anymore. But, I am learning, so perhaps maybe later when I know more … maybe then I could say that I am barista….

Beatrice did not seem dismayed by the loss of her identity as a barista in her new job; she was matter-of-fact about it. There was an undertone of puzzlement and humour when she admitted that she had previously seen herself as a 'good' barista through the process of *doing* the tasks and *being* in a job with that title. However, she also conveyed a sense of curiosity about the different barista identity that her new bosses' practices of approval had set up. Her sense of anticipation and aspiration became clearer to me when she explained that her attendance at the cupping competition was part of her choice to acquire the skills associated with her new workplace's interpretation of the barista identity.

I want to draw attention to how Beatrice's story also illustrates the strengths and the limitations of the consumer society arguments which emphasise agency. In her first job, Beatrice's work identity as a barista was bound up in the fact that she was hired to do a certain task in a specific workplace. She had accepted her work identity as a barista as a title she had a right to by practice–the result of her agentic pursuit of a "cool, bad" job (see Chapter 3). Beatrice did not see herself in a community of practice, participating at first in the periphery and shifting from novice to expert over time. To her, being branded as a barista was sufficient to denote her status and belonging, a belief that was externally validated by her family and friends.

Her second role compromised the symbolic integrity of the consumption and agentic barista work identity. Her identity was challenged by the workplace labour processes and strategies and the very different messages from the Third Wave coffee industry. In this workplace, Beatrice was not branded a barista; instead, she had to reflexively adapt and let go of the label of barista to make sense of her new work environment. The power imposed on workers' capacity to choose whether to express themselves as a barista emphasises the importance of acknowledging the limits of exercising consumption based agentic identity projects in the workplace (See Chapter 3). Like the medieval apprenticeship system, her place in the community of practice was spelt out to her and she was a novice. Built into the practices of the workplace, there were specific steps that needed to be taken to shift from the periphery to the centre, a movement that would be mediated by the owners of the business.

Furthermore, the occupational identity of baristas needs to incorporate the continuum of suggestions on what it means to be a coffeemaker based on the intersecting communities of practice within the coffee and café industry. One way to achieve this aim is to acknowledge the importance of context and the situated nature of workplace identities, a topic that I explore in more detail in the last section considering the barista work identity.

Artisan: Third Wave coffeemaker

Literature on and offline and my own observations and interviews have coupled the term *artisan* with Third Wave micro-roasteries and independent cafés or coffeebars (Ellis, 2004; Kingston, 2015; Knox, 2016; Pendergrast, 1999; Weissman, 2008). In these work contexts, the barista is entirely responsible for the preparation of beverages made from special, often in-house, espresso blends or single origin coffee. Similar to the wine industry, roasters and baristas who work with them showcase different varieties of beans in relation to type, country and, where possible, farm[27] and year of harvest. Thus, in order to claim and embody the term artisan, baristas need to have technical coffeemaking skills and to demonstrate knowledge or awareness of economics, earth

[27] It is possible to purchase micro-lots from specific farms through direct trade providing maximum traceability, but many coffees are still sold through collective co-operatives or through state-based control. In the latter situation, it is much more difficult to determine where the coffee comes from, as beans from multiple farms are blended together. In this case, coffee will be sold based on a region, such as Sidamo or Yirgacheffe in Ethiopia.

science, farming practices and *terroir* (taste) (Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015; Knox, 2015; SCAA, 2015).

Third Wave artisan coffeemakers emphasise that their job focuses on bringing out the 'best in the bean' (Manzo, 2014, 2015; Woldoff, Lozzi, & Dilks, 2013). Each stage of the coffee supply chain is organised to emphasise the quality of the coffee beans. Farmer, roaster and barista work collectively to provide customers with a ‘God in a cup’ moment, whether that be a coffee drink prepared as an espresso, aeropress, plunger (French press), siphon or filter[28] (Weissman, 2008).

A career path has developed in some Third Wave café and coffeebar locations that mimics the notions of craft and apprenticeship that were also common to the medieval artisan. Baristas can now access career development and graduated informal training. Baristas usually start as floor runners, move on to the till, then to the espresso machine, and from there can move into more senior roles. These roles include: barista training; machinista (machine maintenance); sales, planning and logistics; roast master; and wholesaling for direct trade. Working between or through these roles could put skilled baristas into a position to open their own business should they have the means to access the capital to do so.

My interest in the characteristics and arguments of the Third Wave is that consumers, café workers/owners and roasters who subscribe to or reflect Third Wave practices position baristas as artisans. Their use of this term is deliberate and, in sharp contrast to the precariat identity, emphasises the high levels of skill and knowledge embedded in the coffee preparation labour process (Knox, 2015; Weissman, 2008).

[28] These brew methods are listed in Chapter 4 in the Third Wave coffee practices section.

The not-a-barista

As well as meeting baristas who have fulfilled my vision of the artisan, I have encountered different identity discourses while in the field. One in particular that stands out was the personal statement "I am not a barista," even though the workers had engaged in the practices of espresso making for some time. An experience at the World Barista Champs (WBC) after-party in London in 2010 brought the not-a-barista to life for me.

One 'not-a-barista' I spoke to was a young, confident Australian man (Tom[29]), who was travelling around Europe learning about coffeemaking techniques and had come to London to check out the WBC. Clearly, I thought, he is a journeyman artisan who has finished his apprenticeship but does not yet see himself as a master craftsman. However, Tom was dismissive of the term *barista*. Mirroring the divide between café culture and coffee culture, he rejected the occupational identity of barista. Instead, as part of his identification with the values of the Third Wave, he argued that he was maybe a coffeemaker, but definitely not a barista. He argued that espresso coffee making associated with chains exemplified only one skill set. He asserted that a highly-skilled coffeemaker would also know how to: use other brew methods to make coffee (Clover, siphon, aeropress, and French press); maintain and clean machines; and could devise recipes, specifying parameters for specific types of beans more like the skills of a head chef (Luckhurst, 2015). Tom's arguments that night, and subsequent conversations with other baristas, have demonstrated to me that how the worker is situated is only part of the story; just as important to the barista identity is how the worker makes sense of the different aspects in relation to their biography or constellations of identity.

Ocejo's (2017) study of craft bartenders includes a parallel rejection, where his participants also rejected the term applied to their occupation–mixologist. The

[29] Not his real name.

resurgence of craft bartending revived the label of 'mixologist' previously used in the 1920s. Discussions in magazines and hospitality circles popularised the term; suddenly, all bartenders became mixologists making craft cocktails. The term, once appropriated by popular culture, lost its connotations of authenticity, individuality and cool. As such, bartenders who saw themselves as artisans evidenced by their participation in competitions and micro-craft distilling industry rejected the title.

The rejection of the label of mixologists intersects with Janna Michael's (2015) research into the fashion choices of individuals who dress in line with hipster fashions but reject the label. Michael (2015) argues the rejection of the label of hipster (and perhaps also the labels of mixologist and barista) reflects an individual's desire to be authentic rather than 'on-trend.' Trendiness somehow suggests being behind the times, of not having enough cultural capital to 'be yourself.' Therefore, a core part of this coffeemaker's identity–the not-a-barista–suggests that the term barista has become too fashionable, or inauthentic. Furthermore, the refusal to let this label be part of their occupational identity indicates the desire to ensure that a certain level of mystique or exclusiveness is part of the role–one for which applicants must have the 'right' kind of cultural capital to gain.

Situated identities: Performance and recognition; belonging and difference

The different workplace identities described above illustrate how the occupational work identity of the barista can be understood as an identity that is co-constructed in relation to specific spaces, relationships and practices. Because context matters, it is essential that we see identity as situated. While baristas may perform the role, their capacity to acknowledge themselves as such may paradoxically be limited individually. For instance, a limitation may stem from the extent to which customers and employers/managers are willing to recognise the barista (external validation). However, if the barista receives recognition from the other members of the intersecting communities of practice instead, then the barista can still take on the status their work identity denotes (validation from practice). Furthermore, baristas themselves frame their identity in relation to the other identities or cultural capital to which they have access (internal validation in reference to popular culture). It is for this reason, as I argued in Chapter 1, that the notion of expressive identities (Hetherington, 1998) is a conceptualisation of identity, brought to light or acknowledged through participation or performance in a group event that is useful to the analysis of the barista work identity.

Both Hetherington's (1998) notion of identity and Wenger's theory of communities of practice situate identity construction in relation to an individual's practices, performance and context in 'events.' An *event* is a reference to a situation that provides a space for common aspects of an identity to be expressed by an individual and for those aspects to be recognised by others, indicating belonging through social interaction. The process of identity formation, therefore, can be seen as shifts between performance (represented as investment on behalf of the inner 'I') and recognition by others and the self (hailing), illustrated by the following quote from Hetherington (1998):

> Identity, while it can be within certain limits chosen, is not something one attains but something one performs and reflexively monitors by arranging strips of restored behaviour into a distinctive performance. In doing so, strips of recognisable behaviour are chosen through a continuous process of experiment and rehearsal, involving forms of sociation–assumed personae–which emerge in relation to their spatial setting. (p. 154)

Based on these ideas, expressive identities provide an effective way to describe aspects of an identity associated with a specific occupation (practices), labour process (event), and workplace (group/sub-tribe). In relation to a workplace 'event,' biography also matters, because “employee identities are multiple, contingent, and fragile, having both work and non-work influences” (Jaros, 2010, p. 75). This conceptualisation of workplace-oriented identities includes what Jørgensen and Warring (2003) argue is missing from workplace studies of learning: workers’ biographies, or life histories. Workers are not just ‘workers’ when they enter the workplace; their identity includes many facets, in terms of work-based and non-work-based identities.

The inclusion of biography of life history enables the perception of identity as fractionated, including structurally-imposed identities and sub-tribe identities that are agentically sought out (Hetherington, 1998; Maffesoli, 1996; Shields, 1992). These aspects of identity, which I refer to as non-work identities, are individually experienced and negotiated as collectively-shared identities/labels–for example, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, able-bodiedness, and class (Hetherington, 1998; Jenkins, 2004; Weedon, 2004). Individual identity is therefore made up of multiple selves, representing a range of ‘me’ or social selves organised by the inner private ‘I’ (Thomas, 2013). Status games influence the process of organisation by the private inner ‘I’ (Goffman, 1959), or the “interplay between bricolage and homology or between the playful tactics of identity and the ordering strategies for identification and recognition” (Hetherington, 1998, p. 28). As such, in the context of this thesis, the work identity of baristas can be understood as a bricolage or assemblage: that is, as an "identity project" of both individually–and collectively–understood aspects gained within the context of the workplace as well as in everyday life (non-work identities) (Giddens, 2001).

Identity as performance

In the context of situated expressive identities, Goffman’s (1959) assertion that identity can also be conceptualised as performance is an integral part of recognition or validation of identities. The management of impressions, then, is a deliberate performance of specific situated practices to engender a sense of belonging, as well as to project a specific identity (Goffman, 1959; Hetherington, 1998; Mansvelt, 2005). In Beatrice's first job as a coffeemaker, having the title and participating in the act of making speciality coffee was sufficient to denote the work identity of a barista.

For Beatrice in her second job, her understanding of barista work identity shifted, and her new employer/workplace culture and practices challenged her previously-accepted work identity. The removal of external validation changed the way she saw herself from a barista to a café worker who hoped to become a barista. She accepted the revised depiction of the barista work identity as part of her organisation's internal practices. Her notion of the work identity moved from a matter of recruitment to a work identity or label that only the 'bosses' could bestow.

Players in status games can signal belonging and difference to assert power on the part of the performer or the audience. In the workplace, "identity is not limited to the influence of one group, but is created and amended as a response to the whole range of people that workers engage with" (Marks & Thompson, 2010, p. 329). In the case of service work, ordering strategies are experienced through the relationships between worker, peers, customers and employer/manager(s), which involve performances with multiple audiences, at times simultaneously. By implication, Beatrice's barista identity emerges through her interactions with others, which were then reshaped by her inner 'I': first to be a barista and then to be the not-yet barista.

When the interacting parties (the performer and audience) understand the script governing the performance, assumptions made in the status game are more likely to be correct, assisting the process of recognition and the signalling of belonging. If the message is not received clearly or well, performers can provide additional information to assist the 'audience' to make different assumptions (Goffman, 1959). In Beatrice's second job, the communication of a new set of assumptions about the barista work identity still needed to be accepted by Beatrice. She could have responded with ambivalence or resistance but her willingness to participate in the cupping competition and her articulation that the label of barista is not self-bestowed reflected consent to the deconstruction of her former understandings.

However, in relation to power dynamics in the workplace, her process of identification could be interpreted as interpellation (Jenkins, 2004). Interpellation is the process of being placed by others into a specific subject position (identity), that those being placed also recognise as being their own (Althusser, 2001; Changing works, 2002-2016). The act of interpellation, called 'hailing' (the act of positioning someone and that someone who is hailed recognising and accepting that position) is grounded in scripts, discourse and the symbolic (Althusser, 2001; "interpellation", 2002). To be hailed, called out to and named, occurs when external identification by a person in authority (who hails) is acknowledged by the subject as being correct in their internalisation and acceptance of the script. In the case of service work, workers can be interpellated by their managers, the organisational culture and customers, consenting to their exploitation as service workers ("interpellation", 2002; McDowell, 2009; McIntyre, 2014).

Part of understanding identity as performance needs to incorporate the way in which the performer communicates to the audience to ensure that the audience receives the correct impression (Goffman, 1959). The continuum of worker performance and expectations of performance illustrates that there is not a collective understanding or set of assumptions which comprise the barista work identity. Instead, there is a range of contested interpretations of the practices of baristas and the event where they perform. For example, at one end of the continuum the barista is a valued, skilled, autonomous worker, and at the other end, they are either an extension of the company brand or a machine (Pell, 2015; "Robots will soon make your coffee, Labour conference hears," 2016). Some customers recognise baristas as skilled artisans and treat them with respect, while other customers will be verbally abusive and assert command over the service interaction through rudeness (Manzo, 2015). These differential exchanges in the *event* (the workplace) illustrate not only the diversity of meaning or assumptions the barista work identity can embody, but also a few of the different ways in which barista identity is recognised (the script).

Identity in the workplace

The asymmetric relationship between employers and employees provide an environment that facilitates experimentation and rehearsal. However, as workers or employees negotiate this space in terms of identity formation, they do not do so freely; rather, they are limited by the employment relationship and wider societal structures. Thus, the experimentation and rehearsal needed for identity formation, performance and recognition—in this case, work identity—occurs, but does so in a bounded way that provokes contradiction that is responded to by workers with ambivalence and resistance (Bélanger & Thuderoz, 2010; Olesen & Weber, 2001).

Identity and the power relations in service work

Identity formation and articulation in the context of service work is complicated by how power is exercised through scripts or sets of assumptions that frame worker performance. The word 'service' itself implies many things: caring, gift, reciprocity, work, labour, and servitude. If the notion of service as servitude or slavery frames the script influencing the workplace, the server is positioned as being less than the person being served. Hall (1993) provides an excellent example of the way this plays out in the gendered performance of floor staff in a restaurant where men 'wait' on people while women 'serve.' Many service work scripts imply that, in the exchange between customer and server, it is the customer who is in charge (Du Gay, 1996; McDonald & Sirianni, 1996; McDowell, 2009).

By understanding the diverse ways in which interactions occur, the power relations of service work, or the struggle for control by customers, managers and the worker in the service exchange or workplace interaction are more visible. Service workers can be mistreated by customers, rendered invisible through class distinction, or they can be objects of abuse. Part of the script of service as subordination allows the customer to feel justified in yelling or physically assaulting the worker, as the service exchange processes of alienation and commodification remove the worker's humanity (Burton & Piercy, 2013; McDonald & Sirianni, 1996; Sangha, Slade, Mirchandani, Maitra, & Shan, 2012). Commodity fetishism (also see Chapter 3) explains in part why an empathy gap can occur within the service work triadic relationship (customer, manager/employer, co-workers and the worker), as the identity of the worker transforms into a product through the service encounter (Fleetwood, 2008; Messing, 2014).

However, I have observed interactions that mean that different barista identities, and how they are recognised or validated, can also be influenced by empathy and respect: for example, the barista as pedagogue (see Chapter 1). Baristas who embody the slow food movement's emphasis on education share with customers where their coffee comes from, discusses the farmers who produce the coffee as well as the best way to grind and brew the beans. As part of Portland Third Wave coffee walking tours, I observed a barista sharing this kind of knowledge, which included personal anecdotes about some of the staff from the farm as the farmers had visited the United States (see Chapter 4). The potential for such a discussion to decommodify coffee and/or to link the consumer to a global cosmopolitan context forges a personal connection. Furthermore, and as the values of conscientious consumption (see Chapter 3) illustrate, some consumers include empathy as part of the service encounter for those they perceive as oppressed (the barista or the coffee farmer) as they pursue their personal identity project.

Even within the process of transgression and resistance, such as the counterculture or hipster identities that typify the conscientious consumer, social ordering still takes place.

For example, the material and symbolic signs that give a basis for identity recognition and belonging are also shaped by language (conscious and subconscious) and ideology (Hetherington, 1998; Olesen, 2015). This is important, because the language and ideology that can be internalised as part of an individual's identity formation and performance are also products of structural forces in society (interpellation) (Campbell & Price, 2016; Hetherington, 1998; Olesen, 2009).

Workplace appropriation of identity

The ways labour strategies are used to control and appropriate workers' identit(ies), both work and non-work, are integral to understanding how commodity fetishism manifests in relation to the co-construction of identity (McIntyre, 2014). Managers can command workers–through workplace policies or direct actions–to act in a servile manner and give individualised services. However, a manager's capacity to order workers to behave this way is enhanced for those workers who accept the logic that the 'customer is queen/king' as part of their own cultural capital (Du Gay, 1996; Wright, 1994). The capacity to draw on the sovereign consumer identity as a form of self-monitoring can mean that workers do not require direct supervision.

Labour process analysts describe the incorporation of scripts, such as the sovereign consumer, into labour management strategies as normative control (Sturdy et al., 2011). Drawing on Foucault's (1977) conceptualisation of the panopticon, Du Gay (1996) discusses how the internalisation of these scripts lead to self-monitoring. This is where the manager does not need to compel the worker to accept specific policies; the worker will impose the script on themselves (self-monitoring). As such, normative control is a type of control that draws on the private aspects of workers' work and non-work identities, shaped by social mores and biography (Giddens, 2003; Jørgensen & Warring, 2003).

Workplaces are increasingly emphasising to their workers that it is essential that they be themselves, particularly in exchanges with customers, as it adds ‘authenticity’ to the service interaction. Sturdy et al. (2011) call this harnessing of workers’ non-work identit(ies) neo-normative control. The ‘neo’ or novel aspect of Sturdy et al.’s (2011) argument is that the workplaces are exploiting a “‘corporate identity’ [that] draws upon, and harnesses employees’ values that are predominantly formed extra-organisationally” (Sturdy et al., 2011, p. 117). Thus, “the outside is brought in and harnessed rather than ignored or contradicted” (Sturdy et al., 2011, p. 131). More specifically, neo-normative control occurs where the workers use cultural capital (non-work identities) as personally deployed forms of control to promote and reinforce labour strategies in the workplace.

Sturdy et al. (2011) sound a warning note about the ‘new’ form of normative control, because “to deny one’s alignment with the organisation’s corporate identity thus becomes to deny something of oneself” (p. 117). By implication, workers can, as a result, experience alienation not just from the work and the product but also from themselves (see also Brook, 2009a, 2009b; Fleetwood, 1998; McIntyre, 2013; Standing, 1999). The connection to personal or non-work identit(ies) makes this managerial control very difficult to resist because the workers operate under the assumption that they are behaving ‘authentically’ (McIntyre, 2013). The use of non-work identities as a management resource draws on self-surveillance as a form of control, where “performance failure is an individual’s fault in values rather than commitment to corporate norms” (Sturdy et al., 2011, p. 124). Reflexivity, cynicism and solidarity (as in awareness of the workers’ subordination as a collective, or communities of coping) are important forms of resistance to this identity-based managerial control (Korczynski, 2003; Sturdy et al., 2011; Wharton, 2006). Other forms of resistance can occur as workers seek to redefine their work identities on their own terms.

Identity and/as resistance

Workplace-based resistance, like many complex social phenomena, is hard to define precisely: meanings change, depending on the specific context under consideration (Bélanger & Thuderoz, 2010). For example, 'resistance' has historically been conceptualised as an act that is an outcome of group norms, like soldiering where workers restrict their output in manufacturing contexts. A form of resistance, driven by class conflict between labour and capital (see Burawoy, 1979, 1985; Hodson & Sullivan, 2012; Edwards, 2010; Korczynski, 2014). Workers were positioned dualistically, as being either compliant or resistant in these studies.

Korczynski's (2014) emphasises that the concept of resistance needs to include a wider range of agentic potential. He suggests that: "workers holding or expressing values or meanings that are counter to those of the dominant actor or dominant logic" (p. 16), but not necessarily engaging in deliberate actions still can be considered as resistance. Korczynski (2014) argues that workers who behave in this way embody the "spirit of resistance" (p.16). If the *spirit of resistance* is considered, then space can be made for examining resistive meanings and values alongside actions. In the context of identity and individual biography, workers may seem to behave in compliant ways, when often resistive values underpin their actions as well. Workers can exploit spaces within their labour process to bend the rules; for example, they may provide emotional support to colleagues or customers, which gives personal satisfaction enough that it outweighs the risks of transgressing workplace practices (Edwards, 2010; Scott, 1985).

Michael, a barista at McCafé, embodied the spirit of resistance by walking a careful line with management. As a long-term employee of McDonald's, Michael shared with me that he was aware of what he could get away with and what he could not. Michael never outright refused to wear his name tag; instead he 'lost' it repeatedly. The badge would eventually be replaced, at which point Michael would immediately 'lose' it again by putting it carefully in the bin. His refusal to wear the name badge was meaningful to him, not just as an exercise in autonomy but because he wanted to control how he was identified in the workplace. He felt strongly that his skill in making coffee meant that his identity was clear enough to customers; his regulars knew who he was. If his co-workers and other customers did not know his name, that did not matter to him. The repositioning of workplace actions regarding the spirit of resistance captures the connections between resistance, agency and individual identit(ies), as well as the multiple levels on which resistance is exercised.

Another transgressive event I observed during the Third Wave coffee tours in Portland illustrated resistance to customer expectations on the part of a barista. The tour group visited a coffeemaking supply shop that was designed to fulfil every domestic-brewing wish. After browsing the store, we partook in another coffee tasting, this time to watch different brewing methods. A bar was set up in a wide-open space, with seats on one side and the barista and his equipment on the other. Unlike with espresso, the filter-based brewing techniques the barista was showcasing were slow. The barista did not have a giant machine to hide behind and instead needed to engage with the group, all of whom were staring at him waiting to be *edutained*. The purpose of the visit was not just to taste more coffee but to watch (learn about) different ways that coffee can be brewed. As a group, we were seated at a bar counter forming an audience, the barista on the other side of the counter was the performer and his use of the coffee apparatus on the counter was the performance.

At first, he mentioned the long waiting time for the drip brewing method he was using, indicating his discomfort with being stared at during the waiting time of five minutes. Second, he commented on how, in his other job as a barista in a coffeebar, customers always watch the barista 'really closely' when they make drinks. He told us that he could not understand why this happened because making coffee was so ordinary–what did they anticipate would happen? I wanted to tell him that the customers watch because part of getting a coffee was also purchasing the performance involved in making it, but instead, I stayed quiet and reflected on his words.

I realised that in many ways he was breaking the fourth wall, revealing a personal internal monologue, and going off script. Most importantly, however, I realised that by claiming his work as ordinary, normal, and not worth watching, he was also probably trying to de-fetishise himself and his craft. He was also politely asking us as a group to please stop staring, as it was making him uncomfortable. By using self-deprecating humour, he shared his discomfort and pushed us as customers to stop de-humanising him. The barista's resistance to pushing his feelings away and painting a smile on transgressed (what he may have anticipated as) customer expectations of servility.

Like the barista in Portland, Michael never flouted workplace rules outright, but by repeatedly 'losing' his name badge this meant that as a worker he could work against institutional logics. His capacity to resist, while also complying with his workplace requirements, also meant that he was still operating in line with institutional logics. Thus, even though the context of service work commodifies workers by turning their non-work identities into a product, these same workers can use their understandings of their work and non-work identities (scripts) to resist the process of commodification.

Situated identities: The co-construction of the barista work identity

Power relationships and ordering strategies within the labour process of the service encounter shape the interactions between workers, management and customers. Status games, which are an expression of ordering strategies, demonstrate why and how baristas are perceived as artisans or as apprentice coffeemakers or simply as hospitality workers. These different work identities or statuses are awarded through the interactions between the workplace brand and the key actors within the workplace as well as wider society. These interactions reveal the ways in which the barista work identity is co-constructed.

Agency and structure: Identity, gender roles, class and ethnicity in service work

An important part of examining the relationship between structure and agency is to understand power relations and inequality in society more clearly. Identity politics emphasises how different groups are marginalised and subordinated in relation to hegemonic norms and privilege. However, to ensure the experiences of these groups are not conflated, it is important to take an intersectional approach (Williams-Crenshaw, 1991). For example, focusing exclusively on class can ignore the equally significant impacts of ethnicity and gender, impact that is felt differently based on how these subject positions interact. By taking an intersectional approach, the various ways in which gender, class and ethnicity interact in the context of service is clearly illustrated.

Kerfoot and Korczynski (2005) argue that "doing service work is 'doing gender'" (p. 391), because workers, managers and customers will incorporate beliefs and assumptions from their non-work identities–which include gender–into the job performance. Furthermore, stereotypes of femininity and masculinity play a role in perceptions of what service work is and who should be doing it. For example, femininity can be associated with notions of caring and nurturing: women are more likely to be selected for roles that require attention to the emotional and physical needs of customers (Forseth, 2005; Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). Thus, labour strategies that prescribe behaviour to be in line with stereotyped feminine qualities enact gendered discourses.

Significantly, the recruitment of women into service work is often based on the attributes and skills they have developed in their private 'caring' life (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). This recruitment and labour process bias demonstrates–and reproduces–a level of disadvantage experienced by women in service sector work, as these skills are developed in the private domain and are often seen as intangible ‘caring’ skills. The intangible or invisible nature of these skills is part of the reason that service workers are unrewarded in terms of all the skills they can exercise (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005). As such, the connection between femininity and social or soft skills can act “to reinforce and reproduce gender division in the workplace” (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005, p. 388).

The gender bias in service work recruitment also can disadvantage some groups of men (McDowell, 2009), because the gender discourse(s) shaping their identity excludes them, either internally or through industry-based standards. A small study focused on unemployed working-class men in the north of England demonstrated an unwillingness to take service work jobs because they would have to ‘eat shit’ – in other words, be patient with customers (Nixon, 2009). The men’s situated conceptualisation of masculinity was at odds with values of patience and caring, and as such, they could not see themselves becoming service workers.

In contrast, the service sector increasingly employs middle-class men, particularly since increasing fees for tertiary study have incentivised a surplus army of students to look for work that fits with their study schedules (Besen-Cassino, 2013; Witz et al., 2003). These young, often good-looking and highly groomed men seem to be more comfortable working in roles numerically dominated by women (for example, as supermarket checkout operators), and managing frontline service interactions. Saval (2014) argues that the middle-class work identity allows them to ‘eat shit’ in the expectation that their servitude is temporary, as they anticipate promotion to more senior roles. Nickson and Korczynski (2009) use the metaphor of the glass escalator to show that this expectation of middle-class men is reasonable (also see Dill, Price-Glynn, & Rakovski, 2016; Williams, 1992, 2013). They argue that in professions numerically dominated by women, such as teaching, men tend to be promoted more swiftly to senior positions.

Negative interactions between worker and customer are another area where gendered discourses play out. Hochschild ([1983] 2000) argued that workers' gender frames conflicts, stating that women received more abuse than their male colleagues. Wharton (1993) refutes this claim, arguing that she did not find a significant difference in workplace conflict between the male and female respondents in her healthcare sample. However, Forseth (2005) makes the salient point that males may not report conflict to the same extent as their female colleagues, because they deploy different distancing strategies–again, based on gender roles. Differences may also be the result of the sector; while healthcare is included as part of the service sector, it is very different from hospitality and tourism. Contextual differences are an important consideration when masculinity is conceptualised as being situated within the hierarchies of hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Nickson and Korczynski (2009) reinforce Forseth's (2005) point, stating that men employed in service work tend to identify more with technical skills, rather than social aspects, of their jobs. The emphasis on the technical nature of their work allows men to distance themselves from not just conflict between themselves and customers, but from the other more emotional demands of service work. Moreover, by identifying more with their technical skills than the emotional requirements of service work men can conform with the expectations of hegemonic masculinities (Forseth, 2005; Connell, 2005). Being able to enact masculine gendered discourses may be an important coping mechanism for men to overcome the contractions that may emerge from working in a feminised context.

I have observed and noted the enactment of gendered discourses within the café environment. For example, hipster culture in terms of clothing style in Third Wave cafés has been depicted as including a standard uniform of tight jeans, flannelette shirt, piercings and tattoos worn by all genders earning the moniker of androgynous

(Weissman, 2008). This form of brand by practice (see Chapter 3) in terms of my observation is more reminiscent of masculinity than androgyny (Connell, 2005).

> *Reflecting on this representation of baristas, I have wondered if instead part of the hipster culture is to enact a softer form of masculinity that could be taken on to represent a non-binary interpretation of gender. In my reflections, however, I have also asked myself to what extent have women adapted to the Third Wave context by altering their clothing (identity) in order to fit into the situated identity of the Third Wave artisan barista.*

Given the Third Wave representation as an androgynous masculinity, when I quizzed a barista in Copenhagen about the nature of skill in his job, I was surprised to find out that the first challenge he felt he needed to address was that his friends saw his role as a barista as being the same as a waitress, or women's work. He told me that he had fought hard to address his friends' prejudices and prove to them that his job as a barista was a legitimate choice, fitting for a man through its emphasis on skill.

The notion of asserting masculinity in service work returned to me when I was in Melbourne in 2015 at a Third Wave coffee destination. I noted in the workers' uniform the use of butchers' aprons in heavy brown leather with ornate and polished brass buckles and catches. The choice of these aprons could just be a middle-class appropriation and reinvention of working-class materials in the name of fashion. However, I believe that part of what has made some baristas lay claim to the label of artisan stems from this emphasis on technical skill–an emphasis which is inherently gendered (Connell, 2005; Ocejo, 2017). Furthermore, given that out of the six workers I saw that day, only one was a woman, and I think that the literal 'butch(er)-ness' of the apron was specifically designed to add a level of masculinity to the workplace personas of the baristas. The intensity with which some baristas focus on their technical skills also carries with it stereotypical connotations of masculinity. These forms of masculinity

(Connell, 2005) may also illustrate how the ‘male gaze’ (Berger, 1972) renders the large numbers of women employed as baristas less visible in terms of how the barista work identity is represented/co-constructed in competition settings (see Chapter 4).

The overt images of hyper masculinity (like beards) and of hyper femininity (vintage dresses and makeup) are expressions of gender norms that can also be exaggerated even in playful ways as part of the service encounter or branding exercise. Crang (1994), when discussing the experiences of wait staff in a high end, novelty restaurant, commented on the benefits (larger tips and experiencing work as ‘fun’) that can be gained by workers willing to ‘camp’ it up. Gender-based differences can also serve to demonstrate the heteronormative nature of many service sector workplaces (Riach & Wilson, 2014; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009).

Given that heteronormative discourses shape not only workplaces but also research about such work, it is vital that analyses of service work also incorporate queer identities and understandings (Brinkner & Dalton, 2017). Service sector occupations can also be spaces that welcome queer or alternative gender identities. Fleming and Sturdy (2011) paint a picture of a workplace where difference is celebrated as a way of ensuring service encounters in a call centre are authentic. The authenticity for workers was exercised as the freedom to visually present and perform their non-work identities: for example, coming to work in pyjamas. Commenting on the impact of this labour strategy, one participant stated that “they (gays) like it because they can be themselves” (cited in Fleming & Sturdy 2011, p. 188). Such comments reflect the application of queer gender norms within workplaces as part of organisational culture and worker performance. Therefore, analyses of service sector work that focuses on sexual orientation are also essential, because workplaces can constrain and liberate workers, by either reinforcing the heteronormativity or queering of workspaces. This is relevant to the context of many cafés because of the organisation strategy some business owners put into practice of creating safe places where all types of people are welcome (Marsland & Scott, 2015)

The way work identities are perceived and performed is also mediated by class. The interplay between structure, agency and identit(ies) in relation to class became very clear to me when I returned to Kontra in 2015. Kurt and I discussed the various aspects of the barista work identity and compared the concepts of barista as artisan and precariat. He spoke about the changes in the types of people completing the training courses that Kontra runs. Initially, brash young men had stood out to him, as they were younger people who wanted to add the job title of barista to their list of accomplishments. Their self-assured confidence had made them challenging to teach, as they assumed much and practised little. More recently, Kurt had been dealing with an entirely different problem. The current challenge with training was that the kitchen workers training to make espresso coffee for a large business cafeteria had problems meeting Kurt's eyes, let alone asking questions. Their identity as working-class kitchen workers had taught them that their job was to be invisible and subservient.

The confident young people, Kurt told me, would not stay being baristas; it was just another identity that they were pursuing in order to be 'cool.' Using Besen-Cassino's (2014) insights about affluent young people consuming work, I recognised that their decision to become a barista was an agentic decision. It was a choice to pursue a work identity the young people thought was consistent with their style, values and identity. Thus, despite their confidence and ability to learn, their commitment to the occupational identity was entirely contingent on that occupation remaining consistent with their internal sense of self-identity. If their identity altered, so too would their commitment to the workplace. Therefore, placing the acquisition of a work identity as an act of consumption creates a temporal instability or temporariness (reinforcing discourses associated with precarity–see Chapter 1). Furthermore, if the acquisition of work is an act of consumption, then the young people pursued work in terms of what it can give to them rather than what they could give to the workplace.

In contrast, the kitchen workers, who were committed to their working-class jobs by personal circumstance, would keep making coffee because the choice to leave poses higher ‘costs’ on the worker than the choice to stay. The kitchen workers Kontra trained may, through status games played out in the kitchen and cafeteria spaces, adopt a barista work identity over time. However, if the kitchen workers remain as unseen service workers, then the barista identity and the aspects of performance may not become an integrated part of their work identity. Either way, workers’ biography–and the structures highlighted as workers pursue agentic activity–illustrates how different individuals experience the pursuit of a specific job differently.

Ethnicity is also an important consideration; aside from at locations in Melbourne and the Stumptown outlet I visited in New York, the majority of baristas I have met during my time in the field have been white and male. Evidenced by my life history interviews, women feature as baristas and roasters too. However, I think it is significant that while they dominate the profession regarding numbers, women do not dominate in workplaces associated with the Third Wave of coffeemaking. Significantly, Besen-Cassino’s (2014) studies of affluent young people’s work choices illustrate that ‘cool, bad jobs’, which include jobs in high-end coffee shops, are the preserve of the middle class. Revealing their ‘white gaze,’ the participants make it clear that uncool bad jobs are jobs in the fast food industry where ethnic minorities work.

The divide Besen-Cassino’s (2014) participants highlight was also observable to me when I visited three coffeeshops in Toronto: Tim Hortons, Second Cup, and a Third Wave coffeeshop. At Tim Hortons, a café doughnut chain focused on the standardised production of food and drink, the workers were a range of ages/genders and were almost exclusively people of colour. Second Cup, a more high-end café than Starbucks

(Bookman, 2014), was staffed by white youths. The Third Wave café had two head baristas–one male and one female–and another female server. The workers were, outwardly at least, white, and one of them was from Aotearoa/New Zealand. I share these observations here to illustrate the ways in which the hiring practices of places that supply coffee drinks mirror broader labour market segmentation and the social stratification of societies. Therefore, while the barista work identity can be pursued as part of an agentic identity project, workplace practices under the guise of style or branding choices reproduce or even exacerbate the structural inequalities within society. As per the lessons of the intersectional approach (Williams-Crenshaw, 1991), the workers at Tim Hortons may make coffee, but these workers are subject to long hours and significantly lower terms and conditions than workers at Second Cup or even workers at a Third Wave café (Bookman, 2013b). Therefore, structural inequality and non-work identities (subject positions) limit access to the label and status of the artisan barista to middle-class and white men and women.

Conclusion

The ways in which identity is performed and embodied is a product of a particular time and place that has been shaped by structural forces. Individual biography, as well as learning (organisation's internal practices and cultures) interact with these wider structural forces to produce diverse performances of work-based identities. As part of these processes, work identities, particularly service work identities, need to be understood as being co-determined. Service work identities are co-constructed in the situated practices of the social relationship of service work, which includes the customer, manager/employer, co-workers and the worker themselves. As the service work industry demands (via employers and customers) embodied performative and presentational labour, non-work identities are also controlled and commodified.

Therefore, occupational work identities are pluralistic, shifting in relation to specific locations.

Based on my observations of baristas, their work identity may be conceptualised in relative terms. Context influences the way that the work identity is embodied and performed, contexts that incorporate perceptions of the work identity represented in popular culture, brand narratives, as well as specific workplace practices. Context also matters in terms of how individuals respond in the different economic, political and cultural communities of the workplace, as these interactions are mediated by experience and biography. Both an individual's biography and wider social forces, including capitalism, gender roles and class and ethnicity, can provoke contradictions that individuals need to resolve in order to settle on a stable articulation of their work identity.

Thus, work identities need to be conceptualised as being in part agentic but also structured by internal organisational and industry-wide practices as well as wider social mores. By conceptualising identity in this fashion, we can interrogate the ways workplace practices may commodify workers' embodied identity. In the case study of baristas and service work more generally, embodiment is central to understanding the service workers' labour process and work identity. This is because service work can demand that workers' corporeal forms be included as part of the labour process. In order to understand the service work labour process and the role of identit(ies) within it, the following chapter explains and discusses the embodied labour process of service workers. In particular, the chapter draws out the ways in which the use of workers' corporeal form draws on identities developed in and outside the workplace and how this reflects and influences workers' capacity to exercise agency.

CHAPTER SEVEN: EMBODIED SERVICE WORK

Since engaging in my PhD research, I have routinely observed service encounters closely to note what different social interactions may reveal about service workers and service work. I had such an 'observational encounter' when I stayed at a hotel in Maryland, USA, in November 2014:

> *I entered the hotel restaurant towards the end of the breakfast service. I was greeted by a white front-of-house worker who cheerfully led me to a table and promptly disappeared. Another server appeared at my side and quickly repeated a rehearsed speech that, given the speed with which it was uttered, I could not fully understand. He did not make eye contact when I asked him to repeat his statement. I placed my order, reflecting on how disaffected the worker seemed to be and I began to read a book. However, I could not stop myself from watching as the waiter began his service in exactly the same way that he had with me at the next two tables. He sped through his speech and had to repeat it every time. I speculated on why he acted this way: was it an attempt to speed through the last part of the shift? Was it just fatigue, given he had already been making his speech for nearly four hours? Or was he disengaged, bodily present but mind elsewhere?*
>
> *My speculation ended when a table behind me finished and he managed their bill process. During the end of this particular service encounter, the waiter enthusiastically asked the customer about his last name in order to find out if he was Spanish. The customer confirmed his name was Spanish but that he was from a long-established migrant family. The waiter was clearly excited to meet someone else who was a Spanish-speaking migrant. He began a friendly and animated conversation about where he was from and how long he had been in*

the United States. The transformation of his tone and demeanour was extreme; gone was the disaffection, and the lack of animation. After the waiter left, the customer he had spoken to expressed bemusement based on the amount of attention that the young man had paid to him. However, it occurred to me that the worker had taken a chance to feel connected to his culture in that moment of recognition and thus feel less estranged, lonely and alienated in his work. His whole mood was lifted and when he came back next to check on me he made eye contact and seemed genuinely concerned that I had all I needed.

The sharp contrast in behaviours of the service worker described above was a timely reminder for me to reflect on how the emotional nature of service work highlights that service work is enacted in an embodied way. When the worker was tired and sad, his embodied performance served to create distance between himself and those he served, but once a connection was made, his whole demeanour changed. He embodied a persona of confidence, standing more upright, smiling, and emphasising the capacity to connect through posture and eye contact. The shift in mood and its impact on the worker's performance reminded me that service workers' embodied demeanour is a core part of the way in which the service encounter can be shaped by the deployment of emotional, aestheticised and sexualised (presentational) labour. The exchange also illustrated how this deployment is a process that, while mobilised by labour strategies utilised in the organisational setting, is ultimately controlled by workers' decisions on how to emote.

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the embodied nature of interactive service work, in order to emphasise the role of embodiment or the body in the service work labour process. The mystory approach taken in this chapter weaves together insights from the literature, including both theoretical and empirical work, alongside observations from my time in the field as well as my participation in the consumption and service work context of cafés and retail. I consider, first, the discussions of emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labour and the implications of such presentational labour in terms of structure and agency. Second, I return to the labour strategies and the dynamics of the triadic relationship outlined in Chapter 6, in order to explore the ways in which presentational labour is utilised by workers and mobilised by employers in the workplace. Third, I bring together the disparate theorisations of presentational labour in the service work literature, in order to discuss how the consideration of the body and identity in the service work labour process enables the complex challenges of understanding service work to be addressed. On this basis, I argue it is vital to incorporate understandings of the body and performance as presentational labour into the study of the service work labour process and formation of work identities.

Presentational labour

The connections between bodies, service work, and consumption demonstrate the salience of the conceptualisation of the consumer society and the service economy. The shift to the consumer society and the associated pursuit of agentic identity projects by customers are illustrated by the growth in service work occupations. The growth of service work occupations which facilitate lifestyle and identity projects has been conceptualised by some service work researchers as *body work*. Body work is a category of service work where the bodies of the worker and/or the consumer are part of the labour process. The connection of body work to consumers' and workers' identity projects is based on the ways in which these kinds of services are designed to augment or care for the body of the consumer in some way (Besen-Cassino, 2013; McDowell, 2009; Wolkowitz & Warhurst, 2010). As such, the concept of body work can also be used to highlight how interactive service workers' labour is embodied. For example, the labour of interactive service workers is often built around providing a performance that includes an emotional and physical display of behaviour, which can be prescribed by management and demanded by customers (Brook, 2009; Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1996; McDowell, 2009; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007a).

This kind of physical and emotional display may be classed as presentational labour. Sheane (2011) defines *presentational labour* as: “The interactive, transactional twinning of emotional and aesthetic literacy (choice-making) in the workplace” (p. 152) that includes a performance that may be “both self- and other-oriented” (p. 153). The purpose of the following section is to introduce and define the concepts of emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labour as subsets of presentational labour, in order to explicate the ways in which service work can be embodied.

Emotional labour

The concept of emotional labour offers a well-established theoretical approach to understanding ways in which service work is distinct from production-oriented work (for examples see: Bolton, 2004, 2011; Bolton & Boyd, 2003; Brook, 2009a, 2009b; Hochschild, 2012; Lopez, 2010; Sheane, 2011; Vincent, 2011; Wharton, 1993, 1996). For example, emotional labour illustrates the ways in which the triadic relationship, particularly the service encounter, foregrounds workers' experience of, and embodiment in, their performance of work. Emotional labour also provides a basis on which to explore further the triadic relationship of worker, manager, and customer in the labour processes and practices of service work.

The management of emotion within ourselves and in relation to others is an important skill that we are socialised into from an early stage. Hochschild ([1983] 2012) and others, such as Bolton (2004, 2011), use the work of Erving Goffman (1959) to argue that the presentation of the self and the way in which status games are played out can be depicted as skilled and laborious work. Goffman’s (1959) notion of performance also serves to emphasise that emotional labour should be understood as an embodied process. By emphasising labour as performance, parallels can be drawn with the other two forms of presentational labour discussed in the next two sections of this chapter, aesthetic/aestheticised and sexualised labour.

Using Hochschild's (1983) conceptualisation, Wharton (1996, pp. 91-92) argues that:

> ... jobs involving emotional labor possess three characteristics: they require the worker to make voice or facial contact with the public, they require the worker to produce an emotional state in the client or customer, and they provide the employer with an opportunity to exert some control over the emotional activities of workers.

Wharton's conceptualisation of emotional labour highlights how the execution of emotional labour exemplifies both the logics of customer orientation (producing a state of emotion in the customer) and the logics of bureaucracy (facilitating the imposition of controls by the employer over the intangible aspects of labour) (see Chapter 6) (Korczynski, 2005; Leidner, 1999).

When workers are engaged in the emotional labour of managing their bodily and facial display to evoke (or control) an emotional state in the customer, Hochschild (2012) states that workers are engaged in *surface* or *deep acting*. *Surface acting* is faking the performance of emotions that are required by policies in the workplace. Surface acting is often perceived as role distancing and a form of workers' resistance to workplace culture and requirements, or as a way of coping with customers and their demands (Taylor, 1998; Leidner, 1999). Based on this characterisation of surface acting, the rushed verbalisations and lack of eye contact that I perceived in the Maryland hotel waiter's initial performance could be considered analogous with surface acting. However, the change in his demeanour after he discussed his immigrant life (non-work identity) with the client sitting behind me who had a Spanish last name was more reminiscent of deep acting, or an authentic display of emotion (See Chapter 6 for a broader discussion on the salience of non-work identities to work performance).

It is important to note that even *deep acting* in accordance with Hochschild's arguments may not be authentic–it is still acting. However, deep acting is an example of emotional labour whereby workers internalise management rhetoric and take on the enterprise's values as their own. Unlike cynical distancing, where workers are aware of their alienation, this kind of role embracement reflects how workers may identify with the workplace and its culture, incorporating the firm's values into their personal identity. Therefore, deep acting needs to be examined in light of the arguments about normative and neo-normative control made in Chapter 6 (Flemming, 2011; Sturdy, 1998; Sturdy, Flemming, & Delbridge, 2010; Taylor, 1998).

Hochschild (2012) claims that when workers engage in surface and deep acting, they can suffer from transmutation (Brook, 2009a; Liedner, 1999; Sturdy, 1998; Taylor, 1998). *Transmutation* is the disconnection from–and replacement of–the workers' own internal identity with a work identity that workers are obliged to display to customers by the requirements of the specific workplace. Hochschild (2012) argued that the obligation to display emotion commodifies workers' emotions and can leave workers deeply alienated from themselves, as well as their work, which leads to high levels of workplace stress, including burnout.

Aesthetic labour

Aesthetic labour is a concept the extends the notion of embodied and commodified labour from the presentation of emotions to include workers' corporeal form. The inclusion of organisationally-determined deportment, accent, clothing and attitude adds the 'body' of workers to the analysis of the service work labour process. Warhurst et al. (2000) define aesthetic labour as the "supply of embodied capacities and attributes possessed by workers at the point of entry into employment. Employers then mobilise, develop and commodify these capacities and attributes through the processes of recruitment, selection and training" (p. 1). The specific styles/brands/aesthetics reflect an organisation's desire to attract particular clients or access specific markets (Warhurst et al., 2000; Witz et al., 2003). The use or mobilisation of aesthetic labour draws on non-work identities, because "aesthetic labour skills are themselves reflections of particular forms of social and cultural capital and are structured via gender, age, class and ethnicity" (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005, p. 397). Therefore, the concept of aesthetic labour reinforces Hochschild's (2012) arguments regarding the commodification of workers' private lives.

Significantly, in terms of neo-normative control and the commodification of workers' corporeal form, the mobilisation of aesthetic labour often begins in the recruitment process. Therefore, the role of recruitment in the *purchase* or acquisition by an organisation or firm of workers' aesthetic labour power is an important facet of understanding the dynamics of aesthetic labour. Recruitment strategies targeted towards particular kinds of aesthetic labour are utilised by organisations to select workers who fit with a specific aesthetic or style that match the brand narratives (Filby, 1992; Leidner, 1999; Williams & Connell, 2010; Wright, 2005–also see Chapter 6).

The use of informal recruitment practices enable organisations to discriminate against workers who do not have the 'right' kind of appearance (Crang, 1994; Warhurst et al., 2000; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Waring, 2011; Williams & Connell, 2010; Witz et al., 2003; Wright, 1995). For example, McDowell (2009, 2014), Warhurst and Nickson (2007b), Witz et al. (2003) and Wright (2005) raise concerns that the working-class in Britain are increasingly being excluded from service sector work based on the perception that the working-class youth are unable or unwilling or unsure that they can perform or represent the desired aesthetic for the business (Korczynski, 2005a; Nixon, 2009). Therefore, the utilisation of aesthetic labour can actively reproduce broader structural inequalities as well as reinforce different kinds of gender norms[30] (Kerfoot & Korczynski, 2005; Liedner, 1999; McDowell, 2009). However, the use of recruitment practices focused on identity-based cultural fit (non-work identities) can render aesthetic requirements invisible for some workers, managers, and customers, because workers are hired for being 'themselves.'

One of the reasons why high school and university students are currently a preferred recruitment option for interactive service work is the particular kinds of cultural (social and economic) capital deemed to be embedded in their habitus as students (Besen-Cassino, 2013; Campbell & Price, 2016; Sheane, 2011; Witz et al., 2000; Wright, 2005). Riach and Wilson (2014) and Warhurst and Nickson (2009) argue that, in the world of hospitality, the middle-class student population is considered to be ready-made for service sector work in their understanding of, and ability to perform, functionary and routine politeness (also see Bolton, 2011). This is because the 'correct' aesthetic is often assumed to be connected to the values, sounds and appearance of the middle-class (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Witz et al., 2003; Williams & Connell, 2010; Wright, 1995).

Furthermore, students may be more willing to tolerate the exploitative casual working conditions that characterise interactive service work due to the low level of engagement they have in their occupational identity (Besen-Cassino, 2014; Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Lloyd & Payne, 2012; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009). For example, their identity as a student may award them higher status; therefore, students may perceive their work identity as temporary and unimportant in terms of their primary forms of identification. As such, they are less likely to identify themselves as being part of the precariat class even though they are participating in precarious employment (see Chapter 1).

[30] Research in the United States (Williams & Connell, 2010) and Australia (Hall & van den Broek, 2012; Waring, 2011) indicate that *lookism* is also occurring there; as such, it is important to take an intersectional approach as argued in Chapter 6 when considering the relationship between the mobilisation of aestheticised labour and marginalisation in the labour market along ethnic, gender and class lines.

After the recruitment process, employers can attempt to further control and/or alter workers' aesthetics through prescribed dress codes, scripts, and even, in some cases, voice modulation training to remove undesirable accents (Mirchandani, 2014; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007). These kinds of control strategies reflect the logics of bureaucracy and customer orientation and represent the ways in which workers' aesthetic labour is appropriated, cultivated, or refashioned by an organisation's labour strategies as aestheticised labour (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Witz et al., 2003).

When they enter the workplace, service workers may be compelled to leave behind their jewellery, hide their tattoos, put on or remove make-up, build up muscle tone, shave their legs—whatever the workplace requires of them—knowing that if they do not, they will lose a shift, at best, or lose their job at worst (Edgell, 2011; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Williams, 2006, 2009). In their desire to maintain employment, workers may actively strip away their personally-cultivated or non-work identities (Mirchandani, 2014).

The aesthetic style of Third Wave coffee bars challenged me as I began to consider the concepts of aesthetic and emotional labour. Initially, I felt strongly that the Third Wave, barista hipster vibe provided a haven for workers who are different and wish to express themselves in ways that reject corporate mass production and capitalism. However, I acknowledge that, as Sturdy et al. (2010) argue, the workplace's appropriation of a barista's tattooed stylish hipster self-presentation could also represent an insidious form of neo-normative control or the commodification of a barista's personal passion (McIntyre, 2011). The example of baristas also highlights that the mobilisation of aesthetic labour can be a two-way street. In line with Besen-Cassino's (2014) observations of young people consuming work (see Chapter 3), if they have the correct cultural capital, baristas can actively seek out specific companies in terms of cultural or identity fit.

Therefore, the labour strategies, deployed to increase a company's competitiveness to mobilise aesthetic labour, represent a form of interpellation that both appropriates and commodifies a worker's personal appearance (Brewis, Tyler, & Mills, 2014). Using Hochschild's (2012) theorisation regarding emotional labour, the mobilisation of aesthetic labour in a service encounter can transmute workers' identities just as emotional labour does. However, if the worker's identity is consistent with the workplace's style, the worker may not be aware of the process of interpellation until an event occurs that presents the workplace's aestheticised identity as being incompatible or contradictory with aspects of the worker's non-work identities (McIntyre, 2011).

Cafés, roasteries and espresso bars reflect specific kinds of values and aesthetics that baristas incorporate into their corporeal form, which they may 'put up with' or aspire towards. For example, the specialty coffee industry, or Third Wave coffee-houses and espresso bars, seem to embrace an aesthetic of difference, of alternative funkiness—a hipster or punk aesthetic that is embodied by roasters such as Intelligentsia and Stumptown (Weissman, 2008). When I was in midtown New York visiting a Stumptown outlet, I noticed a specific kind of aesthetic of muscle t-shirts and boho chic on the part of the male and female baristas. The combination of kitsch and artistic design that characterised the space reinforced the edginess of the tattooed workers. In complete contrast was the Intelligensia's minimalist industrial space, characterised by steel and concrete located closer to Times Square. The workers here were dressed in the hipster uniform of jeans and a flannelette shirt, but the bearded barista was not unkempt, rather neatly trimmed–almost 'clean cut.'

Interestingly, at the Intelligensia outlet, there was only one barista: the rest of the staff were there to provide service. At the Stumptown outlet, the barista served at the point of sale as well as behind the espresso machine. Manzo (2015) has discussed the role of machines in facilitating greater sociability between baristas and customers, in that the more the barista is able to see and be seen by the customer the more likely it is that conversational exchanges will occur. In contrast, if the baristas are able to hide behind bulky or tall coffee machines, then the likelihood of social exchanges is reduced.

I agree with Manzo (2015) that machine size is key to the ability of the barista to engage in conversations with customers. However, if the barista is not required to take orders at the point of sale or cash register, such as the Intelligentsia example above, then the opportunities to participate in conversations with customers is lessened. Therefore, a labour process that requires baristas to take orders provides increased capacity for conversations between customers and baristas to be conducted with greater ease. These conversations are important because they can increase the sociability of the café space and help establish regulars (also see Berson, 2011). Furthermore, these conversations can be practice oriented helping the barista as pedagogue educate customers about café and coffee culture, equally these conversations can be grounded in everyday life such as gossip (Woldoff et al.). As illustrated by the scene near the start of the movie *The Proposal* (Fletcher, 2009), where the character played by Ryan Reynolds is given his boss's coffee order with the barista's phone number on it, the conversation can also be about flirting.

Sexualised labour

The encouragement or tolerance by employers/managers of flirting between workers and customers demonstrates how the emotions and the aesthetics of workers can be mobilised in status games within the triadic relationship that may also be charged with a *frisson* of sexual tension (Crang, 1994; Hall, 1993; Laurier, 2013; Paules, 1996; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009). This kind of sexualised work, similarly to aesthetic labour, occurs when the style of an organisation requires "the mobilisation, development and commodification of employee sex appeal" (Warhurst & Nickson, 2009, p. 386; see also Filby, 1992; Hall, 1993; Riach & Wilson, 2014).

The use of sexuality as part of the labour process is common in hospitality. However, most organisations involved in hospitality do not provide sex services directly; instead, organisations that exploit their workers' youthful sex appeal do so in relation to brand narratives and organisational culture: when an organisation's 'style' or brand is about youth, fun and sexiness (Riach & Wilson, 2014; Ross, 2017; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009), like the international juice and coffee chain called Joe and the Juice "that only hire hunks" (Carlström, 2016). The informal nature of the requirement to behave in a sexual manner, such as encouragement of flirting, or revealing and tight uniforms, along with sexual harassment laws means that unlike aesthetic labour there is no accompanying expectation that if you do not flirt enough, or have sex with the customers, that you will be disciplined or lose your job (Crang, 1994; Laurier, 2013; Riach & Wilson, 2014).

While the labour appropriation of workers' sexuality is not often an explicit labour strategy, the expectation of flirty behaviour is communicated through an organisation's internal working practices. These practices mean that the sexualised culture can be established by workers and endorsed by managers (Crang, 1994; Filby, 1992; Paules, 1996; Riach & Wilson, 2014; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009). Some examples from the literature are betting agents who used flirting to manage relationships with customers (Filby, 1992), and wait staff who use flirtation strategies to gain tips[31] (Crang, 1994; Hall, 1993; Paules, 1996) The arguments about flirting in service work resonate with my personal experiences in cafés, where I have become infatuated with baristas who conferred the status of 'regular' on me.

Part of the complexity of sexualised work is that for personal as well as professional gain or as a coping strategy, workers will use their looks *themselves* not just in relation to the

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[31] Please note that tipping culture is not widespread outside of the United States; however, many cafés where I have conducted observations in New Zealand, Australia and Canada have 'tip' jars and it is increasingly common in these countries for customers to provide wait staff in high-end restaurants (labour aristocrats) with a tip if 'good' service is provided.

service encounter but within an organisation's internal working practices (Crang, 1994; Riach & Wilson). Workers who have recognised the ways in which cultural capital contributes to employability can use their aesthetic or sexualised labour to receive promotions, gain favourable shifts, or make sexual or romantic connections with co-workers. In such cases, workers' sexuality is operationalised directly to advance workers' personal interests, as well as indirectly by the employer to enhance corporate profits. By implication, then, sexualised behaviour is being utilised by employees of their own volition potentially outside the logics of bureaucracy as shaped by the construct of capitalism. This kind of behaviour could be used by workers in acts of resistance as well as acts of compliance (Filby, 1992; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009).

In Riach and Wilson's (2014) investigation into bar workers, sexuality was reported as being a feature of work not only between customers and workers, but also between workers themselves. The role of sexual encounters between workers in terms of workplace actions and dynamics also adds salience to my argument in Chapter 5 that the social relations of service work need to take peer-to-peer relationships (organisational context and internal working practices) into account, as well as those between customer, worker, and management/employer (the service encounter). Therefore, the service work triadic relationship needs to be understood as one of many relationships that may frame the service work labour process. This is because the service work labour process is also influenced by dyadic relationships between workers themselves, between workers and employers/management, and given the close relationships that can develop between regulars and workers, between customers and workers.

In order to make it clearer where employee sexualisation shifts from being an informal practice—perhaps initiated by the workers themselves—to formal workplace policy and practice, Warhurst and Nickson (2009) make a useful three-level distinction. They argue that, as part of the workplace's labour strategies, workers' sexual behaviour in the workplace can be either: (1) prescribed (formal); (2) subscribed (informal); or (3) sanctioned (informal) (pp. 394-399), however, the boundaries between these categories are permeable.

Warhurst and Nickson (2009) argue that some occupations, such as waitresses in the restaurant chain *Hooters*, include *prescribed* sexualised labour as part of the formal workplace policies. Therefore, prescribed sexuality occurs when the deployment of sexualised behaviour is a condition of employment (logics of bureaucracy) and a core part of the organisation's aesthetic and work performance required of employees. Based on this, Warhurst and Nickson (2009) argue that prescribed and subscribed sexualised labour are mobilised in a similar manner to aestheticised labour, where organisations have deliberately crafted labour strategies designed to alter workers' dispositions or habitus. However, Warhurst and Nickson argue that *sanctioned* sexualised labour is a different category, because even though the workers' sexuality is part of workers' corporeality, it is not directly cultivated by the organisation's work processes. This kind of sexualised behaviour is one that, rather than being prescribed or subscribed, can be sanctioned (allowed) by the workplace. The passive role of the organisation in managing this kind of sexual work suggests that workers are able to exercise agency in relation to the ways in which their corporeal form and emotions are deployed in the workplace. These ideas are discussed further in the section below that considers presentational labour and the ways in which workers can exercise agency within and against the commodification of their corporeal form and emotions (including their non-work identities).

Agency in and commodification of embodied service work

The different kinds of theorisations of emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labour can and should be combined to provide greater analytical clarity in terms of the relationship between structure and agency. For example, the degrees of formality in the *regulation* of presentational labour (Warhurst & Nickson, 2009) influences the ways in which presentational labour is *mobilised* in the workplace (Witz et al., 2003), providing opportunities for workers to exercise agency. The more formal the regulation the less potential space there is to exercise agency, as the work is likely to be standardised and the opportunities for task discretion are likely to be reduced (See Chapter 5). As such, the lack of autonomy in work roles and the extensive prescriptive regulations can mean workers are left with little space to resist their commodification and exploitation. However, there are important caveats in the literature discussing presentational labour. I will discuss these in turn, beginning with emotional labour.

Emotional labour

In order to illustrate the ways in which agency can be exercised in the workplace, Bolton and Boyd (2003) developed a widely-used framework that makes workers' decision making more visible within the context of emotional labour. Bolton and Boyd (2003) argue that emotional labour is part of a continuum of emotion work that used as an umbrella term. Emotion work is an activity that individuals engage in managing theirs and others emotions as part of everyday life, which includes in the workplace. As such workers engage in both emotion work and emotional labour when they are at work. Bolton and Boyd use the term *emotional management* to argue that workers can exercise agentic options that may fall outside the logics of bureaucracy, given that workers own the means of production (emotions). Bolton argues that *emotional management* is a more appropriate term to use "as service workers enjoy a largely unalienated experience of the labour process" (Brook, 2009a, p. 9) involving emotions, because workers "own the means of production" (Bolton & Boyd, 2003, p. 293).

Bolton and Boyd's (2003) framework specifies three sets of 'feeling rules' that shape emotion work in the workplace, and four motivational categories that highlight workers' different rationales for engaging in emotional management. The three sets of feeling rules are *commercial, professional*, and *social,* and the four motivational categories are *pecuniary, prescriptive, presentational,* and *philanthropic* (Bolton & Boyd, 2003, p. 295).

Commercial feeling rules are those governed by the organisation through the different labour strategies workplaces deploy to utilise and commodify workers' emotions. *Professional* feeling rules are also organisationally influenced, but not necessarily organisationally constructed. Bolton and Boyd (2003) argue that professional feeling rules come from the workers' sense of their own occupational identity, much like the rules for a guild, professional association or more informally a community of practice. These professional bodies may include rules, principles, practices and values that may or may not fit well with different organisational or employment contexts. The last category, *social* feeling rules, stems from an individual worker's primary socialisation, which includes the development of non-work identities (see Chapter 6).

Bolton and Boyd's work highlights the role of workers' motivations shaping their responses to the mobilisation of presentational labour. They categorise these motivations to include work-related aspects (*pecuniary and prescribed*) as well as non-work-related aspects (*presentational and philanthropic*). These motivations are shaped by feeling rules that connect to the ways in which workers draw on work (commercial and professional feeling rules) and non-work identities (social feeling rules).

Bolton and Boyd (2003) argue–and based on my observations of baristas' presentational labour, I agree–that workers make agentic and skilful decisions when they respond to workplace policies and practices. Interactive service workers, such as baristas, need to respond in spontaneous ways to situations that they may not have had to deal with before. During one of our many conversations, Michael shared with me that one of the most powerful learning moments he had at work was having to deal with a customer who was extremely angry about the time taken to fulfil their McCafé coffee order. At the time, he was completely unable to resolve the conflict for the customer and himself (he was not able to calm the customer down or maintain his own equilibrium). He snapped and, contrary to the expectations of customer service (both his own and the organisations), was rude to the customer. Michael has reflected on this conflict many times as a moment when he first began to take on the identity of the barista more. He has also used it as a lesson for himself and others in terms of what not to do when dealing with conflict in the service encounter.

Presentational and *philanthropic* motivations tend to be based on internal logics shaped by the workers' senses of identit(ies), and as such they could lead to behaviour that is deployed outside the logics of bureaucracy and customer orientation and can occur in spaces away from the service encounter. Korczynski (2003) describes a situation where workers who had been explicitly told by management not to discuss negative calls with their workmates but still did so were better able to deal with the impact of negative exchanges with customers. Such behaviour demonstrates how workers may resist the logics of bureaucracy in order to better cope with the emotional demands of their work. Korczynski (2003) calls this kind of exchange between workers a *community of coping*. The empathy provided within these *communities of coping* cannot be considered one dimensionally, as commodified emotional labour, but instead is a strategy that workers are able to draw upon, based on social mores developed outside the workplace that are attached to their non-work identit(ies). I myself have participated in this kind of scenario when working in retail. Discussing customers' negative behaviour with colleagues, and being able to laugh or cry about it, supplies distance and empathy, which can be a powerful tool in overcoming the dissonance such encounters may create.

Bolton and Boyd's (2003) re-conceptualisation of emotional labour demonstrates how, even during the service encounter, workers can both experience and resist emotional labour. Workers may engage in surface acting deliberately and knowingly in order to cope with workplace requirements, demonstrating “a complex interplay of compliance, consent and resistance” (Taylor, 1998, p. 100). Bolton also highlights that agency as resistance to emotional labour is a kind of service work “soldiering” or “micro emancipation” (2011, p. 215). For example, Paules’ (1996) study of waitresses found that the waitresses did not always behave as if the customer is always right, and often engaged in open warfare with customers, ignoring the logics of customer orientation and the sovereign consumer (also see Hall, 1993). Taylor (1998) exposed the ways in which some workers in a call centre engaged in acts of resistance. At times, they would ignore the workplace logics of bureaucracy in order to provide ‘authentic’ interactions with customers, but when their calls were being monitored, they would ‘play up’ to the team leaders who were listening.

When I read Woldoff et al.’s (2013) study into the sociability of coffee houses, I was intrigued by their argument that that most sociable place was located in a workplace with friendly baristas. By implication then, the other places where they conducted their observations had unfriendly baristas. I had to wonder–were these baristas, located in independent cafés, unfriendly because they were Third Wave labour aristocrats creating a sense of exclusiveness by ‘othering’ customers who were not regulars? Or were they frustrated by poor working conditions and engaging in passive resistance by withdrawing their presentational labour? Or, in recruiting from a wider pool of labour, did the baristas not have the high cultural capital to supply ‘appropriate’ presentational labour? In my observations of baristas, I have encountered situations that encompass all of these scenarios.

Aesthetic (and sexualised) labour

As with the other dimensions of the social relations of service work, workers’ ability to resist and manipulate aesthetic workplace demands plays out within the triadic relationship of worker, manager/employer, and customer (Crang, 1994; Filby, 1992).

Pettinger (2005) and Williams (2006), in their respective studies of women's clothing and toy stores, demonstrate that different brands shape the presentational labour of workers to different degrees. High street retailing tends to place extensive presentational labour requirements on workers, with expectations of alterations in deportment, accent, as well as appearance to fit with the brand (Mirchandani, 2014; Pettinger, 2005; Sheane, 2011; Warhurst et al., 2000; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007; Wissenger, 2012; Witz et al., 2003). Reinforcing Pettinger's (2005) argument, the high-end toy store Williams (2006) described had a strict uniform policy, but the low-end toy store that was aimed at working-class customers had a more casual image and approach to uniform policy. Thus, the internal working practices used to regulate presentational labour in the low-end toy store provided workers with greater levels of agency to bring in their non-work identity, by being able to dress in their skinny black jeans (Williams, 2006). In contrast to the toy store example, most standardised coffee chains, such as Starbucks have a strict uniform policy that is part of the brand narrative and servicescape.

Even within the context of strict aesthetic guidelines, Pettinger's (2005) research illustrates agentic behaviour may occur where workers take pride and feel emancipated through their interpretation of the high-end aesthetics. Such deep acting, or internalisation of the brand as your own identity, is purported by Hochschild (1983) to burn out workers, but Pettinger's (2005) work suggests that something more complex is taking place. Workers can take great pride in looking the right way, and working hard to match their workplace aesthetic. Pettinger's (2005) more agentic depiction of workers aspiring to match their workplace's brand could reflect the pursuit of class mobility on the part of workers, who by working in higher class businesses seek to be a part of more exclusive places or spaces.

One of the main characteristics that delineates independent café and roasteries from standardised coffee chains is a distinct lack of obvious uniform. However, if brand by practice is taken into consideration (see Chapter 3 & 4), workers' clothing choices do exemplify a uniform/brand of sorts, but the uniform is represented as a way of dressing which is connected to specific sub-tribes (flannel wearing hipster or t-shirt wearing, pierced and tattooed punk) that are incorporated into a cafés servicescape through the recruitment of particular kinds of people. The incorporation of a barista's sub-tribe identities represents the commodification and appropriation by an organisation of a workers' non-work identit(ies) and personal passions (McIntyre, 2014).

Despite this process of commodification, workers who present these particular kinds of elite work identities have to acquire high levels of cultural capital and be able to deploy a range of technical skills needed to embody specific aesthetic identities (Ocejo, 2017; Warhurst & Nickson, 2009). Based on the appreciation of their skills by members of their industry and customers, labour aristocrats can take pride in the work they do. These labour aristocrats (Warhurst & Nickson, 2009) can also use the perception that their labour embodies higher skills or reflects higher social status to bargain for higher wages. The capacity to see the value in their work can help service sector workers overcome the dissonance that can arise from the stigma associated with service sector work (Hodson & Sullivan, 2012). As such, these workers may have an allegiance to their professional practices in connection to their cultural and technical knowledge, reflecting another layer of agentic potential based on the way in which occupational identity may be seen as stable and respected (Ocejo, 2017). The higher social status of Third Wave baristas (labour aristocrats) may also explain why some baristas leave or eschew higher paying white collar work to pursue a career in the coffee industry.

Variable capacity for agency: Heterogeneity in service work

Organisations deliberately cultivate specific ways of being which workers formally and informally are required to embody through the provision of presentational labour. However, in that provision of labour, workers manage and make choices via different motivations, shaped by feeling rules, which may or may not be a direct result of workplace policy. I argue that this focus on the agentic aspects of emotion work or management can be extended across all three aspects of labour. Warhurst and Nickson's (2009) work on sexualised labour and the different degrees to which it can be regulated (prescribed, subscribed, sanctioned) also extends Bolton and Boyd's (2003) discussion of workers' capacity to exercise agency to presentational labour. For instance, the lower the degree of formality (subscribed or sanctioned sexualised labour), the greater the capacity for workers to exercise agency by drawing on their non-work identities. In contrast, the greater the level of prescription of presentational labour in workplace policies and internal working practices, the less agency workers have to resist the imposition of rules and the fetishisation of their labour.

Pettinger's (2005) work highlights the role of status in mediating these degrees of formality, a point reinforced by the conceptualisation of the labour aristocrat (Warhurst & Nickson, 2007b). Therefore, even in highly-prescribed contexts, if the occupational identity has a high social status, workers are able to draw on their own agentic conceptualisation of their work identity rather than that imposed by the workplace.

The emphasis on the different degrees of formality that are used to regulate presentational labour can also be usefully extended to the arguments made by Witz et al. (2003) regarding the difference between aesthetic and aestheticised labour. Incorporating awareness of the different degrees in formality between prescribed, subscribed, and sanctioned mobilisation of presentational labour better deals with the variation that occurs in the mobilisation and deployment of presentational labour. Witz et al. (2003) focussed on High Street workplaces with extensive and prescriptive deployment and mobilisation of presentational labour. However, presentational labour is informed by organisational culture, which includes a conceptualisation of brand or style even in the most informal of workplaces. Therefore, even though the workplace aesthetic may not be as visible or as stylised as in the High Street, most workplaces will subscribe to a form of presentational labour, thus controlling workers' corporeal form as part of their service work performance. The varied way in which formality (logics of bureaucracy) shapes the prescription of presentational labour demonstrates that workplaces require presentational labour to be executed in differing ways. Furthermore, the acquisition of presentational labour through recruitment rather than training favours workers who are able to acquire the 'right' kind of skills through their non-work identities.

Bolton (2004) and Korczynski (2005) argue that by focussing on the agency that workers need to use when deploying social skills, the skills involved in service work can be made more visible. This argument relates to those made in Chapter 5, that the gendered nature of service work can constrain or facilitate how agency can be deployed within the service work labour process (Bolton, 2004; Gatta, Boushey, & Applebaum, 2009; Hampson & Junor, 2010; Korczynski, 2005; Sheane, 2011). Interactions can be used to seek reward (tips) in the shape of maintaining the *enchantment* of the customer (Paules, 1996; Endrissat, Islam, & Noppeney, 2015) or to simply have fun with the customer (Crang, 1994). In both cases, workers manipulate themselves and the customer with the aim of gaining specific emotional responses as a result of their labour. Such manipulation can reflect agency on the part of workers, albeit within the boundaries of the logics of bureaucracy that shape the service encounter.

The process of commodifying aesthetic labour as *subscribed* is where baristas are not specifically told what to wear but an organisational aesthetic can still clearly be detected in different workplace environments (brand by practice). For example, it is difficult to argue that the recruitment of baristas as pierced and tattooed workers is any less commodified than the prescribed aestheticised look of workers at Starbucks, Gloria Jean's or any other uniformed chain. The workers might feel like their look is agentic, part of their non-work identity, which also 'just happens' to match the professional barista identity that they manifest of their own 'choice.' However, that is all the more reason to argue that it is something that the organisation uses for commercial gain, but it is *subscribed* rather than *prescribed* fashion. There are no uniform checks for these baristas but that is because they were recruited already committed to the uniform of the organisation's choice. As such, the informal rules that an organisation subscribes to demonstrates the significance of neonormative control to the labour process of baristas or the use of workplace informal cultural practices to dictate the behaviour of workers rather than specific written policies.

Addressing the conceptual challenges of service work

The theorisation of emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labour is an important body of work that addresses some of the conceptual challenges I outlined in Chapter 5. The first challenge that needs to be addressed is around the complexities involved in conceptualising service work. By identifying emotional, aesthetic, and sexualised (presentational) labour as part of the labour process, the ways in which service work is different from production work can be examined more closely. The different ways in which service work can be embodied in terms of presentational labour also addresses the second challenge, which is explaining the ways in which service work is heterogeneous between–and, more importantly–*within* specific occupations.

Workers bring their capacity to provide emotional, aesthetic, and sexualised labour into the workplace. However, the labour strategies that shape internal working practices determine how this labour is mobilised and deployed. Employers interpret the logics of bureaucracy and customer orientation in different ways and create a style or brand for their workplace. That style is then embodied by workers, whose presentational labour is fashioned by spatial layout, brand aesthetics, recruitment practices, and workplace policies. Because the services that are provided are essentially the same, organisations create competitive advantage using style choices, which include the selection and mobilisation of workers' presentational labour. Therefore, a core part of conceptualising what leads to the heterogeneity of labour processes and occupational status *within* specific service work occupations may be the different interpretations of how service work can be embodied.

The third challenge of capturing and conceptualising the interpersonal nature of service work can be addressed through investigations into the ways in which the labour process shapes the mobilisation and deployment of presentational labour. As part of the process of identifying and describing emotional, aesthetic and sexualised labour, a boundary has been drawn in the literature between the presentational labour that workers bring with them into the workplace and the presentational labour that is deployed and mobilised by labour strategies (explicit policies) and workplace norms (tacit knowledge). The differences between presentational work that workers bring with them and the presentational labour that workplaces mobilise support Bolton's (2004, 2011) important premise that workers effectively own the means of production, because the capacity to emote is an internal process.

This argument could also be extended to include workers' ownership of their appearance and body–although given the level of importance that some workplaces place on stylising workers' corporeal form, I do not believe the boundary is clear cut. What is salient to me is the way in which Witz et al.'s (2003) work illustrates that once presentational labour has been mobilised and deployed by labour strategies, workers' labour, workers' emotions and corporeal form have been commodified. At this point, the presentational labour has taken on exchange value in order to create profit for the workplace, and workers are fetishised by customers and employers, and/or managers and peers. The process of commodity fetishism embedded in the mobilisation and deployment of presentational labour dehumanises service workers, creating an empathy gap between the members of the triadic relationship. For example, the use of uniforms alongside the practice of 'lookism' in standardised coffee chains such as Starbucks, Second Cup or Gloria Jean's can mean the individual workers blur into a branded commodity which strips away their individuality, rendering them less visible to consumers as people, as individuals.

Consumers dispositions also matter, even in the more individualised aesthetic settings of Third Wave cafés. On one of my visits to the Intelligentsia outlet in New York, there was a line out the door. Two young women were in front of me and one of them complained bitterly about having to wait 'so long' for just a coffee. The friend reassured her that she was in for a treat worth waiting for; she was dismissive, blind to the brand by practice messages to which her friend was attuned. Clearly, not all customers at Third Wave cafés will treat their barista as an artisan or labour aristocrat, seeing them as just another service worker whose role it is to fade into the background of the consumer's experience.

Despite the alienating and exploitative nature that stems from the way in which workers' embodied performance (corporeal form and emotions) is mobilised and deployed by the workplace, Bolton and Boyd's (2003) taxonomy highlights that the controls imposed by the workplace and in the service encounter are indeterminate and contested. In Chapter 5, I highlighted how the imposition of structure is incomplete and there is space for workers to exercise agency in a variety of ways, mediated by their work and non-work identities. For example, the capacity to resist can be exercised in direct ways, in the refusal to comply with workplace edicts on presentational labour. The spirit of resistance (the appearance of compliance while indirectly withholding consent to aspects of the full labour process) can be embodied by engaging in surface acting, or drawing in peers and customers as allies by creating communities of coping.

Therefore, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which the mobilisation of presentational labour means that the boundary between the public and private spaces (work and non-work identities) becomes more porous. The way in which non-work identities are co-opted by the workplace demonstrates that managerial controls, neonormative or otherwise, operate across the public and private spaces of workers' lives. Investigating these spaces, strategies, and motivations, alongside the cultural capital and non-work identities that workers bring with them into the workplace facilitates the development of insights about the ways in which workplaces and the practice of consumption commodifies and controls workers in the service sector.

The fourth challenge that researchers face when examining the service work labour process is the tacit and intangible nature of the skills that workers deploy when their presentational labour is mobilised in the workplace. Sheane's (2011) re-conceptualisation of emotional and aesthetic labour as 'presentational labour' represents another attempt to make the intangible nature of service work skills more concrete, by referring to emotional and aesthetic literacies. The emphasis on literacy is deliberate, re-articulating presentational labour as including aesthetic and emotional skills that can be learnt, a stance in contrast to the arguments that emotional labour is based on personality or socialised attributes (Payne, 2010).

Thus, workers can avoid the perils of 'lookism' by acquiring the specific kinds of presentational literacies that are sought by employers (Warhurst et al., 2000; Witz et al., 2003). For example, baristas who are recruited based on their role as customers have distinct advantages beyond just being in the right place at the right time. The attraction of the locale to the customer is likely to be based around their reflexive identity project;

as such, these customers come ready made in terms of dressing appropriately and are aware of scripts. Baristas seeking to add to their cultural capital can do as some did during my observation at Four Barrel and visit cafés with a strong emphasis on Third Wave practices, not just to have good coffee but to acquire tacit knowledge by hanging out.

However, the location of these skills in the non-work everyday life experience of workers means that the workers themselves are not necessarily able to perceive how their emotional and aesthetic literacies have been incorporated into the labour process. The lack of capacity to recognise how presentational labour is being co-opted by the workplace may be reinforced if social and professional feeling rules external to the workplace shape the motivations of workers deploying presentational labour more so than commercial feeling rules. As such, workers may not anticipate or recognise the skills they deploy or the ways in which their labour process fetishises them, because the skills are also located in the workers' broader everyday life. Thus, the challenge of recognising and remunerating the intangible skills of service work is not fully resolved.

Conclusion

Based on my observations of baristas, it is my impression that some are highly skilled emotional labourers, while many do not deploy social skills at all. Emotional labour was not something I discussed at length with my informants, but one exchange I had while visiting a pop-up coffeebar during the 2010 World Barista Championship in London helped me realise the important role it plays in the industry. I was commenting to the owner that I had done a coffee tasting with one of his colleagues the day before and how good it was as an experience. The owner commented, "oh yes, he is made for doing that sort of thing" I asked what he meant, and he explained how Nick[32] could complete

[32] Not his real name.

all the technical tasks to an excellent level but he was able to do more. He was able to relate and engage customers to a very high level; in some ways, the owner argued the pop-up was designed for baristas like Nick who can do both the technical and emotional work required to educate customers about coffee.

What I took away from this exchange was that emotional labour is important to the role of the barista but it is not essential. The pop-up had four other baristas working there but only one like Nick. This suggested to me that skilled emotion work was not something that baristas deliberately trained to gain, but it is a skill set that the business seemed to value. Furthermore, it appeared that the assumption was the skills were inherent in the individual's personality, their non-work identit(ies). This may explain why skills connected to presentational labour are recruited for rather than developed once people are in the workplace. Moreover, the value that the business puts on emotional labour may be trumped by the need for productivity. The different approaches to gaining and mobilising presentational labour add to the challenge of skill recognition; which skills are more important–the social skills or getting the job done? Depending on the model used by the workplace, it would normally be the latter. Furthermore, given the lack of control over the emotional means of production, it could remove workers' capacity for resistance if emotional labour and the skills they require are quantified to a greater extent. Employers are also reluctant to pay for skills; therefore, it is not in their interest to make hard-to-define skills more visible (Hampson & Junor, 2015; Rainbird, 2006).

Significantly, presentational and embodied labour also represents a commodification of workers' work and non-work identities. The insights from Besen-Cassino's (2013, 2014) studies of affluent youth in 'cool, bad jobs' and Jørgensen and Warring's (2003) emphasis on workers' biographies indicate that the ways in which workers resolve the contradictions imposed by commodity fetishism vary. My observations of baristas and the different kinds of identities they adopt and perform suggest that acknowledging variation in responses to commodity fetishism is valid. For example, it is much more difficult for workers in standardised settings to represent themselves as individuals, and in the case of cafés which use automated machines, these workers may even not be perceived as baristas. In these cases, the workers are much more likely to struggle with the processes of commodity fetishism, which renders them less visible to consumers and may result in the worker identifying more strongly with the precariat class than the wider coffee industry and the practices of baristas. However, as the story of Michael the barista who always lost his name tag illustrates, resistance is still possible, especially when the baristas have developed strong relationships with regular customers.

Many of the baristas I have met are labour aristocrats and command respect from customers. However, I have observed that this process of respecting the barista can shift to the point of reification that may make the barista uncomfortable, not from an empathy gap on the part of the customer or co-worker, but from the process of objectification (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, I have observed how customers will still disrespect baristas if they are not encultured with the practices of coffee culture (also see Manzo, 2014), demonstrating that the status of baristas may shift based on the values and behaviour of the customer (see Chapter 5). These differences in the processes of commodity fetishism may also arise from the diverse brand narratives (service and consumptionscapes) cafés and espresso bars use to attract customers and exploit specific markets. The following chapter examines these differences further to highlight the influence of business models on the ways in which baristas learn about and may embody their work identities.

CHAPTER EIGHT: BUSINESS MODELS AND LEARNING AT WORK

One of the first things I observed about baristas was that they had a particular kind of 'look.' For example, while Starbucks presents the ubiquitous, polite and clean nothingness of the 'middle-class,' many independent cafés create space where hipster or geeky oriented-individuality or punky funkiness abounds, with baristas emphasising the alternative and artistic nature of the businesses' style. The connection to the hipster identity or sub-tribe, with its emphasis on commodified counter-culture (expressed as stylised-vintage, retro or punk) and different interpretations of gender norms, is an important part of baristas' presentational labour and work identity. Furthermore, the hipster narrative represents the ways in which the barista work identity has been socially constructed and is present in popular culture. For example, hipster baristas have come in for a great deal of tongue-in-cheek fun–from memes to blogs–often critiquing the identity as representing snobbery or high culture. The association of baristas with high culture also links to the conceptualisation of the barista as artisan or labour aristocrat. Baristas' capacity to act as pedagogues and gatekeepers is reflected in this title to a blog entry on Tomato called <u>Everything you wanted to know about coffee (but were afraid to ask your hipster barista</u>) (Charles, 2011).

The symbolic meanings of these different aesthetic styles or identities are communicated to customers through the servicescape and are designed to demonstrate the diverse range of businesses that sell coffee. The diversity in different businesses selling coffee servicescapes is prompted by the business goal of adding value by: (1) capturing competitive advantage; and, (2) presenting a specific brand or image in tune with the business owner(s)' identity (Ashton & Sung, 2006; Sallaz, 2009; Storey & Salaman, 2008).

Significantly, for service work and the work of baristas, these two drivers (competitive advantage and identity) facilitate the creation of work contexts that contribute to creating heterogeneity within the occupation and work identity of baristas. This is because the different ways in which presentational labour is deployed in relation to the barista labour process are intimately connected with different kinds of barista work identities I have observed, discussed in interviews and read about.

Introduction

In this chapter I examine the ways in which the barista work identities are socially constructed within the service work triadic relationship (worker/manager/customer) and through their locations in specific service and consumptionscapes and communities of practice. As such, the mystory approach taken in this chapter weaves together my observations of coffee and café cultures with insights gained from the literature discussed in previous chapters. I also make connections to specific academic literature discussing workplace learning and business strategies. In this chapter, I first consider the influences of embodied and sensual learning to the construction and performance of the work identity of baristas by examining the concepts of *articulation work*, the *sensorium* and *body pedagogies*.

Second, in order to examine the impact of business strategies and learning on the identity formation of baristas, I describe four different business models I have created in order to capture the diverse ways in which the barista work identity is learnt and performed. These business models have been developed based on my observations in the field, reviews of online material such as blogs and news media, and key informant interviews. The models do not capture the full diversity of business practices in the coffee industry. However, the models can serve to highlight typical practices that are used to construct specific servicescapes. My purpose in developing these models is to address the overarching thesis question regarding identifying the characteristics of the barista work identity. The four models do this by creating a platform to discuss the impact of business strategies and learning opportunities on the differing ways in which the work identity of a barista can be expressed, performed and recognised (interpellation).

Embodied learning

In Chapter 7, I argued that academics have sought to make the intangible skills used in the provision of services more visible. For example, Bolton (2004) emphasises the emotional intelligence utilised when engaging in choice-making in relation to emotion work. Korczynski's (2005b) argumentation ties into the concept of task discretion, in that the more decisions a worker is able to make independently, the more skill is required in the worker's deployment of presentational labour. Furthermore, Sheane's (2011) use of presentational labour highlights how the skills service workers deploy can be conceptualised as aesthetic and emotional literacies, in order to make those skills more tangible. I incorporate the concepts of articulation work (Hampson & Junor, 2015) and the sensorium (Hockey & Allen-Collinson, 2011) into my discussion of baristas' embodied learning and work performance to further Sheane's (2011) goal of making presentational labour skills more tangible. However, it is important to note that the value of these skills in the workplace and the extent to which practices within specific workplaces allow workers to exercise those skills also need to be taken into account.

Articulation work is a theory developed by Strauss (as cited in Hampson & Junor, 2010) which conceptualises "work as a process, with workers collectively and individually coordinating disparate components of work into a smooth flow" (p. 531). Skills, as part of articulation work, refer to the ways in which workers integrate and interweave different lines of work based on and through the workers' "situational awareness, relationship management, and interpersonal negotiation (Strauss, as cited in Hampson & Junor, 2010, p. 531). All of this is negotiated while they manage time in terms of "the conflicting demands of clock time and clients' process time" (Hampson & Junor, 2010, p. 531) that service workers often face.

The focus on process and the dynamism of work by Hampson and Junor (2010) extends traditional skill analysis beyond a task focus to include the levels of complexity workers engage in as they seek to integrate the different parts of their work. The notion of conflicting demands which they highlight connects to Korczynski's (2005) arguments about the contradictory imperatives of the logics of customer orientation and bureaucracy. Most importantly, however, the concept of articulation work highlights the importance of situational awareness, a type of knowledge that comes not from training on or off the job but from participating in the job and gaining knowledge through practice.

If articulation work is taken into account, then as service workers, the barista labour process is driven by an emphasis on performance that demands much from workers, physically, emotionally, mentally, and corporeally. The emotions, or at least the capacity to fake an emotional state (surface acting), along with workers' appearances, are appropriated by the workplace and are part of what the customer consumes (Leidner, 1996; Warhurst et al., 2000; Witz et al., 2003), because service workers' bodies are "the producer and objects of exchange" (McDowell, 2009, p. 8).

However, presentational labour is not the only way in which workers' bodies are used as part of the labour process. Workers' bodies are also important because "[E]veryday occupational task-based routines usually require a *combination of complex* sensory practices" (Hockey & Allen-Collinson, p. 220, *my emphasis*). The following section discusses the ways in which bodily and sensual practices (sensorium and body pedagogies) contribute to the 'situational awareness' that baristas can develop (learn) once employed in order to make the sensual practices of baristas more visible.

The workplace as a sensorium

Viewing the workplace as a *sensorium* may allow researchers to incorporate insight that stems *from* the body rather than being *about* the body. Furthermore, it can demonstrate how the intersecting community of practices which relate to the work identities of the barista includes “not just cognitive but also corporeal” understandings “developed by bodily engagement in habitual, quotidian work practices” (Hockey & Allen-Collinson, 2009, p. 222).

The concept of the sensorium enables aspects of service work commonly labelled as ‘intangible’ to be seen as ‘tangible,’ by providing a sensory-based rationale that more clearly identifies the invisible, gendered, and performative aspects of service work. Hockey and Allen-Collinson (2009) focus on “movement and … the sensory dimension of working life: the aural, visual, olfactory and haptic” (p. 218). Therefore, the use of the sensorium enables researchers to consider the full range and integration of senses when analysing the embodied learning and nature of specific occupations.

The concept of body pedagogies (Shilling, 2005) offers a way of illuminating the sensory context in which baristas learn. Furthermore, as a framework, body pedagogy provides theorists with a “corporeally sensitive way of accessing some of the central elements involved in cultural reproduction and change” (Shilling, 2007, pp. 13-14). In the context of work, body *pedagogics* is the process, while body *pedagogies* are a specific set of practices attuned to a specific context and habitus (Shilling, 2008, 2010).

The notion of body pedagogics is relevant to the theory of ‘communities of practice.’ For example, the process of moving from the periphery to the centre of the community–or the shift in status from novice to practitioner– is subjective, dependent on members of the community acknowledging the novice’s shift to practitioner, as well as the participant recognising their own change in identity, a process of becoming, being and belonging (Hodkinson, Biesta, & James, 2008). Learning to be a barista by participating in and deploying the situated practices of the community of coffee-makers can be considered to be part of the intersecting body pedagogies of interactive service work, coffee making and craft (artisanship). From my observations and conversations with key informants, it has been made clear to me that good coffee is delivered by baristas who monitor their work using aural, visual, and olfactory senses (used in the deployment of technical skills), in combination with the haptic[33] (presentational labour) to monitor their interaction with the customer, and the manager(s)/co-worker(s), as per the requirements of the triadic relationship. For example, in some Third Wave coffee bars, old fashioned lever machines are used because the barista has to engage mentally and physically (haptic) while the shot is pouring. This is where the phrase 'pulling a shot' developed, because the barista controls the length of the pour not by pushing buttons but by pulling the upright lever down.

Molecular gastronomy's extension of the art of cooking beyond taste, smell, and vision, to the haptic space of memory and emotion illustrates how the consumption of food and drink may be conceptualised as a sensual, embodied, and identity-driven experience (Adamson & Lloyd, 2014; Humphries, 2012; This, 2012). Therefore, in order to fully understand the embodied labour process of baristas, it is helpful to consider both presentational labour and body pedagogies within the context of the café as sensorium.

Body pedagogies of being and becoming a barista

I have been told in key informant interviews that the rudiments of using the espresso machine can be easily learned, suggesting that anyone can become a barista–by simply

[33] The haptic is the combination of using touch and the movement which results from that touch. Hockey and Allen-Collinson (2009) describe the haptic in relation to tool usage and the way in which tactile practices in the workplace, like the use of a hammer, include the motion to strike but also the reaction to the vibrations. Given the focus of the haptic on touch and movement, other senses are simultaneously deployed guiding the movement. In the case study of baristas, I would like to stretch the concept of the haptic–touch and movement–to incorporate customers as well. This is because baristas, when they make coffee, can monitor customers and engage in tactile practices that do not just involve tools but themselves and the customers, practices which also include monitoring body language and facial expressions.

being hired to take on the role. Being given the title of barista could be enough for workers to identify with the occupation and to make it part of their identity. However, in my conversations with barista trainers, I have been told that some workers can deploy the kinaesthetic and sensory skills with ease, while others struggle and may never master the required coordination of technical and sensory-based know-how.

The different levels of ability in the performance of baristas from the start of their training illustrate how the deployment of skill can be perceived as ‘mundane’ or as ‘virtuosity’ (see Chapter 5) (Payne, 2010). If there are workers who can simply pick up the tools and immediately perform well, it gives the impression that the skills of the barista are easily gained and as a result may be classed as ‘mundane’ skills. The social construction of baristas’ skills as mundane is deepened by the historical location of coffee preparation in the private domain of the home (see Chapter 4), which locates coffee making in the mundane practices of everyday life.

Coffee making associated with the most public of domains–international competitions–illustrates how the skills of baristas can also take on the construction of virtuosity. The role of competitions in highlighting the technical skills of baristas plays an important role in the socially constructed identity of the barista as artisan. I have been told by former barista World Champions that the body pedagogy demonstrated by artisan baristas who can complete many tasks simultaneously takes years to learn and much practice, and further years to master. The work identity of these baristas is not bound up in their recruitment or job title. Instead, it is practice based, developed from the time they spend continuously learning–constantly *becoming* a barista over years.

As noted in Chapter 1, Sennett (2008) argues that craft-based learning is grounded bodily in ‘doing.’ Experiential and kinaesthetic learning are central to the acquisition of craft-based knowledge. Sennett’s (2008) arguments also demonstrate the enduring significance of learning on the job. The embodied nature of this learning is reinforced by the way in which the skills of consistency and coordination erode when baristas stop regularly working on espresso machines. Thus, body pedagogies can be lost, or never gained, if the learner is not making coffee regularly, or is not trained masterfully.

Despite the increasing provision of codified material on the technical skill requirements of baristas (see Hoffmann, 2014; Kingston, 2015; Rao, 2008; Viani & Illy, 2005), many baristas–even in workplaces with high amounts of structured training (such as Starbucks)–still learn observationally (see Chapter 4). Observational or experiential learning relies on new recruits' innate capacity to unite head and hand as part of their learning.

Experiential learning is a practice that reflects the traditional ways of apprenticeship training but also serves to keep the skills of a barista relatively intangible. During observations a few baristas have told me about their frustrations with the limitations of this way of learning, as they have wanted more tangible knowledge on the craft of coffee making beyond what the workplace provides.

The tasks of baristas involve coordinated movements as they shift from the 'window' of the front counter (where aural and haptic senses dominate), to the grinder, then to tamp down of the grounds, and to the placement of the portafilter into the espresso machine in order to pour the shot (where the aural and visual senses dominate). The visual and olfactory senses provide a check on whether the technical parameters of their recipes need refinement in relation to changes in the environment–such as atmospheric conditions. The level of humidity may require adjustments in terms of both the grind of the coffee and the length of the pour. Even as technology allows greater levels of precision, a skilled barista still has the capacity and latitude to determine if the shot has been poured correctly by observing the coffee liquor during the pour, as well as by smelling the shot once it is in the cup.

The aural, visual and olfactory senses are vital in assisting the barista to determine what adjustments may need to be made; for example, the shot may need to be pulled again with a different grind. The steaming of milk requires similar senses to be deployed with the addition of the haptic (touch), as by feeling the temperature of the jug, baristas can determine whether or not they have scalded or overheated (burned) the milk.

I have only discussed the creation of the shot and the steaming of the milk, which are two important technical parts of the work of a barista producing specialty coffee. However, a wealth of other skilled but taken-for-granted tasks exist, such as queue management, timing, and making customers feel special so that they wish to become regulars (see Chapters 3 and 4). Thus, what is also significant is that while baristas engage in technical tasks, they also can be required to interact with customers, extending the role of the haptic senses as they engage in the management of their and their customers' emotions.

However, as the discussion in Chapter 7 on presentational labour illustrates, more still is required of baristas: they must also present and embody the 'right' kind of identity. While many will be recruited into the workplace with the required presentational labour skills captured from their non-work identities or personal style, aspiring baristas need to learn the 'right' kind of language and ways of looking in order to access the job that they want.

Branding (brand narratives, brand by practice–see Chapter 3) plays an important role in enabling workers, as well as customers, to determine differences between workplaces. Therefore, situated practices in the servicescape also signal the types of knowledge that employers require workers to gain and embody. In order to understand the barista work identit(ies), it is important to also understand the work/life context(s) where baristas acquire and/or share, workplaces' organisational strategies mobilise, and workers deploy, embodied presentational and technical skills.

Business models, learning and identity formation

While businesses can take on a variety of forms, these businesses exist in a wider industry that includes specific drivers, price signals, and consumer behaviour. In response to industry specifics, organisations/firms develop business models in order to gain competitive advantage (Ashton & Sung, 2006; Sallaz, 2009; Storey & Salaman, 2008). A business model can be based on a hypothesis that shapes an organisation's strategy, capability or resourcing decisions, with the overall aim of achieving value for an organisation (Ashton & Sung, 2006; Bull Berger, 2014). Given the links between an organisation's strategy and resourcing decisions, business model choices may impact on the extent to which workers can learn (restricting it in some cases, expanding it in others) (Storey & Salaman, 2008), as well as the kinds of symbols used to communicate particular kinds of brand narratives to workers and consumers (Hall et al., 2013). The key point of the business models I describe and discuss in this part of the chapter is to illustrate that businesses provide espresso or speciality coffee with varying degrees of intent, focus and commitment. Moreover, I use these different business models to demonstrate how workplaces may provide very different learning opportunities, which in turn produce different barista work identities.

Business models and learning

As argued in previous chapters, a worker's status as a barista is jointly constructed by other staff, management, themselves, and also by how they are treated by their customers. As stated in Chapter 5, aspects of these power relationships within the service work triadic relationship are dynamic, as power may shift during different kinds of exchanges. Workplace learning and the way knowledge transmission occurs may also play an important role in the development of different barista identities.

Models of workplace learning where it is seen as expansive learning, developed by Englström (2001), and expansive and restrictive workplace learning contexts (Unwin &

Fuller, 2004) indicate that the extent to which workplace learning is facilitated or not can be attributed to the ways in which workplaces may be organised. Essentially, these authors argue that the workplaces' context produces different kinds of learning environments, which in turn can contribute to learning opportunities or, due to the way in which power can be exercised in the workplace, reduce these opportunities (See Appendix D for a copy of Unwin and Fuller's (2004) model).

While the binary nature of the models creates some problems (Evans, Hodkinson, Rainbird, & Unwin, 2006; Roberts, 2012), it is useful to understand how learning is connected to different workplace philosophies, and framed by business strategies such as the ones discussed in this chapter, in particular the way different workplaces make decisions in relation to the place and significance of coffee preparation to their service provision in the café market.

The different business models and the learning environments that are facilitated by the different strategies (expansive and restricted) are further complicated by how they are experienced by baristas as individuals within their labour process (Bull Berger, 2014). These differences can be explored in relation to the concept of identity work, or workers' biography (Billett, 2006, 2008; Jørgensen & Warring, 2001). Billett (2008) argues that workers' behaviour is shaped by two key elements: the workers' personal epistemology or work-life history (identity), and workplace affordances. Work-life history or personal epistemology can also be conceptualised as biography that workers bring with them into their jobs. Workplace affordances describe what the workplace context actually allows the worker to do (2001, 2006). Personal epistemology, or biography explains why some workers use these affordances to resist while others use them to submit to managerial prerogative (Billett, 2008; Jørgensen & Warring, 2001).

Business Models

Based on trends I have observed, the following subsections describe four business models typical of organisations supplying espresso coffee. In Model 1, the organisation's main agenda is to run a business–whatever that business is–and the coffee is included as a secondary concern. Often, businesses in this model will also position themselves in the coffee market by being cost-leader, where they supply espresso coffee at a low-price (Berger, 2014). In Model 2, the aim is to provide fast-food/drink options–and again the coffee is largely incidental. For example, one could argue that what Starbucks sells the most is milk and sugar; however, the coffee is sold at high price point (Ellis, 2005). In Model 3, coffee is important but, nonetheless, what the business is selling more than anything else is space and experience (Holm, 2010), and a touch of exoticism blended with memories. In Model 4, the focus is on the coffee. Food stock, if it is sold at all, is modest as are stocks of drinks other than water.

Thus, the strategies deployed within the context of these four business models also incorporate different values about the role of the barista in the business, further demonstrating why the barista work identit(ies) should be conceptualised as a pluralist concept. Model 1 features a form of the barista identity which stems from having the title rather than the body pedagogies. Given the distance from practice, these workers may embrace the title as part of their job designation or these workers may not see themselves as a barista at all and identify themselves as being a member of the precariat class.

Model 2 also incorporates the barista work identity by virtue of the title. However, the social significances of the job title could be stronger than in Model 1 due to the higher status ascribed to the business. As such, these baristas may be more likely to identify with their job title than the precariat class.

Model 3 incorporates practices that facilitate the development of a barista work identity which is bestowed not by belonging to a community of practice but by simply being given the occupational title and relying on popular culture for validation of that identity. As such, baristas in these contexts could be considered as being part of the precariat class, or if the workplace embraces the intersecting communities of practice of coffee and café culture the identity-based categorisation of the 'not yet' barista and perhaps the artisan barista could also be applied (see Chapter 6).

Model 4 incorporates the 'not-a-barista' identity in terms of the hipster resistance to labels, the Third Wave artisan barista, and perhaps the 'not yet' barista if the business is willing to train workers with none-to-little coffee-making skills. Figure 8.1 summarises and highlights aspects of the four models and the ways in which they contribute to the range of interpretations of the barista work identity.

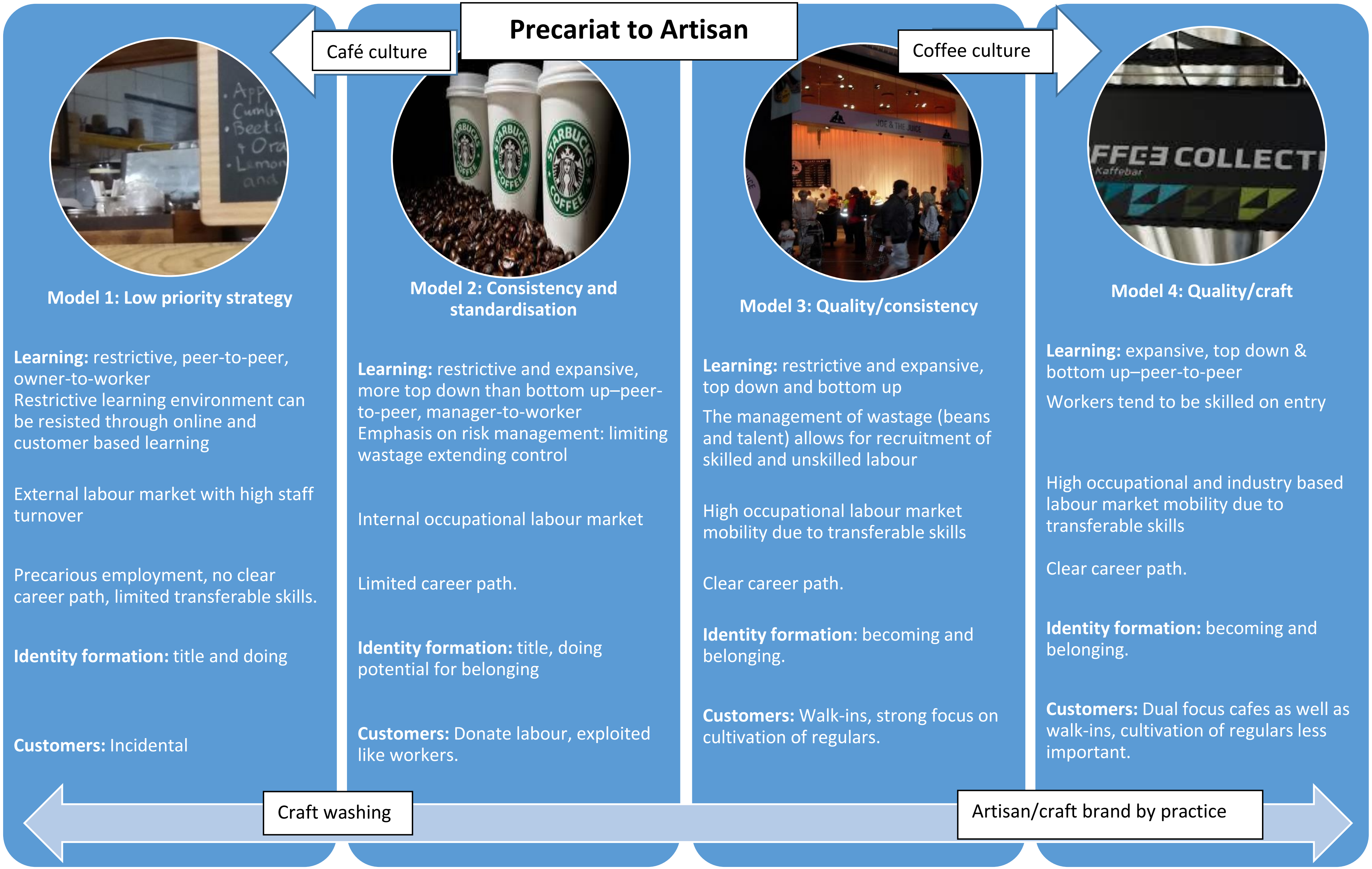

Figure 8.1 Business models, learning and identity **Source: Piercy, 2018**

Model 1: Low priority strategy

The first business model pursues competitive strategies that reflect a lower level of priority on the supply of quality coffee based on either a *low-price (cost*) strategy or the *low volumes* of coffee that are sold. The Aotearoa/New Zealand public has come to expect and demand espresso-based coffee from their service stations, supermarkets, and convenience stores–as well as cafés, restaurants, and fast-food outlets. This demand is reflected in the way that these businesses attempt to draw customers in by using signs advertising 'barista-made'[34] coffee. My observations of a business that places a low priority of coffee stems from the way in which it is now difficult to find a town in Aotearoa/New Zealand, no matter how small or rural, that does not have at least two or three businesses that include an espresso coffee machine (Hall, Tippler, Reddy, & Rowling, 2013; Sayers, 2009). However, just because the businesses have a machine does not ensure that the espresso coffee is good (Kayes, 2018).

Pursuing a competitive strategy focused more on price over quality is a core part of some business models (Storey & Salaman, 2008). Blog entries (Johnston, 2014; McKeever, 2013; Rainey, 2013), interviews, and my own experiences[35] have demonstrated to me that a business model with a low focus on quality production of espresso coffee can be found in the most unlikely of places, for example, in Michelin-starred restaurants. Business type, therefore, is not a good marker for determining whether or not quality coffee is available; other signals need to be used (Kayes, 2018). For example, I was told many years ago that coffee machine placement is a good signal of quality, in that "if you can't see the machine then they don't care about the

[34] While the claim of 'barista made' might be made the use of this language could also represent craft washing

[35] I include this example based on a discussion with Troels in 2010, when he reported going to a Michelin-starred restaurant in Copenhagen that had amazing food but served rather terrible coffee, ending the meal in an unpleasant way. While I have not been to a Michelin-starred restaurant, I have been to high-end dining establishments and have had a similar experience.

coffee" (C. Frethy, Personal Communication, February 20, 2009). In Model 1, the machines, beans, and people are likely to be hidden, off to the side or at the back of the building.

For these businesses, the coffee is not the focus of the business, and it is not central to their overall business strategy. Instead, the machine is likely to be operated by staff who make coffee irregularly, in conjunction with other tasks in the wider business. As a consequence, the role of barista is downplayed or if it is emphasised but not supported with training represents a form of craft washing. As such, a worker in this context may struggle to acquire the higher-level barista skills, as they may not make enough coffees to learn the required body pedagogies. Moreover, the embodied labour process may not be linked to the Third Wave of coffee notion of 'craft.'

Furthermore, when a business operates a low priority/price point competitive strategy, it is likely that there will also be an emphasis on the use of low wages and flexible labour (Storey & Salaman, 2008). The high staff turnover that is associated with precarious employment and service work (Williams, 2013; also see Chapter 1) suggest to the business owner that training is a net cost not worthy of investment (Ashton & Sung, 2006; Rainbird, 2006). The kind of training that might be offered to coffee makers, if any, is more likely to be informal, observationally based, tacit, non-codified learning. Such learning could be delivered owner-to-worker or peer-to-peer, facilitated by roasteries supplying the beans or by a franchise manager.

Due to high staff turnover, and bottom line strategies, getting access to peer-to-peer training is likely to be haphazard and uncertain (Blake, Buchholz, Pan, & Kelly, 2005; Peterson, 2015). For example, providing time on the espresso machine just to practice and learn leads to wastage of product. Risks caused by high turnover, the desire to avoid wastage, and managing the costs of training can be dealt with by using automated coffee machines. However, the use of automation, in line with the prioritisation of low-cost, low-quality product, further reduces the capacity of coffee-makers to acquire barista-oriented skills and identity in a way that is transferable to the wider labour market.

Based on my observations the businesses operating this model may well employ people exclusively to make coffee, and because of the tools they use and the product they produce, these workers might be called (by themselves and others from business and/or customers) 'baristas'. However, like the young woman from Denmark (Chapter 6), if they went elsewhere their lack of knowledge of barista-oriented skills would likely betray them. Thus, their work identity as a barista is self-bestowed, earned by *doing* the tasks of, rather than *belonging* to a community of practice which identifies with the practices of *being* a barista. Based on the use of insecure, flexible labour and a low-wage strategy associated with precarious employment, it is also likely that workers in these businesses may identify more closely with the category of the precariat. The identification with the precariat class may be strengthened by the restrictive learning context and a lack of a clear career path for workers. Similar to other workers classed as part of the precariat, not being able to access transferable technical and presentational skills may also 'trap' these workers in jobs that are poorly paid and seen as unskilled. This is because in an environment where the espresso is an afterthought, so too are the baristas, who are mostly left to learn as best they can by themselves, in isolation.

From my discussions with baristas, I suggest that someone who cares about coffee making, and who has a feel for it, will still have the potential to gain a range of technical skills. The first way a worker may circumvent a restrictive learning environment is through the deployment of their senses; if the baristas drink coffee, they will know when it is over- or under-extracted–the barista can see potential errors in the conditions crema, and smell it in the aroma. Second, baristas can draw on their customers as a source of knowledge. In my conversations with baristas, relationships with customers have been identified as an important aspect in how they learned to improve their coffee-making skills when their managers were not prepared to help them learn (Life history interview: Michael, 2015; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Quality Control Manager, 2015). A third option is to access knowledge outside the workplace. The internet is an important site of learning for baristas and provides a wealth of codified how-to information on eBooks, blogs, and *YouTube* ((Life history interview: Michael, 2015; Life history interview: Phil, 2009; Interview: Rocket Coffee, Quality Control Manager, 2015).

Model 2: Consistency through standardisation

Model 2 is exemplified by coffee house chains that seek to provide standardised mass-production of espresso coffee in order to ensure customers have a consistent experience, and to manage high volume sales. Many coffee chains (such as Starbucks), shaped by the strategies of fast-food brands, aim to deliver a coffee-based drink with a flavour profile that is consistent and uniform, wherever outlets are located (Blumenfeld, 2007; Participant observation: Portland Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2016: Simon, 2009). Therefore, consistency is far more important than quality. It is also important to note that while these businesses state selling coffee is their primary purpose, more often, what they are really selling successfully is atmosphere, space and amenities such as WiFi and clean bathrooms (Berger, 2014; Lin, 2012; also see Chapter 4).

In these kinds of neo-Taylorist settings, workers lack autonomy, and the dynamics of the triadic relationship lean towards exploitation of both workers and customers (see Chapters 4 and 5). For instance, separate front-counter staff, rather than baristas, take coffee orders. Customers are then moved off to the side by the counter staff or by the spatial flow of the store, where they wait for their order to be called out by the barista. Normally, either the customer's name or type of coffee or both is/are yelled out as the barista places the coffee on a high counter top normally close to the espresso machine. After collecting their drink order, customers take on the duties of table service, completing the drink order by adding more sugar or milk to their drink if needed and putting on a sleeve if taking away. Customers then filter through to a table, or away from the outlet.

The wealth of blog material, particularly from the United States, demonstrates that workers from Starbucks understand that they are in a workplace driven by high volume and standardised production. For example, the views of ex-Starbucks workers include complaints that often stem from the high levels of workplace control and standardisation (e.g., Browne, 2014; Frankel, 2007; Gates, 2014; Groth, 2011; Osberg, 2014; Wood-Rudulph, 2014). Moreover, the lack of control over the labour process is demonstrated by the move of Starbucks to pre-set push-button espresso machines (the Mastrena) in the Northern hemisphere, reducing the technical skill level that their baristas are required to deploy (Theshot, 2008). The use of standardised, automated practices also conveys a sense of craft washing in that the language of coffee culture is used but not the practices.

Significantly, a great deal of learning and training does take place in the context of Model 2 to ensure that all aspects of their work behaviour are in keeping with the brand message (e.g., Starbucks, Second Cup, or Gloria Jean's) and based on the workplace needing to be able to access a large pool of workers in the labour market. External forms of knowledge (communities of practice, competitions and online forums) and experiential learning may also be available to the workers in Model 2. For example, as in Model 1, baristas can use their senses and/or gain knowledge from customers. The potential for this kind of learning to occur is much higher within the workplace setting of Model 2, given the high volume of coffee production common to standardised settings.

The top-down method of learning is delivered by off-the-job training in the breakroom, slogans on posters, and empowerment rhetoric from managers, all of which serve to shape the technical and presentational skills that workers deploy in these businesses. However, gaining access to this training is dependent on the culture and internal working practices of different outlets, because the training is provided in-house. Factors such as staff turnover or poor managerial attitudes towards training can mean that workers may also be 'dropped in it'–having to take on tasks without sufficient training (Blake, Buchholz, Pan, & Kelly, 2005; Peterson, 2015). Once learned, bad habits/practices are difficult to break and are a common reason why café owners associated with Model 3 would rather take on staff with no prior experience in espresso making (M. Law, personal communication, October 2016).

However, the number of worksites common to the use of franchises in Model 2 can mean that gaining access to training leads to greater internal labour market mobility. Labour market mobility is demonstrated by a visible vertical and/or horizontal career path within the business. Workers can be promoted through the ranks, from counter service, to barista, and then to store manager–if the worker can last long enough in the neo-Taylorised work setting.

In this context, the barista identity is based on being identified as a barista by customers, internal working practices, and organisational culture. As such, it is a barista work identity that is crafted from having the occupational title, as well as *doing* the tasks involved in brewing espresso coffee. The image that Starbucks seeks to provide is still in keeping with the flavour of the indie and alternative (hipster) contexts, discussed in the next two models. Associates or partners are all clean cut, but they may have visible tattoos[36], untucked shirts, black skinny jeans (as of September 2014) and some piercings, so it is acceptable to be a 'little bit' different. The presentational labour, strict scripts, and standardisation, along with the automated machines, all contribute to a process of commodification that tends to strip the baristas' non-work identities away.

It is important to understand why workers in this kind of context would complain, even though the businesses are providing the most training in terms of hours (in comparison with Models 1, 3 and 4), and better wages and conditions than other neo-Taylorised interactive service work jobs. As discussed in Chapter 6, the use of standardised labour strategies leads workers to struggle under the contradictory pressures of meeting the needs of the sovereign consumer, which

[36] Starbucks has traditionally asked workers to cover up their tattoos. One worker started up a protest against Starbucks' policy on tattoos on a website for social movements called co-worker.org. Part of her argument was that baristas often have tattoos, and that Starbucks' policy was discriminating against employees with tattoos. The protest garnered so much support that it led to a policy change (Blackman, 2014).

requires creative individuated responses, alongside meeting the bureaucratic logics that demand consistency. These competing logics are difficult for some workers to reconcile, which is further complicated by the paradox of a work context that supplies so much training also being one that requires its workers to deploy very little technical skill. However, the training is about being on message for the brand–not for making good coffee. As such, the training is focussed on intangible soft skills rather than the technical skills emphasised in Model 3 and 4.

The focus on intangible presentational labour often comes at the expense of technical skills. This is a division in training focus that has been deepened by the decision of firms like Starbucks to automate. However, there are still businesses that could fit into Model 2, which have not chosen to use automation to ensure consistency of their product. Two examples, from Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia, are the Wild Bean cafés that are part of the BP petrol station and the McDonald’s McCafé. These two franchises use relatively high-quality beans and require their baristas to use espresso machines that are less automated than the Starbucks Mastrena machines (see Chapter 4).

These Model 2 examples do not provide espresso coffee as a primary product, which could locate them in the Model 1 context. However, the businesses decision to use coffee machines with limited automated features sends a message that the aim of this part of the business is to provide a high-quality product in a fast-food setting. This is a message that is further reinforced by the differentiated uniforms that workers who make coffee wear. Both franchises reinforce these signals: their baristas are skilled workers because the franchises run internal competitions using the World Baristas Championship standards. The competitions are in-house, and as yet no one from these businesses has gone on to place in or win in the Aotearoa/New Zealand-based national competitions. Thus, while the coffee might be secondary to the wider workplace, relationally it is first for these workers. When front-counter staff are busy, the baristas can also serve customers wanting petrol or fries, providing much needed flexible labour.

Model 3: Quality and consistency

Model 3 is a style of independent cafés that inspired my research through the choices to emphasise the provision of quality coffee through craft, as well as aspects of standardisation, to ensure consistency. These kinds of businesses focus on high volume production of coffee; however, such is the range of businesses that fall into this model I need to note that there are mixed levels of priority given to the emphasis on quality and training.

While the Second Wave of coffee in North America was characterised by the proliferation of chains–such as Starbucks–in Copenhagen, Melbourne, Auckland and Wellington, it was independent cafés and micro-roasteries that introduced espresso coffee to a wider range of consumers. Cafés that embrace these ideals constitute a space that Aotearoa/New Zealanders have turned to in droves, since their development in the 1990s (Hall et al., 2010; Liberty, 1998; Sayers, 2009; Sheenan & Burton, 1994). Part of the popularity of these cafés stems from the relationships that café owners and/or baristas cultivate with their regulars (Laurier, 2013; Oldenberg, 1999; Yerkes & Decker, 2003). Having a core group of regulars ensures that the businesses will still get customers even if they are located in low-rent locations outside the inner city and cannot rely on passers-by.

Model 3 businesses use aspects of standardisation to ensure baristas produce a consistent and high-quality product. However, often as part of the consumption experience the cafés offer, their workers are not standardised. In fact, the more original the personality and appearance of the baristas, the more employable they may be. For example, one of my favourite stories of informal recruitment was a young woman who walked up to the café owner and asked for a job–looking her over he agreed because he thought her green trousers were 'cool.' These independent cafés were and still can be designed to be havens, providing a welcome for all comers, for both workers and customers (Marsland & Scott, 2016).

Much like Model 1 establishments, these independent cafés have an *ad-hoc* commitment to training, driven by the owners' personal vision or previous experiences in the café industry. Therefore, extensive training and an emphasis on skill may or may not be important aspects structuring the labour process and work identity of baristas in Model 3. As such, in many cases, the barista work identity is shaped by the title of the job (*doing*), rather than participating in a graduated training system or apprenticeship (*becoming*) and being part of a community of practice (*belonging*).

For the most part, the training is provided by roasters who supply the beans, machines, and maintenance. However, workers' ability to attend off-the-job or receive on-job training is at the discretion of the café owner and roster manager. Often, training will be provided to a small number of staff who are then made responsible for passing the skills on to others at the café. This kind of peer-to-peer training can happen effectively, although a number of problems can crop up. For example, if the café owner does not see the work of baristas as skilled, or the workplace has a high turnover of staff, the technical knowledge of using the espresso machine may be de-emphasised or lost. Even if there is some recognition of skill and low staff turnover, some workers may stand guard over the coffee machine, thereby limiting the ability of other workers to use it, and by doing so these gatekeepers retain their higher-level status. Factors such as these may contribute to the creation of a restrictive learning environment.

When I visited Portland Coffee Roasters in 2015, I asked their barista trainers about this particular business strategy towards training. They explained that in order to protect the artisanship of their work as a roastery, part of their agreement with café owners is that *all* staff participate in the training and any new recruits have to be sent on the courses within six weeks of their appointment. The roasting company acknowledges the challenge this creates for the businesses they supply, and only requires workers to complete a few short courses of a couple of hours each. If the commitment to training within the businesses' culture is low, the trainers can even cram the courses into a day and a half. For the most part, their clients are happy to engage in the process of training of their workers, on and off the job, because they are committed to an emphasis on quality through consistency and/or craft.

Part of what drives an organisation's commitment to training and craft within Model 3 is the involvement of roasters, café owners and workers in the competition circuit. The standard setting and quality emphasis associated with the Third Wave of coffee have been shaped by the Cup of Excellence competitions, which first ran in 1999, and the World Barista Championships, that were first held in 2000. Competition standards have helped baristas create, understand, codify, and express an occupational identity that is understood and discussed beyond the confines of the workplace (Baijnauth, 2015).

Furthermore, as part of the changes driven by an emphasis on standard setting and quality, career paths have been made more visible to customers, members of the coffee industry and those who may aspire to be in it. For example, typical career progress in café and roasting businesses moves from runner/dishy/packer to barista; then from barista to trainer and/or machinista, and/or coffee buyer, and/or roast master and/or retail manager. These roles can in turn provide the skills, contacts and capital to then move into the *Master* status of self-employed consultant or café or coffee roastery owner.

Depending on how the career paths outlined above are managed, the workplace learning environment of baristas can initially be restrictive. For example, the shift from runner or front counter to barista can involve a long series of tests that workers have to pass to gain recognition that they are now 'ready' to train to be a barista. If the barista can humbly and patiently wait while they go through this initial testing process, the café owner or manager can ensure that the worker is more passionate about becoming a barista–rather than just being passionate about being cool. This is an example of workplace-based barista training that I have encountered in both Denmark and the United States, and which was articulated to me by a barista trainer in Portland, when she explained the training process at her previous café job:

> Baristas would begin working on the register, become familiar with the menu and the layout of the shop, then move on to brewing pour over and batch brewed coffee. After a few weeks, they would move to a position where they could shadow a barista on the espresso bar, then work in tandem with another barista pulling shots while the more experienced barista steamed milk and built drinks. Finally, they would be certified to work alone on an espresso bar after a "test," which would include explaining the menu and method for drink preparation as well as making a few drinks for a trainer. The shop would then allow them to pick out their own tamper (the signature tool of the professional barista) and we'd [the trained baristas] purchase it for them, which would signify their graduation from the training program. This would all take place over the course of 1-3 months depending on previous experience. (L. Lathrop, personal communication, December 12, 2015)

If the worker passes the tests and gains access to training, the 'not yet' barista (see Chapter 6) is let into a community of practice, which shifts the worker from a restrictive to an expansive learning environment.

Another strategy used by businesses which exemplifies Model 3 is to recruit baristas from a professional labour market where baristas have already worked for 3-5 years. Businesses might use either or both strategies depending on what is available in the labour market and how the employer wishes to manage the risks of training their workers. For the most part, cafés tend to only pay modestly above the minimum wage, but employers who value their baristas will offer higher wages, particularly in larger cities where competition for skilled labour is high. For example, in Sydney and Melbourne, a good barista in a busy coffee bar or café can earn an annual salary of AUD $50,000-70,000 (Knox, 2015), compared with the award wage of AUD $21-

22 an hour. If the baristas are fortunate enough to work full-time (service sector work is dominated by part-time work) that is the equivalent of around $44,000 a year (Fair Work Commission, 2018). The differences between the two skill management strategies further demonstrate the diversity of practices in terms of wages and training that operate within Model 3.

Model 4: Quality, craft, traceability and transparency

Model 4 includes many of the same aspects and emphases as Model 3, but I felt that the commitment to the political economy of coffee present in Third Wave businesses is a difference significant enough to warrant the development of a specific model. This model represents a niche market, and potentially low volume production of coffee for individual customers with a very high priority placed on not just the quality of coffee but the quality of their staff.

In Model 4, there are the same commitments to quality and consistency as Model 3. However, Model 4's emphases on these aspects exemplifies the unification of coffee culture and café culture discussed in Chapter 4 and the conscientious consumption practices discussed in Chapter 3. For example, Trailhead Coffee Roasters choose to purchase coffee whenever possible from women-run co-operatives (Observation: Portland Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2016).

Many of the businesses that typify Model 4 have a roastery. The inclusion of batch roasting equipment on the premises changes the feel of the service and consumptionscape. The connection to the political economy of coffee stems from the way in which coffee roasting can expose consumers and workers more directly to different parts of the coffee supply chain as part of the decommodification process (see Chapters 3 and 4). Model 4 operates more like the wine industry, where vineyards include 'cellar door' retail outlets on site in order to showcase their wine. Espresso bars, designed to showcase single origin coffee, prepare coffee in a range of ways–drip, siphon and French press, providing alternative brew methods to espresso.

The range of brew methods core to Model 4 are designed to bring out the best in the bean (Castles, 2016; Weissman, 2008). Espresso is only one brew method and it is one that comes with a few risks. Many aspects can go wrong with espresso-based extraction of coffee, even though a lot of effort has been spent in the last fifteen years or so to ensure greater levels of control over the variables involved in brewing coffee (Interview 1: Hoffmann, 2009). In a brew bar, a top barista does not just execute the tasks associated with the Italian bartender–pulling shots and keeping the machine clean and in good running order. These baristas are involved in checking roasting profiles and educating other baristas and the public (customers for coffee drinks and beans for home consumption) about single origin beans, the farms the beans come from and their flavour profiles.

Baristas in these businesses are skilled workers and they have a clear understanding about what their skills signify in terms of their work identity. As in Model 3, the recognition of skill is shaped by competition-driven standards or even higher personally-driven standards. For example, some Third Wave businesses are pushing the Specialty Coffee Association of Europe (SCAE) forward to do more in terms of disseminating knowledge and drawing attention to the conditions of farmers (Interview: Coffee Collective, Co-Owner, 2015). The learning in this environment is constant and blends top-down with bottom-up as most learning is completed peer-to-peer.

However, there is disagreement within the specialty coffee industry in terms of deciding what should be the best approach to quality, in terms of control and learning. Some businesses seek to use and build on the standard-setting of the Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA), and use language such as ‘recipes’ and ‘building coffees’ in order to ensure consistent quality. This kind of language and the focus on specifying the details of brew parameters precisely draws on molecular gastronomy’s focus on use of the scientific approach on creating explicit instructions for cooking recipes (This, 2006). In this approach, coffee beans are rigorously tested using different brewing techniques, in order to select the best brewing recipe for specific roasting profiles and bean varieties, which are then given to baristas to use.

Four Barrel challenges the notion of testing to develop recipes. Instead, roasting staff emphasise the continuing importance of sensorial knowledge by focusing on the ‘feel’ of knowing when the beans are roasted at the right temperature or brewed in the right way (fourbarrelcoffee, 2017). Given the reliance on observational learning throughout the four business models, it could be easy to overlook the sensorial knowledge that is embedded in workplace practices. However, if Sennett’s (2008) arguments are taken seriously, the shift away from sensory bodily knowledge to scientifically proven technical knowledge could reduce the workers’ and organisations’ capacities to locate themselves in a craft-based context. This is a tension in the Third Wave context that is not easily resolved. However, given the debate is occurring at all provides evidence of how seriously members of the coffee industry take knowledge development and seek to move the industry forward by reflecting on and critiquing different ideas.

I have observed, within these strong intersecting communities of practice in the competition circuit and between roasteries, many different types of knowledge sharing. Much of it occurs online, but it also can be facilitated by the pursuit of shared rental space, which can reduce the start-up costs of craft businesses. For example, Stumptown’s nitro cold brew was developed and refined in Portland through cross pollination of ideas with the craft beer micro-breweries (Portland Third Wave Coffee Tours, 2016).

The expansive learning environment of these workplaces is also facilitated by workers tending to be reasonably skilled on entry. As with Model 3, baristas have extensive mobility in the occupational labour market. Workers move from café to espresso bar or roastery with the awareness that a career path exists and that they are able to participate in the coffee industry seriously and long term–not just as a stop gap while they do something else (Interview 1: Rocket, River, 2015).

The work identity of the artisan barista is an important part of Model 4. The baristas' vision of coffee and their desire to provide customers with their particular way of doing things sometimes pushes baristas to move from employee to business owner. Thus, the motivation to open roastery/espresso bars may stem from a worker barista's desire to control the wider parameters of production. The barista's aim–to realise their particular vision of coffee, rather than their employer's–reflects the shift from journeyman to master (Observation, Four Barrel Coffee, 2010), and reinforces the appropriateness of the label 'artisan.' This is also reflected by the decision by some members of the SCAA in the mid-2000s to start a guild for baristas, rather than continuing to rely on the Roasting Association for identity and standard setting (Cho, 2005; Weissman, 2008). As such, Model 4 includes intersecting groups of practice that overall allow for the most agency for baristas to perform and to be seen as artisans, among the four business models.

Conclusion

In practice, these four business models (see Figure 8.1) blur and are not discrete. There are many business types and aims in the coffee bar and café industry, and their different characteristics can help or hinder the acquisition of the barista work identity. By examining the workplace learning experiences of baristas within these business model contexts, different levels of skill can be highlighted, challenging the inherent difficulties of capturing knowledge deeply embedded in organisations' internal workplace practices.

The reliance on tacit knowledge, along with use of sensory-driven and codified learning practices, also explains why *perceptions* of baristas' skills are so varied in terms of their location as mundane or virtuosity occupationally. The differences between the values of Model 1 and 4 also serve to demonstrate why such a range of the barista work identity exists: from the standardised McJob precariat to the craft-based artisan. Therefore, one of the reasons why service workers, such as baristas, need to be conceptualised as heterogeneous even within specific industries is the variation in competitive strategies (which includes training) used by businesses to gain value/profit in the service sector.

The business models also illustrate that a part of these competitive strategies is informed by identity-based consumption. The way in which customers and perhaps even workers seek out specific experiences that match identity-based choices push businesses to embrace values that the owners may not necessarily subscribe to in the fullest sense. The market niches that these business models seek to occupy or take advantage of also reproduce wider social structures in terms of gender and class. Consumption is not just a focus of consumers; it is also part of some workers' approach to employment. Social mobility can be enhanced or reduced depending on the types of business models that workers can access. The incorporation of workers' personal identity projects into the employment context, along with the variations in barista work identity, are the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION–BARISTAS, THE ARTISAN PRECARIAT

My love affair with coffee, which began with making coffee for my parents as a child, will not end anytime soon. Even though I am now fully aware of the industry's romanticised image and mythologies (including the classist, racialised and gendered construction of the barista work identity), my PhD research has drawn me to the coffee industry more; the coffee bean, its wider industries and passionate Third Wave baristas have my heart. However, I am still a labour studies academic and I continue to use a critical lens in my consideration of consumption, service work, and the place of retail coffee within these areas of sociological investigation.

The fashionable nature of baristas makes being a barista an aspirational work identity for some, due to its connotations of creativity, coolness, and skill. However, the reality of many barista jobs is far from cool and creative. Instead, the work is standardised, and often deskilled by automated espresso machines and routinised internal working practices. This kind of labour process is often accompanied by working conditions associated with precarious employment. As such, while these workers may have the title of barista, the labour process they are engaged in may not promote the idealised barista work identity. In fact, based on Standing's (2008) arguments, many baristas might not even class themselves as baristas due to the precarious nature of their work. However, I still argue that the cultural capital attached to the work identity of barista means that workers in a range of workplaces are eager to identify themselves with this occupational role.

Therefore, different kinds of workplaces, in conjunction with individual biographies, produce different interpretations of the barista work identity. The different *interpretations of the barista work identity also stem partly from workers' actual and socially constructed assumptions about the levels of skill and/or their social status within the workplace. This is important to note, because the higher the barista's skill level and/or social status granted to them by customers and industry players (intersecting communities of practice, such as competitions), the greater the workers' capacity to access improved working conditions, a clear career path and potentially greater autonomy in the workplace. Workers able to access these benefits may not experience or are better able to resolve the negative impacts of alienation and identity appropriation (fetishisation). However, such workers are also more likely to be young, white and male. Conversely, the lower the assumed skill level and/or social status granted in the triadic relationship, the less workers are able to access work that is not precarious in nature. These workers are more likely to be women, migrants, and from a broader range of age groups. The difference between these two polarities of work identity and practice is important to understand, because when workers need to deploy technical skills as baristas, they have the capacity to improve their skill levels and by doing so also have the capacity to exercise greater levels of autonomy in their work than other service workers.*

Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have drawn attention to patterns and trends in the coffee industry, particularly the work of its baristas, weaving together insights from the literature, the field, popular culture, and my personal life to answer my research questions. Taken together these chapters highlight the following: (1) That different work identities within a specific occupation contribute to the heterogeneity of service workers and service work. This heterogeneity, in turn, obscures the range of skills utilised in the technical and presentational labour mobilised in service work. The skills are obscured by the social and practice-based nature of knowledge transmission in service work like that of baristas, as well as by the dynamic and shifting alliances that may occur in the triadic relationship of customer, workers and employer/manager. (2) Interactive service workers are involved in providing labour or work that is more complex than is socially understood and recognised. This complexity stems from the ways in which presentational labour is commodified, appropriated and mobilised in the workplace within the spaces of the organisational context, internal practices, and the service encounter. (3) I further argue that service workers are also dehumanised as part of the service encounter through the structure of capitalism, specifically the application of commodity fetishism to workers by customers, colleagues, managers, capital and at times themselves. Commodity fetishism dehumanises workers, creating an empathy gap between customers/managers and workers. As such, the commodity fetishisation of service workers also reinforces and promotes compliance with the insecure and precarious employment practices common to occupations in the service sector. (4) As the conditions of precarious work continue to spread, the employment relationship is being altered in relation to consumption practices. Based on this shift in employment relations, I argue that we are moving towards a labour market and society shaped by the practices of the consumer society as well as the traditional production-based economy. However, the increasing influence of consumption practices stems from neoliberal inspired changes in employment relationships rather than the consumer society emphasis on agentic identity projects. As such, the self-determining identity projects highlighted by researchers engaged in aspects of service work and consumption-based research also need to be accompanied by an understanding of the political economy and structural forces which shape the labour process.

In this chapter, I seek to explain how my research can be extended and why it should be.

Connection and contradiction

Labour studies as a discipline pursues research in order to draw attention to issues of importance in the changing nature of work and the power imbalances within the employment relationship. The discipline also provides voice–telling stories of work from the workers' point of view. In accordance with the approach to labour studies I articulated in Chapter 2, I have examined the work identity of baristas from the point of view of those who are engaged in the occupation. I have accessed different representations and views regarding the barista work identity and labour process by conducting interviews, participant and non-obtrusive observations, and analysing popular literature, academic literature, and online material such as blogs. I have also considered the representation of the barista work identity historically and in relation to popular culture. My personal aim in focusing on the barista work identity was to highlight the identity formation and sites of resistance for workers who operate within but mostly outside of the union movement. I also sought to share stories that may resonate with non-unionised workers' experiences of the labour process in the consumer society and service economy and how those experiences are mediated by the social construction of skill.

By taking a mystory approach in my discussion of the experiences of baristas, I have used autoethnography, the sociological imagination and the life history approach to highlight the connections between individual biography and (macro) structural changes. My purpose in doing so was to discuss how workers experience their work and resolve the contradictions that structure raises, revealing the possibilities of agentic behaviour–including its limits. I also sought to draw out the different interrelationships between the layers of structure in society and the agentic ways in which individuals negotiate through those layers. It is these insights along with the mystory approach that provide my key contribution to labour studies; an exploration of multiple discourses and the relationship between structure and agency in the context of service work labour processes and consumption.

Connection, however, matters more than simply making sense of the ways in which the material and the symbolic shape our lives. Connection is also part of human interaction, something that has a particular bearing on service sector work and the tensions between presentational labour, brand narratives, and identity that service sector workers bear.

The relationships between structure and agency, the material and the symbolic, and the connections between them all have a place in my analysis. For example, the structure of capitalism means that for most of us, finding work is essential (objectively) as a means to meet our basic needs. However, having found work, we also need to find meaning within ourselves, to keep our sense of self stable, but also to reconcile ourselves to the symbolic message of the protestant work ethic (Beder, 2000; Charlcraft, Weber, Harrison, & Harrison, 2001; Morrison, 2006). However, work also provides access to social, cultural, and political worlds, providing experiences that can enhance or remove social status. Meeting our needs to have income while our social status is degraded is an intense contradiction, which is difficult to resolve.

The kinds of contradictions I have observed in the work of baristas and how they are resolved offer an important way to understand the complex and pluralistic nature of the barista work identity. For example, men working in the service sector behind bars of various kinds cope with the contradictions that service work provokes by repositioning their skills as being craft. Their identification with artisanship enables them to maintain a sense of masculinity in connection to symbols that resonate with historical features of production processes and the working class. Being able to assert their masculinity in this way, these men are able to survive the loss of manufacturing work off-shore and the digitisation and automation of white collar work.

The kinds of Third Wave roasteries and cafés where (mostly) young men work can showcase the labour of baristas more clearly, but, paradoxically, by making their skill more visible, the performance of the baristas is for sale even more so than the coffee. Making the baristas' skills more visible puts those workers on a pedestal, and by doing so may actually reduce the capacity for connection by reification, hiding the baristas' individuality and non-work identities behind the veil of performance art and production, a tension that is difficult to resolve given the focus of many of these workplaces is to enable conscientious consumption through decommodification strategies which include a focus on creating connection between the product and the product's producers (coffee farmers).

'Decommodification' is also important, because it may help resolve the tensions which arise from how the process of commodity fetishism dehumanises workers. Service workers in the context the four business models described in Chapter 8 can find ways to negotiate through and around the cognitive dissonance that fetishisation may prompt. I have found that baristas do this by holding on to their sense of the barista work identity, whether it be through outward messages communicated by the deployment of skill represented in the language of craft or through their inward awareness of competence, achieved by a sense of belonging through alignment and engagement in communities of practice.

As part of the decommodification process, connection is also crucial to the culture of craft and artisanship. Part of the artisan identity is about being connected personally and individually to the labour process. If such a connection can be forged, then the level of alienation may be reduced. From the perspective of the consumer, connection, authenticity, and individualism are equally important. The consumers' desire for connection is illustrated by the ways in which merchant capitalism is revived through farmers' markets and craft-based destinations, such as Third Wave coffee bars and roasteries.

However, increasingly, the narrative of 'craft' has been co-opted by firms associated with industrial capitalism. Marketing ploys that utilise the language of craft indulge consumers' desire for connection with the convenience of mass production. These firms, I argue, are essentially craft-washing, providing the language of craft and connection without the authenticity.

Craft-washing is a problem, not just because of its exploitation of consumers' desire for status, but because it represents the appropriation of many individuals' work. These are individuals who are dedicated to their craft; thus, craft-washing makes a mockery of the ideas associated with artisanship. As the fourth business model highlights, it is these workplaces that emphasise the skills of baristas the most and create workplaces that use machines, lighting, and floor-to-ceiling windows to showcase that skill. However, as with the reification of baristas through performance, the Third Wave context raises another paradox that I cannot easily resolve.

My research has demonstrated that service workers are exploited and alienated–even more than production workers–as service workers are drawn into and are part of what is produced and consumed. This conclusion is supported by my assertion of commodity fetishism. However, the baristas I interviewed did not seem to notice or even care that they were being fetishised (this paradox may be a result of privilege). Commodity fetishism creates contradiction for all service workers, particularly when the worker assumes being a service worker as their main identity: as the fetishised worker. Many other identities exist for workers; if workplace practices mean that these other identities lose their salience or power in the workplace (for example empowerment rhetoric which encourages workers to self-identify with their workplace), then workers may not be able to protect their inner selves from commodity fetishism. For example, if a barista has within their constellation of identities the notion of fun, then work is fun or a political act or an artistic outpouring or a community of learners and crafters. If in the service encounter or through workplace practices those identities are constrained in some way through disrespect or discipline and control, then the worker's identities clash, which can then be overcome through ambivalence or resistance or embracement. Work is not all bad if you do not own the means of production. The more closely workers feel connected with their work, the more they seem able to bear the processes of fetishisation.

The contradiction that arises from the demands evoked by the logics of customer-orientation, such as individualised service and authentic performances of presentational labour, may be resolved through the cultivation of personal relationships between customer and worker. These connections between workers and customers could provide sufficient reward to negate the impact of commodity fetishism (Bernson, 2011). Furthermore, even though the process may reify baristas if their skills are made more visible to customers, the labour of baristas can be de-commodified. Or it could be that workers are consuming, rather than engaging, in their work–deliberately negotiating their way through status games in a way that protects their inner 'self.'

For example, the labour aristocrat occupational identity illustrates how fashion and brand narratives may dictate how workers experience negative working conditions more so than the principles of neo-Taylorism. Labour aristocrats, due to a cool factor and perceived sophistication, have a higher social status than other service workers in occupations that have a social stigma attached to them. The socially-constructed occupational narrative of exclusivity and high cultural capital that these workers have access to means that they do not see themselves as precariously employed or as being part of the precariat class. This is a position reinforced by their relatively high levels of mobility in their occupational labour market.

In addition to the labour aristocrat narrative, the connection between individuality, creativity, and freedom in terms of the hipster 'trend' has given the barista work identity a higher social status within some groups (sub-tribes) in society. The capacity for some workplaces to welcome workers who are unique and/or alternative in terms of visual presentation (tattoos, specific clothing styles–vintage, retro, or hipster) also means that cafés can be spaces where quirkiness is welcomed (Bernson, 2011) (and, however, potentially commodified/exploited). Furthermore, the Third Wave of coffee and other wider discourses about craft have made the technical skills of the occupation more visible to workers and consumers, and in doing so have increased the status of baristas professionally more widely.

Unfortunately, the status of craft is not available to baristas equally. I have highlighted how the intersections between gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation also mediate experiences of inequality in service work. Attention needs to be drawn to the ways in which the white/male *gaze* hides discrimination in this sector. Some authors are already drawing attention to the marginalisation of different groups such as working class young men (McDowell, 2009, 2014), but different questions need to be asked which address issues of ethnicity, gender and sexual orientation. Furthermore, questions need to be raised about the use of informal recruitment practices and the lookism these practices can permit. Researchers and activists need to continue to draw attention to the empathy gap between customers and workers, and between workers themselves, so the gap can be reduced (Bernson, 2011; Fleetwood, 2008; Messing, 2014; Mirchandani, 2014; Williams, 2013). If workers' humanity can be seen and responded to with empathy and respect, service workers may be provided with the dignity they deserve. For example, Bernson (2011) eloquently argues that when customers are encouraged to dispose of their dirty dishes themselves by taking them to a table at the back with a 'bus-tub'–a large, normally plastic container–customers can feel an affinity for and connection to the baristas who make their coffee and how their work can be "demeaning" (p. 215).

Workers may resolve the contradictions the empathy gap creates through ambivalence, by engaging in role distancing and surface acting, or by resistance. I have encountered direct and indirect resistance in the stories of baristas. For example, baristas at Starbucks successfully campaigned to be able to show their tattoos, and baristas are unionising as more innovative campaign strategies are used with service workers' needs in mind. Furthermore, while baristas' performance, as well as their coffee, can be purchased by the customer/manager/employer, baristas have ownership over the extent to which they comply with workplace edicts on presentational labour. The contradictions that emerge from the way in which presentational labour requirements commodify workers' non-work identity can be dealt with through small acts of resistance–for example, losing their name badges, dying their hair green, and making sure they never wear regulation black socks.

As such, affluent young people located in precarious employment may not experience their employment as precarious. This is because they respond to their situation with ambivalence, re-positioning their pursuit of work as the pursuit of status or as an act of consumption. As a result, these workers are in denial about their inclusion in the precariat, instead seeing their time in precarious employment as temporary until 'real life' begins. The only problem is that for many workers, their employment as a service worker can be a long-term experience (I mean in terms of labour market options rather than job tenure). This is particularly the case for workers who are employed in more standardised settings, which do not emphasise craft.

The perception of greater agency for white middle-class workers who are precariously employed is important, but I do not want to overstate it because even middle-class workers with safety nets are vulnerable. These workers are vulnerable due to their young age, due to their lack of access to adequate union or worker representation, and due to their lack of awareness about what employment rights they may have.

Standing (2008, 2011) argues that it will be the job of these young educated middle-class workers to rise up and fight. However, the role of denial on the part of some workers to see themselves as being part of the precariat is unexamined in his work, and academics who have noted this position have not engaged in further analysis of this attitude, as it was beyond the scope of the studies (see Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Lloyd & Payne, 2012). I argue that more attention needs to be paid to these workers who see their long tenure in precarious work as a temporary state of affairs (hence my use of the word denial). One line of argument that could provide some answers are Besen-Cassino's (2014) insights regarding the way in which the employment relationship is being altered in line with the logics of consumption, a change that may reduce service workers', particularly young service workers', capacity to deal effectively with the asymmetric service work triadic relationship; as such it warrants further investigation.

Future directions for research

In addressing the paradoxes and challenges identified above in terms of future research beyond the scope of this research, I would like to raise the question as to what degree baristas are willing participants in the use of their non-work identity and private presentational efforts. I ask this question because a workplace that matches a person's identity is more likely to engender a feeling of belonging and privilege than one that does not. Furthermore, such workplaces may provide benefits that accrue to the worker from participating in communities of practice, in effect compensating for the exploitative nature of work itself in capitalist societies.

While I have noted the privilege that has accrued to certain baristas with high cultural capital and the marginalisation which occurs to baristas who do not have access to high cultural capital, I have not deliberately and deeply investigated the experiences of those who are marginalised. A broader analytical stance is needed that highlights the ways in which the barista work identity, which in being delineated by access to high cultural capital and 'coolness,' also needs to take into account the compounding effects of racism, sexism and homophobia (Williams, 2013). Intersectionality reveals important identity-based insights about the changing nature of work and the occupational narratives in relation to power, illustrating how inequality is compounded by workers' gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation (Brickner & Dalton, 2017; Williams, 2013; Williams-Crenshaw, 1991).

The use of an intersectional lens would also be useful in further considering the denial of the precariat identity by many young workers engaged in precarious employment, as it is my suspicion that the use of denial would also be connected to privilege. An intersectional lens would also be useful to determine the extent to which the emphasis on the technical skills of coffee preparation is also a way for baristas to protect, as well as project, their sense of masculinity as a form of professionalism, as I have encountered different performances of masculinity in the field.

In terms of future research, I would also want to survey a wide range of baristas from the different business models about how they would describe their work identity, because I still wonder: to what degrees do baristas generally identify with their job title and their sense of work identity, which is shaped by their conditions of employment? Some workplaces supply aspects of artisanship, which provide autonomy, while in other workplaces broader communities of practice and the triadic relationship provide opportunities where workers can claim some craft-based (power) knowledge for themselves. Baristas who are not located in work contexts that encourage and support the formation of the artisan identity could be considered to be part of the precariat in terms of their working conditions.

It is my expectation, based on the social construction and higher status associated with the work of baristas, that many would see themselves as being baristas first and foremost rather than members of the precariat class. If this were to be the case, then the emerging class of the precariat still has a long way to go in terms of becoming a rallying point and definitive source of worker identity in terms of Standing's (2008) arguments.

Emotional management is central to the creation and/or maintenance of different allegiances within the triadic relationship. Despite its importance, emotional and other forms of presentational labour are inconsistently applied by organisations within the service work labour process. This could be because, as workers' capacity to 'own' the means of production (worker performance in the service encounter) increases, so too does their capacity for agency in comparison to manufacturing work, despite the impact of standardisation. The tension that arises from the inconsistent demand for presentational labour, or the inconsistent ability to deploy, is not currently explored in the service work literature. In some ways, this is to be expected. If the skills required to deploy presentational labour are made more visible, then a basis to demand higher wages can be created. However, if the demand for presentational labour within the labour process is inconsistent, then that kind of argument is undermined. Therefore, I believe that the gap between work that is required and work that is desired in the service work labour process is worthy of more investigation.

Conclusion

We are moving towards an internalised consumer society. I state this with some dismay, because I believe, despite the capacity for greater agency, that a consumer society is one beset by serious inequalities hidden beneath the motivations of aspirational consumption, exacerbated by the neoliberal emphasis on individual responsibility. However, the decommodification potential of artisanship may offer a way to resist the more negative impacts of the consumer society on the employment relationship and the nature of work.

Baristas are seen as artisans by consumers interested in the context of craft, by the barista guild, and within the context of international competitions. These intersecting arenas of artisanal identification stem from the recognition of different practices and aspects of the barista work identity to which some but not all baristas have access. The first characteristic is recognition and respect for baristas' technical skills (and to some extent, their presentational labour). The second is the existence of an informal but still graduated (and increasingly codified) training process, which includes the potential to accumulate skills that lead to self-employment as master craftspersons. The third stems from participation in intersecting communities of practice within the workplace, roasteries, online, competitions and in the wider industry. The fourth is the baristas' own awareness of the wider coffee industry and their place within it, including the principles of fair trade, glocalisation and transparency (direct trade). Finally, and most importantly, baristas, like other artisans, can enjoy high levels of autonomy in their work role, including control over their corporeal and embodied practices, reinforcing individualism, creativity, and unification of head and hand.

Baristas who are not located in work contexts that encourage and support the formation of an artisan identity could be considered part of the precariat class in terms of their working conditions. However, opportunities for resistance demonstrate that even though they may be employed precariously, baristas are not necessarily members of the precariat or see themselves as such, due to a strong occupational narrative. Perhaps baristas are aware of their status as members of the precariat class–workers with insecure/irregular hours and low wages–but this status could be deemed irrelevant because their barista work identity is only seen as temporary.

Even if they do not self-identify as part of the precariat, baristas' working conditions certainly place them into the lifestyle of a precarious worker. Precariously employed workers rarely have access to training that might enable them to seek better working conditions. The need to be constantly and flexibly available to employers can trap baristas into employment/work options from which escape is difficult. For example, workers in the precariat class are also time poor, so even if they had the skills they may not have the time to apply for jobs offering better working conditions. However, the strong occupational narrative, collective action, and baristas' higher social status do seem to offer a comparative advantage that is not available to hotel cleaners and others engaged in less glamorous service sector jobs.

In sum, while the occupation of baristas can be internally constructed and understood, the occupational or work identity of baristas is also co-constructed within the triadic relationship. Due to the significance of interpellation, power relations in the triadic relationship shape the extent to which the barista work identity can be embodied and performed. Therefore, the nature or characteristics of barista work identity are widely contested within and co-constructed by the industry, the workplace, within the service encounter, and among baristas themselves.

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APPENDIX A: FIELD SOURCES

Table A1: Key informant interviews

Location	**Industry role**	**Interview date/s**
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Franchise manager	2009
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Wellington	Barista Tutor/Trainer	2009
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Nelson	Creator of the New Zealand café guide website	2009
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Roast Master/Co-owner Rocket coffee	2009
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Cambridge	Café owner/Barista	2009
Britain, London	Roast master	2009
Britain, London	WBC Champion 2009	2009
Denmark, Copenhagen	2006 WBC Champion, Barista Trainer, Co-owner The Coffee Collective	2010/2015
Denmark, Copenhagen	Roast Master/Co-owner Kontra Coffee	2010/2015

San Francisco	Barista trainer Four Barrel	2010
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Owner of Momento cafés	2011
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Quality control/Barista trainer, Rocket coffee	2015

Table A2: Participant Observation

Observation type	Observation site and time period
Observation as customer in café/coffee bar	• Momento Coffee 2009-2016 • Independent cafés in Aotearoa/New Zealand's main cities Wellington, Christchurch (before earthquakes), Auckland and Hamilton, • Cafés in the regions Taranaki, Waikato, Thames Coromandel, Bay of Plenty • Cafés (both international chains and local independents): Suva Fiji, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia, San Francisco, Bethesda USA, London UK, Rarotonga, Copenhagen Denmark, and Stavangar Norway
Roasteries	• Rocket, Hamilton, NZ 2009 – 2016. • Coffee Collective, Copenhagen Denmark, 2009; 2010; 2015. • Kontra, Copenhagen Denmark, 2009; 2010; 2015. • Four Barrel, San Francisco, USA 2010.
Barista competitions	• Auckland, NZ semi-finals 2009. • Christchurch, NZ finals 2009. • World Barista Championship London June 2010.
Barista training and professional development	• Cupping competitions (Coffee Collective, Copenhagen, February 2010) • Barista training class (espresso focussed) (Kontra, Copenhagen, February 2010) • Coffee tastings (Taking flight, Square Mile pop-up, London, June 2010); (Rocket Coffee, Hamilton, NZ, May 2015); (third wave coffee tours, Portland, Oregon, USA 2016)

Table A3: Life history interviews

Location	Industry role	Time period
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Phil /Barista, independent	2009
Denmark, Copenhagen	Sofia/Barista, The Coffee Collective	2010
Denmark, Copenhagen	Troels/WBC Champion/Barista trainer, Co-owner Kontra Coffee	2010
Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hamilton	Michael/Barista McCafe	2015

Table A4: Participant observation/returning to the field

Observation type	Observation site and time period
Observation	New York, Intellgentsia and Stumptown coffee bars, April 2015
Site visits for validation of findings	Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand, Rocket Coffee and Momento, May 2015
Site visits for validation of findings	Kontra and Coffee Collective, August 2015
Participant observation	Portland, Third Wave Coffee Tours, November 2015
Observation	Melbourne, Sensory Lab, April 2016

APPENDIX B: LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW FINDINGS

Life History: Phil

After corresponding by email, Phil and I met at a café for the interview in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. He chose to meet me at the café where he worked as wait staff while he was a university student. It was here in this café that he was 'dropped in it' in terms of learning to make coffee. Phil had worked in the coffee industry for some years. His first job in hospitality was as a baker, but the hours were incompatible with his university studies, so he got a job as a café worker instead, starting on the floor and then making coffee. From this job, Phil shifted to the company supplying coffee beans, to be a barista trainer and later a junior roaster. After a while though, like the owners of the Coffee Collective in Copenhagen and the owners of Four Barrel in San Francisco, he decided to open his own business. But in Phil's case, the business was a café.

Phil explained that over-time his work identity moved between three spheres of practice shown in *Figure B1: Intersecting work identities.* Phil also made distinctions between full- and part-time workers, and links between lifestyles and identity in the coffee industry. We also had an important conversation about the differences between café culture and coffee culture. He argued that café culture is about sociability, whereas coffee culture is about the industry, the craft and skills involved in getting the most out of the bean from farm to café. I learned a lot from Phil, including how competition for café clients between niche roasters has created a reluctance to share ideas between roasting firms. The focus on secrecy between roasting firms was also part of my discussion my key informant interview with the Aotearoa/New Zealand Café website developer in terms of the way roastery's kept their café client lists as secret as possible. This industry-based internal conflict could be connected to the 1990s era of coffee wars mentioned in passing by Marsland and Scott (2016) regarding the Wellington café scene.

In the case of Phil, he implied that questions would be asked if he was seen at places like Rocket. Most of the knowledge Phil gained had been from his roast master employer. As much as Phil wanted to learn from other industry experts, he did not want to do so at the cost of losing access to his boss's knowledge. Niche roasters in Aotearoa/New Zealand were responsible for training baristas – and thereby disseminating knowledge, but the competition between firms also created impetus to protect information. These contradictory impulses demonstrated a tension which illustrated one of the reasons why Phil had struggled to upskill himself.

While Phil shared significant insights about the coffee industry in Aotearoa/New Zealand, he also knew a lot about the industry internationally. Phil also demonstrated that the easily-accessed sources of information shared via blogs and discussion groups provided an important site of knowledge and identity development for contemporary baristas. The use of online resources also demonstrated that while information in workplaces could be restricted, online material was not.

Figure B1: Intersecting work identities

Source: Life history interview: Phil, 2009

Life History: Sofia

Sofia and I met at her work: The Coffee Collective roastery fieldwork site used for participant observation in Copenhagen (2009-2010). Unlike my interview with Phil, I did not have an interview schedule or ask lots of questions. I was in Denmark as part of a PhD scholarship hosted by the Graduate School of Lifelong Learning, Roskilde University. Part of the scholarship included the opportunity to learn more about the life history project (Olesen, 2004). As such, I received training in the life history approach. Therefore, the interview with Sofia, in line with the Dubrovnik method (Mellon, 2016), was similar to a natural conversation. Prompts were used, tracing a clear chronological path of Sofia's movement into the coffee industry and between Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Sofia's coffee-based work life history began in Mälmo, a border town between Denmark and Sweden where she got her first job at a coffee bar. She was a regular at one particular coffee place with a relaxed and cool vibe, which was a refuge for her during her university studies. One day she was invited by the owner to think about moving from one side of the counter to the other.

She talked about how the owner was ahead of his time and trained her well to make espresso coffee. However, it was in her second job working for Tim Wendleboe in Oslo that she learnt the skills and knowledge that she now associates with the 'professionalised' work identity of the barista. Tim Wendleboe, who won the World Barista Championship in 2003, has a strong internet presence and is an influential source of information about direct trade, roasting, and making coffee.

During her description of the different jobs she had, and how they helped her see herself as a barista, Sofia also shared a wealth of information. She contrasted herself with her sister, who always takes the 'right' path in life, implying that by breaking studies up with full-time barista work and moving countries she was *not* taking the 'right' path. The notion of becoming a barista full-time being a waste of potential was a pattern of thinking I noted more than once. For example, a similar sentiment was expressed to me by the barista trainer at Four Barrel in San Francisco. He told me that when he left degree study to be a barista full-time his family were disapproving.

Sofia also shared her love for her Master's degree in conservation, with her personal research project focussed on the use of different glue in the preservation of historical materials. I was fascinated that, even in her high-level academic pursuits, she still chose a subject that at its heart is also focussed on craft, and on using her head and hands together. However, Sofia gave the impression that at last perhaps she was taking the 'right' path, learning skills to help preserve her country's culture. Her Masters seemed to be a pursuit of craft she could justify to herself and her parents much more easily than her choice to make coffee.

Life history: Troels

Troels' work history in the Danish coffee industry began with the bittersweet story of his desire to follow his father's footsteps in architecture, but after applying three times, he still was not able to get into architecture school. While he was moping at home in Jutland, his brother called him and told him to come to Copenhagen. One of his brother's friends had just broken his leg and was not able to start his new job at Café Europa –Troels should come and take it. The informality of his recruitment echoed Sofia's shift from one side of the coffee counter to the other. Troels' story also connects to Sofia's preference for learning, which includes the unification of head and hand. Troels may not have entered architecture school, but I think the orientation to learn a craft carried over from one ambition to the next.

Café Europa had a culture of excellence in coffee-making and already had a WBC champion on staff. Troels' talent was detected early on, and he was encouraged to think about competing. Discovering that people were prepared to invest time and money in him to help him do the job better, was life-changing. Being a barista was not just a job, it was an occupation that he knew he was good at, a personal observation affirmed by colleagues and the business owner. The notion of discovering one's talents through making coffee, and by doing so finding something rewarding that makes one feel good about oneself was a story that resonated in conversations I had with other baristas during observations.

Troels' decision to compete was connected to a wider community of practice that had deliberately been created by the owners of Estate Coffee and Café Europa. These business owners decided that they wanted to lift the coffee industry in Copenhagen and make it the best in world. As part of lifting the quality of the coffee they supplied, Troels told me that the owners chose to pool their resources, including their time, to train the employees who showed an interest in competitions in the World Barista Championship to do so.

The story of co-operation and collectivity between Café Europa and Estate Coffee was a different picture from what Phil had in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The culture of sharing knowledge with the 'opposition' would occur over and again during my fieldwork in Copenhagen, demonstrating a much more collective and open learning environment. However, the training provided, even for the WBC, was informal and unstructured. I discussed the formal training available in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Australia with Troels and he shared his envy based on the unavailability of formal institutionalised training in Denmark. To share knowledge Kontra also hosted growers from South America. Thus, a culture of learning in these businesses extended the length of the coffee supply chain. Such practice is increasingly common in Third Wave coffee businesses focussed on direct trade, for example; Stumptown in Portland also hosts growers.

Like Phil over time, Troels shifted from being a barista to being a business owner. Troels took the industry knowledge he gained through his work in Café Europa and the WBC to become a partner within Kontra coffee roasters. Troels explained that Kontra was more than a roaster and retail shop. In 2010, Kontra incorporated several partners. These partners in Kontra, unlike Kurt and Troels, also owned five cafés. The roasting and retail arm of Kontra supplied coffee and training to each of the five cafés, as well as other to markets looking for filter coffee or other kinds of non-espresso coffee. Troels was responsible for training the baristas across these five sites. On my last visit to Kontra Troels' role had shifted again to being a machinista, maintaining very expensive automated coffee machines and had shifted from partner to co-owner of Kontra coffee.

Life history: Michael

When Michael was in high school in a small rural town in Aotearoa/New Zealand, he noticed that his peers with part-time jobs had disposable income, and so with that in mind, he applied for work at McDonald's. Unlike the other baristas, Michael went through a formal job application process. He did not succeed the first or even the second time he applied for a job. However, he was persistent, and was hired after his third application. Being a barista was not part of his recruitment story. Instead, it was about keeping up with his peer group financially. However, once within McDonald's he transitioned first from front counter to café, and then from town to city (Hamilton).

He was clear with me that when he worked full-time as a barista, he became proud of his identity as a barista. He cared about keeping his work environment clean and well organised. He developed relationships with his regulars as they were important sources of feedback, and he continually declined offers of promotion so that he could focus on making coffee the way he wanted to. Given his long tenure at McDonald's, he knew that once an employee began the promotional pathway, they become trapped in enforcing workplace regulations, systems and processes. He did not want that for himself. He wanted the paradoxical freedom of being a shop floor employee. The freedom that he referred to was bound up in the very different and at times slightly obscure duties of the McCafé counter. In contrast to the duties of staff on the front counter, making coffee was not something that all McDonald's workers were trained to do, as such McCafé workers, especially ones as good as Michael are often left to their own devices providing a sense of autonomy out of step with neo-taylorised setting of standardised fast-food.

Michael's work experiences illustrated the salience of shifting identit(ies), regarding the extent to which he saw himself as a barista. For example, when he moved to Hamilton he worked as a barista full-time. At this point in time, he saw himself primarily as a barista and took his work very seriously, but then he enrolled at University. Over time he became more serious about his studies than his work, and his identity became split between 'Michael the student' and 'Michael the barista', to the point that when we spoke, he was letting go of his identity as a barista. I noticed another series of delineations, which were 'Michael the student', 'Michael the barista', and 'Michael the McDonald's worker'.

The clash of work identities between 'Michael the McDonald's worker' and 'Michael the barista' was expressed directly. One example was his rejection of name tags. His regulars knew who he was. Therefore, he did not need to comply with the managerial demand placed on McDonald's workers to wear name badges; his skills demonstrated his identity as a barista.

The clash between the barista and the McDonald's employee identity was also expressed indirectly, as a labour process issue due to tension between front counter work logics and policies interfering with café work logics and policies. For example, the shift to supplying barista-made coffee in the drive-thru was a key source of tension, because the drive-thru traditionally is meant only to take 60 seconds from order to delivery (this imperative has been altered since the organisation shifted to made to order burgers but nonetheless speed remains an important focus when managing the drive-thru). The imposition of time pressure from the front counter staff is incompatible with the standardised preparation of espresso coffee where managing the shot alone takes 30 seconds of time. These kinds of tensions also illustrated the conflicting and contradictory imperatives embedded in the chain based, mass-produced food and drink context that McDonald's exemplifies with the relaxed emphasis of independent cafés

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: ETHICAL APPROVAL

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO *Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Gemma Piercy <gemma@waikato.ac.nz>

Ethics Approval

1 message

Bre Gordon <breanne@waikato.ac.nz> Wed, Jul 9, 2008 at 4:07 PM
To: Gemma Piercy <gemma@waikato.ac.nz>
Cc: Tom Ryan <TRYAN@waikato.ac.nz>, "Paul Harris (departed)" <PAH@waikato.ac.nz>

Gemma Piercy

Dr Tom Ryan

Dr Paul Harris

9 July 2008

Dear Gemma

Application for Ethical Approval: **Baristas: The new artisans?**

Thank you for submitting an Application for Ethical Approval to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee. The committee has considered your application and is happy to approve it. This approval is only for Phase One of the research as you have requested. We will need applications for the remaining phases in due course. We had one or two suggestions:

- You should include a deadline for withdrawal from the project such as within two weeks of completing the participant observation at the respective establishments.
- The contact details on the information sheet should have fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz rather than breanne@waikato.ac.nz

We wish you all the best with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Ruth Walker,

Acting Chair, FASS Human Research Ethics Committee

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: ETHICS APPLICATION

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

Applicants are advised to read the University's Regulations Governing Human Research Ethics (http://calendar.waikato.ac.nz/assessment/humanresearchethics.html) before completing and submitting this application to the appropriate authority.

1. **NAME OF RESEARCHER**
   Gemma Piercy

2. **DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCHER**
   Societies and Cultures

3. **RESEARCHER FROM OFF CAMPUS**
   N/A

4. **TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT**
   Baristas: The new artisans?

5. **STATUS OF RESEARCH**
   PhD

6. **FUNDING SOURCE**
   N/A

7. **NAME OF SUPERVISOR (S)**
   Dr. Tom Ryan and Dr. Paul Harris

8. **DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT**

This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. This investigation will be shaped around the life histories of 12 baristas from the medium-sized city of Hamilton. Six of the life histories will be drawn from baristas working in independent cafés associated with the concept of 'slow food' and smaller independent enterprises; the other six will be from baristas working at chain/franchise cafés associated with the concept of 'fast food' and multi-national corporate structures. The study will focus on how they learn(ed) to be baristas and the role their work environment played in this process of formation of work identity and skill acquisition. Two key comparisons will be made within this study: firstly, between formal work-based learning and informal workplace learning; secondly, between the slow- and fast-food contexts. Close attention will therefore be paid to the industry training/learning methods utilized by the baristas and their managers, as well as to the context within which they work. The background of the fieldwork will be the café culture context of Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. This labour studies project will be shaped by literature from the sociologies of work, consumption, food, and workers' education and training (within this work-based and workplace learning), as well as the life history approach to field work and analysis.

I have already successfully applied for ethical approval for Phase 1 – Participant observation as a result, this application is concerned with the second and third phases of my research project which are Phase 2 – Expert interview and Phase 3– Life histories.

a) *Justification in academic terms*
This research project intends to explore baristas' work identity through a study of the working and learning environments of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso coffee. The project is an investigation into issues surrounding the service sector, aesthetic labour, and the changing nature of work and learning in the workplace. It is timely because the nature of work and jobs is constantly changing and so is the context of conspicuous consumption. The service sector in developed economies continues to grow and provide employment, particularly for youth. When issues of identity and skill formation are also taken into consideration, other challenging questions about the role of work in everyday life can be asked.

Justification of methods
This will be an interpretative, ethnographic, qualitative research project, integrating theory and practice. It is important to acknowledge that bias can and will occur and that this bias can actually be helpful in the analysis of the findings (Waddington, 2004). Critical reflection is an important tool to ensure that the bias which occurs is fully integrated into the social research process. Social science researchers by principle pursue validity rather than the reliability and generalisability of positivist hard science research (Aull Davies, 2008). Therefore while my research methods will follow traditional lines, I also will attempt to incorporate both a critical (realist) and an interpretative methodological approach following the pathway of reflexive ethnography (Aull Davies, 2008)

The project will begin with a literature review, as canvassed in my PhD proposal. My time in the field will comprise participant observation (Phase 1), in-depth semi-structured interviews (Phase 2) as well as life histories (Phase 3). As stated earlier this application is immediately concerned with Phases 2 and 3 as a separate application has been made and subsequently approved for Phase 1, however, I will include a description of Phase 1 so this second application can be understood in context.

<u>Phase 1: Literature Review and Participant Observation</u>
In this phase, appropriate literature will be sought to write the sixth month formal PhD proposal. The literature sought will include:

- Participant Observation
- Life history approach

- Psycho-societal (social) analysis
- Changing nature of work
- Policy context in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Human capital theory)
- Workplace and Work-based learning
- Service Sector
- Artisanal work: identity, agency, power and status
- Skill and aesthetic labour, articulation work, emotional labour
- Contemporary Consumption
- Slow and Fast Food (The slow movement)

Participant observation is "…the most truthful, reliable, complete and simple way of getting that information is to share their experience" (Douglas 1976 cited in Waddington, 2004, p. 154). However, my reasons for utilising this method go even further, Aull Davies argues that participation facilitates "observation of particular behaviours and events and of enabling a more open and meaningful discussion with informants" (2008, p.81). In order to ensure that my life history interviews are as open and as meaningful as possible, it will be conducive to actually understand the professional language and context within which the subjects are from. Participating in the everyday operations of a café will allow me to develop three key elements that will assist in the:

- acquisition of the professional language;
- observation of the consumption experience (allowing examination of the barista client relationship); and
- authentic participation in and therefore valid understanding of the formal and informal learning processes of baristas.

Participant observation, particularly of the organisation of work (workplace participation) can be very difficult (Crang and Cook, 2007). However, there is an extensive body of literature that I can draw on for models. In this instance, I intend on drawing from the work of Michael Burrawoy, particularly three of his publications that focus on participant observation as a research method: *Manufacturing Consent* (1979); *The Politics of Production* (1985), and the edited volume *Ethnography Unbound: Power and resistance in the Modern Metropolis* (1991). This latter volume contains the work of 10 other ethnographers, of which two also focus on the workplace, alongside the contributions from Burawoy, which includes a useful appendix on how to teach participant observation. Burawoy is an industrial sociologist so I will also draw on the work of anthropologists and human geographers who also champion, and in Anthropology's case created, the method of participant observation. Given Burrawoy's focus on the production process I will also focus on Barbara Ehrenreich's studies into service sector work in the United States. I will specifically draw on *Nickel and dimed: on (not) getting by in America* (2002) and her chapter in a volume Ehrenreich edited *Global woman: nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy* (2002). Both of these publications are a journalistic report of her participant observation in different work roles within the service sector.

Phase 2: Expert (Contextual) Interviews

Based on my experiences in the participant observation phase, the purpose of these contextual semi-structured interviews will be to make contacts within the café/hospitality industry in Hamilton and complete the second phase of reconnaissance for the third and final phase of the fieldwork, the life history interviews. This may also include utilising data from unstructured interviews that occur during the participant observation phase, which will be used to assist in the selection subjects, as gaining access to informants is an important part of the participant observation process (Crang and Cook, 2007; Aull Davies, 2008).

Phase 3: Life histories of 'fast' and 'slow' baristas
Once Phases 1 and 2 are complete, I should have sufficient understanding of and contacts within the Hamilton café scene to select my 8-12 subjects. These life histories will complement and extend my participant observation by facilitating an in-depth examination of the process of identity acquisition and construction of a barista's selfhood within the workplace or their professional identity. These life histories will allow me to look for patterns and connections around the collective learning (e.g. community of practice) as well as how the learning facilitates, hinders or shapes their acquisition, or otherwise, of a professional workplace identity. This information should provide sufficient insight in order to construct a theoretical model of how Hamilton-based baristas perceive themselves in their workplace role. This theoretical model will be tested against a structural understanding of social reality, examining elements such as the changing nature of work, professionalism, class, gender, ethnicity and age.

Please note that the rest of this ethics application will focus on Phase 2: Expert Interviews and Phase 3: Life histories

b) Objectives
The technique of combining participant observation with in-depth interviewing is championed by social science researchers interested in subjectivity, identity and other emerging ideas around viewing subjects as social actors embedded in but also actively reproducing their social constructs. Gerson and Horowitz argue that "Taken together, both methods provide a richer, more complete, and more complex view of social life than either can offer on its own." (2002, p.221). Therefore while the research objectives of these two latter phases explicitly build on Phase 1: Participant Observation, phases 2 and 3 also pursue separate research objectives more relevant to the research method of interviewing.

Phase 2: Expert (contextual) Interviews
Phase 1: Participant observation allows the 'site' of this research investigation to be explored it may not, however, supply sufficient information to draw out the theoretical connections in the empirical data. Gerson and Horowitz (2002) argue that in-depth interviews are more suited to unravelling theoretical or empirical puzzles. In addition to teasing out wider theoretically connected information interviewing can also act in a complementary manner to participant observation. For example, Gerson and Horowitz claim that participant-observers must inquire about the reasons for action in the setting that others take for granted as well as the actions that take place away from the researcher's presence." (2002, p. 221) Therefore the objectives for this phase are to:

- Continue to extend and strengthen social networks within Hamilton café scene begun through Phase 1: Participant observation;
- Identify key expert informants to assist in mapping out the café industry both in Hamilton and potentially in the wider Aotearoa/New Zealand setting;

- Discuss in a formal interview setting topics related to workplace practices and identities, including consumption, with identified key experts;
- Seek contact information relating to potential informants (baristas) for Phase 3: Life History interviews; and
- Develop concepts and/or categories in order to 'map' the Hamilton/Aotearoa/New Zealand café industry.

Phase 3: Life Histories

Building on the work of C. Wright Mills, Aull Davies (2008) argues that "Ethnographers collect and study life histories not primarily out of interest in individual stories but in order to improve understanding and knowledge of social and cultural practices more generally (p.207)." Thus the overriding objective of conducting life history interviews with baristas is not only to understand how they perceive themselves but also to draw out the social and cultural constructs that shaped their decisions to pursue this particular occupation. For example,

By focusing on the events, factors, or circumstances that transform a person's life path, ideological outlook and sense of self, this framework draws the analyst's attention to processes of change over time. Comparing processes of change and stability highlights the ways that social arrangements can either reproduce pre-existing relations or prompt the emergence of new social and behavioural patterns. (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 206).

Once key points, changes or actions are identified in the life path the findings from life histories can then be assessed in terms of their ability to contribute to wider theoretical debates. Using Plummer (1983 (64:100)) Aull Davies argues that it is possible to abstract themes from members in social categories and argue that they are representative, hence creating empirical knowledge that can be broadly generalised. But it is important to note that the generalisation is only about a particular category. Therefore if a category can be created from the life history interviews Aull Davies argues that interview findings are better used to challenge this generalization or expose flaws in how the original category was made (2008). In the case of this research the category is service workers.

Thus the research objectives for Phase 3: Life histories are to:

- Conduct 4-6 work life history interviews with baristas that fit into the 'fast' occupational category;
- Conduct 4-6 work life history interviews with baristas that fit into the 'slow' occupational category;
- Conduct 1-2 additional interviews with selected baristas as required in line with the life history approach to interviewing;
- Explore how participants acquired their work identity, with a focus on the role of learning in this process;
- Examine key events/decisions/actions in the life paths of the participants in order to expose changes in the social structures and the subsequent impact of those changes; and
- Use findings from the literature review in Phase 1 assess the transcripts for similarities and differences to concepts related to learning, the changing nature of work and the category of service work, seeking gaps in theoretical material in a similar fashion to extended case method described in Burawoy (1991).

c) Method(s) of information collection and analysis

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

This first wave of interviews would be to investigate the context of the study and provide a record of the snowball process for finding key informants. This could include groups or locations such as:

- Competitions
- Formal Training providers
- Coffee Roasting Companies
- Café Owners
- Consumers

Phase 3: Life Histories

This second wave of interviews will focus solely on baristas in order to gather data around establishing some sort of criteria to determine the professional identity of the workers. These would be in-depth interviews, utilizing a life history approach of specifically selected baristas sourced during the first wave of interviews. The life history method attempts to define the subject's reality by allowing them a voice but is informed by the researcher's awareness of the structural and institutional constraints that influence their choices. As such … "it specifically locates itself in the nexus between deterministic structures and individual agency" (Musson, 2004, p.35) or what human geographers call intersubjectivity (Crang and Cook, 2007). This approach is described below.

Psycho-social Life History approach

As I still have much to research in regard to this particular qualitative approach the following two paragraphs have been paraphrased from the work of Henning Salling Olesen (2004). This model, designed by staff from the graduate school of lifelong learning at Roskilde University, centres around understandings of the work-based identity or everyday life of a profession as well as community of practice. This adult education life history model allows a reflexive (critical) understanding of work to develop that incorporates an acceptance of the collective learning processes as well as an ability to follow the trends in the changing nature of work and society at large. This type of model therefore allows researchers to focus on policy, practice and social construction and creates a nexus between the subjective - life history approach and the objective or positivist policy, work organisation approach of organisational science, adult education and psychology.

The psycho-societal approach (rather than psycho-social) inherent in this model facilitates individual and societal understandings developed by researchers via their assessment on: role of learning, the status of the work identity, the types of knowledge used in the work, any changes over time in knowledge and status; the contradictions and ambivalence (the role of identity and psychic strains) of the subjects and the subjective involvement of the researcher. This emphasis on identity and psychic strains captures the fluidity that exists in the 'real' world of workers identity and creates a solid base upon which to trace the changes to the nature of work.

The analysis of the fieldwork would of course utilize the psycho-societal approach outlined above, but the discussion would also involve issues such as:

- The role of learning in identity formation
- Preferred and/or more effective learning context
- Self image vs portrayed image in relation to work identity
- Youth vs role of power and status in job

Additionally, issues arising from the literature review and the contextual or first wave interviews will be examined, including:

- Workplace learning vs work-based learning
- Opportunities for democratization/agency via each model of learning
- Implications for the individual
- HR/workplace implications, and
- Industry training policy implications at national and enterprise level.

d) Procedures for recruiting participants and obtaining informed consent

Phase 2: Expert Interviews
Participants will be recruited by contacting industry informants gathered during Phase 1: Participant observation. Participants selected for interviews will be given an information sheet about the interview process and will be asked to sign documents to indicate informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important as it may not be possible to guarantee the anonymity of all participants.

Recording of interviews will be necessary. This will be made clear in the information sheet, along with the issue that anonymity may not be possible. The key informants will be provided with a consent form which will include agreement to the interviews' being taped and transcribed and possible identification in the research findings. Digital recorders will be used, the files will be uploaded onto the University computer system and transcribed by the researcher.

Phase 3: Life Histories
I am currently examining several methods of interviewee selection. My overall preference is to utilize the snowball approach focusing on those identified by key informants in Phase 2: Expert interviews. I also intend to investigate Coffee Training Programmes as well as Companies that supply coffee beans, such as Robert Harris, Allpress and/or Rocket.

Participants will be recruited on the basis of contacting expert informants via Phase 2 in the institutions based on established networks. Given that I am asking questions about their work life consent will also be obtained from the management structures in the participant's organisations whether that be an owner, CEO or line manager. Both the employers and participants will be given information sheets and will have to sign documents to indicate informed consent.

A general invitation will be issued to baristas via their workplace, union or public discussion, to volunteer for taped in-depth semi-structured interviews about the nature of their work. Where possible I will do my upmost to guarantee anonymity but I will inform the participants that I may not be able to protect their identity in all cases.

As with Phase 2 audio taping of all interviews will be necessary. This will be made clear in the information sheet. The key informants will be provided with a consent form which will include agreement to the interviews' being taped and transcribed and possible identification in the research findings. Digital recorders will be used, and the files will be uploaded onto the University computer system, the researcher will then transcribe the files. Participants' identities will be protected by the removal of as much identifying information as possible during the transcription process.

e) Procedures in which participants will be involved

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

The experts will be invited to participate in an in-depth semi-structured interview covering their role in the café industry of 30-60 minutes duration.

Phase 3: Life Histories

One to three in-depth work life history interviews, each lasting around 90-120 minutes in length.

f) Provide a copy of any research instruments

Please see Appendix A for used for a list of research instruments relating to the collection of information from and/or about people.

Research instruments

Interview schedules

Verbal records of conversations

Interview transcripts

Photos

Professional literature and DVDs e.g. training materials

6. PROCEDURES AND TIME FRAME FOR STORING PERSONAL INFORMATION AND OTHER DATA AND MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF PERSONAL INFORMATION

This is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During and after the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to sound files, transcripts, photos, field notes and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[37]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

[37] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

Please note that unless explicit informed consent has been granted to the contrary, personal information will be kept confidential in publications and the PhD by the use of pseudonyms of both people and places.

7. ETHICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

In terms of legal issues, I will comply with existing legislation and any health and safety regulations imposed in the different contexts in which the interviews will take place.

I may also be exposed to commercially sensitive and confidential information in the process of the interviews and I will respect this desire for confidentiality. If, for the purposes of my research this confidentiality cannot be preserved, then this fact must be discussed with my participants for both ethical and legal reasons with my participants.

Access to participants

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

In obtaining access to participants I will use information gathered during my participant observation and from wider literature and other promotional material on the café industry both in Hamilton and around Aotearoa/New Zealand. This will create a biased sample, given that it is grounded in Phase 1 of the research; I will therefore ensure that both the participants recruited and the results published demonstrate a clear understanding of the nature of this bias.

Moreover, given that I will be seeking participants from within the industry as well as commentators, commercial workplaces will be involved. I must therefore ensure that all steps are taken to keep confidential any commercially sensitive information and, that where possible that private enterprises are not harmed by the results of my research. This will be done by changing the names of participants and their workplaces, unless, via the process of informed consent, participants give permission for this information to be used.

Phase 3: Life histories

In this phase I will use expert informants from Phase 2 and the snowball approach to find additional participants. This will create a biased sample so I will need to ensure that both the participants recruited and the results published demonstrate a clear understanding of the nature of this bias.

Given that I will be seeking participants based on their current profession, commercial workplaces will be involved. I will therefore need to take steps to keep any commercially sensitive information confidential and where possible, to protect the private enterprises from being harmed by the results of my research. This will be done by changing names of participants and their workplaces. However, the nature of the research will force the categorization of workplaces into fast and slow venues and this may create controversy (potential legal issues) once the results are published. Unfortunately there is very little I can do about this other than 1) be very clear about the nature of the categorisation to both the participant and their workplace line-manager/owner; and 2) gain consent of the participant and their workplace in regard to the interview process.

Informed consent

Phase 2: Expert Interview

Given their expert status, in many cases consent will be sought from the individuals rather than their workplaces; however, if the request is made by the participants for the researcher to seek permission from a relevant workplace, then steps will be taken to honour that request. Issues of commercial sensitivity and willingness on the part of the participant to be identified will be discussed prior to the interview taking place

Please see Appendix B for the information sheet and the informed consent form.

Phase 3: Life Histories

Consent to approach potential participants will be sought from the workplace as well as the individuals. Given the ad hoc nature of locating subjects it may not always be possible to seek permission from the workplace first, but steps will be taken to ensure consent is obtained from both. One ethical issue that needs to be considered once an individual has been selected is that those selected may not completely understand what is being asked of them. As such, prior to the interview an information sheet will be sent out with the request that the participants take time before deciding to participate in the interview process. This will be followed with a phone call along the same lines. Immediately prior to the interview(s), the respondents will be given the opportunity to withdraw; once the interview commences they will also be given the right for their information to not be transcribed and/or for the recording device to be turned off. The participants will also be offered the opportunity to vet the transcripts of their interviews and will have the right to withdraw their statements up to two weeks after the last interview.

Please see Appendix C for the information sheet and the informed consent form.

Potential risk to participants

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

Due to the location of the fieldwork and limited size of the industry the researcher cannot guarantee anonymity of participants. Participants will be made aware of this issue. Steps will also need to be taken, when relevant, to protect the participants' commercially sensitive information.

Phase 3: Life Histories

As with Phase 2, the limitations of the 'field' mean that the researcher cannot guarantee anonymity of participants. Participants will be made aware of this issue.

Given the intensely personal nature of these interviews, it is possible that the participants may experience trauma as they re-tell and potentially 're-live' their work life history. I am an experienced researcher and will take responsible steps to deal with this event should it arise to the point of ending the interview or even providing contact details of a counsellor should that be necessary. Even if trauma should not arise there is also a possibility that a participant's identity could be challenged and transformed by the re-telling of their work life history. I will ensure that appropriate care is taken of the participants' emotional well-being throughout the interview. This will be done by finding venues that feel safe for the participant such as their home or a neutral space selected by them that is neither their workspace nor mine. I will also inform the participants that they are able to stop the interview at any time to allow them a feeling of control over the process.

Publication of findings
As stated above, the participants will have opportunities to check the information being used in the research process. For example, as part of the informed consent process, participants will be offered the option to withdraw their input up to two weeks after the interview and/or to see the interview transcripts, to provide an opportunity for correction or removal of their quotes. The participants will also be offered the opportunity to see a final copy of the PhD and any other resulting publications. Please note that the transcripts themselves will remain confidential to myself and my supervision panel.

Conflict of interest
The products of this research will be public-interest documents, of no pecuniary benefit to the researcher or the University of Waikato.

Intellectual and other property rights
This is an academic research project that will be submitted in fulfilment of a PhD. As such the intellectual property rights will reside with the researcher, Gemma Piercy.

Intention to pay participants
There is no intention to pay participants nor is there any intention on my part to be paid by them for any work completed in their place of employment.

The Treaty of Waitangi
The principles of the Treaty will be respected. There will also be concerted efforts where possible to gather participants whose positions reflect the bicultural nature of the tertiary education sector on which the project focuses as well as the strongly bi-cultural setting of Hamilton City.

<u>Phase 2: Expert Interviews</u>
If required, steps will be taken with Maori participants to create a more whanau-based environment for interviews, for example, allowing the presence of friends and family if desired. They will also be offered the opportunity to communicate in Te Reo which will be translated at a later date if they wish. It is not clear at this stage how many Maori participants will be included given the method of obtaining participants. As such additional advice will be sought from key staff members who are more aware of Maori participants needs when required.

<u>Phase 3: Life Histories</u>
As with the Phase 2: Expert Interviews care will be taken with participants who identify as being Maori. This care will be taken not only because of the Treaty but also because the method demands it. Aull Davies argues that when interpreting life history interviews “ethnographers need to be aware of cultural differences in thinking about and presenting biography.” (2008, p.207)

In particular for Phase 3 it should be noted that one of the main intentions of the life history approach is to empower the participants, particularly in relation to the importance of re-producing their narrative as they see it, rather than it being reconstructed by the research questions. “Life history method focuses on the ways in which individuals account for and theorize about their actions in the social world over time. The subjective interpretation of the situation in which people find themselves, past or present, is its cornerstone." (Musson, 2004, p.34) This research method is therefore reflective of the Treaty's notions of self-determination or Tino Rangatira Tanga. Musson argues that while "[I]n some cases the voices may then be interpreted, … the process of interpretation will always attempt to reflect the actors perspective, rather than simply that of the researcher" (2004, p.35)

8. ETHICAL STATEMENT

This research will be guided by the University of Waikato's regulations governing human research ethics and other basic ethical principles relating to social science research.

The researcher will apply these ethics in the collection, storage and analysis of information. In particular, in relation to the collection of information given during interviews, the principles and ethical guidelines of informed consent will apply.

Gemma Piercy ______________________________ Date ____________

Tom Ryan ______________________________ Date ____________

Paul Harris ______________________________ Date ____________

Appendix A
Research Instruments

Phase 2: Expert Interview

Topics of questions
At this point in time, it is very difficult to anticipate the precise nature of my questions. As a result, I have tried to formulate categories of questions that I assume will be useful, those that relate to:
For industry experts

- the formal learning processes;
- informal learning and practice processes; and
- the internal sense of self attached to the workplace.

For consumers as experts

- decisions to consume in a particular location;
- perceptions of cafés;
- perceptions of baristas; and
- the internal sense of self experienced when they practice consumption in a café.

Visual information
The visual information will be collected for the use of triangulation and visual memory prompts.

Photos may be taken of relevant workplaces, fairs, exhibitions or other sites linked to the selected experts, but only once informed consent from the selected expert participant and when required those managing the site/workplace has been obtained.

Training literature, magazines, brochures, promotional material and any other workplace or professional material will be collected or purchased as required and/or desired.

Verbal records of conversations
In participant observation it may also be "appropriate to record conversations so linguistic analysis can be completed and misunderstandings checked and re-interpreted" (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.50). As such the expert interviews will both extend the method of participant observation as well as serving in their own right towards mapping the industry in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Phase 3: Life History Interview

Topics of questions
Participants will be asked to provide a work life history. A work life history is an interview method that is semi-structured and relatively informal or casual, more telling a story than answering a long list of questions. The interview begins with a request for the participant to tell their life story with a focus or prompts for the participants to describe when they first engaged in paid work and their subsequent employment since that date up to and including their current role as a barista. "Chronologically ordered questions thus provide a structure for recounting a coherent narrative and for remembering potentially important, but easily overlooked events and experiences." (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 205)

Due to the requirements of the life history approach participants may be asked to provide more than one interview, but no more than three. This repeat interview(s) is in order to provide extra time to the participant to tell their life story as no interview should last longer than 2 hours it will be too tiring otherwise, as well as clarification for any points not explored to the depth required by the researcher.

Verbal records of conversations
The interviews will be recorded and the interviewer may seek clarification of what is recorded in subsequent interviews or prior to publication of extracts from the interview transcript.

Visual information
The visual information will be collected for the use of triangulation and visual memory prompts. In the case of the life histories each barista will be asked to participate in a visual record of the interview process and of their role as a barista. As such photos may be taken in the initial interview and/or their workplace, but only after gaining informed consent i.e. permission to be identified.

Training literature, magazines, brochures, promotional material and any other workplace or professional material will be collected or purchased as required and/or desired.

Appendix B

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Societies and Cultures

Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Project description
This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. In other words, why people want to be baristas, how did they learn to be one, and what being one means to them.

Phase 2: Expert interview
In order to understand the context of the café industry in Hamilton and Aotearoa/New Zealand, I would like to interview industry experts, such as yourself. By discussing the café industry with you, I hope to develop insights about the history of café culture in Hamilton as well as gaining an understanding of what you perceive the occupational role of the barista to be.

Funding for the Project
This project is part of the requirements of completing a PhD thesis; as such this project is not externally funded.

Requirements of the Participant
You have been approached as a person of interest in café culture in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. You have been selected on the basis of your expertise in any or all of the following: training; roasting; café culture; consumption; and the artistry of barista work.

If you agree to be a participant you will be asked to allow Gemma to ask questions in a formal interview situation. This interview will be recorded and Gemma may seek clarification about what is discussed at a later date, to facilitate this you will be asked to provide contact details. The interview will be semi-structured and may be as short as 30mins or as long as one and a half hours depending on your availability.

Prior to the interview, you will be asked to sign documents to indicate informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important as not only might it not be possible to guarantee your anonymity, but in some instances it will be preferable to identify participants and/or workplaces as important contributors to café culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As part of this process you will also be able to request a copy of material that will be utilized in publications and, after its completion, the PhD by contacting Gemma Piercy via email: gemma@waikato.ac.nz or by phone: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827.

As a participant, you have the right to decline to answer a particular question at any time and may withdraw from the interview during the interview process or up to two weeks after the interview has taken place. You may also ask any further questions about the research at any time during the research project.

Major Outcomes of the Research

The findings will be presented in a thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Waikato. This thesis will outline the thematic findings from the literature and three phases of the fieldwork, of which this interview is one. In addition, academic publications incorporating the project's findings will be used for conference papers and journal articles.

Collection and Storage of Information

It is important to note that this is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to photos, field notes, transcripts and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[38]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, Breanne Gordon, fassethics@waikato.ac.nz. Postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Name	Signature	Date

Researcher's contact details:	
PhD Candidate Gemma Piercy gemma@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827	**Supervisors** Dr Tom Ryan tryan@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 8278 Dr Paul Harris p.harris@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6825

[38] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Societies and Cultures

PhD Project: Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 2: Expert Interview Consent Form Please circle your response

1. _____ I agree to participate in an interview as specified in the information statement attached to this form.	Yes	No
2. I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet, which explains why I have been selected, the aims of the interview, and the nature of the research.	Yes	No
3. I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions relating my participation in the interview process.	Yes	No
4. I agree to this interview being recorded.	Yes	No
5. I understand that I can withdraw from this research process two weeks after the interview has taken place by requesting that Gemma delete the recorded interview and destroy the interview transcript, and that this will not affect my relationship with her or the University of Waikato.	Yes	No
6. I agree that research data gathered from the results of the study may be published.	Yes	No
7. I am happy to be identified in this research project.	Yes	No
8. I agree to supply contact details to Gemma for the purposes of clarification.	Yes	No
9. I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the Subject Information Statement.	Yes	No
10. I understand that if I have any additional questions relating to my participation in this research, I am able to talk to Gemma during the interview or afterwards at her place of work, where she can be reached by phone on 07 838 4466 extn. 6827 or via email gemma@waikato.ac.nz.	Yes	No

Complaints may be directed to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

____

Signature

____

Please PRINT name

______________________________________ *Please tick this box if you wish to receive*

Date *a copy of the transcript* ☐

Appendix C

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Societies and Cultures

Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 3: Life History Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Project description
This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. In other words, why people want to be baristas, how did they learn to be one, and what being one means to them.

Phase 3: Life histories
In order to understand why you have chosen to pursue the occupation of barista, how you have learnt to be one and what you think one is I would like to conduct an in-depth interview with you. Life histories are biographical in nature and as a result can be non-specific but in this case there is a clear focus on your life in relation to work. The life history interview approach is often used by social science researchers in relation to occupations because these types of interviews can not only capture information on the different types of work that people do, but also the changes in the nature of work that lead to these occupations being a greater or lesser part of the options in the labour market and the subsequent career choices that individuals make.

Funding for the Project
This project is part of the requirements of completing a PhD thesis; as such this project is not externally funded.

Requirements of the Participant
You have been approached as a person of interest due to your occupational role of barista. If you agree to be a participant you will be asked to provide a work life history. A work life history is an interview method that is semi-structured and relatively informal or casual, more like telling a story than answering a long list of questions. The interview can take place at a time and location that you, the participant, nominate to facilitate this relaxed approach. The main question that will begin the interview is the request for you to describe your life story in relation to your work aspirations as a child and your subsequent work choices as an adult. Due to the requirements of the life history approach you may be asked to participate in more than one interview but no more than three. To facilitate this you will be asked to supply contact details. The interviews will be recorded and Gemma may seek clarification of what is recorded in the second and/or third interview.

Prior to the first interview, you will be asked to sign documents to indicate your informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important, as it might not be possible to guarantee your anonymity. As part of this process you will also be able to request a copy of material that will be utilized in publications and, after its completion the PhD by contacting Gemma Piercy via email: gemma@waikato.ac.nz or phone: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827.

As a participant, you have the right to decline to answer a particular question at any time and you may withdraw from the interview during the interview process or up to two weeks after the final interview has taken place. You may also ask any further questions about the research at any time during the research project.

Major Outcomes of the Research
The findings will be presented in a thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Waikato. This thesis will outline the thematic findings from the literature and three phases of the fieldwork, of which this interview is one. In addition, academic publications incorporating the project's findings will be used for conference papers and journal articles.

Collection and Storage of Information
It is important to note that this is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to photos, field notes, transcripts and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[39]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, Breanne Gordon, fassethics@waikato.ac.nz. Postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Name	Signature	Date

Researcher's contact details:

PhD Candidate	**Supervisors**
Gemma Piercy gemma@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827	Dr Tom Ryan tryan@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 8278 Dr Paul Harris p.harris@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6825

[39] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Societies and Cultures

PhD Project: Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 3: Life History Interviews Consent Form Please circle your response

1. I agree to Gemma Piercy interviewing me up to three times as specified in the information statement attached to this form.	Yes	No
2. I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet, which explains why I have been selected, the aims of the work life history interview(s), and the nature of the research.	Yes	No
3. I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions relating my participation in the interview(s) process.	Yes	No
4. I agree to this interview being recorded.	Yes	No
5. I understand that I can withdraw from this research process two weeks after the final interview has taken place by requesting that Gemma delete the recorded interview(s) and destroy the interview transcript(s), and that this will not affect my relationship with her or the University of Waikato.	Yes	No
6. I agree that research data gathered from the results of the study may be published.	Yes	No
7. I am happy to be identified in this research project.	Yes	No
8. I agree to supply contact details to Gemma for the purposes of clarification.	Yes	No
9. I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the Subject Information Statement.	Yes	No
10. I understand that if I have any additional questions relating to my participation in this research, I am able to talk to Gemma during the interview or afterwards at her place of work, where she can be reached by phone on 07 838 4466 extn. 6827 or via email gemma@waikato.ac.nz.	Yes	No

Complaints may be directed to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

____
Signature

____
Please PRINT name

____
Date

Please tick this box if you wish to receive a copy of the transcript

References

Aull Davies, C. (2008). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. (2 ed). Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Crang, M. and Cook, I. (2007). *Doing ethnographies*. London: Sage Publications.

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Musson, G. (2004). Life Histories. In C. Cassell and G. Symon (Ed.s) *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research*. London: Sage Publications. (pp.34-44).

Olesen, H. S. (2004). In (Eds.) Alheit, P., Becker-Schmidt, R., Gitz-Johansen, T., Ploug, L., Olesen, H. S., & Rubenson, K. *Shaping an emerging reality: Researching lifelong learning*. (pp.7-27) Roskilde: Graduate School in Lifelong Learning/Roskilde University Press.

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEWS: ETHICAL APPROVAL

FASS FILES

FASS HUMAN RESEARCH
ETHICS COMMITTEE
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Phone +64 7 856 2889
www.waikato.ac.nz

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Gemma Piercy
Dr Tom Ryan
Dr Paul Harris

15 December 2008

Dear Gemma

Application for Ethical Approval: **Baristas: The New Artisans? Phases 2 & 3**

Thank you for submitting a revised Application for Ethical Approval in response to my letter of 26 November. Your revisions meet all of the issues I raised in that letter. Thank you for the attention and care you have given to them.

I am pleased to provide formal ethical approval for these phases of your PhD project.

I would be grateful if you would arrange for a copy of the revisions to be signed by yourself and your supervisors and then to be sent to the Committee's secretary, Bre Gordon (Philosophy and Religious Studies), so that it can be placed in the Committee's files.

done. ✓

With best wishes,

John Paterson
Chair
FASS Human Research Ethics Committee

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEWS: ETHICS APPLICATION

UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
FACULTY OF ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

Applicants are advised to read the University's Regulations Governing Human Research Ethics (http://calendar.waikato.ac.nz/assessment/humanresearchethics.html) before completing and submitting this application to the appropriate authority.

1. **NAME OF RESEARCHER**
   Gemma Piercy

2. **DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCHER**
   Societies and Cultures

3. **RESEARCHER FROM OFF CAMPUS**
   N/A

4. **TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT**
   Baristas: The new artisans?

5. **STATUS OF RESEARCH**
   PhD

6. **FUNDING SOURCE**
   N/A

7. **NAME OF SUPERVISOR (S)**
   Dr. Tom Ryan and Dr. Paul Harris

8. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PROJECT

This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. This investigation will be shaped around the life histories of 12 baristas from the medium-sized city of Hamilton. Six of the life histories will be drawn from baristas working in independent cafés associated with the concept of 'slow food' and smaller independent enterprises; the other six will be from baristas working at chain/franchise cafés associated with the concept of 'fast food' and multi-national corporate structures. The study will focus on how they learn(ed) to be baristas and the role their work environment played in this process of formation of work identity and skill acquisition. Two key comparisons will be made within this study: firstly, between formal work-based learning and informal workplace learning; secondly, between the slow- and fast-food contexts. Close attention will therefore be paid to the industry training/learning methods utilized by the baristas and their managers, as well as to the context within which they work. The background of the fieldwork will be the café culture context of Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. This labour studies project will be shaped by literature from the sociologies of work, consumption, food, and workers' education and training (within this work-based and workplace learning), as well as the life history approach to field work and analysis.

I have already successfully applied for ethical approval for Phase 1 – Participant observation as a result, this application is concerned with the second and third phases of my research project which are Phase 2 – Expert interview and Phase 3– Life histories.

a) *Justification in academic terms*

This research project intends to explore baristas' work identity through a study of the working and learning environments of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso coffee. The project is an investigation into issues surrounding the service sector, aesthetic labour, and the changing nature of work and learning in the workplace. It is timely because the nature of work and jobs is constantly changing and so is the context of conspicuous consumption. The service sector in developed economies continues to grow and provide employment, particularly for youth. When issues of identity and skill formation are also taken into consideration, other challenging questions about the role of work in everyday life can be asked.

Justification of methods

This will be an interpretative, ethnographic, qualitative research project, integrating theory and practice. It is important to acknowledge that bias can and will occur and that this bias can actually be helpful in the analysis of the findings (Waddington, 2004). Critical reflection is an important tool to ensure that the bias which occurs is fully integrated into the social research process. Social science researchers by principle pursue validity rather than the reliability and generalisability of positivist hard science research (Aull Davies, 2008). Therefore while my research methods will follow traditional lines, I also will attempt to incorporate both a critical (realist) and an interpretative methodological approach following the pathway of reflexive ethnography (Aull Davies, 2008)

The project will begin with a literature review, as canvassed in my PhD proposal. My time in the field will comprise participant observation (Phase 1), in-depth semi-structured interviews (Phase 2) as well as life histories (Phase 3). As stated earlier this application is immediately concerned with Phases 2 and 3 as a separate application has been made and subsequently approved for Phase 1, however, I will include a description of Phase 1 so this second application can be understood in context.

<u>Phase 1: Literature Review and Participant Observation</u>

In this phase, appropriate literature will be sought to write the sixth month formal PhD proposal. The literature sought will include:

- Life history approach
- Psycho-societal (social) analysis
- Changing nature of work
- Policy context in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Human capital theory)
- Workplace and Work-based learning

- Service Sector
- Artisanal work: identity, agency, power and status
- Skill and aesthetic labour, articulation work, emotional labour
- Contemporary Consumption
- Slow and Fast Food (The slow movement)

Participant observation is "…the most truthful, reliable, complete and simple way of getting that information is to share their experience" (Douglas 1976 cited in Waddington, 2004, p. 154). However, my reasons for utilising this method go even further, Aull Davies argues that participation facilitates "observation of particular behaviours and events and of enabling a more open and meaningful discussion with informants" (2008, p.81). In order to ensure that my life history interviews are as open and as meaningful as possible, it will be conducive to actually understand the professional language and context within which the subjects are from. Participating in the everyday operations of a café will allow me to develop three key elements that will assist in the:

- acquisition of the professional language;
- observation of the consumption experience (allowing examination of the barista client relationship); and
- authentic participation in and therefore valid understanding of the formal and informal learning processes of baristas.

Participant observation, particularly of the organisation of work (workplace participation) can be very difficult (Crang and Cook, 2007). However, there is an extensive body of literature that I can draw on for models. In this instance, I intend on drawing from the work of Michael Burrawoy, particularly three of his publications that focus on participant observation as a research method: *Manufacturing Consent* (1979); *The Politics of Production* (1985), and the edited volume *Ethnography Unbound: Power and resistance in the Modern Metropolis* (1991). This latter volume contains the work of 10 other ethnographers, of which two also focus on the workplace, alongside the contributions from Burawoy, which includes a useful appendix on how to teach participant observation. Burawoy is an industrial sociologist so I will also draw on the work of anthropologists and human geographers who also champion, and in Anthropology's case created, the method of participant observation. Given Burawoy's focus on the production process I will also focus on Barbara Ehrenreich's studies into service sector work in the United States. I will specifically draw on *Nickel and dimed: on (not) getting by in America* (2002) and her chapter in a volume Ehrenreich edited *Global woman: nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy* (2002). Both of these publications are a journalistic report of her participant observation in different work roles within the service sector.

Phase 2: Expert (Contextual) Interviews

Based on my experiences in the participant observation phase, the purpose of these contextual semi-structured interviews will be to make contacts within the café/hospitality industry in Hamilton and complete the second phase of reconnaissance for the third and final phase of the fieldwork, the life history interviews. This may also include utilising data from unstructured interviews that occur during the participant observation phase, which will be used to assist in the selection subjects, as gaining access to informants is an important part of the participant observation process (Crang and Cook, 2007; Aull Davies, 2008).

Phase 3: Life histories of 'fast' and 'slow' baristas
Once Phases 1 and 2 are complete, I should have sufficient understanding of and contacts within the Hamilton café scene to select my 8-12 subjects. These life histories will complement and extend my participant observation by facilitating an in-depth examination of the process of identity acquisition and construction of a barista's selfhood within the workplace or their professional identity. These life histories will allow me to look for patterns and connections around the collective learning (e.g. community of practice) as well as how the learning facilitates, hinders or shapes their acquisition, or otherwise, of a professional workplace identity. This information should provide sufficient insight in order to construct a theoretical model of how Hamilton-based baristas perceive themselves in their workplace role. This theoretical model will be tested against a structural understanding of social reality, examining elements such as the changing nature of work, professionalism, class, gender, ethnicity and age.

Please note that the rest of this ethics application will focus on Phase 2: Expert Interviews and Phase 3: Life histories

b) Objectives
The technique of combining participant observation with in-depth interviewing is championed by social science researchers interested in subjectivity, identity and other emerging ideas around viewing subjects as social actors embedded in but also actively reproducing their social constructs. Gerson and Horowitz argue that "Taken together, both methods provide a richer, more complete, and more complex view of social life than either can offer on its own." (2002, p.221). Therefore, while the research objectives of these two latter phases explicitly build on Phase 1: Participant Observation, phases 2 and 3 also pursue separate research objectives more relevant to the research method of interviewing.

Phase 2: Expert (contextual) Interviews
Phase 1: Participant observation allows the 'site' of this research investigation to be explored it may not, however, supply sufficient information to draw out the theoretical connections in the empirical data. Gerson and Horowitz (2002) argue that in-depth interviews are more suited to unravelling theoretical or empirical puzzles. In addition to teasing out wider theoretically connected information interviewing can also act in a complementary manner to participant observation. For example, Gerson and Horowitz claim that participant-observers must inquire about the reasons for action in the setting that others take for granted as well as the actions that take place away from the researcher's presence." (2002, p. 221) Therefore, the objectives for this phase are to:

- Continue to extend and strengthen social networks within Hamilton café scene begun through Phase 1: Participant observation;
- Identify key expert informants to assist in mapping out the café industry both in Hamilton and potentially in the wider Aotearoa/New Zealand setting;
- Discuss in a formal interview setting topics related to workplace practices and identities, including consumption, with identified key experts;
- Seek contact information relating to potential informants (baristas) for Phase 3: Life History interviews; and

- Develop concepts and/or categories in order to ‘map’ the Hamilton/Aotearoa/New Zealand café industry.

Phase 3: Life Histories

Building on the work of C. Wright Mills, Aull Davies (2008) argues that “Ethnographers collect and study life histories not primarily out of interest in individual stories but in order to improve understanding and knowledge of social and cultural practices more generally (p.207).” Thus the overriding objective of conducting life history interviews with baristas is not only to understand how they perceive themselves but also to draw out the social and cultural constructs that shaped their decisions to pursue this particular occupation. For example,

By focusing on the events, factors, or circumstances that transform a person’s life path, ideological outlook and sense of self, this framework draws the analyst’s attention to processes of change over time. Comparing processes of change and stability highlights the ways that social arrangements can either reproduce pre-existing relations or prompt the emergence of new social and behavioural patterns. (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 206).

Once key points, changes or actions are identified in the life path the findings from life histories can then be assessed in terms of their ability to contribute to wider theoretical debates. Using Plummer (1983 (64:100)) Aull Davies argues that it is possible to abstract themes from members in social categories and argue that they are representative, hence creating empirical knowledge that can be broadly generalised. But it is important to note that the generalisation is only about a particular category. Therefore if a category can be created from the life history interviews Aull Davies argues that interview findings are better used to challenge this generalization or expose flaws in how the original category was made (2008). In the case of this research the category is service workers.

Thus the research objectives for Phase 3: Life histories are to:

- Conduct 4-6 work life history interviews with baristas that fit into the ‘fast’ occupational category;
- Conduct 4-6 work life history interviews with baristas that fit into the ‘slow’ occupational category;
- Conduct 1-2 additional interviews with selected baristas as required in line with the life history approach to interviewing;
- Explore how participants acquired their work identity, with a focus on the role of learning in this process;
- Examine key events/decisions/actions in the life paths of the participants in order to expose changes in the social structures and the subsequent impact of those changes; and
- Use findings from the literature review in Phase 1 assess the transcripts for similarities and differences to concepts related to learning, the changing nature of work and the category of service work, seeking gaps in theoretical material in a similar fashion to extended case method described in Burawoy (1991).

c) Method(s) of information collection and analysis

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

This first wave of interviews would be to investigate the context of the study and provide a record of the snowball process for finding key informants. This could include groups or locations such as:

- Competitions
- Formal Training providers
- Coffee Roasting Companies
- Café Owners
- Consumers

Phase 3: Life Histories

This second wave of interviews will focus solely on baristas in order to gather data around establishing some sort of criteria to determine the professional identity of the workers. These would be in-depth interviews, utilizing a life history approach of specifically selected baristas sourced during the first wave of interviews. The life history method attempts to define the subject's reality by allowing them a voice but is informed by the researcher's awareness of the structural and institutional constraints that influence their choices. As such … "it specifically locates itself in the nexus between deterministic structures and individual agency" (Musson, 2004, p.35) or what human geographers call intersubjectivity (Crang and Cook, 2007). This approach is described below.

Psycho-social Life History approach

As I still have much to research in regard to this particular qualitative approach the following two paragraphs have been paraphrased from the work of Henning Salling Olesen (2004). This model, designed by staff from the graduate school of lifelong learning at Roskilde University, centres around understandings of the work-based identity or everyday life of a profession as well as community of practice. This adult education life history model allows a reflexive (critical) understanding of work to develop that incorporates an acceptance of the collective learning processes as well as an ability to follow the trends in the changing nature of work and society at large. This type of model therefore allows researchers to focus on policy, practice and social construction and creates a nexus between the subjective - life history approach and the objective or positivist policy, work organisation approach of organisational science, adult education and psychology.

The psycho-societal approach (rather than psycho-social) inherent in this model facilitates individual and societal understandings developed by researchers via their assessment on: role of learning, the status of the work identity, the types of knowledge used in the work, any changes over time in knowledge and status; the contradictions and ambivalence (the role of identity and psychic strains) of the subjects and the subjective involvement of the researcher. This emphasis on identity and psychic strains captures the fluidity that exists in the 'real' world of workers identity and creates a solid base upon which to trace the changes to the nature of work.

The analysis of the fieldwork would of course utilize the psycho-societal approach outlined above, but the discussion would also involve issues such as:

- The role of learning in identity formation
- Preferred and/or more effective learning context

- Self image vs portrayed image in relation to work identity
- Youth vs role of power and status in job

Additionally, issues arising from the literature review and the contextual or first wave interviews will be examined, including:

- Workplace learning vs work-based learning
- Opportunities for democratization/agency via each model of learning
- Implications for the individual
- HR/workplace implications, and
- Industry training policy implications at national and enterprise level.

d) Procedures for recruiting participants and obtaining informed consent

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

Participants will be recruited by contacting industry informants gathered during Phase 1: Participant observation. Participants selected for interviews will be given an information sheet about the interview process and will be asked to sign documents to indicate informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important as it may not be possible to guarantee the anonymity of all participants.

Recording of interviews will be necessary. This will be made clear in the information sheet, along with the issue that anonymity may not be possible. The key informants will be provided with a consent form which will include agreement to the interviews' being taped and transcribed and possible identification in the research findings. Digital recorders will be used, the files will be uploaded onto the University computer system and transcribed by the researcher.

Phase 3: Life Histories

I am currently examining several methods of interviewee selection. My overall preference is to utilize the snowball approach focusing on those identified by key informants in Phase 2: Expert interviews. I also intend to investigate Coffee Training Programmes as well as Companies that supply coffee beans, such as Robert Harris, Allpress and/or Rocket.

Participants will be recruited on the basis of contacting expert informants via Phase 2 in the institutions based on established networks. Given that I am asking questions about their work life consent will also be obtained from the management structures in the participant's organisations whether that be an owner, CEO or line manager. Both the employers and participants will be given information sheets and will have to sign documents to indicate informed consent.

A general invitation will be issued to baristas via their workplace, union or public discussion, to volunteer for taped in-depth semi-structured interviews about the nature of their work. Where possible I will do my upmost to guarantee anonymity but I will inform the participants that I may not be able to protect their identity in all cases.

As with Phase 2 audio taping of all interviews will be necessary. This will be made clear in the information sheet. The key informants will be provided with a consent form which will include agreement to the interviews' being taped and transcribed and possible identification in the research findings. Digital recorders will be used, and the files will be uploaded onto the University computer system, the researcher will then transcribe the files. Participants' identities will be protected by the removal of as much identifying information as possible during the transcription process.

e) Procedures in which participants will be involved

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

The experts will be invited to participate in an in-depth semi-structured interview covering their role in the café industry of 30-60 minutes duration.

Phase 3: Life Histories

One to three in-depth work life history interviews, each lasting around 90-120 minutes in length.

f) Provide a copy of any research instruments

Please see Appendix A for used for a list of research instruments relating to the collection of information from and/or about people.

Research instruments

Interview schedules
Verbal records of conversations
Interview transcripts
Photos
Professional literature and DVDs e.g. training materials

6. PROCEDURES AND TIME FRAME FOR STORING PERSONAL INFORMATION AND OTHER DATA AND MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY OF PERSONAL INFORMATION

This is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During and after the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to sound files, transcripts, photos, field notes and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[40]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

Please note that unless explicit informed consent has been granted to the contrary, personal information will be kept confidential in publications and the PhD by the use of pseudonyms of both people and places.

7. ETHICAL AND LEGAL ISSUES

[40] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

In terms of legal issues, I will comply with existing legislation and any health and safety regulations imposed in the different contexts in which the interviews will take place.

I may also be exposed to commercially sensitive and confidential information in the process of the interviews and I will respect this desire for confidentiality. If, for the purposes of my research this confidentiality cannot be preserved, then this fact must be discussed with my participants for both ethical and legal reasons with my participants.

Access to participants

<u>Phase 2: Expert Interviews</u>

In obtaining access to participants I will use information gathered during my participant observation and from wider literature and other promotional material on the café industry both in Hamilton and around Aotearoa/New Zealand. This will create a biased sample, given that it is grounded in Phase 1 of the research; I will therefore ensure that both the participants recruited and the results published demonstrate a clear understanding of the nature of this bias.

Moreover, given that I will be seeking participants from within the industry as well as commentators, commercial workplaces will be involved. I must therefore ensure that all steps are taken to keep confidential any commercially sensitive information and, that where possible that private enterprises are not harmed by the results of my research. This will be done by changing the names of participants and their workplaces, unless, via the process of informed consent, participants give permission for this information to be used.

<u>Phase 3: Life histories</u>

In this phase I will use expert informants from Phase 2 and the snowball approach to find additional participants. This will create a biased sample so I will need to ensure that both the participants recruited and the results published demonstrate a clear understanding of the nature of this bias.

Given that I will be seeking participants based on their current profession, commercial workplaces will be involved. I will therefore need to take steps to keep any commercially sensitive information confidential and where possible, to protect the private enterprises from being harmed by the results of my research. This will be done by changing names of participants and their workplaces. However, the nature of the research will force the categorization of workplaces into fast and slow venues and this may create controversy (potential legal issues) once the results are published. Unfortunately there is very little I can do about this other than 1) be very clear about the nature of the categorisation to both the participant and their workplace line-manager/owner; and 2) gain consent of the participant and their workplace in regard to the interview process.

Informed consent

<u>Phase 2: Expert Interview</u>

Given their expert status, in many cases consent will be sought from the individuals rather than their workplaces; however, if the request is made by the participants for the researcher to seek permission from a relevant workplace, then steps will be taken to honour that request. Issues of commercial sensitivity and willingness on the part of the participant to be identified will be discussed prior to the interview taking place

Please see Appendix B for the information sheet and the informed consent form.

Phase 3: Life Histories

Consent to approach potential participants will be sought from the workplace as well as the individuals. Given the ad hoc nature of locating subjects it may not always be possible to seek permission from the workplace first, but steps will be taken to ensure consent is obtained from both. One ethical issue that needs to be considered once an individual has been selected is that those selected may not completely understand what is being asked of them. As such, prior to the interview an information sheet will be sent out with the request that the participants take time before deciding to participate in the interview process. This will be followed with a phone call along the same lines. Immediately prior to the interview(s), the respondents will be given the opportunity to withdraw; once the interview commences they will also be given the right for their information to not be transcribed and/or for the recording device to be turned off. The participants will also be offered the opportunity to vet the transcripts of their interviews and will have the right to withdraw their statements up to two weeks after the last interview.

Please see Appendix C for the information sheet and the informed consent form.

Potential risk to participants

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

Due to the location of the fieldwork and limited size of the industry the researcher cannot guarantee anonymity of participants. Participants will be made aware of this issue. Steps will also need to be taken, when relevant, to protect the participants' commercially sensitive information.

Phase 3: Life Histories

As with Phase 2, the limitations of the 'field' mean that the researcher cannot guarantee anonymity of participants. Participants will be made aware of this issue.

Given the intensely personal nature of these interviews, it is possible that the participants may experience trauma as they re-tell and potentially 're-live' their work life history. I am an experienced researcher and will take responsible steps to deal with this event should it arise to the point of ending the interview or even providing contact details of a counsellor should that be necessary. Even if trauma should not arise there is also a possibility that a participant's identity could be challenged and transformed by the re-telling of their work life history. I will ensure that appropriate care is taken of the participants' emotional well-being throughout the interview. This will be done by finding venues that feel safe for the participant such as their home or a neutral space selected by them that is neither their workspace nor mine. I will also inform the participants that they are able to stop the interview at any time to allow them a feeling of control over the process.

Publication of findings

As stated above, the participants will have opportunities to check the information being used in the research process. For example, as part of the informed consent process, participants will be offered the option to withdraw their input up to two weeks after the interview and/or to see the interview transcripts, to provide an opportunity for correction or removal of their quotes. The participants will also be offered the opportunity to see a final copy of the PhD and any other resulting publications. Please note that the transcripts themselves will remain confidential to myself and my supervision panel.

Conflict of interest
The products of this research will be public-interest documents, of no pecuniary benefit to the researcher or the University of Waikato.

Intellectual and other property rights
This is an academic research project that will be submitted in fulfilment of a PhD. As such the intellectual property rights will reside with the researcher, Gemma Piercy.

Intention to pay participants
There is no intention to pay participants nor is there any intention on my part to be paid by them for any work completed in their place of employment.

The Treaty of Waitangi
The principles of the Treaty will be respected. There will also be concerted efforts where possible to gather participants whose positions reflect the bicultural nature of the tertiary education sector on which the project focuses as well as the strongly bi-cultural setting of Hamilton City.

Phase 2: Expert Interviews
If required, steps will be taken with Maori participants to create a more whanau-based environment for interviews, for example, allowing the presence of friends and family if desired. They will also be offered the opportunity to communicate in Te Reo which will be translated at a later date if they wish. It is not clear at this stage how many Maori participants will be included given the method of obtaining participants. As such additional advice will be sought from key staff members who are more aware of Maori participants needs when required.

Phase 3: Life Histories
As with the Phase 2: Expert Interviews care will be taken with participants who identify as being Maori. This care will be taken not only because of the Treaty but also because the method demands it. Aull Davies argues that when interpreting life history interviews "ethnographers need to be aware of cultural differences in thinking about and presenting biography." (2008, p.207)

In particular for Phase 3 it should be noted that one of the main intentions of the life history approach is to empower the participants, particularly in relation to the importance of re-producing their narrative as they see it, rather than it being reconstructed by the research questions. "Life history method focuses on the ways in which individuals account for and theorize about their actions in the social world over time. The subjective interpretation of the situation in which people find themselves, past or present, is its cornerstone." (Musson, 2004, p.34) This research method is therefore reflective of the Treaty's notions of self-determination or Tino Rangatira Tanga. Musson argues that while "[I]n some cases the voices may then be interpreted, … the process of interpretation will always attempt to reflect the actors perspective, rather than simply that of the researcher" (2004, p.35)

8. ETHICAL STATEMENT

This research will be guided by the University of Waikato's regulations governing human research ethics and other basic ethical principles relating to social science research.

The researcher will apply these ethics in the collection, storage and analysis of information. In particular, in relation to the collection of information given during interviews, the principles and ethical guidelines of informed consent will apply.

Gemma Piercy ______________________________ Date ____________

Tom Ryan ______________________________ Date ____________

Paul Harris ______________________________ Date ____________

Appendix A
Research Instruments

Phase 2: Expert Interview

Topics of questions
At this point in time, it is very difficult to anticipate the precise nature of my questions. As a result, I have tried to formulate categories of questions that I assume will be useful, those that relate to:
For industry experts

- the formal learning processes;
- informal learning and practice processes; and
- the internal sense of self attached to the workplace.

For consumers as experts

- decisions to consume in a particular location;
- perceptions of cafés;
- perceptions of baristas; and
- the internal sense of self experienced when they practice consumption in a café.

Visual information
The visual information will be collected for the use of triangulation and visual memory prompts.

Photos may be taken of relevant workplaces, fairs, exhibitions or other sites linked to the selected experts, but only once informed consent from the selected expert participant and when required those managing the site/workplace has been obtained.

Training literature, magazines, brochures, promotional material and any other workplace or professional material will be collected or purchased as required and/or desired.

Verbal records of conversations
In participant observation it may also be "appropriate to record conversations so linguistic analysis can be completed and misunderstandings checked and re-interpreted" (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.50). As such the expert interviews will both extend the method of participant observation as well as serving in their own right towards mapping the industry in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Phase 3: Life History Interview

Topics of questions
Participants will be asked to provide a work life history. A work life history is an interview method that is semi-structured and relatively informal or casual, more telling a story than answering a long list of questions. The interview begins with a request for the participant to tell their life story with a focus or prompts for the participants to describe when they first engaged in paid work and their subsequent employment since that date up to and including their current role as a barista. "Chronologically ordered questions thus provide a structure for recounting a coherent narrative and for remembering potentially important, but easily overlooked events and experiences." (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002, p. 205)

Due to the requirements of the life history approach participants may be asked to provide more than one interview, but no more than three. This repeat interview(s) is in order to provide extra time to the participant to tell their life story as no interview should last longer than 2 hours it will be too tiring otherwise, as well as clarification for any points not explored to the depth required by the researcher.

Verbal records of conversations
The interviews will be recorded and the interviewer may seek clarification of what is recorded in subsequent interviews or prior to publication of extracts from the interview transcript.

Visual information
The visual information will be collected for the use of triangulation and visual memory prompts. In the case of the life histories each barista will be asked to participate in a visual record of the interview process and of their role as a barista. As such photos may be taken in the initial interview and/or their workplace, but only after gaining informed consent i.e. permission to be identified.

Training literature, magazines, brochures, promotional material and any other workplace or professional material will be collected or purchased as required and/or desired.

Appendix B

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Societies and Cultures

Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 2: Expert Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Project description
This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. In other words, why people want to be baristas, how did they learn to be one, and what being one means to them.

Phase 2: Expert interview
In order to understand the context of the café industry in Hamilton and Aotearoa/New Zealand, I would like to interview industry experts, such as yourself. By discussing the café industry with you, I hope to develop insights about the history of café culture in Hamilton as well as gaining an understanding of what you perceive the occupational role of the barista to be.

Funding for the Project
This project is part of the requirements of completing a PhD thesis; as such this project is not externally funded.

Requirements of the Participant
You have been approached as a person of interest in café culture in Hamilton, Aotearoa/New Zealand. You have been selected on the basis of your expertise in any or all of the following: training; roasting; café culture; consumption; and the artistry of barista work.

If you agree to be a participant you will be asked to allow Gemma to ask questions in a formal interview situation. This interview will be recorded and Gemma may seek clarification about what is discussed at a later date, to facilitate this you will be asked to provide contact details. The interview will be semi-structured and may be as short as 30mins or as long as one and a half hours depending on your availability.

Prior to the interview, you will be asked to sign documents to indicate informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important as not only might it not be possible to guarantee your anonymity, but in some instances it will be preferable to identify participants and/or workplaces as important contributors to café culture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. As part of this process you will also be able to request a copy of material that will be utilized in publications and, after its completion, the PhD by contacting Gemma Piercy via email: gemma@waikato.ac.nz or by phone: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827.

As a participant, you have the right to decline to answer a particular question at any time and may withdraw from the interview during the interview process or up to two weeks after the interview has taken place. You may also ask any further questions about the research at any time during the research project.

Major Outcomes of the Research

The findings will be presented in a thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Waikato. This thesis will outline the thematic findings from the literature and three phases of the fieldwork, of which this interview is one. In addition, academic publications incorporating the project's findings will be used for conference papers and journal articles.

Collection and Storage of Information

It is important to note that this is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to photos, field notes, transcripts and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[41]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, Breanne Gordon, fassethics@waikato.ac.nz. Postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

Name	Signature	Date

Researcher's contact details:

PhD Candidate Gemma Piercy gemma@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827	**Supervisors** Dr Tom Ryan tryan@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 8278 Dr Paul Harris p.harris@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6825

[41] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Societies and Cultures

PhD Project: Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 2: Expert Interview Consent Form Please circle your response

1. _____ I agree to participate in an interview as specified in the information statement attached to this form.	Yes No
2. I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet, which explains why I have been selected, the aims of the interview, and the nature of the research.	Yes No
3. I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions relating my participation in the interview process.	Yes No
4. I agree to this interview being recorded.	Yes No
5. I understand that I can withdraw from this research process two weeks after the interview has taken place by requesting that Gemma delete the recorded interview and destroy the interview transcript, and that this will not affect my relationship with her or the University of Waikato.	Yes No
6. I agree that research data gathered from the results of the study may be published.	Yes No
7. I am happy to be identified in this research project.	Yes No
8. I agree to supply contact details to Gemma for the purposes of clarification.	Yes No
9. I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the Subject Information Statement.	Yes No
10. I understand that if I have any additional questions relating to my participation in this research, I am able to talk to Gemma during the interview or afterwards at her place of work, where she can be reached by phone on 07 838 4466 extn. 6827 or via email gemma@waikato.ac.nz.	Yes No

Complaints may be directed to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

____
Signature

____
Please PRINT name

____ *Please tick this box if you wish to receive*
Date *a copy of the transcript* ☐

Appendix C

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of Societies and Cultures

Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 3: Life History Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Project description
This is a qualitative study into the work and learning of service staff involved in the preparation of espresso-based coffee, focusing on the factors that influence their acquisition of work skills and identity. In other words, why people want to be baristas, how did they learn to be one, and what being one means to them.

Phase 3: Life histories
In order to understand why you have chosen to pursue the occupation of barista, how you have learnt to be one and what you think one is I would like to conduct an in-depth interview with you. Life histories are biographical in nature and as a result can be non-specific but in this case there is a clear focus on your life in relation to work. The life history interview approach is often used by social science researchers in relation to occupations because these types of interviews can not only capture information on the different types of work that people do, but also the changes in the nature of work that lead to these occupations being a greater or lesser part of the options in the labour market and the subsequent career choices that individuals make.

Funding for the Project
This project is part of the requirements of completing a PhD thesis; as such this project is not externally funded.

Requirements of the Participant
You have been approached as a person of interest due to your occupational role of barista. If you agree to be a participant you will be asked to provide a work life history. A work life history is an interview method that is semi-structured and relatively informal or casual, more like telling a story than answering a long list of questions. The interview can take place at a time and location that you, the participant, nominate to facilitate this relaxed approach. The main question that will begin the interview is the request for you to describe your life story in relation to your work aspirations as a child and your subsequent work choices as an adult. Due to the requirements of the life history approach you may be asked to participate in more than one interview but no more than three. To facilitate this you will be asked to supply contact details. The interviews will be recorded and Gemma may seek clarification of what is recorded in the second and/or third interview.

Prior to the first interview, you will be asked to sign documents to indicate your informed consent. This part of the process is particularly important, as it might not be possible to guarantee your anonymity. As part of this process you will also be able to request a copy of material that will be utilized in publications and, after its completion the PhD by contacting Gemma Piercy via email: gemma@waikato.ac.nz or phone: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827.

As a participant, you have the right to decline to answer a particular question at any time and you may withdraw from the interview during the interview process or up to two weeks after the final interview has taken place. You may also ask any further questions about the research at any time during the research project.

Major Outcomes of the Research
The findings will be presented in a thesis submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate in Philosophy at the University of Waikato. This thesis will outline the thematic findings from the literature and three phases of the fieldwork, of which this interview is one. In addition, academic publications incorporating the project's findings will be used for conference papers and journal articles.

Collection and Storage of Information
It is important to note that this is an academic research project that will be submitted as part of a PhD. As such, the intellectual property rights will reside with the author, Gemma Piercy. During the life of the project, the researcher and her supervision panel will have access to photos, field notes, transcripts and reports that may be subsequently used in the production of academic publications[42]. Unless the participants state specifically that they wish their interview transcripts, photos or other input to be removed, and/or destroyed, electronic copies and printed transcripts will be kept secure with other data upon completion of the project. The hard copy versions will be stored in a lockable filing cabinet in the Department of Societies and Cultures. In accordance with the University of Waikato Human Research Ethical Guidelines, the researcher will retain the hard copies until 28 February 2015, after which they will be destroyed.

The Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences has approved this research project. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the Secretary of the Committee, Breanne Gordon, fassethics@waikato.ac.nz. Postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

______________________	______________________	__________
Name	Signature	Date

Researcher's contact details:

PhD Candidate	**Supervisors**
Gemma Piercy gemma@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6827	Dr Tom Ryan tryan@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 8278 Dr Paul Harris p.harris@waikato.ac.nz Ph: 07 838 4466 extn: 6825

[42] Administrators from the Department of Societies and Cultures may also have access to the documents during the formatting and storage processes but this will be kept to a minimum.

PhD Project: Baristas: The new artisans?

Phase 3: Life History Interviews Consent Form Please circle your response

1. I agree to Gemma Piercy interviewing me up to three times as specified in the information statement attached to this form.	Yes	No
2. I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet, which explains why I have been selected, the aims of the work life history interview(s), and the nature of the research.	Yes	No
3. I have been given the opportunity to ask any questions relating my participation in the interview(s) process.	Yes	No
4. I agree to this interview being recorded.	Yes	No
5. I understand that I can withdraw from this research process two weeks after the final interview has taken place by requesting that Gemma delete the recorded interview(s) and destroy the interview transcript(s), and that this will not affect my relationship with her or the University of Waikato.	Yes	No
6. I agree that research data gathered from the results of the study may be published.	Yes	No
7. I am happy to be identified in this research project.	Yes	No
8. I agree to supply contact details to Gemma for the purposes of clarification.	Yes	No
9. I acknowledge receipt of a copy of this Consent Form and the Subject Information Statement.	Yes	No
10. I understand that if I have any additional questions relating to my participation in this research, I am able to talk to Gemma during the interview or afterwards at her place of work, where she can be reached by phone on 07 838 4466 extn. 6827 or via email gemma@waikato.ac.nz.	Yes	No

Complaints may be directed to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240.

____

Signature

____

Please PRINT name

____

Date

Please tick this box if you wish to receive a copy of the transcript ☐

References

Aull Davies, C. (2008). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. (2 ed). Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Crang, M. and Cook, I. (2007). *Doing ethnographies*. London: Sage Publications.

Gerson, K and Horowitz, R. (2002). Observation and interviewing: Options and choices in qualitative research. In T. May, *Qualitative research in action*. (pp.199-224) London: Sage Publications.

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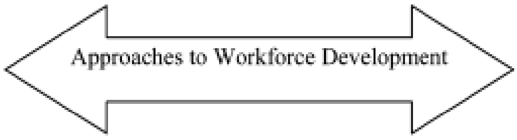
Olesen, H. S. (2004). In (Eds.) Alheit, P., Becker-Schmidt, R., Gitz-Johansen, T., Ploug, L., Olesen, H. S., & Rubenson, K. *Shaping an emerging reality: Researching lifelong learning*. (pp.7-27) Roskilde: Graduate School in Lifelong Learning/Roskilde University Press.

APPENDIX G: FULLER AND UNWIN MODEL



EXPANSIVE	RESTRICTIVE
Participation in multiple communities of practice inside and outside the workplace	Restricted participation in multiple communities of practice
Primary community of practice has shared 'participative memory': cultural inheritance of workforce development	Primary community of practice has little or no 'participative memory': no or little tradition of apprenticeship
Breadth of learning opportunities fostered by availability of cross-company/setting experiences	Narrowness of learning opportunities, opportunities restricted in terms of tasks/knowledge/location
Access to range of qualifications including knowledge-based VQ	Little or no access to qualifications
Planned time off-the-job including for knowledge-based courses, and for reflection	Virtually all on-the-job: limited opportunities for reflection
Gradual transition to full, rounded participation	Fast – transition as quick as possible
Vision of workplace learning: progression for career	Vision of workplace learning: static for job
Organisational recognition of, and support for employees as learners	Lack of organisational recognition of, and support for employees as learners
Workforce development vehicle for aligning the goals of individual development and organisational capability	Workforce development used to restrict individual capability to organisational need
Workforce development fosters opportunities to extend identity through boundary crossing	Workforce development limits opportunities to extend identity: little boundary crossing experienced
Reification of 'workplace curriculum' highly developed (eg through documents, symbols, language, tools) and accessible to newcomers/apprentices	Limited reification of 'workplace curriculum' patchy access to reificatory aspects of practice
[substantive] skills are widely distributed throughout the organisation	[substantive] skills are located in particular parts of organisation
Knowledge and skills (including technical) of whole workforce developed and valued	Knowledge and skills of key workers/groups developed and valued
Managers as facilitators of workforce and individual development	Managers as controllers of workforce and individual development
Multi-dimensional view of expertise	Uni-dimensional top-down view of expertise

(source: Fuller and Unwin 2004)

Figure 1. Expansive - Restrictive continuum

Figure G.1: Expansive and restrictive workplace learning contexts

Source: Fuller, Unwin, Felstead, Jewson, & Kakavelakis, 2007, p.745. (also see Fuller & Unwin, 2004)