FORDISM AT WORK IN CANADIAN COFFEE SHOPS

Julia R. Woodhall
PhD Candidate,
Department of Sociology and Legal Studies,
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

Alicja Muszynski
Associate Professor,
Department of Sociology and Legal Studies,
University of Waterloo,
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada

ABSTRACT

Although many areas of work today are characterized by post-Fordist principles, there are still significant numbers of workplaces that have adapted and continue to operate using a Fordist model, and in particular, low-paying service industries that rely on a largely female and part-time labour force. This paper explores how the Fordist model has been adapted and extended within the Canadian coffee shop franchise industry. Qualitative interviews were conducted with staff and managers in selected coffee shops to gain a better understanding of how work is organized and managed in this industry.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, labour journals have published articles examining the supposed shift to post-Fordism. Many researchers argue that Fordist management principles are obsolete (Knobblock and Pettersson 2010; Yates 2003). Accordingly, post-Fordism is characterized by the feminization of the workforce, adoption of new technologies, increased flexibility and rapid globalization (Khuranra 2009). Nevertheless, other analysts argue that the Fordist model has been adapted in important areas of work, part of an ongoing process of rationalization. George Ritzer in particular has sparked an ongoing debate, arguing in his famous McDonaldization thesis that while "elements of post-Fordism have emerged in the modern world, elements of old-style Fordism persist and show no signs of disappearing" (Ritzer 2008:46). Canadian coffee shop franchises provide a useful case study to examine the extent to which Fordist principles have been retained and adapted in service industries characterized by a largely female labour force, low pay, routinized work and part-time employment.

REVISITING THE DEBATE

The Fordist era represented a time of economic prosperity, mass production and job growth (Macdonald 1991). Fordist production borrows heavily from Taylorist principles of scientific management—using high levels of managerial direction and control, standardizing and routinizing work tasks as well as creating whole departments designed to break labour down scientifically into its component parts. It is also remembered as a highly productive period characterized by a model of work implemented by Henry Ford in his automobile assembly line which dominated in the post-war era. While this type of work resulted in the deskilling of the labour force, it was nevertheless praised for contributing to American prosperity (Maller and Dwolatsky 1993). The Fordist era is also characterized by a spike in union membership and the introduction of strong, industrial unions.

The decline in Fordist organization began with the end of the era of post-World War II prosperity (Coffey and Thornky 2010). Once highly praised Fordist methods of production were critiqued as being unable to sustain the new rates of production needed for global competitiveness. New methods of production and organization were explored to cope with changing patterns in consumption and global expansion of markets (Maller and Dwolatsky 1993). Moreover, the once-strong industrial unions of the Fordist era lost ground, bargaining power and strength, as manufacturing work declined and white collar service work expanded (Panitch and Swartz 2003).

Managers tend to praise the innovations of post-Fordist organization, arguing that it minimizes firms' exposure to risk. There is also a propensity to view post-Fordist work as providing workers with the ability to think creatively in less hierarchically organized workplaces (Vallas 1999). Traditional Fordist monetary incentives have been replaced with flexibility and creativity on the job. Creative working groups arose out of the need for flexibility, innovation and a service-based economy, resulting in decreased management supervision and increased peer-to-peer responsibility (Orsi 2009). The new, innovative, adaptive nature of work is praised for transcending alienation and creating an autonomous, flexible, resilient workforce. However, while the type of work has shifted from the secondary manufacturing to the tertiary service sector, this does not necessarily mean that Fordist principles have not been adapted and implemented in jobs that occupy the low end of service work, for example, in the fast food and coffee shop sectors.

Braverman's (1974) critique of the effects of scientific management in deskilling and alienating labour sparked a debate that revisited Fordism's effects on management, skill, autonomy, worker control and technology. Braverman (1974) argued that the labour process is ultimately governed by capitalist social relations and is inherently antagonistic. Braverman (1974:85-121) devoted a

significant portion of his work to demonstrate how Taylorism and "scientific management" principles have been applied to work, using a Marxist analysis to argue that work has become increasingly deskilled and workers are increasingly alienated as a result of what came to be known as Fordism. Managers seek to increase control over the labour process in attempt to increase efficiency, resulting in the deskilling of labour, alienation and the degradation of work (Braverman 1974). While his understanding of Taylorist and Fordist organizations of work had a profound impact on labour studies, Braverman's thesis did not go unchallenged. *Monthly Review* published a special issue in 1976 offering critiques from a Marxist perspective, beginning with Braverman's neglect of a gendered analysis and offering a feminist perspective (Baxandall *et al*. 1974). Today, while his ideas are still considered useful, there is general acknowledgement that he did not foresee major structural shifts that include the feminization of work and the impacts on work of major technological changes occurring over the last twenty years (Smith 1994).

Despite the shift towards viewing labour debates through post-Fordist lenses, some labour advocates researching the personal service sector continue to stress the importance of understanding alienating, Fordist labour principles that might be operating in the 1990s and beyond. Reiter's (1991) study of fast food workers provides an illustration of how personal service work has retained a model of Fordist work organization despite managerial and market shifts toward post-Fordist practices. She notes that although workers are required to be flexible with their scheduling, they are still forced to prepare products and deliver service in an assembly-line fashion. Some labour scholars have continued to research and stress the importance of a continued understanding of the consequences of Fordist organization in the early decades of the 21st century (see Carey 2008; Clark *et al*. 2010; Rinehart 2006).

Ritzer (2008) entered the debate arguing that the principles of rationalization, as elaborated by Max Weber, have spread and been adapted as new technologies emerged and industries became increasingly globalized. In effect, he argued that industries like fast food continue to adapt Fordist principles to compete in new areas of the globe and to make their markets increasingly competitive and cost efficient, even as new technologies emerge within what can be characterized as a "post-Fordist" world. To summarize his argument, Fordism is characterized by: mass production of homogenous products; inflexible technologies; standardized (Taylorist) work routines; efforts to increase productivity; deskilling; and markets for mass-produced items (Ritzer 2008:44-5). The factors constituting post-Fordism include: declining interest in mass products in favour of more customized and specialized products; shorter production runs; flexibility in production; more autonomous workers; and greater differentiation (Ritzer 2008:45-6). The elements of Fordism that Ritzer (2008:46) argues continue to apply within McDonaldism also hold for the Canadian coffee shop franchise

industry, namely: homogenous products; technologies that match the Fordist assembly line; routinization of work; deskilling of jobs; interchangeability of workers (especially the case when work is part-time and low paid); and the homogenization of customer service.

CASE STUDY OF A COFFEE SHOP FRANCHISE

In the summer of 2008, interviews were conducted with shop workers, managers and owners of a popular Canadian coffee chain franchise. Workers from a corporate franchised coffee shop were invited to participate in interviews. In total, five corporate franchised workers, one corporate manager and two corporate owners were interviewed. All of the corporate franchised workers interviewed for this study were female, despite efforts to recruit men. The industry is known to hire a heavily feminized labour force in low-paying jobs, even when these jobs are full-time. Business models and worker training packages were also examined and a content analysis was done on these, allowing a better understanding of the organizational structures affecting this type of work. This article also presents one of the researchers' ethnographic experiences as a participant and worker.

The corporate franchise studied is a large chain, specializing in coffee, with a large corporate structure which is becoming increasingly transnational. The organization of labour is dictated by specific rules and regulations provided to the franchise owner by corporate headquarters. Although the franchise owner can exercise flexibility in some organizational practices, such as incentives and employee food purchasing regulations, the franchisee is restricted in following policies, rules and regulations dictated by headquarters. The majority of labour practices are dictated to the franchise owner who must comply in order to maintain a franchising license. For example, workers must follow prescribed training guides, personal appearance regulations, food preparation procedures, and times allotted to perform certain tasks. Personnel sent from corporate headquarters conduct regularly scheduled and surprise checks to ensure employee and franchisee adherence.

The franchise shop follows a hierarchical model set out by corporate headquarters. The franchising body is responsible for the introduction of new products, preparation methods, rules and regulations surrounding service. The franchise owners are the next in command, exercising some agency through hiring practices, and the introduction of some new rules and regulations. However, these rules and regulations tend to fall under the umbrella of human resources and rarely impact the organization of labour itself. The owners employ managers and supervisors who are responsible for the majority of franchise operations. The managers and supervisors assign tasks and break times to workers, monitor their performance and ensure conformity with regulations and

protocol. In the case of the corporate franchise, the male owners employed a female manager and a predominantly female supervisory staff.

There are a variety of jobs and job descriptions at the corporate franchise. Baking, which involves the cooking and presentation of pre-prepared products shipped in from suppliers, is generally done by experienced staff with higher seniority levels. This is a highly coveted job, as only one or two people bake at a time, it is better paying, and the work requires lower levels of customer contact. Counter and drive-thru staff, referred to as coffee shop workers in this study, are responsible for completing daily customer service requirements. They are required to take and prepare orders, complete financial transactions using mechanized tills, and ensure customer satisfaction and timeliness. These workers are predominantly female, work in large teams of up to twelve during the day, and have varying degrees of seniority. Some workers remain with the corporate franchise for years, while others quit or are fired after a few weeks or months. Team sizes are reduced in the afternoon to four to six workers, often consisting of part-time students, and further reduced overnight to one or two workers. The afternoon and evening shifts are responsible for completing chores and maintaining store cleanliness. The day shift employs a staff member to take care of some of the basic functions, such as taking out garbage and clearing tables. In the case of this corporate franchise, the daytime maintenance worker was a disabled young male.

One of the authors worked for the corporate franchised coffee shop. She began working for the coffee shop at 17 in the small rural community where she was raised, later transferring to a different location in a mid-sized urban center. Over the course of the four years spent working for this franchise, she worked both part-time and full-time in seven different stores for three different owners. She worked a combination of night, day and afternoon shifts and moved between front counter, baking and supervisory positions.

Despite variations in ownership, her experiences remained quite similar as she moved between communities and stores. At each location, she began as part of the counter staff. The training process was the same at each location. Standardized, franchiser-provided checklists were used to ensure that she learned each of the tasks provided by a trainer. These lists were supplemented with standardized training computer videos.

Work at the first location lasted approximately a year before learning how to bake. This process varied from store to store. She began learning on afternoon and night shifts. When there were no customers or chores to do, her baker-friends would teach her how to do this job in little pieces. The baking process was very standardized. Each type of baked good was removed from the trays or boxes in the freezer, placed on a baking rack and inserted into an oven for a specified time. The products were then decorated and placed on a display rack. The placement of goods on display racks and shelves was determined by a

display guide sent from the franchiser. For example, donuts with fondant were laid out two in a row and donuts with glaze were displayed in threes.

The job of baker was often assigned to senior staff members and bakers were viewed as privileged. The ability to listen to music and avoid dealing with customers was coveted by front-line workers. Due to her previous experience baking, the second owner she worked for allowed her to start baking almost immediately. However, the third owner claimed they had too many bakers and started her on the front line.

Although pay raises for supervisors were very small, often only 25 cents an hour, supervisory roles were also coveted. Workers would compete with co-workers and try their hardest to move up the occupational hierarchy. After a year of working for the first owner and three months of working for the second owner, she was promoted to the level of supervisor. She did not reach this level with the third owner. Supervisors were viewed as having more power. However, the job was often easier and less repetitive. Supervisors were not required to serve customers at all times and were able to assign their favorite tasks to themselves. She was responsible for assigning breaks and tasks to other workers and had the opportunity to leave the front line to deal with basic accounting, customer complaints, worker discipline, orders and phone calls. Like the bakers, the supervisors were seen as privileged, as they were not responsible for serving customers all day.

The supervisory position was less standardized and provided more variation. Creativity and flexibility could be exercised through working with staff and dealing with issues as they arose. However, some of the supervisory work tasks were still quite standardized. For example, standardized "write-up" procedures and forms were used by supervisors for disciplining workers.

CASE STUDY RESULTS

FEMINIZATION OF THE LABOUR FORCE

The post-Fordist organization of labour is often credited with the increasing feminization of the labour force. Researchers who study gender and work have noted a significant shift in the gender composition of labour over the latter part of the twentieth century (Kimmel and Holler 2011:214). Women's increased labour force participation rate relative to men was accompanied by a shift away from manufacturing sector work (dominated by men) to that in service industries creating part-time jobs with low rates of pay. As the largely unionized and male-dominated manufacturing sector declined, good jobs (well paid with benefits and seniority) were replaced with low-paid, temporary work. Cooke-Reynolds and Zukewich (2004:24) understand the concept of the "feminization of labour" as encompassing three developments: the increasing entry of women into paid

labour; the concentration of women in certain types of work, especially in service industries; and what they refer to as the "harmonizing down, or the increasing tendency for men to do the kinds of jobs traditionally performed by women." In other words, the feminization of work has meant that while women's labour force participation is about equal to that of men, nevertheless women's work differs in terms of women being found in low-paid, temporary jobs like those in fast food (Beck 2000; McRobbie 2011; Munck 1999; Shalla 2007).

The term feminization is also used to describe what were perceived to be the innate feminine traits, such as responsiveness to people's emotional needs and social communication skills, required in the new service industries. Since women were considered to have these abilities naturally, employers argued that they did not need to compensate women for exercising abilities that were considered to be innate (Hochschild 1983). While Braverman (1974) examined the composition of a male working class increasingly deskilled in a Fordist world, critics like Baxandall *et al.* (1976) pointed out the need to examine a gendered work force where women's labour was segregated from men's, allowing women to be paid less. A post-Fordist world has further displaced men's skilled labour as manufacturing jobs are increasingly eliminated and the information and service industries have flourished. While women's paid labour is increasingly in demand, this does not necessarily mean that it has any increased monetary or social value. Coffee shop workers represent a good example of the feminization of work in that the work they do is essential but deemed to be unskilled. Work that involves human contact and social skills is "feminized" as part of women's innate capacity to nurture, which service industries have exploited.

While the vast majority of service workers are women, the franchise studied here is owned by two men. It is not uncommon for men or heterosexual couples to own these specific corporate franchise outlets. When asked, a female manager stated that roughly 90 percent of the workers are female or part-time students, illustrating a highly gendered workforce. The coffee shop employed two full-time, non-student males. When asked why there weren't more men working in her shop, she replied:

> I think it has to do with working at Corporate Franchise. I think it's honestly, people of a certain age group see it as being a position for women and that's when you are approaching that age group, between that 35-55 range, it's a time in society that is a lot more sensitive to things like that. Like kids nowadays, they don't care, you know. But during when I went to school, it was still there. Discrimination between the sexes and things like that, so it's a matter of the applications that you get in, you know. Men don't apply for the position, and um I have to be very cautious too because of the demographics of the store. If a man does apply because we've had people who have been a little on the perverted side. In terms of working there, um, it's not going to happen. Those kids are my responsibility to see that they are going to get taken

> care of. So it's a matter of not getting the applications in or somebody just not being appropriate for the position.

The manager verifies the common assumption that while this type of work is appropriate for women, it is not suitable for men. Growth in low-paid fast food employment results in the creation of a large number of jobs which are seen as "appropriate for women." Although the manager notes that these jobs are not considered normatively desirable for men, she also justifies her own personal view by suggesting that there is a danger that men who apply for this type of work might be "perverted."

FLEXIBLE LABOUR

The fast food industry relies heavily on part-time labour (Reiter 2002). This is also the case at the corporate franchise. The store relies on a large pool of part-timers and high school students to staff evening and weekend shifts. This is very attractive for workers who choose to work part-time. One young woman who works 20 hours a week stated that she chose her hours and is able to work with the manager to alter them. She received the ability to alter her schedule by proving she is a reliable worker through showing up on time for shifts and never calling in sick.

All of the workers are expected to show up on time for their shifts. Moreover, calling in sick or "skipping" work is frowned upon. Workers' hours are usually set around service provision demands, with some exceptions made for "reliable" workers. The manager explained her scheduling process:

> Um, I know how many people need to be in the store at all times for the store to run smoothly. It runs [with as few as] […] 9, I try to have 11 on a day shift, 11 to 12 depending. Um, it can be done with less but that's a very very uncomfortable type of thing to have. [I need] 11 to 12 people on a team on a Saturday morning, 12 on a Sunday morning. In the afternoons we can run from 6 to 8 people, depending. My night shift always has 2 people out front, 1 baker in the back, um I have a cleaner that I rotate through, usually on night shifts as well, so uh, just because that's the easiest time to do it.

The manager is aware of how many people are required to fill each shift, and scheduling decisions are not left up to the workers. The workers are required to work when the corporate franchise needs them, not when they want to. However, they must be open to working part-time hours and going home early when service levels drop. Workers are also required to attend, or find replacement workers to attend, all of their shifts, leaving little room for last-minute planning or personal decision-making.

AUTONOMY AND SUPERVISION

The Fordist workplace relies on close supervision, pre-determined, systematic tasks and hierarchical flow charts, and these characteristics are found in the workplaces studied here. For example, the corporate franchise relies heavily on formal rule structures to determine all aspects of labour, including breaks. One worker had this to say:

> [T]here's a lot of random rules, like you can't leave the premises during your work time. Like you have to ask permission say if you want to go to Wendy's or go to a restaurant to get food on your break, and I don't think that is fair. It's bullshit! It's my break, right, should I not be able to eat wherever I want. So there's that, I would say that, that's all I can think of right now. I don't know [why], control, I don't know. It's like smoking too, you can't smoke anywhere, outside during your break on your shift at all. I just find it very, like I get it, as a customer, if I saw me outside in my outfit smoking, then I saw me inside making stuff, you just question the cleanliness maybe? That's all I can think of! I don't know about the lunch thing, I don't know why they do that. And I know people have gotten in trouble: 'you can't leave on your break!'

When asked about this policy, the manager and owners stated that they are responsible for the safety of their staff during work hours and they are concerned about their workers getting hit by cars. This policy exemplifies a level of control which is not standard in most workplaces. Although the manager and owners offered a seemingly valid, albeit questionable, explanation for this policy, it still limits worker autonomy and subjects employees to an inordinate level of control on their own break time.

Workers are told which job tasks to perform by their supervisors and managers. Moreover, they are required to occupy certain job positions and complete tasks assigned to them. Workers are allowed to make occasional requests to switch their positions and tasks. However, the decision is ultimately up to the supervisors and managers.

Supervisors and managers are responsible for formally and informally evaluating job performance. The corporate franchise also employs electronic monitoring to ensure work performance. This includes drive-thru timers, which count how many seconds each car rests at the window, and security cameras. The head office requires that each car be served within a maximum number of seconds, which varies depending on the time of the day. If workers do not comply with this, they are reprimanded. Workers are aware of the fact that they are subject to electronic monitoring and are constantly watched by management. When asked if service speed and quality of service is important, the following response was given by one of the workers:

> I really want the customers to be satisfied of what we are doing. I don't want anyone to complain about me to the manager, so I make sure what I do. I want to be perfect, the way they want it. I don't want to get in trouble. I don't want them to complain about me. Yeah, that's all.

The corporate franchise workers are aware that management is constantly watching them and there are consequences for providing "bad" service. Supervisors and management are able to control workers and limit the autonomy they can exercise through their service delivery by enforcing standardized rules and closely monitoring job performance. This is contradictory to the supposed autonomy and creativity provided to workers in post-Fordist organizations. Rather, it mimics Fordist principles of managerial control and close supervision, reinforcing hierarchy and control.

INNOVATION

As noted at the outset of this paper, the post-Fordist era is characterized by transnational growth, flexible specialization and expansion, and in this respect coffee shops have adapted to these characteristics. The coffee shop corporation studied here is transnational and operates outlets in a number of countries. It has recently sought out new ways of organizing production, outsourcing products that were once made on site to other competitive firms. This has resulted in a heat-and-serve process which requires fewer workers and results in the deskilling of bakery work. Although the process of outsourcing these goods is highly innovative, the result for workers is nothing more than a deeper thrust into Fordist, standardized, prescribed production of baked goods.

The corporation is currently expanding globally and offering a wider range of consumer services. It has recently begun offering products to customers which mimic those offered by their competitors. It has expanded its product lines to enter new markets of food production/consumption, and has created new "healthy" products to attract growing numbers of health-conscious consumers. These innovations, coupled with continued use of feminized and precarious labour, demonstrate post-Fordist organizational principles but are not found in shop floor work routines.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

Corporate franchise workers participate in a highly divided, specialized, routinized form of labour which is characteristic of work in Fordist shops (Macdonald 1991). Tasks are broken down into component parts and each worker is asked to complete his or her portion of the task. One worker states that:

> [T]here is one person who takes their order, one person who takes their money and gives them their food, one person who makes or runs, so there are positions.

Similarly, on a standard drive-thru team, one worker is assigned the sole task of taking orders, one worker is assigned to taking money and handing out food, one worker is assigned to making coffee, one worker is assigned to making food and one person is assigned to getting the pre-prepared food and beverage items which complete the order. These positions allow the workers to complete service organized along assembly-line principles.

Thus organized, work can be highly repetitive and mechanical. Workers often become bored and tired participating in the assembly-line production of coffee and food. One worker states her boredom with the repetitive nature of coffee production:

> Well, if you are standing there and you are making coffee for four hours, you are making coffee for four hours. Every coffee is different, but it is done repetitively. Like the specialty coffee, if there are 11 or 15 specialty coffees, it's the same thing and you want to mix it up a bit.

On a busy day shift, workers are expected to work in their job roles and not spoil the line by failing to perform their assigned tasks.

This process is not to be confounded with time requirements for each task. During training, workers are assigned a certain order which they use to assemble products. For example, when making a coffee, they are required to put the sugar in first, followed by the cream, then the coffee. This order must be followed, as it is the quickest and ensures product uniformity. Each component of a task is also assigned a prescribed time. For example, it should take two seconds to put the sugar in, two seconds for the cream, five seconds for the coffee, twenty seconds to stir and two seconds to secure the lid on the cup. Therefore, the total process of assembling a cup of coffee should take no longer than 31 seconds. These strict guidelines and standardized processes do not allow for the supposed innovation and creativity found in the post-Fordist organization of labour.

CONCLUSION

Fast food work contributes to the increasing feminization of the workforce, resulting in large numbers of female workers who participate in precarious, low-paying work. Work is both flexible and rigid. Workers are expected to adhere strictly to schedules created by management. However, management has the ability to vary workers' hours and use part-time labour to suit service demands and customer requirements.

Outsourcing, innovation and global expansion are becoming increasingly important to the corporate franchise's operations. However, this has resulted in increased routinization and deskilling of baking work and the introduction of new products with standardized preparation procedures and assembly time. Although the Post-Fordist, competitive nature of the corporate franchise impacts operations at the top corporate level, few if any of these innovations trickle down to benefit workers in terms of the conditions, organization and structure of work. The division of labour remains highly specialized and rigid. Furthermore, workers are still subject to close supervision, low levels of autonomy, and work which is not creative.

In conclusion, workers experience the worst of both the Fordist and post-Fordist models. They participate in a precarious, flexible job market, which is said to alleviate some of the problems of Fordism. However, the actual labour and daily operations performed by these workers is organized along Fordist lines, forcing participation in alienating work (Woodhall 2009). The corporate franchise is an example of the many fast food empires in Canada that employ components of post-Fordist principles, while still organizing work based on a Fordist model (Reiter 1991; Beynon and Nichols 2006).

REFERENCES

Baxandall, Rosalyn, Elizabeth Ewen, and Linda Gordon. 1976. "The Working Class Has Two Sexes." *Monthly Review* 28(3):1-9.

Beck, U. 2000. *The brave new world of work.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Beynon, H. and T. Nichols. 2006.*The Fordism of Ford and Modern Management: Fordism and Post-Fordism*. Vol. 1. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Braverman, H. 1974. *Labor and monopoly capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century.* New York, New York: Monthly Review Press.

Carey, Malcolm. 2008. "Everything must go? The privatization of state social work." *British Journal of Social Work* 38(5):918-35.

Clark, Sara, Jonathon R. B. Halbesleben, Scott Lester, and Robert Heintz. 2010. "Temporary worker alienation and job performance: The impact of rating source." *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies* 17(3):287-97.

Coffey, D., and C. Thornley. 2010. "Legitimating precarious employment: Aspects of the post-Fordism and lean production debates." Pp. 40-61 in *Globalization and precarious forms of production and employment: Challenges for workers and unions*, edited by C. Thornley, S. Jefferys and B. Appay. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Cooke-Reynolds, Melissa and Nancy Zukewich. 2004. "The feminization of work." *Canadian Social Trends*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Spring 2004:24-9.

Form, William H. 1972. "Technology and social behavior of workers in four countries: A sociotechnical perspective." *American Sociological Review* 37(6):727-738.

Hochschild, A. 1983. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Khurana, A. 2009. *Scientific management: A management idea to reach a mass audience.* Darya Ganj, New Delhi: Global India Publications.

Kimmel, Michael S. and Jacqueline Holler. 2011. *The Gendered Society*. Canadian Edition. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.

Knobblock, E., and O. Pettersson. 2010. "Restructuring and risk-reduction in mining: Employment implications for northern Sweden." *Fennia* 188(1):61-75.

MacDonald, Eleanor. 1991. "The trouble with subjects: Feminism, marxism and the questions of poststructuralism." *Studies in Political Economy* 35:43-71.

McRobbie, A. 2011. "Reflections on feminism, immaterial labour and the post-Fordist regime." *New Formations* 70(17):60-76.

Munck, R., and P. Waterman, eds. 1999. *Labour worldwide in the era of globalization: Alternative union models in the new world order.* New York, New York: Palgrave.

Orsi, C. 2009. "Knowledge-based society, peer production and the common good." *Capital & Class* 33(1):31-51.

Panitch, L., and D. Swartz. 2003. *From consent to coercion: The assault on trade union freedoms*. 3rd ed. Aurora, Ontario: Garamond Press.

Reiter, E. 2002. "Fast-food in Canada: Working conditions, labour law and unionization." Pp. 30-47 in *Labour relations in the global fast-food industry*, edited by T. Royle, B. Towers. New York, New York: Routledge.

Reiter, E. 1991. *Making fast food: From the frying pan into the fryer.* Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press.

Rinehart, J. 2006. *The tyranny of work: Alienation and the labour process.* 5th ed. Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson College Indigenous.

Ritzer, George. 2008. *The McDonaldization of Society 5*. Los Angeles: Pine Forge Press.

Shalla, V. 2007. "Theoretical reflections on work: A quarter-century of critical thinking." Pp. 3-29 in *Work in tumultuous times: critical perspectives*, edited by V. Shalla, W. Clement. Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press.

Smith, Vicki. 1994. "Braverman's legacy." *Work and Occupations* 21(4):403-21.

Vallas, Steven P. 1999. "Rethinking post-fordism: The meaning of workplace flexibility." *Sociological Theory* 17(1):68-101.

Weeks, K. 2007. "Life within and against work: Affective labor, feminist critique, and post-fordist politics." *Ephemera* 7(1):233-249.

Woodhall, J. 2009. "The people behind your morning fix: Exploring alienation in coffee shop workers." Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Guelph, ON.

Yates, M. 2003. *Naming the system: Inequality and work in the global economy.* New York: Monthly Review Press.