Intensifying Work and Chasing Innovation: Incorporating Care in Silicon Valley

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Abstract

The struggle for labor rights is often one of asserting embodied care. Workers negotiate for rest and safe physical conditions. In the United States, further embodied care is translated into health care and family-leave benefits. In Silicon Valley, while labor still struggles in the service and manufacturing sectors, professional high-tech work constitutes another set of challenges and expectations. Start-up culture draws on the university-student lifestyle—where institutionalized care includes a broad palette of wellness care, cafeterias, and structured recreation. So it is not surprising that yoga, massage, food, and managed fun made their way into high-tech workplaces of the late twentieth century. Increasingly, however, that corporate care is a requirement, not a perquisite, of progressive companies recruiting elite workers. Effective care requires personal awareness and corporate surveillance in order to be effective. Corporate responsibility in Silicon Valley workplaces embraces discourses in which worker productivity and care intertwine. This care is not evenly distributed or available to all workers, but still points to an emerging set of corporate care practices. Knowledge workers are expected to work more intensively, and employers sustain them by providing care. That logic of care shaped the social experience of both care providers, such as chefs and concierges, and workers, who learn to be the subjects of such care. Based on two decades of fieldwork in companies from Apple to Yahoo,

this article outlines the uneven evolution of Silicon Valley's corporate care. [work, Silicon Valley, care, food systems]

Prologue

A deep bell sounds at the hands of a brown-robed monk as hundreds of people bow their heads over trays carefully balanced on their laps. It is the fall of 2013 and the corporate dining room of an iconic Silicon Valley company is transformed as rows of workers, vendors, and guests sit in silent contemplation. Thich Nhat Hanh, renowned mindfulness teacher, leads the room in a guided meditation over the vegan lunch of subtly spiced Southeast Asian vegetables and rice. We are participants attending a workshop designed to cultivate a wonder of food in the larger ecosystem and an awareness of the act of eating. The teacher asks us to savor each bite. He asks us to contemplate how dietary choices like these can heal a climate-disturbed planet. He asks us to consider the life of these plants, and all the human hands—farmers, cooks, and workers—who made it possible for us to eat the plants in that moment. Thousands more watch this performance through cameras placed around the room, possibly eating on their own, in homes and offices around the world. The organizers, chefs and workers convinced that technology and compassion could do more together than apart, invited the monks to give their peers a transformative experience and to enlist allies.

Four months later, presenters from that same corporation, while reporting on that experience and the larger effort around mindfulness at the Wisdom 2.0 conference, were interrupted by an onstage protest. Local San Francisco activists waved signs reading, "Wisdom Means Stop Displacement" and "Wisdom Means Stop Surveillance." The company's efforts to care for its own workers and the planet, though literally fashioned on "noble intentions" drawn

from Buddhist and secular compassionate practice, are mired in an inescapable context of a system that produces economic inequality and unequal access to physical resources. Diverse stakeholders contest the values around information flows and privacy. The ubiquitous computing that fuels the Silicon Valley economy also produces a panopticon of available information, which changes the lives of its workers and the communities in which they live. Those care practices also require a degree of self-disclosure and behavioral observation to be effective. If an employer wants its workers to be at "peak performance," it needs to know how to promote that productivity year after year, and how to help its workers attain it for themselves.

Competing Logics of Care

Corporations draw on two competing logics of care—pragmatic and systemic—to address emerging labor issues in knowledge-driven economies. Knowledge workers have been subject to an escalating set of expectations. Productivity cycles are shorter, and employers monitor workers to measure both productivity and the capacity for productivity. That capacity is inexorably linked to embodied wellness: managing stress and chronic illnesses through care. Competitive workplaces rush to improve their capacity to care for critical workers, providing a nuanced array of corporate care practices. There are conflicts, however, built into the foundations of these care practices. As companies experiment in providing care, they need to monitor and track if that care is indeed leading to productivity. The practices of surveillance extend beyond the cubicle to the kitchen, café, and home. Employers engaged in corporate care are creating a new set of social expectations for both knowledge workers and the care workers who provide for them. This new set of narratives and practices, in turn, suggests a subtle revision in the logic of late capitalism, one of "regenerative capitalism."

Anthropologist Annemarie Mol set the stage for this analysis by reframing care as a set of practices embodied and understood differently by various stakeholders (2008, 2010). Those who receive care experience it differently from those who provide, manage, or mandate care. Care practices take place within complex ecosystems of activities, and each actor draws on particular logics to rationalize strategic choices. In any given situation, does the corporation care more for the financial health of shareholders, or the physical and emotional health of the people in the firm and community, without whom no value is created?

Those logical puzzles are at the heart of capitalism. In the large companies of the twenty-first century, strategic decisions are constantly straddling the divide between extractive and regenerative rationales. Actors can draw on a common narrative that increased care yields enhanced productivity: there is a pragmatic and necessary alignment between the health of workers and the value to shareholders. This pragmatic and instrumental formulation trades enhanced care for sustained high performance.

Other actors imagine that care practices can impact broader vistas, subtly changing the corporate social contract from one between individuals to one between communities. This is the systemic logic of care. For instance, the Institute for New Economic Thinking posits that current one-dimensional rational logic, which does not embrace larger contexts, can change. Economic decisions in "caring economics" would bring into line public, private, and philanthropic policies to create more pro-social outcomes (Singer and Snower 2015). In this narrative, care must benefit the community and the environment, as well as the productivity of the worker, extending the metaphor and activities of care to the whole social and natural ecosystem in which the employer and worker abides.

Silicon Valley workplaces draw on these two competing logics—pragmatic and systemic—to link worker productivity to care. Throughout this article we examine the logics of care and what it means for capitalism through different stakeholder perspectives. Care is not evenly distributed or available to all workers; indeed the workers providing care are often not the recipients of care themselves. These manifestations of corporate care hint at social experiments in progress.

What is Corporate Care?

While often discussed under the rubric of corporate social responsibility, the logic of pragmatism suggests that care also amplifies productivity and cements loyalty, however ephemeral, to the employer. This logic is highly instrumental and reflects the rationality of standard neoliberal economic theory. The other, less explored schema, suggests that care is part of a "regenerative capitalism" in which finite environmental and social resources, including worker capacity, are nurtured to align with larger impacts on ecosystems and even planetary health (Fullerton 2015; Carol Sanford personal communication). Finite resources, including the soil and water that produce the meticulously composed meals, are also meant to be consciously conserved. Only information, the imagined source of Silicon Valley corporate wealth, is treated as functionally infinite. Attention, our human ability to access information, is stewarded through mindfulness training. These two competing, and very occasionally complementary, logics inform manager and consultant discussions and decisions about worker care.

In this article, we draw on observations of changes in how care is practiced and imagined in Silicon Valley workplaces over the last two decades. Based on ethnographic fieldwork in companies from Apple to Yahoo, this article explores the uneven evolution of Silicon Valley's

corporate care. Beginning in 1992, English-Lueck and her colleagues gathered a thousand

personal stories of work life in Silicon Valley, touching on jobs such as warehouse temp

workers, nannies, massage therapists, chefs, journalists, urban planners, managers, and an array

of specialized engineers (see 2002, 2010). As part of the Silicon Valley Cultures Project,

ethnographic interviews and observations captured the texture of working life in a region that

was iconic in the emerging technologically dominated economy. They systematically asked

questions about the experience of working in the region, even of those who did not do what

outsiders would consider "Silicon Valley work." What is the experience of everyday work? What

are the rhythms of work? What kinds of relationships exist in the workplace? How do the larger

social networks support or subvert work? How is work changing? In parallel, Avery has spent

the better part of the last decade at the Institute for the Future, using bottom-up forecasting

techniques to blend ethnography with strategic forecasting for corporate, governmental, and

nonprofit clients. She focuses her anthropological practitioner's gaze on the future of food

systems, work practices, and well-being. Together, we collaborated on understanding Silicon

Valley's corporate food system and its relationship to work.

[Image Here]

Why Corporate Care is Emerging

Silicon Valley can be a microcosm for larger changes in the American institutional

landscape. The institutional locus of responsibility for wellness is privatized, often linked to

workplace benefits. As costs mount, the burden of health maintenance is increasingly felt by the

individual. Employer efforts shift from post-illness care to prevention and wellness in an effort to

contain costs. At the same time, worker productivity has intensified.

Twenty years ago, high-tech workers describe the arc of their lives, which intertwined with the rhythms of a small set of discrete projects (Charles Darrah, personal communication). These workers would be assigned projects, go through a slow ramping-up stage of innovation and coordination, and then they would need to intensify their efforts toward the apex of their particular piece of the project puzzle. The overall effect would be like a curve skewed upward at the end. Management practices changed as knowledge work became compartmentalized and fragmented. Product cycles grew ever shorter in duration. Instead of staying with a small number of projects throughout the entire process, workers would be assigned to an ever-increasing number of projects. They would not stay with the projects throughout their lifecycles, but be assigned for the particular segment that most intensively used their own particular configurations of talents. They would then work in their peak performance range across a larger number of projects. While this enhanced efficiency and productivity from the corporate perspective, workers experienced increased intensity, surfing from productivity peak to productivity peak, with few valleys in which to recover. Experiencing sixty to eighty hours of weekly work in the twentieth-century model was qualitatively different from the twenty-first-century model. Increasingly, an ecosystem of care, initiated by the company, emerged to make sure that workers could continue to perform with unabated effort.

Work intensification bred the need for care. As Alisdair, a quality manager from Hewlett Packard noted in the late 1990s, "Here we live to work, in Europe we work to live." While there were corporate services to help people manage life, the internalized pressure was on to intensify work, for "we do it to ourselves." Concierge services, on-site massage, and work-life counselors were available to produce, as one of those human resources counselors, Mary Ann, noted, "flexible, creative, energizing competitive work environments." Jon, an engineer, told us about

workplace ergonomics experts who "are specifically mandated to go around and try to create workplace environments that support peoples' productivity, and other things." He went on to note that while such support is evident at one end of the spectrum, other companies stuff workers into cubicles, ignoring care. In the twentieth century, most wellness-promoting care was external to the company. Fitness centers may have had subsidized contracts to serve high-tech workers, who held, as fitness manager Rob commented, "values that I don't necessarily hold, but I feel like I am programmed in this culture. . . kind of like achievement at any price."

The practices of start-up culture draw on university-student lifestyles—where institutionalized care includes a broad palette of wellness resources, cafeterias, and structured recreation. So it is not surprising that yoga, massage, food, and managed fun made their way into high-tech workplaces of the late twentieth century. Initially, engineers and their managers, often also engineers, were the primary targets of this care. Increasingly, however, that corporate care is a requirement, not a perquisite, of progressive companies recruiting high-end technical workers. As is noted in a study of knowledge workers in call centers by Peter Fleming and Andrew Sturdy, managers insert "fun" in order to become the employer of choice, inadvertently leading workers to "love being in the company rather than love the company itself" (2011, 183). Adding a carefully crafted version of care to that fun gives employers a competitive edge in recruiting and retaining critical knowledge workers.

Corporate Care in Silicon Valley

Corporate care in Silicon Valley evolved with a distinctive flavor. Silicon Valley sits within the San Francisco Bay Area, a place with an established reputation for food, wine, and recreation. The workers who get corporately sponsored care form a select group, and their

increasingly refined aesthetic distinguishes them from other workers. As perks evolve from an occasional pizza to more refined events, such as Dropbox's Whisky Fridays, new tastes are cultivated. Such connoisseurship helps define an emerging class of workers. Rewarding and reinforcing productivity is at the heart of this logic of care. Increased worker surveillance activities accompany this care, since productivity and the wellness that supports it are now considered company business. There are many areas of inquiry to be explored with an anthropological lens and research questions abound. What are the workers' experiences of such care? As care becomes integrated into corporate policy, what other logics emerge? For example, food can be provided for workers, but will it make them healthier? Will the food system that produced it heal or harm the environment? Will the beneficiaries of the care be limited to the uppermost tiers, or will such care be extended beyond highly paid full-time employees to contractors, especially to those who design, create, and serve the food, and even to the communities in which these businesses are physically embedded? Finally, what should anthropologists be considering as they watch workplace futures being crafted? What are the signals that will help us make sense of the possibilities implied by Silicon Valley worker care?

Labor Struggle and Contracts of Care

The struggle for labor rights is often one of asserting embodied care. Workers negotiate for rest and safe physical conditions. In the United States, further embodied care is translated into health care and family-leave benefits. In Silicon Valley, while organized labor still struggles in the service and manufacturing sectors, professional high-tech work constitutes another set of challenges and expectations. Those workers considered direct employees are quite distinct from those who contract from project to project (Barley and Kunda 2004). Organizations that shepherd user-created information, the Internet-based companies of Web 2.0 and beyond, have a complex

business model that includes many communities of workers and contributors. Even publically traded companies argue that they have obligations to their content producers, co-creators, and communities that differ from mid-twentieth-century businesses (see Jemielniak 2012; 2014). The informational commodity being traded is being generated by the users themselves.

The division between worker, customer, creator, community member, and investor is less clear-cut. For at least some portion of the high-tech economy, the relationship between stakeholders is not the same as in your grandmother's capitalism. Similarly, the fluid relationship between those who receive care, those who provide it, and those who stand outside it, does not look like your grandmother's class conflict. The workers and those who support them in the high-tech economy do not simply parse themselves into the bourgeoisie and proletariat, but have a more complex set of relationships.

At the turn of the century, Silicon Valley had already experienced a number of boom and bust cycles, in which even premium workers discovered that companies, and their job security, could vanish. The stress built into competition for jobs, market share, talent, and housing is amplified by the knowledge that the lines between the virtuous austerity of "ramen-stage" start-ups, the wild success of billion-dollar valuations, and layoffs and abject homelessness are perilously thin. As the twenty-first century unfolded, worker productivity in Silicon Valley was two and a half times the national average (English-Lueck 2002, 2010). Information, residing on servers that lives in laptops, tablets, mobile phones, wearables, and increasingly in the everyday objects around us, fuels a new generation of companies that trade in information, attention, commerce, and play—eBay, Yahoo, Google, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Paypal, Skype, Netflix, and Zynga. Older companies, such as Apple, SAP, and IBM, reinvent themselves. Data mining and data security gives birth to Palantir. These organizations and others,

including Tesla, Digg, Asana, Playdom, Nextdoor, Gaia Online, and Slide competed to attract and retain productive workers in an increasingly completive market for talent. Care practices designed to entice and keep workers emerged. The organizations listed above offer free or subsidized food, especially breakfasts and lunches (Quora 2015). Other worker perquisites include free bicycles, barbershops, gyms, games, and concierge services. Google has nap pods for a quick refreshing sleep away from coworkers (Luckerson 2014). These perquisites are not just devices for recruiting workers, but practices designed to boost and sustain productivity.

Corporate Care in Everyday Life

The following case studies illustrate these various logics of care. Charlie Ayers, one of the founding chefs at Google, illustrates the underlying logics of those providing the corporate care. As you can see, this logic goes well beyond the notion of a perquisite, or even an instrumental approach to boosting productivity, but renders a more holistic vision of making a statement of corporate responsibility. He writes, "Each snack and each meal you eat is an opportunity to make a difference—in your body and your world. At Google Sergey and Larry believed that if everyone were eating healthy and eating well, they were going to have healthy, productive, happy, and efficient engineers working for them. It made sense for them as a business investment, even if there were cheaper alternatives available" (2008, 1–2). This logic of care produced a niche for care providers that is inexorably linked to the values of the companies that support it.

Joaquin illustrates the experience of providing that corporate care, although he is not embedded in one company, but rather provides care that resembles the care given in large companies. Joaquin is a catering accounts manager who lives and works in San Francisco,

referring vendors to start-ups and other tech companies, managing menus, purchasing, and the other logistical aspects of getting food to hungry tech workers. His planning is done a month in advance, and Joaquin must juggle the changing availability of food, volatile consumer preferences, price, and creativity. In addition, he is a consultant for a smaller catering firm, an "offshoot business." Trained in the culinary arts, Joaquin manages customer interactions, as well as back-end operations, directing labor and material where needed. Although the company he works for manages over a hundred clients, he is responsible for a handful in his immediate area. These clients include a start-up, a biotech company, and a game-app developer company, all in San Francisco, increasingly considering itself part of greater Silicon Valley. Joaquin finds larger organizations easier to manage logistically. In start-ups, the small scale makes it difficult to purchase supplies economically, and the employee churn makes it difficult to customize meals. Nonetheless, that customization is exactly what they expect. He must accommodate allergies, gluten intolerance, vegetarian preferences, and other customized diets.

Joaquin's assessment of why tech companies want this wraparound food aligns with the instrumental rationale for care. Joaquin says, "Bigger tech companies or corporations—what they do to drive productivity is to try and eliminate the outside world. So, in creating things like happy hours, and bar time, and kegs and taps, that will keep employees in. And it also feeds the drive for a lifestyle and community within the office." Joaquin has succinctly summarized one of the logics of care.

Joaquin's relationship with his clients varies in social texture. He wants to build a relationship with the people he is serving, exchanging pleasantries and getting feedback about the meals. Joaquin comments, "I mean there are the regulars that definitely enjoy my company, and the ones I'll talk with on a day-to-day basis. But I mean, most of them will either just say,

"hi," or know me as the caterer. And there's the occasional, "Thank you very much for the food." This is not always the case. He goes on to say, that more often, "I'm more just like a shadow in the background."

Joaquin is in the business of trade-offs. He must balance comfort food and healthy choices, and literally has a formula that gives 40 percent to the former and 60 percent to the latter. Joaquin imagines that the tech workers must yearn for healthy food because they are locked indoors all day, and eating salads connects them to nature. His client companies want sustainable food, with a visibly ecologically friendly footprint. Joaquin must balance price point with culinary excitement. Within the Bay Area he encounters varied American and global tastes, appealing to those American transplants not yet enculturated to the sushi life and local and foreign-born clients who expect "authenticity."

The story of Dennis illustrates another point of view in this system of care, that of a recipient. Dennis is a high-tech industrial worker, transplanted to the San Francisco Bay Area, and he is well integrated into the ecosystem of care. He began his career in Boston, earning a computer science degree from Harvard. He developed his career arc in human-computer interaction, moving to Silicon Valley in 2007. He worked at two large corporations, including an iconic Web 2.0 organization that provided free food, as well as a pioneer web-services company. It was "pretty fun," but he wanted to develop his own start-up, manage his own time, and make his own mark. Dennis says, "I get a thrill from tackling problems and figuring out how a problem is not being fully solved, and solving it better."

Dennis lives in San Francisco, and either works at home or goes to a coworking space at a start-up incubator, where he is served lunch three times a week. Rather than deal with "the

nightmare" that is San Francisco parking, he rides his bike everywhere. Over the course of any day he might have several meetings—lunch meetings, coffee meetings, and other events where food provides the lubricant for conversation. He considers himself "a bit of a foodie" and lunch is "a big deal." A bit reticent about calling himself a proper foodie, Dennis says, "I like food. I like interesting dishes. I like variety!"

Dennis notes that moving to California has been transformative in his tastes and emotional outlook. "You start to adopt Bay Area attitudes about food, and that's a good thing." His relatives tease him that his blogs have become more expressive, more "touchy-feely." At home he takes advantage of the rich array of restaurants, gets a CSA (community supported agriculture) box of fresh vegetables from the organization Farm Fresh to You, delivering produce directly from local organic farms. He combines shopping at Trader Joe's and high-end organic grocery stores to balance price and health, mirroring the strategies of corporate food purchasers. His girlfriend, with whom he lives, brews her own beer. Dennis waxes eloquent with descriptions of his favorite foods and alcoholic drinks, looking wistfully at his special bottle of Mescal, which he picked up in Mexico from the distiller himself. His mentor, also a foodie, loves to talk about food and whiskey, and has introduced him to a new vocabulary. Dennis revels in his ability to partake of "the good life," characterized by fine food, drink, and recreation in beautiful outdoor spaces. In contrast to Alisdair, his Hewlett Packard counterpart from the 1990s, Dennis works to support the good life, but echoes the work focus of his predecessors in his passion to explore his intellectual interest in computer interaction. Wryly, he ponders how he can get help turning off his devices so that he can't be reached by work, and he notes that the only person who can ever turn them off "is me!" He holds up his mobile device and says, "You know my life revolves around it and I'm not unusual... the office can reach me any time of the day or night and

they can interrupt anything." Dennis has just described one of the most visible experiences of work intensification. Care workers, from chefs to life coaches, help people such as Dennis maintain that work intensification.

Annemarie Mol has written extensively about care on the logics of care and choice (2008, 2010). In her work, the medical and nursing caregivers she studies often have cultural power over patients. These patients can exercise a modest degree of choice within established parameters. Providers and patients are negotiating this relationship, and she calls for them to "experiment, experience and tinker together—practically. This is far from easy" (2008, 56). The power relationship is often quite different in high-tech workplaces, but it is no less difficult to create effective care. The creative, high-tech, and managerial workers are those whose choices are being courted, such as Dennis, who have a distinctive set of expectations, reinforced by class and power. Those who provide are on the outside, often contractors—chefs, vendors, and health educators—and have a circumscribed form of cultural authority. Physicians have more cultural authority than their patients. In contrast to their audience of engineers, chefs and other caregivers have limited scope for cultural power, their knowledge of food and health, over engineers. Engineers are willing to succumb to their authority if it gives the knowledge workers a tangible advantage. The underlying rationale for care is highly instrumental—amplifying worker productivity is the still primary goal. Most discourse, as illustrated by Joaquin's comments, highlights the rationale of productivity and power relationships. Caregiver and high-tech worker status is unequal. That reality, however, is not the whole story.

Discerning Care, Taste, and Class

The shaping of an emergent technical and creative bourgeoisie does not merely produce a new elite. Although such workers are well compensated, a fact that fuels a high cost of living in the region, there are more subtle factors in play. Even for those at the top of the deeply polarized income scale of this region, cost of living (and rent in particular) has outpaced gains in real wages consistently since the recession of 2008 (County of Santa Clara Office of Human Relations 2015). In a national economic climate in which a third of US households are living "paycheck to paycheck," (Kaplan, Violante, and Weidner 2014) the performance of refined tastes balances delicately among the real and imagined precariousness of a superior economic and social position.

Pierre Bourdieu unravels the complex dance of media, vernacular, and taste in *Distinction*, his work on how tastes and emotions define French social classes (1984). In this work, he writes about how a disinterested cultivated taste defines the old aristocratic elite, and that as economies change, new hierarchical relationships emerge, "transforming the system of opportunities open to the products of different types of training" (1984, 296–297). He notes that "tastes in food also depend on the idea each class has of the body and of the effects of food on the body" (1984, 190). Tastes are defined primarily by emphasizing what not to eat, as well as what to eat (Jurafsky 2015, 113) In the twenty-first century high-tech workplace, food and other care is used to enhance productivity, and the body and the environment are in service to creative production. Such care validates the worthiness of the worker, and accentuates her, or more likely his, value.

In company-provided cooking classes, engineers learn to discern flavors and identify the sources of the taste, mirroring the search for food exotica among the French upper bourgeoisie. Corporately hosted single-source chocolate, coffee, tea, and whisky tastings entertain, and

cultivate a sense of discernment. These perks are aimed at corporately vested engineers and their managers, and reinforce their sense of preeminence. Even having free snacks is viewed by workers, at least in the popular discourse, as a path to happiness. A survey conducted by Peapod online delivery service unsurprisingly revealed that two-thirds of workers, particularly those born after 1982, were extremely or very happy if given free snacks, and they looked for such benefits in job-hunting (Hadley 2015). Aaron, at a Bay Area start-up, attributes his good health to corporately supported food and sees that perk as a financial advantage for his employer. Games like "health bingo" make workers aware of the constellation of available benefits that support healthy practices, such as massage and yoga., as noted by Lauren, a corporate nutritionist and health educator.

Chef Craig says, "Part of the creativity in [this company] is driven by food and the interactions around food, so like I stated earlier, if you only have bananas and apples and pears, broccoli, cabbage and fennel from the end of December until Spring hits, you have a very boring palate to play with, which doesn't create that kind of 'moon shot' thinking, which is very affected by the food and the offerings in the cafe." At least from the point of view of care providers and consumers, care in the form of food underscores creativity and reinforces social distinction. Care is more than pizzas at work. Care must align with the elusive search for augmenting productivity, as well as with other, less immediately tangible values such as social and environmental responsibility. However, to align these disparate facets, corporations need to know how experiments in care effect change. These companies need to monitor care and its consequences on productivity, worker well-being, and corporate image.

Measuring Care and Its Tradeoffs

Surveillance is a companion to care. If care is instrumental, then there must be metrics and instruments to demonstrate its value. But creativity is a notoriously hard product to measure. This dilemma has led to a host of experiments in measurement. Following the larger movement in health and health care towards continuous rather than episodic illness management, technologists create ways to measure care and its proxies in real time, not just every few months (Brennan and Casper 2014; Avery, Falcon, and Maguire 2012). Technology enables constant checks on keystroke and screen time, and facilitates the monitoring of physical states like movement and blood sugar, and other proxies for productivity in embodied work. New forms of surveillance, including wearables and ubiquitous data monitoring, make it possible for organizations to understand the value-add of particular foods or health practices, and particular forms of work. People experiment on themselves and capture data, and the workplace experiments with care and captures data. Workplace care comes with implicit and explicit "terms of service," trading utility and comfort for surveillance.

The language of "trade-offs" is used to make sense of this world. Rest is traded for intensity. Comfort food balances bouts of ascetic focus. When using corporate care, workers are balancing benefits and intrusion and trying to make sense of that choice. Just as Mol noted, the logic of care requires expertise and information, and the logic of choice requires adherence and feedback. However, this hypermodern exchange is still not the complete story.

Amplifying Value in the Ecosystem of Care

Another construct of corporate care requires exploration, one that draws on the concept of regenerative capitalism. This rationale is not the dominant narrative, but one that is increasingly invoked to define the notion of care. Regenerative capitalism grew out of the environmental

movement and holds that the assumption of growth, fueled by extractive capitalism, is only one model of possible value exchange, and one with serious social and environmental consequences (Daly 2008). Growth, in this model, is qualitative, not quantitative. The alternative is a systemically sustainable economy, in which a range of organizational scales compete "responsibly," spurning extreme social inequality, and they disdain using efficiency as a justification for the pursuit of shareholder value (Fullerton 2015, 35). A regenerative economy posits a range of stakeholders, including community and environment, and the workers themselves. Human potential and creativity are the sources of future value. This notion was at the core of the two books written by business consultant Carol Sanford, whose vision of responsible innovation was adopted within Google, noting that it is an organization that "expects and encourages a high level of visionary ambition" (2014, 134–135).

Sanford's version of regenerative capitalism is operationalized as a series of stakeholder engagements, so that shareholders, workers, consumers, and the communities and the environments in which they live must be considered (2011). Holly, a high-level corporate food contractor ponders what this means to her on a day-to-day basis. She says:

> But it's not all about bottom-line shareholder value. I'm not looking for the lowest price. Price is a consideration, but it is about our customers, it's about our co-creators, including the people who pick food in the field, our cooks who largely don't speak English. It's about our chefs. It's about our suppliers. It's about having a responsible supply chain with respect to all of those people, whether they are California farm workers or whether they are coffee farmers from Guatemala or Brazil. It's also about the Earth and having a responsibility toward keeping the Earth as a resource for us to continue to grow food and nurture lives.

Not only about the food system, it's about the whole ecosystem that includes people's ability to thrive.

One of the chefs, Ellie, creates vegan menus that hold to that vision, noting, "Think of the consequences of food. If the byproducts of the food are healthy, then you feel powerful. You feel unstoppable." Michael, a local farm justice advocate adds, "I think what gets lost in the conversation of capitalism is that the greatest value is created when all people have an equal ability to create the value. That has to be present in the supply chain also. Farm workers have to be given equal opportunity to become land-owning farmers." This approach is a much more complex and nuanced understanding of corporate care, in which shortening the distance between stakeholders allows more value to be generated across the supply chain by unleashing creativity. One concrete manifestation of this notion is Google's food truck incubator program, in which twenty food trucks are sponsored to visit the campus, and their owners learn sustainable business practices (Stone 2015). The linkage of counter-cultural approaches that invite, and to a degree co-opt the values of social movements, is not new in Silicon Valley. Silicon Valley geek culture is infused with countercultural values and underlies the self-definition of the "progressive" corporation promoted there (see Turner 2006). The values of Silicon Valley overlap, contend, and compete with the larger San Francisco Bay Area visions of justice, sustainability, and technologically augmented joy. We are not positing a naïve utopian interpretation of this social phenomenon. We would like to reiterate, however, that although regenerative capitalism is not the prime mover of all business decisions in Silicon Valley, it is an important experiment worth noting. Corporate care provides a venue for examining its nascent principles and practices.

Looking Forward

The relationship between those who give and receive corporate care is a rich field of inquiry. Practices are being created and refined, stories are being imagined and told, and infrastructure is developed, nurtured, and abandoned. Within this testing ground, we can see emerging economic roles, in which creativity and innovation are invited, if not expected, throughout the system of care. Within that framework of empowerment might we also expect new forms of surveillance? In order to be rewarded, added value must be documented, and granting access to information—ubiquitous wraparound data collection—is part of that trade-off.

The research questions posed at the beginning of this article offer an opportunity for anthropologists to explore an emerging area in the domain of work. As anthropologists, what signals of potential future impacts might we seek? The two futures created by neoliberal pragmatism and regenerative systems thinking overlap, but the reality experienced by the workers and their communities is quite different. The former can devolve into dehumanized instrumentality, but the latter offers the possibility of creating greater alignment between those who give and receive corporate care. We have found experiments in the corporate wild, but what is next? We should be particularly attuned to spotting those nascent efforts. Over the next decade, these experiments will be scaling up—beyond particular applications, such as food systems-related corporate care, to other facets of the organizations. As companies move beyond the obvious arenas of food and fitness, other environmental and social functions will be incorporated into corporate care.

Anthropologists and other organizational analysts need to be attuned to this expansion of care and track the decisions that are made. When are corporate experiments abandoned, and what reasons are given for the undertakings' "failure"? Are more companies adopting corporate care, and if so, in what form, using which logic? Many of the early adopters of this corporate care are

global companies. When and how is such corporately sponsored or partnered care being extended beyond California, to the talent markets of China, India, Indonesia, or Nigeria? Is the story being told about the care purely instrumental—extracting value from the most creative workers? Or is the rationale one of amplifying value by bringing in as many stakeholders as possible, viewing creativity as the one non-finite source of value generation? We have outlined two overlapping but philosophically distinct narratives about corporate care, one deeply pragmatic, and the other systemic and much more socially experimental. Which stories will reshape future worker lives?

Endnote. The Silicon Valley Cultures Project began at San Jose State University in 1992 (with C. N. Darrah, J. A. English-Lueck and J. M. Freeman), and student and faculty researchers collected over a thousand interviews and 2,500 hours of observation through 2005 (see English-Lueck 2002). Ethnographic projects done with the Institute for the Future continued to examine work and wellness, producing another hundred interviews done through 2011 (English-Lueck 2010). In 2012, Avery and English-Lueck began the project on corporate food systems in which observations and interviews were done with farmers, farm educators, chefs, high-tech workers, and their families (English-Lueck and Avery 2014; Avery, English-Lueck and Hamamoto 2014; see also Avery et al. 2013). A special acknowledgement goes to my research colleagues at San Jose State University: Armando Ayala, Chelsea Bahr, Evan Branning, Sarah Goldman, Robert Johnston, Jason McClung, Alex Moreno, Nicolas Thoryk, Deborah Walde-Baughn and Aracelis Velazquez Rivera. Unless quoted from a published source, all names in this paper are pseudonyms, and all corporate names are converted into sector descriptors, such as Web 2.0 companies.

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