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The chef as an emotional and aesthetic labourer; an employee in transition

David Graham

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Abstract

The experience economy has extended the very nature of service work to one where the employee is required to deliver a service product which has to excite and stimulate all of the customer's senses. This is a relatively new service orientation, which has shifted the industrial craft worker from the closed and hidden world of production onto the open `stage`, where they are required to give a performance of their craft, engage in customer conversation and hold eye contact. The chef is one exemplification of this realignment with the movement of their employment from the traditional closed French kitchen, to the new world of the open kitchen as an emotional and aesthetic labourer.

Realist ontology and a social constructivism epistemology is adopted, undertaking twenty eight in-depth interviews with chefs who had worked in closed kitchens and transferred to open kitchens in order to develop an understanding of their emotional and aesthetic labouring. Participants who further illustrate their narrative responses with drawings as pictorial metaphors to elicit deeper meaning of their new world of work, which is a novel approach in emotional and aesthetic labour business management research.

The research identifies the changed work pressures of those respondents, who have had to heuristically acquire new soft skills in order to become successful emotional and aesthetic labourers. The participant's resilience to the additional stress of such open work was enabled through the 'status shield' of hard skill, until the necessary soft skills were acquired.

It can be suggested from the findings that the two theorisations of emotional and aesthetic labour can be formulated together to enable a richer interpretation of the transformation of the chef in the open kitchen. This offers an insight and explanation into the impact of this changing kitchen work and with it a new sociology of the chef. One which is challenging the historical traditions of kitchen work, leading to de-masculinisation, soft skills development, changing speech vernacular in the kitchen and the outcome of increased job satisfaction.

The thesis makes a contribution towards the identification of the transformational effect on these individuals. Whilst hard skills are still of primary importance, soft skills training and development for traditional masculine jobs will require addressing by educators and training providers, if these new open craft jobs, are to be available to the traditional young working class male.

Acknowledgments

Candidates statement

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

David Graham

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List of abbreviations

ELS……………………………   Emotional Labour Scale

JCM…………………………...   Job Characteristics Model

JDS……………………………   Job Diagnostic Survey

HSD…………………………...   Human Stick Drawing

Terminology

Back of house	Restaurant space from which the customer is excluded
Chef de partie	A member of staff who has responsibility for a specific area of kitchen work e.g. vegetable section
Closed kitchen	A kitchen environment which is designed to exclude the customer from contact with the chef
Front of house	Restaurant environment where the customer enters into, and engages with the employee
Mise en place	Basic kitchen preparation
Open kitchen	A kitchen environment which is designed for visual and or verbal customer contact with the chef
Sous chef	Second chef in charge of the kitchen

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1. Background

The United Kingdom has undergone three key economic periods, agricultural, manufacturing and service, and thus two transitional stages as one period faded and the next came to the fore. Between 1840 and 1870, the United Kingdom moved from an agricultural to a manufacturing economy and then in the 1970s to a service economy (Drucker 1994; Perrucci and Perrucci 2007). Towards the end of the 20th century, the service economy extended into the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999), which Warhurst et al (2000) and Postrel (2003) refer to as the aesthetic economy and others have labelled entertainment economy (Wolf 1999), attention economy (Davenport and Beck 2002) and dream society (Jenson 1999). This is an economic representation of the demise of UK traditional heavy manufacturing and chronicles the move towards an advanced service orientation (Skorstad and Ramsdal 2009), an economic shift which has had a transformational effect on the very nature of work (McIvor 2013) as Britain moved further *"towards the service dominant logic"* (Chu, Baker and Murrmann 2012, p906). From the 1980s onwards, the service sector, and in particular the restaurant business, began to implement other established service retailing principles (Lashley 2009) in order to deliver increased productivity and thus corporate profit. The consequential increased competitiveness in the service industry stimulated businesses to create additional customer interactions that offered unique and memorable experiences (Fitzsimmons and Fitzsimmons 2000; Walls et al. 2011) linked to the principle of the highly managed customer interaction to ensure brand consistency occurred, while delivering service authenticity (Fineman 2000).

During the manufacturing economy era, the restaurant production space as the professional kitchen was traditionally closed to public scrutiny (Turner 2001). For organisations to remain competitive in the experience economy, they have had to identify new and memorable ways to make the service offering unique. One approach has been to bring together the production of the kitchen and the service delivery of the restaurant as one, enabling the

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customer to view and interact with the chef in order to provide a new and stimulating experience for the guest (Frable 1998) as *"entertaining interaction"* (Lugosi 2008, p140) or `eatertainment` (Graham 2001). This approach in work orientation has for the first time permanently placed the chef in front of the customer in the open kitchen. In doing so, it has created them as an emotional and aesthetic labourer. The employer placing the chef in an open work-space has provided a unique research focus for this thesis: an employee who has never been researched from this perspective. The chef as a craft worker (like the cobbler, weaver, glass blower, baker and car mechanic) must now interact with the customer as part of the design of the job in a way that was never traditionally envisaged (Graham 2006a). The open production craft worker and the focus of this work the chef; must now undertake a socially acceptable defined encounter and/or a scripted organisational defined customer interaction (Goffman 1959; Goffman 1969) in line with the organisational goals, in return for remuneration (Hochschild 1983).

This service principle represents the foundation upon which has been built a whole body of emotional labourer literature that explores the inner self, labelling the workers' emotions displayed in front of the customer as their *"attitude"* (Grandey and Gabriel 2015), while the publically viewable customer engagement is their *"appearance"* (Warhurst 2015, p2) termed aesthetic labour. These two concepts will be applied in this thesis for the first time in order to understand the chef in the open kitchen and their repositioning in this new customer facing environment. This piece of research will offer an insight into the changing nature of the male dominated kitchen workplace (People 1st 2014) and discuss the impact that this change has had on the chef and the normal traditions associated with their trade identity.

1.2. The sociology of the chef

Craft worker traditions were socially constructed in the manufacturing economy when the employee was isolated in the closed world of work and no customer interaction skills were required. During the industrial and manufacturing era of the British economy (Foster 1974; McIvor 2013), a type

of hidden worker emerged as male dominated and the upper level of the working class (Steadman 1983). Workers whose employment involved a craft skill earned a higher income and joined a trade that was protected through a long apprenticeship scheme, often underpinned by the formation of a worshipful company and/or a trade union. This group of workers - often termed the labour aristocracy – adhered to a socially constructed set of conditions and behaviours (Lummis 1994), creating an employment categorisation defined as masculine or man`s work (Sayce, Ackers and Greene 2007).

To compete effectively in the experience economy, a memorable and unique service encounter (Walls et al. 2011) that involves placing the private production work space into the public domain for the customer to view the craft worker. This has not only necessitated the worker deploying traditional `*hard skills*`, but the nature of the interaction has also required them to interact with the guest and employ a range of `*soft skills*` due to the stage like environment they now find themselves in (Appelbaum and Gatta 2005). There is a growing understanding that both the `*hard skills*` associated with the profession and the *'soft skills*` associated with customer interaction, are likely to be the new requirements of employees in driving forward these shifting economic imperatives (DBIS 2010).

Prior to this innovation, traditional kitchen work had been largely decoupled from the realities of the service delivery, creating a barrier or a wall, with the effect of amplifying disregard for the needs of the customers (Fine 1996; Graham 2006; Bloisi and Hoel 2008; Chen and Hao 2009; Graham and Dunning 2011). Memorable service encounters have now become a central part of the service delivery, which is enriched as a result of the customer being able to observe the hitherto private work world of production employees. The customer is now able to survey the vista of the kitchen and the work processes being undertaken therein and has the opportunity to engage in direct conversation with the chef (Graham 2010), thus experiencing and observing the production element of the work. This

focussed and intentional re-design of the restaurant service creates a new employment perspective that requires a research understanding.

This work re-orientation and intentional re-design of service has apparently placed the employee on the `front stage`, a location which is designed as an observational space where the customer can now engage with the employee both visually and vocally in a manner which was never previously possible in the closed world of production work. However, describing the location of the open kitchen as *'front stage'* may not be entirely accurate. For Grayson (1998) the restaurant is the `front stage`. Here the restaurant's management *"is likely to decorate the dining area tastefully and to staff it with customer-oriented employees, thus contributing to the customer's impression of a polished, personal service"* (p128). The `back stage`, according to Grayson, is the *"restaurant's kitchen area, which is likely to be hidden because its employees and their appearance might give customers an impression of mass-production or messy working conditions"* (p128). Applying Grayson`s reasoning, the open kitchen as a concept is not part of the `front stage`. Indeed, the reality is that the open kitchen is neither `front stage` nor `back stage` but exists in a middle space, a `perceived back stage`, created for the benefit of the customer. This orientation, a space which is designed for the staff to operate in while performing their trade and simultaneously engaging with the customer, has not previously been academically studied for the restaurant kitchen and the effect on the chef.

This framing of the open kitchen in this conception of a `perceived back stage`, a middle space, includes the chef`s table and a full or partially open kitchen. Participants who subscribed to the French kitchen traditions through their use of technical language, artefacts, training principles and kitchen hierarchy being the dominant feature of such work. The definition of an open kitchen used in this thesis does not relate to, for example, Teppanyaki restaurants as the chef in such an environment is employed in a space designed as the `front stage`. More importantly for the research, such restaurant kitchens are not perceived by the customer as being `back stage` and offering a window or view into the world of production

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This research work focuses on the transformation of the craft worker who has had to migrate from the closed world of production into the open world of work as part of their job design; the chef being one manifestation of this shifting kitchen world. This is an area that has not been previously researched employing the theorisations within the emotional and aesthetic labouring literature to which these workers now clearly belong. This study of the chef as a skilled craft worker within a new setting offers a unique insight into a work environment that has traditionally been closed and largely male dominated which is unequivocally discussed in the sociology of chefs literature from Orwell (1933) to Fine (1996) and Robinson (2008) to Burrow et al (2015) along with the traditional biographies of celebrity chefs such as Bourdain (Bourdain 2000), White (White and Steen 2006), Ramsey (Ramsay 2007) and Martin (Martin 2008) to name a few. The new identification of open kitchen work through this research study adds a new understanding of the changing nature of this kitchen environment and the impact on the worker (Roberts 2012; People 1st 2014) giving a new insight into the changing sociology of the chef.

1.3. Masculine identity of work

Traditionally, occupations that involve caring and service work or those with a job description that requires a friendly, attractive or "*charming service*" (Nixon 2009, p306) are ones more likely to be filled by women. Men, on the other hand, have been attracted to, and employed within, occupations societally constructed to be more masculine orientated (McIvor and Johnston 2007), jobs which are thought to be more physical and dirty (Bishop, Cassell and Hoel 2009) and which require a harder mental attitude. Simonton (1998) indicates that through the generations men have also been employed in the service industries but there exists within it a *"gendered construction of skill"* (p238)*,* with males occupying the better paid posts that involve more skilful tasks and doing the heavy work. This has led to greater social standing towards these jobs and a gender employment bias in service work. Within hospitality and in particular the restaurant this helps to explain the social construction of the chef in the hot kitchen environment, which is essentially male dominated (People 1st 2014), a place where masculinity is reinforced

by the traditional tasks of heavy lifting, the dirty work of preparing raw ingredients and the hot sweaty cooking environment (Fine 1996; Bloisi and Hoel 2008), all of which created a male `shop floor` life (Orwell 1933; Mars and Nicod 1984; Ramsay 2007; Alexander et al. 2012).

Skilled masculine dominated crafts now involve levels of customer service and acting performances as part of their operational design (within the service rules of the organisation), delivering specific service interactions that society has increasingly come to expect (Warhurst et al. 2000). As a consequence, the male craft worker as an emotional and aesthetic labourer is now required to deploy the `soft skills` traditionally associated with service (Bolton 2000a) whilst continuing to excel in the `hard skills` required of the craft.

1.4. Theoretical and methodological approaches

This thesis adopts a social constructionist framework, whereby according to Berger and Luckmann (1966), *"Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product"* (p61). The central idea of social constructionism is that everyday knowledge is constructed by humans through a process of interaction that creates shared meanings, mental representations of society that eventually become accepted as the norm or tradition. Social order is an ongoing human production, maintained and modified by institutions and individuals that embody and embrace it, and as such, it is open to change. The social world of the chef is therefore a product of the history and culture that created and continues to create it. This research is guided by realist ontology   of a single reality of the closed to the open kitchen and as such it is objective, with multiple perceptions and the consensus of the values of the human systems and the researcher (Krauss 2005), where knowledge is contingent upon the constructionist's perspective (Lyotard 1984). Fundamentally, it is the way in which the employees as the chefs in the research see their social world which will shape their response to it (Bruner 1986; Watzlawick 1984; Garfinkel 1984) at their moment in time

The research focus is a responsive dialogue, a conversation between people, a narrative elicited from the respondents (Cunliffe 2002; Shotter 1993). This thesis adopts an interpretation of the `intersubjectivity` of everyday life in that those participants daily life is a social and relational response to their world, rather than an individual and cognitive one (Bakhtin 1981; Bakhtin 1986). Consequently, those chefs' understanding of their surroundings continually changes in a relational responsive interaction, according to which everything they do is a complex mixture of their own and others' actions and speech. This thesis sits within an `intersubjectivity` position, whereby meaning is produced through a process of construction that involves particular discursive and or conversational practices (Creed, Scully and Austin 2002; Heracleous 2006; Oswick and Richards 2004). Research from this perspective uses conversational analysis, adopting Wieck's (1979) psychology of organisations. The premise here is that those chefs in closed and open kitchens construct and interpret their labour and identity through a shared understanding that derives from interaction in the kitchen. Thus, their social reality is a consequence of their shared perceptions of their world.

In an attempt to understand those chefs' truth, in-depth interviews were conducted, which led to conversation between the researcher and the interviewees. Drawings were also used as metaphors to elicit their stories (narratives), with each chef focusing on their experience of moving from the closed to the open kitchen. This thesis assumes that there is no fixed universally shared understanding of reality as the latter is grounded in how people shape meaning between themselves (Boyce 1996). It takes the view that there is no `I` without `you` because an individual's understanding is always reached in relation to others, whether they are present or not. Some argue that individuals are shaped by power that is interwoven in all social relationships (Beech and Brockbank 1999; MacAlpine and Marsh 2005), while others argue that power is more benign (Watson 2001). This thesis adopts Weick`s (1979, p164) philosophy that, *"reality is selectively perceived, rearranged cognitively and negotiated interpersonally"* and that sense making *"occurs in a social context in which norms and expectations affect the rationalizations developed for behaviour"* (2001, p12).

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The research adopts a micro-level approach to those chefs as a relational social construct of people at a particular level creating meaning `intersubjectively` through embodied dialogue activities (Cunliffe 2002; Gergen, McNamee and Barrett 2001; Katz et al. 2000). Through this process, the individual views his reality as the truth, legitimising those participants to talk in their research conversations about the organisation, system, customers, fellow workers and their own identity as an emotional and aesthetic labour.

1.5. Research questions

The central thrust of this thesis is to understand the impact on those chefs whose employment has been repositioned from the closed world of production to the open world of customer engagement, leading to a fundamental transformation in their working environment as their employment in the service economy has changed to accommodate the needs of the experience and aesthetic economies. It is important to note that the initial thrust of the thesis was to explore emotional labouring per se, focusing on those chefs in the open kitchen, and that this parameter was the guiding principle for the research. It was while in the field collecting the data that the additional phenomenon of `looking good and sounding right`, that of aesthetic labouring, came to the fore. This inductive approach to the work generated additional data sets, which in turn augmented new research objectives and from these, the fundamental overarching contribution that the thesis will claim, that of the transformation of the individual as a result of these new public facing working conditions

Consequently, the research adopts concepts from the emotional and aesthetic labourer literature in order to discuss the changes that have occurred in relation to this new understanding of closed to open work, and in doing so, uses those chefs as a particular exemplification of an employee who has undergone a fundamental shift in the nature of their work in order to operate effectively in the new experience/aesthetic `servicescape`.

This core theme of those chefs as an emotional and aesthetic labourer has not previously been researched or addressed in the literature, and it is from this position that the central research question was developed in order to understand the changed experience in kitchen work:

What transformation is the chef experiencing as their employment is re-orientated from the closed to the open kitchen?

This central research question as the core aim led to the development of a number of research objectives, which were inductively formulated as:

- Develop a critical perspective to evaluate the impact that the transition from the closed to the open kitchen is having on the sociology of the chef

- Critically review and examine the extent of emotional labouring and its potential consequences

- Analyse and evaluate the coping mechanisms that the chef is deploying when emotional labouring

- Critically analyse the extent of aesthetic labouring taking place in the open production service environment

- Synthesise the inter-relationship between emotional and aesthetic labour.

- Formulate a new understanding of the chef`s identity as they move from the closed to the open kitchen environment.

It is hoped that through an analysis and discussion of the findings, the research question and the objectives will make a contribution to knowledge. The chef, as one worker type, is un-researched within the emotional and aesthetic labour literature and it is this re-orientation of work from the closed kitchen to becoming a customer engaging service employee in the open kitchen, which has had the transformation effect on those chefs in the research selection.

This research therefore introduces a new work perspective and labour type into the literature a worker who within a lifetime has experienced two differing work domains. The closed kitchen which represents the old world of manufacturing as it emerged into the service economy. An unequivocal contrast to the open kitchen as a representation of the experience and aesthetic economies It is the transformational understanding of those chefs as they re-orientate themselves in this new world of customer engagement work, which forms the overarching thrust and hence the contribution claims of this thesis.

1.6. Overview of chapters

The following section will present an introductory overview of the content of each of the chapters.

Chapter two defines the sociology of the craftsman and their identity in the work place. It explores the rules for closed work and how this has created a masculine work culture. The chapter articulates the workers shifting work environment into the new world of open customer engagement skilled service production work and the craft workers changed orientation within it.

Chapter three discusses the sociology of the professional chef as one exemplification of the craft worker and their traditional orientation of work through the industrial era of the closed kitchen. It discusses the nature of the chef in such work, the change to the new open kitchen production environment and the impact that this is having on their work practice. The chapter draws upon contemporary writings of celebrity chefs and academic literature in identifying the comparison between the closed kitchen and the new world of the open kitchen. The chapter outlines the development of the open kitchen and the linkages that this form of working environment has with customer service, setting the rationale for the application of the emotional and aesthetic labour theorisations.

Emotional and aesthetic labour is the focus of chapter four. The chapter discusses the changes that emotional labouring has brought about, such as

the diminution of masculine identity, but indicates that these have in part been offset through the high degree of power and control in the job role and the level of job autonomy which still remains. The chapter goes onto highlight the current academic trends on emotional labour, which has recently been extended *circa* 2000 (Warhurst et al. 2000) by the *"so called Strathclyde group"* into aesthetic labour (Dahl 2013, p60), who argue that with such a theorisation, `soft skills` are increasingly becoming a core requirement of the employee in this new type of work.

The research methodology is articulated in chapter five, adopting a realist ontology and a social constructivism epistemology as knowledge of the real world is interpretive and provisional, rather than straight forward representational. The chapter describes the research method of storytelling and explains how the narrative discourse of the individual respondents has been interpreted and the research themes constructed. The chapter discusses how the emotional labour theory is used as the guiding principle in the design of the research instrument, which is the interviews, supported by the use of pictorial participant drawings as metaphors to explore the deeper meanings and give additional confirmation of those participants' thoughts, an innovative approach in emotional and aesthetic labour study research. An approach which draw on the realist positivistic literature ontology of the object, while applying an interpretivist approach through social constructivism as the epistemology, to research the subjects perception of their reality. The chapter draws to a close with a discussion of the transcription process adopted and discusses dependability, credibility and ethical considerations of the research process.

The data findings are presented as a comparison between the closed and the open world of the kitchen in chapter 6, and this begins with a discussion of the two kitchen environments. The chapter is structured using the emotional labour framework, firstly, discussing pre-work, secondly, at work and finally, post service. Within this framework, the emotional and aesthetic labour findings are discussed and the common themes are drawn together. Where appropriate, the narrative respondent's voice is illustrated with the

respondent's pictures as metaphors, adding an additional layer of understanding and credibility to the stories.

The analysis and discussion in chapter seven draws out the research results, interpreting their meaning in relation to the current literature and suggests anomalies and gaps through the transferability of the findings. It discusses how the respondents embraced the front office service interactions of the open kitchen and the impact that this has had on their personal and professional lives; a transformational effect. The front office of the open kitchen involves levels of emotional labouring which has never been a requirement of the closed kitchen, resulting in increased pressure and the development of a new set of interaction skills as those chefs emerge as aesthetic labourers. This chapter discusses the additional stresses of emotional labouring, indicating how these are often offset by the emotional labourer's awareness that the job they are doing is recognised as valuable by society (`*status shield*`) and by the level of autonomy they have in their job, which may allow them to move away to de-stress. The consequences of open kitchen work are greater levels of job satisfaction and the tempering of the hard masculinity of the job role normally associated with the traditions of closed kitchen work. This changed reality has led to the de-masculinisation of the job, the transformational development of new `*soft skills*` and a greater acceptance of women into professional kitchen work. The chapter concludes by suggesting that emotional and aesthetic labour as separate theorisations are more representative of the reality of the front office worker when they are formulated together.

The chapter suggests that emotional labouring and aesthetic labouring can be represented together as the *transformation triangle*, which in turn enables a clearer and more effective discussion of the new customer facing role of those chefs and their changed and transformational identity as the central and overarching contribution to knowledge.

The final chapter reiterates the research aim and objectives, and through an examination of the research question draws out the fundamental findings.

The overarching contribution of the transformational change of work that the open kitchen has had on those chefs and how through the de-masculinisation of the open kitchen, they have developed new `*soft skills*`. The chapter puts forward the central contribution of the transformation triangle as a managerial tool to be able to articulate and understand the challenges of the worker in the shifting world of the closed to the open employment domains. The chapter suggest that the transformation triangle can be used as an organisational tool to assist management in pictorial representing the shifting nature of their workers employment. A visual aid which can assist in the articulation with their employees of the changed work pressures of open kitchen work and hence the transformational effect that the employee will experience through the associated emotional and aesthetic labouring impacts of closed to open working. The chapter closes with a discussion of the limitations of the study, making some recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2 - The sociology of the craft worker

2.1. Introduction

The craft worker has been subjected to two fundamental national economic transformations, whereby the UK shifted from the agricultural economy to the manufacturing economy in the mid-1800s and then to the service economy in the 1970s (Drucker 1994), the latter extending into the experience economy towards the end of the 20th century (Pine and Gilmore 1999). Others refer to this extension of the service logic as the aesthetic economy (Warhurst et al. 2000; Postrel 2003). This chapter will discuss the impact that the more recent economic changes have had on the identity of the craft worker as their employment has been realigned from a closed industrial world to that of an open production operation. It will identify the changed nature of work and define the craft worker in the traditional manufacturing economy, setting out the re-orientation of this worker type as they moved towards employment in the service, experience and aesthetic economies.

2.2. Change in the British economy

Within the last 200 years, the UK has witnessed two key economic transformations, the first of these being from an agricultural into a manufacturing economy in the early 1800s. This was consolidated during the early 1900s as Britain maintained its position as one of the principal world economic powers (Kennedy 1987). Rapid growth in the industrialisation of Britain created a manufacturing economy that required a larger work force, one which was generally drawn from the rural communities (Kirby 1999). Thus, a structural shift occurred, with workers moving from the countryside to live in urban communities. Bell (1974) discusses this in The Coming of Post Industrial Society, applying the metaphor of a game, likening agricultural work to the `game against nature` and manufacturing to the `game against fabricated nature`. The second economic transformation took place during the 1970s with the emergence of the service economy (Drucker 1994), which at the turn of this century developed into the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999; Veijola 2010), with Bell (1974) referring to this as the `game between persons`. The latter is also referred to as the dream society (Jenson

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1999), the entertainment economy (Wolf 1999) the attention economy (Davenport and Beck 2002) and the aesthetic economy (Warhurst et al. 2000; Postrel 2003). This recent economic re-orientation has fundamentally challenged the traditions of the male craft worker. Their employment opportunities shrank with the closure of the manufacturing and extractive industries; however, there were new employment opportunities within the service sector for those individuals who were able to make the transition (McIvor 2013). The craft workers who survived the economic change were those who were able to re-orientate the nature of their work to encompass new technologies and working practices or embrace work more closely aligned to the service industries. In order to remain competitive, those industries which were already service aligned, adopted the principles of the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999), and with this came an additional tightening of their employment provision to deliver a scripted encounter in the service delivery, an orientation which now requires a unique set of individual customer focused services offered as a memorable experience (Fitzsimmons and Fitzsimmons 2000; Walls et al. 2011).

The beginning of this work transformation can be traced back to the changes that occurred when the economy shifted from agricultural to manufacturing as this brought about an unprecedented growth in the number of skilled craft workers (Perrucci and Perrucci 2007) required for the emerging manufacturing and extractive industries (McIvor 2013). These industries created *"specialist craftsmen"* (Sayce, Ackers and Greene 2007, p86), who represented an evolution of earlier tradesmen, such as wheelwrights, cobblers, blacksmiths and gunsmiths. Craft workers were able to forge for themselves a unique position in society through the transferring of their skills to work with the machinery in the manufacturing age (Pescod 2007) whilst adapting to emerging technologies and adopting new techniques. These craft skills were often learned, developed and passed on through long apprenticeship schemes that offered employment *"for young people who have practical rather than intellectual interests and ambitions"* (Sloman 2014, p226). The standing and the value of the craftsman had long been dictated by the class system. *'The British Bee Hive`* (Cruikshank 1867) is a Victorian

pictorial representation of the situation that depicts the worker in a status pyramid. The queen sits as royalty on the top, with the craftsman in the middle and the manual labourer at the bottom. These images reinforced the *"apparent juxtaposition of the aristocracy and the working class"* (Grint 2005, p5) *in* a capitalist system wherein the aristocracy (bourgeoisie) sits at the top and the workers (proletariat) are at the bottom.

Victorian work values created a social principle that those who toiled were to be hidden from view from those higher up the social order. This reinforced the clear divisions that had been created in certain occupations, for example, *"the tenant farmer to his landlord, or the labourer to his employer"* (Floud and McCloskey 1981, p255). These values and classifications of work created a world where those in the servitude of others, in the production of goods or service, were hidden away, unless the consumption required *"person to person"* contact (McIvor 2013, p15) or a direct master and servant relationship. Societal thinking during this period led to a stratification of work with boundaries, isolating workers into groups, reinforced through the physical barriers created by production areas (Blauner 1964). Tasks were undertaken in separate areas of production, where workers with common craft-skills formed worker groups, the working together and relying on each other creating a sense of belonging. Worker groups developed a sense of comradeship, which was reinforced via out of work socialising, for example, at the pub, pigeon racing, brass bands, in the new urban cultures of collective understanding (McIvor 2013), further establishing the mutual loyalty. The orientation of the worker into such restrictive groups was amplified by the removal of any social interaction between the customer and employee, reinforcing the `us` as the worker and `them` as the customer situation.

Social ideology and perception created isolation in the production environment as work that took place there was deemed to be dirty due it being *"physically, socially or morally taint"* (Ashforth et al. 2007, p149). It was believed that viewing the employee during work production would blemish and contaminate (Ayers 2004; Johnston and McIvor 2004; Nixon 2009) the

customer due to the unhealthy employment environment, the noxious smells, harmful gasses and contaminated air that inevitably killed the labourer at a young age (McIvor and Johnston 2007), making them a disposable factor of production.

2.3. The craftsman as a factor of production

Industrial work during the Victorian and Edwardian period was dirty and dangerous. The labour force was viewed as an additional factor of production, along with land, enterprise and capital (Smith 1970), rather than individual human beings, and was almost dispensable. The profitability of such manufacturing and extractive industrial employment was based on the principle of the division of labour, the specialism of skills to ensure higher levels of productivity (Durkheim 1997), *"and efficient modes of production"* (Watkins 1975, p39) were the economic model. The division of labour hemmed the craftsman into a specialist task in a closed work environment, and the resulting isolation (Greenspan 1963) reinforced the group bond, the feeling of belonging to the `tribe` and understanding the rules which it created. Engagement in such work environments can be identified through Marx (1939) and Drucker (1949) as can the idea of the division of labour being so specialised and such a small part of the production process that the worker would be unable to identify with the tangible product that they had contributed to making. Yet some skilled craft workers, such as the chef, baker, and stonemason, were more able and likely to observe the completed product before it was delivered to the customer. Whether the craftsman can identify with the finished product or not, Greenspan (1963, p217) discusses how the job itself creates the identity of the individual through social acceptance of the task that they perform,

> *"It is now the organization rather than the individual which is productive"* and *"it is the organization rather than the individual which produces the social status, social prestige and social power which cannot be attached to the individual's work: they can only be attached to his job".*

Certain craft workers were more valued by society than others due to the type of labouring involved (McDowell 2000; Nixon 2009; Bishop, Cassell and Hoel 2009; Lopez 2010), based on levels of masculinity and the perception

of the `hard skill` needed. Due to their skills keeping the industrialised factories working, the more valued craftsmen were elevated to a position within society akin to a labour aristocracy (Blauner 1964). They became recognised as the working class elite, achieving a relatively higher income and thus better living standards (Crossick 1976). The social attitudes of the time determined the class values, labelling some as working class and others as skilled craftsmen, professionals and aristocracy. This led to a lack of social mobility (Glass 1954) between the groups. As Veblen (1899) states, the aristocracy as the industrialists developed a culture that involved following pursuits rather than undertaking `hard` work, deriving their wealth from their financial and enterprise capital, which created industrialisation and new mass employment, reinforcing the notion of worker groups,

> *"Within this structure an upper, landed class of aristocrats, squires and parsons overlay a middle, commercial and industrial class of merchants and entrepreneurs, beneath which again lay a working class of artisans, factory hands, domestic outworkers, and labourers. Between these groups were no bonds of patronage and dependence but rather barriers of mistrust and antagonism which helped create class consciousness"* (Floud and McCloskey 1981, p256).

This social structure was reinforced during the First World War, a period of time requiring capitalism, industrialisation and the mobilisation of the work force to secure victory and avert defeat as war totally engulfed Britain, its empire and allies. This was a war acknowledged for its industrial scale slaughter (Mycock 2014) and the recruitment of the first mass army. The military reinforced the peacetime social order and the position the labourers and craftsmen had held, the aristocracy becoming the generals, the well-educated the officers and the employees the mass ranks of the army. The craftsmen within the army, such as mechanics, bakers, cooks, draftsmen, wheelwrights, gunsmiths, provided the requisite `hard skills`. The workers who formed the infantry were ordered by the aristocratic generals to leave the safety of the trenches and *"go over the top"* into battle (Roberts 2001, p82), a situation referred to by Clark (1961, p1) as *"lions led by donkeys",* his contention being that brave lions were sent to their deaths by foolish donkeys. Almost a million men from this "*generation over the top*" died in what can only be described as industrialised slaughter. A generation of

workers was cast further into the social order of `them` and `us`, and the hierarchy of the labourer and the craftsmen was reinforced. In war, as in peace, these workers were treated as expendable (Kerr et al. 1996).

The labour force was regarded as a valuable economic commodity, an element of production that led to profitability. Wherever possible, automation was introduced to remove the reliance on the worker and tasks were broken down into their constituent parts

> *"The modern unskilled worker, claims Benjamin, is sealed off from [customer] experience…working with machines workers learn to coordinate their own movement to the uniform and unceasing motion of an automation...the hand- so crucial to the `Handwerker` (artisan or craftsman) - is made redundant by technological advance"* (Walter Benjamin 1892-1940 cited in (Leslie 1998, p5)*.

Philosophies of automation and organisation to increase worker efficiency influenced Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935), the founding father of the modern chef, in the development of the partie system, which was a professional kitchen division of labour designed to improve organisation and productivity (James 2002). This system served the purpose of *"Breaking down traditional demarcations….. into more rational specialisations and weaving the kitchen staff into closer interdependence"* (Mennell 1996, p159). This approach adhered to the principles developed by the industrial and commercial enterprises of *"greater levels of specialism in the search for more efficient modes of production"* (Watkins 1975, p39). With industrialisation, Britain had by the early 1900s embraced the notion of welding the employee to an environment wherein they operated in a mechanistic manner, with social interaction at work being discouraged as this would impact negatively on the productivity of the factory and the potential return on financial capital (Razzell and Wainwright 2014). The growing class divide and the isolation of the working classes that this capitalist system created was not questioned by most owners, though the resulting social deprivation and inequality did alarm some industrialists (Dahrendorf 1959), who began to bridge the social gap by means of philanthropic activity that was often associated with religion (Carre 1994). In general, the working classes were looked upon as pitiful, and the

ultimate goal of any assistance that was provided, through model housing, schools and sponsored social activities, was to improve work performance, increase productivity and intensify profitability, with improvements in social wellbeing being a fortunate side effect.

2.4. Bureaucracy of work

The factory and the craftsmen's closed world of service work created the boundaries of working life, and with these came rules that were constructed by the group regarding who was accepted and allowed to enter into it (Weber 1946). Weber states that bureaucracy is comprised of six elements and that these govern the boundaries of closed working environments,

1. *"The principle of the fixed and official jurisdiction areas which are enforced by rules"*
2. *"Principle of office hierarchy and levels of graded authority"*
3. *"The management of the modern office is based on written documents"*
4. *"All specialised office management requires thorough and expert training"*
5. *"Official activity demands the full working capacity of the official"*
6. *The management of office follows general rules which are stable and can be learned"*

The elements of bureaucracy in the context of the office identified by Max Weber (1864-1920) can be applied to the study of the craftsman. The traditional closed production vista was grounded in the era of industrialisation, and with it came highly formal and informal practices and rules. As Weber states in Economy and Society (1922 cited in Greenspan (1963, p215),

> *"Precision, speed, continuity, unity, strict subordination, reduction of friction and of material and personal costs – these are raised to the optimum point in strictly bureaucratic administration".*

Creation of the position of the craftsmen was developed along the lines of Durkheim`s notion of *"mechanical solidarity, which are governed by very clear specified penal rules which are harshly sanctioned"* (Watkins 1975, p41). It was not until the Hawthorne Bank Room Wiring Study (1924 and 1932) in Chicago that research into productivity and the worker group took shape. The research concluded that management interaction and the focus

of the organisation on the staff can influence employees to increase or decrease production to above or below the expected norm. These results highlighted the importance of group solidarity and how workers are more responsive to the social pressure from their peer groups than to the control and incentives of management. Although the research did not demonstrate a positive outcome for management, it did reveal that social interaction with co-workers and management has an effect on the performance of employees.

The Hawthorne research inspired Lupton (1963) to question the effect of social interaction on employees, specifically on their emotions within the work environment and labour performance. Lupton identified the effect of the level of social interaction and the *"social group"* on productivity and the well-being of the staff (Lupton 1963, p72),

> *"We come to work for the company...much of the emotional satisfaction they derived at work was gained from the close friendships they formed with other workers...the social groups had an integrative effect".*

These two early studies recognised that social interaction at work is a key element in work place satisfaction and job performance. McIvor (2013, p63), reinforced this view, arguing that social interaction is *"pivotal"*. In these instances, work performance was directly influenced by interactions with management, leading to negative productivity, and in the Lupton (1963) research, reduced work productivity was related to a lack of social interaction with colleagues. The study concluded that individuals were pretending to be pleasant to colleagues so as not to upset the group. This was especially noted during the period of staff canteen breaks; in essence the individuals were involved in emotional pretence while at work, adopting the rules and procedures of the organisation. Early research identified the individual's ability to resonate with a social group in the workplace as a key driver of workplace job satisfaction, retention and productivity. This paved the way for later studies on emotional labour, which were wholly based on the public facing service industries and the effect that the customer may have on the service worker. The philosophy of "*sociability on the shop floor"* (Pettinger et al. 2005, p51) brought about the realisation in organisations that the social

vitality of workers can be harnessed and used in the selling techniques that service workers adopt. Goldthorpe et al. (1969) undertook a piece of ethnographic research that involved a researcher posing as an employee at the checkout queue, chatting to the customers and monitoring the queue length while surreptitiously observing the staff. The criteria for the job role were that the employee had to be friendly and helpful while delivering the company norms, values and beliefs. Goldthorpe at al. (1969) found that in the public space, staff were always obliging and polite. However, after a particularly busy session at the start of the January sales, while they were in the privacy of the workers' canteen, they would often moan about the attitude of the customers. Goldthorpe et al. concluded that this gave an indication of the pretence involved in the display interaction. The research identified a feeling in the canteen of a `*them*` (customers) and `*us'* (workers) situation and concluded that the sociability of the work place and the support that staff give each other are important in counteracting the often demanding and stressful nature of customer service provision. They claimed that, in essence, little has changed since the era of Victorian manufacturing Britain. Comradeship and job satisfaction were identified as being key in work place retention by Broadbridge et al. (2000), who claimed that these reduced employee stress levels (Pettinger et al. 2005).

2.5. The craftsmen

As a means of belonging, Craftsmen developed their own *"sense of occupational community"* (Hill 1976, p38), connected to levels of job satisfaction, levels of job autonomy (Gursoy, Boylu and Avci 2011) and the conceptualising of the task required. Although the working class is a label often used to identify a group of labourers, within the classification, there exist many diverse groups of employees. Jackson (2007 p373) identified these as the lower technical occupations and semi routine and routine occupations, while Baxter (1868 cited in Floud and McCloskey 1981, p264) identified three classes: skilled worker, lower skilled worker and agricultural/unskilled worker. The first group of skilled workers encompassed the cabinet makers and ship builders, who were regarded as the labour elite (Longstreth 1988), enjoying high wages and relative job security. The trade

of these craftsmen was protected by restricting access to their skills through organised long apprenticeships and the formation of well organised trade associations (Sayce, Ackers and Greene 2007),

> *"demarcations between craftworks and other workers were policed through strict adherence to the unions rules and regulations. Progression on the shop floor became tightly controlled through the institution of seniority, with a crucial feature of the craft system being the apprenticeship, which conferred status once completed and limited entry into skilled work (p.86)*

The second labour group encompassed the less skilled labourer, who was employed in manufacturing, mines, transport and domestic service. The less skilled workers were those whose work was far more routine and relied heavily on mechanisation and technology to produce the final product. This group included kitchen workers (Taylor 1977). The third group was the unskilled worker. This group was dominated by agricultural and other general labourers. Industrialisation had done very little to improve their employment conditions; it had merely intensified the productivity output (Floud and McCloskey 1981) of workers who added little or no value to the end product.

2.6. Masculinity in the service economy

The social creation of male dominated craftwork reinforced and perpetuated masculine and gender biased practices and work communication (McDowell 2000; McIvor 2013), creating a self-fulfilling preservation of the male work place while excluding those who were not initiated through its formal and informal apprenticeship schemes. Board (1978) identified the attitudes and actions of the individual as being shaped by the working groups to which they belonged within the closed world of work. The group places pressure on its members to conform to its norms, values and beliefs, evaluating the individual according to their level of compliance to the rules. This research resonates with the influence that the craftsmen had on the apprentices entering the industry and how the skilled male workers shaped and perpetuated the culture of the closed industrial environment and with it the rules of masculine behaviour. The practice of creating such masculine cultures over time is referred to in the work of Freud (1922), who discusses

`identification`, whereby a person wants to be like somebody else and alters the manner in which they act in order to mimic the characteristics of that person. Freud argues that during the process of `identification` and becoming conformist, the person `introjects` the characteristics of the person they want to be like into their own ego. This process creates a bond of loyalty and comradeship between two people; in this case between the apprentice and the craftsman. It is the identification of the individual with the group and the upholding of the formal and informal rules through the internalisation of the craft and their skill that develops the craftsman's passion or love for the job (Robinson, Solnet and Breakey 2014), and thus the rules of the industry, and with them the workplace humour, values and beliefs, are passed on. Watson (2000) and Collinson and Hearn (1996) claim that masculinity in the same vocational area can be varied and that a range of masculinities exist, all of which are subject to changes over time. They argue that masculinity is not only associated with men, with some masculine attributes being identified in women (Segal 1997), who can be as masculine at work as men can be.

These social work gender barriers were partially and temporality removed during the World War One and Two periods when male craft workers were called to arms as occupations undertaken in combat zones were seen as masculine work (Rose 2004) and the void that they left in the factory was often filled by women. The heaviest, dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, `home front` ones, were classified as reserved occupations, and males were drafted into these rather than being called to fight at the front, thus preserving the gender division (McIvor 2013). When peace returned, the historical legacy was once again recast as the male dominated trades were reinstated, and the identity of the male craftsmen was thus maintained. The traditions of the craftsmen in the manufacturing economy post World War Two were socially reinforced through custom, practise, norms, value and beliefs while being legitimised through legislation, such as the female only maternity rights that came into play in 1979 (Burgessa et al. 2008). Boundary setting enabled the craftsmen to identify with his trade as a masculine activity (Cook 1996), thus formulating his personal identity and giving him higher status at work and in the community, argues Connell (1995; 2000). Closed worlds of work enabled

the masculine group to set the rules by which they engaged with each other and to control the interaction with other levels of employment class within and outside of the work place (Blauner 1964).

Craft work by its very nature involved heavy physical labour, which McIvor (2013, p81) claims is associated with the following characteristics,

> *"Physical prowess, toughness, homophobia, risk taking, aggression, and violent behaviour (including against women) a competitive spirit, a lack of emotional display, dispassionate instrumentalism and limited involvement in fathering".*

This creates a constructed meaning of masculinity that underpins the gender division (Cook 1996) and reinforces the notion of craft work being an all-male activity. Within post industrialised Britain, research undertaken on the masculinity of the worker found that it is fundamentally grounded in the unskilled labourer, with Bishop (2009, p8) contending that, *"there is a scarcity of literature that focuses on men in traditional male-dominated service operations".*

Pockets of research exist on male service occupations, such as bill collectors (Sutton 1991) and bus drivers (Bishop, Cassell and Hoel 2009), but no literature focuses on the traditional male-dominated craft worker in a service setting. The literature that does exist in this domain setting explores masculinity and the identification of job roles in semi-skilled and un-skilled manual employment (McIvor 2013, p107)*,* focusing on direct customer facing services with no element of craft production. Simonton's (2012) research is set within a furniture store, where males are accepted. He claims this anomaly is due to the association of furniture with the traditional male craft skill of carpentry (Simonton 1998). This is underpinned by Roberts (2012), who argues that younger males, who have grown up in the era of the service economy, are more inclined to embrace service employment if it has masculine overtones. This confirms the work of Nixon (2009), who found that males are more likely to enter service roles that have a *"relatively high degree of power, authority and control within the service encounter"* (p302).

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Strangleman (2004) reports that the majority of manual workers regard non-productive workers with disdain and feel that real work is about getting your hands dirty (Roper 1994; Haywood and Martin 2003). Nixon`s (2009) and Roberts' (2012) research goes some way towards explaining males' acceptance of employment in craft service work, and when read in conjunction with Simonton`s (1998) work, it explains why craftsman constructed a back of house world with a masculine culture, entailing hard, dirty work, in order to exclude women. McIvor (2013) states,

> *"Non-manual service sector workplaces in the immediate post-war period were also invariably dominated by men as were positions of power, status and authority in the workplace"* (p114).

Females who entered the male dominated kitchen work place encountered a world of high antics, swearing and schoolboy tricks (Mars and Nicod 1984; Gray 1987; Collinson 1988; Bourdain 2000; Hodson 2001; Meloury and Signal 2014). Meanwhile, the food service delivery department, with its requirement for interactive customer engagement, became more female dominated (Grugulis 2014), as highlighted by Bolton (2004, p19),

> *"There is less demand for the formally skilled male, manual worker and increasing demand for people dealing with customers – typically women – who use more obvious interpersonal skills".*

2.7. The service craftsman

Britain today epitomises the new service economy, with high employment in the service sector due to the traditional industrialised businesses having declined (King 1983) and the service sector having expanded, opening up many new job opportunities (Bell 1974). This shift to the service economy has led to a situation whereby the workers have become the new middle class, and they are more likely to be attracted to employment involving aesthetic labour (Roberts 2001; Bolton 2004; Warhurst and Nickson 2007; Crompton 2010), thus producing a new type of middle class worker. This leads to a service class engagement wherein the employee is involved with a client of higher status than themselves (Korczynski 2009). This *"service class"* argument was put forward by Dahrendorf (1959) and further developed by Lee (1981) and Goldthorpe (1982), the latter author arguing

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that the working class are all becoming middle class due to the economic, political and social assimilation brought about by the service economy. The employee has now become a consumer of white goods, takes overseas holidays and is becoming equal to the guest. This class evolution process was termed `embourgeoisement` (Goldthorpe et al. 1967). The concept was developed in the late 1950s and underpinned by research undertaken by Marshall et al. (1988), who found that the majority of service class employees see themselves as middle class. This approach was hotly debated during the 1960s and 1980s on the basis that the middle class service employees group has various stratifications (Jackson 2007) within it (professionals, doctors, lawyers, managers and the self-employed) and that some members of this group need to be distinguished from the working class service employee doing routine work.

Those in professional and managerial employment are themselves products of a higher class system and they create their own position within this system through the opportunities their class, money and education makes available to them. This class is self-perpetuating with linear continuation through their heirs and successors. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) contend that those with economic capital can purchase cultural capital, whilst Dahrendorf (1959) argues that a bridge between the rulers and the ruled exists and that this is reinforced by a large percentage of those employed in non-traditional working class jobs, especially part-time and female workers. The latter worker group is stratified, with workers being employed in relatively small outlets, mobile and not cohesive enough to form a pressure group. The `embourgeoisement` theory debate had merit but was rejected by sociologists in the mid-1960s (Goldthorpe et al. 1967) as it did not explain the realities of the emerging service class, who,

> *"serve other people and sacrifice their own leisure routines,*
> *and cannot afford to become high spending consumers*
> *when they have free time"* (Roberts 2001, p105)*.*

In reality, the majority of the traditional labour aristocracy was deskilled as a result of industrialisation introducing new technology and leading to outsourcing abroad, although some became multi-skilled due to the inclusion

of new work practices and complex technology. In the service economy, these workers exist in a different guise; they may be technicians or skilled craft workers (bakers, cobblers, chefs, weavers). The nature of their jobs may have changed, with some of them having been deskilled or part-deskilled. However, due to greater creativity, legislation and new processes, the new craft labourer's job is now arguably more complex than that of their skilled predecessors, with the service craft worker now being required to engage in public facing interactions, deploying `*soft skill*` sets to achieve effective delivery.

These new post-industrial craftsmen have had their jobs transformed (Belanger and Edwards 2013) so that they have now become involved in various forms of customer engagement work. A key aspect of the new skilled craft service worker's job role is to personally interact with the customer to deliver the service product "*in a unique way"* (p435), which is acceptable to the organisation and meets the expectations of the customer. This is referred to as the *"service triangle or the ménage à trois"* (p434). Customer acceptance of the service delivery is wholly dependent on the demeanour and disposition of the staff (Hochschild 1983), and craft service workers are expected to offer a level of service which is positive and welcoming no matter how much pressure that they are under or how they may be personally feeling. For the first time, craftsmen in service work are required to provide a service, which is inextricably combined with *"the mode of delivery"* (Fillby 1992, p37). In other words, as Hochschild contends, "*the emotional side of offering the service is part of the service itself"* (1983, p5). Since the development of the service economy and the welding of the back office to the front office to produce a seamless visual delivery, the production activities undertaken in front of the customer have increased.

2.8. The experience economy craftsman

For the traditional skilled craft labourer, this has realigned `*hand*` craft work so that it is delivered in front of the paying public, with whom the craft worker must engage in conversation, using positive body language for the first time. This interaction is undertaken with guests who at times may be from a higher

social grouping. Individuals learn socialisation through social interaction at school and within their families and groups, and through this become familiar with norms and expectations on how to manage and display emotions in front of others. Moving into situations that require interaction with those in a social class the worker is unfamiliar with and unaccustomed to operating within can be stressful. Bolton (2004) argues that acquiring the traits required for successful emotional work relies on *"the almost wholly embodied capacities of the worker, which is based on class and gender, thus ensuring that it remains a non-skill"* (p20) when interacting with others of a similar class. The socialisation process that we all undergo teaches us how to behave, to put on a show and to `mask` our feelings. Within the closed work environment, while interacting with colleagues of a similar social group, individuals are able to reveal their true personality, but interactions may be more guarded with senior staff. Within service work, the nature of interaction with the customer that enables delivery of the service may be less genuine. There may be a mismatch between the worker's feelings and the behaviour they are obliged to display to meet their employee's expectations of them. This may not only be the case with customers but also with the manager, supervisors and colleagues, and such a situation can lead to the worker feeling uncomfortable.

The `rules` of engagement and what denotes acceptable interaction are acknowledged by Goffman (1967) as the power of the social, a gesture in everyday social exchange and an interaction order that we are taught by the group. Synder (1987, p1) later contends, *"the public appearance and the private realities of the self can be in conflict"*. From the 1960`s onwards texts researching the subject of emotional conflict (Troth, Jordan and Westerlaken 2014) were published and these began to address customer contact interaction and the requirements for the engagement of the service staff with customers. For the craftsmen, having to engage with the customer is a relatively new employment requirement and a result of the emergence of the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999), which demands that they deliver a unique service experience. The tradition of the production area being isolated from the customer is one which is diminishing as the back room is brought further into the retail space and opened up to public view.

The back office craftsmen are now required to deliver unique and memorable customer service (DfES 2002; BGA 2009) in a manner that was never previously envisaged by his trade.

2.9. Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed the changing masculine identify of the craftsman and how the development of the service and experience economies has transformed this group of employees. Such a re-orientation in the work place has had a fundamental impact on the employee as the service craftsman, an employment transformation of a group of workers who have not previously been researched. The following chapter will identify the chef in the professional kitchen as one manifestation of the craftsman in a masculine dominated service context whose employment has gradually been opened up to customer view and now involves spoken engagement with the customer, in this case through the open kitchen in clear transformational contrast to the traditions of the closed kitchen.

Chapter 3 – The sociology of the chef within the experience economy

3.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the origins of the restaurant kitchen and its social construction as a closed place of work typical of the manufacturing economy pre the 1980s. This environment is a manifestation of a highly aggressive and masculine world, which contrasts starkly with the open kitchen, where employees are expected to focus upon and engage with customers resulting in a shifting sociology of the chef. The chapter identifies the changing and changed nature of the restaurant kitchen and its emergence into the world of the service experience economy as it is re-orientated from closed to open and the requirements of the chef who work in it.

3.2. The restaurant in the British industrial era

Lashley and Morrison (2000) synthesis a number of restaurant definitions to describe a restaurant as a public space for the consumption of food and drink, where, following the service delivery, an exchange of money takes place. A restaurant service space that traditionally hid the chef as a production craftsman from the customer is a stark contrast to the contemporary open restaurant, where the kitchen is designed to be openly viewed from the customer service area, thus adding excitement and value to the customer experience (Frable 1998).

The restaurant as a concept is nothing new. Franck (2002) claims that it has been possible to purchase a prepared meal since the Middle Ages, with the first European restaurant being established in Paris in the 1760s. During the 1780s, the restaurant became more than a place for eating, evolving into a spectacular and sensuous luxury establishment for the customer to enjoy. It was not until the mid-19th century that a greater variety of dining venues began to emerge in London, with the European style restaurant first appearing in Britain at the start of the industrial revolution (Kiefer 2002), as discussed by Sims (1917),

> "*the `eighties` saw a very different London from the London of the `seventies`…the popular restaurants as we understand them today had not yet arrived, and the separate table in public eating establishments was as unusual as is today is general. In the popular and the fashionable dining rooms and taverns…you sat in small compartments called boxes, and wooden partitions divided one set of lunchers or diners from their neighbours, and ladies were rarely of the party*" (p95).

This is reiterated by Strong (2002), who describes the dining room and restaurant as being spatially designed with elaborate and ornate sideboards and separate doors for the servant (waiter) and guest. This formal layout reinforced the distinction between the social classes and the identities of the class system that the Victorians had constructed throughout industrialised Britain. Professional cooking was seen as a craftsman trade for the wealthy to benefit from, with the practicalities of the production process not being something the customer wanted to view, explore or understand. The finished item was what they took pleasure in, with food displayed on elaborate buffets, often with pillars and carvings to emanate the Baroque style of the times. Careme (1784-1833), a leading celebrity chef of the period (Strong 2002), argued that the craftsman in the kitchen should not be viewed preparing the display work, but rather that his skill should be celebrated through the grand displays that were put on show (Kelly 2003), from the elaborate set piece grand items on the buffet table to a central piece of food placed on the sideboard to be carved by the waiter. Restaurant dining was a hedonistic pastime of the wealthy, with the pleasure being in part derived from each diner's experience being unique.

It was during this period that entrepreneurs entered the restaurant scene, and between 1866 and 1870, a total of 161 catering business were established in London (Burnett 2004), which obviously led to competition. This competiveness led to the acceptance of women in the main dining area (Strong 2002). The food on offer was influenced by foreign travel and culinary tastes expanded, and thus a renaissance in eating out for the middle classes occurred.

The age of railway travel brought the grand railway termini, and with this came opulence in hotel building, with the central aim of publicising the age of the train and the grandeur of the Victorian railway companies. The grand baroque style of the St Pancras hotel and restaurant, London (Bradley 2007), built by the Midland Railway company as The Midland Grand in 1867-77 epitomised this changed ostentation. Such hotel and restaurant designs incorporated the hiding away of the kitchen, reinforcing the segregation of working class production from upper class consumption, reflecting the period of the grand country estate and the `*upstairs, downstairs*` of master and servant in service interactions (Hembry 1997; May 1998). Grand dining palaces required professional chefs with the skills to lead large kitchen brigades and the creativity to produce new and innovative dishes. The service staff working in such hotels were expected to remain downstairs, unless involved in guest service (Taylor 1977), and when engaging with those upstairs, to use a formal respectful demeanour. The newly emerged hotel restaurant industrial cooking emanated the French style, adopting the technological developments of the time, and cast the chef in the grand hotel restaurant as a craftsman. To fill the gap in the `*hard skills*` needed for the new cooking techniques, the recruiting of French chefs became the norm. Alternatively, chefs who had the experience of having worked in France on their curriculum vita were employed (Mennell 1996). Demand in Great Britain for this French haute-cuisine was epitomised at the Reform Club, London, a kitchen which was led by Alexis Soyer (Brandon 2009; Cowen 2010), a French celebrity chef of the time, who was later eclipsed by Escoffier.

The late 1880s saw the emergence of Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935), who was perhaps the best known early celebrity chef. He was to become one of the key influential figures in professional cooking (James 2002). Escoffier reduced the visible Baroque format of the chef's work by casting aside the traditional grand style of cooking and the ornamented displays introduced by Careme, a chef who believed in the use of architectural pieces of food in the restaurant, creating "*waves of the sea, waterfalls and rivers with a photographic concern for instantaneity*" (Weiss 1998, p63). It was during this period that the rich country house estate, the

cultural capital owner of dining etiquette, where the cook was below stairs and the butler acted as the dispenser of the food on offer (Powell 2011), began to lose its power as employment in the grand estate houses shrank. The growing middle classes, the brokers, merchants, civil servants, industrialist and bankers, with their increased wealth, demanded superior hospitality and fine restaurants that emanated the style of the grand estate, with the food being served by waiting staff and the chef/cook being unseen (Short 2007).

It was during this period that Escoffier applied his past knowledge and experience to radically challenge and change the manner in which the closed kitchens were operating, recognising that sections within the kitchen were often replicating work processes. To improve productivity, he developed a division of work and a hierarchy of roles and responsibilities "*into five independent parties, each responsible not so much for a type of dish as for a type of operation*" (Mennell 1996, p159), which he termed the 'partie system'. Using this structure, the kitchen developed a far more organised and co-ordinated approach to production and with it came training that reflected industrial work processes.

The unionisation of the catering industry was, and still is, extremely limited (Boella and Gross-Turner 2005), with the entry barriers to becoming a chef enforced through the formal tradition of the long apprenticeship scheme in conjunction with the standards that were set through the livery associations. The Worshipful Company of Cooks formed by Royal Charter on 11th July 1482 continues to act as a tradesmen's association, controlling and setting good practice for professional cooks and protecting the skills of the trade (Borg 2011), which still encompasses a system of apprenticeships, commis chefs, chefs de partie, sous chefs and chefs de cuisine, and applies the partie system, thus reflecting the French heritage of the trade. Escoffier understood that poor working conditions led to chefs often drinking heavily, smoking and working in dirty uniforms (Kelly 2003). He instilled greater professionalism through the banning of alcohol while at work and introduced a barley drink to be made available to all chefs in the kitchen to quench their

thirst in the heat, claiming that it *"was to be healthy and restorative"* (Rossant 2004, p79). Escoffier contended that drunkenness led to bad language, and he did not allow vulgar street language in the kitchen, nor did he permit the kitchen staff to treat the younger members of the kitchen brigade brutally, as was the tradition.

Escoffier's legacy of traditional French cuisine remained unchanged well into the 1970s. His writings articulated the strict discipline and severity of his French cuisine training and its ongoing usage. The professional kitchen was a microcosm of industrialisation, a small world, devoid of the customer, with work rules and norms devised and reiterated by the chefs working within them. This did not reflect the *"industrial values of mechanization, standardisation, and time thrift for food processing"* (Fantasia 2010, p34) as practiced in the factories of Britain but rather the organisation of *"male artisans distinct from the female purveyors of domestic cuisine"* (p34), thus perpetuating the idea that the professional skilled craft job of cooking was a masculine occupation. Brian Turner in his autobiography discusses the historic masculine world of Escoffier he encountered when he entered the Savoy kitchen, London for the first time in the mid-1970s,

> *"As we burst into the light of the kitchen, I was so proud because Escoffier`s stove, his original stove, was there on the right hand side. This meant nothing to Philip (Turner`s brother) of course and he couldn`t appreciate my pride about this place where I worked. The heat, the light, the noise, din, smells and energy were so intense that my brother burst into tear, thinking I worked in hell"* (Turner 2001, p63).

Escoffier wrote in his diaries that the public had little regard for, or understanding of the work of the chef. High society still saw themselves and the chefs as being in the master and servant role, with the lavish surroundings and the maître d'hôtel (head waiter) being the centre stage of the restaurant and the chef being hidden behind the scenes. However, some did challenge Escoffier`s orthodox thinking based on his complex style of cookery, with its use of heavy sauces and lavish presentation on service flats, culminating in food that looked appealing but often lacked flavour. This cookery style was challenged due to the development of nouvelle cuisine, an

approach to cooking that emphasises natural ingredients and the delicate flavours of the food, which is presented on the plate with symmetry and flair. This food movement was led by the progenies of Fernand Point (1897-1955). At this time, *"Careme`s la cuisine modern had become la cuisine classic in light of nouvelle cuisine and the disciples of Paul Bocuse, Pierre Troisgos and Michel Guerard"* (Trubek 2000, p13). As food production systems changed to accommodate nouvelle cuisine, the chef was thrust into the limelight, and with the emergence of the chef as a restaurant celebrity, the role of the waiter diminished.

3.3. The changing orientation of the restaurant

The traditional restaurant had theatrical décor, incorporating marble, mosaics, grand staircases, mirrors, chandeliers and silk wall coverings, creating opulent and decadent surroundings as an escape from the reality of the home. At this time, it was felt that observing the practice of cooking would ruin the experience for the customer. Following the traditions of industrialisation, the kitchen, the work place, was a dirty world of masculine production, and the chef, the worker, was to remain unseen a world recognised by Fine (1996) in his ethnographical study of chefs in the United States of America. The total dining experience depended upon the quality and standards of the fixtures and fittings and the staff service and interaction (Wood 2000; Gillespie 2001). If food presentation and cooking was to be viewed, it was via the layout of the food on the plate brought from the kitchen to the guest by the service staff, either on grand service flats to be spoon and forked (silver service) or on the elaborate buffet table. The culinary kitchen was still dominated by French cuisine, and those who worked in the kitchen used techniques and cooking terminology that harked back to the era of haute cuisine since many still regarded France as the epicentre of professional cookery. As Grimod (1802 cited in (Schehr and Weiss 2001, p62) found,

> *"Although French cuisine is without contest the best in the world, we think it could be enriched with a great deal of foreign dishes and appropriate them while perfecting them...Similarly, if France has become the supreme arbiter in the art of taste, it is greatly due to the care it has taken to reject foreign discovery".*

In 1933, Fernard Point`s (1897-1955) restaurant, La Pyramide, was awarded a coveted three star Michelin rating, the first to be given at this level. This accolade enshrined the restaurant at the cutting edge of cuisine development, setting the standard for others to meet. La Pyramide influenced 1980s chefs such as Raymond Blanc, Michel Guerard, Anton Mosimann and Dieter Muller, a generation of craftsmen who opened restaurants in London, the food capital of Britain (Gillespie 2001). The menus of these restaurants featured new innovative dishes which were grounded in the notion of natural flavours and lighter sauces, thus moving away from industrial food and the cookery methods that were Escoffier`s legacy. This food was more lightly cooked and retained the colour, texture and flavour, as Antoin Moseman recalls (*Granada* 1996, pEpisode 1) on his arrival at the Dorchester Hotel in London,

> "The roast cook arrives, puts the saddle of lamb in the oven
> at 8.00am in the morning, cooks it slowly until the afternoon,
> slices it, arranges it back on the saddle, and then reheats it
> for the carving trolley in the evening….A rather sorry looking
> lamb".

The chefs who worked in a traditional closed kitchen were so alienated from the customers, never seeing their reactions to or an appreciation of the dishes created in the kitchen, that they became apathetic about the food they were producing, the way they dressed, their manner, and so on. This apathy was reinforced by the old traditions of haute cuisine, which involved the chef being shut away and producing dishes in the way they chose, regardless of the needs and desires of the customer. However, the public was now demanding a different kind of cuisine that mirrored new cooking techniques and practices (Kelly 2003). This lighter cuisine attracted the title of new cooking or `*nouvelle cuisine*`, and with it came a restaurant movement centred on smaller and lighter portions arranged on the plate by the chef (Ladenis 1988) and delivered by waiting staff to the customer (Strong 2002).

3.4. Masculinity and aggression in the closed kitchen

The kitchen was a closed macho world, a hot, dingy place that the chefs were often hidden away in. The celebrity chefs used the metaphors of hell,

the engine room and the cauldron of fire as imagery to create an unappealing picture of this world, legitimising its `hardness` in part to put women off wanting to enter it. The image of this macho world was passed on through the ages as the masculinity associated with the work was perpetuated by the male actors who operated within it (Donkin 2001; Bunting 2004; Steno and Friche 2015). A world which Fine (1996) reiterates when discussing the `kitchen as place and space` (chapter 3, p80), identifying the heat and dangers of closed kitchen work as *"foundries"* (p82), *"small, nasty, cramped places in which a wrong move spells disaster"* (p81) his ethnographic field notes underpinning the masculinity and harshness as *"I sweat like a stuck pig. It drains you and your temper gets shorter".* Robinson (2008) identifies conditions as chefs *"working in crappy, crappy conditions, in spaces with poor kitchen design….feeling complete and utter exhaustion where you nearly fell over"* (p408).

The control, power autonomy and abuse in the kitchen work place led to social suffering of staff (Bourdieu 1999), which impacted on the dignity of the worker (Hodson, 2001). Some employees put this down to the macho culture (Alexander et al. 2012; Meloury and Signal 2014), wherein the male worker had a masculine social identity which they reinforced with macho traditions of work which is further identified by Bloisi and Hoel (2008, p649) as creating the *"hardness"* and part of the socialisation process of working in a commercial kitchen (Johns and Menzel 1999)*,* while others would describe it as workplace bullying (Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons 2007; Smith 2014). Celebrity chef Brian Turner highlights this situation when he discusses the head chef of the Savoy in London, where he worked during the 1970s, and how other younger chefs perceived him,

> *"To get into the Savoy, a distinct deterrent was the terrifying presence of head chef Silvano Trompetto. Although an astute businessman and a great influence on cooking in Britain, he was rumoured to be very fierce indeed. His appearance was none the less intimidating. He was very tall anyway, but his elongated chef's hat – the higher the position in the kitchen in those days the taller the hat – made him tower over everyone else, at least six and a half feet"* (Turner 2001, p63).

The kitchen was run on authoritarian lines, and a culture of aggression was reinforced due to the closed kitchens that chefs were working in being out of public view (Bourdain 2000),

> *"It was quiet in the kitchen but if anything went wrong he`d kick off majorly, shouting, screaming, throwing pans everywhere and when that happened you paid attention"* (Martin 2008, p86)*.*

Kitchen machoism was identified by Blanc (2008) in his autobiography, in which he acknowledges that it is an almost acceptable aspect of kitchen work,

> *"Then there is the extreme sauna-like heat of the kitchen which batters your senses, along with the movement all around you. Other chefs are going through but there is no time to stop and observe. ...you`re now driven by adrenalin alone. There is pushing to get to the stove. Push, shove, push, shove"* (Blanc 2008, p161)*.*

This acceptance of the adrenalin driven aggression of the chef in the closed world of the kitchen was passed on through each generation of chefs, from apprentice chefs to `*time served*` chefs, from restaurant kitchen to restaurant kitchen (Meloury and Signal 2014). UK chefs went to work in the restaurants of France and brought back practices that reinforced aggressive macho behaviour and a totality of thinking that accepted it as the norm. La Manoir and Harvey`s restaurant, where professional celebrity chefs such as Raymond Blanc, Heston Blumenthall, James Martin, Marc Pierre White and Brian Turner worked, merely legitimised the aggressive macho culture of the closed kitchen. Bloisi and Hoel (2008, p654) discuss that the *"knowledge about abusive chefs so far has been based on anecdotal evidence from the industry through interviews with working chefs or media reports"* and this call has resulted in the additional research work into the understanding the extent of the abuse and its historical and social structures within chefs employment. (Meloury and Signal 2014; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015). Such additional research work does not identify the behaviours of chefs in the transition from the closed to the open kitchen. The historical and socially accepted macho behaviour led to an employment trend within the kitchen, which was a male dominated world of heavy lifting, a closed hot environment, with raw food preparation a power relationship which favours

males (White, Jones and James 2005); it was a male production environment as opposed to the female service arena,

> *"Cultural history as well as practical every day experience has taught everyone in the Western world that cooking and nourishment form an essential part of the traditional roles given to and assumed by women in the construction of society. Perhaps viewed as a "natural" extension of the woman's maternal role as the giver of milk, food preparation has by and large been considered both the natural and proper realm of women. And yet within the class structure that develops, the profession of the chef, the role of food preparer became masculinized, because it is considered `work`"* (Schehr and Weiss 2001, p137).

Gordon Ramsay discusses Harvey`s restaurant, where he worked,

> *"It was the toughest place to work that you could imagine. You had to push yourself to the limit every day and every night. You had to learn to take a lot of shit and to bite your lip and work even harder when it happened. A lot of the boys couldn`t take the pace. They fell by the wayside. When that happened, you felt that you had been able to survive what they hadn`t"* (Ramsay 2007, p79).

At the Le Manoir, Bluenthall discusses how,

> *"His impatience quickly contributed to a confrontation with another of the kitchen staff, which saw Heston break with protocol and come to the brink of violence"* (Newkey-Burden 2009, p28).

Leading female celebrity head chefs have had to cope with a closed kitchen world of masculinity as part of their training, a situation discussed in the article titled, `*Here Come The Girls*`, in the online magazine `*Sphere'. This was* written as a response to the UK National Statics Office, which found that of *"187,000 chefs, only 37,000 are women, making up only 20% of the total"* (Sims 2012, p online), in an attempt to understand why female chefs are so few and how they rise to celebrity status. Female chef interviewees in the magazine included Clare Smith of Restaurant Gordon Ramsay, London, Angela Hartnett of Murano, London, Anna Hansen of The Modern Pantry, London, together with female head chefs in Sao Paulo, New York and Franschhoek, South Africa, all of whom discuss the macho and condescending attitudes that they faced in male dominated kitchens,

> *"Yes, it has been a challenge. Being a chef is a hard, dirty, job, and many drop out, but when you've gone through the toughest kitchens there are, you come out the other side. And yes, I've encountered chauvinistic behaviour—I think there's a bit wherever you go. I've had my fair share of "little girl, you don't belong here"* - Clare Smyth (Sims 2012, p online).

> *"I have encountered my share of chauvinism. Not grossly overt sexism—that I can easily dismiss, as it says more about them than me. No, this is quiet, not explicit: condescension, dismissal, disregard. It was draining and almost a second job to be mentally pre-occupied with what's going on in the kitchen. But I stayed focused on what's important, put my head down and got on with doing my job. Even now, with my position as a chef 'in the club', I still feel it"* - Anna Hansen (Sims 2012, p online).

This masculinity and male domination of the restaurant and hotel kitchen is further evidenced in the work of Burrow, Smith and Yakinthou (2015), who discuss *"the lack of female high end chefs",* and the 2013 People 1st Report on employment trends in hospitality, which notes that in the latest Office for National Statistics report,

> *"Chefs and cooks continue to be the most high profile job role in the sector, thanks to celebrity chefs and media coverage. There are currently 267,500 chefs and cooks working in the sector, which is a five percent increase since 2007. The vast majority of chefs and cooks work full-time (71 percent) and it is a largely male occupation, as only 36 percent of chefs and cooks are women. Chef roles have traditionally been perceived as intense and macho, but this is beginning to change with more high profile female chefs"* (People 1st 2014, p29)*.*

The workforce gender roles discussed above and the masculine domination of some jobs and female domination of others, such as waiting tables, housekeeping and allied reception work, within the hotel and restaurant trade is summarised in figure 1 (male and female representation across broad hospitality occupational groups, 2011, UK) below,

Figure 1 Male and female representation across broad hospitality occupational groups, UK, 2011
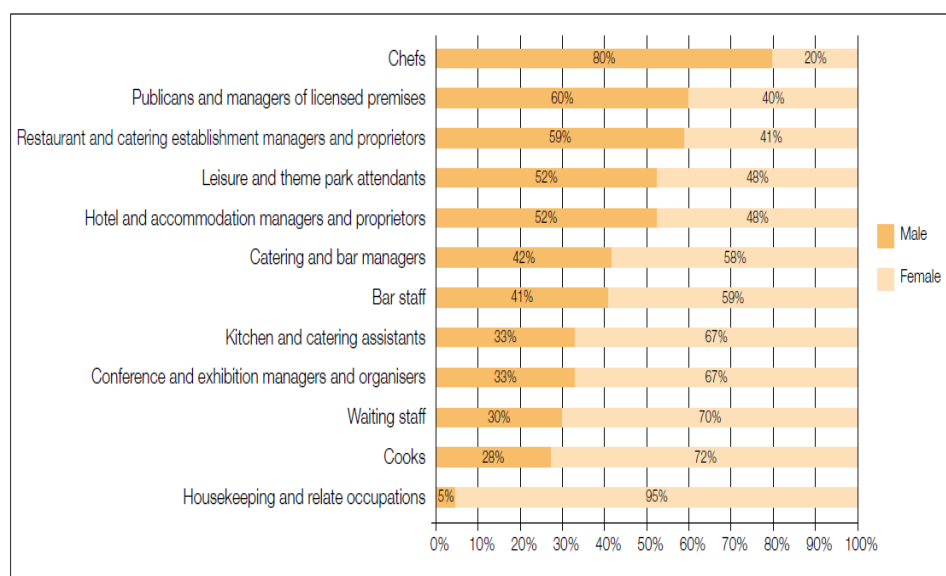
Source: People 1st (2014, p34)

The hospitality and catering sector workforce is traditionally much younger than the workforce across the economy as a whole, with more than forty percent of employees currently under thirty years of age in the hospitality and catering sector versus around twenty five percent in the economy as a whole.

Figure 2 Average age of those working in core hospitality occupations

Occupation	2011
Waiting staff	26
Bar staff	28
Leisure and theme park attendants	29
Kitchen and catering assistants	35
Chefs	36
Conference and exhibition managers	37
Publicans and managers of licensed premises	38
Restaurant and catering establishment managers and proprietors	39
Catering and bar managers	44
Cooks	45
Housekeepers and related occupations	47
Hotel and accommodation managers and proprietors	49

Source: People 1st (2014, p32)

Of note, the two tables (figures 1 and 2, P42) illustrate that the average age difference between chefs and cooks is nine years and that the situation whereby male chefs outnumber female chefs by four to one is approximately reversed for cooks, with females far outnumbering males in this area. This is in part explained by the perceived status of the job of chef, which is socially constructed to be a profession aligned with French cuisine, high skill, long working hours and a macho culture (Rao, Monin and Durand 2005) the paradigm which stimulates male dominance of this work (Robinson and Barron 2007) reinforcing the physical and psychologically demanding environment (Pratton 2003; Pratten and O`Leary 2007) and the exclusion of women

Those women that do enter the professional French kitchen are pushed into the margins, working in the pastry section as a `gendered niche` (Crompton and Sanderson 1994; Bradley 2013) which Robinson and Beesley (2010) identify as `*ritualised*` roles created through kitchen space. That the pastry section of the kitchen is through the nature of the work, the detailed measuring of ingredients, a cooler environment, delicate handling, softer detail in the production of pastries which is better suited to females. These representations of `*easier*` kitchen work are also manifested in the employment titles of those that work within some areas of food production. The contrast of the employment title of `*chef*` to `*cook*`, is that cook is often associated with low status, institutional catering and hours which are better aligned with family life and domestic work (Gunders 2008). A job title reinforced through the deskilling of the kitchen through the use of ready-made foods, further downgrading the job status of the cook, while men continue to dominate as the chef, preparing raw ingredients in work which is admired (Robinson and Beesley 2010). These polar opposite are the result of the historical and socially constructed work that culminates in males being the `*chefs*` and females being the `*cooks*`, with these stereotypes being portrayed in the media (*Wood* 1998-2000) and the cinema (*Pixar* 2011) and reinforced through celebrity chefs antics (Ramsay 2007; White and Steen 2006; Steno and Friche 2015).

The masculinity that dominated the professional kitchen reverberated in the dirty practices that often took place there, one which had not changed since George Orwell's ethnographic kitchen experience in 1933,

> *"He is an artist, but his art is not cleanliness. To a certain extent, he is even dirtier because he is an artist, for food, to look smart, needs dirty treatment. When a steak, for instance, is brought up for the Hotel Cooks inspection, he does not handle it with a fork. He picks it up in his fingers and slaps it down, runs his thumb around the dish and licks it to taste the gravy, runs it round and licks it again...when he is satisfied he takes a cloth and wipes his fingers from the dish and passes it to the waiter"* (Orwell 1933, p68).

Dirty practices are as common in a number of modern closed kitchens as they were in 1933 (Bourdain 2000), merely underpinning the disregard for the customer. Fine (1996, p18) observed how *"one steak falls onto the stove and it is wiped off and placed on the plate",* that when food falls further onto the floor, it was wiped `clean` and reheated. When questioning these behaviour patterns he was told, *"They won't know* [customers]". Other dirty habits were, *"sanitation problems from not refrigerating sauces for hours – letting bacteria grow- to using filthy towels to wipe pans, to touching food with sweaty hands"* (p33). The chef who is hidden from the restaurant working in an environment which is alienated from the guest. A world of work which for some chefs has led to the increased abuse of alcohol, tobacco and drug use (Pidd, Roche and Kostadinov 2014) further marginalising the male worker and creating an image of harshness

The nature of kitchen work creates a craftsman and with it a great deal of skill to be a good cook, which Fine (1996, p30) acknowledges is achieved through the *"knowledge of the materials",* while undertaking the apprentice stage of the job. That many chefs are not always able to cope with the alienation and isolation of the closed kitchen, leading to dissatisfaction and early career leavers (Robinson and Beesley 2010). Chefs often feel rejected, dejected and unhappy in their social life, as James Martin particularly recalls,

> *"On average half of the kitchen brigade would walk because it was such hard work and they`d just had enough…. I*

discovered that other restaurants called us the Mad Army, and that along with Langham`s, which was known as the Lunatic Asylum, we had one of the highest turnover of kitchen staff in London" (Martin 2008, p81)*.*

He goes on to say that as result of a life of being hidden away, as a chef,

"I was physically screwed, around 9 stone in weight, and I`d collapse once a month from exhaustion. Mentally too, I was low. I use to sit at home and cry when I got in from work" (Martin 2008, p89)*.*

"you had no relationships, you had no friends; the only people you knew were the people you worked with in the kitchen, and they kept leaving. You basically had no life. The longer you work in an environment like that the more you become a part of it, and I was becoming as rude and aggressive as everyone else" (Martin 2008, p84)*.*

These statements resonate with the macho image of the kitchen created and perpetuated by chefs (Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons 2007) to ensure that professional cooking remained a skilled trade for men and men alone (Alexander et al. 2012; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015).

Robinson (2008, p406) discusses that contemporary kitchen deviance and its negative status given to kitchen work can be identified through seven factors which this thesis has added commentary too;

I. Culinary fiction through the work of Bourdain (2000) for example with references to drug, alcohol and pornography while discussing the virtues of fine cuisine preparation. Reinforced through the autobiographies and biographies of past and current celebrity chefs.

II. That the celebrity chef has become known for high aggression and that the inside world of the kitchen has never been understood by the public. Those that are more tempered in their dealing with the public such as Raymond Blanc, believe that they are not accepted by society and are viewed as social outcasts.

III. That kitchen aggression *"anecdotal and scholarly"* (Robinson 2008, p406) evidence is occupationally accepted in the kitchen (Johns and Menzel 1999; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons 2007; Alexander et al. 2012; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015).

IV.   *"The notion of the chef being recruited from the margins or society"* reinforced through the state encouragement of working class, dysfunctional and immigrant workers into male dominated kitchen work is actively encouraged.

V.   Kitchen employment opportunities which are focused towards the recruitment and training of the homeless, and the *"press-ganging"* of those with leaning difficulties. For example the positive work undertaken through Oliver`s `Restaurant Fifteen` charity in helping those unable to work into the kitchen. The outcome of kitchen work on the individual chef lead by Hospitality Action (2014) of drug abuse, violence, depression, addiction and how the charity can assist the individual in need. Such charitable work is extremely useful, but it compounds the message, that kitchen work is for those in the margins of society, from working class backgrounds and the less educated.

VI.   Kitchen violence being deviant behaviour which stems from the tension of creativity of the chef and the stressful working conditions. That the skill required in the production of food and the attention to detail needed for perfection of dished is in contrast to the pressure points of service which ignite passion and so aggression in the seeking of perfection and that such creativity with emotion is acceptable.

VII.   The head chef is seen as being autocratic in the control of the kitchen to enable perfection to be achieved. Reinforced through the media that the head chef is *"iconic and a benevolent subject to the cult of the individual"*. That the tension created often leads to behaviour issues – *"substance abuse, dysfunctional relationships, absenteeism and excessive mobility"*

An image perpetuated during the evolution of the modern celebrity chef that the diminishing demeanour of the service staff, creating mistrust in the waiter/waitress service interaction as the chefs positioned themselves central to the restaurant operation. One example of this is taken from Marco Pierre White's autobiography. When he was the head chef at Harvey`s restaurant in London, he stopped the waiter from taking the cheese through from the

kitchen to the restaurant on the service trolley due to it not being the correct size,

> *"I picked up the cheese, `not right`, the fucking cheese is not right. I picked up the first cheese with all my might. I threw it against the wall. It stuck to the tiles. I picked up the second and did the same, and then I hurled the remaining cheeses one after another. Most of the chefs looked down carrying on with their work as if nothing had happened…I told the chefs to leave them there during service so that the waiting staff would never make the mistake again"* (White and Steen 2006, p22)*.*

The theatrical interaction that was part of the nouvelle cuisine movement was purely based on the presentation of the food. The plate had now become the centre of attraction, with crockery designs and patterns being used to enhance the food presentation (Ladenis 1988). This food movement had the effect of driving forward culinary production and presentation methods (Lane 2014) but led to an element of disappointment in terms of service staff interaction with the customer.

3.5. The restaurant kitchen in the service economy

The chef orchestrated the presentation of the food served to the customer and due to being central to the process began to influence the orientation of the food service style in the restaurant (Lane 2014). Ross (1992, p100) refers to,

> *"a rich seam of genuinely food-orientated innovation, springing partly from nouvelle cuisine, which returned structure and composition to restaurant food after the shapeless Mediterranean stews of the 1960s, and partly by the new world possibilities that ethnic cuisines brought with them".*

A repercussion of nouvelle cuisine, which placed the chef central to the service through the plating of the food, was the de-skilling of the waiter as their job now merely involved carrying the completed dish out to the customer. The philosophy of `a la russe` silver service, which had been lost, was that the chef was regarded as a production element in relation to food service. The service from the silver flat, cutting and carving at the table, offered a level of theatre and gave the customers the opportunity to interact

and discuss the food (Cousins, Lillicrap and Weekes 2014). Food service showmanship was a key element of the restaurant theatre, and this was forgotten in the era of nouvelle cuisine in the 1970s. As Sloan (2004, p72) states, *"a hundred and fifty years after Brilliant-Savarin the restaurant is still theatre",* and as such it required a new vehicle of delivery. The food and the decor became the key attributes that the restaurateur now focused upon. The showmanship of the waiter and the entertainment offered by the head waiter had been a key aspect of the customer's dining experience. As Sloan (2004, p71) says,

> *"Bourgeois patrons were most interested in the theatricality of the restaurant, and especially the opportunities it offered to disport themselves, to play act, dissemble and to occupy the extravagant and opulent settings of the dining room as if it were their own"* (Sloan 2004, p71)*.*

However, the theatrical aspect of dining was resigned to history as the traditions of food service were slowly removed, the essence of the restaurant being forgotten. The dining experience was reduced to a sterile focus on the gastronomic features of the food, with nouvelle cuisine being linked to the plated food arrangements in Japanese cookery, both serving healthy food in small quantities that was exquisitely arranged (Fuller 1992). So began a battle between the waiters and chefs, with the chefs arguing that the traditional silver service and gueridon service were slow in serving the food to the customer and that the food thus often arrived cold (Graham 2001). Furthermore, chefs claimed that the manner in which the waiters presented and served the food to the customer did not match the skilled manner in which the chefs had prepared the dish. The nouvelle cuisine food movement was the catalyst for the erosion of the waiting profession and customer service interaction, and with this the chef was beginning to be launched into the restaurant (Graham 2006; Graham and Dunning 2011).

3.6. The open kitchen and the questioning of closed kitchen work

Although the closed kitchen was the norm for the chef, open kitchen designs had been pioneered in the 1970s, and the more recent celebrity chefs had begun to acknowledge the impact that such kitchen formats were having.

This is particularly noted in Turner`s autobiography when he discusses the changes in cuisine,

> *"In George Perry-Smith`s Hole in the Wall, and a few other restaurants, the kitchens were in full view of the diner, which made service easier and the atmosphere more convivial. The kitchen at the Capital was to be largely open plan, so that we could see out, and the diners could see in. After being locked away in a dungeon-basement for years, this seemed fantastically attractive to me"* (Turner 2001, p108-109).

Even so, it was not until the early 1990s that open kitchens became mainstream and began to influence the celebrity chefs and their thinking. Chefs such as Gordon Ramsay, who throughout his early career trained in closed kitchens and carried with him the mantle of the traditional aggressive macho chef, began to promote the virtues and benefits of the kitchen being open to public scrutiny. These thoughts are perhaps the result of him being a celebrity, in the spotlight, with an audience, a position which increased his engagement with the public and enabled him to acknowledge the virtues of the emotional labourer and the job satisfaction that could be derived from chefs interacting with customers,

> *"The idea of eating in the kitchen among all that sweat and steam and noise, all the testosterone, sounds like a mean one. Why would anyone want to do it? But our kitchens are gleaming, tidy places, and quieter and calmer than you imagine. We`ve got superb beautiful dishes to get out; we`re not performing monkeys"* (Ramsay 2007, p190).

Gordon Ramsay, even with the celebrity image that he has cultivated based on a coarse, macho kitchen chef, acknowledges that the open kitchen is hygienic and a working environment which is more relaxed than the closed kitchens he discusses towards the end of his autobiography. The engagement of the customer within the production area of the kitchen has clearly created a positive image of a work environment in which the chef has an approach to work that is more acceptable to the customer, which is a clear move away from the world of the closed `dirty` kitchen. The open kitchen approach aligns more to Jamie Oliver`s training at the River Cafe, a restaurant which was headed by two female chefs, Rose Gray and Ruth Rogers. *"He loved working here, and working for them. They are very*

inspirational people. They are not cliché chefs, not "cheffy" in the slightest. They have passion, and they are not at all pretentious about their food" (Hildred and Ewbank 2009, p77). Oliver, one of the more recent generation of craftsmen, experienced the open world of work and with it the reduction in the macho culture of the kitchen and a greater level of contentment with the job. This is in stark contrast to the early experience he had as a trainee while on a college placement, when he experienced the traditional closed kitchen recollected by Gordon Ramsay, Marco Pierre White, Brain Turner and James Martin,

> *"The housekeeper Edith Boisseau at the Chateau Tilques, France discussing Jamie Oliver`s arrival at the kitchen, 'myself, I tried to make him welcome and feel at home, but I know that in the kitchens they gave him a hard time. It is part of the training. And they teased him a lot at first.'"* (Hildred and Ewbank 2009, p62)

Oliver clearly enjoyed the open kitchen and being able to observe and view the guests while having a level of interaction. Oliver's outgoing personality suited open kitchen work, and he flourished under the influence of its two female head chefs in the friendly family atmosphere they had created (Hildred and Ewbank 2009). *"There was an uplifting team spirit about the place that really enthused the young chef"* (Hildred and Ewbank 2009, p77). Even so, Oliver claimed that others in the kitchen were throwing food at him, so some of the traditions of the macho closed kitchen, such as teasing a fellow male chef, still remained. It was while Oliver worked in the kitchen at The River Cafe that he received offers for television, and thereafter his career took off. Kitchen experience such as Oliver had at The River Café influenced the manner in which the chef viewed kitchen life and changed the interactions between colleagues and customers. This was a clear move away from the traditional socially constructed world of the closed `dirty` skilled work environment which he had previously experienced.

In his autobiography, Marco Pierre White reflects upon the time he spent working under Raymond Blanc, who he describes as,

> *"…soft and inquisitive… Raymond Blanc was so enthusiastic and encouraging that I discovered a sense of freedom, and that is when my confidence started to grow...If I had never*

worked with Raymond Blanc, I would never have gone on to achieve my three star standard" (White & Steen, 2006, p. 87)*.*

White goes on to acknowledge that the macho culture he went on to experience in a closed kitchen in part hampered his career, stifling his confidence,

> *"It was a drill sergeant scream that rose above the bubbling of sauces, the sizzle of meat, the clatter of copper pans against the iron stove, the sharpening of knives: `What are you White? What – are – you?` This tornado of furry engulfed me `A little cunt, Chef`. I replied, `I`m a little cunt"*
> (p. 34)*.*

> *"It didn't matter how hard I worked. The bollockings were still part of the job, bollockings from the Chef, bollockings from the older chefs. I was the apprentice, the whipping* boy"
> (p38).

He admits though that this world shaped him as a chef and gave him the ambition and drive to succeed. Thus, in spite of his positive experience with the mild mannered Raymond Blanc, aggressiveness prevailed in White's Michelin star restaurants. He says,

> *"I had never really paused to question the screaming and shouting. It seemed natural to me and I came to accept it"*
> *(p.87).*

The changing attitudes to the work of the chef are also identified in Blanc (2008) in the middle of his autobiography,

> *"One is often led to think that roughness and chaos in the kitchen where verbal (and sometimes physical) abuse is common is essential to the creation of excellence, but this is wrong. Many hoteliers and chefs in England are now working very hard at creating a modern industry based on respect, in which excellence will thrive"* (p163)*.*

It can be surmised that the growing change in the philosophy underpinning kitchen work is a result of the change in industrial Britain from a manufacturing to a service economy and, more recently, to an experience economy. Nouvelle cuisine initiated a new movement in terms of understanding food and its ingredients, and from this, other food production styles have developed: eclectic cuisine, fusion cookery and, more recently,

molecular gastronomy (Graham 2006). Additionally, nouvelle cuisine propelled the craftsman into the limelight and forced him to engage with the customer, a change that has precipitated down to the casual dining restaurant and, in effect, has further undermined the role of the server (Belasco 2007), which has led to a growing trend to recruit part-time staff, often with non-service backgrounds (Riley 2005).

3.7. The chef and the experience economy

Plated food has become the norm for food service delivery, de-skilling the waiter's role and thus reducing pay and career prospects (Fuller 1992). The structural change to the server's job has led to a far greater usage of part time staff, offering the restaurant operation flexibility, reduced server hours and consequentially greater productivity (Wood 2000). Although service staff voiced complaint, they were largely ignored as the chef patron and the celebrity chef embraced the concept of food being delivered from the kitchen as a composition on the plate, extracting the server wherever possible.

However, high profile headwaiters (maître d'hôtel), such as Marjan Lensnik from Clarridges, London, did voice concerns in the Caterer and Hotelkeeper (July 1st, 1988) cited in (Fuller 1992, p8),

> *"He welcomed a further new style, `cuisine moderne` with adaptations that do not detract from the waiters' skill. Commenting on lovely porcelain oval dishes with everything arranged on it beautifully served on the plate by the waiter…….No it won't look such a pretty picture but this is a restaurant not an art gallery".*

Marjan Lensnik recognised that the waiters' contribution to the dining experience was the communication between the waiter and customer and the visual showmanship, which together created an experience that was memorable due to its uniqueness.

Not until the maturity of nouvelle cuisine plated food would the restaurateur begin to recognise and appreciate that both the food delivery service method and the service staff interaction played a key role in the dining experience and contributed to customer satisfaction (Hansen, Jensen and Gustafsson

2005). The pleasure associated with the dining experience was not solely dependent on the food being produced, but rather on the amalgamation of the various tangible and intangible factors (Wood 2000) that created the `servicescape` (Wakefield and Blodgett 1996; Lin 2004), which chef practitioners had over looked. The servers created a level of excitement in the restaurant (Mars and Nicod 1984) as they engaged in a performance that was as central to the restaurant visit as the food (Graham 2001). Fuller (1992) argues and later concurred with by Gibbs and Ritchie (2010) that the theatrical skill and showmanship of the server was a central element in the customer experience,

> *"In effect the key approach to ensuring that the customer was satisfied and earning a tip was that of the interpersonal relationship. Waiters need to be pleasant, charming, polite and discreet others emphasised show respect and play a submissive role…….however few were prepared to put technical expertise of knowledge high on their list although when asked most said these were extremely important"* (Mars and Nicod 1984, p36).

A whole generation of seminal restaurant research (Whyte 1947; Mars and Nicod 1984) on the importance of the server was forgotten as the chef took centre stage and the kitchen was omitted from the performance.

However, some chef patrons and restaurateurs failed to fill the interaction void that plated food service brought and continued to produce food in the traditional closed kitchen in the manner Escoffier had advocated. The social construction of the restaurant remained one of hidden food production, out of sight from the customer. The impression of high quality and the chef preparing food in a high pressure environment could be maintained, fuelled by the masculinity of craft employment. Closed kitchens facilitated the concealment of the chef and prevented chef interaction with the customer, with the chefs constantly venting their anger or frustration on the servers while they queued at the hotplate, (Mars and Nicod 1984; Fine 1996) and the use of `dirty work` practices. Marco Pierre-White in his biography discuss this animosity as a young chef, *"There were rows between the head chef and maitre `d... `Chin him Chef, chin him`, we`d shout. `Hit him. Don`t take any shit`"* (White and Steen 2006, p94).

The continued use of the closed kitchen enabled the waiter and chef aggressive relationships to be confined to the back of house environment. The decoupling of the chef from the customer was about to be challenged as the restaurant service evolved into one homogenised service involving artistically plated food emerging from the kitchen. In practise, as a result of nouvelle cuisine food being plated in the kitchen, chefs had inadvertently re-orientated themselves closer to the customer. The waiter was, in effect, no longer acting as the sole intermediary food production service worker; the chef had become engaged in food service work through creating the meal on the plate and being put on show when placed in the open kitchen.

3.8. The open kitchen or theatre kitchen

The open kitchen concept is not a wholly new idea; Italian pizzerias have used this format for many years, and it is a key design feature of the Japanese Teppanyaki kitchen (Fang, Peng and Weita 2013; Norii 2015). It is in the evolution of the traditional British and French mid and upscale restaurant that the greatest growth has been seen in the open kitchen operational style. In the traditional restaurant, it was historically traditional for the chef to enter into the dining area to carve the meat and serve it at the buffet table. As (Frable 1998, p5) explains,

> *"Exposing food preparation to diners has remained popular for more than fifteen years because it creates culinary and visual excitement for the guest and reduces wasted back-of-the-house space because the pickup area is shared with the dining room circulation".*

The development of the open kitchen offers the chef an opportunity to show off his production skill, the freshness of the ingredients and the cleanliness of the kitchen (Graham 2006a; Snaith and Pitham 2006). The open kitchen provides entertainment for the diners through suspense and action, for example from flashes of fire, the sounds of cooking food and the chef's chopping skills. *"Now the open kitchen has evolved into entertainment, a frenzy of excitement just a few feet from the table"* (Petrowski 1999, p171). However, the open kitchen is not to everyone's taste. Petrowski (1999) goes on to say that the open kitchen has as much atmosphere as a hospital

emergency room. They are loud, bright and full of odours that can be good or bad, although some of this can be overcome with sliding glass doors to keep the kitchen noise to a minimum. Sheridan (2001, p85) contends that,

> *"Open kitchens are a big source of noise. Unless the dining room space is large, keep the kitchen behind closed door, or counsel the cooks to work and speak as quietly as possible".*

In general, the principle of the open kitchen has been embraced by the restaurant operator as a key element in increasing competitiveness. Baraban and Durocher (2010, p1) believe that,

> "*All spaces in the restaurant should be considered not only on their own terms, but also with respect to how well they perform in relation to the whole".*

Open working environments have created a fundamental change in working practice for the chef. For some chefs, working in front of the customer is a way of promoting their talent and skills, and they can get a `*buzz*` from doing it. For others, it can be their worst nightmare as some chefs are customer averse and don't even want to be seen (Graham 2006). Furthermore, chefs are often renowned for their boisterous and aggressive behaviour in the kitchen, in keeping with the masculine identity of the role (Meloury and Signal 2014) promoted by the celebrity chefs, for whom working with food is a creative art which can only occur when high emotions are involved and displayed (Dorenburg and Page 1996). Chefs work in an aggressive manner and have a reputation for shouting and swearing, with this persona reinforced through the high profile celebrity chef. *"Cooks fight with servers. The tales of conflict are myriad, but the causes are common – lack of communication and an ability to empathize"* (Lorenzini and Johnson 1995, p148).

3.9. The experience economy and the development of the contemporary open kitchen

Different approaches to theatre cooking can be seen in various European style restaurants, from casual dining to fine dining, with varying degrees of preparation being undertaken in the back office and the cooking being undertaken within view of the customer (Baraban and Durocher 2010, p40),

or in instances where there are two teams, one services the guests whilst the other concentrates on the preparation of the food (Balazs 2002). Rohatsch et al. (2007, p133) describe theatre cooking as chefs who work in full view of the customer while preferably using fresh produce. A key reason theatre cooking was introduced was to meet the growing demand from customers for appetising presentation of meals alongside restaurant entertainment (Graham 2001). Mintel (2006), in the study Eating Out: Ten Year Trends, found that the media, with its cooking and food provenance programmes and celebrity chefs, has increased the consumers' interest in food. In turn, with a greater number of restaurants designed with open kitchens and the reintroduction of theatre into the dining experience, Graham (2006a) argues we have returned to a `*new*` gueridon service (Cousins, Lillicrap and Weekes 2014). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, with the growth of the celebrity chef, personality and entertainment, the location of the kitchen has become increasingly important in restaurant design (Pratten and O`Leary 2007). Rohatsch et al. (2007, p135) found that since the early 1990s there has been a growing trend to shift kitchen functions closer to the customers and celebrate food preparation in front of them. This is epitomised in the `*Chef`s Table*` in the Jumeirah Group customer magazine (Berchtol 2012),

> *"The Chef`s table at Azara Restaurant in Jumeriah Dhevanafushi is an iconic and unforgettable stay......Guests can experience the `Chefs Table` concept upon arrival at Azara absorbing the beauty of the iconic art décor surroundings...The journey continues by escorting the guest to the kitchen area, where the team is waiting and the chef in charge will outline what lies ahead, in order to ensure that their time is truly memorable. After introducing the guests to the team who will take care of them, including their personal waiter and sommelier, they will be led to the Chef`s Table, which is just outside the main kitchen, overlooking the main restaurant...To top it all, guests have the amazing opportunity to carry out the role of Chef. They step into the world of high class cooking by experiencing a tour to show them great insight into the detail and precision of a working kitchen. They are also encouraged to put on their aprons and grab a spoon! During this experience, guests can plate up and assist in restaurant service, enjoying a 15 minutes of fame to show off their skills"*

It is clear that the transformational shift is one whereby the service production process is now fully in the public view in a public space with customers able to participate in the cooking experience and involvement in the service delivery (Lugosi 2007). Food experiences which appeal to *"foodies"* (Getz et al. 2014, p6) who seek dining experiences as part of the entertainment in the restaurant visit and are willing to travel to seek these offers as a lifestyle choice. Prior to this, kitchens used to be a mysterious unseen place, and any production that occurred was behind closed doors, which separated the kitchen from the restaurant. This is in stark contrast to the environment of the open kitchen chef, who has had to become an `*actor*`, performing culinary duties on `*stage*` (Jennings 2011, p32). This trend is becoming *"increasingly popular and many high-end and high-street outlets are choosing this route, introducing the concept after a refurbishment"* (Mintel 2009, p19), with the key driving force of theatre cooking being the entertainment, which in some instances has become more powerful than the food experience itself (Jennings 2007).

Within the restaurant, the design influence is generally based on the market, the demographic of the target consumers and their expectations along with a belief *"that dramatising the service performance is the best way to gain sustainable competitive advantage"* (Morgan, Watson and Hemmington 2008, p111). Customer research has identified how the restaurant is now perceived differently, with customers believing that when food is prepared in full view, employees are more conscious of safe-food handling (Guyott 1997) and thus they feel more comfortable since they can see what they are getting (Katsigris and Thomas 2009). Research has revealed that theatre cooking does have an impact on the dining experience of customers, and since the hospitality industry provides a high degree of intangibility, customers are more likely to consume these service aspects to make judgments and evaluations based on the perception of their worth (Lin 2004).

The environment of a kitchen and restaurant is important as the optimal aim of all restaurants is to at least keep customers satisfied, at best delight and excite them (Pine and Gilmore 1999), whether the customer is eating out for

pleasure or work at lunch or dinner (Anderson and Mossberg 2004). Bruni (2005), in the New York Times, argues that the principle of fine dining is that the customer consumes leisure food and the purpose of eating out is to be liberated from the hard work associated with the preparation of a meal. While making a connection with the fundamentals of the food production process, customers can observe the preparation of the food, feeling the heat and hearing the sounds of the kitchen as if they were in their own home.

The open kitchen now demands the customer's attention and represents a multifaceted metaphor for the way many customers regard the experience of chefs and their roles. Bruni (2005) notes that one chef believes that the open kitchen has been developed without considering how over imposing it is, arguing that the concept has been overdone, with the driving force being the aim of merely entertaining the customer. Research undertaken by Chow et al. (2009, p101) identified customers who believed that the mystique of cookery was lost with an open kitchen, saying, *"you don't want to know how the magician does his trick, you just want to be entertained".* Other respondents raised fears about bad language and communication issues between front and back of house. Even with such negative findings, the overall conclusion is that the benefits of the open kitchen far outweigh the disadvantages cited in the negative responses. However, Baraban and Durocher (2010, p12) do offer a word of caution, one that emphasises the true reason for the success of a restaurant. They say that *"whilst the food may not initially be what brings the customer to a restaurant",* it is the food that will ensure repeat business. Franck (2002, p83) confirms this, saying, *"no restaurant could lure customers with good dishes alone these days, but it is the food that keeps them coming back".*

The open kitchen has created an experience as part of the customer journey, one that provides lasting memories of something special, with the aim of generating new and retaining old business (Walter, Edvardardsson and Ostrom 2012). In effect, the open or theatre kitchen is being used to enhance the dining experience by bringing the cooking to the front of house and introducing theatrical elements into the cooking process. The chef becomes

part of the atmosphere as one of the new service staff and a central part of the entertainment on offer in the restaurant environment adding to the hospitality experience (Lugosi 2008; Lugosi 2014). The idea of theatre cooking is not new as foodservice has always *"contained elements of theatrical performance"* (Morgan, Watson and Hemmington 2008, p112) and *"food paraded"* through the restaurant has been acceptable practise (Alston 2015, p50), for example, gueridon and silver service styles, where food can be, and still is, carved and flambéed in front of the guest, using finishing processes of food preparation and cooking (Graham 2006a). In food service dining, the quality and the prices of food have been the decisive factors in determining which restaurants have prospered and which have not (Kotler 1973; Wood 2000).

The visual and verbal engagement of the chef with the customer adds to the cacophony of stimulating sounds, sights and smells in such an environment, with the open kitchen chef working in view of the customer taking great care with the visual and audio aspects of cooking (Franck 2002), thus communicating the restaurant image and values to the guest (Bruner (1990), As Katsigris and Thomas (2009, p223) note, *"open kitchen, noise levels have become part of the atmosphere to the extent that the open kitchen and associated noise is part of the design and concept"*. Anderson and Mossberg (2004), Hansen, Jensen and Gustafsson (2005), Heide and Gronhaug (2006) Morgan, Watson and Hemmington (2008) and Katsigris and Thomas (2009) suggest that the tangibles of theatre cooking can add to the theatrical nature of the experience, entertaining customers and easing their fears about hygiene. Jennings (2011) believes that as open kitchens have become so common, *"they are no longer about the `wow factor` but rather used as a vehicle to communicate business core values"* (p32)*,* placing the chef as an actor on the stage to communicate with the customer.

3.10. Chapter summary

This chapter has argued that a paradigm shift has occurred in the work of the chef with the move from the closed to the open restaurant kitchen. In order to meet the needs of the experience economy, the chef, as one exemplification

of the craft service worker, who has had to exit an industrialised work environment, with its hidden labour, division of labour (partie system) and workforce alienated from the customer. That constructed closed world of work fostered masculine practices and production approaches which are now regarded as being `dirty`, resonating with extractive and production environments, areas that are far removed from the sociology of work in a service culture. It has been identified that kitchen work is highly masculine in nature, pressured and employment which takes place in small spaces. An environment which is challenging and stressful to work in and as a consequence, it has a high labour turnover than other industries. Robinson and Beesley (2010) discuss that creativity of working with food is the key intrinsic motivator of the chef being satisfied at work, which far outweighs the extrinsic motivators of pay and working conditions. This creativity value assists in explaining the acceptance by the individual to persevere with the employment conditions, which for some trades would be unacceptable, working conditions which have led to increased labour absenteeism and labour turnover.

Chefs in the open kitchen must now perform for the customer, putting on an act. This realignment of their work, requiring customer interaction for the payment of a wage, has re-orientated the chef into an emotional labourer and a worker who has to now *"look good and sound right"* as an aesthetic labourer (Warhurst and Nickson 2001, p1). Robinson and Beesley (2010, p744) conclude that *"only so much can be done to ameliorate the working conditions and pay of hospitality workers including chefs, then alternative motivators for job satisfaction needs exploring".* The open kitchen is a new environment for this group of workers, as it is for other traditional closed office production works that have been reoriented into public facing production roles. Such a shift in work has brought about a new perspective on the employment space of the chef. A new kitchen environment which this thesis has identified as a new work domain and requires researching, to be able to understand the effect that this is having on the individual employee. The chef is one category of craft labourer whose new public performance orientation from the back stage to the front stage as an intermediate worker has not as yet been the focus of any research, one that this thesis will fulfil.

The following chapter will draw on the emotional labourer and the aesthetic labourer literature for the core theoretical concepts that will underpin this research thesis, enabling a new perspective to be brought to bear on this group of workers.

Chapter 4 - Emotional and aesthetic labour

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter considered how the chef's employment orientation has been transformed from the closed kitchen to the open kitchen, the employee toiling over the production of food while simultaneously engaging with the customer, thus performing to organisational expectations. This chapter will discuss the engagement between the customer and the employee in the work place, which Arlene Hochschild (1983) asserts necessitates employees masking their true feelings in exchange for a wage (emotional labour) (Grandey and Gabriel 2015) while *"looking good and sounding right"* (Warhurst and Nickson 2001, p1) as an aesthetic labourer (Warhurst 2015). This chapter will debate these two labouring approaches in the open service production environment. It will identify the gaps within the two labour theorisations, applying them to the open kitchen chefs as a new exemplification of interactive craft work.

4.2. The emergence of emotional labour theory

The study of emotions began in 1884 with the publication of William James' (1884) paper titled *'What is Emotion',* and for well over a century, psychologists have debated the nature of the phenomenon. Sociologists have focused on emotions in work place studies, identifying them as feelings that people experience, interpret, reflect on, express and manage (Korczynski 2002). Fineman (1993) argues that the construct of emotion has long been a significant issue for organisational theorists, claiming that the emotions of the individual worker are a result of social interaction and are more often than not suppressed in order to present a socially acceptable persona (Guerrier and Adib 2001).

Within organisational settings, little research was devoted to the study of emotions at work until Arlene Hochschild triggered a renewed interest with the publication of The Managed Heart (1983). She revealed how employees control their emotions when in front of the customer to comply with the expected social rules of customer engagement; a job role may require a particular emotion to be suppressed and others displayed while the work is

being carried out for a wage. Hochschild (1983) termed this *'emotional labouring',* which she defined as,

> *"The management of feelings to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display; emotional labour is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value"* (1983, p7)*.*

Hochschild`s work has been described as *"the most influential idea to emerge from the sociology of service work"* (Lopez 2010, p253). Wharton (2009, p148) believes that *"The Managed Heart has provided researchers with a new vantage point from which to understand emotion in the work place"*. Bolton and Boyd (2003, p290) underpin this by stating,

> *"Hochschild`s work has proved to be enduringly popular that there is little that has been written concerning the subject of emotions and organizations in the last 20 years that does not refer to the `Managed Heart".*

Grandey and Gabriel (2015, p324) report that there has been *"an exponential growth in citation counts (over 16,000 articles)"* on emotional labour, three times the articles having been published in the last decade than in the two following the publication of The Managed Heart in 1983. Emotional labour theory draws heavily on Goffman's dramaturgical perspective (1959; 1969), in which labour is viewed as an act, the employee performing on stage to a script, the uniform the costume, for an often discriminating audience (Kivisto and Pittman 2003). The actor changes or manages their emotions to make them appropriate or consistent with a *"situation, role or expected job function"* (Putnam and Mumby 1993, p37). Nearly thirty years after the publication of The Managed Heart (Hochschild 1983), scholars fundamentally disagree over what emotional labour actually is, the relationship between the physical emotions and the various kinds of emotional work that exist (Lopez 2010) as well as emotional labouring extending into aesthetic labour (Dahl 2013; Sappey and Maconachie 2012; Tsaur and Tang 2013; Warhurst 2015; Sheane 2011)

The seminal work of Hochschild (1983) inspired research into emotional labour from a new perspective in relation to service jobs, which may require the employee to induce or suppress feelings in order that they display *"positive emotions towards customers"* (Appelbaum and Gatta 2005, p5).

Employers exercise a level of control over the employee's emotions through training, policy and supervision, and they reward the employees' subsequent emotion management monetarily (Hochschild 1983). In various job orientations, an employment differentiation occurs between the level of voice to voice (call centre workers) and face to face (flight attendants) interaction with the customer. Chong (2009) asserts that a further classification exists of the *"toe"* versus the *"heel"* type of employment. The *"toe"* worker feels positive emotions, such as *"sympathy, trust, and good will"* towards the customer, for example, flight attendants, whereas the "*heel*" worker must show negative feelings and exert emotions such as *"mistrust"* and *"bad will"*, for example debt collectors (Chong 2009, p7)*.* The emotional management perspective categorises emotional labourers based on their *'acting'* skills and performance. It is suggested that those workers who have face-to-face contact with customers have to control their emotions at work both visually and verbally and that their displayed emotions may not necessarily be how they are truly feeling; in effect they are acting out a required service role for the benefit of the organisation.

4.3. Emotional types

Goffman`s (1967) impression management thesis resonates with emotional labour theory. It describes a social process whereby individuals try to influence the perceptions of others on something or someone in order to manage the impression they have of that thing or person. This may entail revealing some information while choosing to hide other information, such as feelings that are felt to be irrelevant or negative. Goffman (1967) developed the idea that service is comparable to a play, where the service provider is the actor, the work setting is the stage and the customer is the audience, a conceptualisation later developed by Pine and Gilmore (1999) into the experience economy. Employees that work in a job that requires emotional labour perform from a particular emotional script, which Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) termed the `display rules`. These are functions of society, occupational and organisational norms which influence "*behavioural expectations about which emotions ought to be expressed and which ought to be hidden*" (Mann 1997, p3)*.* Based on these display rules, employees

within the service industry, and particularly the hospitality industry, are expected to act in a friendly, cheerful and helpful way while perhaps concealing their true feelings of discontent or anger towards the customer. Goffman (1967) contends that three types of emotion can be associated with different `display rules` as subsets of the interactive framework, these being: i) integrative emotions (those that bind groups together, such as love, loyalty and pride); ii) differentiating emotions (those that cause group differences, such as fear, anger and contempt (Kemp 1984); and iii) emotional displays as emotional masking (which refers to displays of emotional neutrality and restraint). Each of these will be dealt with in the following sections.

4.3.1. Integrative emotions

Integrative emotions, such as friendliness, are often *"emphasised in service roles or public contact encounters in which the services are intangible, consisting of services rendered rather than objects that are possessed"* (Wharton and Erickson 1993, p466). An example of this is those service staff in casual dining restaurants often referred to as the *"have a nice day"* (Surprenant and Solomon 1987, p87) employees, who personalise the service with a smile and a positive farewell while also being highly efficient in delivering the service. Offering this interaction as part of the service itself creates display rules which are orientated towards emotions that instil a sense of *"well-being, good-will or satisfaction in customers"* (Hochschild 1983, p5). It is for the staff member to demonstrate to the guest that these emotions are inextricably linked to a positive service encounter. Such integrative emotions may at times be in conflict with how the service staff member is actually feeling.

4.3.2. Differentiating emotions

Workers in some job roles, such as debt collectors or court judges (Wharton and Erickson 1993), are encouraged to display mistrust, irritation or hostility towards others for the purpose of instilling unease, worry or fear in others (Rafaeli and Sutton 1991; Morris and Feldman 1996). Goffman (1959) also found that employees will often use the back office to reduce the emotional strain when with colleagues, allowing for `back stage` recovery. In their

research, Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn (2011) noted how prison officers, who at times had to demonstrate levels of firmness in their dealings with prisoners, were able to let off steam with each other or obtained support once outside of work and away from the inmates from their family or friends; This was one way of controlling the emotional strain that they experienced from having to emotionally labour or act the part. The usage of such negative displayed emotions at work has been noted to cause poor team relationships and unhappiness. Fineman (2000) contends that these emotional traits are sometimes exhibited in order to develop a feeling of power over others.

When discussing health care employees working with problematic hospital patients, Grandey et al. (2012) also refer to the practise of exiting from a stressful interaction into a safe space and the social support provided by colleagues. They highlight how self-regulated breaks and discussions with colleagues enable staff to share issues and how this reduces the feelings of frustration emotional labouring can cause. The use of social groups as an emotional dissonance support resource is further discussed by McCance et al. (2013), who undertook a laboratory based experiment in a fictitious telephone call centre and noted how the `workers` used social sharing of problems at work to reduce the anger they felt when talking with customers.

4.3.3. Emotional masking

The customer expectations of the interaction are that no matter how busy the worker is during the service period, the service experience will always be a positive one. The employee has to now engage with the customer at their request as opposed to the worker being disenfranchised from the customer in the back stage environment. This new open work stage has added an extra layer of complexity to the role of skilled service craftsmen in that they are now required to control their emotions during the service phase. These `display rules` are most likely to characterise roles in which workers seek to *"establish or convey their authority over the target of their emotion-management efforts"* (Wharton and Erickson 1993, p467)*.* In such situations, emotional displays are expected to be muted and excessive emotionality of any kind is discouraged. Notorious displays of shouting, swearing and physical abuse of the environment which have often been attributed to chefs

in the closed kitchen (Ramsay 2007; White and Steen 2006) require masking in the open kitchen.

4.3.4. Approaches to emotional labour studies

Early research on emotional labour applied a quantitative approach (Wharton 1993) to explore the dimensions and consequences of emotional labour on the individual employee, and this was repeated later through Emotional Labour Scale (ELS) studies (Brotheridge and Lee 2003). This resulted in various models being developed to discuss and quantify the outcomes of emotional labouring, the Job Characteristics Model (JCM) (Lee-Ross 1998) being one example of such models. This has been applied to service workers, such as nurses (Landeweerd and Boumans 1994) and sales staff (Mrugank and Ashwin 2005) in an attempt to measure how employees in service industries are motivated by certain job attributes. This was simultaneously developed as the Job Diagnostic Survey (JDS), which (Hackman and Oldham 1975) measures the core job dimensions (CJD) that affect the employee's reaction to the job and the work setting (Mullins 1999). The JDS questionnaire consists of eighty-seven statements and is divided into eight sections. The statements elicit information related to the employee's personal feelings and require them to say how accurate they believe the statements are. This instrument has been used to assess the attitudes of hotel employees (Lee-Ross 1998). However, soon after its initial development, Pierce and Dunham (1978) claimed that it had not been extensively tested within the service industry and that researchers should not assume the '*dimensionality of the JDS'* and the underlying principle of the JCM without first making observations of their own (Lee-Ross 1998, p69). As Lee-Ross acknowledges, a risk factor lies in the employees responding in a way which is not always truthful, thus potentially invalidating the findings.

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) also suggest that early empirical research into emotional labour was biased towards various categories of front-line staff and that despite the research having since been expanded to involve other internal and external customer engagement labour roles (see Bolton's (2004) classification of worker types of emotional labouring research p77), open kitchen service workers have not been identified as a research group.

Their research found that emotional labour can have negative outcomes for both the actor and the target. For the target or perceiver of the emotional labour act, the emotions displayed by the employee can appear false and lack authenticity and, as a result, reduce customer satisfaction.

The receiver of any product or service requires the server or actor to deliver the offer with authenticity (Grandey et al. 2005). The server's emotional display will be assessed by the customer, whose judgement will impact on the service outcome (Hennig-Thurau et al. 2006). From the opposite perspective, the actor or server who is unable to express empathy with and concern for the customer, even though they believe that expressing such feelings is part of the job, may experience burnout (Maslach 1982). Continuous `surface acting` can lead to stress and job dissatisfaction (Adil and Kamal 2013; Yooa and Arnold 2014), which can spill over into the employee's home life, causing discontent and marital problems (Krannitz et al. 2015). Mann (1997) suggests that working in a situation where emotional dissonance is an almost permanent feature of the work experience, *"is more likely to produce stress related behaviour"* (p84). The literature highlights that continued emotional labouring results in low job satisfaction and a greater tendency to leave or be absent from work, suffer minor illnesses, complain of being *'burnt-out'* (Hulsheger and Schewe 2011) and/or have increased susceptibility to serious health conditions, such as hyper-tension and coronary heart disease (Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2013). The core principles of emotional labour as a concept will be discussed in detail in the following section, and the potential relationship that this has to open kitchen work will be explored.

4.4. Emotional labour

A key element of the service product delivery is that the provider portrays a `happy` customer friendly image, even though doing so may be contradictory to how the server is feeling (Hochschild 1983; 2003). Front line workers are required to display certain types of emotions, such as friendliness, warmth, politeness, confidence, enthusiasm or cheerfulness, whilst interacting with the customer (Soares 2003) and change or control their emotions when interacting with the guest in exchange for a monetary reward (Grandey,

Diefendorff and Rupp 2013). This is a new representation which the chef in the open kitchen will now need to display.

Appelbaum and Gatta (2005, p5) refer to emotional labouring as *"the inducing or suppressing of one's feelings in order to display a certain countenance in the workplace"*. Whilst Wharton (2009) refers to emotional labouring as the process by which workers manage their feelings in accordance with their organisation's rules and guidelines (Diefendorff et al. 2011). Wharton`s research identifies how the individual's emotions at work are influenced by the broader cultural and social norms of the society that they belong to. Those emotions are self-regulated and can be influenced by challenging the way the situation is constructed (Gross 2002) to achieve work goals (Morris and Feldman 1996; Diefendorff and Gosserand 2003). However, they are also regulated by the organisation through the rules that govern the service engagement. Put simply, an emotional labourer can be described as someone who interacts with a customer and has to use their emotional skills to provide a positive interaction between themselves and the customer in accordance with the management's job role performance requirements (Cole, Michel and Teti 1994). At the point of interaction when it becomes clear whether or not the customer's expectations of the service are being met is known as the `moment of truth` (Normann 1984). Service employment is not only about doing the job but also about doing it with the right attitude, the right degree of sincerity and the right amount of concern for the guests (Guerrier and Adib 2001).

To be classified as an emotional labourer, Haynes and Kleiner (2001) contend that workers must be in an occupation that possess three characteristic; i) it requires the employee to make face to face or voice to voice contact with the public, ii) it requires the employee to produce an emotional state in the customer, iii) it allows the employer the opportunity to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees, either through training or supervision. Under these circumstances, as Grandey and Gabriel (2015, p324) emphasise, the employee's emotional labour *"is sold for a wage and therefore has exchange value"*. The open kitchen chef meets these criteria as an employee who now has to perform for

the customer's entertainment in line with the organisation's expectations of the chef whilst on show in the open kitchen.

From studies on airline stewards (Hochschild 1983), police officers and nurses (Mann 1997), it has become clear that emotional labour is carried out by a broad range of service orientated employees (Ronald, Pollack and Hawver 2008). Tolich (1993) stresses that emotional labour extends into occupations that are seemingly more task orientated and are not always about customer interaction, referring to the relationship between co-workers, who may suppress true feelings in order to maintain good relations within a workplace environment. Although this argument has validity, it does shift the focus away from the central concept of emotional labour, identified by Hochschild (1983). Grandey and Gabriel (2015) assert that emotional labour is as a process by which employees manage their emotions in order to ensure a positive encounter with customers. Mann (1997, p6) argues that emotional labour appears *'inevitable'* and *'immutable'* for all staff involved in customer service interactions, be they verbal or visual, and a core process that benefits organisations and that this needs to be the central focus.

Barsade (2002, p646) describes emotions as *"intense but relatively short term reactions to specific stimulus"*, whilst Vincent (2011, p1369) claims that emotions at work can fall into three categories, which are: *"feelings we cannot control; feelings that result from our emotional ability to evoke, manipulate and suppress our feelings; and feelings that are affected by morals, values, attitudes and dispositions"*. Emotional labourers engage in communication that results from either the expression of felt emotions or a decision to disguise or manage them (Fiebig and Kramer 1998) so that the customer has a positive engagement with the server. This display of emotional behaviour is a value added part of the product, and Schneider and Bowen (1985) found that this was a key element of the job when researching bank clerks. It is deemed by many employers to increase customer satisfaction (the overall feeling of contentment with the interaction) and thus improve revenue and sales, resulting in increased repeat business and financial success (Rafaeli and Sutton 1987; Rafaeli and Sutton 1991; Lee and Ok 2014).

These factors underline how and why employees emotional displays are twofold: i) the employees who participate in customer contact are the interface between the guest and the organisation and therefore represent the face of the business. Negative interactions from the employee will leave a poor impression of the company; ii) due to the *'unique'* attributes concerning the nature of the restaurant service engagement, it is necessary that the industry establishes policies, display rules and procedures to govern the standardisation of their product and service (Wong and Mei 1999; Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand 2005). The behaviour of the service deliverer, how they manage the interaction (Gulati 2007) and how the relationship that develops (Parvatiyar and Sheth 2001; Koopmann-Holm 2011), strongly determines the customer's perception of the product and service quality (Johnson and Grayson 2005). Bowen and Schneider (1988) and Brown et al. (1991) suggest that the concept of emotional labour has a particular relevance to service encounters because front-line service personnel are naturally situated at the organisation-customer interface and therefore represent the face of the organisation to the customer.

This performance put on for the customer requires employees *"to produce an emotional state"* (Wharton 2009, p157), suggesting that there are two ways that employees may engage in emotional labour with customers, which are "*surface acting*" and "*deep acting*", through which *"acting occurs when we actually deceive ourselves as much as we deceive others"* (Taylor and Tyler 2000, p77). Hochschild (1983) believes that whilst both forms are internally false, the motives behind them differ. Employers attempting to control workers interaction (Belanger and Edwards 2013) can impact on the employees' sense of self, thus creating threats to their identity (Wharton 2009). When employees smile and convey friendliness, their apparent emotions can impact upon the emotions of the customer, who may associate this with good service. However, this works both ways since a customer's negative emotions can affect the employee's emotions. Korczynski (2002) contends that those service workers who are positively disposed to customers will feel emotional pain when they are confronted with verbal abuse from a customer. Workers who are emotional labourers must be able to manage these different customer interactions and be able to adapt

accordingly, applying of a range of `soft skills` (Hurrell, Scholarios and Thompson 2012) to meet the service requirement of customer engagement (Hampson and Junor 2005). Burns (1997) argues that the `soft skills` required for effective personal interaction are more important than the `hard skills` necessary to physically perform the task, stating that the thrust of the service encounter must be positive and joyful, connecting with the customer's values while sometimes acting in a playful mood. When *"customers catch the positive emotions from the employees"* (Tsai 2001, p500) as a part of the service provision, the interaction that occurs is a key component of guest satisfaction.

4.4.1. Surface acting

`*Surface acting*` involves employees exhibiting emotions that are not actually felt (Guerrier and Adib 2001) in other words, they are pretending, faking and suppressing their true feelings (Brotheridge and Lee 2003). It is suggested that this is carried out by verbal and non-verbal cues, such as facial expression, gestures and voice tone (Mann 1997). For example, a hotel receptionist or a waiter may put on a smile and greet a customer cheerfully even if she or he is feeling miserable. These emotions can be described as *"fake"* or *"feigned"* (Noon and Blyton 1997, p129) or *"bad faith"* (Grandey 2000, p95) emotional labouring. These can be influenced by personal (Appelbaum and Gatta 2005) and professional values (Bevir 2007; Grandey, Diefendorff and Rupp 2013). Discussing `*surface acting'*`, Hayes and Kleiner (2001, p3) state, *"We are capable of disguising what we feel and of pretending to feel what we do not"*.

By changing the facial or bodily expressions, for example, slumping the shoulders, outer feelings incongruent with inner thoughts can be displayed. `*Surface acting*` therefore denotes an inconsistency between felt and displayed emotions. It is the employee who will decide how much `*surface acting*` (Fischer 2003) takes place, and when customers are unpleasant to staff this can at times lead to staff deciding to feign the interactions. They may then rebel against the customer (Harris and Ogbonna 2009; Lee and Ok 2014) by offering slower service, demonstrating a lack of care, delivering an

inferior product or even by *"swearing at the customer"* (Harris and Ogbonna 2012, p2038).

4.4.2. Deep acting

`*Deep acting*` involves the service actor attempting to actually experience or feel the emotions that they wish (or that others expect of them) to display (Hochschild 1983). If the employees feelings do not fit the situation, it is suggested they then use their training or past experience to build up the appropriate emotions (Mann 1997). They draw on their inner self experience to,

> *"conjure up the feeling by actively attempting to evoke or suppress an emotion; via trained imagination, whereby the actor actively invokes thoughts, images and memories to induce the associated emotion (e.g. thinking of a relative's death in order to feel sad)"* (Mann 1997, p5).

Unlike `*surface acting*`, which focuses on faking outward behaviour to mask one's true feelings, `*deep acting*` focuses more on the inner feelings and has been referred to by Grandey (2000, p95) as *"good faith"* or the modification of inner feelings to reflect the ones necessary for the actual display act (Huang et al. 2015). Through Hochschild's (1983) research it became apparent that the airline studied (Delta) trained its airline stewards in `*deep acting*` techniques so they could display the appropriate emotional responses to passengers. Employees were required to visualise the plane cabin as their living room and the passengers as their guests and consider the difficult passengers as naughty children who needed attention.

Hayes and Kleiner (2001) propose that the more experienced workers are able to differentiate between whether they need to put their heart into the job and '*deep act*' or pretend and `*surface act*`. In both instances, the employee is actually attempting to change his or her inner feelings and emotions, to put on an act which is in line with the one that the organisation expects to be displayed (Randolph and Dahling 2013). Workers are able to switch between the two, as Cossette and Hess (2015) found in their quantitative call centre studies, in which they analysed the emotion regulation styles of call worker staff and identified six styles: suppressing, non-regulating, flexible, authentic,

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acting and reappraising. They used this *"dynamic range of styles"* to regulate their emotions, alternating between levels of `deep` and `surface acting`.

The contemporary literature reports that because the employee is able to manage their emotions (Kammeyer-Mueller, et al., 2013), deep acting is less stressful and demanding than `surface acting` (Goldberg & Grandey, 2007) and, therefore, does not necessary result in negative consequences for the employee (Hulsheger and Schewe 2011). However, `deep acting` still has a level of stress attached to it because of the changing self-regulation required (Liu, Prati, Perrewe, & Ferris, 2008) and is still a drain on the servers' emotions as it requires the individual to ensure that their internal feelings are aligned (Grandey and Gabriel 2015). Contemporary research work that has been done on `deep acting` has found that those staff who have the right personal resources are less exhausted emotionally and the reduced stress makes the individual feel positive about their job, increasing job satisfaction (Cropanzanno, Rupp and Byrne 2003). Those who use `deep acting` when engaging with customers do so in a dynamic manner, and each interaction varies depending on the work conditions and individual worker (Humphrey, Nahrgang and Morgeson 2007), who alters levels of feeling in order to align with the guest and create empathy leading the worker to take *"pride in the work and the efforts that they put in"* (Huang et al. 2015, p7).

4.4.3. Genuine acting

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) argue that Hochschild's (1983) reasoning in relation to how service providers respond to emotional labour is faulty and that some service providers neither `surface act` nor `deep act` emotional labour. They claim that in some instances the emotional display may be fully compatible with the workers own inner feelings, indicating that the required emotions flow naturally from the worker's own identity and personality (Korczynski 2002). As Moss and Tilly (1996) contend, these are compatible emotional displays and feelings which are linked to the employees own social class and a feeling of being at ease with the customer that they serve, offering a genuine or a naturalistic act (Gabriel et al. 2015) and using spontaneous emotional labour while remaining within the organisational expectations (Humphrey, Ashforth and Dienfendorff 2015). They claim that

this form of emotional labour is not rare. The culture of being true to one's self (Jack and Wibberley 2013) with every interaction undertaken is a genuine one and an embodied capability (Warhurst and Nickson 2007), offering a high level of authenticity in the service interaction – with the server and customer being likeminded.

Dahling and Perez (2010) found that older workers were more likely to display genuine emotion as their experiences had socially shaped their work personality and they could draw upon this to naturally act. The research also implied that the greater the level of experience as a worker, the more inclined the employee is to use spontaneous and genuine emotional labour as they draw upon their experience to be true to themselves. Current literature in-press (Humphrey, Ashforth and Dienfendorff 2015) discusses the individual who can act naturally and that by being themselves is being authentic. It is within authenticity that the true identity of the individual lies - inauthenticity is where emotional labour is conducted.

4.5. The consequences of emotional labour

Emotional labour has been identified as having both positive and negative outcomes for the employee/actor and customer/audience (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Mann 1997; Belanger and Edwards 2013; Lings et al. 2014) and these outcomes will be discussed in the section below.

4.5.1. Negative consequences

The literature suggests that performing emotional labour can become problematic when the individual is required to constantly `surface act` and `deep act`, resulting in a number of negative outcomes (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Jung and Yoon 2014), the most often cited of these being job dissatisfaction (Hochschild 1983) and burnout (Wharton 1993; 2009; Kim 2008; Chen et al. 2012). It is argued that portraying emotions that are not felt (*surface acting*) may cause the individual to feel strain due to the disequilibrium (Schaubroeck and Jones 2000) between the emotions they are feeling and the emotions they are exhibiting being out of sync. This is termed as '*emotional dissonance*` (Noon and Blyton 1997, p134). This ultimately leads to negative consequences, such as

stress (Grayson 1998), poor self-esteem, depression and 'emotional exhaustion' (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993), leading to the employee feeling discontented in their work (Serry and Corrigall 2009). These negative feelings can spill over into life outside of work and can for some lead to insomnia (Wagner, Barnes and Scott 2014). Wharton`s (1993) research study implied that in health service workers there was no linear relationship between emotional labour and the degree of emotional exhaustion. Hochschild (1983) found that employees who could not maintain an emotional distance from their customers were more likely to suffer emotional exhaustion. The study of airline stewards identified problems such as 'feeling phoney' because they were unable to express their true feelings. However, Wouters (1989) argues that the difference between true and displayed feelings is not as hard and complicated as Hochschild (1983) implies. The detrimental effects of emotional labour must be balanced with the positive features of such jobs, for example, the pleasure which may come from serving the customers and receiving a positive response in return (Noon and Blyton 1997; Shuler and Sypher 2000; Williams 2003).

Mann (1997) found that emotional reactions help individuals to make a connection between themselves and others, and `deep acting` may reduce the reaction, leading to 'burnout', which is brought on by,

> *"… a particular stress reaction related strictly to people who work closely with others…and who experience a great deal of frustration and receive little satisfaction"* (Smith, Sarason and Sarason 1986, p495)*.*

Hochschild (1983) found that employees can have difficulty in recovering their true feelings once their shift is over and that they take the negative emotions away with them into their private domain. A problematic situation can develop when emotional displays are required over long periods of time, particularly when customers are being difficult (Sturdy, Grugulis and Wilmott 2001). To handle these issues and to reduce the stress felt, employees often adopt a variety of coping strategies. For example, within the restaurant, employees retire to places such as the staff room (*backstage*), where they can let off steam. Here employees can then express their anger or frustration in ways which they could not when performing in front of the customer

(Guerrier and Adib 2001) or patient/guest (McCance et al. 2013). Hochschild (1983) is generally criticised for only putting forward the view that emotional labour can only produce negative consequences (Conrad and Witte 1994). Her critics claim that for some emotional labourers the outcome of such work is positive and can be beneficial (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Cote 2005).

4.5.2. Positive consequences

As emotional labour is a functional part of many organisational customer communication paths, it has organisational salient benefits as well as individual salient benefits. Selling more products, dealing with customer complaints adequately (Leidner 1999; Cohen 2010) and ensuring the smooth running of communicative interactions (Arther and Caputo 1959; Daus and Brown 2012) are positive outcomes associated with the performance of emotional work for the organisation. Performing emotional labour for many employees is mostly unproblematic as smiling at customers often results in a smile in return, creating a friendly interaction. Tsai (2001) tested whether the psychological climate for service friendliness correlated positively with employees displaying positive emotions and whether such displays influenced customer purchase decision.   The research found that when a positive climate for service friendliness was high, employees would display more positive emotions, identifying emotional display as not simply being related to the purchase alone and how a smile to a customer who is not being served can make all the difference to their enjoyment of the overall encounter.

For the individual service worker, the positive aspects of emotional labour are cited to refer to the extrinsic financial rewards of tips and salaries (Wharton 2009). Chu, Baker and Murrmann (2012) found that employees in jobs requiring substantial amounts of emotional labour can also experience higher job satisfaction levels due to a sense of achievement associated with being able to work and interact with the public. Harbourne (1995) believes that job satisfaction is the most important reason for employees staying loyal to their place of work and that over time they are more able to cope with the emotions required, moving from `surface` to `deep` and then onto 'genuine acting` (Randolph and Dahling 2013) and with it a sense of achievement at

work (Zapf 2002). Kammeyer-Mueller et al. (2013) put forward a theory that `surface acting` equates to emotional dissonance and `deep acting` is congruent with the inner self and job satisfaction.

Tolich (1993) argues that the customer is a major stress-producing figure for the employee within service work but that they can also provide many pleasurable and satisfying moments in the workday, arguing that even when customers are annoying it can be stimulating and distracting, making every day a different one. In some instances, the interaction with the customer may be linked to the level of prestige that the customer views the job of the emotional labourer to have. This creates a positive feeling within the employee and often enables greater levels of surface emotional labouring. Hochschild (1983) uses the term `status shield` to describe those staff whose job roles are admired by the customer and claimed that in the daily service interaction the level of protection the shield offers can be varied.

4.5.3. Antecedents of emotional labour

Studies undertaken have revealed that the consequences of emotional labour can differ depending on its antecedents and that these are based on the individual differences of the employee and their emotional disposition before entering into the emotional work (Brotheridge and Grandey 2002; Brotheridge and Lee 2002; 2003), for example, person level traits (Grandey and Gabriel 2015), the level of empathy with the customer (Chu, Baker and Murrmann 2012) and the ability to experience a positive mood (happy, jolly) or negative mood (sad, depressed, down) (Karim and Weisz 2011). Such personal positive or negative variable antecedents have an impact (affectivity) on the level of emotional regulation that the employee is required to exhibit when engaged in customer interaction. Research on affectivity as an antecedent of emotions has been extended through the Affective Events Theory (Weiss and Cropanzano 1996; Mignonac and Herrbach 2004) to enable an understanding of the effects that work events have on the individual and how this creates a positive or negative state of mind and emotion. These are created through the conditions in the work place, for instance a demanding boss or poor colleague relationships that generate `hassles`, whereas support from colleagues or meeting a goal generates

`uplifts`. The accumulation of the hassles and the uplifts (affective events) over time leads to employee feelings for the job (affective state), which has the effect of creating an emotion or mood (attitudinal state) and leads to a physical consequence (behaviour), such as leaving work. The theory has resonance with understanding the emotions of the individual at work and the events that trigger these emotions. To date, affective events theory has only been applied to understand the internal effects of work (Ashkanasy 2002) at micro level (Cho, Rutherford and Park 2013) and the resulting display action of the individual as a consequence. It would be helpful to use the theory to understand the emotional displays of chefs in kitchens, but it does not address the emotional masking performance that the individual is required to give in front of the customer and the effect of this (Lam and Chen 2012).

The affectivity related to the antecedents which incur negative emotions connect to `surface acting`, whilst the affectivity related to the antecedents which incur positive emotions connect to `deep` and `genuine acting` (Diefendorff and Richard 2003). These have been discussed by Dieffendorff, Croyle and Gosserand (2005), who contend that *"positive affectivity is related to extroversion and negative to neuroticism"* (p341) and those who are introvert (loner, nervous) will generally `surface act`, whilst those who are of an extrovert (enthusiastic, talkative, assertive, gregarious) disposition will `deep` or `genuine act`. This research was further underpinned by Hyun (2007). The antecedents within the confines of this research are the precursors to emotional labour and have been identified by Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) as *"individual differences and situational variables"* (p164). They discuss how the two moderate the outcome or emotional dissonance. Individual differences as antecedents have also been labelled as *"individual attributes",* and these comprise the tangibles of age, gender, social upbringing and service experience (Kim 2008, p152). In an earlier piece of work, Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand (2005) label a second group *"job characteristics"* as *"situational variables"* (p347), which are the level of routineness and the duration of the interaction. It is clear in the literature that a blurring of the lines is occurring between the antecedents and the moderators. For this thesis, the antecedents are identified as the emotional feelings that are felt before entering into the emotional encounter. These

feelings can be influenced by age, gender and experience of the individual in relation to emotional labouring. Basically, an antecedent represents the emotional feeling (mood) of the individual, either positive or negative and has links to the individual's disposition or the "*focal antecedents as person characteristics*" (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p325). For this study, therefore, the antecedent is the individual's state of mind in relation to the emotional encounter that is about to occur, creating the affectivity and the empathy that they will `feel` with the guest. It is expected that the `tangibles` of age, gender, social upbringing and experience have a bearing on the outcome of emotional labouring and that these tangible variables (situational variables) or *"focal antecedents as event characteristics"* (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p325) are brought to bear during the customer engagement when labelled as emotional labour moderators.

4.5.4. Moderators of emotional labour

It has been found that the deployment of moderators, such as frequency, duration and display rules (Pugliesi, 1999) termed the *"situational variables"* (Schaubroeck & Jones, 2000, p. 164), during customer interaction reduces the consequences or outcomes of emotional labour. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) first reported that situational, interpersonal and individual variables affect the outcomes of emotional labouring, and they challenged academics to research these. Diefendorff and Gosserand (2005) grouped these variables into: organisational factors, occupational factors and individual factors. The organisational factors relate to the manager's relationship with the employee, the physical demands of the job and training (Shani et al. 2014) as well as the admiration of the customer (Jung and Yoon 2014). The occupational factors are the level of `*hard skill*` required for the job, whilst the individual factors are the individual traits (Kim 2008), such as emotional intelligence, personality (Diefendorff and Gosserand 2005; Grandey, Diefendorff and Rupp 2013) socialisation relating to `*soft skills*`, confidence, gender and age (Dahling and Perez 2010), which, as discussed in section 4.5.3 above, have a clear and unequivocal association with the antecedents.

The relationship between individual factors, such as personality and age, and moderator's have not been wholly clarified in the literature and have also

been referred to as being antecedents in previous literature (Mesmer-Magnus, DeChurch and Wax 2011; Kammeyer-Mueller et al. 2013). The individual personality affects the level of extraversion and thus the acceptance of emotional labouring and hence the reduced level of acting deployed in contrast to neuroticism, which is related to greater levels of `surface acting` (Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand 2005).

Based on the literature discussing the antecedents and moderators of emotional labour, it can be suggested that the delineation is blurred, with overlap occurring between the two, thus requiring additional clarity in the literature. For this study, the two have been distinguished as the antecedents are outcomes of occurrences prior to emotional labour taking place and are based on the moods or feeling that the individual worker has as personality traits, and as a result they create positive or negative moods.

The moderators of emotional labour are based on the emotional labouring interaction and how these can be reduced through tangible means or contextual factors (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p325), such as `hard skill`, training, gender, age, supportive employees and the level of training that can be deployed.

4.6. Different emotional acting in closed and open environments

According to Ashforth and Humphrey (1993, p98), *"emotions are an integral and inseparable part of everyday organisational life"*. Putnam and Mumby (1993, p39) point out that in organisations emotions are *"consistently devalued and marginalized while rationality is privileged as an ideal for effective organisational life"*. Only a limited range of emotional expressions tend to be socially acceptable in the workplace. An emotional outburst out of sight of the customer might be socially acceptable, but it would be frowned upon in public. Within the open world, displays of negative emotion, such as fear, anxiety and anger, tend to be unacceptable, as do expressions of intense emotion (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993). These norms of acceptability have directly influenced the craft worker in open environments, who while on view must the suppress emotions that would normally show

when under pressure. Working practices have had to become more professional in terms of language and communication, production skills, personal hygiene and personal appearance (*aesthetic labour*) (Warhurst and Nickson 2001).

4.7. The current emotional labour literature focus

Customer satisfaction can be described as a customer's overall evaluation of their purchase (Cronin and Taylor 1992). According to Korczynski (2003, p57), customers *"are increasingly seeking service quality".* Delivering service effectively in order to satisfy customers requires a humanistic intervention and a display of positive emotions by staff in many service occupations (Tsai 2001). Research undertaken by Bolton and Boyd (2003) found that service organisations require their employees *"to do more than simple surface acting. They need to invest in the performance"* (p300). Hochschild (2003) agrees that `surface acting` is not sufficient in the contemporary service interaction and authenticity needs to be provided through `deep acting` orientations.

It is clearly better for organisations to invest in maintaining an existing customer base by keeping current customers satisfied than go to the expense of constantly having to attract new customers and provide satisfying first experiences (Chow et al. 2009). Mitra, Reiss and Capella (1999, p227) contend, *"that as services are performed by human beings, we take a risk every time we purchase"* and that organisations mitigate this risk through the training of employees to manage customers in a specific manner in line with the service concept and theme. The success of the service interaction delivery can be measured by management through the use of mystery shoppers to understand the social interaction taking place and the outcome can be used to deliver employee training programmes (Liu et al. 2014).

Not all customers are positive and engaging towards the server in service organisations, and there is little doubt that service providers have to deal with rude and demanding customers, for whom the scripted engagement process may be inadequate (Bolton and Houlihan 2005). A customer's mood can affect how they respond to a particular experience, and people's moods can

be ameliorated by both social and environmental conditions. It is for the service worker, and in this case the new craft worker, to identify the various customer moods and customer types in order to engage with the guest accordingly. Barsade (2002) reinforces this when he contends that *customer service jobs may be very stressful, not only because of overt conflict but because of the continuous low-grade effect of catching customers' negative moods.* Bolton and Houlihan (2005) note that customers are like customer-service workers in that they are many-sided, complex and sophisticated actors who may not always behave socially as they do when they interact with the service provider, believing that the current generation of consumers have much higher expectations than previous generations. Whilst it can be argued that Hochschild (1983) is correct in her argument that the exchange is unequal, Bolton and Houlihan (2005) findings suggest that customer sovereignty may be mythical as neither producers nor consumers believe it to be true. Whilst consumers can be demanding, this is not due to a sense of divine right or in order to demean the service worker. The craft service work over the last two decades has had far greater recognition through the media. The greater interest in food and the growth in leisure or hobby cooking has created a mystique around the skill, which when coupled with the interest in the work and craft that the chef deploys, has led to a respect for the chef and customers viewing them as being at least their equals (Graham 2006).

Brook (2009a; 2009b) states that Hochschild has been criticised since customer service interactions are in fact double edged and have the potential to both satisfy and distress the worker. As a school of thought, this partly rejects the notion that having one's emotions commoditised is alienating and uncomfortable for the worker. Contradicting Hochschild (1983) in her original research, which found that cabin crew who put on a service act unconditionally altered themselves for the role, Bolton and Boyd (2003), Sheehan (2012) and Tungtakanpoung and Wyatt, (2013) in their studies of cabin crew found that rather than employing `*deep acting*` the workers gave `*empty performances*` to satisfy the targets set by the company without ever '*buying-in'* and that the employees did not need to love or believe in the product to sell it effectively.

Wharton (2009) believes that researchers who focus on emotional labour can be divided into those that use it as a way to understand the organisation and the social relations of service jobs (organisational behaviour-OB) and those that focus more directly on emotions and their management in the work place (organisational psychology-OP). The focus of this thesis is the employee transition and the effect on the individual of moving from the closed world of work to the open world as a social constructed understanding of the chef, and thus the research leans towards the OP perspective. The section below will discuss the current research considerations in both these fields and their framing through the emotional labour literature.

Collinson (1988) identifies humour in emotional labour and how it reduces the stress being felt. His work focuses on the relationship between humour and gender identity, and he claims that work place humour on the shop floor could be used to reinforce both teamwork and male bonding as well as control those not fully engaged in achieving the team goals. Collinson's work was further extended in 2002 when he explored the relationship between humour, power and management and how managers can use humour to improve employment relationships (Collinson 2002). Lovaglia and Houser (1996) postulate that emotional reactions are compatible with status characteristics and that these are often used by individuals to highlight differences between group members. The greater the incompatible emotional reactions, the greater the status differences; in other words, one stands out in the group by not conforming to customer expectations regarding the correct emotional reactions displayed as a part of the performance. These could be positive, for example, showing off and putting on an additional show, or negative, for example, performing in a manner that other observing staff deem to be disrespectful but the guest sees as being positive.

Taylor and Tyler (2000) applied an observational research approach using mixed methods to examine service work within the airline industry in relation to gendered emotional labour and gender differences. Their study concluded that the more management attempted to prescribe the emotional labour performance, the more the female employees resisted and contested this as often they believed that they were performing in a manner that was

acceptable (Gianfranco 2013), that the prescribed interactions were not necessary and that they should be trusted to customise their interactions with the passengers. The research was extended by Bolton and Boyd (2003), Bolton and Houlihan (2005) and Bolton (2009), who discuss the merits of Hochschild`s work but also note its failings, arguing that emotional labour workers exercise a degree of free choice and therefore enjoy an un-alienated experience. Bolton uses emotion management theory to explain this. Bolton and Boyd (2003) used cabin crew, as did Hochschild, to challenge key aspects of her work. Their investigation applied a quantitative approach and put forth a new framework for looking at emotional labour by using prescriptive, pecuniary, presentation and philanthropic emotion, terming this the 4Ps.

They feel that this approach offered a multi-dimensional view of the organisation instead of the one-dimensional view that emotional labour offers. The authors claim that pecuniary and presentation emotional management can be compared with emotional labour and emotion work and represent commercial (pecuniary) and professional organisational (prescriptive) demands, which *"produced instrumental performances driven by financial status–orientated motivation that tend to be empty of feeling"* (Brook 2009a, p537). However, they also feel that prescriptive emotional management should be used for detailed analysis of when employees may follow the rules but not as an exercise in cost efficiency (altruism, status, materialist) and that presentational represented the social feelings associated with the performance. They argue that philanthropic emotional management is displayed when an employee chooses to go the extra mile during a service exchange (gift). They conclude that Hochschild oversimplifies the situation and that the four dimensions better represent the public displays of emotional labourers, arguing that Hochschild's work created an illusion of emotionally crippled actors and despite recognition of `*surface*` and `*deep acting*`, it is ultimately absolutist in implementation.

Bolton and Boyd (2003) found that the employee participant's skills while undertaking emotional labour were so fine-tuned that they were capable of mixing and managing forms of emotion management. They feel that

Hochschild views organisations as flat lifeless landscapes and does not take into account things such as job satisfaction, reward and humour, which is often used as a coping mechanism. The work of Bolton (2000a; 2000b; 2001; 2003), Bolton and Boyd (2003) and Bolton (2004) cumulated in Emotional Management in the Workplace (Bolton 2005), wherein Bolton interprets and takes a stance on Hochschild's work that Brook (2009a) refutes (p534). Brook and others (O`Donohoe & Turley, 2006) acknowledge that the typology that Bolton puts forward is useful in capturing the complexity of emotional work in organisations but argue that her work does not address the debates in the emotional labour literature on workers who when not under management control can express their individuality and interact with the customer more authentically in unmanaged spaces. The typology Brook argues has removed *"Hochschild`s emphasis on the exploitative and alienating nature of emotional labour and with it the human cost to the individual"* (Brook 2009a, p545). The critique can be applied to understand workers who occupy their own space and engage with customers with levels of authenticity and are thus likely to experience reduced levels of stress and burnout.

Korczynski (2003) reviewed the existing research on emotional labour and applied the theorisations to call centres in an attempt to expand the research into work environments where face to face encounters are not inherent in the job. The research identified how emotional labourers mitigated the effects through communities of coping, which Korczynski describes as service workers gaining support from one another due to shared values and beliefs (Robinson, Solnet and Breakey 2014). Korczynski draws attention to how Hochschild only dealt with the individual through the `*status shield*` rather than addressing the emotional impact on the team. Korczynski (2005) extended this work, identifying the soft interactive skills required in emotional labour and acknowledging that more women are employed in service operations than men since they make stronger emotional labourers and are less prone to the negative effects of service labouring in comparison to males. Korczynski (2005) further identified that when dealing with repeat customers, the rapport that they had built up brought about reduced levels of stress.

Wharton (2009) found that many studies reported positive consequences for workers whose job required a high level of interaction and that even `*deep acting*` could be a positive experience as it increased the worker's sense of accomplishment when it was successful. Wharton (2009) notes that Grandey (2003) contended that job satisfaction should not simply be linked to emotional labour as the worker's own feelings may affect their job, giving the example of an individual who is happy due to something in their personal life (arguably an antecedent) acting with sincerity, and that a problem with workplace stress could be caused by something unrelated to emotional labour. Wharton's (2009) work can be linked to Paules (1991) research focus with waitresses. Who argues that workers subordination to customers is reinforced through a code of interaction which is rooted in historical practices and not management's efforts to control workers' interactions. Paules (1991) found that the restaurant waitresses in her study were not affected by the interaction with customers and instead viewed their ability to manage their emotions as a skill that shifted the power into their hands.

In an attempt to draw the emotional labour work together, Chu and Murrmann (2006) selected the key attributes of `*surface acting', 'deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*` and the antecedents, moderators and consequences which had been the subject of the emotional labour debates up to 2006 in a re-testing of Hochschild work. These broad themes formed the basis of an emotional labour scale survey, which they administered to students working in hotels in America. The statistical analysis from the scale determined the levels of acting that the staff were undertaking within hotel reception and food service roles. The scale was limited to nineteen questions and reconfirmed that within hotels `*surface acting', deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*` were all taking place. It did not answer the wider questions on the antecedents, moderators and consequences of emotional labouring which the literature had previously identified. In an earlier paper, Chu (2003) conceptualised the work as a path model from a PhD submission (Chu 2002; Chu, Baker and Murrmann 2012) (figure 3), identifying the emotional labour framework in diagrammatical form.

They put the emotional labour scale forward as a quantitative model to be applied as a managerial tool to track the emotional performance of staff and the effort they put into interaction with the customer. In essence, it was a reinterpretation of Hochschild's work. The quantitative research approach tested the scale's reliability, factor structure and validity, but it did not explore the deeper reasoning. Furthermore, it did not enable an understanding of staff whose work had been transformed from the back office to a customer contact front office orientation. Chu and Murrmann (2006) contend that the scale is required as *"very few empirical* (emotional labour) *studies have collected quantitative evidence from hospitality"* (p1181), adding that a piece of research to support the *"rich texture data of theoretical research"* which they claim exists is important. In stark contrast, Shani et al. (2014) contend that, *"since the vast majority of previous studies on EL rely on quantitative analysis of surveys"* (p152) the qualitative work on Israeli hospitality staff fills the gap; a clear contradiction between the two contentions. Section 4.10 identifies hospitality employee types from the classifications of staff in emotional labour research, covering both research paradigms. These types include fast food workers, waitresses, public house staff and those working in aligned hospitality services, such as cabin crew.

Through their research work, Chu and Murmann (2006) developed the hospitality emotional labour scale (HELS) and thus brought some further clarity to the literature, bringing together all the elements within the literature on emotional labour, but it did not provide answers to each of the constituent parts that it represented. The work of Chu (2003) and Chu, Baker and Murrmann (2012) furthered the understanding of the structure of emotional labour and assisted with the framing of the research instrument applied in this thesis, which is developed later in the methodology chapter. The framework put forward is identified as the *"three component model of emotional labor: antecedents, outcomes and moderators"* (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p325). They claim that in the research since Hochschild's `The Managed Heart` the components are far too often broken down and are not applied in a holistic manner to research emotional labour, leading to *"construct and measurement confusion"* and thus the *"retain constraint boundaries with [the] three-component model"* (p325) should be applied.

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Figure 3 Representation of emotional labour
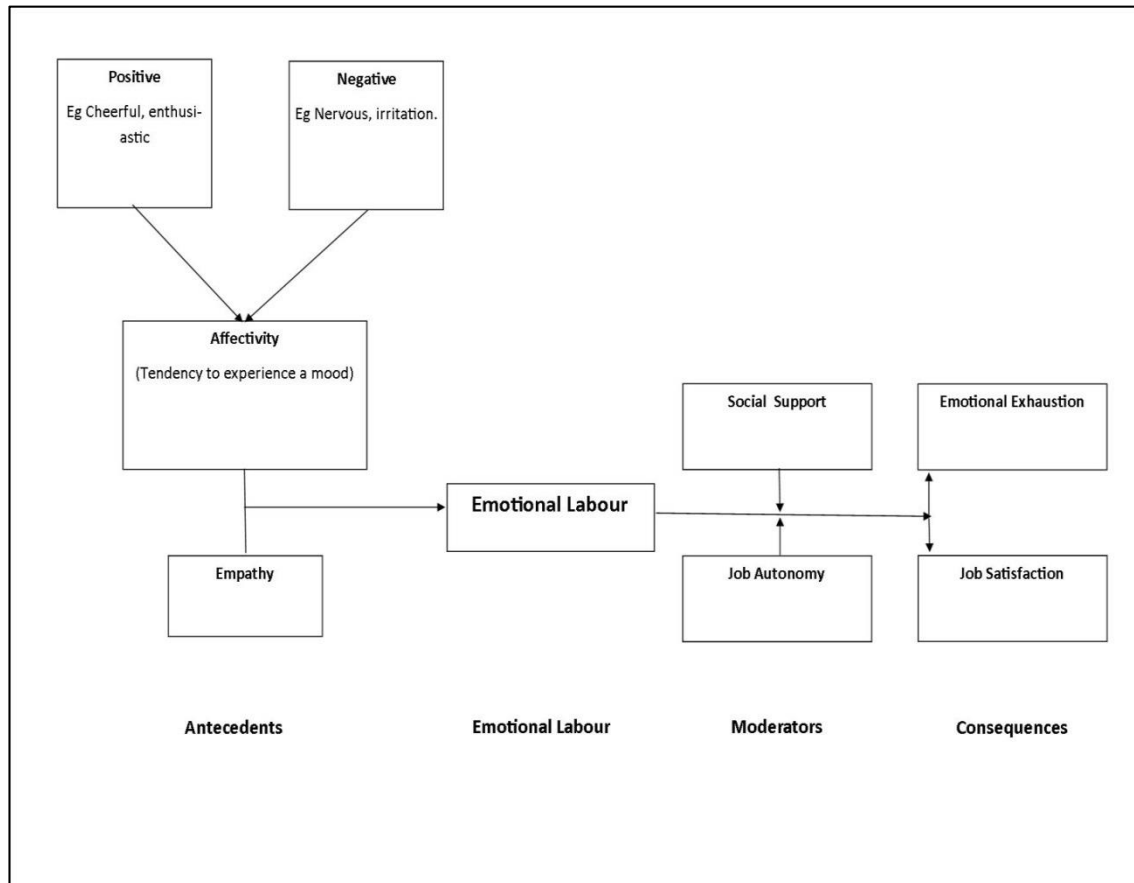
Source: Chu and Murrmann (2006, 1181-1191)

Jenkins, Delbridge and Roberts (2010) used Bolton's emotion management framework in a quantitative case study of a high-commitment mass customised call centre to extend the understanding of `soft skills`. They found that workers produce appropriate emotional displays, which are the result of multiple influences other than management prescription, and their views differed from those of Hochschild. They also found that a labour process which provides workers with the space to identify the different types of customer and apply differing levels of `soft skill` in order to engage effectively, without rigid management control, can result in higher levels of employee satisfaction and identification. The researchers proposed that actors are more than capable of fine tuning their own skills and adapting their approach to enhance the customer interaction and are also able to develop ways of coping.

Lopez (2010) further extended the work of Jenkins, Delbridge and Roberts (2010) by putting forward the concept of the triangle of power, which encompasses the worker, manager and customer. He (Steven Henry Lopez) argues that even if companies control their employee's emotions when interacting with customers, some workers still choose to go that extra mile during the service encounter. He asks whether employees go the additional mile for purposes of self-satisfaction or to impress management and whether they make the extra effort because of their personality, upbringing or even education. Jenkins, Delbridge and Roberts (2010) believe that working with customers is not only about feelings but also about the physical interaction between humans as social beings. This was emphasised by Hochschild, but it has since been lost in the many debates.

4.8. Emotional labouring as a skill

As identified in chapter two, employment roles that involved heavy physical work in the manufacturing economy were generally the preserve of males. Such work could be technically measured and monetarily valued, unlike the `*soft skill*` interactive work that females undertook, which was more closely aligned with *"emotional labour work, which is often unmeasured and undervalued"* (Vincent 2011, p1379). There is a currently a debate within the literature over to what extent emotional labour can be classified as a *'real'* skill that creates monetary benefits. Furthermore, writers ask whether `*soft skills*` are innate and thus something we all possess. Vincent (2011), Callaghan and Thompson (2002), Bolton and Boyd (2003), Korczynski (2005), Hampson and Junior (2005) and Payne (2009) have argued that emotional labour is a skill and one that deserves emotional reward and recognition. This is a notion that particularly draws on the work of Burns (1997), who, in his study of `*hard*` and `*soft skills*` in hospitality workers, found that the industry gained from the soft social skills of the labour force. He notes that the interaction of managers, workers and society is determined by a number of factors, such as the complex power relationships informed by history and gender politics. The soft interactive skills required in service settings are debated over and are generally not considered 'real' skills but rather personality traits or personal attributes.

Burns (1997) argues that the definition of skills is to a large extent a reflection of the cultural values of society and the classifying of employees into either skilled or unskilled workers. Payne (2009) attempts to open a new discussion on emotional labour as skilled work by looking at both sides of the skill debate and the innateness argument, concluding that it is extremely difficult to label all forms of emotional labour as skill since skill is often in the eye of the beholder. Payne (2009) notes that the literature has suggested that many front-line service jobs which were traditionally thought of as low skilled due to a lack of technical expertise may actually be described as skilled work due to the employees having to perform complex emotional labouring tasks. However, Korczynski (2005, p. 11) notes that as such skills *"cannot be easily measured and quantified, they tend to be marginalised by policy makers".* Appelbaum and Gatta (2005) contend that the retail clerks, nursing assistants and child care workers are the backbone of the new economy and are as skilled as those in the higher paid jobs in manufacturing that are disappearing. This contention assumes that emotional labour is skilled work.

Further to this, Bolton (2009) argues that although company guidelines are used in the delivery of the service product, within this delivery process the individual server will also be inclined to add their own individual delivery perspective, insisting that skill can be objectively measured across two dimensions, *"task and discretionary content"* (Bolton 2004, p26)*,* and that if a job scores highly on both of these measures, it can be classed as skilled emotional work. This concept of work was adapted from Litter (1982, p8) and further developed by Bolton as The Dimensions of Emotional Work, from which a framework was developed, as illustrated in figure 4.

Figure 4 The dimensions of emotional work
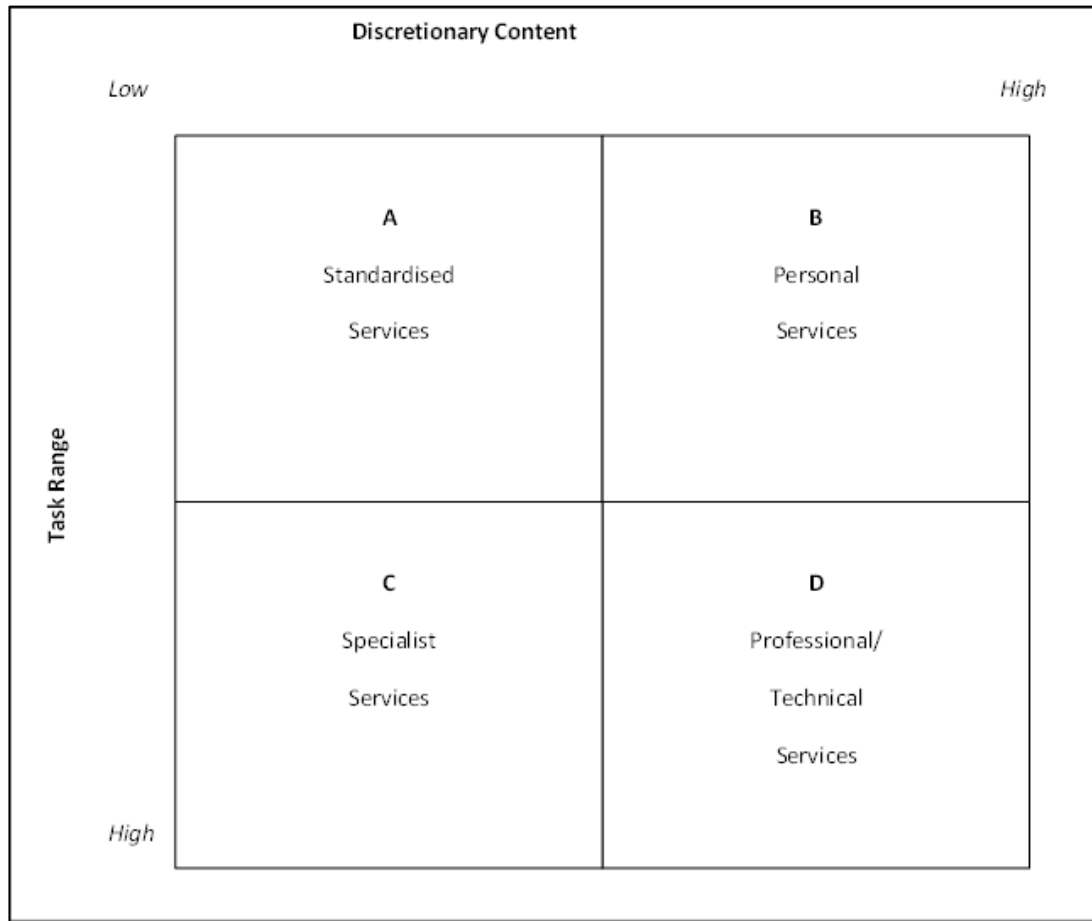
Source: Bolton (2004, p26)

According to Bolton, box A (Standardised Services) includes the *"emotional proletariat",* who are described as the workers undertaking *"mundane, routine, low skilled work and most importantly are tightly controlled via scripts"* (2004, p26). Within the hospitality industry, these can be identified as the fast food and casual dining restaurant staff, who can be grouped together and described as adhering to the *"have a nice day culture, where niceness is routinely delivered".* As such, the level of skill that they have in customer interaction is one that is not valued or classed as a skill. The work is so highly scripted that the service encounter cannot always deal effectively with customer uncertainty as it gives the service worker little flexibility. Box C (Specialist Services) comprises, *"call centre or the retail and catering style market who may be placed higher in the hierarchy"* (p26). The work that they undertake involves high levels of technical or specialist knowledge along with a greater component of discretionary content than box A work. Bolton states

that such workers have *"limited autonomy as direction is only granted to workers with the right attitude"* and goes on to contend that they can be relied on to express real feelings in the interests of creating the right emotional climate to improve customer service (Bolton 2004). It is apparent that the skilled craft work of the open kitchen chef does not fit into this box as their work comprises a high task range and a relatively high discretionary content, and as such they generally fit better into box D (Professional/Technical Services). Bolton argues that box B (Personal Services) and D represent those workers with high levels of discretion in the customer interaction. Box B represents personal carers, nursing auxiliaries, child carers, security and distribution services. Those in box D are allowed self-determined interactions, which are determined by the *"professional ethos"* (Bolton 2004, p28) of the job. This is associated with their widely recognised qualifications, which indicate the specialist knowledge in the area in which they engage with the customer. Bolton states that this group of workers is comprised of the medical profession, legal services, education and social services. Arguably, the skilled craft worker as the chef gravitates towards box D, which sets the chef in particular apart from the restaurant server in box C, but it does not wholly identify the reality that a chef is a skilled craftsman with high levels of autonomy and discretionary content.

Building on Bolton's work, Rose and Wright (2005), Grugulis (2007) and Payne (2009) have all noted that referring to emotional labour as a skill would be difficult to achieve. Payne (2009) argues that there is no denying that many jobs entail emotional labour and the concept is a fundamental feature of all jobs naturally learnt through one's cultural assimilation. Payne further suggests that skill remains in the eye of the beholder and that by labelling emotional work as skill and paying workers based upon their levels of such a skill, there would be no shortage of its applicability to the `*skilled*` emotion work in low end service jobs. Concurring with Payne, Korczynski (2005, p7) states,

> *"There is nothing fundamentally harmful in seeking to bestow the label of 'skill' upon enacted emotional labour".*

> *"Within customer-facing work service work issues of emotional labour and aesthetic labour arise. In both of these aspect of labour there is a lack of clarity of what we even mean by `skill`, let alone what can be done about skill levels in these jobs".*

Through social interaction at home and at work, individuals are `trained` in the humanistic skills required to engage within the groups that the individual is a member of, and this interaction is a normal requirement of members of society. Interpersonal skills that are intrinsic within societal groups can be employed to serve the group that they emanate from, with no additional reward required. However, a body of literature acknowledges that certain professions require interpersonal skill training and development to be able to perform the job effectively (Korczynski 2005; Bhana 2014).

4.9. Classification of staff through emotional labour

From the literature reviewed in this chapter, it is clear that a spectrum of worker types have been researched through the emotional labour literature using the Task Range and Discretionary Dimensions for classification. Bolton (2005, p53) identified the amount of research undertaken on various employment roles, calling this *the `emotional labour bandwagon`*. As (Brook 2009a) articulates, this follows Hochschild's (2003) discussion on encouraging further studies on emotional labour employee from specific industries and work that goes beyond commercial front line services into the area of voice-to-voice engagement.

Using Bolton's employment types, this thesis author classifies the jobs identified through emotional labour studies. This is an example of those that are published and does not cover the plethora available on the `bandwagon` of over 16,000 *"citation counts"* (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p324).

A. Standardised service (Bolton 2004, p26) or interactive service workers – highly routine and scripted interactions with customers: restaurant waiting staff (Paules 1991; Phornprapha and Guerrier 1997); fast food staff (Smith and Kleinman 1989; Leidner 1993; Seymour 2000); public house bar staff (Sandiford and Seymour 2002); hospitality service workers (Pizam 2004); students in hotel/restaurant service work (Chu and

Murrmann 2006); hotel workers and air hostesses (Shani et al. 2014); food service industry workers (Jung and Yoon 2014).

B. Personal service (Bolton 2004, p26) or expert service workers – jobs whose role is significantly less routine than those on the front line but lack the full autonomy of professionals: personal trainers (George 2008): holiday representatives (Constanti and Gibbs 2005): zoo tour guides (Wijeratne et al. 2014): hair stylists (Schlenker 1980): adventure holiday guides (Sharpe 2005): call centre staff (Korczynski 2003; Jenkins, Delbridge and Roberts 2010; Cossette and Hess 2015).

C. Specialist service (Bolton 2004, p26) or semi-professional or white collar workers: bank tellers (Schneider and Bowen 1985): debt collectors (Sutton 1991).

D. Professional/technical worker (Bolton 2004, p26) - privileged emotional managers across a range of occupations: police officers (Stenross and Kleinman 1989); undercover narcotics agents (Jacobs 1992); medical staff (Smith and Kleinman 1989); nurses (Mann 1997) (Peate 2014); prison officers (Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn 2011); librarians (Matteson and Miller 2012); teachers (Truta 2014); healthcare workers (Lovatt et al. 2014); journalist (Hopper and Huxford 2015); junior doctors (Rogers, Creed and Searle 2014).

It is a challenge to orientate the chef as a skilled craft worker into the categorisations that Bolton (2004, p26) puts forward. The chef can arguably be suspended between the personal service or expert service worker and the professional/technical worker. The identification has not been discussed in the literature, and to date, the craftsman has not been identified in the new service role paradigm of customer contact and never defined within these parameters. As a group of employers they have, through operational work design, undertaken a transformation from closed to open work and have only now through this thesis been identified as emotional labourers and researched in-line with the integrated three component model (Grandey and Gabriel 2015).

The existing emotional labour employee types previously identified and researched have not had to undergo the fundamental change in their work form that the chef has, from being hidden in employment in the old world of work to now being exposed to customer contact. The customer is now able to observe these employees as `back office` workers and see through a `window` into a hidden world, whereas the employee's perception is of being a front office worker. The employee is actually positioned as an `intermediary` service worker, on the `back stage` for the customer and the `front stage` for the employee with the expected requirement to engage in customer interaction. The nature of the craft element and the production interface with the customer actual sets this group of workers apart as a new category of emotional labourer. The research will contribute to the debate within the arena of this new transformational worker group type, who can be identified as those whose role is significantly low routine with high levels of craft engagement to create a unique service tangible product (Graham 2006). In part because this group of employees have traditionally been seen as back of house employees and not as front office interactive service workers, they have been overlooked in the current emotional labour literature and not Identified as a research group who have worked in a private space but transferred into a public viewed space. The employee holds a level of discretionary content and task range but the labourer is skilled in a craft which is separate from the technical or professional services. This group of workers will be able to facilitate the research into a new worker group of emotional labour in order to understand the transition of the chef and the going "*round these roadblocks*" that Grandey and Gabriel identify (2015, p342) and so this research aims to *"take the road less travelled and drive emotional labor forward"* (2015, p342) which is at the `crossroads` identified in figure 5 (summary of emotional `labor` concerns and suggestions for future research). Furthermore, if one accepts Litter's (1982) claim that the focus of emotional work is simultaneous production and consumption, it becomes clear that the open kitchen chef is a new exemplification of emotional employment, one that the hospitality and generic business literature has to-date omitted. The research from this thesis will make a contribution through the three component model of antecedents, moderators

and consequences to the understanding of emotional and aesthetic labouring in chefs. Using the metaphors of Grandey and Gabriel (2015), the research will facilitate the dismantling of the road block and go some way to sending scholars in a new research direction.

Figure 5 Summary of emotional `labor` concerns and suggestions for future research

Roadblock/unmapped	Suggested direction or detour
Construct and measurement confusion	• Retain construct boundaries with three-component model • Measure at event and dyadic level of analysis • Go beyond current surface and deep acting measures
Limited understanding of antecedents	• Include emotion in the dynamic emotional `labor` process • Test congruence with negative requirements and positive events • Assess social group differences in emotional congruence
Well-being tested in a narrow way	• Compare theoretical mechanisms and boundary conditions • Expand beyond job strain to physiological and non-work strain • Identify resource gains (financial, social) and positive outcomes
Performance assumptions untested	• Test objective gains, such as sales and long-term behaviours • Expand to counterproductive and citizenship behaviour • Identify boundary conditions to test theoretical processes

Source: Grandey and Gabriel (2015, p342)

As identified by Tancred (1995), Korczynski (2002) and Bolton (2004) emotional labour employment is strenuous, hard work, boring, stressful and demanding, yet due to the characteristics of the service encounter of perishability, intangibility, heterogeneity and simultaneous production and service, *"its qualitative features are hard to define, rendering emotional work an invisible skill, which is hardly recognised and poorly rewarded"* (Bolton 2004, p32)**,** requiring levels of politeness which are socially constructed (Grandey and Gabriel 2015) and are acceptable in Western society (Payne 2000). The frontline service worker is more likely to perform `perfunctionary politeness`, a performance and speech delivered in a manner which is

complementary to the service being provided and the customer type. Employee and customer interaction has been discussed by Warhurst and Nickson (2001, p1) as the *"looking good and sounding right"* aspect of the job, which in turn has led to the development of a body of literature extending beyond emotional labour towards that of aesthetic labour and the argument that,

> *"services has tended to focus on employee attitude, framed through emotional labour. Such analysis is not incorrect, just partial. Some employees also demand aesthetic labour, or employee with particular embodiment capabilities and attributes that appeal to the sense of the customer"* (Warhurst and Nickson 2007, p103).

To fully understand the levels and requirements of emotional labouring work requires exploring aesthetic work as an extension of the service interaction, as discussed by Sheane (2011, p146) "*many of the jobs requiring emotional labour also have an aesthetic requirement understood as aesthetic labour"* and Dahl (2013, p60) who contends that aesthetic labour "*challenged and complements"* Hochschild`s work. This next section will explore the debate over aesthetic labour as the natural extension to emotional labour.

4.10. Aesthetic labour

Aesthetic labour is the concept that every front line service job requires the individual member of staff to *"look good and sound right"* (Warhurst and Nickson 2001, p1; Karlsson 2011, p51) and fit with the organisational values and image. In essence, the worker who is employed in a customer facing role is required to embody the customer's pre-conception of the worker type and be able to engage with the customer in a manner that they would expect him or her to (Warhurst et al. 2000; Pettinger 2004). The employee is required to be well groomed, wear a uniform and communicate in a manner that the customer is able to relate to and hence enter into a dialogue with at an identifiable level (Warhurst and Nickson 2005). The aesthetic labouring literature argues that the service worker (p4) is the *"mobilization, development and commodification of embodied dispositions"* in that the worker is *"selling"* ones *"class"* or *"taste"* for the corporate good. The service worker is employed by the organisation for the way that they sound and the

manner in which they effectively communicate (Butler 2014) along with their physical attributes (Harvey, Vachhani and Williams 2014). Examples of this are given by Karlsson (2011), who discusses the manner in which staff employed in an up market retail shop use words such as *"exquisite and luxurious"* and rather prosaic terms such as *"nice and lovely"* (p54)*, thus* identifying with the organisation (McIntyre 2014)*.*

Telephone call centre workers require language which is complementary to the customer class level that they serve.   Clarke (2014) found that for some this creates a barrier to employment, for example in the offshore call centres (Taylor 2005; Derry, Nath and Walsh 2013). Warhurst, Nickson and Witz (2000) discuss the existence of a `*style labour*` market, which is comprised of the designer retailers, boutique hotels, style bars, cafes and restaurants, where staff are employed to fit the brand. Karlson (2011) found that in some style retail organisations this is taken further; staff are not supplied with a uniform but instead the clothes that they wear for work are expected to fit within the image of the outlet or they select discounted clothes from the current range, which reflects the image of the corporate brand.   Witz, Warhurst and Nickson (2003) underpin this by reporting that even staff who wish to cut their hair or dye it in a drastic manner are expected to discuss their fashion image with their manager first. The use of cosmetics while at work and the manner in which they reflect the values and image of the organisation is a concern. Make-up and tattoos are related to the social class and gender of the staff, and (Trimming 2014) organisations are keen to ensure that these are in line with the social expectations of the customer type they serve (Williams and Connell 2010). It is argued that labour is no longer performing in the *"experience economy"* (Pine and Gilmore 1999) but rather in the *"aesthetic economy"* (Postrel 2003) in which the *"the employee's look can be as much a part of the atmosphere as the grain of the furniture or the beat of the background music"* (p127)*.*

In the earlier chapter on the sociology of the craft worker (chapter two), empirical evidence identified service work as being traditionally regarded as feminised work. It was also discussed that aesthetic labour was an extension

of emotional labour (Tsaur and Tang 2013). A large number of working class males in the labour market have been excluded due to their working class status and their inability to communicate with the customer as an emotional labourer (McIvor 2013). This socially constructed exclusion has been further compounded by the growth in higher education, which has led to more students seeking service work as well as educated people looking for part-time work. This has culminated in a new educated labour pool which more closely fulfils the needs of service employment, where a highly flexible work force that `looks good and sounds right` is required. Thus, the traditional working class employee has been displaced (Warhurst and Nickson 2007), leaving only jobs of low status (Jones 2011) and poorly paid hospitality work, which is highly scripted and where only a low level of customer communication is required (Warhurst and Nickson 2005; Warhurst and Nickson 2007).

To enable service staff to be effective in the service encounter, they need to be skilled in approved social attributes. Sheane (2011, p147) argues that *"emotional labour and aesthetic labour are concepts relying on social, presentational rules that are cultural, situational and learned".* Such employment is linked to a service interaction the labourer feels comfortable in and can relate to (Schaubroeck and Jones 2000). This is enhanced by the worker customising the interaction to match the level of the individual guest within an organisation that allows *"the labourer to shape the service interaction"* (Warhurst and Nickson 2007, p791)*.

Sheane (2011) puts forward that the emotional and aesthetic literature has for too long been focused on the employer-worker relationship and the emphasis should now be on the worker-customer interaction. As such, *"communication, comes to the forefront and this makes room for an autonomous subject who makes contextual aesthetic and emotional choices based on temporal and situation conditions"* (p153)*. This reiterates Goffman's (1959) claim in his study of hairdressers regarding the significance of self-presentation and the importance of emotions, aesthetics and body techniques as well as the employer's appreciation of the value of

the staff member who is able to interact in a service encounter that fits with the values of the organisation. The chef as a traditional craft worker has normally been viewed as a `*back office*` employee, who is employed for skill levels in the production area and not necessarily within a customer service engagement role.

Closed hidden craft employment is changing in the service economy, and the level of emotional and aesthetic labour required has increased according to the design of the experience or the aesthetic craft environment, and this has been overlooked by the literature. The traditional orientation of the chef employed in a masculine world was one which required a craft skill level for the task, with no regard for customer interaction and with it limited levels of aesthetic or emotional labouring, which is no longer appropriate. Goffman (1959) asserts that the apprentice or working class employee is left to their own devises in the acquisition of the social and style capital and unless they are able to access the style capital they are unable to access the high end and better paid jobs. He contends that lower class craft employees have to learn on the job to access the mobility of employment and move up in status through the work outlets (fast food; casual dining; fine dining). Warhurst and Nickson (2007) argue that unless this can be achieved they are unable to swell the ranks of a new labour aristocracy as they are missing the `*soft skills*` that connect them to the customer from higher social class and never take advantage of the democratisation between the worker and the customer.

This argument does not concur with Bradley et al.'s (2000) notion of a service proletariat. They conclude that service employment is of low social status, with little or no capacity for the employee to shape the service encounter. In effect, at the middle to high end of craft work, this is clearly not the case. Furthermore, for the craftsperson employed in the service industry, Nickson et al. (2005) argue that the application of `*hard*` technical skills is of less importance than the `*soft skills*` required. For the chef, production skill is the key to employment in this job role whilst social skills are an additional enhancement useful in customer engagement. Less training is required in

the `soft skills`, as these skills are already socially instilled. This has led to a greater interest in service staff being recruited from a middle class background, challenging the employment position of the working class craftsman.

Until the development of the open production area, this was never an employment issue for the craftsman, a worker who was traditionally drawn from the working and lower middle classes, where masculinisation of the job identity prevailed, and who was traditionally hidden from view. It can be suggested that the transformation to the new open production area will begin to impact on this group of workers as emotional and aesthetic labour skills become a work requirement. In the craft service encounter, this offers the worker in higher status style operations who exhibit a high level of `soft skill`, the opportunity to assert their knowledge capital and close the gap between the worker and the customer and become the new *"labour aristocracy"* (Warhurst and Nickson 2007, p739).

4.11. The new labour aristocracy

Warhurst and Nickson (2007) put forward the notion that the increasing employment of the middle classes in the service industry is creating a "*gentrification*" (p792) in certain high end service jobs, where aesthetic labour is a key requirement. They argue that these employees have enhanced status and greater control over self-devised interaction with the customer. Their appearance and voice also reflects the customer's values (Fostera and Resnicka 2013). Sherman (2007) discusses high end service in boutique hotels and cosmetic retailing, where staff regard customers from lower social classes than their own with disdain due to their own good looks and at times greater capital knowledge, resulting in the intimidation of these customers (Sherman 2007). The aesthetic labour research of Warhurst and Nickson (2007, p793) puts forward a typology of interaction to explain the various levels of occurrence, and this is illustrated in figure 6 below.

Figure 6 Typology of interaction

Interactive Process.	Relationship of worker to customer.
Defined by Customer =	Subordination.
Correspondence of Worker and Customer =	Equivalence.
Defined by Worker =	Superordination.

Source: Warhurst and Nickson (2007, p793)

Warhurst and Nickson (2007) argue that the servility aspect of customer interaction still remains, but that this is now complemented by two other possibilities. Firstly, those service interactions of equivalence between the worker and customer and secondly, those in which the worker is potentially superior to the customer.   Some establishments are seen as high-end, fashionable and stylish, and they occupy a higher position on the market. Jobs at these organisations are associated with high levels of prestige and status, and employees are *"ameliorated in relation to other workers, both in terms of practices and remuneration - and so potentially constitute a new labour aristocracy"* (p793).

The craftsman as the chef has not traditionally been subject to this gentrification, in the main due to the closed nature of craft work and societal expectations that closed craft work is still the main stay of the working classes (McIvor 2013), as explored in chapter two and three of this thesis. The new craft service aristocracy are a product of the mechanism of socialisation and interaction at work in the open production environment. The craft worker is employed for his skill and handicraft, with customer interaction and social skills not being salient selection criteria. This is reiterated through Goffman`s (1959) work, which claimed that staff develop the social skills required for the job in a learning process through interaction with and having to face middle class customers. Via craft workers in the new open production world experiencing exposure to the customer and engaging with them, they are learning the social skills required for their new role.   Warhurst and Nickson (2007, p. 794) conclude that there is today a linkage between

occupational change and class, just as there was in the past during the manufacturing era (Goldthorpe et al. 1969). However, a new relationship now exists, with the production craft worker having to engage with the customer in the new service or experience economy as an interactive service worker, one who has not yet been explored through research or discussed in the literature.

4.12. Chapter summary

Emotional and aesthetic labouring is undertaken in all employment in which the labourer comes into contact with the customer. The craft worker has not only to control their emotions but has also to `look good and sound right` (aesthetic labouring) while performing a skilled production task. The research to date has been undertaken from a quantitative and more limited qualitative research perspective across a whole range of employment groups. The two theorisations of emotional and aesthetic labour are interdependent and have not been mutually studied within the customer facing employee context. This chapter has identified the chef as one exemplification of the service craft worker within the emotional and aesthetic labour framework and that the chef has not as yet been researched from the perspective of these labour theories. By researching this employee type from the emotional and aesthetic labour perspective, this thesis has the potential to make a valuable contribution to the literature.

The following section summarises the three literature review chapters to set the scene before moving on to the methodology chapter and the research chapter findings.

4.13. Synopsis of the literature review chapters

Chapters two and three explained that the traditional closed restaurant kitchen can be traced back to the era of industrial Britain when the chef was alienated from the customer in a closed societal constructed masculine world, in which the kitchen was widely regarded as an environment of `dirty work`. The kitchen and the role of the chef within it were reinforced through the division of labour (partie system) as a key factor of production, which

designated specialist roles to workers in the food production process in order to increase productivity.

Chefs as skilled craftsmen in the world of kitchen production strengthened their position through a long apprentice scheme, training and the perpetuation of the notion that restaurant and hotel cooking was a profession. This was a world far removed from that of the cook, a role that was aligned with household food preparation and women's work. The professional kitchen involved skilled production and was associated with heavy lifting, hot work with the flashes of flames and the artistry involved in food preparation and service. Society had created a hidden male world, a masculinisation of the kitchen, which the chef reinforced with displays of offensive street language, aggression, the exclusion of women, long hours, macho behaviour and bullying. These were all part of the job in the same way as they were for men working in the docks, mines, steel works and factories, with whom the chefs formed an occupational community. This Orwellian world has remained dirty, aggressive and macho, as revealed in the autobiographies/biographies and media appearances of celebrity chefs such as Marco Pierre-White, John Burton Race, Anthony Bourdain and more recently Gordon Ramsey.

The monumental shift in the world of work from a manufacturing to a service economy seems to have had a limited effect on the closed production kitchen, with the fundamentals of its masculine traditions remaining unaltered. It was not until the demise of traditional manufacturing in Britain that the growth of eating out and the competiveness of the restaurant trade occurred, which continued to bestow the virtues of the closed kitchen, with the masculinity and employment values aligned with such notions. The emergence of the competitive restaurant market of the service economy and the sterile manner in which food was emerging from the kitchen on the plate enabled the chef to take a `hidden` centre stage, while deskilling the server restaurant interaction through the banishment of traditional silver and gueridon service. The plated style of service created uniformity, which relied on the singular concept of food presentation and taste being the stimuli for

restaurant patronage, forgetting the role which the staff and guest interaction played.

The maturity of the service economy, the competiveness of the restaurant business, and the emergence of the experience economy (or dream, entertainment, aesthetic economies) led to restaurants having to create unique experiences for their customers. Along with the public's growing interest in food and cooking as a hobby, this led to a key transformation in restaurant design and the world of the chef as a craftsman being placed on view. Chef's were required by the organisation to leave the closed, hidden and dirty world of the closed kitchen and enter the open kitchen, thus thrusting them into public view, where they were open to scrutiny from and had to engage in conversation with customers. This transformation has created a paradigm shift in the world of work for one group of employees, who within a life time have been transformed from back of house production staff to front of house production service workers and by default have finished up being put on show. In this sense, the kitchen has now become the stage and the chef has become the actor performing for the guest, with the costume being the uniform and the props being the food, the production utensils and the associated artefacts.

The chef in the open kitchen has to now perform for the customer in a manner that was never previously envisaged. This realignment of customer interaction for the payment of a wage has for the first time positioned the chef as an emotional labourer, a worker who also has to *"look good and sound right,* as an aesthetic labourer.

In chapter four, the literature review, it was stipulated that two key theorisations exist in the study of display labour and that these principles have shaped the methodological approach in the following manner.

i) The literature review has revealed a holistic understanding of the extent and validity of emotional labouring taking place, requiring the *"three component model of emotional labor antecedents, outcomes and*

moderators" (Grandey and Gabriel 2015, p325)*.* This has highlighted (subsequent to Hochschild`s research and seminal piece of work) something which far too often is deconstructed into its separate components, which when broken down leads to a *"construct and measurement confusion",* and that the *"constraint boundaries with [the] three-component model"* (p325) should be applied to fully understand the complete context of emotional labouring.

ii) It is argued that aesthetic labour is a natural extension of emotional labour (Warhurst and Nickson 2005; Warhurst and Nickson 2007; Sheane 2011; Sheehan 2012; Dahl 2013; Butler 2014). Emotional labour explores the inner self through emotions felt when performing in front of the customer as *"attitude"*, while aesthetic labour is the physical embodiment of the look and the voice as the *"appearance"* (Warhurst 2015, p2) of that engagement. It is further contended here that these two values of `attitude` and `appearance` are so interrelated they should be studied together. This is an argument of particular validity when attempting for the first time to understand the extent of the change that the chef has to deal with when their employment is re-orientated from the closed to the open kitchen.

It has become clear while undertaking the literature review that the chef is a new exemplification of the craft worker within the context of emotional and aesthetic labour, a worker type who has not been previously researched from this perspective – a group of employees who have experienced a wholesale change in their employment traditions while the mechanics of the job remain static. The only additional variable in the job is the customer insertion into their world of work, creating a whole new class of emotional and aesthetic labourer, one which has never been previously studied from this perspective as an understanding of the transformation of the individual at work.

It is from this position that the following chapter outlines the research methodology and the approach adopted in eliciting the authentic voice of the chefs as a key exemplification of this labour research group.

Chapter 5 - Methodological considerations

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological assumptions deployed in this thesis. It identifies a Realist ontological position and Social Constructivism as the epistemological perspective adopted. Narrative discourse was used as the research strategy as it would seem to best enable the chefs to tell their story of their world experiences, as they realign from a closed to an open kitchen. This chapter also discusses the design of the research instrument together with the interpretivist approach taken to analyse the qualitative research data. The chapter further discusses relevant ethical considerations and closes by presenting a defence of the credibility and dependability of the research results.

5.1.1 The author's research context

This research journey is rooted in my working life as a chef employed in closed kitchens and in part involves a reflexive examination of this personal experience. I vividly recall during the first three years of kitchen work neither viewing the restaurant nor a guest, which was underpinned through (what I now know to be) a socially constructed rule that the restaurant design, layout and the service delivery approach kept me (the chef) `back stage`. Later in my professional cooking career, as a chef/owner operator, I retained the customer phobia I had socially acquired, rarely going out to meet the guests in my own business, and when I did, it was always with trepidation. It was only while working in Further Education as a chef lecturer and observing the growth and development of the open kitchen that I began to acknowledge the additional benefits of customer engagement which was now being increasingly required. It was while reflecting on my earlier kitchen experiences that I began to consider that the role of the chef was fundamentally changing to one in which the chef was now directly in the public gaze and expected to perform on a public stage. My experience of being shy and introverted around the guests stimulated this line of enquiry into the changing nature of the work expectations of the chef as the open kitchens have become more prominent and the chef who work in them are

required to perform as `front office` service workers - a role which was alien to my own kitchen training and experience.

Being a lecturer/chef practitioner, I am in a privileged position, one that has enabled me to reflexively undertake this piece of research as a member of the `tribe` (Rubin and Rubin 1995; Punch 2005; Silverman 2011), someone able to understand the technical language and craftwork of the kitchen. This privileged position has enabled me to build up trust and `relationships` (Maxwell 2012, p96) with the research participants (Hatch, 1996) and to elicit deep and meaningful narratives, producing rich data that I have been able to interpret, in order to understand the `truth` of the participants' personal narratives (Weick and Browning 1986) and in doing so construct knowledge from their divergent meaning. I have been extremely honoured to have been in this position, and I look forward to sharing a set of research findings with the wider academic and professional community.

5.2. Methodological approach

The metaphysical assumptions which underpin this research are based on an approach which embraces Realism as its principal ontological stance, and adopts Social Constructivism as the dominant epistemological position. It is from this perspective that an interpretivist method has been applied together with the totality of the ontology, epistemology and research methods in creating the research paradigm outlined here. Although it may seem counter intuitive, it seems the case that a realist ontology associated with an objective reality does not always lead to a positivistic epistemological position and hence *"the possibility of combining alternatives"* (Johnson and Duberley 2006, p150), a position which accepts that people have a role to play in knowledge creation and in this way, it seems clear that everything the participant reads, sees, hears, feels and touches is tested against their prior knowledge through their apprehension of the social world and it is the understanding of this which this research is attempting to uncover.

The inquirer`s role is to understand the participants' views – *"their concepts, beliefs, feelings intensions, and so on - as equally real when applied to*

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physical objects and processes" (Maxwell 2012, pviii), in such a way that leads to the construction of meaningful findings and outcomes (Guba and Lincoln 1989). This understanding of the participants focuses the research of the individual chefs and their thoughts on, and feelings towards transferring from employment in the closed kitchen to the open kitchen environment and with it, a re-orientation into customer service engagement. Such new research knowledge is actively constructed by the individuals through the reality of their environment together with their perception and learning from it, rather than by instruction or from other source (Crotty 1998). The research quest is thus set within a realist perspective as the ontological position together with a social constructivism epistemology which it is hoped will enable an accurate understanding of our relationship to the social world (Maxwell and Mittapalli 2007) .

5.2.1. Ontology

The Realist ontology adopted to underpin the work commits the researcher to an understanding that social outcomes are both `real` and objective. A position which stands in opposition to other ontological postures where the world is taken to be internal and constructed by the individual (as it is with relativism), creating a point of potential disjunction when bringing together of an objective reality with a subjective knowledge-seeking epistemology. A position which the traditional research literature would argue is none compatible, a point which is refuted by several others such as Johnson and Duberley (2006) and Maxwell (2012), who argue that an objective reality together with a subjective seeking of knowledge can be deemed appropriate. A position highlighted in Maxwell`s (2012) text - A Realist approach for qualitative research - where he states:

> *"From a Realist perspective, there are no fixed rules or constraints on how you construct your conceptual framework or what sources you use for this. The criterion for evaluating a conceptual framework is how effectively it represents what really exists and is actually occurring. No conceptual framework, model or theory can capture everything about the phenomena you study; every theory is a lens for making sense of the world, and every theory both reveals some aspects of that reality"* (p86).

It is the nature of the human species to want to understand and explain the world in which the individual exists and one which the *"ontological positions can be described as `realist` or `relativist`"* (Willig 2009, p12) to enable the `what is there to know`. To understand this world and its reality, any claim of `*truth*` needs to be warranted in that the knowledge claim meets the condition of being `*true*` so that the belief is rationale or epistemically justified or apt (Sosa 1993). Within society many kinds of `*truths*` are exemplified, such as those encompassing economic, psychological, theological, philosophical and mathematical truths (Cuff, Sharrock and Francis 1979). Truth claims and the corresponding seeking of knowledge have traditionally been steeped in the empiricist tradition. As with all traditions, such empiricist stances have been logically and rationally defined and defended (Crotty 1998; Feyerabend 1995). Recent debates on the validity of such truth pivot on the ontological nature of their perceived reality. Is it objective (out there), subjective or a combination of both? The positivist stance on the validity of the truth follows the empirical and cosmological claims of the understanding of reality, that is to explain the world through the numerical counting of objects which appear to be logical and rationale (Sarantakas 2005; Eriksson and Kovalainen 2008) a realism stance *"that the world is concrete and external and that science can only progress through observations that have a direct correspondence to the phenomena"* (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2015, p48). Hesse (1978) identifies the work of Karl Marx as emphasising the empiricist tradition, having a bias towards the measurement of the profitability of the organisation, which is well imbedded in Western society. This supports the theory and research in the social sciences promoting objectivist (realist) ontology (Johnson and Duberley 2006). This logical positivism remained the dominant ontological claim of reality until the 1960s, with subjectivist schools of thought arguing that the observation of the real world is only possible through the `*measurement*` of the senses of the individual's inner-self in the understanding of the effect of management and the organisation (Sarantakas 2005) and through the emergence of the relativism - that the scientific laws are not merely out there, but that they are created by people and that : *"it is not the orderly, law bound place that realist believe"* (Willig 2009, p13) Whilst others have argued that realism has

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elements of both positivism and constructivism – adding to the confusion *"and is therefore difficult to agree a coherent realist position or contribution"* (Johnson and Duberley 2006, p149). The authors qualify this statement by arguing that realist ontologies and social construction do not need to be mutually exclusive as *"the idea that all knowledge is the outcome of social construction does not lead to a subjectivist ontology"* (p150) a position which is further supported by Frazer and Lacey (1993, p182) who state that; *"even if one is a realist at the ontological level, one could be an epistemological interpretivist"*.

To elicit the chef's reality of the re-orientation from the closed to the open kitchen and to understand the individual emotions and identities which are formative for the chef, it is important and fundamental to the research work to explore the comparative narratives which are occurring for this group of workers. To facilitate emancipation of the chef, a realist approach to seeking the truth would seem to be appropriate through the new work place orientation of emotional labouring. Such work is hence positioned with the duality of the transformation of the interaction of the worker (chef) with the customer as the subject being studied, together with the reality of their other principal transformative object (the kitchen environement). Such knowledge would seem to be based upon *"the deeper understanding of the connection between politics, values and knowledge"* (Johnson and Duberley 2006, p116) with each interaction of everyday life being a new encounter, establishing a meaningful definition of the emotional and aesthetic labouring, which in turn forms their identity. As Albert et al. (2000) suggest, ontology is best regarded as a process of becoming through the reality of lived experiences, a process which would seem to conform to a socially constructed process (Tajfel and Turner 1985). Easterby-Smith and Thorpe and Lowe (2002) contend that knowledge is socially constructed rather than objectively determined and this is given meaning by the individual, as identified by Berger and Luckman (1966), Watzlawick (1984) and Shotter (1993) that it is the diversity of the interpretation which can be applied and thus taken to be equally real.

The truth that this research thesis seeks to identify is a relative truth, in that it is applicable only to the standard or convention of the work culture in which the chef is being researched. As Crossley (1998) identifies, *"the form of emotional praxes is culturally bound and conventional... differences are noted between Japanese and European societies"* (p24). For example, the Teppanyaki style chef from the Japanese culture, who has a historical tradition of performing in front of the customer (Fang, Peng and Weita 2013; Norii 2015). The truth claim for the research thesis is from the traditions of the European restaurant one which is historically and socially bound to French cuisine and will present a differing version to that of the chef's reality. The absolute truth due to cultural norms, values and beliefs is not possible to achieve within the context of this research, and as such it will be UK centric in its research and set in the context of the traditions of French cuisine. The traditions of British industrialisation and the class system, which socially constructed the hiding of the chef, influenced the design of the English professional kitchen and its juxtaposition with the restaurant.

The methodological implication discussed above follows an inductive or theory building approach, and this is illustrated in figure 7 (Research paradigm, p114), which is discussed further in this chapter.

Figure 7 Research paradigm

Ontology	•Realist
Epistemology	•Social constructivism
Theorrectical perspectives	•Interpretivist
Methods	•Narrative discourse
Research instrument	•In depth semi-structured interviews

Source: Adapted from Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson (2015, p47)

5.2.2. Epistemology

The realist ontology adopted here refers to the objectivity nature of the world of what actually exists and tries to make sense of it. Epistemology deals with *"the nature of knowledge, its possibilities, scope and general basis"* (Hamlyn 1995, p242) of how we gain knowledge and of what exists through its social construction. It is concerned with the foundations of knowledge and ensuring that it is both adequate and legitimate. The constructionist stance contends that the data should proceed the theory (theory building), an inductive research process. The traditional management research context, as identified by Locke (1997), follows a process of `theory before data` construction. That is to say a theory testing approach (deductive) following a positivistic orientation. In this way it seems entirely appropriate that the researcher is able to adopt a realist stance at the ontological level whilst engaging in an epistemological interpretivist perspective, as *"our knowledge of the real world is inevitably interpretive and provisional rather than straight forwardly representational"* Frazer and Lacey (1993 p182). Strauss (1987) claims that the researcher should be aware of the major research and literature in the area, even when following an inductive stance and to be able to make some sense of the data collected as *"realism researchers enter the field with prior theories"* (Sobh and Perry 2006, p1201) and that the conceptual framework has no fixed rules or constraints of how you develop it (Maxwell 2012). As pre-conceptions are inevitable, a first sift of the literature to develop an understanding and set the aims and objectives of the work would seem to be necessary. The aims and starting point (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2015) for this subjective research have been developed based on the reading of the emotional labourer literature developed from positivistic and subjectivist research perspectives, the theory from which the researcher began to conceptualise the shifting nature of the transformation from closed to open kitchen work. As the data collection process extended over a period of twelve months, reading of emerging themes and additional reading on craftsman identity and aesthetic labouring were then undertaken to identify new literature and to further strengthen the analysis and theory building. As Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002, p47) identify when discussing inductive research,

"The researcher should make themselves aware of previous work conducted in the general field of research before thinking of generating new theory".

5.2.3. Constructivism

Research approaches identify a clear distinction between constructionism and constructivism. Although the two are used interchangeably, they both have different meanings within the research context and the setting of this piece of work. Prawat & Floden (1994, p38) describe the two thus,

"Constructionism - More emphasis on the purposeful production of knowledge, i.e. the construction of something".

"Constructivism - More emphasis on the meaning making of the individual mind in relation to things, experiences in the environment".

The constructionist paradigm is a perspective that emphasises how individuals in social settings construct their own beliefs when looking at the same phenomenon (Crotty 1998; Schutt 2012). The aim of the researcher is to be able to both understand and reconstruct individuals' beliefs and perceptions through the augmenting of the findings in order to reach a common consensus. To further narrow down the epistemology deployed in this thesis, the context of the work is set within the social context of the human-being. The `social` in social constructionism is about the mode of meaning generation and not about the kind of object that meaning has, as Berger and Luckman (1966) identified in the text `The Social Construction of Reality` and Crotty (1998) discusses,

"It has become something of a shibboleth for qualitative researchers to claim to be constructionist or constructivist, or both. We need to ensure that this is not just a glib claim, a matter of rhetoric only. If we make such a claim, we should reflect deeply on its significance. …Being constructionist/constructivist has crucial things to say to us about many dimensions of the research task. It speaks to us about the way in which we do research. It speaks to us about how we should view its data" (Crotty 1998, 64-65).

The core focus of the research within this thesis is on understanding the inner-feelings and thoughts of the chef in moving from the closed kitchen to

the open kitchen together with the impact of this transition on becoming a front of house service worker and on their individual identity. It draws on knowledge which is created by the social interaction, as wholly opposed to understanding the sociological constructs, and the specific emotions of the individual. As Doolotte (2001, pWeb) argue,

> *"Social constructivism emphasizes the social nature of knowledge and the belief that knowledge is constructed through social interaction and is a shared rather than an individual experience".*

In adopting the social constructivism approach this research follows in the traditions of other hospitality emotional labour research undertaken in fast food outlets (Paules 1991), with food service staff (Phornprapha and Guerrier 1997) and bar staff (Seymour 2000) and is further exemplified by the work of Shani et al. (2014) in their research on Israeli frontline hospitality staff, who found,

> *"Since the vast majority of previous studies on EL rely on quantitative analysis of surveys, the use of in-depth interviews and interpretive analysis is another contribution of this study to the EL literature"* (p152).

Shani et al. (2014) apply emotional labour theory from a qualitative interpretivist perspective to research the traditional direct front line worker in hotels. This thesis approaches the research using a similar paradigm, drawing on the EL framework by using a realist ontology to interpret the knowledge of those chefs who have moved from the closed to the open world of work and in doing so uses an interpretivist epistemology. Those chef`s being a first time research selection and my knowledge of the sociology of the chef and acceptance into the tribe as the *"preliminary conceptual framework about the underlying structures and mechanisms…. deployed from the literature and/or from people with experience of the phenomena before entering the field to collect data"* (Sobh and Perry 2006, p1201). This application of the EL framework through a realist ontology and social constructivism epistemology together with the interpretative methods used in the interviews will add to the call by Shani et al. (2014) - in response to Lucas and Denny (2004) - for emotional labour research focused on hospitality staff to be *"relevant and useful"* (p459) as with other qualitative

studies - for example, nursing studies (Lovatt et al. 2014), teachers (Isenbargera and Zembylas 2006) and the judiciary (Blix and Wettergren 2014)

5.2.4. Research questions

The central thrust of this thesis is to understand the impact on craft workers whose employment has been repositioned from the closed world of production to the open world of customer engagement - a fundamental transformation in their working environment as their employment in the service economy has shifted towards the experience and aesthetic economies. The research adopts concepts from the emotional and aesthetic labour literature in order to identify the changes that have occurred in this new understanding of work, focusing on employees who have undergone a fundamental shift in the nature of their work in order to operate effectively in the new experience/aesthetic `*servicescape*`.

This core theme has not yet been researched or addressed in the literature, and it is from this position that the central research question was developed to understand,

What transformation is the chef experiencing as their employment is re-orientated from the closed to the open kitchen?

This central research question as the core aim led to the development of a number of research objectives, which were inductively formulated as:

- Develop a critical perspective to evaluate the impact that the transition from the closed to the open kitchen is having on the sociology of the chef

- Critically review and examine the extent of emotional labouring and its potential consequences

- Analyse and evaluate the coping mechanisms that the chef is deploying when emotional labouring

- Critically analyse the extent of aesthetic labouring taking place in the open production service environment

- Synthesise the inter-relationship between emotional and aesthetic labour

- Formulate a new understanding of the chefs' identity as they move from the closed to the open kitchen environment

The research question and the objectives through to the findings seek to make a contribution to knowledge as chefs have been, until now, an exemplification of the craft worker that has not been researched within the emotional and aesthetic literature in an understanding of the new sociology of the chef. The research will suggest the changing identity of the chef through their transformational employment from the closed to the open kitchen, bringing together the emotional and aesthetic labour theorisations for the first time in an attempt to understand these chefs` particular changing identities.

5.3. Methodology – narrative discourse

The methodological approach to the research is developed from a narrative discourse, an approach which allows the participants to tell their story or account via a broad set of guided questions or discussion points, permitting them to describe or explain matters of concern (Gubrium and Holstein 2009) and talk at length about the subject, with the researcher guiding the interview, enabling a richer natural set of data to be collected than a traditional structured interview approach would allow (Cassell 2015). The literature on narrative research indicates that the participants tell their story and the researcher interprets these through detailed analysis, differentiating the narratives (Morgan and Smircich 1980; Koch 1998) to bring out the deeper underlying assumptions (Bell 2002), thus allowing the *"participants to tell their story from their own perspective"* (Cassell 2015, p13) and to generate and use meaning in social and work life (May 2011).

Such qualitative research techniques fit with the epistemological position of social constructivism, "*which seeks to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning*" (VanMann 1983, p9) of their world in the manner in which the participants make sense of their individual and organisational experiences. The story or account of the individual's personal experience is interpreted with reference to the larger social dynamic of those chefs being transformed from the closed kitchen to the open kitchen. The narrative story enables the researcher to adopt a social perspective rather than a linguistic one, enabling an understanding of social life and interaction explained through `talk` (Potter and Wetherell 1995). This philosophical approach fits with the constructivist view (Sparkes and Smith 2008) as experiences and identities are unique universal social constructions (Mann 1992) epistemologically and the objective ontological reality of the world of the kitchen. The narrative discourse enables the breaking down of the research data into themes and components to explore the relationship and meaning of each (Wood and Kroger 2008), interpreting the meaning of the respondents' utterances as instances of social categories (Bird et al. 2009), as perceptions, motivations, identity, emotions and feelings *"drawing out the participants' constructed categories in their talk*" (Wood and Kroger 2008, p29), which are *"useful in understanding change over time*" (Cassell 2015, p20).

To facilitate the methodology of `*talk*`, it is necessary to use a research approach which intrudes the least into the world of the chef to enable their narrative to be captured. Two options were considered: audio diaries and semi-structured interviews. The audio diary was trialled early in the research journey, but the consistency and the quality of the data was not adequate to enable a research project to be completed. It proved difficult to engage those chefs in this method as the intrusive nature of having to systematically record their thoughts during and following service did not lend itself to the nature of the individuals in the initial trial. The lack of engagement with such a research instrument meant that a new approach was required, and semi-structured interviews were deemed to be more appropriate.

5.3.1. Research design

Deploying an interview research approach enabled an understanding of *"how individuals construct the reality of their situation, formed from the complex personal framework of values and beliefs"* (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe 2002, p86). For the research to be successful, a loose structure and format was designed with some deviation and with a set of prompts and check lists. The first interview that the researcher undertook was far more prescriptive, but as further interviews were conducted the researcher adopted a looser open-ended approach towards the semi-structured interview and framed the questions around a discussion. This elicited greater free `talk` from the participants when generating their story or account (Schensul, Schensul and LeCompte 1999; Cassell 2015). Moving towards this more relaxed approach brought about greater listening from the researcher to enable direction of the conversation and a softer more probing level of questions to the responses as the levels of trust and relationship developed (Marshall and Rossman 2006).

A semi-structured interview research tool was developed, which fits within the methodological approach outlined in figure 7 (Research approach diagram) from the emotional labour framework, as is discussed later. This was informed by the work of Chu and Murrmann (2006) and identified in figure 8 (Guiding principles of the research) so the participants were asked similar questions about both their closed and open kitchen experiences. This was to ensure that a direct comparison could be drawn between the two environments. The interview sheet was separated into three key sections, pre work, during work and post work (see appendix 2).

5.3.2. Social interaction

To uncover the individual participants' knowledge, it is important that the social interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is positive. As Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002, p138) discuss *"interviewees will `suss` out what the researchers are like and make judgements from their first impressions about whether they can be trusted".* Trust was gained as a result of the researcher being fluent in the use of kitchen terminology and

language, and thus the researcher was readily accepted as one of the `tribe` and a positive relationship developed during the interview process, it became apparent that this level of trust enabled the interviews to move towards more loosely structured conversations, with the participants speaking freely and often using rough street language, indicating that the participants were providing dependable accounts rather than *"telling the researcher what they think is expected"* (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2015, p144). This acceptance enabled a number of related perspectives to be discovered generating a number of common set of themes. The researcher was mindful of not imposing self-terms of reference during the investigation period, a common mistake made in interview research, as discussed by Marshall and Rossman (2006).

The social constructionist paradigm is one of the interpretative relativistic methods via which reality is determined by people, and arguably each story is a credible truth claim (Burr 2003). Furthermore, the identification of this research topic is a consequence of the author's deep understanding of the subject, and the interpretation of the interactions that occurred between the participants and researcher as well as the participants' narratives is facilitated reflexively by the researcher's previous experiences as a chef. However, this prior knowledge has not to mask the outcomes by inferring my own terms of reference and so contaminating the data. As Easterby-Smith et al. (2008, p63) contend,

> *"The recognition that the observer can never be separated from the sense making process means that researchers are starting to recognize that theories which apply to the subjects of their work must also be relevant to themselves".*

The interview design required the subjects to physically sketch their interpretation of the closed and open kitchen formats and explain their pencil drawings following the interview question discussion. Using drawings in research is a creative approach to supplement a narrative, to assist in uncovering the *"unrecognised, unacknowledged or `unsayable` stories"* (Leitch 2008, p37) of the participants, who are not always able to clearly articulate thoughts on relational and human experience aspects. It is an

approach often used with children and vulnerable adults (Kearney and Hyle 2004), and as Buchanan (1999) contends, pictures and images in research are frequently used in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. Drawings can give a richer account of feelings on organisational life and are often overlooked in management research (Gagliardi 2007), this additional research approach is valuable in complementing the interviews to reveal differing aspects of the phenomena (Greene 2007). Researchers such as Schyns et al. (2011) have begun to acknowledge the value of drawings in studies involving those participants whose native language is not English in the understanding of how different cultures perceive their organisation's leadership. The image that they draw represents a social narrative, and like a word narrative, an image is a human construction and is culturally specific. For some participants, the use of a visual metaphor *"can be a powerful way of developing a common understanding of an issue"* (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2015, p170). Drawings can express thoughts participants who would not perhaps always be able to articulate through language (Crilly, Blackwell and Clarkson 2006) and, as Barner (2008) discusses, the metaphor of the drawing enables the expression of emotions in order that the researcher can illicit and explore additional meanings.

Visual or image-based research can be used for two purposes: i) to use visual artefacts; ii) to manufacture visual artefacts as part of the research process (Thompson 2008). The approach of creating visual images falls within the constructivist framework, enabling an insight into the experiences of the participant's world through "*articulate perceptions, emotions and viewpoints which are latent and less conscious*" (Engel 2005, p199), creating an understanding rather than revealing it. The pictures in the research not only enabled the depiction of one event but also enabled it to be represented in another (Nanay 2009) or, as Wollheim (1980, p127) states, it allows *"perceptual capacity".* Using drawings as one research instrument has led to considerations and a greater richness in the data gathered from the participants, which was not wholly explicit in the semi-structured interview `*talk*`. Criticisms have been levelled at narrative picture research as a singular research approach by authors such as Lopes (1996) and Pettersson

(2011), who argue that the research is incomplete as what the researcher sees (in the picture) will not necessary be all that is there. Consequently, the narrative image research approach was used as *"an important additional source of data"* (Kearney and Hyle 2004, p362) to supplement the interview `talk` *and* to enable a further understanding of the chefs' spoken narrative through a practical medium rather than relying solely on the pictures or the respondents discourse.

5.3.3. Research instrument design; adapting a Realist ontology for a interpretivist research method

The research instrument was based on the emotional labour framework developed by Chu and Murrmann (2006, 1181-1191) from a PhD study (Chu 2002, p19). However, their research was quantitative, focusing on the types of emotional labouring (surface, deep and genuine) and the outcomes of these, building on previous quantitative research. Research from this perspective applied a positivistic approach to emotional labour and its tangible outcomes of stress and burnout, but such positivistic research does not enable a more subtle understanding of the deeper meanings and perceptions of the individual towards open kitchen work. The emotional labour framework is useful in understanding the cause and effect relationship when a positivistic ontology and epistemology is adopted, whereas the interpretivist epistemology approach enables a deeper understanding of those individuals in the research group to have a voice and the effect on them. The major contribution of Chu and Murmann (2006) synthesises the literature on emotional labour scale into a framework, which validates the objective diagrammatical representation of the emotional labour journey of the service worker, but it does not seek to understand the individual chefs perspective towards open kitchen work and the effect that the changed environment has on them. It identifies the four clear parameters of antecedents, emotional labour, moderators and consequences, and this was useful in the design of the interview research instrument used for this field data collection. As my research work is seeking to confirm how those chefs were feeling as a result of having to become emotional labourers, work which is a re-orientation from the world that they had known in the closed kitchen,

the literature and frameworks from the current positivistic and interpretivist perspectives are useful to inform my research, being applicable to a realist ontological approach (Maxwell and Mittapalli 2007; Maxwell 2012).

Chu (2002) Chu and Murrmann (2006) Chu, Baker and Murrmann (2012) makes a valuable contribution to the hospitality literature in terms of understanding the measures of emotional labour, but it does not address the deeper individual reasoning and the individual craft worker's transition as they move from the closed to the open world of work. The researcher applied the diagrammatical model that Chu (2002) developed, amending this by adding pre-work, at-work and post-work, thus giving the semi-structured interview a structured format for the restaurant service period, and this is represented in figure 8. The research instrument was designed to ask the participants identical question sets to enable a direct comparison and enable a credibility of research between the closed and the open kitchen experiences. This design followed an inductive approach; there was not one clear line of enquiry, the research instrument was taken into the field to understand the participants' subjective reality on engaging in emotional labour. It was from the interview analysis and the inductive outcome that the weaving together of emotional and aesthetic labour emerged. An outcome which previous positivistic research does not seem to have identified – it is not until the more recent qualitative research on emotional labour and the qualitative approach to aesthetic labour that recent academic papers have begun to discuss such linkages, linkages which this research work adds to and helps confirm the debate of the application of a realist ontology together with a social constructed epistemology.

Figure 8 Guiding principles for the research
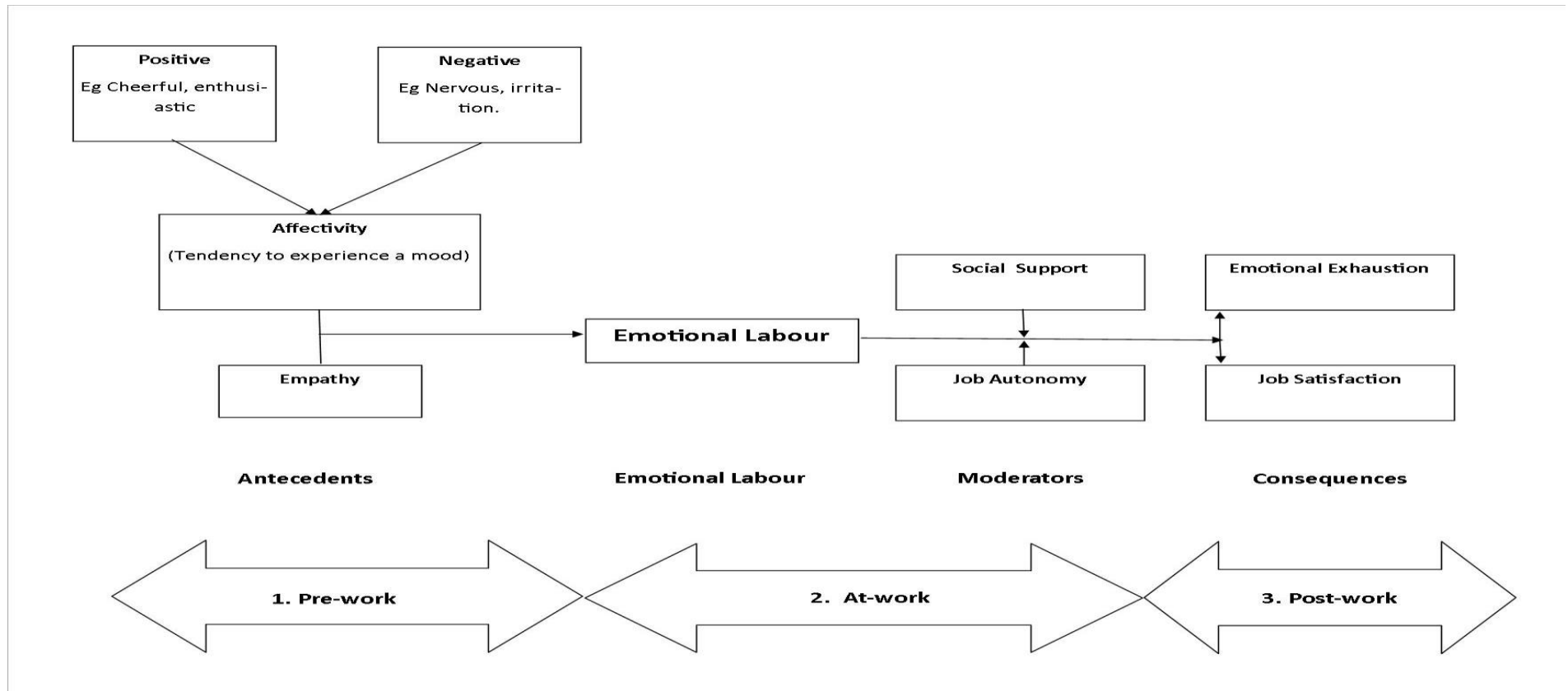
Source: Adapted from Chu and Murrmann (2006, 1181-1191).

The research interview instrument was comprised of two clear sections. The first section focused on the closed kitchen and the experiences of the chef working in this environment, and the second section focused on the open kitchen and the chef's experience in this environment (appendix 2 Copy of interview questions). The research instrument enabled the clear discussion of the differences between the two kitchen types and a full exploration of the experiences of the chefs as they moved between the two. The research instrument opened with a statement on the background to the research and anonymity for the participants. The term emotional labour was not used as this would involve levels of cultural capital and thus had the potential to alienate the subjects from the discussion (Crotty 1998). Both types of interview questions (closed and open) followed a similar format. The following part of this chapter will discuss the design of section one of the interview only as section two is a mirror of section one.

Each of the two sections had the following three theme formats,

1. Identified the thoughts of the chef before attending work (pre-work).
2. Identified the levels of emotional labouring that was taking place and the extent to which the individual and the group were creating the reality that assisted them in coping with the process.
3. Identified the outcome on the chef and the impact that emotional labouring was having on the social fabric of the chef's life (post-work).

The questions numbered 1 to 3 were designed to put the interviewee at ease and to also demonstrate the researcher's knowledge of the life and experience of a chef. This developed a level of trust between the interviewee and interviewer, which enabled a greater engagement in a more relaxed and structured conversation (Creswell 2003). Question 1 focused on the professional background of the chef and his/her experiences of closed and open kitchen work. The participants were those who had knowledge of and were influenced by the traditions of French culinary kitchens. They were familiar with these traditions, the artefacts and social construction of the world of the kitchen. The participants were selected from those who had worked in both closed and open kitchen environments and had undertaken this transition. This

discussion at the early staged of the interview and followed throughout the story enabled the researcher to ascertain the level of credibility, validity and dependability of the interview data.

The conversations were then broken into three themes, and each will be discussed in the next sections on pre-work, during work and post work.

5.3.4. Pre-work

The interview conversation in this section focused on understanding the thoughts and feelings of the chef before arriving at work and identifying any antecedents of emotional labouring (Morris and Feldman 1996) and the level of empathy with formal and informal social groups outside of work and as such their attitude towards attending work. This was developed to enable the researcher to understand the attitude of the chef towards both the closed and open kitchen work environment before arriving at the kitchen and hence their mind set for work. These foci were developed through question 4 and 5.

5.3.5. During work

Questions 6 to 9 focused on the period at work, the extent of emotional labouring and the reality of the work place. Question 6 addressed the interaction with a range of social actors, from colleagues to employees and customers. Although emotional labouring is generally accepted as the faking of emotions when offering service to customers (Hochschild 1983), the level of empathy and the manner of relationships with colleagues and managers has an impact on the level of mitigating or moderating elements of emotional stress and burnout (Morris and Feldman 1996). Question 7 explored the levels of physical interaction that occurred between the staff. This was to discover the overt levels of interaction and whether a difference existed between the closed and open kitchen environment in terms of the levels of acting taking place. Question 8 explored the levels of self-autonomy as the emotional labour literature postulates that the degree of self-control and autonomy within the job has the effect of mitigating or moderating the levels of emotional labour required (Noon and Blyton 1997). Question 9 attempted to understand the level of both formal and informal support that was required through scripting as the greater the organisational level of scripting to meet the operational objectives the greater

the levels of acting required to fit with the organisational service delivery goals (Wouters 1989). This was intended to explore the level of emotional labouring required of the kitchen staff in a positive or negative experience and identify the changes that the individual had made.

5.3.6. Post work

Following the emotional labour framework, the semi-structured interview concluded by asking how the individual felt after work and about the relationships that they had with colleagues, family and friends. This was extended to include how they felt about the day's work when they had completed the shift and left the work premises. These questions were designed to elicit the levels of dissatisfaction or satisfaction with the job and any associated consequences (Conrad and Witte 1994; Pugliesi 1999; Diefendorff, Croyle and Gosserand 2005).

The above interview structure was then repeated, with the focus being on the open kitchen. Keeping the format for both environments identical would facilitate a clearer comparison. The chefs would also be able to explain better the difference between the two different environments and the impact that the change they believed was having on them. This section of the interview concluded by asking them to reflect on the two operation types and how they thought they are different and represent their thoughts either through a human stick drawing (HSD), key words or abstract interpretation in a very open and self-selective manner. The participants were then asked to explore and explain these drawings through a discussion of the image that they had presented.

5.3.7. Pictorial representation of the closed and open kitchen

All the participants were supplied with a blank piece of A4 paper, a pencil and a rubber. As indicated above, the participants were informed that the format was not expected to be in a particular style and that the image was supposed to represent their thoughts to facilitate a discussion on how they see the two worlds of the closed and the open kitchens. It was explained that it was not a test of their drawing skill but purely an alternative approach to being able to discuss these two environments. On completion of their drawings, each participant was asked to explain the image and what it meant to them. The

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drawings took on average six minutes to complete, and the participants were then asked to explain what they had drawn and why. On average, the discussion provided a further ten minutes of dialogue. The rationale for using this technique was that although the participants were highly skilled craft individuals, they may not necessarily have been able to express themselves well enough via `talk` to provide all their deeper sociological thoughts on the environment (Theron, Mitchell and Smith 2011), whereas narrative pictures as visual metaphors, through their hand craft engagement of drawing and talk of the image, offered a further research option to assist in understanding (Kearney and Hyle 2004) those chefs' inner world and their thoughts, which they were not able to articulate effectively in the first stage of the interview.

5.3.8. Research group

The chef participants were identified using *"snowball sampling"* (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson 2015, p138; Weathington, Cunningham and Pittenger 2012; Browne 2005) from those who were working or had worked in closed and open kitchen locations identified from the selection of restaurants or hospitality practical education institutions. To achieve consistency, the restaurant types were identified as serving European food across a range educational, casual and fine dining restaurants with the group of those chefs interviewed exhibiting credibility in their `talk` through having the following criteria;

1. They had worked in casual to fine dining commercial restaurants.
2. They self-referenced as a chef.
3. Work orientation from the closed to the open kitchen.
4. Final professional kitchen experience was in an open kitchen.
5. Traditions of French cuisine – language, terminology were used as points of reference.
6. At the hot plate or pass – French language was used as the focal point for food ordering.

Various open kitchen formats were targeted, including partially open, fully open and chef's table. The group was selected from my network contacts within the industry using a *"snowballing"* approach (Rubin and Rubin 1995, p149; Monette, Sullivan and DeJong 2014) as the initial call for participants from chefs' professional magazines and a cold email request resulted in no participants coming forward. The restaurants and training restaurants were selected from northern cities (Sheffield, Manchester) as well as the capital cities of the UK (London, Belfast, Cardiff) in an attempt to evenly represent restaurants at the forefront of food development in fine dining as well as those following food trends in casual dining operations.

The selection of twenty eight chefs interviewed (see appendix 6 – interview matrix) comprised of three females and twenty five males, with an age range of 19 to 57 years. Each of the interviewees told their story. Of the group, eighteen were aged between 19 and 38 years and were actively working in the restaurant trade. The remaining ten were aged from 46 to 57 years and had previously worked in the restaurant trade before entering into teaching as chef lecturers (8) or chefs (2) in higher education with one of the eight being part-time. All the chefs on duty from each establishment were interviewed. The two distinct groups were selected to ensure that craft workers with different experiences as a reverse longitudinal study representing the shift in the kitchen augmentation within the last ten years. This would capture the transition that had occurred from the manufacturing era and those participants who had merely grown up and worked in the experience economy. The selection had varied kitchen employment backgrounds from army catering (the shift from cook to chef) to contract catering, restaurants and hotels, but they all had experience in the traditional closed as well as the open kitchens in the commercial world where French culinary traditions formed the trade language. The interview conversations took approximately on average forty minutes, and the participants were coded to anonymise their identity by allocating them with a number from 1 to 28 and the letter m (male) or f (female) to indicate their gender. The numbering followed age ranking from the youngest to the eldest to assist in identifying common themes across the generations.

5.4. Research analysis

The interviews were fully transcribed by listening to the recordings in thirty second sound-bites and then verbalising the audio speech into previously trained Dragon Naturally Speaking voice recognition software. This process of speaking, reading and checking enabled the researcher to internalise the individual's `voice`, which allowed a greater understanding of the key themes and the coding later in NVivo 9 (appendix 4). This would ensure greater detail of the context, theme meanings and review of the data. The behaviour of the individual cannot be understood unless the researcher understands the meanings, and these have to be interpreted according to the context in which it is occurring (Hatch 1996). As the literature stresses, it is not the case that full transcriptions are analytically coded and analysed; it is about `*accounts*` and understanding the themes (Ochs 1979; Baker 2002).

The interviews were coded with the following pauses and verbal cues which did not translate as text. These codes are identified below,

- Pause of less than 1 second = (.)
- Pause of greater than 1 second, with the number of dots indicating number of seconds, ie. three seconds = (…)
- Use of laughter = (laughter)
- Interpretation of a meaning where the word was not used due to gesture or expression = [kitchen]

The researcher used one computer to listen to the recordings, using Microsoft Audio Player. This allowed the researcher to slow down the audio file, listen to the voice, stop the recording and then talk into the Dragon Naturally Speaking software to transcribe the interview into Microsoft Word 2010. Using the two computers was easier than having both pieces of software open on the one computer and toggling between the two software programmes. The interviews were listened to a second and third time to check the accuracy of the transcripts and take note of the length of the `*talk*` pauses. Change in voice pitch, tone and laughter was noted. This repeated listening to the interviews allowed *"the*

evaluator to become familiar with the data, slowly but surely categories will emerge or become apparent" (Griffee 2005, p36).

Each interview took on average around one week to transcribe using this process as *"one interview is going to yield 5,000 to 6,000 words"* (Gillham 2000, p62) despite using Dragon Naturally Speaking reducing the transcribing time by around 25%. The data was then imported as a Word 2010 document (see appendix 3) in NVivo 9 and the narratives were formulated into themes under the key headings of the closed and open kitchen (see appendix 4 and 5). It was during this process that elements of aesthetic labour and craft masculine identity began to emerge and additional literature reading was undertaken.

The coded transcripts were then further examined and cross triangulated using NVivo 9 to identify new themes and generate new ideas to understand and interpret the data. This approach is identified by Roulston (2010, p153) as *"data categorisation as a means of organising the text through the examining of the data sets",* forming the basis of the key analysis and findings, as will be discussed in the findings chapter.

5.5. The Research findings

The narratives from the participants' stories are presented in the research findings in chapter six. This chapter presents the authentic voices of those chefs. It begins with a discussion of the demographics of the selected group. The successive sections are then constructed as a comparison between the closed and the open world of the kitchen, and this begins with an analysis of the two kitchen environments. The chapter structure of pre-work and pre-service, the service period and post service are the three distinct periods identified in the literature from the emotional labour scale (Chu and Murrmann 2006). The research `*talk*` chapter is written up as the weaving of a narrative with interpolated illustrative quotes, allowing the chefs to speak for themselves, with the researcher making comments to draw attention to the salient points and build the linkages between the themes.

In the research findings in chapter 6, for ease of reading and clarityhe paused lengths that were coded as dots in the chefs' authentic stories have been

removed. For example, a one second pause coded as (.) and a three second pause coded as (…) is represented as (pause). Throughout the chapter, the chefs tell their story in a systematic manner, which enables continuity between the themes (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009). The literature identifies research bias findings with the use of a single quote to highlight a theme, and as such, a range of similar quotes fall under the broad themes to ensure a level of balance is conveyed. Some of the chefs' `talk` is more salient than other *'talk'* is, and the weaker chefs' expressive `talk` has not been excluded.. As Gillham (2000, p78) discusses, weaving the narrative is about *"the trustworthiness of procedures….being honest and checking that your data are sound",* including the strong as well as the weaker narratives, identifying that "*you must expect to be challenged on your findings: your justification is only as good as the means that you used to achieve them"* (p79). Where appropriate, confirmation of the chefs' narrative `talk` and drawings with the biographies and auto-biographies of the celebrity chefs took place to underpin or refute the narrative stories offering comparisons and ascertaining the level of emerging themes. Under each of the broad themes, the nuances with the appropriate literature have been discussed to further explore the research findings. It is from the analysis of the respondents' *'talk'* that agreed with the literature and the contradictions between the narratives and the literature that the contribution to theory, knowledge and practise is made in chapter seven, the analysis and discussion, and chapter eight, the conclusions and recommendations.

5.6. Ethical considerations

Before the data collection was undertaken, the researcher obtained formal ethical clearance from the Sheffield Hallam University research committee via the RF2 process. While in the field and working with the data, the ethical approaches to research as outlined by Silverman (2011, p97) were applied to,

- *"Ensure that people participate voluntary"*
- *"Make peoples comments and feelings confidential"*
- *"Protect people from harm"*
- *"Ensure mutual trust between researcher and participant"*

Each of the ethical points above will be discussed in the context of the research project.

- *"Ensure that people participate voluntary"*

All the interviewees were approached through a two stage process. Consent was first obtained from the participants, usually via a member of the staff from one of the kitchens amongst the researcher's network in Sheffield, Manchester Cardiff, Belfast and London. Once they had consented to be interviewed, the nature of the research was discussed with their line manager on the day of the interview. Due to the contemporary nature of the research topic and the explanation that this thesis was not investigating issues of corporate sensitivity or matters which would bring colleagues into conflict all those approached were happy to participate in the research. They were not incentivised in any way to participate (Elliott 2005). The participants were asked if they wished to review their transcripts once they had been completed; however, none requested this.

- *"Make peoples comments and feelings confidential"*

The participants were informed that the data collected via electronic audio recording would be destroyed and not used for any other than academic purposes. They were also told that within the write up, all the individuals would be identified as a number and gender letter and that the current establishment they worked in would only be discussed and referenced as a restaurant type so as to protect the identification of the premises and to act as a further layer of anonymity. The coding of the participants by number (1-28) and gender (letter m for male and f for female) offered a level of confidentiality, and the goal of the research being to attain a social understanding of the chefs' transformation rather than to investigate from a business perspective mitigated against the sensitivity of the stories and findings (Josselson 2007) and enabled the granting of access to the chefs in their place of work.

- *"Protect people from harm"*

This would be achieved through the participants coding, as discussed earlier. It was also agreed that neither the direct findings nor this thesis would be shared with the organisations. Furthermore, the layers of confidentiality, as discussed

above, would ensure that the participants could not be identified. The lack of sensitivity in the nature of the research would not place the individual in direct or potential harm.

- *"Ensure mutual trust between researcher and participant"*

Once the ethical considerations had been explained to the interviewees at the start of the interview process, mutual trust was further built due to the nature of the research while recording the interview. The researcher as a chef could empathise with those in employment in the kitchen and could understand the issues of kitchen work. In particular, the researcher was able to enter into the conversation as a holder of the cultural knowledge capital and was accepted into the `*tribe*` (Rubin and Rubin 1995; Punch 2005)

5.7. Credibility and dependability

The literature argues that any research project will always be questionable in terms of the dependability of the research and in particular *"considerable discussion exists about the quality of qualitative research due to the dissatisfaction with qualitative research being evaluated according to the criteria of validity and reliability"* (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009, p179) The language used Denzin and Lincoln (2005) discuss that `validity` or any analogous concept to it should be rejected and replaced with *"credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability"* (p24) which represents the trustworthiness and authenticity of the standard of work (Maxwell 2012). Yardley (2000; 2007) identifies four themes which can be applied for assessing the quality of qualitative research as i) sensitivity to context, ii) commitment and rigour, iii) transparency and coherence and iv) impact and importance. Each will be discussed in relation to the credibility and dependability of this research project.

i) Sensitivity to context

As Silverman discusses (2011, p369) "*when one is `hanging` out with one's `tribe` or subculture and returns with an authentic account, the naturalism assumption is that the data is truly authentic".* As the research is about the individual's interpretation of the world in relation to the transition from the closed to the open kitchen, what they feel is their truth, and as such each participant's

voice has authenticity. A further indication of authenticity is through the comparisons and conformability of the research participants and the similar narratives that they provided. Hammersley (1987, p69) asserts that, "*an account is valid or true if it represents accurately those features of the phenomena, that it is intended to describe, explain or theorise*" and that there is sufficient evidence and reason to believe that it is so (Polkinghorne 2007). This was achieved by the way in which the research was undertaken over a one year period and by each set of interviews being confirmed against the others. It became apparent after undertaking eight to ten of the interviews that a convergence of the data was occurring, underpinned by the fact that the different attitudes from the data were giving similar responses of the same object. This confirmation does not necessary need to occur through using multiple methods, as an inductive approach enables a constant comparison method to be appropriate though the multiple cases of participants from each location. This approach was used by Becker and Geer (1960) to interview medical students about the influence of career changes, comparing different groups at any one time. This use of this method has since been acceptable as being credible and dependable of the data collection. Glaser and Strauss (1967), Dye, Schatz and Rosenberg (2000) argue that this is simply comparing all the data pieces that arise in a single case by converging them and is an appropriate research tactic.

ii) Commitment and rigour

The initial analysis of the collected data from the participants in the first set of interviews generated the emerging categories, and these were then cross tabulated with the new data collected, and any new emergent themes were identified. After sixteen interviews, no new explicit themes had emerged that would alter the findings, but limited minor clarification of some themes allowed for additional clarity. Additional interviews were conducted, to make up to twenty eight interviews, at which point saturation of data was occurring and convergence had occurred. The literature argues that once this constant repetition transpires there is no need for continued transcription of further data (Perakyla 2004) when using tape recording data in research. As a duty of completeness and to ensure that all the data had been fully evaluated, all the

recordings were transcribed verbatim and as such, all twenty eight respondent recordings are held as denaturalised narrative written accounts with *"the stutters, pauses non-verbal, involuntary vocalizations are removed"* (Cassell 2015, p47).

iii) Transparency and coherence

The participants were selected using the criteria of employment in both closed and open kitchen and that each participant had to demonstrate in the initial stages of the interview that they were familiar with the constructs of the French kitchen. Those participants are provided in the interview matrix in appendix 6 which identifies the gender, age, current employment status and past employment experience in a transparent manner. Each stage of the interview process is identified in chapter 5 – Methodological considerations and coherence of the process is demonstrated through the systematic transcription of those participants `*talk*` and a narrative analysis using NVivo.

iv) Impact and importance

Yardley (2000; 2007) discusses that the test of its true credibility is the extent to which the research project states something of interest and the extent to which the transferability is able to contribute something of importance, interest and usefulness. The research work undertaken in this thesis has set out to identify the changed nature of kitchen work an employment domain which has not been previously articulated as an emotional and aesthetic work place. The research findings will put forward a new paradigm of the transformation of the individual and through this re-orientation of work a number of contributory claims to theory, practice and policy.

5.8. Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed the methodological position, identifying that a constructivist position is the most appropriate to adopt and further that within this paradigm a social constructivism approach is suitable to use. It has discussed the in-depth semi-structured interviews used to elicit verbal and artefactual stories as pictures of narrative accounts of the specific chefs' realities, the richness of the interview data being due to the acceptance of the

researcher as one of the `tribe`. The data obtained from the interviews was analysed via NVivo 9 using a constant comparison method to draw out the key themes. The chapter concluded with a discussion on the validity and reliability of the research approach. The following chapter will discuss the research findings together with the theoretical and applied implication of the results.

Chapter 6 - Findings

6.1. Introduction

This chapter reports the findings elicited from the research instrument, using the authentic voice of the respondents to illustrate the salient points which have emerged from the data analysis. The chapter begins by categorising the participants and relates this to the current national demographics of UK chefs. The group `talk` is then used to give a descriptive narrative of the closed and open kitchen formats. The rest of the chapter is divided into three sections, which align with the research instrument: section one is pre-work, section two is at work and section three is post service. Section two, at work, is subdivided into three key themes. Firstly, themes which relate to worker identity and the masculinity of the kitchen, secondly, emotional labour and thirdly, aesthetic labour, the latter two identifying i) `soft skills` development, ii) changing nature of work and iii) interpersonal skill. The chapter draws to a close by discussing the respondents' narratives of the outcomes and consequences identified in section two as the chef realigns from the closed to the open kitchen format.

6.2. Selected group background

The snow-ball data group (see appendix 6 – Interview matrix) is comprised of twenty eight participants, who can be subdivided into two distinct groups. The first group of eighteen respondents, aged from 19 to 38 years old, were all directly employed in a commercial restaurant and/or hotel restaurant kitchen. The second group of ten participants, aged from 46 to 57 years old, had significant experience in the commercial restaurant/hotel kitchen and were currently employed as part and full time lecturers, with two of the participants working as chefs in Higher Education (HE) student cafeteria/staff restaurants. The average age of the group was 35.29 years old, the percentage of the group of under 30 year olds being 46%, which is representative of the industry average for a chef being 36 years old and 40% of the catering industry being under 30 years old (People 1st 2014).

11% of the group were women, representative of the trend in the restaurant trade, in which 80% of chefs are male, as identified by People 1st (2014) (figure

1 and 2). This gender disparity was discussed by participant 17m, who mentioned that, "*I have mainly worked in hotels, and the restaurants within them (pause). Erm, so quite big brigades (pause) ratios of men to women, I would probably say, 90% men 10% women and that is being probably generous*". The pause as he was delivering this sentence is perhaps due to the realisation that he was reflectively identifying the gender imbalance and the masculine employment levels in kitchens. This imbalance is further identified by 9f,

> "*Always a more male orientated place everywhere that I have worked, even the same here. There is only one other girl here, so that is interesting. Their seemed to be more girls that work in open kitchens and closed kitchens from my observations*".

This is an image that is underpinned by 19m, who explains how he "*quite enjoyed the closed kitchen it was (pause), it really was exactly that closed environment. Yes (pause), it was a man`s world*". This reinforces the male environment and, as is identified later in section 7.5, masculinity and the prevalence of a macho culture at work.

The majority of the participants spent their early years in catering education, either full or part time, learning the trade. They were generally motivated to work in the kitchen by having worked part-time in the catering trade while still at school, often in a menial catering role. This stimulated interest and the desire to enter the professional kitchen.

The group comprised of twenty four UK nationals and five individuals from other nationalities (28 in total), specifically from Australia (2), Germany (1), France (1) and Zimbabwe (1). Of the UK nationals, four had significant experience of working abroad for more than one year, in the USA, Canada, Oman and France, with participant 8m having worked in China. Experience abroad and working in a range of kitchens was indicative of the participants building experience and broadening their culinary knowledge, a trend that was identified in the autobiographies of the celebrity chefs (Turner 2001; White and Steen 2006; Blanc 2008; Ramsay 2007). The employment experience of the participants ranged from a small café, public house catering and menial work in local restaurants in the early days of their career to further employment within casual dining and then fine dining establishments. Participants 16m and 28m

were exceptions to this rule as they had experience as army cooks. All the selection group of those below 38 years old were currently employed in upscale to fine dining establishments and had limited experience of contract catering but a wealth of experience of both closed and open kitchens. The second data participant group of those over 46 years old had a wealth of experience across a range of restaurant and hotel kitchens in their early careers but by their mid to late thirties, as a general rule, had transferred into a range of contract catering roles, training roles or executive kitchen roles due to their career progression. Those interviewed identified themselves as chefs and cited the establishments that they had worked in and that the food that they had produced was from fresh basic ingredients, with levels of professional skill attached to the catering processes. Over 80% of the participants made reference to working in an establishment which had achieved a food accolade, and all of the participants were proud of the skilled catering experience that they had amassed.

6.3. The kitchen environment

This first section of the chefs' `talk` explores their thoughts on the two environments of the closed and the open kitchen, a typical comment on the two formats coming from 18m,

> *"There is a big difference in the way that closed and open kitchens work (pause) mainly being a closed kitchen you do not have windows (pause) they feel claustrophobic, hemmed in (pause) it feels like the world is coming down on you".*

This feeling of closure due to the manner in which the closed kitchen environment envelops the worker is further identified as *"The Devils forge, Dantes Inferno"* (23m), representing the heat of the kitchen and being hidden away from humanity in the *"dungeon" which "was always part of the job"* (18m) and as 2m also identifies, *"I am going to be going down into this dungeon"* and *"It is almost like the coal shovelling room in the Titanic (pause) Titanic, you know you are the first to sink".* The chefs spoke about how their experience of the lack of light in the closed kitchen was in direct comparison with the open kitchen, with 3m saying,

> *"The one at F****** [kitchen restaurant named] was very closed, there was skylight windows but that was about as open as it got"* and as 2m discussed *"you were lucky if you even got a window".*

This `talk` of the lack of natural light in the closed kitchen is further elaborated by 11m,

> *"The closed kitchen that I worked in was quite a small rectangle one, there was no light, there was no window, it was just two doors for the waiting staff to come in and out. There was no door to the outside world"* (11m).

> "*I have worked in many places, in basements, on the first floor. Mainly on the first floor (pause) the worst one was (pause) the kitchen was in the basement and it was not a very nice atmosphere (pause) the conditions were not very good to be honest, and that was a big kitchen"* (23m).

> *"The kitchen was located in the basement, you did wear uniforms it was very hot, the extraction was non-existent"* (25m).

> *"They feel claustrophobic, hemmed in (pause) it feels like the world is coming down"* (18m).

It was a common occurrence for the chefs to discuss closed environments as being shut off from the customer, with examples of kitchens being disengaged from the restaurant on first floors, in basements or in back areas with no light. As the sketch by 27m shows (sketch 1, p144),

> *"Closed kitchen working, insular (pause) open kitchen working in front of an audience, pleasing, smiling, people looking at you, acknowledging you, never use to do that in the closed kitchen".*

An image of the Human Stick Drawing (HSD) of the chef working in the kitchen as an isolated individual, with the reflection of the chef in a mirror looking back at himself.

Sketch 1 Kitchen mirror
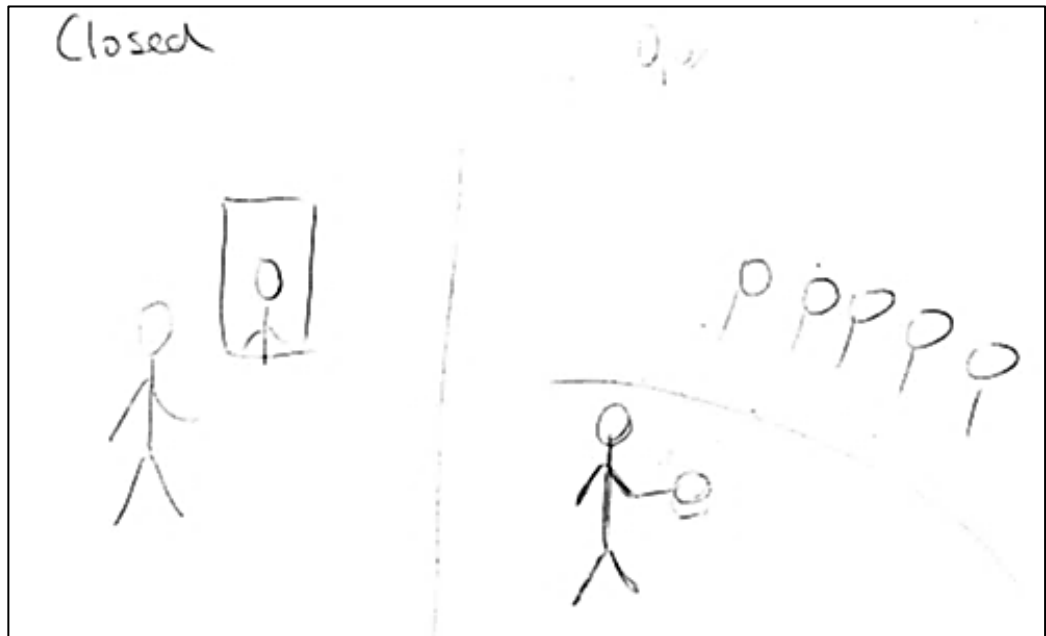
(Sketch by 27m)

The comparison is of the open kitchen in the sketch, where the audience is lined up to view the skill of the chef, a drawing which now places the chef at the centre of the engagement. 2m described the closed kitchen as, *"almost a world of its own"* and the feeling of being locked away in the world of the kitchen as being legitimised by the employment.

> *"I was waiting to be interviewed with the head chef. And then after that I did not see the restaurant for eight or nine months, and that was only when we had a meeting. So it does make you wonder you are in this four square walls with your head down eighteen hours a day, and you never actually see where your food is going, or who is eating it"* (7m).

A feeling of isolation prevailed throughout the `talk` of all of the chefs about the closed kitchen and the acceptance of the design of the kitchen in relation to the kitchen creating a social world as a production environment. The chefs said that this isolated feeling was tempered by periods of the working day when they would be able to engage with the wider world and break out of the closed world in which they worked.

> "*You were very, very happy, when you could spend ten minutes outside in the sun. Yeah (pause) you really do miss the sunshine, if you are going (pause) like go to the reception area,*

or to the area outside, and like just for ten seconds, it felt normal to see the daylight and feel alive (pause) really it felt that bad at times" (8m).

During this `talk`, he paused and reflected on the closed world of work in a kitchen, from where he sought openness by going to the reception area or an outside *space,* where he would *"feel alive".* Other practices to do with seeking an open space were identified by the chef,

"So for example on a Friday night, outside [we] sat on pans turning chateaux potatoes (pause) outside" (17m).

"The back door and we would prop it open a little bit in the summer, but we did not want people to look in and see us" (1m).

A common theme which emerged from the `talk` of being hidden from view was the acceptance of the environment,

"I have always known closed kitchens, so for me it was always part of the job" (18m).

"Because you worked in the [closed] kitchen they tried to keep you as a prisoner within the kitchen, and that's how they try to keep you, you were not allowed to walk through to the reception, or walk through the restaurant. It was the general procedure of the way you worked then, you were never ever told, but it was an unwritten rule, it was almost like part of the protocol of being a chef. You were hidden away, you were sort of in the background, you were not noticed, you were not getting the respect that you deserved" (24m).

The closed kitchen, where the chef was hidden, had a different set of working practices to the open kitchen, a typical account being given by 16m,

"Behind closed doors really, and you just have to rely on the comments that come back sort of thing. But I do prefer a closed kitchen (pause) erm (pause) obviously when you are busy things go on in there (pause) and you know (pause), what the eye does not see (pause) the piles of dirty pans things like that".

In this paragraph, 16m reflects on the production practise of the kitchen and how due to the customer being absent, the chef is able to engage in work practices which are not usually acceptable in the catering industry. The change

that they identified in the kitchen environment is in the customer observational design of the open kitchen in comparison to the closed world, as discussed by 2m,

> *"In the actual restaurant there was a big window, long rectangular window in the restaurant, in the bar and grill where you can see the restaurant, and you can see into the kitchen so that is at the front"* (2m).

The location of the kitchen fundamentally changed as it became part of the experience. Such a change in the location has re-oriented the kitchen. 8m discussed one of the kitchens where he worked,

> *"It was on the ground floor all the people who passed the restaurant could see inside it was a big, big window".*

A number of the chefs acknowledged the job role that they were now playing, which now involves engaging with the customer. (28m) says, *"it turns it into a bit more theatre, and so if the customers can see what is going on in the kitchen they liked that".* (28m) and 15m adds, "*you are just more aware and in here [open] you are more aware, because customers can see you".*

The chefs acknowledged that the change in the work place to a more open work environment was a positive development in kitchen design. The desire to experience the openness of the work environment rather than being locked away is revealed in a number of the chefs' drawings and captured by 15m in his sketch on page 147.

Sketch 2 The open countryside v the office and production line
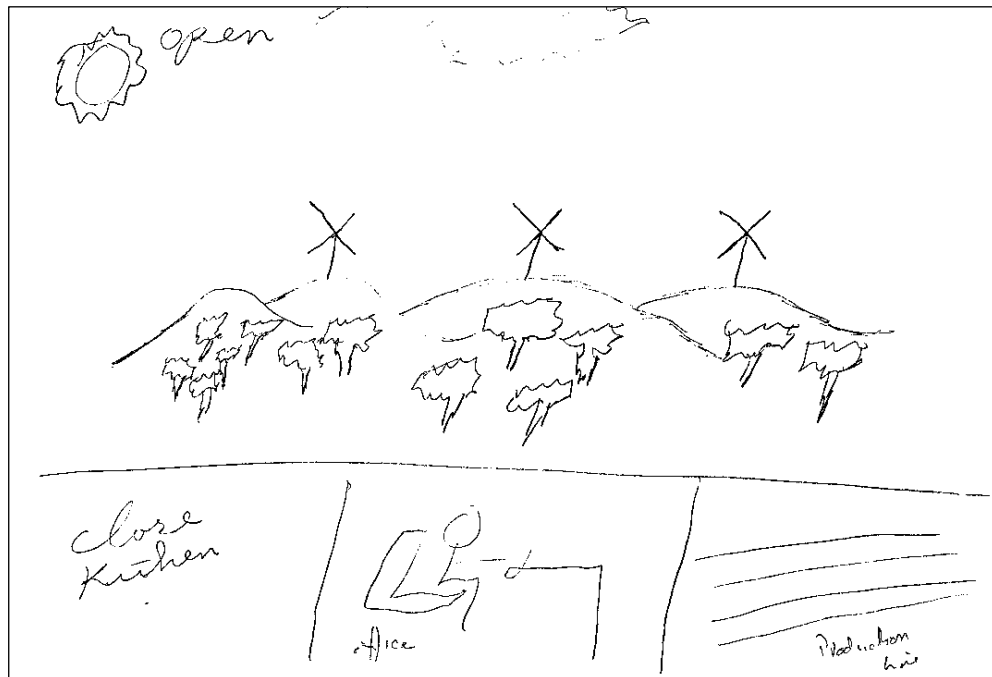
(Sketch by 15m)

Sketch 2 highlights the contrast between the closed and open kitchen. The closed kitchen is perceived as a restricted office, one in which the chef is confined to the desk and works in an environment which is operated on a production line mentality with limited task and management control. This feeling of confinement in comparison to the open kitchen was expressed in the drawing, which 15m spoke about thus,

> *"What I have drawn is like every time I drive to the countryside it is like an oasis, it is open, it is the mountains, I like to be in a high place, were you can see everything; it is just like the open kitchen.   It is beautiful, especially on a sunny day. It is a good atmosphere. A closed kitchen is like in between walls and just working down on an office desk sometimes. It is like confined and restricted, sometimes it is like a production line, and this is my production line"* (15m).

Below, 7m uses the weather as a metaphor to describe his working day in the closed and open kitchen.

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Sketch 3 The kitchen as the weather
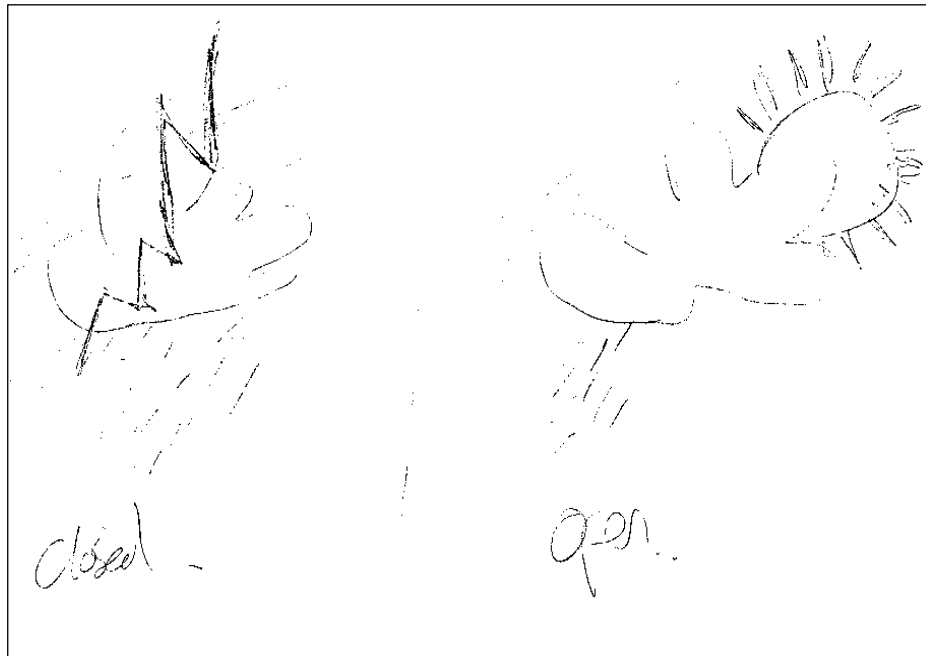
(Sketch by 7m)

This representation (sketch 3) illustrates the closed kitchen as being shrouded in a cloud, with the rain pouring intermittently during the periods of service when it is difficult and stressful *"much more of a depressing environment"* (7m). The rain stops, but the day is still overcast. The open kitchen is depicted as being,

> *"A little ray of sunshine there, a bit of hope, a little bit of hope when you have been through the bad times. Still cloudy, because there are mixed feelings everywhere. Yeah (pause) that's what I can say is an open kitchen still the same sort of atmosphere but there is a little bit more hope with the open kitchen and happiness".*

Sketch 4 by 22f of the closed world was spoken about with more affection, using words such as *"comforting, happy surroundings, family, measured and reflective"* to illustrate her feelings towards the traditional closed kitchen on her drawing. This female chef talked about her star sign of Cancer and its image of the crab, an analogy which she explained as her being cocooned in a shell where she can hide away. She said that the world of the open kitchen made her feel exposed and a target. This participant felt uncomfortable with being in the open and had a natural disposition to be sheltered, the crab shell being a representation of the protection which she felt she required from the customer.

Sketch 4 Cancer the crab

Cancer the Crab

Open	Closed
↓	↓
Exposed	Comforting
↓	Happy in Surrounding
Isolated	↓
↓	Family
A Target	↓
↓	Measured. and reflective
Afraid – wrongfooted Spoke out Place	↓
↓	Get Help if required
Uncomfortable	
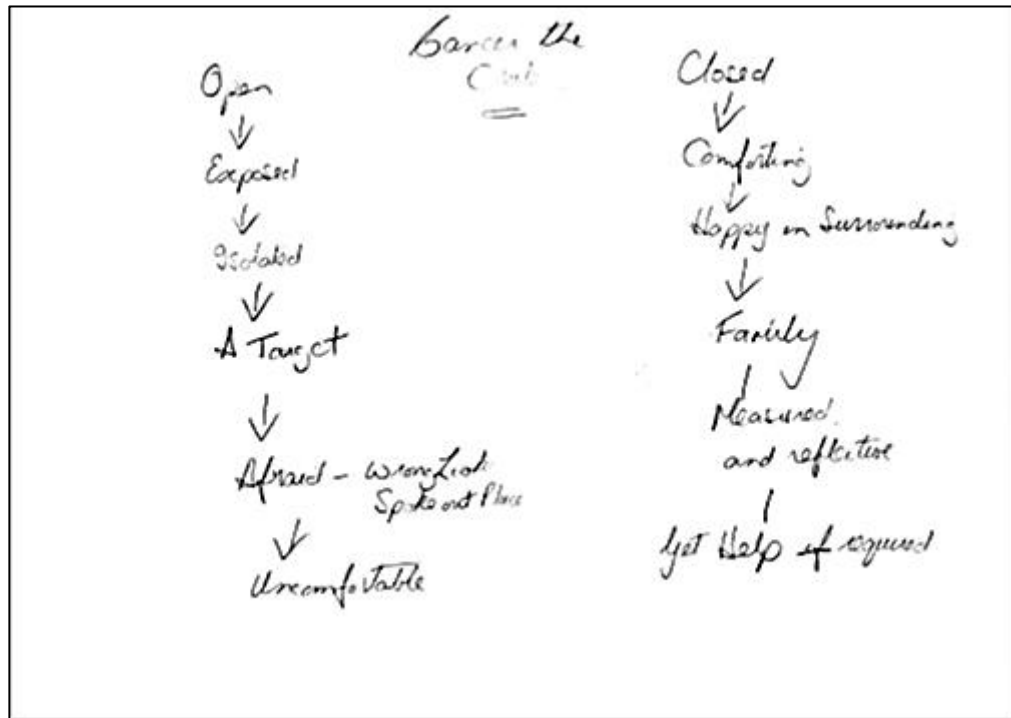
(Sketch by 22f)

22f expressed her opinion of the closed kitchen experience using the analogy of a creature with the protection that the shell brought, while in the open kitchen she felt exposed and vulnerable without her shell. Other chefs spoke about the open yet restrictive nature of the environment, and in her drawing 9f identifies the idea of the chef being restrained behind bars, with the customer staring though (sketch 5, p150) asking benign questions, such as *"Do they eat? What do they eat? How long do they sleep for?"*

Sketch 5 The kitchen as the zoo
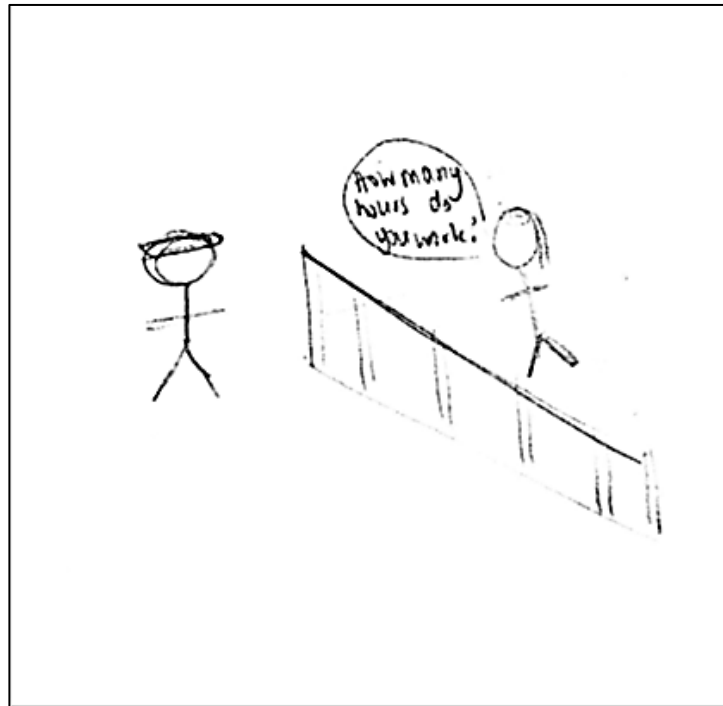
(Sketch by 9f)

The interviewees through their illustrations and `talk` revealed that they are now trapped in a new world, one in which they must put on a performance twice a day. This has the effect of subduing the emotions of the individual and preventing them from expressing themselves naturally as they did in the closed kitchen, as 17m says when discussing his drawing (sketch 6, p151),

> *"So basically what I have done this is the closed kitchen aspect, and this is my open kitchen aspect. In the open kitchen I feel like when the curtains open, as in when service starts, it's all about big smiles, the big tall hat. And everything is great, and I do not feel that (pause) and I do not feel that, that is a portrait of me as a person. I am not the showman, I have not trained as a showman, I have trained to be a chef. So the opposite side of that is me in the back, if something has gone wrong (pause), you know "fuck It" and, I can be allowed to release my frustrations and anger, and that is probably still the long and tall of why I prefer to be in there, back here (bangs to picture reiterating the closed kitchen benefits), because, I cannot be. I am not that big screaming cursing person, but I cannot be me, and I want to be me [bangs the picture of the closed kitchen to reiterate this]"* (17m).

Sketch 6 Kitchen as the staged show
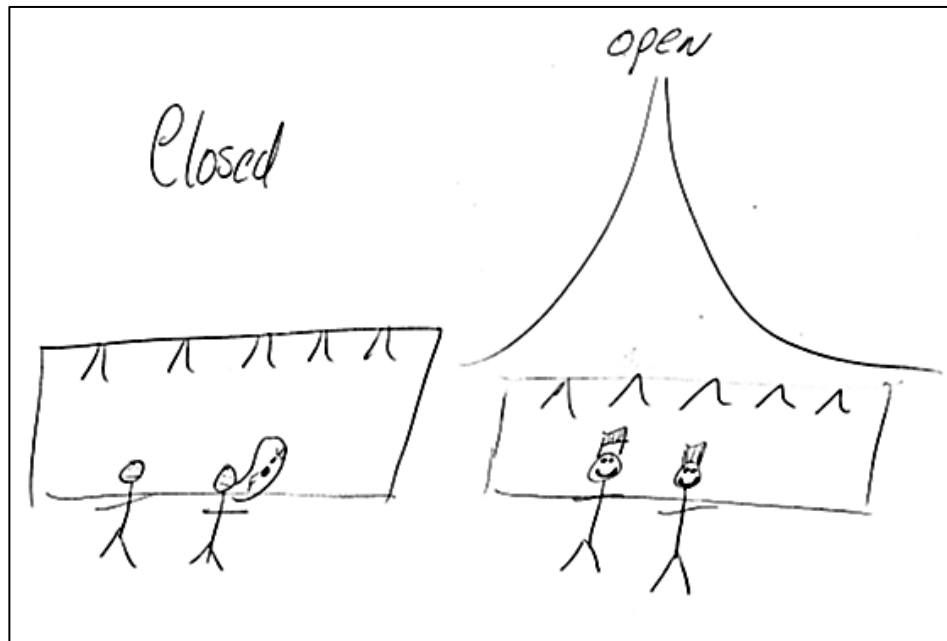
(Sketch by 17m)

Closer inspection of this drawing (sketch 6) reveals that although he discussed the closed kitchen as a place where the chef can be himself and feel contented with his work, the chefs' face is without a smile. The `talk` was centred on the feeling of being content in the open kitchen, so one would expect that the subconscious would draw a positive expression of an upward turned mouth. Furthermore, the chef's eyes in the open kitchen are represented as large, bulging circles in comparison with the smaller eyes of the chef in the closed kitchen, which would seem to indicate that the chef in the picture is happier and observing his surroundings in the open kitchen. The chefs in the open kitchen are drawn with hats on by the participant but an observation of the open kitchen by the researcher was that where this chef was working the interviewee and his colleagues did not wear hats during the non-service period of the interview. The image of the open kitchen and the showmanship is represented by the curtains of the theatre being pulled back and the costume of the chef being worn, reinforcing the concept of a stage but indicating that the show was in a sense restricted. The chef is operating in a space which is perceived by them as neither the front nor the back of house but an intermediary work space that they have to perform on.

6.3.1. Summary – the kitchen environment

The move from the closed to the open kitchen has changed the chef's world of work. The chefs feel that they are now on show and that this new work place is an arena where they are exposed. This new vista for the customer has created a lighter work environment for the chef than the dark, oppressive closed kitchen. The chefs clearly see the new world as a stage, which reduces the dissatisfaction with closed kitchen work and gives them a sense of freedom since they are able to observe the wider environment around them.

6.4. Section 1 – Pre work

The literature explored how the participants felt before going into work as a means of ascertaining the antecedents to emotional and aesthetic work. The research tool focused on two key themes: the affectivity or the mood of the individual chef before arriving at work. The second theme was the empathy with others (friends or colleagues) about attending work. Empathy while at work as a moderator is dealt with under the separate heading of 'social support from colleagues'.

6.4. Antecedent of work

The antecedents of customer service work fall under two key themes: affectivity and empathy with others, which affect the individual's mood before entering the kitchen and hence may impact upon their work.

6.4.1 Affectivity

The chefs *'talk'* identified the affectivity of entering the closed and open kitchen as one antecedent, the tendency for the chef to experience a mood before entering the kitchen, Typical `*talk*` was crystallised by 1m when talking about the closed kitchen,

> *"You feel a sink in your stomach (pause) you know (pause) God I've got to go in (pause). Especially when you do have a day off and you see all your friends working and its outside (pause) and you see air and light, it's like trudging your way into work and you know because through the whole day you are going to be told exactly what to do (pause) and how to do, do (pause).Whether it's going to be right or wrong (pause) right for one chef (pause) wrong for another chef and you know (pause)*

you are going to be told off, law of the kitchen sort of thing"
(1m).

Attitudes about work in the closed kitchen were generally more negative than about work in the open kitchen. Thoughts centred on the mood that the individual was experiencing while outside of the kitchen environment. The mood was more negative in relation to the closed kitchen, relating to the isolation that hidden kitchen work afforded, as 9f discusses,

> *"I guess a little bit negative in a sense, you did not have to be awake (pause) kind of thing you do not have to be completely alert to everything, you did not have to talk to people in that sense. For me personally it was more negative, but I did not think that I did not want to go to work, I never felt nervous or irritable about it"* (9f).

The participant`s general attitude towards work was that they entered the occupation of catering for the pleasure and gratification of being able to work with food and the skills that they were acquiring.

> *"The more you moved up in the kitchen you did sort of thing look forward to it, the only sort of driving force was the, erm (pause) the passion for food you did sort of (pause) thing you were creating the food and being creative* (2m).

A passion for cooking had a mitigating effect on the attitude and mood of the individual before work. Throughout the `*talk*` the chefs spoke of the desire to be creative with the food. That said, whether it was closed or open, the thought of going to work was not always positive (work was work),

> *"In the closed kitchen definitely (pause) yes, I have gone in the open kitchen in a bad mood and quite a few times, especially when you will have had only four hours sleep. I never let it affect me, I have been able to go to the chefs table in a bad mood and I know that I cannot let it show. I am not going to let a bad mood reflect on them [customers]* (7m).

What is apparent is that the `*talk*` makes clear that when they entered the open kitchen in a negative mood, the customer engagement aspect of the work required a masking of the mood that they felt. For many, the experience of closed kitchen work was summed up by 26m when he said, "it *nearly broke me it, it really did"* but the general `*talk*` of working in a professional kitchen and with food was "I *have always enjoyed going to work, I always wanted to be a chef"* (14m).

The discussion on the open kitchen and the attitude towards the environment was a positive one and represented the way they felt about the work. This was in the main due to the wider contact with people and the physical location giving them a greater feeling of space.

> *"I really enjoyed working in the kitchen because erm (pause) because we were always encouraged to have a lot of communication with customers and we were always encouraged to have communication with them"* (5m).

> *"I found myself I enjoyed it much more in an open kitchen, the relationships were a lot nicer. I am not sure if they have to be all (pause) that was just the way it was. Erm (pause) sort of (pause) there was more sort of motivation to work in an open kitchen because it was lighter and a nicer place to be. It was cooler, erm (pause) it was just a better place to be"* (5m).

The mood in relation to work was generally positive, but as 10m discusses,

> *"I love the closed kitchen, but when I came to work here in the open kitchen about the first year I was quite nervous about coming to work. I used to be really nervous about going up to the chefs table".*

This feeling towards work was borne out by a number of the chefs. Although they felt apprehensive about the open kitchen environment, their passion for working with food and love of the craft of being a chef was a great motivator that helped them overcome this. The key challenge for those having to transfer into the open kitchen for the first time was dealing with the nervousness they felt when having to engage visually and verbally with the customer. For those chefs who had never been in a front of house position before, this was a challenge. Others who that had come via a front office service route but had entered the kitchen as a means of greater prestige had a more positive transition,

> *"I started out as a waiter, usually things, dishwasher stroke waiter, and the place I first learnt and started to train was actually at a small 60 seat restaurant which was (pause) erm (pause) very old school in that it had, flambes and gueridon work. Erm (pause) from an early career point of view I was cooking and preparing things in front of guests which gave me a lot of self-belief and confidence"* (19m).

> *"Before I went to hospitality I worked in a supermarket as a laser boy. So I knew how to interact"* (12m).

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Of the participants, only three had previous experience of customer engaging employment, but they acknowledged how the engagement as a chef with customers was different, as 12m then qualifies in his discussion,

> *"I had my speak that I had to say, "Hello" and that was about it really, but I have had to create my own speak for here, routine basically. That routine changes depending on who I have to talk to. It might be casual; it depends who is on the kitchen tours"* (12m).

> *"It's strange because I worked as a front of house person for quite a while before I came into the restaurant, but when I am in my whites I do feel that a lot different, more stand offish, this is a lot more relaxed and I guess, I am I kind of front of house, I suppose in this halfway ground"* (9f).

The fact that they had previously performed in front of the customer in other employment roles gave them an insight into the engagement required, and as such, the challenge of entering into open kitchen work for them was not as daunting.

6.4.2. Empathy

Pre-work empathy with work colleagues was the result of them being part of a `tribe` the members of which shared a common bond and understanding. For some, this developed through the living away from home, whilst for others it was the result of the independence that full-time work offered them after leaving school. They shared a common bond that had developed out of learning from and supporting each other in a masculine world, which strengthened the resolve towards the closed kitchen. This is highlighted by 17m,

> *"I moved out of home when I was 16, because I was always at work. I was given the opportunity to go and live in at work (pause) so I did. We were always on site (pause) so I think because all the chefs lived in and afterwards, we had a few beers (pause) and stuff like that. I don't think you really took it in how you were being treated. Because it was all hard work, and then have a party at the end of the day (pause).* Continuing in his *talk "I used to go in at 7 o'clock in the morning, and finish at 10 o'clock in the evening. So (pause) I just tried to forget work after that really"* (17m).

This feelings of those in the `tribe` and the gang towards work created a sense of togetherness, which is summarised by 27m and 10m,

"In a day's work, I knew what I was doing. Let's get it done, let's get home. We worked to a good standard, we had a good team. But we all had the same end game, lets clock out let's get home, lets prep for tomorrow. It was kind of mundane, but I felt comfortable with it, very, very comfortable, I knew what I was doing, no worries" (27m).

"It didn't bother me at all to be honest and when I moved to London, my life in London revolved around the Dorchester kitchens. My friends came through the kitchen I have a girlfriend that worked there so my life centred around work" (10m).

This empathy with and loyalty towards each other as chefs is bound up in the job, the colleagues that they work with, how they have become friends and the relationships that they have formed. With this close bond comes a shared understanding of the work and the occupation. This is summed up by 23m,

"Just like a family. It was just a network, everybody knew each other and it was good fun to work, and in fact the guy that worked there with me, he was with me at the time, he became a very close friend, almost a brother" (23m).

The account of the empathy with others in the closed kitchen was built on the members of the `*tribe*`s` shared understanding of the hidden world of work. This understanding stemmed from peer pressure to support each other in the job and not to let colleagues down. Positive feelings about employment in the open kitchen were the result of a similar understanding regarding the additional pressure of having to engage with the customer. Once the nervousness for the environment had subsided, the chefs began to appreciate how much the customers valued the job they did. This customer appreciation became an additional positive antecedent motivator towards work.

"On a Saturday they would quite often come up to the pass for a chat, and tell you how nice it was, and that, that they really appreciated it, "Thanks for it". That was nice in itself, they would come and say that they had bought you a drink and they left it began the bar. It would almost reduce you to tears as especially when you had been busy. You just felt like you have been treated a lot nicer you knew what you were doing and you would do it" (1m).

"It was an open kitchen and you engage with the guests you definitely go home feeling much happier than you do in a closed kitchen. It's that you just feel more proud of what you are doing every day (pause) and people have knowledge of what you are doing" (7m).

This experience of the customer wanting to talk and show interest in their work created empathy with the chef and entering of the kitchen knowing others appreciated their work made work more bearable, an experience that was never forthcoming in the closed kitchen. The open kitchen enabled some customers to become advocates and admirers of their skill.

Section 2 - At work

This section will discuss the findings from the interview on the two kitchen environments in relation to the chef's working day. It will firstly report the findings on the traditions of kitchen work, including the masculinity of closed kitchen work, and the impact moving from the closed kitchen to an open kitchen has had on the chefs as they enter into a performance. This section will then report the findings on emotional and aesthetic labouring. It will close by reporting the moderators towards emotional and aesthetic labour identified in the research findings on customer engagement in a service environment.

6.5.1. Masculinity in the kitchen

Most chefs in closed kitchens are males, and the current national ratio is 80% male to 20% female chefs (People 1st 2014, p34) (see Figure 1 Male and female representation across broad hospitality occupational groups, UK, 2011). This male dominance fosters an atmosphere of male behaviour, as exemplified by 14m, who discusses,

> *"It was a right laugh, when the work was getting done it was a real laugh. It was really fun; we use to stitch each other up, like putting eggs into each other's coffee. Tabasco in drinks, just the usual chefs tricks. Loads of salt in each other`s dinner just really stitch each other up. A lot of banter (pause) chatting about football. But when service was happening, it was get your heads down and get on with it. We still had a laugh but you could not stitch each other up because you still had to concentrate"* (14m).

In order to be accepted, those females who entered the closed kitchen environment had to adopt masculine type behaviour, as 5m and 22f discuss,

> *"The actual kitchen manager at the time was female but it was almost all male [kitchen], all in there in their late teens and early 20s and even though it was run by a female it was still a very*

ladish environment. She was in the kitchen and she had to be very, quite aggressive (pause) masculine in many ways" (5m).

"His kitchens were very `militarised` and very ordered and so predominantly a male brigade I was the only female" (22f).

Those females that did enter into the world of the closed kitchen were perceived by the male chefs as being unable to cope with the demands of kitchen work, a situation that persists in current male dominated closed kitchens,

"The argument was they were not strong enough (pause) cannot handle the pressure (pause) but it's all a load of nonsense. They are not strong enough to carry the heavy pots, it's all macho, it's all nonsense women in the kitchen it's great. I`ve had students who have gone to work for Raymond Blanc, Gary Rhodes, names like that who have actually been horrified by the language. Erm (pause) Raymond Blanc`s kitchen was a good example were she felt actually intimidated, it was a male dominated kitchen were chefs felt they had to show off with really bad language. Really macho making outrageous comments and things, I think it put some females off" (28m).

Those females who did enter the world dominated by the male chef had to overcome traditions which had been historically constructed in Britain during the masculinised manufacturing economy era. The female chefs were generally more relaxed about the levels of stress created by open kitchen work. They acknowledged in their `*talk*` of the closed kitchens that the males that they had experience of working with were more aggressive and that these displays of masculinity were not as visible in the open kitchen,

"The language I cannot pretend that female chefs don't swear in the kitchen of course they do (pause) but I suppose men, they find that hard in an open kitchen (pause) and particularly men, [men need to be] so much more controlled (pause) yes (pause) and it just adds the more pressure" (22f).

Those females had to be prepared to put up with the antics of the men in this environment, and as 22f discusses,

"I did not get any bother with the brigade because we [females] worked as hard as they did. I think that they could see that and they respected that (pause) they had a certain level of immaturity, there were some comments. For example some of the commis (pause) but we could handle it because we did as much work as they did, and in some case, MORE (pause) than they did" (22f).

This participant female was very passionate about her role in the masculine world of the closed kitchen and she was bitter about the manner in which she had been treated in male dominated kitchens. She raised her voice to emphasise the fact that she was often working harder than the male chefs in the closed kitchen so that she would be accepted as part of the `tribe` while retaining her femininity. The female chef in this instance identified how the males in the kitchen viewed female chefs,

> *"They had this idea of (pause) she will never be able to cook (pause) probably thinking that I was fluffy [street language for lesbian]"* (22f).

> *"Its good (pause) a positive relationship between us all really. When I first came it was real male dominated kitchen really (pause). As a girl I was not allowed to do some things (pause) but I got along with some of the chefs. We just had a laugh really"* (8f).

Having to put up with macho behaviour, as one male chef recalled, was how one chef had reinforced their masculinity while working in a kitchen,

> *"I can remember one of the chefs who wore a T-shirt which said `Porn Star` across it"* (14m).

6.5.2. Changing nature of work

The chefs acknowledge that their behaviour has changed radically as they have moved from the closed kitchen, where macho behaviour was the norm, to the open kitchen due to their engagement with the customer and being on view. This is identified by 3m, *"in these more open kitchens you have sort of got to maintain at all times like super professional behaviour because you are always on show"*. This has reduced the level of masculine behaviour and led to a greater acceptance of female chefs, as one participant identified,

> *"A mixture of male and female as well, there's sort of calming feeling when a female is around, it's sort of more relaxed than when the boys get together there's obviously more of a relaxed conversation when a lady is in the air"* (13m).

The male chefs in the closed kitchens were committed to each other and the comradeship that this closed world developed. The kitchen environment has traditionally been hot and dirty and thus a macho culture has been the norm. Coupled with the pressure of the twice daily service period, this created the

tension of the kitchen and with it the fuelling of male aggression. As chef 2m identifies in his `talk`

> *"It was aggressive, I think body language wise it was aggressive body language. Broad shoulders, arms out, the bigger the better, would not even give you, eye contact in some instances. Hitting tables and stuff like that dramatic effect to make it sound louder than it actually was things like that. It was like that. Yes, frightening animalistic, you can imagine these chefs, draping their knuckles and smashing the tables"* (2m).

This macho culture is demonstrated through the comradeship and the appeal of a job with no academic requirements, as one of the chefs identified,

> *"On a positive note it was (pause) it is always fun working in a team when everyone gets along (pause) and it was quite a fun environment to work in. Books [academic work] it's always bothered me (pause). It was clean, it was well run. But when it was hectic in there it did get out of hand at times"* (5m).

The *"out of hand"* reference by 5m above when referring to the male antics of the closed kitchen was discussed as,

> *"There was a lot of small boy play fighting, and just laddish behaviour, in general just messing about. A lot of throwing of stuff, yes absolutely, but never in a nasty way it was always fun"* (5m).

One head chef in a well-known international hotel chain summed it up thus,

> *"Let`s not lie here you know the `F` ing the blinding the shouting, the screaming the paddying the throwing, obviously I have seen it all. I have been there and done it myself so (pause) you had to switch off from all that"* (17m).

The senior chefs in the `talk` would often relate to the celebrity chefs at the time of their training and justify their own aggressive behaviour by comparing it with the actions of those that they admired who were operating successful closed Michelin star kitchen restaurants,

> *"Hell raising, bullying, high smoking and drinking. Did not give a shit. They were always in the headline (pause) at his peak. Marco was even worse. By the virtues of those times, my chef was seen as a God. Honestly, it seemed ridiculous now when I sit here and talk about it, but by being a chef you had this God complex, and if you got shouted at. [both laugh] fucking hell (pause) I will sit here and tell you (pause) but at the time (pause) I thought I was so cool, but looking back a bit ashamed. We used to throw things, call them names; we used to have*

> *bets (pause) to see how many commis we could make cry. When you were that age you were ripping hell out of them. Honestly (pause) we used to lock then in fridges, and all sorts"* (17m).

The amount of discussion that this topic elicited from all of the chefs really did highlight the aggressiveness and bullying within the closed kitchen that is still occurring and being reported in the press (Smith 2014). Such antics are part of the ritual passage to becoming a professional chef and to becoming accepted by the `*tribe*`,

> *"In a closed kitchen the head chef would just turn around and kick you up the arse (pause) clean the fucking floor [Both laugh] (pause) that's not acceptable in the open kitchen because the customers would not be happy in that way you worked and treating the staff and you know you would get a lot of complaints (pause) erm (pause) I had never seen it done in an open kitchen"* (7m).

> *"I would say that during a very busy service you tended to throw pans and make a lot of noise, and bang things [closed kitchen]"* (18m).

The whole attitude of the chefs towards the younger commis and the manner in which they treated them was a test of the commis' resolve and commitment to becoming a professional chef, with the aggression being constantly perpetuated through the street language the chefs used to communicate during service. Chef 28m recalls,

> *"The language of service was always French petite-fours and so (pause) I think the UK, English, Scottish, Welsh were only around 25% of the population of the kitchen. I rather enjoyed that side of it. Swearing led us, it's a kind of cultural thing, you don`t even know you are doing it"* (28m).

Whatever language was used, it still seemed that *"it was just a matter of being screamed at for the fucking meals"* (5m). Throughout the `*talk*`, it was revealed that the level of aggressive behaviour that was usually associated with kitchen work was much reduced in the open kitchen. In the main, it had to be controlled and subdued to conform to the levels of behaviour acceptable to the customer, as 26m discusses,

"Yes, I think there was a contrast [closed kitchen] (pause) certainly in my experience. Yes in terms of expletives. You watch your p`s and q`s when people were there, yes because people are there (pause) and every word and so on. But in a close kitchen you started to shout across and have a row" (26m).

and is further identified by 3m,

"With it being an open kitchen at work (pause) it means that you have to maintain that sort of professionalism, even if there is a personal problem you just don't mention it. Like in a closed kitchen it's there and then if you have an issue with someone then just say it (pause) and it is just dealt with. Whereas here [open kitchen] you cannot do that because if you are shouted at by one of the senior members of the chefs (pause) you cannot be doing that with other people (pause) like bringing up another issue in a hostile way with other people that is not something that you can do" (3m).

In this `talk`, the chef acknowledges the expectations to mask their own feelings in order to meet the customers' perception of how the professional kitchen should be. The arguments that are normally associated with the kitchen have to be subdued to a level which society deems acceptable. The participants did mention that some customers came to dine to experience and witness the kitchens as depicted on the television by Gordon Ramsay, Marco Pierre White and John Burton-Race; however, in reality, as a working chef, you did not want to be put in such a position of being shouted at as part of the show. If anything, the opposite was occurring, and the attention to detail by the chefs who were cooking was far greater to ensure good mise-en-place. They did not want to be the chef who was going to be shouted at. The chefs acknowledged that although it was an open kitchen format and the street language was more subdued even so at times the Head Chef raised his voice for effect. The customers had come to witness a certain level of kitchen excitement, and as such, they felt that such shouting was more playing and putting on an act, almost the chef having some banter with them.

"Yes, part of the act. It definitely was, there was no way you could have sat in the restaurant without hearing them shout on a Saturday night sort of thing, even the front of house would be afraid. Yes (pause) the relationship there was fearful (pause) well I don't really want to say fearful, it was all part of the show kind of thing. Like, Gordon Ramsay has made a career out of it, that's what people go for to see the chefs are all working

perfectly. You don't want to always see that you want to see the chef mess up, it's like a race, and you want to see a crash [formula 1 car race]" (2m).

The chefs discussed how the guests expected the kitchen to be run to an extent in the same way the celebrity chefs run their kitchens on television.

"I don't know if Marcus or James plays up to that but (pause) but we don't like it because we get shouted at. Generally they do enjoy it (customers) watching us getting shouted at; well just to hear a little bit of shouting" (3m).

Participant 3m went on to discuss how the shouting in the open kitchen was far tamer than in the closed kitchen. The closed kitchen was centred on male aggression and fear of the chef that was amplified due to the tension of kitchen work. In the open kitchen, the shouting was still a part of kitchen communication but without the swearing. In reality, the open kitchen was a far quieter operation than the closed kitchen. If anything, additional detailed attention to preparation was undertaken by the chefs.

"I would say that once you go out of the closed kitchen your discussion about the hot plate [service] issue is a lot more structured. Yes, I would say so (pause) so as not to give the bad view to the customers. So yes, the last thing they want to hear in the service at the open kitchen is the fucking and blinding, who wants to see a load of chefs running about sweating and kicking off (pause) it's not a pretty picture" (16m).

Chefs 16m and 13m underpinned the philosophy of the reduced level of street language being used as a result of the changed nature of the job,

"Well it certainly (pause) it certainly differs (pause) certainly there is no expletive language for sure and if there is, it is probably done with a (pause), very quietly (pause), there is never anyone shouting and if there is its generally drowned out by the hum of the restaurant anyway. I think there is (pause) people have to be more calm anyway in an open kitchen, when tempers are flaring they get dampened very quickly by the fact that people are watching" (13m).

It was also evident in one female chef's `talk` how the nature of communication had changed since the time when the head chef barked the orders out at the hot plate,

"Well really the Head Chef rules and what he says generally goes. It is usually dealt with in front of the customers, he would shout at us if it was a closed kitchen and erm (pause) he will

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say if he is not happy and if something is wrong and we will just have to take it (pause). "Yes chef sorry chef, (pause) it won't happen again chef". So we just stop and get on with it" (6f).

Chef 6f discussed how in the open kitchen she finds the street language tamer than the language she had previously experienced in a closed kitchen. The chefs spoke about how in the open kitchen the engagement with the customer had reduced the levels of aggression between staff during the service period and how following service, the issues that at the time seemed to be monumental were always less of a problem and that the tension was defused once the customers had been served.

> *"I think once (pause) you get really angry about something when somebody does something wrong or really wound you up (pause), but half an hour later even you have forgotten about it or it becomes less of an issue. Once the moment has passed it is pointless (pause) you would be a little bit frustrated at the moment but like that's the adrenalin, but after it's died down at the end of service you just cannot even be bothered to talk about it. You just say (pause) whatever"* (3m).

The principle of taking issues away from the period of service is reiterated by 21m,

> *"You never got that barrier in the open kitchen not as much, because everybody is involved. I have seen heated discussions, but you had to take them out of the back. Take it away from the environment, and the customers, but I have never seen any fists around, not in an open kitchen"* (21m).

The chef in the illustration drawn by 12m (sketch 7, p165) is a feminine image in a skirt, in contrast to the usual male representation of a Human Sketch Drawing (HSD). This image illustrates the feminisation that the new work order now requires as the masculinity of the closed world is being eroded. The masculinity still associated with the job is perhaps represented in the holding of the knife, which represents the power and control that the chef purports to have over the audience.

Sketch 7 Kitchen in the spotlight
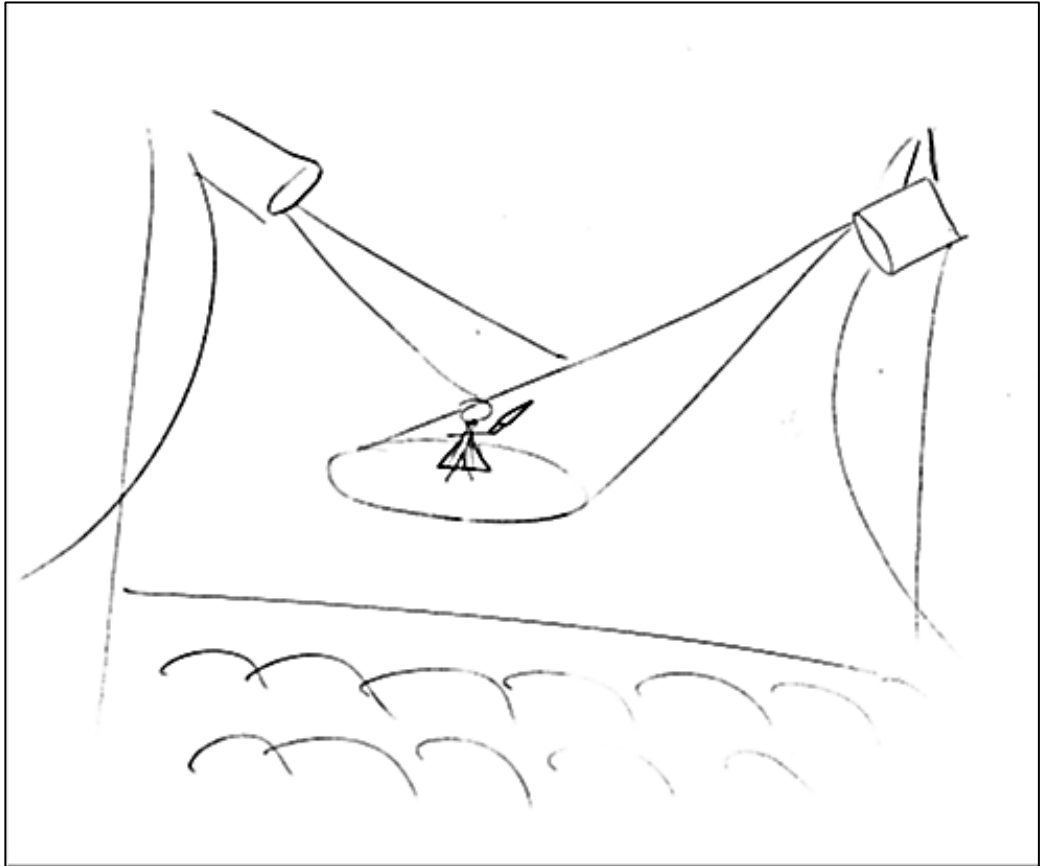
(Sketch by 12m)

Chef 10m (sketch 8, p166) draws a similar image (sketch 7) of the customer watching the chef on the stage; the illustration can be interpreted as a pedestal on which the chefs have to stand while facing the audience, with the knife held out as a defence from the customer as they observe the chef and the expected performance.

Sketch 8 Holding the audience back
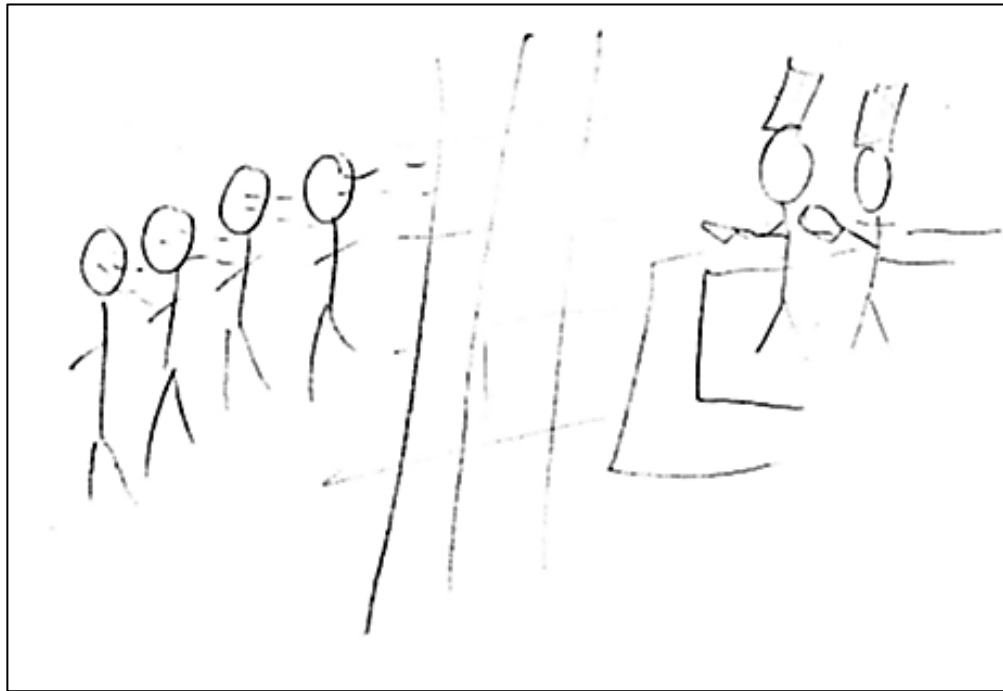
(Sketch by 10m)

10m in his `*talk*` goes on to discuss how the customers observe them but do not necessarily engage with the chef as they are seen as a passive member of staff and for some customers almost an object of curiosity,

> *"The customers ask things like, "So how long did he work for?, Do they get a break?, Do they eat?, Where do they eat?, It's almost like being on show like somebody coming to the zoo (pause) an animal in the cage. That's the thought that always comes into my head what do you feed them on, how many hours to the get to sleep?, How do they get here? It's a bit weird like"* (10m).

> *"They ask questions like, "What time do you start? Where are you from? How long is your working day"? Sometimes it's really funny the waiter asks the questions that the customers have asked the waiter to ask, then (pause) it feels like you're not there. You answer the waiter back and a waiter just repeats the answer, it's like you're not there. It's like you are a child or something. Its questions like how long do they work? Do they have anything to eat? It`s just questions like that it's strange"* (9f).

This reinforces the chef's feeling of being an animal in the zoo, performing for the guest. It almost follows the Victorian tradition of displaying the latest colonial exhibit for the middle classes to view and take pleasure from, reinforcing the

superiority of the paying customer. Respondent 9f discusses the passive engagement with the customer through the waiting staff, reinforcing the notion that they undertake the work in a space which is neither the front stage nor the back stage but rather a middle space, where they can be observed by the customer.

6.5.3. Traditions of kitchen work

The training and work standards of the kitchen are built upon the traditions of classical French cuisine, examples of which pervade throughout the chefs' `talk` in reference to the establishments that they had worked, *"I worked in Le P*** de la T***, which was a (pause) French dining restaurant"* (2m), *"a traditional French style restaurant"* (25m), *"I then worked in the French brassiere"* (10m), or the manner in which they prepared *"take[ing] the supremes off, French trim them"* (17m). The interviewees made reference to a number of professional French terms, such as mise-en-place and the partie system, when explaining the kitchen that they had worked in. Such traditions of French culinary standards are identified in the autobiographies and biographies of the celebrity chefs and these underpin the historical connection between restaurants in the UK and France. The common and perhaps unprofessional working practices that the chefs referred to in their accounts are still prevalent in contemporary restaurant closed kitchens. Some of the practices that were employed evolved treating the customers food with a disregard as 7m clearly identifies,

> *"I think in the closed kitchen not everyone is in it for the dedication of the food (pause) in the closed kitchens you get people who sort of stitch each other up. Someone will nick your mise-en-place, some will nick it (pause) and the head chef has to come and sort it all out"* (7m).

2m questioned the ethics of working in the kitchen and his place in the kitchen trade,

> *"If it was burnt we try hiding it and send it out. You know they would not really put much care into it again, like I was saying that was part of the reason why I was losing my passion for it [cooking], because I was thinking is this like what everyone does"* (2m).

One of the chefs in particular picked up on this theme and went on to describe the tribal ritual that begins to take effect as a result of working in a closed

kitchen,

> *"You witness things that and are party to things that are probably a reflection of your values at that time. Ermmm (pause) it wasn't really very professional, I quite enjoyed the closed kitchen it was (pause) it really was exactly that, a closed environment"* (19m).

6.5.4. Relationships with service staff

The alienation of the chef in the closed kitchen from the customer led to tense feelings and mistrust between the service staff as the intermediaries and the closed kitchen staff. This was in part brought on by the fact that the chef could not observe or understand the waiting staff role, and the tension between them was further developed as a result of the kitchen staff's envy of the tips the waiting staff received from the customers,

> *"In most kitchens that I have worked in the dining room staff and the chefs were allies, and seriously they were; and they [waiting staff] were always getting the tips, and there was always this friction, and between the front of house staff and the kitchen. There was always this friction and it was to do with tips. And very rarely did he [Head Chef] go out, we were not allowed to go out and* talk *to the customers"* (23m).

This is further discussed in the `*talk*` of 24m,

> *"It was almost like part of the protocol of being a chef. You were hidden away, you were sort of in the background; you were not noticed; you were not getting the respect that you deserved. And I think that is why there was this tension and that has always been this tension between the chefs the waiters. The waiting staff used to get all the tips, and the chefs never got anything. Which is another thing that fuelled the conflict between the chefs and the waiting staff. Yet the chefs are putting in all work and all the commitment. As chef's we used to say, if it was not for us chefs you waiters would not have a job"* (24m).

The divide between the kitchen and restaurant often led to disagreements between restaurant and kitchen staff fuelled by a misunderstanding of each other's role in the organisation. This was in contrast to the open kitchen narratives, which revealed how the chef for the first time was able to view the progress of the diner and how this had changed the nature of their involvement and relationship with the service staff. This had the effect of them not only appreciating the work of the server but also enabled them to better understand

and pre-empt the orders that were required, as chef 6f discusses,

> *"If they are sat really close to the pass over there [points] if you can see that they waiting for a while the Head Chef will say, "Don`t worry your main course is coming up next" and they will know the check and the table number and will say the dish that they are having is coming up next. He sorts of puts them at ease really because he knows what is going on even though we are busy (pause) he will ensure that it gets done really. The chef knows the table numbers; in fact we all do really, more or less"* (6f).

The discussion with a number of the chefs turned to the manner in which the chef is now working more clearly as additional support for the restaurant, even to the extent of the respondents identifying which tables required clearing as their main course was ready and the service staff indicating to the chef if a dish is potentially going to be overcooked. During the `*talk*`, it became clear that a far deeper understanding of each other and a positive culture of working co-operatively had developed, as reiterated by 14m,

> *"But in the open kitchen you do see more stuff. for example if you are really busy I will take stuff out for them (pause) you can often point things out that, that the waitress does not see (pause) look that table needs to be cleared"* (14m).

> *"There is a couple of good points about it and what I have found is that you have more control of your restaurant out in the front. You can see the tables finishing you have got a lot more erm (pause) it opens your eyes a lot more to what is going on in the restaurant"* (17m).

It can be surmised that the sphere of influence of the chef has widened, crossing over the boundary into the restaurant, with the chef now being able to orchestrate the restaurant service from the kitchen in a manner which they were never able to do previously.

> *"I could not tell you what my tables numbers are in the restaurant but you do get to (pause). `Oh that table has finished over there (pause) you need to go and clear it (pause) right main course away`. But like in closed environment when I am in the back, you don't know what is going on unless you go for a visit. Erm (pause) which obviously you cannot do most of the time so you are relying on your waiting staff doing it, and that is very diverse in terms of the reports you get back"* (17m).

The participants reiterated the feeling of being shut off from the customer in the closed kitchen and that it was an acknowledged part of the job. Even so, as a chef, 24m would have liked to have seen customers enjoying the food, something that the closed kitchen never allowed,

> *"Generally we never saw any customers; I would like to have seen some. Customers now and again would actually pop into the kitchen. But apart from that you never really saw any. And I think that is why there was this tension, and that has always been this tension between the chefs and the waiters"* (24m).

The open kitchen connection with the customer has influenced the relationship between the chef and the waiting staff, creating a far greater understanding of each other's role. The respondents all spoke in a far more positive manner about the role they performed, realising that customer contact for the chef involved them using new skills, such as being able to perceive the needs of the customers in order to engage with them,

> *"I know that I now have to work the customers out and interact with them differently. The fact that in an open kitchen the chef is coming out and talking to customers he [chef] has to change the way that he is"* (6f).

The chefs discussed how due to being in an open kitchen, they could now observe what the waiting staff were doing and understood the service pressure that they were under when interacting with customers and how this had developed into a far greater mutual respect,

> *"Back then [closed kitchen] there was a kind of separate relationship between the kitchen and waiting staff (pause) but now it's like a big family here [open kitchen] we all get along (pause) it`s quite good. Examples in the closed kitchen is when waiting staff come in the rudeness towards the waiter (pause) you can snap like that [clicks fingers] because I have done it [referring to the closed kitchen]"* (12m).

> *"The relationships between staff (pause) the biggest thing for me was the interaction between front of house and back of house staff. In the opening kitchen you were literally in the restaurant, face-to-face, it was very open and that's (pause) changed the relationship and really the way you communicated with each other. In the closed kitchen the waiting staff would be coming into the kitchen shouting through the hot plate and it just (pause) it was just a lot more aggro in the closed kitchen"* (5m).

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Participant 25m (sketch 9) illustrated the closed kitchen as a circle with arrows pointing outwards, depicting the process of sending food to the customer, and question marks on the end of each, depicting the lack of knowledge that the kitchen has about the product consumption and the customer feedback. This is in comparison to the open kitchen illustration, which has a number of ticks to demonstrate the level of understanding and communication which exists between the kitchen and restaurant as the chefs can observe, receive direct and indirect feedback and appreciate the customer interactions that are occurring in the restaurant.

Sketch 9 Where does it go?
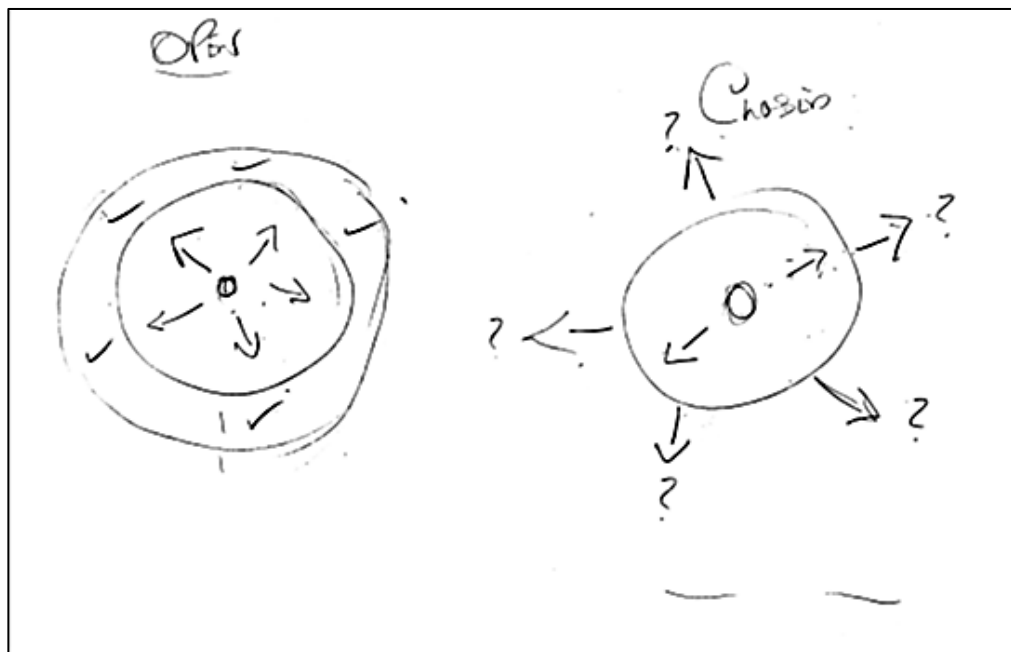
(Sketch by 25m)

In his interpretation of the closed and open kitchen Chef 11m identifies the closed kitchen (sketch 10) as the hangman's noose, a piece of rope that slowly closes around the chef and squeezes all the life blood out. This is in total contrast to the open kitchen drawing, where the two ropes intertwine, an expression of bringing the two sides of the restaurant and kitchen together.

> *"The rope is the kitchen obviously it's a circle its closed erm (pause) that's the chefs the knot holds it all together (pause) I see it closed because it's held together solely by the chefs, and the knot is the chefs who do this. I have drawn it as a circle, because you feel trapped. The rope represents the kitchen if no knot there would be no kitchen, because the knot holds it all*

together. The circle represents the confined space. Open, the same picture again (pause) but two ropes one representing the front the other back of house. Erm (pause) and they inter-loop with each other and we meet in the middle and the interrelationship between the two. Both front and back of house have their own knot, but we meet in the middle, and somewhere in there is customers as well" (11m).

Sketch 10 The noose
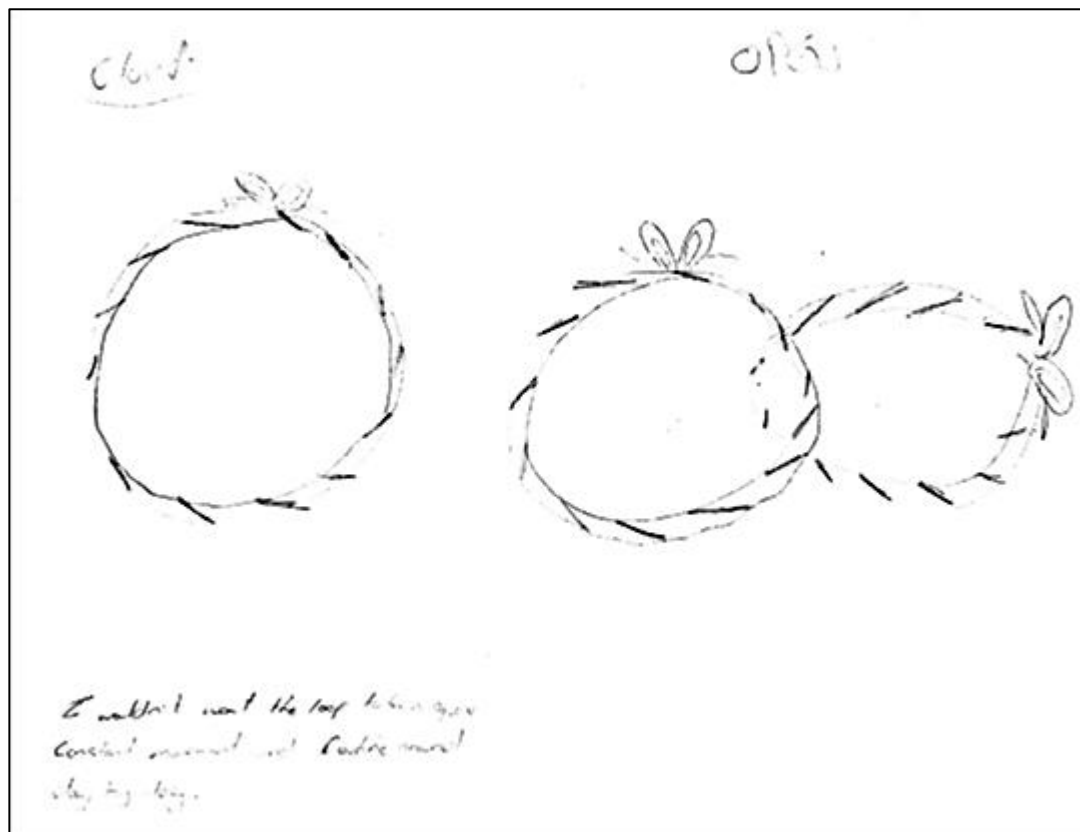
(Sketch by 11m)

However, the image of the closed loops indicates the chef still being restricted in the open kitchen, with both the front and back of house now being in the closed loop of the restaurant working together, the new restriction being the expectations of the customer. One chef interpreted the closed and open kitchens as a Venn diagram (sketch 11), with the third circle being the customer and the role of the kitchen bridging the linkage to the circles, with the interaction between the waiters being far stronger in the cross-over shaded section. This further highlights the chefs feeling that the working relationship and respect between servers and kitchen staff had become stronger as a result of the open kitchen format (sketch 1). The pictorial representation of the chefs' relationship

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with the server being stronger than with the customer indicates that although a customer focus was evident, the skills of the chef in relation to engaging with customers were not as honed as those of the servers.

Sketch 11 Venn diagram representation
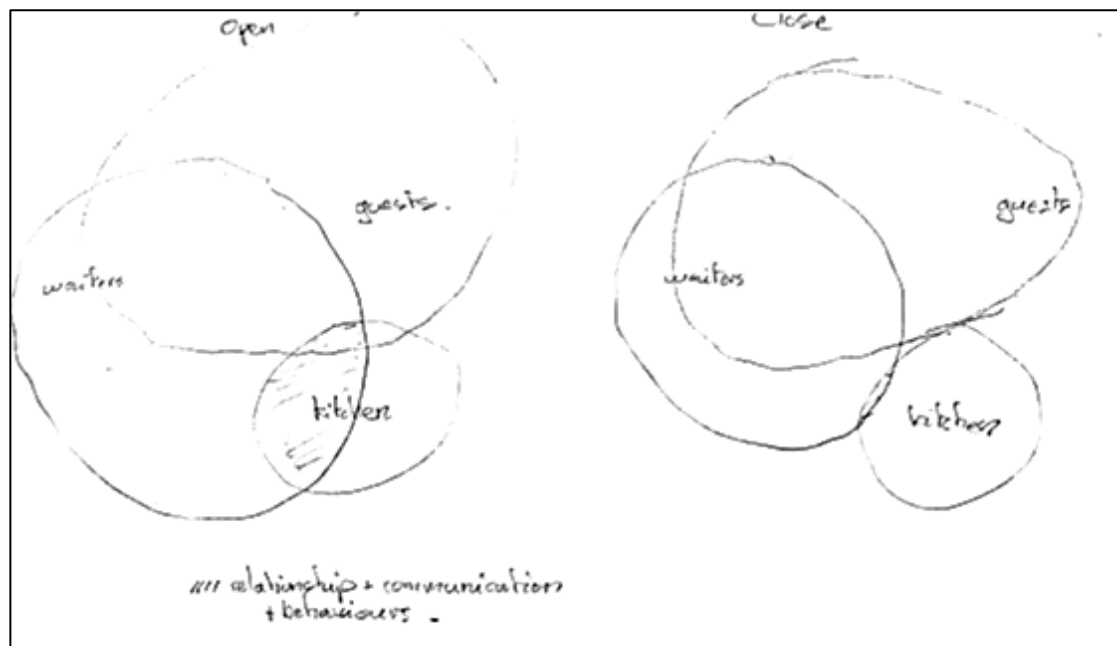
(Sketch by 18m)

The chefs in their `talk` continued to speak about the pressure of kitchen work, which to all intents and purposes was far greater in the open kitchen due to the direct contact with the customer in the visual and verbal engagement, thus adding an additional dimension to the job role.

6.5.5. Being on show

The chefs in their `talk` discussed the interaction with the customer in a manner which was in stark contrast to the closed kitchen view of the customer as an alien; this was superseded with a more compassionate understanding of the customer's needs,

> *"You just feel more value, more wanted. People know who you are, they can see how hard you work, and that for me is the main thing. I used to be the only chef up there on my own, you did 60 covers a night, and the customers can see how hard you were working. So say there is a delay on the food for 10 minutes, they can see that you are busy and pushing it. And you don't seem to get as much pressure from the waiting staff.*

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In fact the customers will watch you getting yourself out of the shit, and really enjoy it" (14m).

The chefs said that they generally felt more connected with the guest and that the customers were interested in what they did and how they cooked. Although the respondents talked about the pressure of being on view, they did feel valued as a result of being able to see and interact with the customer. This allowed the customer to observe the pressure that the chef was under during service and gave a feeling of reassurance that the customer would understand why dishes might be delayed. The chefs did state that they were starting to act, putting on a show to match the customers expectation,

"Yes (pause) you were on a stage you had to act (pause) you were acting (pause) and I as a person I was very conscious of having to act (pause) and being on stage" (22f).

Part of this acting for some chefs was in relation to the products that they were using; they would create stories about what they were preparing so that they were portrayed in a positive light regarding the food that they served,

"Yes (pause) like I say the customers love speaking to us, quite often asking us where we got the products from. The irony being that it would be Brakes [supplier of prepared food], or something like that (pause) but you would tell them that we had a butcher or whatever" (5m).

"But it is all about showmanship it is entertainment. But they have to do it correctly, or are seen to be doing it correctly and not taking short cuts. Which is something you can do in the closed kitchen. Practices and procedures, attitude and professionalism is all different for the open kitchen" (23m).

"It's more important to keep the customer happy. So I do like (pause) I will speak to the customer but I will keep it short and like (pause) I need to get on with what I am doing" (6f).

Chef 14m discusses the levels of acting and performance that he puts on while undertaking the job and in the following extract refers to it as a performance,

"I have to talk to customers in different ways, so it is acting I suppose. Obviously to an older person you cannot have massive laughs (pause) It`s about talking to the customer. This is me on the pass it's come on you bloody lot get the food out and the tone and the language would change. Customers come up to the hot plate all the time. We usually get langoustine out and show them, how we cook then, we tell them it`s not cruel as

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> *its easier than letting them starve, because nobody wants to see a knife in the back of them do they?"* (14m).

The chef discusses this as part of the act and in particular felt like he is performing for the customer and putting on a false smile,

> *"I sometimes feel it's like that American thing, how are you today (pause) you are just going through the reading of the script sometimes"* (10m).

The respondents spoke about how they felt and said that they believed they were changing the way that they interacted, putting on a pretentiousness for the customer, not to receive tips but because that was the behaviour that was socially expected of them. This new demand of the job task involved identifying the customer type and the amount of engagement that was acceptable to them. They have to analysis the customer's mood and reason for the visit to the restaurant and tailor the interaction and language accordingly. The chef to customer engagement was primarily centred on the knowledge of the food and the manner in which it had been prepared,

> *"Level of detail we have been told is that we have to judge it depending on how they are (customers) like I said the business men you say oh (pause) yeah you have got this and this. Whereas some people are really big foodies who come to the chefs table and they will be like, Oh (pause) Where did this come from? So you are telling them what country food came from, why we are putting this dish with this (pause) so what could have been a twenty second explanation can be like a five minute explanation because they are so interested"* (3m).

> *"How does that make you feel?" [Interviewer]*

> *"I like that it gets you excited (pause) it`s nice to hear it. It`s good to explain things like that (pause) yeah I enjoy that"* (3m).

The chefs throughout their `*talk*` repeatedly spoke about how the inclusion of the customer in their work environment added extra pressure to the period of service and how with this, came additional tension and stress. In the closed kitchen the tension of service could be released with street language and laddish behaviour, whereas in the open kitchen the tension of service had to be contained within the levels that the paying customer found acceptable and had come to expect,

"It was more stressful because the customer is watching you. And therefore and you will have to try and get everything right and try not to make mistakes. So you had to be nice and tidy, you could not really rush anything. It definitely change the way that I work between the open and closed kitchen" (12m).

6.6. Changing nature of work

The repositioning of the chef from the closed to the open kitchen is a clear re-orientation in the work space of the chef. The thrusting into the public domain and being placed on show has created an emotional and aesthetic labourer. The following sections will identity the emotional labouring inner feelings and thoughts that the chefs have through having to interact with the customers and the level of masking of their moods that is necessary in order that they display the emotions that are required of them by the customers and their employer. These will be discussed under the three headings of `*surface, deep*` and `*genuine acting*`.

6.6.1. The level of surface acting

This section will discuss the `*talk*` in which the chefs revealed the levels of `*surface acting*` that were taking place in order to hide their true feelings and emotions for the customers benefit. The additional pressure of the open kitchen as a production space was compounded by the chef having to engage in verbal communication during the service period, an interaction which was never called for in the closed kitchen, service encounters which could take place at the chef's table, during kitchen tours or when the chef had to engage with the customer at the service counter while plating up food,

"Well I don`t really like it, going up and talking to them just, because it is hard to pick up. Sometimes they [customer] do not really care so (pause) and it just depends who you get really, if they are interested and really want to know them, they [chef] are interested in going up to and talking to them [customers]. But if they just sit there, or they are not interested, you just sort of think what is the point of going up there. It does not make you upset or anything like that. No (pause) NO (pause) it definitely does not make you upset (pause) But your body language and the time that you interact is different, you will make the interaction a bit shorter. You just tell them what you have to then go (pause). When the city boys come in that is interesting because, generally you speak to them and it is generally not about food when they first come in. You will have joke about and it is often not about the food. It`s alright when

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they come in (pause) we joke about and set up some sort of conversation" (11m).

From the conversation with 11m and the `*talk*` the chefs put forward, the chefs are interacting with customers who have different food interests and knowledge, thus requiring an interaction which varies. Additional pressure has been created for the chefs as they have to now sense the customer's idiosyncrasies in a way that was never necessary in the closed kitchen.

The participants spoke about how on some occasions the head chef would send them up to the customer to explain the dish even when they were feeling negative about the job on a particular day or when they just wanted to be quiet and left on their own. In such instances, the chefs discussed how they would have to chat politely and put on a front for the customers and on such occasions. The interviewees spoke about how they had their own mechanisms for putting on a positive disposition. Due to the nature of the open kitchen and being exposed to the customer, the chefs were required to change the manner in which they interacted with the customers in order to meet their expectations, as 3m discusses,

> *"If I am in really bad mood I have to hide that because you can't be"* (3m).

> *"Sulk (pause) in a closed kitchen you just stand there and sulk, it was different, you were in a bad mood and that was it, you just keep yourself to yourself, you stayed in a bad mood"* (3m).

The chefs spoke about the acting that they had to perform while at work, saying that they sometimes felt that the job in the open kitchen is about the employee having to put on a face, a pretence, contrary to how they actually felt, and following the customer interaction how they would then slip back into their previous miserable mood,

> *"As soon as you come back from the chefs table you still feel pissed off, but you just get on with it again. But generally it then wears off after a few hours of going back up to the table repeatedly. It just wears off, you go through loads of moods, they just come and go, the moods come and go, it is very mixed emotional feeling working in these kitchens"* (7m).

Chef 7m gave an example of the repeated discussion with the customer at the chef's table and of having to put on the pretence of being happy. In the end, the

positive persona of the customer rubs off onto the chef and the bad mood *"just wears off"* (7m).

There was clearly a reduced level of aggression and street language in the open kitchen which was socially constructed by the expectations of the customer engagement. The respondents in their `talk` spoke about the negative consequences of this. The open kitchen had brought about increased levels of tension created by the customer being present, which could not be released in the same manner as in the closed kitchen, via the swearing, shouting and making noise of banging pans and service dishes. Instead, the additional pressure and tension that they felt from the open kitchen work had to be subdued, contained and their true feelings masked,

> *"I felt it changed me slightly, my personality in a small way (pause) you can have a serious point and are not so serious point and he could get to the stage where you would explode, but you could not really do that in the open kitchen so you bottled your feelings up. You would have to take your feelings into the background"* (24m).

The open kitchen chefs discussed how the changed environment had brought about the way in which they demonstrated their feelings. They discussed subduing the tantrums, swearing and physical behaviour such as throwing pans that was usually associated with the closed kitchen.

Those staff that first entered the open kitchen environment during the early stages of their careers discussed how nervous they felt about meeting the guest. The pressure of the open kitchen led to them observing increased staff turnover,

> *"When I came to work here in the open kitchen about the first year I was quite nervous about coming to work. I was all very shy"* and further on says, *"but I`m not like that now"* (10m).

> *"Before coming to work I use to feel nervous. It was the pressure of the customers"* (4m).

> *"Exhausted (pause). I was a lot more tired, because you could never relax (pause) up to a point, I just did not enjoy it as much. Definitely did not enjoy it as much"* (22f).

> *"When he heard that there was to be an open kitchen he left"* (22f).

From the interviews two distinctive groups discussed the closed and open kitchen. Those chefs over 38 years old who had been trained in the traditional closed kitchen and had only experienced limited periods of time in the open kitchen, or part open kitchen, were far more negative about the concept than the younger chefs in the selection. This is particular identified by 22f,

> *"The more I think about this and talk to you I think I find it very, very difficult to work in an open kitchen. To be perfectly honest with you, it is because I don't have the temperament, if I see something going wrong I want to stop it immediately. I always make a point of going out and talking to the customers, but that is not the same as producing the food in front of them. Because you are more calm and relaxed and can talk, you feel more in control"* (22f).

Not all chefs were `surface acting`, for some `deep acting` and being themselves towards `genuine acting` was identified by a number of participants,

> *"Some people did love it. They would put a show on they would make a point of being more neat and tidy presenting themselves. But overall you could tell if they never liked it, because they would not stay long (pause), as we said some people can do it, and some people couldn't. Some people would say that it was the environment is the open environment that they did not like, but that was partly because the chef was getting at them to be cleaner or tidier. But some people just did not like being on show, but I did love it. I was there for 10 years so I was happy"* (21m).

One chef who had worked in the environment for a number of years and had experienced working in open kitchens in Germany and China when he thinks about speaking to the customer he spoke about his nervousness,

> *"But I am always like nervous (pause) I don`t really know, I often forget things [to say] I am always like that"* (8m).

> *"In an open kitchen it felt more tense during service (pause) and at the end of the day you felt more (pause). Phew I`m glad the day is over"* (16m).

The senior chefs in the kitchens understood the stress and pressure that meeting the customers brought and used this to impose their hierarchical authority over the other chefs by making them meet the customer,

> *"It helps build their confidence up a bit (pause) they hate it (pause) but once they start getting tips they say its ok (pause). I wouldn't do that but I am just trying to build their confidence up. [Customer] Relations, trying to get them to meet people who they have cooked for and stuff. I think it's nice that they should go and do that"* (14m).

A number of staff spoke how the senior staff in the kitchen had used the nervousness of the younger open kitchen staff in engaging with the customer as a means to engage the less social able in the kitchen to improve their social skills.

> *"There was one time when I was on the meat, there was a really bad service and I had loads of spit burns and the chef had just told me off, it was bad, bad and then he just said, "Chefs table, go". And you went up there, and the customer say "Are okay?" You felt like crying and saying, "No I am not" (puts on a real whining/crying voice). I could obviously not say how I felt; I had to wipe the tears away and be very positive. I just don't know I am fine. I had to switch characters in terms of feeling upset, to one of the really happy and pleased to see the customer a real switch. It was my job to go; it was my turn to go. But at times I thought I wonder if the chef has done this just to punish me, but it could have got somebody else to go, I think it was partly to humiliate me"* (12m).

The respondents spoke of how, by focusing on the food that they produced and a belief in the work that they undertook that they could overcome the fear of customer engagement and start to enjoy it,

> *"I do enjoy going to the chefs table, but at times the service can be stressful. Even when we are stressed, we have to make time sometimes; we will send up somebody else if we are really busy"* (12m).

> *"Yes, I was a pretentious then, because it was like my first week. It was likes shit, I really want to have a good lunch service. They were chefs that I used to work with so I wanted to make sure that they had a good experience. So yes, I did get a little bit more anxious than I usually would; I just wanted to get little bit more set for the service, to make sure that everything was right for the day"* (11m).

6.6.2 Moving towards deep acting

The continued experience of emotional labouring and acting in front of the customer for some chefs became the catalysts towards a positive disposition and the gradual move from being a `surface` to a `deep actor`. This transformation of emotions led to greater levels of job satisfaction as the stress of customer engagement reduced,

> *"I like that it gets you excited (pause) it`s nice to hear it. It`s good to explain things like that (pause) yeah I enjoy that"* (3m).

> *"I am not nervous; I am talking through my food so it makes me feel different. It's great to say to the customers on the dish there is this, there is this, there is this and now I like going up our goal, I'll go up, I'll go up, it's at the stage now where I enjoy going up and talking to the customers and feel special because of the way I speak anyway. I talk very fast and then I run back. So customers would often not get what I was saying because as use as you guessed either an Irish accent (pause) and because of my accent and being nervous I spoke really fast, a lot of them [customers] would say what did he say? But now I have calmed down and talk a little bit slower because I am talking about the food and I feel more confident about doing it"* (10m).

Some of the employment benefits of now having to act and put on a show for some chefs has had a transformational effect on the way that they now work,

> *"I really enjoyed working in the [open] kitchen because erm (pause). Because we were always encouraged to have a lot of communication with customers and we were always encouraged to have communication with them. You could often hear the order is being taken and you could prepare the food quicker than the waitress could type the order into the till"* (5m).

The constant interaction for some chefs has had the effect of forcing and strengthening their interaction skills which are now the expected requirements in a customer facing role,

> *"Outside of work I am terrible (pause) my social skills are really shocking out of work (pause) the reason being because I don`t socialise outside of work [both slightly laugh] I am more reserved (pause) if I go out with a group of mates when I go back home. I am the shiest person you would ever meet. Unless it's with like close friends but I only have a few. But ermmm in here (pause) I am fine in here"* (7m).

Later in his `talk` 7m goes on to discuss how `surface acting` has been of overall benefit on his social skills and how theoretically he has switched from `surface` to `deep acting`.

> *"Yeah (pause) I think that if I had stayed in a closed kitchen I would be ten times as worse now (pause), but I think this place with it being an open kitchen the chefs table has made a massive difference totally improved me (pause) yeah"* (7m).

Others who are `deep` and `genuine acting` identify the positive benefits that for them emotional labouring has brought,

> *"Yeah (pause) because you had seen everyone's faces, what they are eating and you have talked to a lot of people and got feedback, you do feel a lot happier? You generally feel much more positive about what you have done"* (14m).

> *"Yes it is hard (pause) but I have been quite a lively person (pause). Yep you build your confidence and become more sociable (pause) like you will get girls that start here and you can tell that they do not have much off a social life (pause), but after that about a month she is having a right laugh"* (14m).

One chef epitomises the change that he has made from being initially a `surface actor`, to a `deep actor` when he talks,

> *"I'll never not be myself; it is just me being polite"* (10m).

6.6.3. Subdued feelings

The chefs in their `talk` spoke of how the open kitchen had brought about increased levels of tension, which could not be released through aggressive behaviour and obscene street language which they had previously done in the closed kitchen. The additional pressure and tension that they felt from the open kitchen work required subduing and containing it,

> *"I felt it changed me slightly, my personality in a small way (pause) you can have a serious point and are not so serious point and he [Head Chef] could get to the stage where he would explode, but you could not really do that in the open kitchen so you bottled your feelings up. You would have to take your feelings into the background"* (28m).

The open kitchen chefs discussed how the changed environment has brought about the way in which they demonstrate their emotions. They discussed

subduing the tantrums, swearing and physical behaviour usually associated with the closed kitchen. They acknowledged that the tension has to be absorbed by the individual chef and the pressure that it creates held until after service. The female respondents also acknowledge this additional pressure, but do not refer to the aggressive behaviour during stressful service periods,

> *"I think that it does not make a difference because you just sort of put your face on (pause) I just keep my head down because I don`t want to be letting the rest of the kitchen down, you just keep your feelings to yourself really, if someone is in a mood it does effect the rest of us and because we know that we are on show you, have got to have smile on your face, you have got to look like you are having a good time. Because if we look like we are having a good time, it puts them [customer] in a good mood as well. We are happy, we are having fun and we are all doing it as a team, we are all in it together and having fun then it puts the customer in a good mood"* (6f).

The female chefs are generally more relaxed about the levels of stress that are created; they discussed the issue as merely putting on a front, a face They acknowledged in their `talk` of the closed kitchens that the males they worked with were aggressive, acknowledging that this masculinity is not visible in the open kitchen.

> *"Going back to an open kitchen you cannot discuss things like, "how`s things with your lass?" to me that is the only difference, you cannot talk and discuss things that would normally form the mate relationship (expression of relationship building, in this together). But I think it is a good thing for the customers, but from my side of things I prefer it to be in a closed kitchen"* (16m).

Who later identified that discussions with colleagues that take place are not to the same level of crude detail that would normally happen in the closed kitchen. For the chefs the changed environment of the presence of the customer brought an additional dynamic to the work place. The feelings and thoughts were of apprehension at engaging with the customer as `deep` or `surface actors` and the realisation that as an individual they were responsible to the customers for the food that was being produced. This was in contrast with the closed kitchen, where the chefs did not feel responsible, as 2m identifies in the closed kitchen `talk`,

"Alien complainers that is what it was and yes they were almost completely (pause) in the background [customers] that the staff [service staff] would come back and almost just make it up. As if the customers were not there so you would not really know [if they were telling the truth]" (2m).

"When I cooked up North [Restaurants outside London] the food just disappeared and that was it. It's gone through that door into the restaurant and you would never actually see that again" (3m).

The levels of nervousness that a number of chefs spoke about in their `talk`, about customers often led them to initially feel like hiding from the customer.

"Yes, as I said I see myself as a back of house maybe because it`s too do with being Protestant, and having to hide away (pause) and I am the sort of person that would get totally engrossed in what they are doing and in way I am a little dreamer. And in a way I am a dreamer and I am happy doing that, totally happy, totally happy. And If they said to me `Thief` [Expression for Protestant] and they did, it would be six bags of potatoes in the sink (pause) and they did. Six packs of potatoes in the veg store and I would go and do them and they saw that as punishing me or making me sore but it did not stress me out (pause) it was just so relaxing" (22f).

6.6.4. Deep acting

This section will draw out and identify the levels of `*deep acting*` taking place, whereby the chef masks their true emotions and empathises with the customer in order to engage with them through an understanding of the feelings that they need to exhibit to ensure customer satisfaction. The emotions being displayed and those being felt by the worker synchronise over time so that the feelings that the worker is displaying will align with the feelings that they are expected to display.

The initial thoughts of chefs when entering the open kitchen environment have changed as they have adapted to the new environment and become accustomed to the engagement with the customer. Their nervousness made it necessary to put on an emotional act to hide their mood and feelings, which can be expressed in the closed kitchen but not when engaging with the public in the open kitchen,

"In the closed kitchen definitely (pause) yes, I have gone in the open kitchen in a bad mood and quite a few times, especially when you will have had only four hours sleep. I never let it affect me, I have been able to go to the chefs table in a bad mood and I know that I cannot let it show. I am not going to let a bad mood reflect on them [customers]" (7m).

This feeling was also identified by 15m, who spoke about his experience of working in a fast food outlet and said that masking the mood in front of the customer was not an issue,

"Sometimes (pause) yes, it's not much of a difference (pause). But with the customers if you are in a bad mood in the open kitchen with customers then you are just like quiet. You just keep yourself to yourself. Although I would not like show it to everyone (pause) whereas at McDonalds you could be more grumpy. In the kitchen here you just tell people to back off, that you are not in the mood for it and back off. When the customers come to the hot plate I do not like putting my feelings onto them (pause) do you know what I mean (pause) it is like you have to be a different person (pause) you know what I mean. When I am in a bad mood I do not like pushing my feelings onto them (pause) do you know what I mean (repeats this as above). Once someone has upset me I am not in the mood for it. I am aware that I have to act differently to the customers" (15m).

The requirement for emotional control in an open kitchen in front of the customer is underpinned by 23m, who discusses,

"To work in an open kitchen and I think you need to employ staff which are different, its people that can keep their emotions under control when they are under pressure. And I think that is a very difficult thing to explore when you are interviewing new staff. Do they have that sort of (pause) and you cannot tell until they are under pressure" (23m).

The respondents spoke of how the initial encounter with the customer was about trying to identify the type of customer and working out the type of interaction that would occur. This led to levels of nervousness in the initial encounter until the customer and the balance of power was established,

"Working out the customer; you can just be a little more relaxed. But I suppose when you first approach the chefs table you don't know the people who you are dealing with, so you have to judge it so if you see that they are already having a good time, yeah (pause) for a bit more fun, and a bit of a laugh really" (3m).

"Sometimes it can be annoying because erm (pause) you will go up there and not that it`s their fault [customers] everyone is there for a different reason. Like I say, some people are there just for a meeting others as dinners. So you will go up there to explain one of the course which we have to do and they will not just not stop talking to each other, and they will not even acknowledge that you are there [business people], so you say your piece and then you walk away. But (pause) that can sometimes be frustrating, but if its, (pause) I suppose if they are not there for that" (3m).

"I don`t, but what I do, if I read the customer first, you can tell if someone is going to be quite snobby and are going to be picky, or if somebody is quite relaxed and they are here to have a nice time. A laugh and a couple of beers, you can sort of read the client and sort of realise yeah (pause). I need to be really professional with this one. Or these couple of lads they are having a laugh you can sort of be more yourself sort of thing. So now there is no set line (pause). You learn to read the customers, especially if you are going to sit down with them sort of thing" (16m).

The pressure of working in the public gaze during service has led to some resentment due to this distracting them from the production of food, which is the chef's main remit,

"Erm (pause) it's a bit frustration at some time because you are really busy but yeah (pause) you have to stop doing what you are doing basically (pause) it's not bad but (pause) you have got to stop what you are doing and not rush it or anything, give them a good answer and then get back onto it" (11m).

"It made you feel more tense than you usually there. All because you had to get the work done and (pause) plus your body language has to be right. So the public don't look and say (pause). Oh look (pause) there is something wrong there (pause) or gone wrong there [Laughs loudly] and make them feel uncomfortable" (22f).

The type of acting the chefs use to engage with the customers varies across `surface acting', `deep acting` and `genuine acting`.  Classic `deep acting` was described by 7m below,

"As soon as you come back from the chefs table you still feel pissed off, but you just get on with it again. But generally it then wears off after a few hours of going back up to the table repeatedly. It just wears off, you go through loads of the moods they just come and go the moods come and go, it is very mixed emotional feeling working in these kitchens" (7m).

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Due to a genuine feel for the customer and their needs and an appreciation of the job, with constant interaction, the mood of the participant switched from negative to positive,

> *"No (pause) I usually (pause) I find my bad moods are not that long (pause). I just go home and it is different (pause) I just relax and unwind. [Interviews comes over that the having to act in front on the customers when in a bad mood, turns into a positive due to the positive acting that has to go on]. The next day is different and then I am laughing"* (15m).

6.6.5. Genuine acting

One respondent (14m) in the selection identified how he displayed emotions that aligned with his own during the majority of customer interaction. The participants in the main discussed how they usually employed `genuine acting` as they became more comfortable with the guest and had identified the emotions that were acceptable to display to them,

> *"I am being myself 100%, I don`t change and don`t change for anyone. I cannot see the problem (pause) you should not be false as people will not get to know the real you. If they see you in the restaurant being like this and then they see you out having a beer you will come over a false"* (14m).

Qualifying his bullish attitude towards customers and the true level of `genuine acting` that was taking place, 14m went on to say,

> *"I was acting to certain extent with the flashes of fire, but I was still being myself though. But it`s like talking to my Nan. I have to talk to customers in different ways, so it is acting I suppose. Obviously to an older person you cannot have massive laughs (pause). It`s about talking to the customer getting on"* (14m).

The act of being on show was fully recognised by the chefs. They all discussed how as a result of this the manner in which they performed was different, and initially this was through ensuring that they prepared food correctly. But as the individual chef became more confident in the environment, they began to put on a show of skill and to show off in a physical manner. Respondent 15m likened this to being on the stage,

> *"There is a lot of people watching you (pause) but it gets to you in your head (pause) you are just extra (pause) extra (pause) extra careful how you are doing things (pause) It does not add extra pressure to the way that you work. You are just use to it, but you have to be that little bit more careful. But for the first time it is weird it (pause) is more open, it is not like McDonalds,*

you can be seen like and it is just different. The first time it was a Saturday you see a lot of people, everyone is watching you. You feel like you are on the stage (pause) you just feel like I have to perform sometimes with the cooking and the way that I act (pause) it`s just weird" (15m).

Some of the narratives go on to discuss the manner in which the chefs would then put a show on, respondents explaining how they would make the pan flare up when cooking items of food. One chef said that the pastry section had a full window onto the main street that shoppers went past. He went on to explain that the pastry chef in particular was a showman. He would do sugar pulling or chocolate work during the day when the most customers were potentially walking past so that he could genuinely show off his skill and create an audience.

"As I had come from a Chef de Rang [restaurant waiter] position (pause) erm (pause) wherever I could create a bit more fire and brimstone (pause) and stuff (pause) being flashy was all part of the requirement in the open kitchen. Erm (pause) so I think it was, you are on show" (20m).

"You see it a lot more (pause) it`s about the showing off isn`t it? (pause) it`s about making sure that the pan flambés to get the customers reaction. It`s the last bit, just before the round of applause (pause) you will get people who will take over and just finish things off to get the attention" (12m).

The chef discussed how some chefs genuinely enjoyed the limelight and sought it by taking over the finishing of dishes so that they could create a flash of flames to grab the customers' attention,

"It`s like a show (pause) yeah you are on show for them. It`s a big theatre the restaurant and you can lead the mood" (14m).

6.6.6. Summary of emotional labour

The `*talk*` on emotional labour indicated that levels of `*surface acting', deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*` were taking place. The chefs spoke about how their emotions were faked or feigned for the customers and how they engaged in a clear external physical display to meet the customer needs. Some chefs spoke of how they masked their feelings when interacting with customers but were genuine with other customers. Emotional labouring partly explores the reality of the chef in the open kitchen, but the respondents also spoke about the `*look and the voice*` that they were required to use. It can be suggested that

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they were required to be aesthetic labourers, and the following section will identify this phenomenon and the impact that it has had on the chefs who participated in this research.

6.7. Aesthetic labour

This section of the chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the extension of emotional labour into aesthetic labour as the reality of their work has shifted from the closed to the open kitchen. This involves the outward display of the individual due to the two variables which underpin the concept of aesthetic labour: the physical embodiment of the `look` and the verbal communication of the `voice` and the acceptability of this towards the customer. It was only while undertaking the field research that this emerged as a feature of the respondents' customer engagement encounter. This next section will identify the interview `talk` in relation to aesthetic labouring that the chefs deployed and developed due to the realignment from the closed to the open kitchen.

6.7.1. `Looking good`

The deployment of aesthetic labour and the length of time the chef engaged physically and verbally was identified in a number of `talk` extracts, as 6f discussed in relation to the closed kitchen,

> *"I tend to care more about what I look like (pause) because before I was on my own [closed kitchen] I did not really care about it [closed kitchen]. Whereas here it is more important because you do not know who is looking at me. So in this job I wear light make up, I never did in the other [closed] kitchen. The uniform I always make sure that I look smart, but here I wash them every day, and ironed (pause) whereas before I never always ironed them (pause) it was not as personal hygienic as here. I definitely look after myself better in this type of environment"* (6f).

The chefs spoke about how the organisation expected chefs who were exposed to the customer to dress and groom themselves when working in the open kitchen and that these were not always written down but rather enforced by the senior chefs as part of the professional expectations of the chef in the open kitchen environment,

> *"Here if you turn up for work and do not look the part and you are sent home, you have to be clean shaven you have to have*

*the right whites on. You are made to go down to the laundry
and have to iron your own whites"* (4m).

Others in their `*talk*` discussed how the expectations had changed from the
closed to the open kitchen,

*"I mean in the closed kitchen you could go in scruffy, your
jacket buttons could be undone, you did not have to wear a
neckerchief, or a hat. You did not necessarily have to wash or
have a shave"* (24m).

*"Closed kitchen, for example, a big stack of dirty pans at the
side while you are cracking on. Swearing at someone (pause)
and carrying on. As a chef we have a saying what goes on at
service stays at service, don't talk about it afterward, because
things have happened in the heat, and you are under pressure
and busy, it's about bashing the food out"* (16m).

The chefs acknowledged a general contrast from the closed to the open
kitchen and the increased pride and professionalism for the job that the
open kitchen format had brought about. It was not that all closed
kitchens were dirty and the chefs unclean, but the open kitchen had
instilled a greater focus on the aesthetic element of the job and this
required a different approach to working practices,

*"Yes, definitely you are much more conscious that people could
see you. You had to have short hair if you didn't have short hair
you had to wear a hair net or a hat. You will always be very well
dressed as well, look smart all the time, ironed tops, ironed
aprons"* (10m).

*"If they are pretty (pause) you change your apron, comb your
hair pause) put your shoulders up (pause) I don't know you just
play it"* (14m

The chef would undertake measures to ensure that they met the expectations of
the customer when the organisation only issued and washed a limited number
of uniforms, as 9f discusses,

*"So you turn round the apron for the prep to keep it clean for
tonight (both laugh)"* (9f).

For some participants, the chefs' whites had become a branded uniform with
the introduction of the organisational logo onto the breast pocket of their
jackets,

*"Uniforms where always top of the list. You have to look
hygienic that was a big part of it (pause) there was a change in*

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format, because you were selling the image as well, some logo came in as well. You have the logo on your jacket, and you are projecting that image" (25m).

"It's a little bit more effort, you have to make yourself look more respectable and you feel proud to go into work looking clean shaven, ironed chefs jackets, and nice trousers (pause) and a big shiny new kitchen which looks clean every day. Where as in a closed kitchen you just get up, brush your teeth wash your face and going in some scruffy pants, un-ironed chefs jackets, erm (pause) and you just come in and say (pause) `all right`, it's all so much more sloppy" (7m).

The being on show is clearly represented in the curtain being pulled back to reveal a stage performance for the delights of the paying guests (sketch 7), illustrating the open kitchen as the show on the stage, with the chef in the spotlight. This is further exemplified in sketch 12 by 20m, who discussed the effect of television programmes on the chef and that the open kitchen is about now having to put on an act, a show which has to conform to the celebrity chef image that the customer is familiar with due to watching such programmes.

Sketch 12 The kitchen as a television
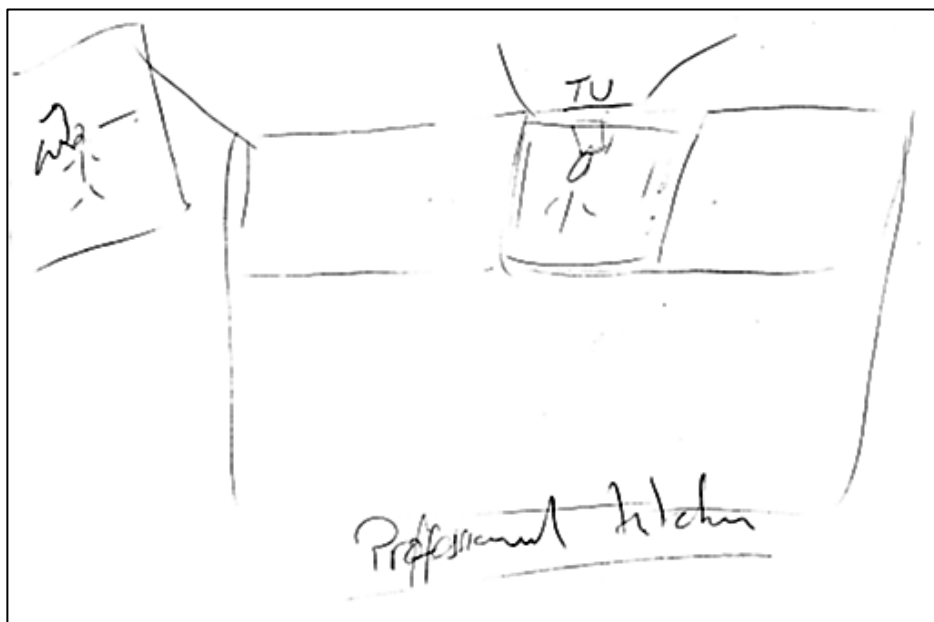
(Sketch by 20m)

"For me it`s about an old fashioned TV (pause) because I think when you are on show it is very much linked to the media, its often something like that the bar being looked upon and everyone is focused on you. So you are the TV chef but the reality of it is that you are not on reality TV (pause) It`s for real

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(pause) you are on show all of the time (pause) it`s probably a big TV" (20m).

The drawing by 27m (sketch 1, p144) illustrates the comparison between the closed and the open world as,

> *"Open kitchen working in front of an audience, pleasing, smiling, people looking at you, acknowledging you (pause) never use to do that in the closed kitchen. But now you are acknowledged by the very people that you are serving. It makes you feel good, it does"* (27m).

6.7.2. `Sounding right`

This section will focus on the aesthetics of the language and the voice tone that the chefs use in closed and open kitchens and their expectations of the customer.

> *"I suppose I did not really know any different (pause), I`m (pause) not particularly clever (pause), I suppose it rather suits me being behind the scenes (pause), I do not yearn for that whole sort of (pause) being (pause), in the front scene I am more comfortable here [kitchen]"* (13m).

> *"Books it's always bothered me"* (5m).

In their `*talk*`, they speak about how becoming a chef suited them as they had often gone through school having little public exposure and being academically weak. The chefs had grown up in a world where customer interaction and personal behaviour were a low priority, as 9f noted in her interview,

> *"Most of the chefs find that talking to the customers a little bit alien because all they have done in the past is cooking classes, they did never really do any customer care work, and so they do find it difficult"* (9f).

The chefs spoke about how being involved with the customer was having a beneficial effect on them. One chef with a hard Irish accent went on to explain how none of the customers understood what he was saying when he first started going up to the chefs table,

> *"I talk very fast and then I run back. So customers would often not get what I was saying because as (pause) as you guessed an Irish accent. And because of my accent and being nervous I spoke really fast, a lot of them would say what did he say?"* (10m).

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As a result of working with colleagues and more experienced staff he made a conscious effort to slow down in order to `talk` more clearly. Since doing this, he now enjoys the interaction with the guests and feels under less pressure,

> *"I bring it all together so I know it's a little bit better and I have grown in confidence and can say, "Hi, I am Mark" and this is what the dish is. And I speak a lot slower, and clearer, and I look at everybody"* (10m).

The manner in which they act in front of the customer and the tone of language which is used has to be different for the various customer types,

> *"I think it is important to interact with the customer, good greetings, I will say, "Hello how is your night". And it goes from there, any questions that they may ask. Each of the customers can be different, for example at the chefs table I might make a joke depending on who they are. If they are very strict business people, I will just go up and explain the dish. If they interact with me, I will then interact back. It is definitely a conscious thing in terms of how I act with the customer. I do enjoy going to the chefs table, but at times the service can be stressful. Even when we are stressed, we have to make time sometimes; we will send up somebody else if we are really busy"* (12m).

The chefs discussed that they had to modify their voice to ensure that the customer could understand what they were saying.

> *"I try to speak clearly and direct"* (12m).

> *"It's more important to keep the customer happy. So I do like (pause) I will speak to the customer but I will keep it short and like (pause) I need to get on with what I am doing"* (6f).

Respondent 14m discussed the levels of acting and performance that he puts in his voice while undertaking the job and in the following sentence even refers to it as a performance,

> *"I have to talk to customers in different ways, so it is acting I suppose. Obviously to an older person you cannot have massive laughs (pause) It`s about talking to the customer. This is me on the pass it's, "come on you bloody lot get the food out" and the tone and the language would change"* (14m).

Chefs spoke about how they felt and believed that they were changing the way that they interacted with the customers, putting on the act of pretentiousness for the customer because that was the way they were expected to behave. The chefs were clearly identifying how they interacted with the customers and that

they now have to regularly enter into discussion. This verbal communication aspect of the job task involved them being able to understand the customer type and the amount of engagement that was acceptable to them. They now have to analysis the customer's reason for the visit to the restaurant and their mood and then tailor the interaction and language accordingly. The chef to customer verbal engagement is primarily centred on the knowledge of the food and the manner, in which it had been prepared,

> *"The level of detail we have been told is (pause) that we have to judge it depending on how they are (customers). Like I said, the business men you say, "Oh (pause) yea, you have got this and that". Whereas some people are really big foodies who come to the chefs table and they will be like, "Oh (pause). Where did this come from? So you are telling them what country food came from, why we are putting this dish with this (pause). So what could have been a twenty second explanation can be like a five minute explanation, because they are so interested".*

> *"I like that it gets you excited (pause) it`s nice to hear it. It`s good to explain things like that (pause) yeah I enjoy that"* (3m).

The research findings have indicated that various levels of emotional and aesthetic labouring are taking place and that these have had a number of negative and beneficial effects on the participants. It is clear that as well as the antecedents a number of work place moderators are present. The next section will identify the respondents' narrative findings relative to these.

6.8. Moderators of service customer engagement work

6.8.1. Skill and status

The chefs all acknowledged the '*partie system'* as the traditional method used in the division of labour within the closed kitchen. This created levels of competition and conflict between kitchen sections, senior staff who ran the hot plate and waiting staff,

> *"It's a hierarchy sort of thing. I remember working with one chef that wouldn't talk to you directly. He would talk to your supervisor (pause) if you were standing right there. I remember one sous chef and he would talk to the chef de partie without even talking to you, and he would literally refer to you as your guy (pause) you literally did not have a name in that sense*

[sentence break].. Like you where sub- human in some instances and he didn't much care for you as long as you did the job" (2m).

The open kitchen has reduced the level of aggression due to the customer being able to view and engagement with the kitchen staff. This is linked with the growing popularity of cooking as a hobby, and television celebrity chefs have acted as a further catalyst to increase the public's appreciation of the work of the chef. As 16m acknowledges in his `talk`,

> *"Ramsay said it the other week and I was talking to them about it [customers] (pause) it is a skill, to hold a conversation while chopping (pause) it is a skill, it`s an age old adage. That just comes with time (pause) you know. Practise of just working in a busy (pause). We do get customers coming to the hot plate and talking to us, but it`s mostly customers that we know. Erm (pause) we do get customers that have got an allergy and we will come out into the restaurant and talk to them or, depending on what it is. The guys are pretty clued up on that now, but depending on what it is. They might want something different and you know we are quite happy to come out from the kitchen and speak with them"* (16m).

As a result of viewing the chef at work and speaking to them in an empathetic manner as well accepting the skill of the chef as a craftsman, the customer has demonstrated a level of respect for the kitchen staff in a manner which was never apparent in the closed kitchen, as 24m acknowledges,

> *"I got more respect. Because in the open kitchen you had customers and as soon as they came in and they would come they will shake your hand and ask you how you were doing. Especially the regulars and things like that, and you could have a little bit of banter with them; it wasn't the same though because you still had to keep that edge and air on the caution with how you spoke to them"* (24m).

The showman skills revealed through the flashes of fire (identified earlier 14m, page 159) and kitchen tricks while being observed secured additional customer appreciation of the dishes that the chefs prepared, as 24m identifies,

> *"They [customers] would even put their thumbs up, for example you would look over and as the food was going down [onto the table] they will put their thumbs up to you. That would give you more of a buzz"* (24m).

The chefs were able to use their craft skill and show their confidence in front of the customer though revealing their product knowledge and discussing the food production methods they employed, using this as entertainment, reinforcing the respondents craft trade. This is discussed by 10m,

> *"You have a little bit more fun with the city boys, you are more inclined to go up to them three times and have a laugh with them. On occasions we have the omelette challenge, they challenged the ex-head chef to do an omelette challenge with them at the end of the meal and they were keen. And they came into the kitchen and it was one of them against the head chef. And if they are keen, and we can we will bring half of them into the kitchen to help with the plating up of their main course. One would do the meat, a couple of the vegetables, but that depends on how service is going. They start to become part of the show. I know in the M*** [named establishment] restaurant they did that every night with their chefs table. I worked there on my work experience, it is very similar to ours in layout, but they always do the same menu and be always brought the customers down to do the scallop dish"* (10m).

6.8.2. Autonomy

The participants acknowledged that as chefs they have similar levels of work to perform but that during the service period in the open kitchen, the possibility of undertaking additional preparation is restricted due to customers being able to see this dirty, which was never an issue in the closed kitchen, as 11m identifies,

> *"I don't think that it really changes (pause) from the open to the closed that much, because generally speaking you like to be set before service in the open kitchen, and obviously you might have a little bit to do for the afternoon. But in a closed kitchen, yes if you are quiet you can do a little bit more prep while you are cooking. But generally speaking we do not like to do prep in an open kitchen. Because, while we are cooking the managers just want us to do service sort of things. You can obviously start doing some prep but you cannot get fish out (pause) meat out and things like that"* (11m).

> *"The amount of self-control and work planning was probably just the same"* (8m).

> "I had (pause) was able to plan my working day and it was the same in the open and closed kitchen, there was no real difference between the two*"* (7m).

The chefs appreciated the changed nature of preparation during service and said they were autonomous in terms of their decision making in relation to food

production approaches, as they had been in the closed kitchen. What came through the interviews was that due to the customers being able to view them at work, a far greater level of pre-service preparation had to take place,

"Yes, (pause) like today I organise the kitchen, Sometime you will be the first one in so I will organise the kitchen and the work" (15m).

"You needed to be better, well organised in the open kitchen, in the closed kitchen you could hide behind the back of house. But in the open kitchen once you are there and the customers are there, the curtains are drawn back its all smiles and you can't be seen to be panicking and running around. Some other places you go too, they have on the kitchen [sign above the door], go smile you're on the stage" (25m).

"It was left to your judgement of how much needed to be done (pause) how much prep. Of whatever it was how many, tomatoes to slice up, it was very much left to me and I didn't know what I was doing at times. We used to run out of stuff halfway through the lunchtime" (5m).

"I would say during the mise-en-place time it is the same or very little difference. I think you have more control in the open kitchen, because you can see the other aspects you can see into the restaurant see a warning control what you are doing and when you want to do it and being prepared. Maybe not more control but more aware of what you need to do and when, rather than. You cannot control the customers but try to keep an eye on things" (4m).

The respondents agreed that the chefs had a level of autonomy which allowed them to plan, design and execute their own preparation for the service and a similar level of autonomy during the customer service period. The level of autonomy enabled the chefs to learn the requirements of and expected rules and norms associated with the customer interaction incrementally during the service period,

"Erm (pause) it's a bit frustration at some time because you are really busy but, yeah (pause) you have to stop doing what you are doing basically (pause) it's not bad but (pause) you have got to stop what you are doing and not rush it or anything, give them good answer and then get back onto it" (11m).

"I never think before, before I go upstairs (chefs table, but seriously I do not like train what I am going to say, I just go upstairs and I say this and this and this (pause) and then I look at the plate and then I say this as well (pause) [laughs] and you

have had this. I don't think I say it how it should be but they like it. But it`s like (pause) I talk through my food in effect, I do find it hard to talk to them" (8m).

"It was pretty good, as long as they were not overstretched themselves they then, were more concerned about getting their side of things done. It was a good team of people they were supportive, they were pleasant guys. But when it was busy they had their own things to get on with, so you just had to battle on through" (5m).

"We are extremely busy when they do come round so it can be a bit stressful. It is difficult because there is so much going on, and you are trying to have a conversation with these people [customers]. So the other chefs will often stand in and talk to customers for you which is great, but when you have the time it is always nice to stop and talk to them for a couple of minutes. But the customers are very strange as well when they come in, they can see that you are very busy and they will often just stand and just watch, just stand and watch" (9f).

The chefs in the above extracts (5m and 9f) reinforced the level of empathy that the chefs had with each other in relation to talking with the customer and pointed out how they assisted each other in the customer engagement period. The level of autonomy in the interaction also meant the respondents could remove themselves and disengage from the direct line of communication by voluntarily moving to a section of the kitchen where they did not have to partake in guest interaction. This enabled some of the chefs to have periods of rest from the interaction and gave the newer members of the team, who were learning and understanding the rules of customer engagement, a break period to be able to reflect on their performance. The chefs spoke about being conscious of the need for a positive customer interaction and said that during busy service periods, they have to reduce the engagement with the customer, as 10m discusses,

"If we are really busy, and we are doing stuff it really is quite hard. If they talk to you, you cannot really ignore them why so it is you are trying to be polite while at the same time you are listening to what James (sous chef) is calling for, and you are trying to do right what other people are doing. That is quite a challenge (pause) and can be quite annoying (pause) you try (pause) you try to deal with it by not saying too much to them (pause) and hopefully they will not ask you to many questions and you can get on with your work" (10m).

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6.9. Section 3 – Post service; reflective thoughts and consequences

This final section of this chapter will report the findings of the chefs' *'talk'* about the end of the customer service period and the impact that the move from the closed kitchen to the open kitchen is having on the individual.

6.9.1. Worker exhaustion

The participant chefs spoke about the open kitchen being a more pressured environment and said that the amount of planning that was required for service work in the open kitchen was greater than for the closed kitchen, as 21m identifies,

> *"The open kitchen, because of the nature of the business it was much more planned. Because people were watching you and you had to be better organised. As a person I felt more proud of myself working in this open kitchen. Usually when you had a hard day you could feel it, when you sat down for a beer you know you have done well. You can, but you definitely were not under as much pressure in the closed kitchen. In the open kitchen you just felt like you had to get through an awful lot more work, things could go wrong. But you just had to deal with it"* (21m).

This was linked to the increased tension during service and not being able to release this pressure during the service period, which led to the chefs thinking more about work when were away from their employment than they did when working in the closed kitchen, as chef 2m discusses,

> *"Definitely, you would leave work and you would not be able to shut off (pause)[sentence break] your brain working like clockwork to think. Oh well I do not have enough off of this, especially if you had been in trouble that night, running out of something and getting screamed and shouted at, and it was a particularly bad night. Yes (pause) so I need to get more of this, so some people would call in early, leave late. Starting at 6 o'clock in the morning, rather than eight and going home at 11. Quite often without an afternoon break. To do another double because there is no room for error, no slack. Because it is your responsibility to get your work done"* (2m).

The general consensus was that the open kitchen put additional pressure on the chef. Due to the customer being present, chefs were not able to let off steam by being aggressive, using bad language, etc. as they had been able to

in the closed kitchen. The customer being able to view the open kitchen put pressure on the chefs to do additional mise-en-place before service so that they were not exposed. The chefs in the earlier sections of this chapter spoke about how the pressure from the customer encouraged them to ensure that mistakes would not occur. They spoke about how they find the open kitchen more tiring to work in due to the extra effort of having to interact with the customer, whether it is purely visual communication or verbal communication as well.

> *"Tired (pause) absolutely exhausted. Yeah (pause) but usually quite satisfied, if it has been a really busy service and I know that we have done say 700 covers, I will be really satisfied knowing how many people have come in, but I will be really tired. How many have come in to enjoy the food and how well we have worked as a team as well. Yeah (pause) happy"* (6f).

However, the chefs said that working with customers and interacting with them created a positive feeling which mitigates the additional pressures that the open kitchen brings. This is reiterated by 26m,

> *"I think (pause) if you are in the open (pause) if you are a little bit the worse for wear, not a drunk just tired, you come in from work late, up early. Being with people it soon drops off, that goes erm (pause) drifts off and you feel tired later on. Here in this sort of environment I can always go out and talk to someone, I love coming to work here (pause) I know it sounds daft but I do. And even my time (pause) these different places in London, I have always been the same, always been the same. I know if you interact with people it always makes you feel better"* (26m).

The `*talk*` from the chefs generally indicated that their experiences of the open kitchen were far more positive than the closed kitchen and this mitigated against the stress from being on public view.

6.9.2. Training and development

The chefs discussed how they received virtually no training before entering into this new open work area. Only those who had worked with the chef's table concept had had some form of directly related training. This was a one hour session when the restaurant was closed delivered by the Human Resources Manager, which 7 m discusses,

> *"Yes we did (pause) once in this place training on how to explain a dish (pause) but erm (pause) but only once and it was*

interesting to see because (pause) we still behave the same way in front of my colleagues as we do in front of the customers (pause) and they all did me (pause) that`s horrible (pause) you cannot do it like that so they did not let me go up to the chefs table for a week (pause) after that they forgot (pause) once we got back into the cooking and the pressure of the kitchen, we took it in turns, as we always do [both laugh]" (7m).

This was a typical response from the chefs who were left to their own devices in relation to how they should interact with the customer. Some chefs spoke about drawing upon the training in a previous job. One of the Australian chefs referred to being a "*laser boy*" (supermarket checkout employee), whilst another spoke about being a barman at college. Both applied the skills learnt on their previous jobs. Others spoke about how they picked up the customer service skills as they worked on the job.

This often led to stress amongst the chefs, especially in the initial period of their employment, until they had worked out strategies for customer engagement. The respondents who had experienced working on the chef's table often spoke about how the waiting staff would come to the kitchen and explain to the chefs how their accent or the manner in which they had spoken and interacted with the customer was inappropriate, incomprehensible or inaudible. This often created further stress for the chef and nervousness when asked to engage with the customer again. Those that had experienced this were then often told to go up to the customer as a punishment for not performing well in the kitchen. As 23f identifies, once the heat of the kitchen returns, after a while the issue is forgotten and *"you are sent up because they are short staffed".*

"We have done training on what to say at the chefs table. Because every chef explains a dish at the chefs table, so you have to go (pause) you will give them your name, what you are cooked for them and stuff. And sometimes the waiter at the chefs table will sometimes cringe because the chef will talk very informally like, "Hi guys how you doing", when you shouldn`t be greeting customers like that (pause) should be a lot more formal, and professional. We have done training in that sense, but they have never told is about what we have to say and you need to tell them this for instance. All of the chefs have done that, apart from a couple. Most of the chefs find that talking to the customers a little bit alien because all they have done in the past is cooking classes, they did never really do any customer care work, and so they do find it difficult" (23f).

As the chefs who were in more senior kitchen positions pointed out, the open kitchen chef requires a different personality trait to those that work in the closed kitchen. This is reiterated below,

> *"To work in an open kitchen and I think you need to employ staff which are different, its people that can keep their emotions under control when they are under pressure. And I think that is a very difficult thing to explore when you are interviewing new staff. Do they have that sort of (pause) and you cannot tell until they are under pressure"* (23m).

The chefs acknowledged that customer facing skills are now required for the job, but they felt training on this was lacking and often over looked. They said that this was partly due to them never having the time to go on a training course and often spoke about how they had not even received a basic induction into the organisation. The formal kitchen training that did occur was on the job in sessions which were aimed at the functional issues related to keeping the kitchen area in line with current legislation, as 13m discusses,

> *"We erm (pause) erm (pause) definitely always have a lot of training going on. Erm (pause) especially about things like using the right cleaning chemicals, using the right equipment (pause) erm (pause) using obviously the correct erm (pause) date dotting labels erm (pause) all those side of things, keeping the place tidy. Even when, how to manage your time better (pause) I think that the open kitchen is quite important in all these training elements of open kitchen work (pause) which helps to decide and influence the way you work"* (13m).

As a new group of interaction service workers, the level of support that the chefs claim they receive is inadequate if they are to perform their new job role effectively.

6.9.3. Job satisfaction

The chefs often spoke about how at the end of the shift and when going home they felt more positive as a result of working in the open kitchen, even with the additional stress and tiredness associated with the environment. They spoke about how they generally feel more inclined to be more positive when at home. They felt better on some days than others, but working with customers gave them a far better outlook in comparison with working in the closed kitchen. As 7m discusses in his `talk`,

"As a chef I enjoy interacting with the customers. Because there is more to think about, rather than just being behind the scenes. If you are interacting with the customers it is a bit more fun (pause) it makes the job a little bit more worthwhile" (7m).

And as a result of the customer interaction he goes on to identify,

"An open kitchen and you engage with the guests you definitely go home feeling much more happier than you do in a closed kitchen. It's that you just feel more proud of what you are doing every day (pause) and people have knowledge of it".

The chefs in their `*talk*` all spoke about how the end of service and the levels of reward that they incur from the job are greater than purely working in the closed kitchen and this often makes them feel better about themselves when they are off duty, as respondent 8m and 6f discuss,

"I think it does make a difference I think that you feel a little bit more satisfied (open kitchen) because (pause) I think when you are more satisfied you are more happy (pause) it changes your character you are more positive and everything that you do (pause) Yes (pause) on your days off when you are satisfied with your work you are happier it makes your life more happier of course (pause) Yes" (8m).

"So in my bad mood (pause) actually (pause) you do feel better (pause) because I have been to work, because I have overcome it (pause) you have enjoyed yourself at work (pause) it was not really that bad so yeah (pause) you do feel better" (6f).

It emerges from the interviews that the chefs although daunted by the first few instances of meeting the customer, once they have engaged for a period of time they all agreed that they felt more confident and positive about their life. This manifested as being more engaged about life and better able to socially interact and develop friendships in a way that they had not been able previously,

"I think it is made me a lot more confidence in myself, but also with food (pause) in what we are doing and also in the way I talk with people. They also ask you about your future as well in your career so it makes you think (pause) about yourself and what you are doing. They always ask you what is next, and what you were doing here (pause) it does constantly make you think" (9f).

Chef 9f then goes on to discuss in her narrative how even when the work is difficult and the tension high after the close of business the reflection on the

work environment is one of greater job satisfaction which is reiterated by her and 13m,

> *"Sometimes you can walk away feeling absolutely crap, and other days it can feel great if you had a good day and things have gone well. You feel really good about yourself (pause) I find this job here in the open kitchen much more rewarding than the closed kitchen"* (9f).

> *"No (pause) I usually (pause) I find my bad moods are not that long (pause) I just go home and it is different (pause) I just relax and unwind. (Interviews comes over that the having to act in front on the customers when in a bad mood, turns into a positive due to the positive acting that has to go on). The next day is different and then I am laughing"* (13m).

It was clear through the discussion that the chefs are positive about and embrace open kitchen work. Being on show enables the chef to interact with the customer in a manner that had never been possible before, and as such the respondents felt appreciated and derived greater levels of job satisfaction.

6.9.4. Self-confidence

The level of customer exposure and the engagement that the chefs now have in the open kitchen has led to a level of job satisfaction which was not evident in the closed kitchen discussions, culminating in a greater level of self-belief and improving their interpersonal social skills when away from the open kitchen, as discussed by 1m,

> *"I was very shy, but even as a youngster I was never entertaining, I never used to really like speaking to people. Speaking to people, standing on a stage, talking among groups of people was something that I never really liked doing. We're going up there [chefs table] made me feel really nervous (pause) but I'm not like that now, because I enjoy what I do and I take pride in what I do. Especially when I do a new dish, and I get excited about to I love telling people about it (pause). I am not nervous I am talking through my food so it makes me feel different. It's great to say to the customers on the dish there is this, there is this, there is this and now I like going up, I'll go up, I'll go up. And it's at the stage now, where I enjoy going up and talking to the customers (pause) because of the way I speak anyway I talk very fast and then I run back. But now I have calmed down and talk a little bit slower because I am talking about the food and I feel more confident about doing it"* (1m).

The chefs spoke positively about how working in the open kitchen has developed them into more confident individuals. It has assisted them in overcoming the shyness that they had often developed through their earlier school and working careers, making them feel of greater worth,

> *"Oh yes (pause) I was actually (pause) you know when I first came here and I went up the chefs table and first started to explain the dishes I clearly did not know how to engage with the customers in a clear way. I only had kitchen manners (pause) I did not have a clue (pause) I have become more confident and better at it (pause) things like that. And now I love it really enjoy it now (pause) I quite happily go up there now (pause) and have a conversation with the people"* (7m).

The development of social skills was discussed further by 7m, who said that he is much more timid outside of work and that working in an open kitchen allows the chef to engage in conversation through food in the manner that an actor uses his/her employment `lines` on the stage to portray a character,

> *"Oh yes (pause) talk to customers no problem. Outside work I am terrible. But at dinner and things like that (2) People meet and greet, but I am shy anyway (2) my people skills are absolutely shocking. I find it hard work (pause) at banks and things like that (pause) I am terrible. But I mean in work fine (pause) it's strange (pause). It really is strange"* (7m).

The younger chefs spoke repeatedly along the theme of self-development and how the open kitchen has brought them out of their insular world and given them the confidence to engage with customers. Some of the older chefs spoke about how they were still very introverted people who did not generally crave the limelight. They said that being encouraged and almost forced to speak to customers as younger chefs as part of the open kitchen punishment had on reflection been a positive development for them, as 7m goes on to identify,

> *"Yeah (pause) I think that if I had stayed in a closed kitchen I would be ten times worse now (pause) erm (pause) but I think this place with it being an open kitchen, the chefs table has made a massive difference totally improved me (pause) ermmmm yeah (pause)"* (7m).

The underlying theme that comes through is the nature of the changed behaviour and the manner in which that behaviour impacts upon the individual worker. Respondent 9f, who felt less intimidated by the open kitchen, spoke as follows,

> *"I guess so yes, I think it is made me a lot more confidence in myself, but also with food (pause) in what we are doing and also in the way I talk with people. They also ask you about your future as well as your career, so it makes you think more (pause) about yourself and what you are doing. They always ask you what is next, and what you were doing here (pause) it does constantly make you think"* (9f).

What comes through in all the discussion is that the open kitchen has created a greater sense of self-worth and confidence than the closed kitchen did. The chefs see their world as having been made richer by the experience of being on show, and with this they now have a greater sense of job fulfilment.

6.10. Chapter summary

This chapter has reported the findings using the `talk` of the participants to explore and understand the changing nature of work for chefs as a craftsmen as they move from the closed to the open kitchen. It has explored the changing nature of work interaction and masculine identify. It has revealed that chefs have been propelled into customer contact and as emotional labourers now have to manage their own internal feelings. Externally, the interaction has changed the physical `look` and `voice` of chef, who has become an aesthetic labourer. The chapter has revealed that the new world of open kitchen work has been challenging for those in this employment role but the overall outcome has been positive. The next chapter will analysis and discuss the findings in relation to the constructs of emotional and aesthetic labour, the realignment of the chef from the closed to the open kitchen and their changed identity.

Chapter 7 - Analysis and discussion

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will use the theoretical constructs of emotional and aesthetic labour to discuss and interpret the research findings. It articulates the changed nature of kitchen work, comparing closed to open, and the possible consequential impact of moving from one environment to the other on the masculine identity of the chef. Emotional labouring through `*surface acting'*, *deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*` and the internal `emotional` feelings that such acting evokes in the respondents is then enunciated. The level of aesthetic labouring is identified and in particular the changed vernacular discourse leading to increasing levels of anxiety and stress. The antecedents and moderators of emotional and aesthetic labour are deliberated and how these have assisted in creating a buffer to acquire the necessary `*soft skills*` to perform effectively in front of the customer is discussed. The change in the social skills and demeanour of employees is then discussed as a consequence of emotional and aesthetic labour. The chapter closes by putting forward a schematic representation of the findings that explores how emotional and aesthetic labour is linked together.

7.2. The demographics of the research participants

The selection size of the participants reflects the national male dominance which still exists in the professional kitchen, with only 11% of the respondents being female, thus representing the gender imbalance in UK kitchens, where less than 20% of chefs are women (People 1st 2014). This disparity was commented on by the participant group, who unequivocally noted the lack of female presence during their kitchen employment. The People 1st (2014) data predicts an increase in female chefs as the media exposure of women role model chefs continues to grow. This is a reflection of the growing trend identified in Jamie Oliver's biography (Hildred and Ewbank 2009). Oliver worked with two female celebrity head chefs at the River Café, London, who were the polar opposite to male celebrity chefs such as Ramsay (2007), Turner (2001), Martin (2008), White (2006) and Blanc (2008) all of whom worked in and managed closed kitchens with a masculine culture that was clearly and

unequivocally described in their autobiographies and biographies, influencing the projection and development of their media careers as macho professional chefs.

7.3. The changing nature of kitchen work

The respondents described the closed kitchen as a hot concealed world, resonating with Orwell`s (1933) and Fine (1996) reference to `*caldrons of fire,* a lack of light and a feeling of being `*hemmed in*`. Such worlds of work were in line with the British manufacturing economy era, when `*dirty*` work was hidden away (Cruikshank 1867; Crossick 1976; McIvor 2013). This depiction of the chef in the closed kitchen is one of incarceration in a `*dark satanic*` environment dominated by male workers (Cook 1996; Simonton 1998; Connell 2000). The closed kitchen represented the manufacturing process, which had prevented the consumer from observing it due to the evolutionary historical social situation, which decreed that the dirty work involved in manufacturing was for the working classes, the proletariat, (Cruikshank 1867) and not for the upper classes to view or engage with (Ayers 2004; Johnston and McIvor 2004). The kitchen was, and still is for some chefs, decoupled from the restaurant (Taylor 1977; White and Steen 2006; Alexander et al. 2012; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015), a closed world, which for the respondents clearly resonated with the constructed constrained world of the manufacturing economy. A societally created world expected that those in dirty trades should work in a kitchen space hidden from view (Blauner 1964; Fine 1996; Robinson 2008; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015), reinforcing the social structure (Floud and McCloskey 1981) and the notion of master and servant (May 1998). The trade of chef was identified as a working class occupation (Greenspan 1963) that involved dirty, physical demanding work deemed to be `*macho*` and a perfect fit for a socially constructed man's world of work (McDowell 2000).

The research findings have identified that there is a clear transformation in the work environment of the chef from the closed to the open kitchen. In the new working structure created by the organisation the chef is now seen by the customers and must verbally engaged with them according to bureaucratic work requirements in response to the demands of the new experience economy. This represents a juxtaposition of the production and service of food in one entity,

with a focus on the customers, who set the rules according to their expectations of the chef's performance. This contrasts with the old bureaucracy of being hidden from view, with the rules being set by management (Weber 1946; Greenspan 1963). The open kitchen can now be thought of as an *intermediary* work space (Grayson 1998), that is to say, a working environment which is the `front stage` for the chef and the `back stage` for the customer. The positive feelings the chef's derive from being in the open space coupled with the increased engagement with others at work, as Lupton (1963) and McIvor (2013) identify, can act as a motivator to work harder. An employee has now to employ `soft skills` in the kitchen service as part of the service experience economy (Pine and Gilmore 1999) in contrast to the closed kitchen, where the labourer was disenfranchised from the world of the customer. This hiding of the chef from the customer manifested itself in the respondents as contempt both for the guests and the service staff (Ladenis 1988; White and Steen 2006), and any direct accountability was decoupled from their world of employment.

7.4. The changing identity of the chef through public display

The job of chef generally appealed to those whose secondary school education had been a negative experience and whose practical work orientation at school drew them into the world of work in the creative and skilled trades, as Fuller and Unwin (2003) contend. They were specifically employment in the trades that appealed to males who were not necessarily from backgrounds which had instilled and developed the interpersonal skills required for service orientated work (Strangleman 2004). Craft jobs in a hidden world that was dominated by men were appealing, and working in these roles reinforced the macho image of the employee (McIvor and Johnston 2007; McIvor 2013). With the closed world of cooking becoming open to public scrutiny, as the respondents indicated, the service interaction aspect of the job presented chefs with a clear challenge (Snyder 1987) in relation to the anxiety of having to put on a service pretence (Goffman 1967).

A clear difference existed between the experiences of the chefs in the closed and open kitchen types. In particular, this centred on customer engagement, which led to the anxieties that the respondents felt towards their new working environment. There was still anxiety over working in a closed kitchen due to the

apprehension of going to work in an isolated world, hidden from society, and the bullying which occurred at least for the junior chefs (Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons 2007; Ramsay 2007; Graham 2010; Alexander et al. 2012). The motivation to attend work in the closed environment stemmed from the comradeship that this work brought (Marx 1939; Drucker 1949; Greenspan 1963) and perhaps subconsciously by not wanting to let the `tribe` down. For most respondents, the initial thought of being hidden away was dispiriting, as was attending work in a hidden, hard and dirty world. However, such feelings were ameliorated by the comradeship offered and the level of collective support, which acted as a moderator for these negative thoughts and feelings. The customer service interaction initially seems to have created a greater sense of stress and anxiety in the transition from the closed to the open kitchen, especially for those who had to engage in high levels of acting, which their particular social background had not equipped them to do. They indicated that they felt alienated due to their social class and were unable to relate to the customer. Once this apprehension had been overcome, the positive interaction with the outside world was an incentive to attend work as the understanding of their role and their confidence grew in the new working environment.

7.5. De-masculinisation and shifting identity

The closed kitchen pertains to the world of the industrial era when production was largely deemed to be a male occupation (Green and Owen 1998) and a masculine activity (Cook 1996). The chefs demonstrated this `macho` culture in the closed kitchen through laddish activities such as throwing food items and playing practical jokes, enhancing the masculine identity of the trade. Being on the receiving end of the jokes and such appears to have formed part of a rite of passage ritual for the new recruit. Alexander (2012) refers to this in the title of the article `He just didn't seem to understand the banter; bullying or simply establishing social cohesion?` and as Bloisi and Hoel (2008) discuss in their review of the literature that it is the socialisation process that creates the "hardness" (p649) required to be able to operate effectively and be successful in a commercial kitchen. It seems this macho behaviour was being used to bolster the prevailing belief that household cooking was women's work and that the closed restaurant kitchen was no place for females. Ladish behaviour and male orientated work antics and games appear to have been central in creating and

reinforcing the rules (Connell 1995; 2000) of the masculine culture that prevailed in the closed kitchen (Blauner 1964) and as such an occupational community (Hill 1976), a male dominance of space which Robinson and Beesly (2010; Robinson and Barron 2007) identify as man's work. These masculine games and rules excluded females, and those women that did enter into the closed world of the kitchen were expected to adopt similar male values and join in (Segal 1997). The levels of masculinity discussed by the respondents varied between kitchens, with one head chef particularly bullying the younger chefs, a feature which concurred with the research by Collinson and Hearn (1996) and Watson (2000) on how males reinforce their male identity through differing and increasingly offensive masculine behaviours, leading to the intimidation of women (Sims 2012) a position which has been an expected part of kitchen culture (Bloisi and Hoel 2008).

This aggressiveness in the closed kitchen was discussed by the participants, as was the role models of celebrity chefs in legitimising it and reinforcing an acceptance of such behaviour. Corresponding work discusses the school boy antics and masculine behaviour of chefs (Mars and Nicold 1984; Gray 1987; Collinson 1988; Bourdain 2000; Hodson 200 and Roberts 2012). The male domination of the closed kitchen created a masculinised work environment (Alexander et al. 2012; Fine 1996), and those females that did work in the kitchen had to adopt male behavioural traits to prove they were worthy, reinforcing the cliché: if you cannot stand the heat, get out of the kitchen.

Approaches to work and the entrenchment of these attitudes towards women in other masculine-centred service tasks is discussed by Simonton (1998), who investigated furniture retailing, which is an area where males seem content to take on service roles. Simonton argues that such service roles are attractive to males as they give the employee a relatively high level of power over the customer due to their perceived skills and knowledge. Furthermore, Simonton (1998) contends that males are drawn to such service work as a result of the socially constructed message that carpentry is skilled man's work. When aligned with the kitchen environment, this goes some way towards supporting the prevailing idea that an environment that involves `*hard skills*` and dirty work,

such as a restaurant kitchen, must be dominated by males, whilst one where `*soft skills*` are needed, such as a restaurant dining room, is more suited to females (Nixon 2009). This seems to lead to the self-constructing belief that the chef in the kitchen is of far greater importance than the waiting staff in the dining room and that females are somehow not capable of being chefs (Robinson and Barron 2007; Bloisi and Hoel 2008; Robinson 2008; Robinson and Beesley 2010). Such a view enabled the male respondents to legitimise their feelings of power and superiority over the female chefs and demonstrate their masculinity through aggressive and controlling behaviour, whenever possible banishing the women to the cold kitchen or the pastry section, as Bourdain (2000) states and other celebrity chefs' testify in their biographies (Ladenis 1988; White and Steen 2006).

The direct engagement of the customer with the chef has removed the chef from the `*back office*` of service into the `*intermediary*` service space (Grayson 1998) and with it a re-orientation of the work place has occurred. This encroachment of the experience economy into the kitchen has transformed the hitherto closed world of the kitchen from a manufacturing or production arena into a space that is now available for consumption in the same manner as other traditional service experiences. Such a changed orientation has altered perceptions of the chef's role in the wider service industry from simply being a production function to now being directly involved in customer interaction (Bolton 2004). This shift in the position of the chef to that of a directly accountable service worker has thrust the kitchen into direct customer engagement with the customer and welded together the production and service process (Frable 1998). This re-orientation of the kitchen into an element of direct service delivery has due to the customer engagement involved created a `*soft skill*` requirement along with the existing `*hard skills*` already associated with restaurant service production. The `*hard skill*` element of the job role remains but with a new requirement to acquire the `*soft skills*` of hiding emotions (Burns 1997) and masking aggressive thoughts (Korczynski 2005; 2013), features which Bolton argues are `*the skills that matter*` in the service economy (Bolton 2004).

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The respondents acknowledged that the presence of females in the closed kitchen did not lead to a reduction in the level of masculine behaviour, and indeed that the male chefs merely further asserted their masculinity (Donkin 2001; Bunting 2004). This was a challenging situation for most females as male chefs continued to assert their power in the environment (Nixon 2009). As Simms (2012) discusses, leading female celebrity chefs have had to overcome this macho male challenge to be accepted and succeed in a society which, since the era of the manufacturing economy, has created a service world in which closed and traditional environments are still socially perceived as being dirty, male occupations (Roper 1994; Roberts 2012; McIvor 2013). Kitchen labouring in such traditional harsh environments of *"working in crappy, crappy conditions, in spaces with poor kitchen design for long hours, under significant pressures"* (Robinson 2008, p408) a space which Robinson and Barron (2007, p915) discuss as being *"both physical and psychologically straining environments"*.

The opening up of the kitchen to public scrutiny has been a key factor in the reducing of macho performances as the chef now has to enter a different world of social acceptability and service work (Fillby 1992) and is expected to interact with customers using a `*softer skill*` delivery (Bolton 2004). The male interviewees acknowledged that this coupled with the growing female presence in the open kitchen has begun to erode the traditional masculine kitchen behaviour; however, they said that their masculinity and dominance is still retained whenever possible through performing antics which were previously so obvious in the closed kitchen in a more subdued way. The masculinity of the traditional kitchen together with the normative male dominance behaviour continues to be practised in a far more subtle and potentially subversive manner, in an attempt to continue to exercise domination in the working environment.

This level of masculinity demonstrated in the kitchen has been reduced due to the direct impact of the external environment and the customer observation of male chefs together with increasing numbers of women being attracted to open kitchen work (People 1st 2014). This suggests a potential change to the traditional male dominance in the kitchen, with hot steamy kitchens no longer

being an exclusively male domain and the heavy lifting of pans no longer being seen as man's work. This notion is now clearly being challenged, perhaps as a consequence of the increased level of direct service contact and the need for traditional male work to employ feminised `*soft skills*` (Drucker 1994; Ashforth et al. 2007). The juxtaposition of the chef and customer in the new open kitchen development in a direct manner was almost never required in the manufacturing economy era. This is perhaps best exemplified in the respondents' drawings of themselves as males in the kitchen while holding out a knife as a symbol of their perceived need to protect themselves from the customer and the new encroachment on their work space, possibly a symbolic representation of their need to defend themselves.

The acceptance of the open kitchen as a work place appears to have produced a clear demarcation between those respondents of over thirty years of age, who generally acknowledge the open kitchen as a more challenging environment to work in, and those respondents of less than thirty years of age, who more easily embraced the new open world even though it offered challenges for the young socially less skilled participants as a result of the required customer interaction. This is possibly a reflection of the younger generation of employees having been brought up in a service economy and assimilating this new work order. Roberts (2012) found that some working class youths are more able to accept working in feminised employment, such as the retail sector. Concurring with the work of Nixon (2009) when masculine overtones in the work task were perceived and hence the embracing of emotional labour. Roberts (2012) identified the shifting of some young working class men's lives towards and the softening of their masculinities.

7.6. Emotional labour

The research has discussed the difference between being hidden from view and being exposed to customer contact and the impact the latter has had on the respondents, who are now required to mask their true feelings and employ softer more feminised skills to match their new job role (Vincent 2011). The respondents discussed how the open kitchen required customer engagement, which at times required putting on an act (Hochschild 1983). They talked about how they felt when communicating in a manner that was outside of their own

social experience and not in line with their existing socialisation skills (Sheehan 2012). Acting created a disjoint from the world they had known and represented a new assault on the established traditions of their trade. This new world of work was represented as metaphors in their Human Stick Drawings (HSD) and identified the chef as being under the spot light, becoming an item of curiosity for the customer. This appears to have taken them directly into the world of emotional and aesthetic labour.

Emotional labouring represents the inner-self and the individual's feelings on the acting that they are required to do for the customer (Appelbaum and Gatta 2005). The disparity between the level of acting and how the individual feels (Gross 2002) correlates with the level of emotional labour being undertaken and the stress felt, which in turn can lead to job dissatisfaction (Hochschild 1983; Wharton 1993; 2009; Kim 2008; Chen and Hao 2009). The research findings indicated that the open kitchen chef is indeed on a daily basis undertaking various levels of emotional labouring. This will be discussed in the following section as `surface acting', 'deep acting` and `genuine acting`.

7.6.1. Surface acting

The respondents discussed how they often felt that they were putting on an act of simulated emotions, which aligns with the findings of Guerrier and Adib (2001) in their research on tour representatives. The respondents indicated that they had to mask their feelings in relation to needing to focus on the service and the work rather than engaging with the customer. This seems to have caused the respondents to develop set responses in an attempt to automate their service interaction. Those chefs with previous customer contact experience in jobs such as checkout operative in a supermarket and those with some experience of front customer work as waiting or bar staff found the initial interaction less stressful. Customer experience was limited for the majority and in the main they learnt how to interact on the job by talking with other chefs and creating a set of their own stock phrases. Those respondents who were having to interact with the customer as a form of kitchen punishment indicated that the emotions that they had to demonstrate via a happy facial expression and a positive voice tone were not always a reflection of how they actually felt, an issue that resonates with the work of Mann (1997). The respondents gave

examples of when their outer expression didn't represent their inner feelings, such as when they were not in a positive frame of mind at work and generally fed up, but still had to deliver a positive experience. During the interviews, they spoke about having to go up to the customer and at times lie about the product in a way that was *"fake"* (Noon and Blyton 1997, p129). They operated in *"bad faith"* (Grandey 2000, p95), talking up the quality of the product and the manner in which it had been presented and masking the reality of what it really was. The respondents knew that this was `fake and in bad faith,` but their role in customer engagement was for them to leave a good impression and to ensure that the customer had a positive service experience.

Not only had the respondents to manage their negative emotions in front of the customer but they now had to control their physical outbursts, as Bevir (2007) points out. This is in stark contrast to the closed kitchen, where emotions were expressed through shouting and banging kitchen items. The chef's stress in the kitchen which had been discharged through physical actions and masculine communication now had to be controlled and bottled up, releasing it once out of sight of the customer. Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn (2011) report that prison officers discharged their anger when away from the inmates in the staff room or while out with colleagues having a drink off duty and how retail staff often complained about the customer when in the canteen (Goldthorpe et al. 1969) .

High levels of `*surface acting*` appear to have led to increased staff turnover in the open kitchen. This was particularly noted by the newer recruits when they indicated that some chefs from the closed kitchen who were trying the open kitchen as their next kitchen career move only managed to last a few days/weeks before leaving. The interviewees explained that they were unable to handle the additional pressure of being on show. Those chefs who had limited experience of the open environment indicated that the increased work pressure led to job dissatisfaction (Hochschild 1983; Serry and Corrigall 2009), burnout (Wharton 1993; 2009; Kim 2008; Chen et al. 2012) and ultimately to a higher staff turnover. Chau et al. (2009) in their research on bank tellers discuss the direct relationship between `*surface acting*` and emotional exhaustion and its impact being an increase in the likelihood of labour turnover. The research

suggests that the younger chefs who were newer to the environment suffered from higher levels of stress when first exposed to customer contact as they attempted to cope with this new and alien environment, with an increasing propensity to leave their employment.

The respondents realised the pressures that `*surface acting*` brought and would enforce customer engagement as a form of discipline. This represented a new form of macho control, with the chefs using a new set of bullying tactics in the open kitchen in a way that Alexander et al. (2012) never identified in the closed kitchen. This approach to enforcing a new level of conformity often led to the chefs being embarrassed when they were required to speak to guests as they felt uncomfortable doing so. This new form of kitchen control is the customer service equivalent of the old discipline exercised in the closed kitchen. The new chef was once given the monotonous physical apprentice tasks as a form of initiation into the `*tribe*`(Alexander et al. 2012; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015), or he may have been subjected to verbal abuse akin to work place bullying. Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons (2007) linked this with occupational stress, ascertaining the level of macho behaviour the new chefs could stand in order to become an accepted member of the group. Many celebrity chefs described this form of control in their autobiographies (Turner 2001; Ramsay 2007; Martin 2008). The open kitchen required a new approach, one that enabled the chef to be accepted due to the level at which they were able to perform the task of the job while simultaneously engaging with customers. Those that were able to engage with the customer through high levels of `*surface acting*` and `*deep acting*` while performing their physical job role were without realising it adopting a more feminised approach to skill work (Wharton 1993).

A small number of male chefs indicated that gender was a trigger for `*surface acting*`, which was often based on the attractiveness of particular female customers. In such instances, they would discuss the food and the job of the chef in far greater detail with the guest in a gender engagement where the male attempts to exert power and authority over the female and accordingly to modify the customer relationship (Nixon 2009; Roberts 2012).

7.6.2. Deep acting

The research found that those who had had previous experience with customers or in the open kitchen had a far greater understanding of how to engage in a positive emotional and physical act. The learning acquired from this enabled them to establish a repertoire of appropriate emotional interactions (Mann 1997). Those in the selection group who had empathy for the customer understood the level of engagement required and how to ensure customer satisfaction was achieved, and thus they would act in *"good faith"* (Grandey 2000, p95)*.* They indicated that before entering work they did not necessarily want to be in a jolly mood (antecedent) and often felt they would want to be *"left on their own"* to get on with elements of the mise-en-place and not interact with customers during service. In the closed kitchen such cocooning in a shell during work was always possible, but in the open kitchen they had to put on a happy smiley face due to the particular demands of the engagement required (Warhurst et al. 2000; Warhurst and Nickson 2007). The `deep acting` undertaken was demonstrated through dressing in a clean uniform, adopting the right attitude and becoming part of the open kitchen process, conforming to the expectations at work. The respondents indicated that they appreciated this new level of engagement and understood that the customers dining in the restaurant expected to have a positive experience and that this experience relied to an extent on the culinary team engaging with them in a positive manner. The respondents in these instances were clearly engaging as `deep actors` since they said that whilst they may feel negative emotions, they understood that they were required to draw upon their experiences to put on a positive and empathetic face in clear alignment with Hochschild (1983) work.

It appears to have been this ongoing work satisfaction that drew them through `surface acting` and towards `deep acting`*,* even when they were feeling reluctant to engage in customer contact. Being able to observe the customer appreciate the food that they had produced and receiving positive feedback led to a feeling of satisfaction and a positive frame of mind.

The respondents indicated that they often went into work in the open kitchen with a negative disposition (antecedent). However, after engaging with the

customer and watching the consumption of their food and the customers subsequently responding in a positive manner, clearly appreciating the dish that they had produced and acknowledging the hard work that they had put into the service, they felt more positive and were able to engage in `genuine acting`. Positive engagements appear to make the chefs feel rewarded and give them the sense of a job well done and with it positive emotions. The empathy that they felt with the customer seems to fit neatly with an emotional labourer moving from the negative feelings associated with `surface acting` to a positive disposition associated with `deep acting`, as discussed by Randolph and Dahling (2013). Judge et al. (2009) and Scott and Barnes (2011) identified this switch from *'surface acting'* to *'deep acting'* in the space of a working day in bus drivers as did Totterdell and Holman (2005) in call centre workers.

7.6.3. Genuine acting

Those respondents who had previously worked for a period of time in the open kitchen and were senior in their positions had become familiar with the environment. These individuals often acted entirely as themselves in front of the customer and displayed feelings which were totally aligned with their inner emotions and their own personality (Korczynski 2002). An analysis of the respondents' discourse revealed that they may have been engaged in `genuine acting` for one set of customers with whom they felt they could empathise and undertook much less `deep acting` with others. The respondents provided examples of various customer types, suggesting that they were displaying `deep acting` and `genuine acting` based on their perceived status with the customer (Moss and Tilly 1996; Jack and Wibberley 2013). They stated that they identified with some customers more than others, depending on their language, dress and perceived social status, and would adapt their interaction accordingly (Lovaglia and Houser 1996; Ashforth et al. 2007). It seemed necessary to talk to or engage with each set of customers in a different manner (Taylor and Tyler 2000), and in such instances they had to project various levels of emotional acting, at times engaging in empty performances (Bolton and Boyd 2003; Sheehan 2012; Tungtakanpoung and Wyatt 2013).

Like the airline cabin crew in Bolton and Boyd's (2003) study, the chefs in the research group were mixing and matching and thus managing their emotional

styles, using the 4Ps of pecuniary, presentational, prescriptive and philanthropic emotional labour in the different interactions they had with the customers. They were obliged to work in the open kitchen for pecuniary reasons, being rewarded for work monetarily, but the chef being on view brought additional value (presentational) to the restaurant though the customer having the added experience of being able to observe and interact with the chef, creating novel excitement (Goffman 1967) and later, as Pine and Gilmore (1999) discuss, as a requirement of the experience economy and contributing towards the hospitality experience (Lugosi 2008; Lugosi 2014). It seems clear that as the number of open kitchens increases, the acceptance of emotional management will increase accordingly and become the norm as will the unique restaurant experience open kitchens offer.   The respondents who were engaged in emotional labour were expected to discuss the food and the organisation in a positive manner (prescriptive) in line with management expectations, but on occasions they would enter into additional discourse with the customer on the life and work of the chef (philanthropic), which would draw them away from their work. It seems clear that the respondents engaged in the research were involved in emotional labouring using different levels of `*surface acting, deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*`, but what also seemed clear is that with each of these typologies it could be suggested that they were deploying elements of emotional management (Bolton 2005).

7.7. Aesthetic labour

In order to meet expectations regarding service interaction with the customer, the worker needs to follow the outer display rules (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993) regarding physical appearance and voice engagement or, as Warhurst and Nickson (2005) state, *"look good and sound right".* These attributes allow them to mask their inner emotions in order to sell their class values and taste for the benefit of the organisation and seem implicit in the application of emotional labour (Grandey and Gabriel 2015) as the physical outwards signs in customer contact can be in conflict with the individual employee's mood. As a result of their often lower social status or societal norms (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993), the chefs had to adjust the physical and verbal manner in which they engaged (Butler 2014) with the customers to meet their perceived expectations. These are discussed below as `*looking good*` and `*sounding right*`.

7.7.1. `Looking good`

The male respondents in the group revealed how their levels of personal grooming and cleanliness became of greater consideration when directly engaging with customers and that this was how they chose to reflect the image they wished to project as a chef. They stated how they would be sent home by the head chef if they did not appear suitably professional by being clean shaven, washed and groomed. This resonates with Witz, Warhust and Nickson (2003), who researched the obligation of employees in public facing roles in retail service work to conform with expectations of high standards of personal hygiene, dress and demeanour. There was perhaps something of a subconscious paradigm shift from the prior dirty, masculinised job of chef, where the uniform represented a functional garment, to the new representation of the chef, whose clothing reflects the image of a cleaner more stylish service. The chef is now, seen as a `style` tradesperson, functioning as a positive enhancement to the restaurant by looking the part. Postrel (2003) argues that appearance of style a is as a vital component of business success.

The female respondents indicated that working in the open kitchen had encouraged them to apply light cosmetic make-up for work in order to depict an image of attractiveness (Williams and Connell 2010). This is in direct contrast to the closed kitchen, where make-up was rarely worn. The research has identified a shift in the visual image which the chefs now wish to portray of themselves and the increasing importance of this new image and self-pride in their appearance. It seems clear that the interaction with the customer has stimulated a new level of interest in self-regulating physical appearance, as opposed to the closed kitchen, which was associated with a lack of care related to personal grooming due to a feeling of being hidden away. The open kitchen seems to have thrust the chef into the public gaze, and with this have come expectations to dress and present themselves in a manner reflective of the new situation, representing an altered paradigm reflective of society in the service through to the experience and into the aesthetic economy (Warhurst 2015; Humphrey, Ashforth and Dienfendorff 2015). The open kitchen has clearly had an effect on the physical appearance of chefs since it is associated with an image of cleanliness, professionalism and care, whilst the social conventions (mores) of

the closed kitchen reflected a general apathy in relation to dress and appearance. This new orientation of the job role seems to have led to a new aesthetic requirement and a look more closely aligned with the customer's expectations.

The additional demand to dress and present themselves in a manner appropriate to being on public view ought not to have been such a seismic shift as they might have seemed as it can be surmised that it acted as more of a reminder of their training and a reinstatement of the standards that were normally expected of them in the professional kitchen (Borg 2011) as articulated by Escoffier and his legacy. This seems to be in rather stark contrast to the change in their vernacular language. The `*sound right*` requirement represented a more fundamental re-adjustment for the staff who were engaging with customers of a higher social group. In particular, the use of a vernacular patois, which was deemed to be acceptable, presents challenges to chefs.

7.7.2. `Sounding right`

The male respondents acknowledged that their dialect, vocabulary and street language created issues for them as their vernacular speech was difficult for some customers to understand. This mismatch between the chefs' spoken language and the customers' understanding can be seen as a reflection of the differing economic social grouping of working class male chefs generally attracted into kitchen work and of the customers with whom they came into contact. These open kitchen staff were not employed for their aesthetic labouring skills, as were the staff in the up-market retail outfits in Karrlsson's (2011) study, or for `*sounding right*` using an acceptable accent but rather for their culinary skills. Some of the respondents in the research had been employed in high-end fine dining restaurants and directly involved in customer kitchen tours and/or chefs table presentations; however, the street language they used together with the hard regional accents that they had acquired through their normal socialisation did at times lead to communication problems in their guest service interaction. This lack of understanding of the dialect being used seems to have reinforced the view that the worker was an individual in a masculine world, with their accent being an embodiment of historical employment aligned with industrial work (McIvor 2013) and traditional kitchen

work as discussed in the celebrity chefs biographies and the academic literature focusing on chefs by Orwell (1933), Fine (1996), Robinson (2008) and Burrow et al (2015). The respondents felt that the social divide between the employee and the guest was further reinforced by the chefs being on show and seen as an item of curiosity. This was reinforced by the manner in which the customer asked questions during the service and how their work and class background had become an item of interest for the customers. The aesthetic isolation of the respondents contrasted with previous research work which identified how similar class recruitment or `style labour` was of importance in high end service encounters (Warhurst et al. 2000). This tactic was not yet evident in the open kitchen. The lack of communicative understanding in some service encounters led to the service staff having to interpret the chefs language for the guests, a feature which continued until the respondents were able to develop an interaction dialogue which was both understandable to the customer and enhanced the service interaction (Postrel 2003).

7.7.3. Heuristic soft skills development

The growing requirement of the chef to interact with the customers and the challenge imposed by their strong regional dialects being frequently misunderstood appears to have increased the level of anxiety for the respondents. It was found that over time the respondents learned to subdue or mask their own accents in order to be able to speak with more subtle accents and thus facilitate improved service interactions. These discursive rules were clearly being learned and practised on the job. Social learning of accents would normally occur through education at school and at home (Sheehan 2012); however, what seems clear is that the re-orientation of the chefs' dialect must now be learnt during their employment. With the increase in open kitchens and the growing demand for aesthetic labouring together with greater media exposure in general (People 1st 2014), those who are able to operate as style labourers are more likely to be attracted into the industry (Warhurst and Nickson 2005; Butler 2014), potentially squeezing out the traditional working class chefs (Warhurst and Nickson 2007) who are unable to conform to the new employment terrain. Aspirant chefs are trying to migrate from the closed kitchen environment but encountering formidable barriers in becoming a style labourer,

causing segregation and preventing them from being employed in higher status roles.

The respondents stated that during the customer interactions they were encouraged by the server to slow down their speech patterns so that the customer could better understand their dish explanation. This group of chefs had sufficient levels of autonomy to be able to manipulate how they spoke to the guest, reflecting the differing expectations of the customer, and in doing so, they demonstrated that such interactions were emotional choices (Sheehan 2012). The respondents had to now identify and analyse the expectations and requirements of the customers in a similar manner to the hairdressers in Goffman's (1959) study. It seems that the chefs are for the first time having to deploy a range of `soft skills` (Hampson and Junor 2005; Hurrell, Scholarios and Thompson 2012) in order to align themselves with the guests' social expectations of an appropriate service interaction. This is an engagement approach which was never required of them in the closed world of the kitchen, further reinforcing the `softer skills` element which is now increasingly required in the job.

The additional requirement of the chef to become an `intermediate service` worker (Grayson 1998) has further contributed to the increased pressure on this type of employee in open kitchen work. Emotions and aesthetics must now be masked, and for some, this realignment of the job role appears to have resulted in increased emotional labouring, leading to stress, greater job dissatisfaction (Hochschild 1983; Mann 1997) and burnout, all of which leads to increased staff turnover (Wharton 1993; 2009; Kim 2008; Chen et al. 2012) in the open kitchen environment.

7.8. Moderators of service labour customer engagement work

It has been established that the respondents are under additional pressure and suffering stress due to the closer level of customer engagement, either as a result of being observed at work or because of having to enter into conversation with the customers. A range of emotional and aesthetic labouring is occurring, which has led to additional stress, resulting initially in increased labour turnover, with those who had first experienced the environment being unable to cope.

The respondents have been able to develop a number of moderators or coping strategies to help them with this new form of labouring, and the next section identifies these key moderators of emotional and aesthetic labour.

7.8.1. Skill and employment status

The respondents acknowledged that they felt nervous in front of the customer due to being socially unprepared for the forced engagement in service interactions. The research group revealed how the customers had an awareness of the chefs skills and were legitimising their knowledge through questioning and observation of a skilled food production worker. The literature strongly suggests that when chefs are acting as aesthetic labourers, they are susceptible to the three particular typologies of interaction: `*subordination, equivalence*` and `*superordination*` (Warhurst and Nickson 2007) and that each of these was applicable throughout as they interacted with the various guest types. The higher the level of skill that they employed in the kitchen, the lower the level of aesthetic labour that needed to be deployed as the chef were using the `*status shield*`*,* but a greater level of emotional labour was needed in order to mask their true feelings towards the guest. Some interactions were of `*equivalence*` (Warhurst and Nickson 2007) in terms of the correspondence of the worker and the customer and these interactions were demonstrated through the `*hard skill*` deployed by the respondents. The reality for the younger less experienced chef was that of `*subordination*` in the interaction, which was generally defined by the customer and the feeling that they were of a higher status than them. It can therefore be surmised that the level of engagement required was higher, resulting in `*surface acting*` being undertaken, leading to a stressful outcome particularly for the younger chefs and the early starters in open kitchen work.

The technical skill level that the chef employs places them into a classification of emotional labouring between the Specialist Service and Professional Technical (Bolton 2004, p26), holding a level of discretionary content and task range over the customer. This categorisation seems to have afforded the chef some admiration from the customer due to the level of `*hard skills*` that they deploy, which are identified as occupational factors by Jung and Yoon (2014) or, as Hochschild (1983) found, the development of `*the status shield*`*.* The

`equilibrium` (Schaubroeck and Jones 2000) in this interaction enables the customer to accept the chef in spite of their lack of aesthetic labour (soft skill) as the `hard skill` of the task is deemed in these instances to be of a higher importance. The deployment of the `status shield` and this equilibrium enables the chef to observe other chefs engaging with the customer applying emotional and aesthetic labour and learn the `soft skills` (Sheehan 2012) that are essential for customer interaction and thus in part help influence their future service encounters (Bradley et al. 2000).

Their own fine-tuned customer interaction skills were for some respondents the result of previous employment in customer facing roles. Those respondents who had no front office experience learned set pieces of speech prior to any customer engagement from listening to their colleagues' service encounters. They then employed these set piece interactions to enable a swifter engagement to take place in the manner identified by Jenkins, Delbridge and Roberts (2010) in call centres and on the shop floor (Lopez 2010). Such approaches were used particularly during busy service periods or when not necessarily wanting a longer period of dialogue with the customer.

7.8.2. Autonomy

There does not appear to be any difference between the level of self-directed planning required for the `hard skill` aspect of the job in closed and open kitchen environments. The respondents were able to self-manage the level of their encounters as their roles were not central to the service delivery, but rather the open kitchen was being utilised as a peripheral enhancement of the meal experience. Noon and Blyton (1997) identified staff who have greater levels of autonomy in their job role as being less susceptible to stress in service encounters (Gursoy, Boylu and Avci 2011). For some service employees, the interaction with the customer can be positive; the direct feedback received can lead to the staff member feeling a greater sense of worth (Shuler and Sypher 2000; Williams 2003). Moving from the closed to the open kitchen this possibly offered a level and degree of feedback which they had never encountered before. The respondents working in the open kitchen, although they were clearly engaged in emotional and aesthetic labouring were not subject to intensive periods of customer interaction with difficult customers as the more

formally embedded front facing service workers had (Sturdy, Grugulis and Wilmott 2001) and this together with the reduced frequency and duration of the interaction (Diefendorff and Gosserand 2005) acted as a moderator (Pugliesi 1999) for the emotional labour stress felt by some service workers. The design of the open kitchen enabled some of the respondents to move into an area that was out of the customer's direct view, to some extent ameliorating the emotional labouring taking place. Respondents indicated that they could then `be themselves` for a period before returning to the customer facing environment. This resonates with the work of Lupton (1963) and Goldthorpe et al. (1969), in which retail staff used the staff canteen to let off the frustrations of problematic customer engagement.

There seems to have been a level of empathy in the open kitchen, indicated by the manner in which the individual chefs supported each other when it was their turn to `talk` to the customers, which appears to have helped reduce the levels of stress. Support was manifested by another member of the team voluntarily engaging with the customer, thus taking the pressure off each other during the service period and creating a `community of coping`, similar to the way in which staff support each other in call centres (Korczynski 2013). This community was generated in part through the redistribution of work during busy service periods and `helping your mates out`. Support from this community was also evident in the dark humour of work (Bolton and Boyd 2003) and the group identity that it created., In a study of shop floor workers Collinson (1988; 2002) found that this established and reinforced a loyalty to the `tribe` (Robinson, Solnet and Breakey 2014).

The overt aggression that was once demonstrated in closed kitchen work has been subdued through working in the open kitchen, and any frustrations that did exist were vented out of the sight of customers. Such frustrations appear to have been undertaken in a covert manner or in the private domain once work had finished, in almost the same way the Swedish prison officers in research undertaken by Nylander, Lindberg and Bruhn (2011) contained their frustrations in front of the inmates. The respondents in my own research revealed how in difficult customer interactions they would use practised stock expressions which

they had created to reduce the pressure or frustrations of work. However, once the service period was completed, the frustration from work pressures and the difficult or problematic interactions was released, defused and forgotten about.

7.9. Consequences of open kitchen work

The emotional and aesthetic labour literature maintains that customer service interaction has inevitable consequences that will impact on the employee. The next section discusses these consequences, specifically worker exhaustion, job satisfaction and self-confidence.

7.9.1. Worker exhaustion

Moving from the closed to the open kitchen and having to engage with the customer in a more direct and personally interactive way led to increased levels of pressure and stress amongst the chefs. The resultant focus on emotional labour, as Hochschild (1983) and others (Wharton 1993; 2009; Kim 2008; Chen et al. 2012) agree, results in an increase in job dissatisfaction due to the feeling of being `false` and results in emotional dissonance (Noon and Blyton 1997). For the chefs who were experiencing the environment for the first time, this resulted in increasing levels of staff turnover. The participants indicate that the open kitchen was far more stressful than the closed kitchen but that respondents were able to cope with the stress when they were able to deploy appropriate moderators. Wharton (1993) claims that there is no direct correlation between emotional labour and the level of emotional exhaustion. It seems clear that the consequences of emotional and aesthetic labour are increased levels of stress brought on through the service interaction, but it seems equally clear that the benefits of the open kitchen are far greater than the pressures of the closed world of work that the chefs had previously encountered.

The respondents freely acknowledged in their discussions that they had initially felt poorly equipped for direct customer engagement. They spoke about how they had migrated from male dominated kitchen environments feeling a sense of loss as they missed the support endemic in the closed kitchen `tribe` and experiencing anxiety due to feeling exposed in front of the customer and being inducted into a new group. Acknowledging that they were being employed for

their hard craft skill, they indicated that their employers lacked an understanding of the `*soft skills*` that were clearly required in open kitchen work, a process and practice which was alien to them. This principal appears to be in conflict with Nickson, Warhurst and Dutton (2005), who found that `*hard skills*` are less important than `*soft skills*` in retail and hospitality organisations, the assumption being that `*soft skills*` are socially acquired and that staff can be drawn from those social groups which `*look and sound right*` for the target market. If true, this theorisation creates an employment gap for the chef, who has been traditionally drawn from a working class background, and has the potential of alienating them from work in open kitchens as the demand for `*style*` chefs increases. However, once the employee has acquired the `*soft skills*` which make them more the social equals of the customers, it is argued by Warhurst and Nickson (2007) that this new labour aristocracy will be revalidated. If accepted, this theory, which is grounded on the premise that service staff are likely to come from backgrounds that are of social equivalence to the customers they serve, would create a `*gentrification*` of the new service workers. It would seem that this `*gentrification*` may be emerging as the open kitchen attracts chefs with a greater feminised disposition towards service employment and the number of female chefs working in open kitchens increases.

As the experience and aesthetic economy continues to demand production craft workers with `*soft skills*`, there is an ever increasing impact on traditional male patterns of employment as males from traditional working class backgrounds who do not associate their employment opportunities with service will now be required to develop these `*soft skills*` if they are to be effective in these new production craft service roles which are being opened up to public scrutiny (Goldthorpe et al. 1969). The younger females in the group demonstrated how they were more aligned with open kitchen than closed kitchen employment and were more readily able to deliver the softer skills required for customer service than their male counterparts (Korczynski 2002; 2005; 2013; Gianfranco 2013).

The male respondents did not wholly possess the attributes needed to perform in front of the customer. Due to their life and work experience and the norms of the society they were familiar with, they viewed craftwork as a male occupation with limited service encounters (Burns 1997). Changing those views will require

a re-orientation of working notions and practices. Appelbaum and Gatta (2005) argue that there is clearly a requirement for the teaching and developing of these new softer skills. Hospitality managers need to recognise that personnel are primarily employed for their `hard skills` and have very limited `soft skills`, which creates a problem as the employee is now being called upon to add value by engaging in direct customer contact and must be able to do this in order to access the better paid jobs (Goffman 1959). It can perhaps be concluded that these `hard skills` are starting to become less valuable as the emphasis is placed upon the `soft skills` required for jobs that traditionally demanded `hard skills` implicit to the craft. It seem clear that both `hard` and `soft skills` are increasingly required to complement each other as the experience economy develops and moves forward into the aesthetic economy (Postrel 2003; Korczynski 2005).

The research found that training was often over looked and that individual chefs felt that they never had the time available to go on developmental courses. They did not value the organisational induction sessions and the customer interaction `soft skills` training workshops that they did attend, and the organisation did not seem to consider these a priority (Shani et al. 2014). Employees having the `hard skills` needed to perform the job were regarded as of greater importance than them acquiring the `soft skills`. Soft skill training was seen as disengagement and distraction from the masculine approach towards work and removed the chef from food preparation. Such indulgence in being absent from the kitchen was often perceived as being something of a feminised luxury for the front office staff and not required or needed in the macho world of kitchen work – it was distraction from the central purpose of cooking.

7.9.2. Job satisfaction

The research found that the closed kitchen was a less emotional stressful work space than the open kitchen, with a more masculinised work culture, although aggressive in nature, they could be themselves and release the pressure through male display behaviour (Alexander et al. 2012; Burrow, `Smith` and Yakinthou 2015). The open kitchen was regarded as a being of greater emotional stress to work in, requiring a more feminised approach. These softer employment skills the chefs had not been able to acquire in closed kitchens or

for some, from their social background The emotional labouring literature contends that `*surface acting*` and `*deep acting*` lead to increased levels of stress and hence higher labour turnover. On first starting work in an open kitchen, chefs found it challenging to manage their acting and pinpoint the specific level of acting required, leading to negative consequences (Grayson 1998). The emotional and aesthetic labouring involved seems to have led to an initial discontent at work (Serry and Corrigall 2009) and emotional exhaustion (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993), which has subsequently increased labour turnover. Those chefs who were able to handle the pressures of emotional and aesthetic labouring acknowledged that the pressure, and consequently the stress, was greater when they first entered the open kitchen. However, they were able to develop and deploy a number of moderators to ameliorate the effects of the pressure. The level of stress they experienced was higher than that experienced in the closed kitchen; however, they acknowledged some salient benefits of working in an open kitchen that counteracted the stress (Wharton 2009), specifically that working in front of the customer in an open kitchen was a far more rewarding and positive experience due to the direct feedback occuring (Tsai 2001) than working in the closed kitchen had been. Engagement with the customers gave them a greater sense of job satisfaction and interaction brought intrinsic rewards and a strong sense of achievement (Zapf 2002).

7.9.3. Self-confidence

The respondents claimed that having to mask their emotions and change the manner in which they communicated with customers led to the development of a new norm or speech equilibrium over a period of time (Sheehan 2012). This new discourse gave them the interaction skills and confidence to engage with the customers and satisfy the requirement of this new level of customer interaction (Brook 2009a; 2009b). They acknowledged that this new-felt confidence in front of the customer seems to have also built their self-respect and led directly to an improved level of interpersonal skills (Wharton 2009), which they were starting to deploy outside of their work environment. These social interaction skills had not been developed in their previous jobs in the masculine almost insular world of the closed kitchen, nor had they acquired these skills when growing up in a working class environment (Goffman 1959).

Limited social interaction skills along with a lack of confidence and having a negative attitude towards customer service work, seeing it as `girls work` (McIvor, 2013), may have prevented them from entering customer service employment. There was a clear acknowledgment of the challenge of grasping the new aesthetic skills needed for interpersonal communication, not only in the first instance but also once they had joined the new labour aristocracy as they needed to maintain and improve their new-found skills (Warhurst and Nickson (2007). Such a change in their personal orientation seems to have reinforced the softer skills that they had acquired. This was acknowledged by the respondents when discussing how they were now able to identify various customer types, becoming more perceptive and adapt their own discourse and dialect to ensure that they could communicate effectively. The younger chefs acknowledged that the open kitchen had been a catalyst for improving their social skills, self-confidence and respect, something that the closed kitchen would never have enabled.

7.10. Theoretical considerations on the research

The research discussion has brought to the fore that the concepts of emotional and aesthetic labour are actually linked and intertwined with one another and that both of these conceptual structures are mutually inclusive as discussed by Sheane (2011), Grandey and Gabriel (2015) and Warhurst (2015). The research findings unequivocally concur with claims in the literature that emotional labouring is essentially the `putting on of an act` and that the actor performs `surface acting', deep acting` and `genuine acting`, all of which have their related consequences. In particular `surface acting` being attributed to stress and burnout leading to job dissatisfaction and the increased levels of labour turnover. The negative consequences of emotional labouring are mitigated by the antecedents and moderators, which reduce the impact that emotional labouring has on the individual employee. The research re-affirms the contention that emotional labouring draws heavily on the internal feelings of the worker having to mask how they feel to fit in with the expectation of the interaction, a performance expected by the organisation in exchange for a wage. The level of emotional labour that the chef in the open kitchen is required to perform is related to their exposure and interaction with the guests, where for the first time in their employment, they have to now be perceptive towards the

customers' needs. The respondents discussed how they were required to mask their true feelings and how performing in front of the customer increased their feelings of nervousness and anxiety. The amount of acting that was required and the pressure that this placed on the employee was identified as a key reason why some chefs left the open kitchen and why those that remained had to rapidly develop coping strategies, such as set piece conversations, and draw upon their reservoir of `hard skills` and technical knowledge in order to engage in sustainable customer contact. The chefs' internal feelings had to be masked to present a façade of `looking good and sounding right` to meet the requirements of the customer.

The respondents working in the open kitchen and engaged in customer contact were required to engage with the customer, `looking good and sounding right` through the process of aesthetic labouring. It is suggested here that the vocal communication between the chef and the customer along with the customer observing the chef at work trigger the mutually inclusive concept of emotional and aesthetic labouring. Throughout the research, the respondents discussed how they were obliged to mask their street language and macho aggression and how changing their discourse and the manner in which they spoke, led to different levels of acting and them not being themselves, which in turn increased their levels of stress. The respondents acknowledged that they developed different verbal and physical approaches for different customers as part of their new aesthetic labouring skills set.

The research findings indicate that the move from the closed to the open kitchen has led to a transformation of the chef and a profound realignment in their work role as they have become emotional and aesthetic labourers. This new theorisation is represented as a pictorial summary on page 225 (figure 9 Transformation triangle), and its implications are discussed in the following section.

The emotional and aesthetic labour involved in the transformation of the individual is represented by a series of triangles. It is not a model to be tested but is intended to illustrate the research findings in pictorial form and provide

some additional clarity. The individual employee is central to the diagram and the levels or types of emotional labouring (surface, deep and genuine acting) are represented by the triangular shaped layers surrounding the employee. The better the match between the customer engagement and the employee's own feelings, the greater the extent to which the employee is able to be themselves and the closer the layer that they need to venture out into. The first level of emotional labouring is represented by the first layer outside the inner employee triangle as `*genuine acting*`*,* which is compatible with the individual worker's own inner feelings (Korczynski 2002) and linked to the worker's own social class and social fit with the customer (Moss and Tilly 1996). This represents the workers feelings towards the customer as an interaction in which they are truly being themselves, the manner in which they speak and the tone that they use is a representation of the individual worker – their felt emotions are expressed. The second layer is further away from the employee's personality and represents `*deep acting*` or the attempt to feel the empathetic emotions that they wish to share with the customer (Mann 1997), changing their own feelings to replicate those that they are expected to project (Randolph and Dahling 2013). In these instances the employee is aware of the need to put on an act, but that act is a representation of how they believe the interaction should be. The worker is able to draw on his inner feelings and training to put on an engagement that is expected and one that the worker can understand needs to occur. While the outer layer represents `*surface acting'*,* which involves simulating emotions which are not actually felt (Guerrier and Adib 2001) and are the furthest from the employees personality such interactions are false, feign and disingenuous as is discussed by Noon and Blyton (1997) and Grandy (2000). The research identified that the emotional and aesthetic labouring that was being undertaken, was for the chef a transformation in their work practice having the impact of shifting their usual vernacular speech and, to a lesser extent their appearance (Payne 2000).

Figure 9 Transformation triangle
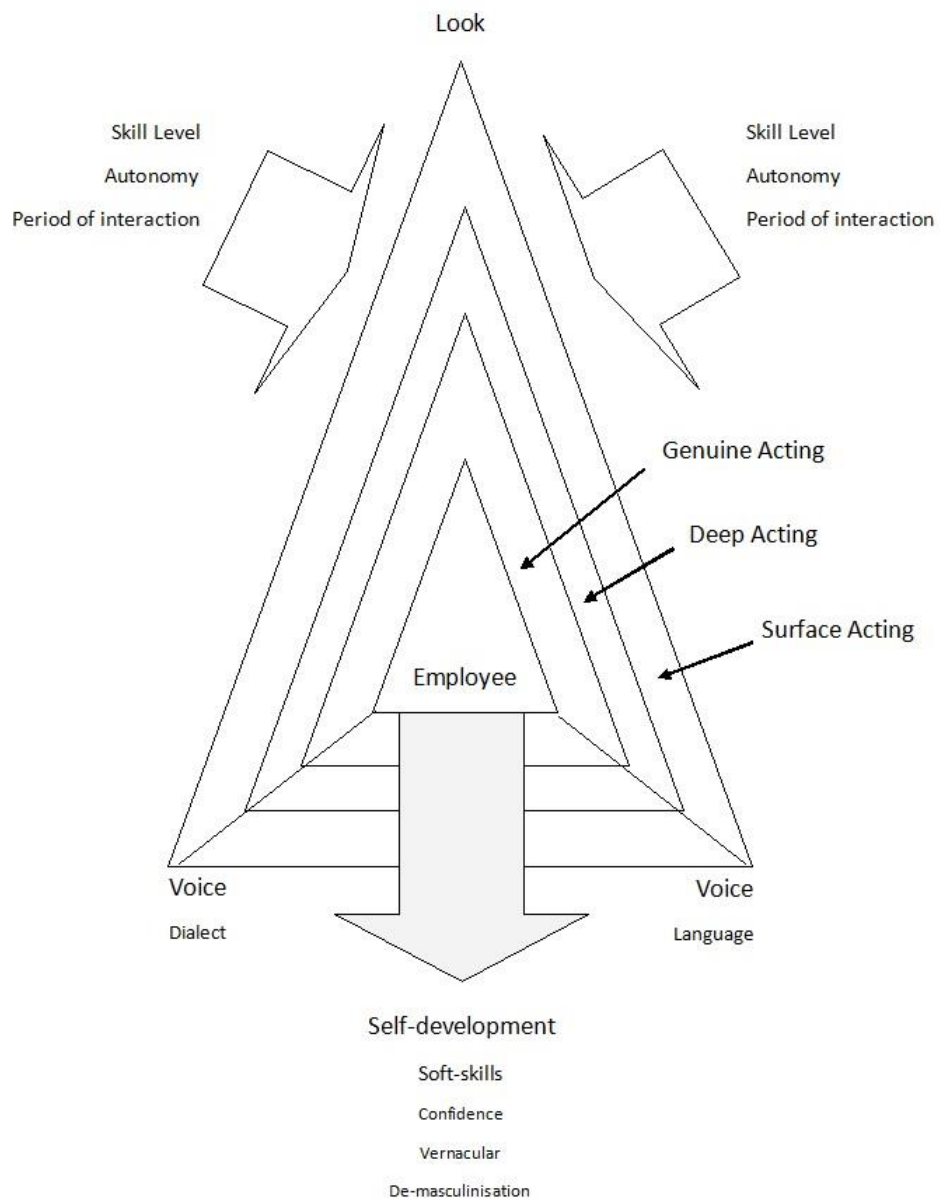
Source: Graham (September 2015)

Engagement with aesthetic labour as a key element of the customer hospitality experience for the research group appears to have been the catalyst for the deployment of emotional labouring and the masking of their internal feelings. The findings identified two variables which required masking or changing: dialect and vulgarities in language. These two variables of the workers' vernacular speech are represented at the base of the triangle at polar opposite edges, with the base vertices representing the totality of the voice. The tip of the polygon denotes the physical look of aesthetic labour, which for the participant

group did not represent as challenging a variable as the voice masking that had to take place in customer interaction.

The moderators of emotional and aesthetic labour revealed in the research are the levels of skill, autonomy and the length of interaction, all factors which seem to have enabled the respondents to find some relief, subduing their negative feelings and allowing them to be more themselves and hence gravitate towards the inner triangle The two arrows perpendicular to the triangle at the top of the diagram represent the moderators (skill level, autonomy at work and the period of interaction), pushing down against the level of acting that is required, down towards the centre of the triangle and so enabling the chef to exhibit more of their own feelings as a `genuine actor`.

The transformational effects that those chefs experienced are represented as the self-development of the individual, the direct result of the customer engagement and that over time and with the application of the moderators. It appears to have reduced the level of stress inherent in the customer interactions. The respondents referred to increased levels of confidence, better language skills, improved discourse and more refined interpersonal `soft skills`, and the arrow of self-development at the bottom of the triangle points to these. Employment in the environment of the open kitchen had a clear and self-acknowledged transformational effect on the participants. This self-development of the individual had unintentionally created a worker with the `soft skills` required for the experience economy. The consequences for those chefs was the unseen move towards the greater feminisation of their role, they had been manipulated into workers who had accepted through their actions at work the de-masculinisation of their employment and with it the loss of their traditional identity.

7.11. Chapter summary

The research strongly suggests that those chefs, have been propelled from a traditional back stage environment onto the intermediary work stage and placed on public view, who now have to engage much more directly with emotional and aesthetic labour in the experience or aesthetic economy. This new orientation has been implicated in the de-masculinisation of the traditions of the kitchen

and created a work place which requires a softer set of skills. The respondents initially found this transition challenging, leading to increased levels of stress brought on by having to undertake a public performance. These stress inducing performances appear to have been moderated by the level of skills they were able to demonstrate when in `*equivalence*` or `*superordinating*` interactions and appear to have had the additional benefit of them acquiring `*soft skills*`. The transformation of the identity of this particular research group is one which has been self-developed. They entered the open kitchen from a world of masculine identity and through the world of work of the open kitchen have inadvertently acquired the `*soft skills*` which appear to have greatly improved their levels of self-esteem and their wider engagement in society and fundamentally transformed the individual and the traditional sociology of the chef.

The next chapter will draw the key issues together into a set of conclusions and put forward recommendations in an attempt to make the contribution to knowledge sought by this thesis author.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion and recommendations

8.1. Introduction

This chapter draws upon the analysis and discussion chapter presenting a synthesis of the core findings. It begins by summarising the main findings of the emotional and aesthetic labour debates, drawing out the antecedents and moderators of these two labour theories and putting forward the short and medium to long term consequences of service interaction work. The chapter discusses the impacts that emotional and aesthetic labour theories are having on the transformation of the chef's identity. The research aim and objectives are reviewed together with the contribution that this work seeks to make to theory, practice and policy. The chapter closes by identifying the research limitations and, moving forward, how the research work may be extended.

8.2. Overview of the research findings

The following sections discuss the central findings of the research, highlighting emotional and aesthetic labour issues, antecedents, moderators, consequences and the changing identity of the male chef.

8.3 The transformation of work

The world of closed production is currently undergoing a fundamental shift in its orientation as it comes under the customers gaze. The idea that the employee should be removed from the direct observation of the guest emanated from the socially constructed notion that production work is dirty and unattractive to view and that it should be decoupled from customer service. The growth in competitive service delivery and the requirement to further enhance and excite the customer has created a range of innovations in a new understanding of service delivery. The open kitchen is one example of this. Food production has now been extended into restaurant service, blending food service and food production into one and re-defining the work of the chef. Jobs in closed production areas had remained untouched by this new reality of service delivery, a position that is being significantly eroded as the two elements of production and service delivery have been fused into one for the customer to view. Craftsmen who traditionally worked in closed and hidden environments,

the baker, cobbler, weaver, mechanic, and the focus of this study, the chef, are now increasingly having to operate in the new public domain.

This new domain of operations has brought the chef abruptly into the world of customer interaction, and as a consequence, this particular worker has emerged as an emotional and aesthetic labourer. The chefs in the study were identified as employees who were now having to engage in `surface acting, deep acting` and `genuine acting` in their everyday work, at times moving between each of these depending on the customer type. This has created a group of employees that had previously not been identified as emotional or aesthetic labourers. This worker type has not been represented in Bolton's (2004) classification of workers based on existing dimensions of emotional work.

The central thrust of this thesis is to understand the craft worker whose employment has been repositioned from the closed world of production to the open world of customer engagement, a transformation in their work environment. It has reviewed the emotional and aesthetic labour literature to identify the transformational effect the chef has experienced as one exemplification of this worker type, an employee, who has had to undergo the changed nature of work to operate effectively in the new `servicescape`. This core theme had not yet been researched or addressed in the literature, and it is from this position that the central research question was developed,

What transformation is the chef experiencing as their employment is re-orientated from the closed to the open kitchen?

This central research question as the core aim led to the development of a number of research objectives, which were inductively formulated as:

- Develop a critical perspective to evaluate the impact that the transition from the closed to the open kitchen is having on the sociology of the chef

- Critically review and examine the extent of emotional labouring and its potential consequences

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- Analyse and evaluate the coping mechanisms that the chef is deploying when emotional labouring

- Critically analyse the extent of aesthetic labouring taking place in the open production service environment

- Synthesise the inter-relationship between emotional and aesthetic labour

- Formulate a new understanding of the chef`s identity as they move from the closed to the open kitchen environment

The research question and objectives led to the findings, which it is suggested will make a contribution to knowledge as chefs are one exemplification of the craft worker which has until now not been researched within the emotional and aesthetic literature. The research has suggested that an understanding of the changed identity of the chef exists due to their new employment environment, and this has brought together the emotional and aesthetic labour theorisations and in doing so has clearly identified that for the participants i) the de-masculinisation of work had occurred, ii) `soft skills` had developed iii) poor support mechanisms were in place iv) with a transformational effect on the chef and vi) interpersonal skill development. These conclusions are outlined below;

I.   De- masculinisation of work

The research identified that the role of the chef in the open kitchen has through customer engagement socially enforced the display of `soft skills`. Displays towards the customer which are empathetic to the expectations of the service engagement, suppressing the masculine traits of work and bringing to the fore those of acceptable engagement in patois and vernacular voice. The presence of the customer has had a positive suppressive effect, developing a new culture and practice towards the feminisation of the work place and hence a de-masculinisation of the traditional world of the kitchen.

II.   Soft Skills development

Customer engagement has socially constructed the chef as an emotional and aesthetic labourer. A new world of work which demands `soft skills` which are not usually inherent in the traditional working class backgrounds from where

chefs are recruited, creating a potential `*soft skills*` gap. The new world of open craft work is demanding the need for the employee to be able to demonstrate these `*soft skills*`, which have been acknowledged in the research as being only developed heuristically and which for the participants are a challenge to acquire.

III.   Poor support mechanisms

The heuristic `*soft skill*` development at work were acquired with limited if any formal training. This approach resulted in the high levels of stress that the participants experienced from none customer service backgrounds. Those chefs with limited or no customer engagement experience were particularly vulnerable to the stress of the new work environment. Leading to anxiety and increased staff turnover. The organisational support available to be able to cope with the environment was in the main none existent, with peer support by colleagues being of the greatest value in developing the `*soft skill*` to perform effectively.

IV.   Transformational effect on the chef

The changing nature of work from the closed to the open kitchen had a clear and unequivocal transformational effect on the individual. An outcome which in the medium to long term, has had a positive effect on their employment prospects. With the chef emerging as the new labour aristocracy and with it, a changing sociology from that of the historical discussion of the macho man's work.

V.   Interpersonal skill development

The participants spoke passionately of the benefits that open kitchen work brought. In particular it was the increased level of confidence in dealing with the public, both at work and outside of it. The `*soft skills*` that they had developed enabled the appreciation and respect for others and an acceptance of the individual job worth that they performed. They perceived themselves in job role which was no longer one of masculine behaviour traits, but one of a greater softer approach to work, and with it, a greater sense of job satisfaction.

The emotional labour framework applied to the research approach concurred with the call made by Grandey and Gabriel (2015) to remain true to emotional labour within the *"constructed boundaries of the three-component model"* (p342) of the antecedents, moderators and outcomes. The respondents were identified to be `*surface acting', 'deep acting*` and `*genuine acting*` and emotional labouring had both negative and positive consequences for these respondents. In essence, they were undertaking emotional work, and in doing so, they were masking their true feelings for the benefit of the organisation. It was identified that emotional labour could not be wholly isolated from aesthetic labour in this group of workers as the concept of `*looking good and sounding right*` permeated all of the research interviews.

The literature identified aesthetic labour as an extension of emotional labour and this became a further focus of this thesis. The research findings revealed that the respondents were aware of the shift in the vernacular language that was required for successful customer engagement and that they had to mask their accent for their various client groups. The physical appearance of the individual was not as central to their transformation as the voice, but there was a clear acknowledgement that an improvement in their physical work `*look*` had occurred. The two theoretical approaches of emotional and more recently aesthetic labour have previously been applied across a broad range of direct and indirect service encounters, but to date, this has not included the chef as an exemplification of the craft worker. It is this debate that this research has attempted to add and contribute to as open kitchen applications continue to evolve and further position the chef as an emotional and aesthetic labourer.

8.4. Antecedents and moderators of emotional and aesthetic labour

The literature discusses a number of antecedents to and moderators of emotional labour, with the research findings identifying that these were central in reducing the levels of anxiety and stress felt from aesthetic labouring. The antecedents referred to the precursors or background variables to the employee's feelings, specifically being positive or negative before entering into

emotional or aesthetic labour engagements, together with levels of empathy with the guests. These impacted on the level of `soft` and `hard skills` (moderator) deployed during customer interaction acting as the `status shield` and enabled a reduction in the level of anxiety during the interaction. The literature review and the research findings further found that there appears to be an overlap between the antecedents and the moderators or arbitrators of emotional and aesthetic labouring and that it can be difficult to separate the two.

The respondents felt more anxious about entering into an open kitchen than the closed kitchen as a direct consequence of the customer contact that they were expected to make. Yet, the open environment, the sense of opportunity and positive thoughts in relation to being able to engage with others outside of the kitchen appear to have had the effect of counter balancing the negative mood. This expectation of engagement with others acted as an antecedent before work, and whilst meeting the customer was still daunting the benefits and rewards were deemed to be significant enough to counteract the anxiety.

It was due to these antecedents that the respondents were deemed to be either `surface acting` or `deep acting` and at times they were involved in both during the same day. It can be surmised that the greater the feeling of a negative antecedent, the greater the level of `surface acting` that was required and the longer and more challenging the level of `deep acting` that took place as the chef had to `dig deep` in order to draw on reserves of empathy with the guest to create a positive customer interaction. Conversely, the more positive the antecedent before entering the open kitchen, the lower the corresponding level of `surface acting` and the greater the level of `deep acting` that was required, with the subsequent interaction being far less challenging.

The negative effect of engaging in emotional and aesthetic labouring in full view of the customer and the level of acting that was required was tempered by the moderators, which were identified as the level of job autonomy together with the level of craft skill and training the respondents were able to deploy. The job autonomy to plan the work load and the opportunity to remove themselves from the direct customer contact area acted as means to reduce the levels of

interaction and thus stress. The hard craft skills the chefs had acquired that the customer could both observe and admire led to a power balance through `equivalence` and `superordination`. Arguably, skill can be categorised as an antecedent if it is developed before work and through past training and experience, but it is important to state that these are not intangible antecedents. Furthermore, the interaction and the practise of `hard skills` helped to form the `status shield`. In this way it can be said that skill and training are more appropriately classified as moderators, with antecedents being the hidden emotions that impact on the individual before work, hence the level of acting required.

The `hard skills` that the chefs were able to demonstrate and communicate due to greater capital knowledge did not lead to the social intimidation of the customer in a `superordinating` encounter, rather it appears that a balance or equilibrium was achieved, which ranked above equivalence based on craft rather than social status. It was during these periods of engagement that the chefs were able to develop and hone their emotional and aesthetic skills. In such encounters, it was clear that the `status shield` acted as a moderator, further complemented by the level of job autonomy in the respondent's work organisation and the self-determining aspect of customer interaction that this autonomy gave them. The chefs were able to develop a level of language engagement that suited them and the customer rather than the interaction being organisationally scripted. Additionally, this meant that the period of time devoted to engagements could be controlled by the chef. This autonomy was demonstrated through the level of engagement in the interaction and the use of practised phrases and stock answers that they had devised. The fact that the open kitchen environment had a number of areas they could move into in order to extract themselves from the customer's view was also helpful. Self-developed phrasing together with being able to move out of the public gaze reduced the level of emotional labour required, thus moderating the stress incurred.

It was found that colleagues offered a level of support in relation to customer interactions and that this support was similar to that associated with the `tribal` environment found in the closed kitchen. Support would be forthcoming when

the hard service delivery of the product had to be achieved and customer engagement was inevitable. This support was similar to the support in the closed kitchen when colleagues would assist in the food production to enable the demands of service to be met. When followed in the open kitchen, this practice had the same outcome but with the additional benefit of reducing the level of stress and anxiety being felt.

8.5. The de-masculinisation of the chef

The observation of the worker by the customer appears to have fundamentally altered the level of masculine behaviour in the kitchen, with the open kitchen environment being far less macho than the closed kitchen environment. The respondents acknowledged that the level of street language had been modified to enable the vernacular speech to be accepted by the guest. The level of macho behaviour has been reduced, although elements of macho acting are still being undertaken to reinforce the image of the chef prevalent in the media. The open kitchen seems to have created a world of work that has become less intimidating for those entering it from less masculinised worlds, and thus the number of female chefs entering into kitchen work may begin to increase. The potential de-masculinisation of the kitchen has created a work environment which requires a new set of softer skills to be developed, ones that are required to complement the `*hard skills*` of craft work. It seems clear that the `*hard skills*` of the craft will still be important and that these will always be in demand, but it is those who are able to acquire both skill sets who appear likely to become the new labour aristocracy in the changing world of the service experience economy.

The fundamental shift in employment to a more feminised employee orientation together with the `*soft skills*` now entering into the world of the production worker is beginning to encroach on traditional employment practices and maybe eroding the opportunities of those males recruited from the working class. Such young individuals have been the mainstay of recruitment for the craft of the chef and have been socialised to understand that the masculine production worker is the epitome of the male craft worker. The social outcome of this re-orientation of the work place to production employment with an interactive service requirement is that arguably the traditional male worker may struggle to accept

work which requires greater customer interaction. This may lead to the potential disenfranchisement of the working class from the traditional employment routes, adding to the already polarised nature of society, and with this the male identity in such communities may be subject to further challenges. The continued recruitment in these roles will occur so long as the job is still seen as being linked to the traditional craft skill that involves getting your hands dirty and offers the male worker high levels of power and authority over direct service workers, such as those in food service roles that mainly attract part-time and female employees. What seems less certain is the outcome of this new reality and the prospects for future male working class craftsmen .

8.6. The transformation of work consequences

The short-term and medium to long term effects of these new labour orientations of the chef are now discussed. The research revealed that the respondents found emotional and aesthetic labouring stressful and that it caused anxiety but that the anxiety diminished as the chefs developed `*coping shields*` due to the moderators discussed earlier in the chapter.

8.6.1. Short term consequences

In the short term, those chefs entering the open kitchen environment for the first time from the closed kitchen discussed customer contact as being highly stressful and became anxious with it. In the initial stages, this resulted in increased job dissatisfaction and stress, which led to some leaving their employment, a finding that is in direct agreement with the literature. This seems to have been further exacerbated by a lack of support from management or colleagues, either formally or informally, demonstrating the difficulty that some chefs found with the increased level of customer engagement. The younger chefs in particular who had entered the environment for the first time had to contend with the older chefs covertly imposing levels of masculinity in the daily work and on occasions by assertively encouraging new members of the team to engage with customers as a `punishment` when limited moderators were present.

8.6.2. Medium to long term consequences

Those who were able to cope with the initial challenges of emotional and aesthetic labouring together with the stress and anxiety that it brought were able to acquire and utilise the antecedents (before) and moderators (during) their interactions. They found that interaction labouring brought a greater level of job satisfaction to working in the closed kitchen. They indicated that over time the interaction with the customer enabled them to grow in self-confidence and self-esteem. The `status shield` they deployed during these interactions appears to have protected them from the level of stress that they felt and enabled them to further appreciate the value that the interaction with the customer placed on their work. The appreciation of the skill and the immediate feedback being received increased the level of job satisfaction. The customer interaction and the expected engagement through the deployment of aesthetic skills to amend their vernacular speech assisted in building new and valued interaction skills that persisted outside of the kitchen environment. In effect, developing the `soft skills` *required* in the open kitchen to complement the `hard skills` necessary for effective operation in any kitchen environment meets both the customer's needs and organisational expectations.

8.7. The transformative impact of the open kitchen

The research set out to identify the emotional labouring occurring in the open kitchen as the chefs realigned their work and role from that of the traditional closed kitchen. The inductive approach adopted in this research recognised that aesthetic labouring was inextricably linked to emotional labour delivery and that these two theories underpinned the transformational change occurring in the de-masculinisation of the chef's world of work. Furthermore, it was acknowledged that working directly in the customer's gaze had been a beneficial work place re-orientation as the respondents developed a range of `soft skills` which had been unavailable to them in the closed singular world of the closed kitchen and traditional male employment. The group of workers examined in this research is unique in that their `hard skills` have remained unaltered and constant across the closed and the open kitchen. The variable change is the addition of the customer view into a world which had previously excluded them due to the new socially and managerially constructed design of

the restaurant separated from the kitchen via a physical barrier. The constant of the craft trade has enabled a direct comparison of the worker, whose work place has been realigned in order to enable an understanding of the identity transformation of the chef crossing between the two worlds. For the participant selection group, these two contrasting work environments offer a unique insight into a trade which has witnessed a shift from the historical principles of the manufacturing economy to the more contemporary linkage of production to service. It has extended into both the experience economy and the aesthetic economy via the open kitchen, a particular employment transition which has not been previously researched. The realignment for the employee had been challenging initially in the open kitchen, but the re-orientation of their identity and adoption of a greater level of `*soft skills*` appears to have led to a positive transformation. The acquisition of the `*soft skills*` required for customer interaction coupled with increased confidence and a growing sense of personal self-worth has not only culminated in additional skill sets for the aesthetic economy but also significantly improved interpersonal skills, which have been transformational in the chefs' private and working lives.

8.8. Review of the research aim and objectives

The following section will review the central research question of this work, which is as follows,

> What transformation is the chef experiencing as their employment is re-orientated from the closed to the open kitchen?

The research has recognised that the chef in the open kitchen is increasingly becoming an emotional and aesthetic labourer as their world of work has been realigned from the traditional practices of the closed kitchen. Such emotional labouring in this new world of work seems to be interwoven with aesthetic labouring, as indicated previously, as a fundamental contribution to the research question posed. A number of further objectives were developed from the central research question, and these will now be discussed in light of the findings.

- Develop a critical perspective to evaluate the impact that the transition from the closed to the open kitchen is having on the sociology of the chef

The development of the individual appears to have been achieved solely through heuristic learning. The respondents entered the open kitchen environment without any or with very limited `soft skills`. Those who had previously acquired some measure of `soft skills` were more able to cope with the customer service interaction than those who had not. Those respondents with no or with limited `soft skills` further developed them by watching and listening to more experienced colleagues interact with customers, and from this learning they were able to develop their own approach. As a result, the initial stress and anxiety experienced as a result of working in such environments gave way when an appreciation of the `status shield` and `soft skills` had been developed. For those who were unable to ascend the learning curve, the result was job dissatisfaction and labour turnover. Those who had acquired the `soft skills` discussed the transformation they experienced as individuals and how the open kitchen allowed them to become more confident and socially engaged both inside and outside of work. The general opinion of this group was that the open kitchen was a far more pleasant environment to work in as it was less masculinised, and that this had been a positive outcome. The respondents felt as if they had been accepted by society and that they were being recognised and appreciated for the work that they undertook.

- Critically review and examine the extent of emotional labouring and its potential consequences

The literature revealed that constant emotional labouring can frequently be a cause of stress and anxiety and lead to increased job dissatisfaction and labour turnover. In the short term, this was clearly the case for the respondents as they discussed those colleagues that were unable to handle the pressure of the open kitchen and returned to the closed kitchen. There was an acknowledgement that the open kitchen was more stressful and pressured but the additional pressure of customer engagement was counteracted by the benefits associated with being able to interact with others and receive direct feedback. Customer engagement created increased self-confidence, the acquisition of new soft social skills and, over time, greater job satisfaction. Emotional and aesthetic labouring for this group of employees was a positive experience which increased their self-belief and self-worth.

- Analyse and evaluate the coping mechanisms that the chef is deploying when emotional labouring

The research recognised that the respondents' coping mechanisms centred on the moderators of emotional labour and that these were also applicable to aesthetic labouring. The key delimitation being the moderator of the `*status shield*` (the chefs technical and craft skills), with the customer admiring their working life and the level of skill that they deployed in food production enabling the traditional power relationship of the craft to remain intact.

Chefs also found it possible to cope with emotional and aesthetic labouring pressures due to the periods away from customer interaction and out of the direct gaze of the customer together with the support that the respondents gave each other during heavy periods of customer interaction. The recognition that the chef was a skilled trades person, conforming to Bolton's (2004) classification as a professional technical services employee, enabled the chef to have high levels of autonomy in the kitchen. This engendered the chef with a level of self-direction and control in their customer interactions and engagements, unlike the usual scripted control of less skilled service work. Although the respondents clearly expected certain vernacular content in their dialogue, issues of underperformance in the interaction were mitigated by the skill level of the chef and the `*status shield*` that this appears to provide. In this way it seems clear that the emotional and aesthetic labouring was not wholly controlled by management as if often the norm in standardised and routine service encounters.

- Critically analyse the extent of aesthetic labouring taking place in the open production service environment

Aesthetic labouring or `*looking good and sounding right*` was a fundamental requirement of the open kitchen, although the participants did not feel that `*looking good*` was as important as `*sounding right*`. The `look` was enshrined in the professional code of being a chef and in meeting with the legal requirements of food hygiene, reinforcing the personal standards that they may have let slip. Conversely, sounding right appears to have been of far greater

significance in how the chef engaged with the customer and the impact that this had on their changed linguistic vernacular.

Exhibit labouring (essentially the process of `showing off` or show casing their technical skills) was identified as deploying a level of skill that was not always a necessary function of food production, with certain tasks saved to be performed when the customer was present with the sole intention of impressing and further raising their `*status shield*`.

- Synthesise the inter-relationship between emotional and aesthetic labour

The research found that the chef in the open kitchen had to conform to the normative values of `*looking good and sounding right*` when engaged in aesthetic labouring and that the vernacular language they used was of importance together with the manner in which they dressed and groomed. These expectations of the open kitchen with its customer interaction element contrasted with the closed kitchen. It seems clear that the external profile that they were required to exhibit impacted on their internal emotions. These internal feelings being the emotional labour categories of `*surface acting', deep acting*` and `*genuine acting.*` During customer interaction, how much the respondents moved through these categories during the day was dependant on their own mood when entering the kitchen and the type of customer that they interacted with. The interdependence of the two theorisations of emotional and aesthetic labour has led this research to put forward the `*transformation triangle*`, which is a pictorial representation of these two theorisations, together with the moderators and outcomes inherent in such type of labouring. By doing so, it is hoped to further add to the debate on the changed nature of service work and the potential impact of this on the employee.

- Formulate a new understanding of the chef`s identity as they move from the closed to the open kitchen environment

There has been a fundamental and transformational shift in the chef's persona as they emerge from a hard masculine world to a softer more feminised world, where a different set of skills are required. Due to the manner in which they now have to perform because of the presence and social expectations of the

customer, the macho image of the chef is gradually being dismantled. This may also be linked to the growth in female celebrity chefs. This shift appears to be a reflection of the requirements of customer interaction service work, but it should be said that not all the respondents were able to develop the `*soft skills*` required to enable them to become effective emotional and aesthetic labourers. Those that were able to acquire these new skill sets were able to become a part of a new labour aristocracy, concurring with Warhurst and Nickson (2007), as the further democratisation of the relationship between the worker and the customer continues to converge.

8.9. Contribution

The following section identifies the contribution that this piece of work makes to theory, practice and policy.

8.9.1. Contribution to theory

This thesis makes a number of new contributions and reaffirms them as:

I.   Transformation of work

The research work has identified the respondents as a new set of workers within the contemporary hospitality industry whose work has been transformed with the move from the hidden world of the closed kitchen to the open kitchen, where they are now required to be customer engaging employees. An emergent world of work which the current sociology of the kitchen literature has to date not yet academically acknowledged. This re-orientation in employment has created a new worker group, who until this study have never previously been researched as emotional or aesthetic labourers. The chef as a craft worker is an employee who, like the baker, potter, cobbler, car mechanic and so on, is now exposed to open work spaces and positioned in the `*intermediary*` work space (the back stage for the customer and the front stage for the worker), a situation which seems to offer a new and exciting view of the transformative nature of open work in comparison to closed work and a new and exciting work space for the chef.

II. De-masculinisation of the kitchen

The transition from the closed to the open kitchen has created new social and behavioural pressures for the chef, who now requires an increase in feminised `*soft skill*` sets. This softer approach, which is vital for effective working in an open kitchen, has decreased the strongly male orientated practices that were previously performed in the closed kitchen. The aggressiveness and macho image that the chef has typified as in the academic and popular literature has since Fine (1996) to Robinson and Beesley (2010), and Orwell (1933) to Bourdain (2000) and Ramsey (2007), been a wholly misrepresentation of the modern chef in the open kitchen. A new positional thinking that is now required of the chef in the modern era and one that this thesis is contributing towards. The presence of the customer has decreased the level of street language, macho behaviour and laddish antics, in an environment identified by the female chefs as being far more acceptable to work in and requiring skills other than simply just being able to cook. This increased level of feminised work in the open kitchen has opened up what was a traditionally male work environment to women, leading to far greater equality of job opportunities. The People 1st (2014) report discusses this situation, stating that female celebrity chefs are beginning to make a difference to female chef recruitment and that the open kitchen is clearly adding to this transformational landscape. The pole opposite of the feminised skills required for service work filled by women and the hard mental attitude of craft skills and associated macho traits at work are through the new world of work converging these two worlds. A new work paradigm for the chef is being created, as the male dominated world is gradually de-masculinised, a world of work which can be represented pictorially in figure 10 (The experience economy and the de-masculinisation of work) page 254.

Figure 10 The experience economy and the de-masculinisation of kitchen work
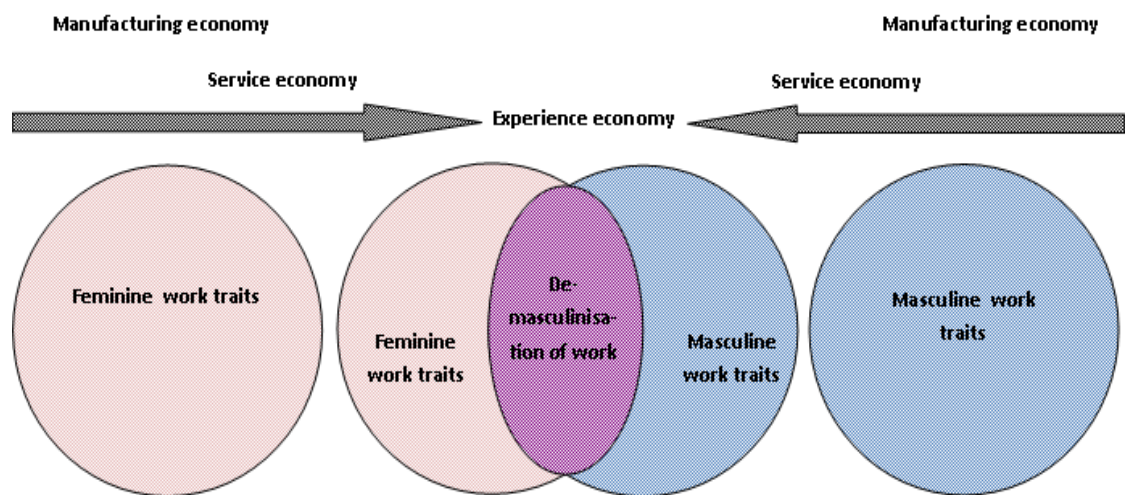
Source: Graham (September 2015)

 A world which is represented as the traditional world of the manufacturing and service economies; two circles which represent service and production, as feminised and masculinised workplaces, a work environment which requires two opposite approaches to the sociology of employment engagement. The merged set of circles pictorially demonstrates the experience and aesthetic economies as the two worlds of work have converged as the development of open worlds of work. The service world pushed towards the manufacturing world and with it the overlap circles representing this new de-masculinisation in the experience economy, a representation of the new work place for the male employee.

III.   Soft skills for the new world of work

The research applied the representation of emotional labour, as described by Chu and Murrmann (2006) and reinforced by Grandey and Gabriel (2015), to undertake a qualitative piece of research in order to offer a richer and deeper understanding of the transition from closed to open working environments. The research data indicates that respondents are aware of the concept of having to conform to the maxim of `*looking good and sounding right*`, fully subscribing to it and the reality of aesthetic labouring. The individual chef is now required to empathise with the customer, displaying an authentic interaction while hiding

their feelings. The individual is expected to be dressed and groomed in a manner which is acceptable to the customer while performing with a speech vernacular which is socially understandable and appropriate. These new demands on the chef have clearly shifted the work place and the identity of these chefs from a macho to a more feminised world of work and with it the requirements for a new set of softer skills for employment. The research suggests that external engagement with the customer in aesthetic labouring and the internal feelings engendered from emotional labouring are entwined and that it is unhelpful to study these in isolation from each other. This study has developed a new representation of emotional and aesthetic labouring, employing moderators and consequences, as exemplified in the transformation triangle, to bring the two current and important theorisations together as a representation of the new world of work for the employee and identifying the new `soft skills`, confidence, vernacular and the de-masculinisation of the kitchen. A set of `soft skills` and outcomes for the chef which they acknowledged has been a benefit to them in their public and private life, though the developing of confidence to speak with others and the speech vernacular to enable them to undertake such encounters.

IV.   Lack of support for soft skills development

The `status shield` enables the chef to self-develop the `softer skills` required for the job, particularly in the initial stages of employment. Until the chef has acquired these, the anxiety and stress associated with emotional and aesthetic labouring persists, concurring with the literature on work dissatisfaction and staff turnover. It was clear throughout the research that the chefs received limited organisation support to develop the `soft skills` required to operate effectively. If anything the head chef would use the embarrassment of the public engagement for the new chefs as a form of punishment and control. The only consistent support that was given was through peer support, when the level of stress in the open kitchen was high due to the pressure of the service period and when kitchen tours were taking place. It was in the main down to the individual chef to work through the pressure of customer engagement and acquire the `soft skills` through the observing of other chefs performing, or through experiential learning of customer engagement.   Those who are able to survive the initial period of customer engagement are more inclined to acquire the new `soft skills` sets to

complement the `*hard skills*` of the craft they already possess, thus becoming the `*new labour aristocracy*`.

V.   Soft skills development

It is clear that customer engagement leads to pressure that generates increased levels of stress and anxiety, but the medium to long term consequences of open kitchen work appears to be an increase in job satisfaction. Those that remained in the open kitchen all indicated how once they had overcome the anxieties associated with these new working practices; they derived a greater sense of job satisfaction from working with food and being able to perform in front of the customer. The `*soft skills*` that they acquired enhanced their feeling of wellbeing by being able to effectively communicate with the customer and the confidence that this also gave them for work and outside of it, when dealing with the public. This would seem to add further clarity to the claims in the literature that over time emotional labouring can be seen to develop positive emotional outcomes. For this group of chefs, at least, it enhanced a range of `*soft skills*` increasingly required for contemporary employment. The `*soft skills*` development reaffirms the fundamental change in work practices taking place and the skills required for the service/experience/aesthetic economy. Traditional masculine work performed in view of the public, clearly requires new practices, norms, values and interactions that are de-masculinised for this new emergent work place, be it for the chef, baker, cobbler, weaver, car mechanic or electrician in line with the constructed world of customer service expectations.

VI.   The craft worker in the aesthetic economy

A further contribution is made by drawing together the traditions of the craft worker in the manufacturing economy and the literature that discusses the new and emergent world of the service worker. It seems increasingly clear that craft workers are currently undergoing a period of transformation as their traditional world of work is opened up for public scrutiny. Consequently, the sociology of the craft worker employed in the public domain has not been studied from this perspective, nor has the literature from the old and the new worlds been drawn together. It is hoped that this thesis is able to make a contribution towards this new paradigm.

VII.   The use of drawings in research

The research approach taken contributes to knowledge through the use of drawings and visual metaphors in business qualitative research. Drawing as a research tool has been widely used as a singular means of understanding the reality in educational research on minors, dysfunctional adults or those who are unable to express themselves clearly and effectively through speech. Within business research, however, drawings have not been applied as a research method in the study of emotional and aesthetic labour as it is not normally a method thought to align with business management studies. When working with craftsmen as a research group, individuals who are inclined to work with their hands, this method would appear to be an obvious way of gathering richer data than discourse narrative alone are able to.

8.9.2. Contribution to practice

The research findings revealed that staff training for the open kitchen environment was limited. The training that did take place for some respondents simply consisted of one session which focused on explaining the dishes to the customer using role play. The majority of the respondents had not been given any formal customer interaction/customer care training. From this approach it can be suggested that the `soft skills` of customer engagement were given low priority compared to the `hard skills` of preparing and cooking food, an indication perhaps that `soft skills` were perceived as being incidental to the role of the chef when in reality it seems clear that `soft skills` are a fundamental requirement of the chef in the open kitchen.

VIII.   Managerial awareness

It can be suggested from the findings that the `soft skills` required by the open craft worker have not been developed by the traditional working class background and the traditions of closed craft employment. The new employees recruited with the hard/craft skills for the open production environment clearly require nurturing in order to develop the prerequisite `soft skills` to be effective team members. It has been suggested that when service craft workers first enter into the open environment, they require support through acknowledged training and (perhaps of greater value) a focused mentor scheme. This would

provide an understanding of the customer interaction and the important protection their personal `status shield` can provide. If followed, this approach ought to enable the chef to understand the stages of emotional labour that they will encounter while working in the open kitchen, these being `surface acting` (in the initial stages), developing into `deep acting` and ending with `genuine acting`, and with this a greater sense of job satisfaction. It seems clear that the craft worker will require support to facilitate an appreciation and understanding of their own internal feelings and that they will become more comfortable as they develop their own emotional and aesthetic labour moderators. Such a formal proactive approach together with an ongoing support mechanism should go some way towards alleviating the apprehension of those unable to cope with the pressures that this new form of open craft working entails and thus reduce initial staff turnover levels.

IX.   Application of the transformation triangle

The thesis has put forward the notion of the transformational triangle (figure 9); a practice contribution for managers to conceptualise the fundamental shift of the individual employee who has re-orientated their work practise from the closed to the open world of craft work. The diagram is a representation of the transformation of the individual into the new world of work, which can assist the manager in the explanation to the employee of the changing nature of work and the various domains that they will experience.   Exploring the feelings of the individual employee and the performances that are required to be undertaken by them as an emotional and aesthetic labourer. Enabling the manager to explore the moderators towards emotional and aesthetic labour of; i) skill level deployed, ii) autonomy and self-direction at work and iii) the period of interaction. Through the discussion that ensues, it will facilitate the discussion towards an understanding of the benefits that can be attributed to open work through the self-development and the range of new `soft skills` of `voice` (dialect and language style -vernacular) and the `look` or style of self-presentation. Once the totality of the new world of open work has been explored and the expected stresses and anxieties associated with `surface acting` identified. The medium to long term outcomes can then be discussed which lead to confidence, and the de-masculinisation of the individual at work and in

private life, developing an employee who is better placed for employment in the experience economy and able to become part of the new labour aristocracy.

8.9.3. Contribution to policy

Contributions to policy are made in the following areas;

X.   The female chef debate

It is hoped that this thesis provides new and additional insights into the People 1st (2014) report, which predicts an increase in females selecting the kitchen as a career. The report suggests that this growth will be largely due to the increased popularity of female celebrity chefs, who are acting as ambassadors for their craft. This thesis is able to support the People 1st assertion but adds that the predicted increase in female chefs may be due to increased employment opportunities for women in the open kitchen, which has the potential to act as a `window` into the trade for these women. With this the potential for a continuing de-masculinisation of the culinary environment, enabling a milieu which is more appealing to female school leavers as a viable career option.

XI.   Soft skills training

If employment in the open kitchen domain is to be optimised, two interlinked contribution policies must be adopted. The first is to establish a greater awareness through the trade press and other influential voices of the value of open craft trade work together with the challenges and net benefits that this work can potentially bring to the individual employee. It seems clear educators and managers will require an increased awareness of the specific focused `*soft skills*` training that the open world of craft work now requires.

The second is to re-focus on the softer skills as a necessary requirement to complement the traditional `*hard skills*` of male craft trades in order to ensure continued employment in the experience economy. Such an approach acknowledges that there needs to be a greater focus on the area of interpersonal skills for the working class male in order to increase opportunities for those who have traditionally avoided `*softer skills*` development. Failure to recognise this and not make provision for this form of education will only

exasperate this issue and stands to further alienate the traditional routes into work as open craft trades and the softer skill requirement becomes more of the employment norm.

8.10. The limitations of the research

The research has focused on chefs employed in various types of open kitchens (semi-open, fully open and chefs table) across a range of restaurant types (from casual dining to fine dining), with the findings from each restaurant and kitchen style being consistent. The employment environment together with the long-established trade of the chef being the common parameter offered a direct relational comparison between the closed and the open world of work, enabling clarity of focus on the transformational effect of emotional and aesthetic labour directly related to the working environment of the chef. However, given this tight research focus, the analysis of the results also identified limitations which could have been explored as extensions to the work. These are outlined below:

1. Early open kitchen leavers

It would perhaps have been useful to identify those chefs from an additional research group who were unable to cope with the open kitchen and who have returned to the default position of employment in the closed kitchen. The respondents in the group identified these as chefs who could not *"hack it"* and had usually left within the first few months of employment. Their narratives may have added further information to the understanding of the anxiety, stress and job dissatisfaction attributed to this group of emotional and aesthetic workers. However, to identify this group of chefs would have been seriously challenging; isolating a research criterion for those who had never made it would have been a problematic and complex undertaking, fraught with ethical and moral issues. Obtaining access to a set of respondents who were working in the open kitchen proved to be challenging enough.

2. Female masculinity

The study of gender was not the specific research focus of this thesis, and those female chefs who were interviewed simply represented the national data demographics of kitchen employees. Male chefs who discussed successful females in kitchens that they worked with did report that they had demonstrated

a greater masculinity than men in the closed kitchen in order to prove their worth. This would be an interesting theme to unpick as a future comparative analysis of males/females working in the open kitchen's study.

3. Normative open kitchens

This thesis purposefully centred on traditional Northern European restaurants, which have traditions emanating from French cuisine and, for the most part, are still closed from customer view. It is accepted that various restaurant types do exist in contemporary Britain, where the open kitchen is the norm and central to the dining experience, for example, the Italian Trattoria with the central pizza oven or the Japanese Teppanyaki restaurant with the performing juggling chef. The inclusion in the research group of this type of operation would not fit the restaurant description data set. It may well have been unrepresentative of the legacy of the British professional kitchen and would have created additional and unhelpful variables of cultural practice. Even so, it would make an interesting additional focus for future research in understanding this group of chefs as emotional and aesthetic labourers.

8.11. Recommendations for further research

The research suggests that there are still further threads of enquiry to be explored, adding to the body of literature on emotional and aesthetic labour.

For example, bullying in closed kitchens is well researched and reported in the media, as well as in the biographies and autobiographies of macho celebrity chefs. The research from this study has indicated that the new more open environment diminishes such macho laddish behaviour. A new research study of chefs in fine dining open kitchen restaurants on bullying behaviour would complement the work of Alexander et al. (2012) whose work focused on fine dining closed kitchens, perhaps offering an exploration to understand to what extent the open kitchen has reduced such unacceptable practice.

This thesis has focused on the chef in the open kitchen and their emotional and aesthetic labouring transformation in their journey from the closed kitchen. Of interest and to further strengthen the findings of this research, it would be useful to undertake a replication on other worker types as their closed craft trade is opened up for public view, such as bakers, cobblers, weavers, car mechanic,

electricians to name a few, who, like the chef have had to make the transformation into direct customer contact roles, workers who have not yet been studied as emotional or aesthetic labourers.

Quantitative studies still dominate the emotional and aesthetic labour research, with a call for a greater level of qualitative work (Shani et al. 2014). As the craft worker is a new emotional and aesthetic labouring type, broader quantitative research on the worker category identified above would be useful to complement the qualitative research of this and other studies.

The aesthetic labour literature clearly argues that `soft skills` have greater primacy over traditional `hard skills` when engaging in customer-focused roles. The respondents reported that `hard skill` acted as a `status shield` and this was an important fundamental of the job. Although skill as a concept was not a focus of this research, it does offer an additional research theme in understanding open service craft work and the balance that is required between these two skills sets as well as the manner in which these `soft skills` have been embraced by the working class. This would seem to suggest a further piece of social research into the understanding of interactive skills and the de-masculinisation of work which may be occurring, with the potential of the disenfranchisement of the working classes from their traditional employment routes.

Throughout the data, analytical themes emerged which were not within the scope of the research aim and objectives but suggest further interesting insights into which literature might be explored.

Examples of this are:

1. The experience economy and the use of theatre and performance.
2. The degeneration of professional standards in the closed kitchens and the resentment of the customer; a stark contrast to the enlightenment of professional standards that the open kitchen has developed.
3. The levels of loyalty and empathy towards each other as a `tribe` in both the closed and open kitchens, offering a comparison through the levels of trust and work place cohesion.

8.12. Chapter summary

This chapter has drawn together the fundamental findings of the research and has projected a view that the era of the new service or experience/aesthetic economy may well have further eroded established masculine service employment traditions. Employment environments would seem to be witnessing a fundamental shift in the requirements of the job role and with it the transformation of the traditional employee into a newer understanding of the emotional and aesthetic labourer. This transition would seem to imply an altogether new form of labouring, which has required the acquisition of `*soft skills*` to complement the `*hard skills*` expected in the traditional closed world of work. This new world of professional open kitchens appears to have been implicated in the de-masculinisation of the world of the chef, creating a world which has closer synergies with the front office and with softer skills requirements than it has with the traditional world of craft production work. As industry sectors create and develop the new open world of work, it seems clear that they will also need to develop support mechanisms which enable the employee to undertake the necessary workplace re-orientations required in order to work effectively in such new customer facing environments. This new form of labouring in these radically altered roles (if left unchecked) seems to lead to increased levels of stress, job dissatisfaction and (certainly in the early transformative stage) increased labour turnover. Male chefs able to heuristically acquire the `*soft skills*` for the new world of open kitchen work are those who appear able to make this difficult transition and to join this new service class elite, whilst it would seem that those who are unable or unwilling to make this transition stand in danger of being ill-equipped for the emergence of this new and rapidly growing experience/aesthetic economy.

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Appendix 1 - Researchers publication related to this thesis

Refereed papers referenced in this thesis

GRAHAM, D (2001). The changing face of the traditional theme restaurant. In: CHME, (ed.). *10th Annual Research Conference*, South Bank University, 19-20th April. London, Council for Hospitality Management Education.

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The changing interactions of the chef from the closed to the open kitchen (emotional labour)

Semi –structured interviews

Thank you for agreeing to assist me with this piece of research and agreeing to be interviewed. My interest in this subject is stimulated as a chef who worked in the traditional world of the closed kitchen, witnessing the transformation towards the open kitchen. I am interested in exploring the interactions of chefs that occur in both these kitchen formats.

The interview should take around 45 minutes and is broken down into two key themes, your thoughts and ideas of the ClK and the OpK.

- Statement of anonymity; as a piece of research, there will be no identification of you or place of work with in the written work.
- The research is not for managerial purposes; the findings will not be made available to those managers that you work for, or the organisation, the work is purely for academic purposes.
- My interest in the subject area / my background as a chef has drawn me to this subject as a research topic.
- The work is focused to exploring the interactions and changes with customers, managers, co-workers (FOH/BOH) sub-ordinates; your feelings and thoughts that the change in the closed to the open kitchen type has had on <u>you</u>.
- To enable me to be able to analysis your thoughts and experiences, can I have your permission to record the interview. This will then be transcribed for analysis of content.

Interview structure

A. General

1. Can you tell me a little background information about your kitchen experience?
> (Age, background, companies you have worked for, broad food produced – typology, whether they had an open or closed kitchen)

2. Have you heard the term open or theatre kitchen - what does this theme / word mean to you?

3. Why do think such open kitchen types have developed, what do you think has influenced them?

B. Closed Kitchen.

The following set of interview questions apply to the closed kitchen environment only. If you have not worked in the closed kitchen what are your thoughts on the differences.

Background

4. Could you tell me about / discuss the format / layout type of closed kitchen that you have worked in? *(Brigade size, M/F ratio, number of meals produced, distance kitchen to restaurant, food service outlets being serviced).*

5. Think about your experience in the closed kitchen (name), what was your general internal feelings and moods both positive and negative about the job / business?, **before you went to work**?
   Affectivity-   *(eg Positive – eg cheerful / happy / enthusiastic)*
                        (eg negative – eg irritable / nervous / despised)
   Empathy-   *(enjoyed going to work / or not / great colleagues / supportive)*

6. How did you feel/ thoughts not **physical actions** towards / relationships with other people; Take each below at one time;
        1. managers ?
        2. co-workers ?
        3. subordinates ?
        4. customers ?

7. Now think about your Actions / Physical open actions towards the categories of staff we spoke about / how much interaction did you have with them during the day in the kitchen
             (Body language, eye contact, voice/ language / expletives, dress, work actions) how much do you think the environment allowed this to occur

8. In the CIK job how much self-direction / control of your working day / actions did you have?

9. What / how support/ive were/are your work, managers, co-workers did you receive / training for the environment?
   (Formal and informal, how open and close were your work colleagues / managers)

10. Tell me how you generally felt/mood after a day at work?
   (Physical and mental / positive / negative)

C. Open Kitchen

We have discussed your experience in the closed kitchen think about the next set of interview questions in relation to the open kitchen only; if there are any comparisons to what you told me to the closed kitchen please do

mention them. If you have not worked in a open kitchen how do you think it could be different.

Background

11. Could you tell me about / discuss the format / layout type of open kitchen that you worked in?
(How open was / is it what is on view, Brigade size, M/F ratio, number of meals produced, distance kitchen to restaurant, food service outlets being serviced).

12. Think about your experience in the closed kitchen (name), what was your general internal feelings and moods about the job / business? Both positive and or negative, before you went to work?
    Affectivity-   *(eg Positive – eg cheerful / happy / enthusiastic)*
                        (eg negative – eg irritable / nervous / despised)
    Empathy-   *(enjoyed going to work / or not / great colleagues / supportive)*

13. How did you feel/ thoughts not **actions** towards / relationships with other people;
          managers?
          co-workers?
          subordinates?
          customers?

14. Think about your Actions / Physical observable actions towards the categories of staff we spoke about / how much interaction did you have with them?
(Body language, eye contact, voice/ language / expletives, dress, work actions)
               How did the environment change the interaction, did you work differently?

15. In the job how much self-direction / control of your working day / actions did you have?

16. What support by your work, managers, co-workers did you receive / training for the environment?
        (Formal and informal, how open and close were your work colleagues/managers)

17. Tell me how you generally felt/mood after a day at work?
        (Physical and mental / positive / negative)

D. Both Open and Closed Kitchens

18. How do you think the interactions / relationships are different between the open and closed kitchen? Perhaps you could give me some examples/ your thoughts/ experience.

19. Would you draw a simple line drawing of what you think best pictorially represents these two kitchen formats to illustrate the interrelationship between the staff?

E. Closure

20. Before we close is there anything you like to ask me, anything you would like to add.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this project, would you like to review a transcribed copy to agree?

Appendix 3 - Example transcription

Interview – (name removed) code 2m 9th September 2010. Location – Sheffield.

Thursday 2.00pm.

The text highlighted in green is narrative quotes used in the findings chapter.

David – First of all if you could just introduce yourself, a little bit about your background information, a little bit about the kitchens you have worked in, worked for. So a little bit about your background history......

2m – Yes, Ok, Ok..I`m 2m have been in the industry cooking for the last four years...er..er.. both part-time and fulltime...I've done both fulltime hours while studying part-time.. the full whack....Ive....OK...I started work in a pub kitchen, which was a completely closed kitchen... completely different on a different floor to the restaurant, everything was sent down on a dumb waiter lift....isolated, send down...then I worked for a short period of time. Then I worked in a French brassiere Le Cherarad which again had a prep kitchen down stairs and then you go up during service and hat was an open kitchen.

David – right

2m – so it almost...it..it met the two together...then I worked in Le P*** de la T***, which was a ...French dining restaurant which had a open window from outside view and from in the restaurant you could see through the kitchen basically so you could see the entire time, so you could see not only the customers, but the people walking in the street.... yes so..

David – wow...wow..

2m – Yes.. So...you could quite often get a crowd of people gathering around the back window to look into the....thing...you know...

David - .... I am interested in talking about that one...

2m – Yeah... that's fine... I have also done a lot of exhibitions...Gordon Ramsay taste of Christmas for example.. which ...again was an open kitchen format, so which was obviously on show... it becomes more of a show rather than...what you would actually do on TV..not realising that people are actually doing a job.

David – Yeah..

2m – ye ah... so le point de la Tour is my main restaurant.... and I have been in and out of kitchens over a long period of time...covering...ducking and diving.

David – And how old are you..if you don't mind me asking...

2m – I`m 22...

David – so you have a good track record. So what`s the term, open kitchen or theatre kitchen, the term or theme actually mean to you.

2m – Personally I think it's the idea of... the idea of every one being able to see, and analysis what you are doing..so it....The second I hear the word Open Kitchen it means pressure, because you are on show, automatically no matter what you do you are being judged, not only by the people that employee you but by the er... customer and the people that...so it puts a lot more pressure..not that you don't need any more pressure, in what is already a very pressured job, but at the same time it helps in away.

David – We will come back some of that bits about pressure later if that`s OK. So why do you think or how do you think open kitchens or theatre kitchens have actually developed, so what do you think has actually influenced the development of them. What`s your thoughts?

2m – I think it has a lot to do with...a lot to do with the media, main stream, main stream television, celebrity chefs people sort of see at as an entertainment rather than a... like a eating out in a restaurant is an experience its an entertainment.

David – I termed it eatertainment.

2m – yeah.. eatertainment yeah, exactly...so it's almost as..every one that does everything in there is a show in a sense you know like the waiters..coming in can even be as far as be scripted. So it is the whole format of it is almost a show, I think...I think the open kitchen has almost developed from that the open the show out, of bringing it...

David – A lot of my take on that is if you went back to a restaurant in the 70`s and 80`s you never saw the kitchen but the head waiter, not the head waiter but the waiting staff there was the silver service and all the flamboyancy and the show and the flambé was through that and that was taken away by novella cuisine an all.. all of a sudden you had this sterile restaurant because the.. we have to put something back in because waiting staff have just become soup jockeys..

2m – and they just stand at the side and

David – yes and once you got that the customers... yeah the foods great but once you got rid of that interaction its gone...

2m – yes... exactly... yeahhh... and wow factors you had to wait until the plate was exactly there and sort of ....(lift arm imitating cloche) like at this wow... were as with Gueridon styles, flambé and stuff.. i think they... well id did go through a point ... you know some restaurants sort of.. kept flambé and sort of tried to do a mix of the two..

David – yeah.. yeah..

2m – they sort of tried...

David – it was often seen as old fashioned and...we got to put it back in again...

2m – Yeah old fashioned and yes.. we almost come full circle.. yeah

David – So the first part of the interview then we will talk about the closed kitchen and the ehm.. and after that we will move onto the open kitchen.. so if you tell me a little bit about the closed kitchens that you have worked in you know you have talked a little about.. this pub and the restaurant up stairs and a little e about the issues and

problem.. perhaps the brigade size.. the male female relations.. you know so just generally the.. if you just chat around that.

2m – in the closed kitchen.. its ==almost a world of its own== you are almost completely separate from the world as it were. And everything that went on in that kitchen as it were was ... er the law of the kitchen it was outside of that. And yeah.. male to female relation.. yeah it was definitely... yeah a male bravado..atmosphere.. Everyone you know to get alpha position kind of thing and hierarchies.. and everything went on behind closed doors.. in some ways it...almost...almost military in a sense.. you know it... they do their own things.. yeah working in a closed kitchen.. Yet at the same time you almost develop a phobia of the customer... sort of thing.. you know you don't want to deal with the customer.. even sort of going.. having to go out of the kitchen to walk around to the other kitchen for example... or to go and get some ingredients form anther freezer and you have to go past some customers ..its like errr... errrr. What they doing sort of thing..your whole focus is about the food... which is the whole point of it sort of thing.

David – Its almost the engine room of the restaurant sort of thing...

2m - yeah it's the heartbeat.

David – its like you don't see the engine room because that`s the dirty side.

2m – and it`s the part that makes the money, sort of thing.. its the actual front of house bit...

David – the larger the front of house....

2m – Yeah.. yeah the   more money you are going to get. Again tiny... closed kitchens that I have worked in again have been tiny... yeah..very very small, the closed kitchens that i have worked in was.... did about 100 covers and there was about three chefs....and it was almost literally almost standing next to each other and if you had to...shape and at any point..it was almost a rectangular and at any point you had to run.. like for example I was on the er.. the cold starters and desserts, because i was very young and as it were ... you know... it was understaffed so you had to do two sections on your own. So there was the starters and the desserts and then the grill section down at the far end, and the only oven was in the grill section so any hot starters I had to put in the oven to gratinee, ye kitchen you know I had to run down this little bit of the kitchen to the... in-between the middle, the guy working on the grill and the guy working on the sauce, find oven space... and then run back. You know it was rather sweaty and hard.. you know.. real hard grafting work sort of thing..you know...

David – Yeah.

2m – I hated it...... dark and dingy... grafting work sort of thing..

Both laughing.....

David – I know, I used to work at the North British... (Edinburgh) it was like you hide the chefs away.. you know ... kitchens are in the basement.. you know?.

2m – yeahhh.. basement....

David –..slit window.

2m – you were lucky if you even got a window...where's that light...(Laughter)

David – And I....I.... remember I worked in Switzerland for erm... for a couple of years and in the winter...you started work at 7am when it was dark.

2m – yeah... when dark...

David – and you finished work at three and it was dark..

2m – dark... yeahhhh....(laughter)...

David - and you know you came back...and... and it never even had a slit for a window.

2m – and you can almost tell the time by the sunlight...you go primitive almost....

David – You know I felt like some of those... Stig of the dump... you know you almost... not until you day off, you did not see day light.

2m – it's like...oh, its summer.... I didn't even know.....mad...(laughter).

David – Ok – think about this experience of the closed kitchens that you have worked in..just think about your almost internal feelings and your moods about the feelings both positive and negative about the job before you even went to work, so in terms of effectively, you cheerful happy, enthusiastic about going into this closed kitchen, or was it negative, irritable, despised you know how would you....

2m - I think it was almost undoubtedly the latter.. er... ow... you feel a sink in your stomach... you know aw.... god I've got to go in... Especially when you do have a day off and you see all your friends working and its outside...and you see air and light and you think aw...I going to be going down into this dungeon almost (both laugh) and you know awww, it's like trudging your way into work and you know because through the whole day you are going to be told exactly what to do... and every that you do, do.. Whether it's going to be right or wrong...right for one chef... wrong for another chef and you know....you are going to be told off, law of the kitchen sort of thing its like hierarchy, you are going to go in and it's going to be dark, picking spinach... you know when you start... yeah.. when you first start in the kitchen sort of thing, you are going to be picking spinach and that sort of thing......oh yeah... it did get better with time sort of thing as you moved around..the more you moved up in the kitchen you did sort of thing look forward to it the only sort of driving force was the er ... the passion for food you did sort of ...thing you were creating the food and being creative. Or dare I say it the only reason why you went down into the dungeon of the kitchen was you thought you were going to get something out of it.

David – I can't remember why I did I stick it out.....

2m – yes why (laugh)

David – Why did I stick it out? I can remember as a young commis chef I can remember when I left home, we had an Italian sous chef he used to say once you have let go of your mother's apron strings. I use to go back to a bed sit I can remember going home and crying I was so.... I had moved to this world of horrible work......

2m – The money is not good either, especially when you are starting out...

David – Yes I can remember living in this tiny bed sit and going home just about crying it was so...

2m – yeah...yeah...

David – I had moved to this horrible world it was awful and so....

2m – yeah...yeah...the monies not good either especially when just starting out.. almost a why am I doing this. It is almost like the coal shovelling room in the Titanic... Titanic, you know you are the first to sink....

(Both laugh)

David – I can remember picking spinach at the Savoy at the time, they would give you seven or eight crates of spinach to pick and you would be stood there all day... and that's all that you would do.

 2m - Yeah..yeah..and you would lose your train of thoughts kind of thing, you would just go on autopilot.

David – And then you would be shouted at for not doing it quick enough..

2m – exactly.. you would pick the seven crates perfectly then there would be then one piece that had the stalk that they happened to use, and it's not picked properly and oh God.

David – So in terms of the empathy of going to work were your work colleagues supportive or not.. You know sometimes you said they shouted....

2m – Its almost like a family situation.. you know because you are all thrown into this hole, this hovel of a hot box. An you have got the older ones who are more experienced at clearing the.... yeah they did closed kitchens none of them ever seemed enthusiastic or happy..... they just let things slide and... yeah OK. We have to do this and we have to do so much of this and we have got this much time (Lethargic voice tone) yeah....nobody seemed particularly happy from what I can remember. I can remember one of the chefs actually saying. "I do not have any friends" (laughs both of us) Yes......it was like I come here I do my work and then leave... it was like well Ok... But yeah..it was like almost like a family sort of thing if you did mess up.. a team effort with everyone scurrying around to try and...

David – We are all in this together....

2m – yes we are in this together and we have got to get out of this and you finish, you all pull together.... yes... I...the humour in the kitchen as well it was like dark humour it was not really happy, funny..It was more like oh look its sunny outside British weather... Hah...hah...hah... brilliant (Implies that we cannot go out in it)

David – I love doing these interviews, it's like going back in time.......it's so....it really is great.

2m – (Laugh) yes things are just the same... you do. You do generally ask yourself the same question. Why did I stick this out and I did.. ehm... at one point and on more than

one occasion and nearly gave it up completely and nearly...ehm... I almost lost my passion for what i was doing sort of thing.. yes... because in the colleges and things its all nice and kitted out...

David – Yes that's right.

2m – And you lived in luxury sort of thing and they did say you are not going to work in a kitchen this big. And then when you go there and you get thrown into it you think oh my god... What am I doing.

David – that`s why I went self-employed. I had collected all these skill sets, I can cook, I've ran a bar, I`ve been to university, the poly as it was so I`ve got all the bits now it's time to open my own place.

2m – that's it... that's exactly what I am attempting to do get as much ....ehmn information sort of thing.

David – You need that management information to just sort of help you pull it all together, when you talk to the bank manager and things like that. Alright...ok... there are four sets of people I am going t talk about now, managers, co-workers, subordinates and customers, if we take each on in turn later.

How did you feelings and thoughts not actions necessarily not physical as we will look at them later. The relationships with the managers, so what was your thoughts towards them.

2m – In the closed kitchen......ehm....ehmm... I remember the management seemed like this bright light almost because they were the happy ones.. you know the happy ones that would come in and the chef side of it to the management side of it they would come in... and we would think you have got the easy job...sort of thing. You know you have got the easy job...so you go and deal with the customer's sort of thing, take this and hurry up about it sort of thing...yeah so the actual relationship with the actual manager's sort of thing was that they all seemed really nice. But they seem to never really understand what actually went on in the kitchen sort of thing. So they would come in in a world of their own sort of thing. Again it's like two separate worlds they have been pushed together sort of thing but it's never...they have been forced to meet in the middle sort of thing......

David – (Laughing) you got to get on....

2m – yeah...and I remember seeing them and thinking why was I not front of house....

David – I must admit 2m that's me... I actually had one period of time in Switzerland where I was actually working as a waiter because I was so feed up of these unsociable hours that I want these...I want this easy life.

2m – Yes...it seemed like it was an easy life they eat they sit down time they take their, they set up some tables, they memorise things and that was it that was their job. It seemed in comparison, the wage especially for the commis chef, and commis waiter was on the same wage because its minimum legal basic wage. And I remember thinking...why am I doing this... get them in come on.. they have more staff than us. Again its abut the money is made front of house the foods got to go out and it's got to

X

look decent, and they are filling seats. But again at the end of the day they get the front of house to look the part and they don't look to stressed its part of the play almost.

David – So what about the co-workers in the kitchen and in the front of house your thoughts, I know we have touched a little bit on that already.

2m – Ehm... I remember looking up to them, co-workers in the kitchen desperately trying to figure out how they can do the job more easily, sort of thing. So I suppose if I went on the...I guess this was when I was starting out in the kitchen. I remember them being on a section and if they came onto my section, it seemed like they could do it so much easier. And I can remember trying to build that relationship with them of trying to get them to explain to me and it was almost...like...I don't know how to explain it......ehm..............There wasn't necessary a good feeling towards them either because they would do it and they would let you try and figure out for yourself. And I remember there was one guy who did take his time and that was sort of the best thing, to show you how it was done properly once and then it was easier...easier on everyone. Yeah the co-workers....

David – some of the others wouldn`t....

2m – yeah...

David – or they would do it and expect you to get on with it...

2m – yeah..really quickly. Because if you don't know how to do something because they do know how to do something, because they would not show you how to do it.

David – And what was your feelings towards that.

2m – Oh – it was horrible, but at the same time it was...one of two ways. It was horrible but at the same time what can I do. But at the other side of it...right I am going to do it better than them just to prove a point almost. So you are like kicking yourself but....trying to build yourself back up. So yeah its almost an emotional journey....trying to clutch at straws dragging your way back up. Erh...yeah...

David – Ok, and subordinates, those under you in the closed kitchen how was your relationship towards them. Kitchens porters or maybe when you became a.... demi-chef, chef de partie, maybe towards commis.

2m -   it was sympathy pure and simple....yeah....because the way it seemed to work was.. I wouldn't say it was bully tactics. Yeah you were bullied.... but.. you had authority so almost you had the authority to do it, well not to bully them but almost the pecking order. Its like a vicious circle sort of thing like.

David – Perpetuating…What was it like...tell me about the kitchen porter...... how was that what was....

2m – Oh alright....the kitchen porter (both huge laugh) it's the lowest of the low, it's the lowest form of life.....Yeah they did chop up stuff things...it wasn't just a matter of asking people to do things more a matter of telling, right do that, do that and it was....I remember they always seemed to be like nicer people which is weird and don't know if it's anything to do with the hierarchy but the nicer people were at the bottom and

they.... progressively got worse. So yeah… you had a better relationship with almost the people under you, if you wasn't to bad yourself.

David – What was the general way in which chefs in the kitchen would treat their subordinates...

2m – terribly...

David – terribly...

2m – terribly..it's a hierarchy sort of thing. I remember working with one chef that wouldn't talk to you directly. He would talk to your supervisor ...if you were standing right there. I remember one sous chef and he would talk to the chef de partie without even talking to you, and her would literally refer to you as your guy.. you literally did not have a name in that sense. And obviously if I was the chef de partie and the commis sort your guy out you need to do this, this, this, this. Even if I asked him directly he would turn to the chef de partie and say, "Right tell your guy to do this, this, and this". And it was completely subordinate yeah… like you where sub- human in some instances and you didn't have much care for you as long as you did the job..so..so.

David - and erm.. that's interesting customers then what's the interaction like with them.. the thoughts and feelings towards the customers.

2m - **there wasn't one** (both laugh loud) there just wasn't one customers who were well off enough to eat in the place you thought alright.. okay. Whatever they said went in the kitchen sort of thing… okay they are in a rush so you need to cook that twice as fast so automatically you will have twice as much pressure from the customers sort of thing… as they demanded that the food comes out quicker and in this particular restaurant it was like that because they were all bankers and that sort of thing that went in. It was lunchtime and it was bang it out as fast as you can, as quickly as you can, these people are more important than you. Literally that's the sort of attitude it was like these people are more important than you, they are worth more than you are. So it was like okay, and you will learn to deal with that pretty quickly, alright. I'm at the bottom of the heap...

David - and how did that make you feel knowing that you were at the bottom of the heap..

2m – yeah (laughs) it was not very good but at the same time it was humbling I guess in a way it gave you something to spur towards. If I work really hard and get my own place then the customers would.. Like a status almost you know.. It would be my restaurants and the customers would be looking up to me and when I go out I can be an important customer somewhere else sort of thing. And at the same time you would grow to, in some ways hate the customer because they are the ones causing all these problems in the first place you would sort of think great I am cooking.. And they would want well done steaks and links, and this is not cooked enough, like who are you to say it's not cooked enough its cooked as you asked, sort of thing. That's how it is and they still complained it seemed like they were alien complainers they were there to give you grief.

David - I like the expression alien complainers (both laugh)

2m - Alien complainers that is what it was. And yes they almost completely... In the background that was the staff would come back and almost just make it up. As if the customers were not there so you would not really know if they were. And I am sure they sometimes made it up, and make it sound 10 times worse than it was. The customers would say something like "it's a little bit cold". And they would come down and say something like "oh..oh.. its so cold, you are ruining my thing, and all this sort of stuff. And their head chef would obviously scream and shout that it's gone out cold when in actual fact it's probably gone out luke warm and it wasn't really that much of a complaint but it's been rushed away from them. And caused this fiasco sort of thing...

David - okay alright. What we want to talk about now is some of those physical actions towards those categories of staff we talked about something like body language, expletives dress code work action so can you tell me a little bit about that in terms of well let's talk about yourself first in the way that you would operate.

2m - Well I would again I always in a close kitchen tried to look presentable but it wasn't always that if you spill something down you, it wasn't always a big deal because that's what the clothes were for its okay if that's a mess on it carry on sort of thing. There was chefs who were around who were a bit shabby sort of thing unshaven, it wasn't a big issue, it was a big issue to you. As you would see later on when we go on to talk about the open kitchen it was…… the chefs had this almost old school looking shabby chef image, I don't know if you can imagine this in your head.

David - yes I can, you will have only to read a down and out in London and Paris or kitchen confidentially it's all being well…….

2m -so yes the personal appearance side of it was not the best everyone was tired, you know you were coming into a dark room anyway, you haven't got any actual sunlight your arms are full of burns sort of thing. Stereo typical, yeah, down and out in Paris. Working down the coal mine sort of thing I remember one guy having ripped trousers that he covered up with an apron, they didn't wear hats sort of thing. It was quite lax in that sense so hygiene wise he wasn't fully, brilliant. Obviously the hygiene level was good to a level but it was not pressed upon and down if things were dropped on the floor you could pick them back up. That was the attitude because nobody was going to see you bending down to get it.

David - I can remember getting heat rash, you know between your legs and the head chef said " don't wear any knickers in the kitchen put potato starch on it, it dries it out" so we just got potato starch, corn flour in effect. And yes that was it it sorted it out. (both laugh).

2m – nightmare..

David - I probably didn't even wash my hands afterwards.

2m - that was another thing washing your hands and things cross contamination it was separate but it wasn't anything particularly stressed upon sort of thing as long as everything was cooked through sort of thing, get on with the job. And also space issue, there was not a lot of space. They didn't use much sanitizer, things were wiped down but never sanitised. It was really a matter after do you meat, wipe down get the green

board out and do your veg, sort of thing, so it wasn't really your best which again. Like I will say about later in the open kitchens the difference sort of thing that I experienced.

David - So what about management and co-workers. So what was the physical action between workers and co-workers then in the kitchen.

2m - it was aggressive, I think body language wise it was aggressive body language. Broad out, arms out ,the bigger the better, would not even give you, eye contact in some instances. Hitting tables and stuff like that dramatic effect to make it sound louder than it actually was, things like that. It was like that yes, frightening animalistic, you can imagine these chefs, draping their knuckles and smashing the tables.

David - And what about the language.

2m – Oh… obscene I think. The best four letter words used in the kitchen is SALT and the other one I don't think I want to say. For the interview really these were the two favourite words and they were used together in some instances…(both laugh). Yes the language…..

David - What about physical action towards customers then food and that kind of thing.

2m - Towards, towards, towards the food the actual caring of the food was important it was importance in the sense of. For me, I always wanted to give the best that I could sort of thing. But some of the other chefs that weren't sort of trained, in that sort of particular way, and there you were trained up in that kitchen, and perhaps did not really want to be chefs and doing this job, God knows why. And their actions towards customers was that he would go out regardless sort of thing. If it was burnt we try hiding it and send it out. You know they would not really put much care into it again, like I was saying that was part of the reason why I was losing my passion for it, thinking is this like what everyone does.

David - what about when food came back. How was the food treated what was the chefs feeling, actions.

2m – (Laughs) it was a big thing if the food came back even if it was blamed on the chef it was always the customer's fault. They are the ones that are stupid, they are the ones that don't know what is going on. They would cook another one, or sometimes they would just put a little bit of something new on there, hide it, chuck it into the deep fat fryer, yes, I have actually seen that done. You want it well done so we will cremate it. Yes, I've seen that done, put it in the deep fat fryer. All sorts.

David - Treat the customer with contempt almost.

2m - Yes, contempt is a good word. You sort of had this contempt towards the alien complainers.

David – Okay. So in this close kitchen world that we have been talking about how much self-direction have you had in your working day. Did you have, much autonomy.

2m - In myself, with the close kitchen it was quite prepared for lunch it was almost left to our own devices, go down into the fridge prep this up and that up, it was all up to yourself. Organisation wasn't particularly needed…

David - what about the recipe is how was that…

2m- that was loosely, definitely loosely you would get told by the chef in there. The recipe is rubbish do it this way, or I will show you this way of doing it, it was almost like Chinese whispers of the recipe world. This is what the recipe started as and then a couple of weeks and months down the line it was like this.

David - one place that I worked the head chef wanted it one way six days of the week and the sous chef one day of the week another. So it was like, the sous chef coming to you and saying..oh .. do it this way it's quicker.

2m - that's it exactly how it was.

David - just hope that the Michelin guide don't, come along on the sous chef day.

2m - consistency wasn't a part, definitely one of the kitchens that I worked at the sous chef would tell the guys below you when you want to do it one way. No no the head chefs not working today the head chefs working today do it my way to way that he wants it. So yes, you had to remember to different ways of doing it sort of thing. It was like working out who was working to do the dish to their style, sort of thing.

David - it becomes a game.

2m - yes it does, very much so.

David - and for me it was very much a getting the food across the hotplate, the customer didn't matter can I get this food through the pass. The head chef, or whoever else is running the pass.

2m- yes you will almost do it on purpose. Just to see what would just pass, dipping your toe when it, what can I get away with.

David - so within this kitchen how much formal and informal support and training did you receive from your managers and co-workers.

2m - training was sort of... It was there… But it was.. They almost said to you in a winking way, this is the training but do not worry too much about it like COSH training, yes you need it but do not worry too much about it if you need anything just as somebody else.

David - so the way that you dressed that was through peer pressure and not so much……

2m – yes, it was supposed to be done, yes peer pressure, almost looking up.

David – looking up.

2m - yes, and then you would live like that. And they would be the same rules that you would pass down to the new guys.

David- did you ever have and hotel induction show round.

2m- NO, NO..

David - I've asked everybody the same question nobody had (both laughed)

2m - they said there's the kitchen, that is where you change, there's the door.. (both laugh)…

David - so at the end of your working day…. and you went home, what was your feelings and your moods both physical and mental positive and negative about the environment.

2m - well.. erm… I suppose really is that I was leaving almost I am out, I survived and then, I also had this sense of achievement that you did make it, and you did do it that day. And erm.. tired obviously was a big thing, just glad that you are out, if it's a close kitchen you felt free. There you are I am away but you would always be drawn back to it as well that is another thing. You could never shut off from work, you would be thinking what have I got to prepare the next day at work, kind of thing. There was no shut-off time…

David - what about the relationship with the other guys in the kitchen outside of work what was the, flat like.

2m – erm… almost, because of the jokes and things you had in the kitchen, are not really suitable for real world leaving, sort of thing. It was very drink orientated, you know you would go out for a beer , it would be a beer after work, beer, there was no real, other social outlet. It was just really drink, really. Oh… yes do you want a pint will go, sometimes you would get a drink for free.

David - what was that the relationships like when you were drinking together, the chat, the general discussions.

2m - you were basically, everyone almost saying their same thing the contempt for the work he and its self, moaning all the time. And then you would go back in the next day and it would be, "I forget that I said that sort of thing, okay". Yes, moaning was a big thing.

(Both laughed together loudly)

2m - even your superiors would be moaning at you, oh… okay… alright… and then you would go in the next day and I am getting on with this person now, and they would say what are you doing.. and you would think hey…. what happen… sort of thing.

David - okay we have discussed the close kitchen we will have a focused now on the open kitchen, and then just draw the two bits together at the end. And in a way the interview will follow the same kind of pattern. So can you tell me about the open kitchen is that you have worked in the layout, the format, the brigade size, the Male female ratio, the number of meals, that kind of stuff. Just give me a feel, a discussion around that.

2m - so I went from this brasserie that was over 100 covers with three people to the P*** De La T*** which was open kitchen. It was…… in the actual restaurant there was a big window, long rectangular window in the restaurant, in the bar and Grill where you can see the restaurant, and you can see into the kitchen so that is at the front (David – Glass window?) Yes. Like a double plastic glass type window, and then in the back of

the kitchen there was a big... big this size window turned on its size (Draws in the air – you forget the microphone is there) . So you can see completely in.

David - 12' x 6'.

2m – Yeah… at the back of the thing, there is a like a walkway. A very nice walkway, picturesque with a lot of people walking up and down so that they can see into the kitchen and see pretty much the whole kitchen. And then the double doors open straight out on to the pass. But they would obviously let the customers come into the kitchen it was almost like, "can we see the kitchen", well, yes. Called in to the pass and almost watch the kitchen with in the kitchen. So not a chefs table that option was open to anybody to be able to go into and see the kitchen.

David - so the kitchen was then behind glass and then the swing doors into the pass..

2m - so you could see the pass and particularly, the double doors were here the pass was here and the window overlooked the two. But when the doors were opened you could hear the kitchen.

David - so you could only hear the kitchen when the doors were open the glass shielded all the noise. The customer can see it but he can't hear it as it were.

2m - But you could always hear their chef shouting sort of thing.

David - so it just deadened some of the noise, and pan clattering that sort of thing. 2m - yes, yes. So it wasn't particularly as open as I have seen some but at the same time he gave you the same kind of feel for an open kitchen, because you felt you were on show, all of the time.

David - almost the feel of a gold fish bowl.

2m – yeah, yeah. Pretty much, and people would actually complain if they saw something through the windows that they did not agree with, and it was sort of like… yes, more pressure. Presentation, organisation, everything is on show so you can't, can't do anything like you would in a close kitchen. It wasn't relaxed, like if you spilled something onto your whites, go and get their fresh pair of whites today. It meant that the care, the presentation of the food was much better and obviously with the larger kitchen and more chefs, it was a different atmosphere. And that's where I found that my passion actually came back it was still difficult, it was over double the covers and more complex food, but the worlds were completely different. They say the world is its own and this was completely different. Yes, customers were walking past seeing more of what they see on TV, you know that chocolate making. That the guy just whisking the chocolate you just looking to, and it looks so easy but when in actual reality it is not.

David - do you think it took a special kind of personality to work in that kind of kitchen.

2m - yes definitely, the staff turnover was huge, people just couldn't deal with it. Because the actual workload itself was enough even to be able to…. the hard work side of it but then to be… have that organisation, that cleanliness, that hygiene it was difficult. A lot of people might come in as really good chefs but they would just not be clean all tidy enough for that particular section, and the whole section would be a mess. (David laugh). It is that you.

David - no no, I'm just thinking of some of the students on the 12th floor.

2m - and yeah… their whole section would be a mess and they would not shave even. They would lose their hats and half to wear a paper hats and so when somebody would look into the kitchen and see the chefs, there is one guy with a paper hats aren't with all mess around him. I don't want to eat what that guy is cooking, sort of thing. A lot of them did leave because obviously they would be shouted at, and you know. The same sort of hierarchy thing and more pressure would be put on them, rather than helping them out, more piling on more pressure keep pressuring them until they pushed through the pressure and came out of it, on the other side or……. see you later sort of thing, and that was the choices.

David - and was the relationships better with each other as a result.

2m - yes I think so, people seemed… a little bit happier I think…. precious of the work did still sort of bringing them down. But if it was a sunny day the window left in the light and the day seemed brighter. The days were brighter and then you got more space so you are not so much into each other's face. Even with sticking to the hierarchy in the-based relationship of I am higher than you and better than you. It was like similar things going on but all under the radar type of thing. Quite sneaky.

David - well unravel that for me.

2m – well… depending on who was on if something dropped and there was nobody around then….. actual harshness of it. The people burning themselves, screaming and shouting. Yeah, yeah… it was dramatic in there as well definitely, because the head chef for example, and the hired chefs. I call Gordon Ramsay syndrome which is. Gordon Ramsay syndrome which is screaming, shouting, kicking bins all that sort of thing. Be horrible is the way to run a kitchen, I am going to run it with an iron fist, fear sort of thing. And that was the way in which it was run so in that sense it seemed like more of a show. Whereas in the closed kitchen it was more about the chef. For example if something did come back in the close kitchen and was right, cremate that steak, dropped it in the deep fat fryer. Whereas in this place completely the chef would scream and shout, "why are you not doing your job properly". But loud enough for the customers in the restaurant to be able to hear.

David - that almost became part of the act.

2m – yes, part of the act. It definitely was, there was no way you could have sat in the restaurant without hearing them shout on Saturday night sort of thing. And even the front of house would be afraid. Yes.. the relationship there was fearful.. well I don't really want to say fearful it was all part of the show kind of thing. Like, Gordon Ramsay has made a career out of it, that's what people go for there to see the chefs are all working perfectly. You don't want to always see that you want to see the chef mess up, it's like a race, you want to see it crash, kind of. And that is what they would run out for, to see who he is messing up, who is covered in sweat, mess everywhere. I think that, that is another thing emotionally dealing with the customers who is the, when you are working and under pressure and you are sweating, and you can't dry your your hair on that towel. And don't use that towel, you're burning up your pants are hot, you are covered in sweat, you can throw your pans down. You are not only thinking that, but people are watching you in that situation, having a terrible time for entertainment (both

laugh) thinking… what am I getting paid for here (both laughing out loud)…. and you think it well. Laughing at me, oh well…. that's exactly what it was like.

David - and how did that make you feel when you add all that I is of the world on you, and you knew you were sinking into the mire, and everyone was watching you sinking into the mire.

2m - yes, exactly, it just…. getting nervous, and then it just makes it worse and worse and worse, yeah… it was a horrible, horrible feeling, again I remember it was the closest I came to to leaving a kitchen. Because I remember looking around and left and right. So if I looked from there to there, it was just a smudged blur of the heat, of the heat, of the pain, sweat going down my face. You know noises became muffled sounds because I was just in a completely different place. The pressure amount just neatly folded in on me, I can remember I looked at the back door, and thought if I just go for that back door nobody is going to stop me. Or, if I just lie on the floor now and did not get up, there is nothing they can do. If I just died now I will be happy, so yes.

David - yes I can see it. So before you actually went into work, what was your internal feelings about the job again both positive and negative.

2m - it was a lot more exciting than the previous because of the dramaticness, and as you did improve. And I did improve quite well, in their kitchen and got quite high up and…. being able to go in and have that organisation and you have got that… it's really good, sort of thing. Because you can focus more on the food and the presentation doing, learning more it was a bigger kitchen meaning more staff because obviously it's a show. So they do not want much going on, you know it's got to be sort of nice for people looking in on to the industry. To see a big team…

David - so would you say that, that was sort of things that if you had moved up in a close kitchen it would have been the same or things different?

2m - I think in the closed kitchen it was still the same sort of generic feelings, yes it was, it would have improved slightly but would have been the same.

David - so for you going to work in a closed kitchen was much more exciting.

2m - yes it was, and much more bright, which was the thing and also being able to see the customers made…erm the customer relationship a little bit more, because now you could have a laugh with your co-workers about the customers, now that you could see what they were wearing. Oh, look at that customer eh, eh, eh, sort of thing. And almost. Yes, they became a show, so yes it has gone both ways like they weren't this alien complainers, and you can make your own judgement on on what they actually look like. Oh, yes, one of those, kind of thing and you did it to make it more bearable as well as the actual food being produced. It was not technical but a little more fresh, you know, you actually put into practice what you have learned in catering college and stuff like that sort of thing. It has to go out looking good, tasting good that sort of thing. Health and safety hygiene and that sort of thing you felt a sense of following it, satisfaction as standards went up and you felt more knowledgeable in yourself like you have learnt more because you are actually putting into practice the real education. On a day to day, and actually teaching people below you, you were giving them some sort of real genuine knowledge. Something that they can actually use rather than a Chinese

whisper recipe. Do this, this way because and you could actually explain why but it actually seems to me a lot more moving towards open kitchens. But they have their pros and cons on both sides, like pressure was the biggest differentiation.

David - so it's really the actions and the relationships between the workers the subordinate's and the managers. What about the managers?

2m - managers, they weren't as nice as the managers of the close kitchen surprisingly.

David -why was that then?

2m – because the stress is more apparent on them because they had to sort of do.... they had to do the gueridon stuff as well do the flambé. Yeah.. I don't know with the managers in the closed kitchen it seem s like two separate worlds pushed together this one seemed like they are all working together, the head chef and the head manager, the head manager seemed less important than the head chef, it was like it was all run from the kitchen. It seemed like the kitchen was now more important....

David – I can see into the restaurant, so I can now manage your space as well.

2m - Yes very much. Why aren't you doing your job properly, kind of thing rather than the other way around.

David – Whereas when it was a closed kitchen it was all one way wasn't it.

2m – yeah... staff can only see one way. Restaurant staff can come down and say whatever they want everything's going fine out there. But when its open the head chef can see everything that is going off, and yeah almost manage their space so the relationship was strained because it was almost like.....like the actual commis waiters would be in the kitchen section, area doing all the stillroom things, so they almost became managed under the kitchen as well. So it was like almost the kitchen was the driving point not only for the food but also for the management side of things...yeah...I think like waiters became plate jockeys, it did seem more like they became plate jockeys when it was an open kitchen, because imagine it was the closed kitchen without the geuridon, but they were still managing front of house so that was their world, domain...so if that was taken away from them by an open kitchen, then they are literally not doing anything, it's like they don't even have that to cling to, it seems like it's been completely taken away, when at least when they did have gueridon and in a sense the flambé I suppose that does give them something back, but, erm...it almost lowered the managers role. The show as a whole it actually moved it forward but from the manager's side of things they had to prove what they do.

David – Okay, went you went out with the staff were issues resolved in the kitchen, because customer were looking in how was that, I suppose if you were in a closed kitchen issues could be dealt with there and then almost tear each other's hair out if you will was that the same in the open kitchen if you had issues and problems with each other.

2m – Erm... Yes…it was because there was no real way to scream and have a go scream and shout and yes it became pent up because you could not express it per say and yeah...it became more of a…. because there was no real way to express and get it out so…. yes it became a real....and yes there were arguments in the kitchen....no

real way to get it out and it causes tension in the kitchen because rather then screaming and shouting at each other do something or not do something to help so the team breaks down rather than getting it out there. Discussing this and that, then come on we are all in this together, it takes that little bit away, rather then we are all in this together I am going to let you sink and all these people are going to see you sink.. sort of thing….(laughs) so rather than doing it that way there is a different way in which to get at someone. So it is like, right, I am going to hide your sauce and then you are not going to have any sauce and you will have two may that sauce five minutes before service, and be in a mess.

David - so how was that tension managed outside of the kitchen then, if you all went out for a drink would it come out then…

2m - yes normally I would think…. yes it would come out, outside of the kitchen but….. I don't know because once we had all left the kitchen it would almost divide up into groups, and there were clear groups within the kitchen, that would stick. And some people would move between both of them and were not really too fussed. Yes, because there would be normally sections against each section and what can we do to mess that section up. Like the tension of it, but yes if we did go out for a drink it would be dependent on which group that was going out. Yes, it was almost like primary school, some sections would not talk to each other, given the cold shoulder outside of work. And the issues would often not be resolved, I don't want to talk to you, I don't have to talk to you, I'm not at work. And they would go and do their own thing, but obviously when they were back in the kitchen, nothing had been resolved, nothing had been solved, and all it did was to build the tension, build, build and build.

David - and what about the waiting staff what was the relationship like in, and out of work.

2m - subordinate, out of work, in work….. In work the waiter was considered below because every chef in the kitchen could tell the waiter to do something in that way. Rather than before when the waiters each had their own job and when they were asked to do something they would half to reply with yes Chef. But I think that the waiting staff dropped down in the hierarchy within the open kitchen. I don't understand why really, but they did. And yes outside of work it still was very hierarchical they would still refer to you as chef, and wanted to stay on your nice side. And I don't know if this was a psychological thing because they had had an easier time at work. But….

David - I think that, that is some of what you have already mentioned, they (waiters) have lost control of an area that they had, all has been eked away. The chef in the open kitchen has now got control of their world almost and they see them part of their team and not as their own team.

2m - it's weird, strange, almost an evolution of the kitchen.

David - it's interesting, so in this open kitchen, how much self-control of your working day and your actions did you actually have.

2m - not much, in comparison to the closed kitchen it was organisation was a massive playing factor in the open kitchen. Because there was no room for error there was no room for anything, everything had its time. So for example making pasta everything

had it set amount of time and that had to be one of your first jobs even down to the point of five………. it almost emphasises everything of what you had to do, hygiene, food safety, presentation, personal appearance of yourself and the organisational appearance of your section, all was enhanced and it went down as far as there were time lists on the wall of sections and the time at which different people had to do different things on that section. For example at 10:10a.m. somebody had to go in and literally to the point, off put your aprons away. Or 10:30a.m. the back fridges had to be cleared they had to look neat in case anybody wanted to come up and have a picture taken. And, 11 o'clock it was staff food feed everyone, there was a shop as well, so you had to make the soup for the shop as well. Errm....... and that had to be done before the 11. And at 11:30 you had to clear down and set up your sections, ready for 12 o'clock. Cook off any thing before service, so everything had its time schedule and in that way everything should be done, clean and setup before 12 o'clock.

David - so was there a lot of formal training going on.

2m - yes, there was a lot more formal training more training on everything. Health and training and hygiene, COSSH training has a lot more focus on an actual training whereas in the case closed kitchen they might give you, give you the wing kind of thing because they weren't relying, , because everyone could see and they were not actually relying on why have they not done that. In fact anyone could be watching them it could have been a health inspector. Having a meal looking in through the window and they can question somebody about something and they would not have a clue in a closed kitchen. It is a lot more focus on that sort of thing and I remember….. like with the actual training side of it that you progress more in a kitchen than more organise you are, certainly the more organised you are more faster you work. Obviously with food production you mind to move up one, but if you are more organised and good chef you move up a lot more, because then you can also train other people. And a lot of the training of the other people was of health and safety and food hygiene.

David - so far you will have not talked about customers coming into the kitchen towel words they treated, what was the pressure that they put on, what would they actually do and say.

2m - what was the show……

David - Yeah…

2m - they were treated like royalty obviously; it put a different perspective on the customer because they came in. And they were so excited to be there that you did not look at them in the same sort of hatred way. Because then you are looking at them almost as if you are making them happy, kind of thing. It's now that they are not just there to see it and mown, kind of thing. And do see the, the customer's eyes go twice as wide, with wow, what's going on, you get to things like, they can actually see what we are going through, the sort of feeling we have. Erm… yes, they would come in to the pass and the head chef would be at the pass with the plates and things. The customer would see the food being plated up by the head chef, and they would go wow, sort of thing. And then the manager, or front of house manager would take them round to the side and would talk them through the different sections. So that they could see the different sections, and it would be like that, like this. Sometimes they would ask you questions. Like, wow…" so how do you do that", and then, in a way you become a

TV chef, talking whilst you are cutting your meat or something, all this looks good this way. And I suppose in a way that did make it a lot more exciting, because I don't know about you. But, a lot of my friends get bored when I talk about food. And somebody now actually comes in and talk to you about something you have passion for, and you start to feel valued….. yes… valued. And it did make an improvement on it because, you… you feel like the customer that is coming to this restaurant, has a bit more respect…. Respect….. moreover and understanding, a interest in what you are doing. Rather than in a closed kitchen where it felt like they were coming in, but it was like fat cats.. sort of thing. And they would then get taken around the bar and Grill.

David - so how many would you have.

2m - not many, four. There would be 200+ covers and out of that, may be four or five people. It wasn't a particularly large amount, but that was enough to sort of put you off, if you actually work it out the hours, say dinner was from 6 to 11, so nearly one and hour. And in the kitchen and hour goes pretty quick it almost seems like everyone's coming in all of the time. Not to mention the crowds outside by the window to watch (laugh).

David - tell me about that these crowds by the window.

2m - well what it was, was the window backed on to the pastry section, and they would need doing all the chocolate on the marble.

David - so, the pastry is a very clean, timely area.

2m - very impressive, slow methodical work, it's separate to the real grit of the kitchen, and the larder backs on to that, you've got hot starters and meat, fish, and they can see everything. And just watching somebody making cakes, stops people in any instance, a bit of chocolate or something, a lot more fancy and slow at putting things together. So, so yes people like to watch them, and if one group of people might stop and watch. Another stop to look and they join, the numbers grow it all builds up. And at times there had been groups of people all looking in going wow….ohhhh….

David - and how we did the pastry chefs and the guys feel about that will stop

2m - it is literally on show… on show, and you find yourself posing almost, I was on the larder and its been direct line to the pastry and I am doing a cold starter plating them up and putting them in the fridge. Because ready to service to save time, and you find you turn to the side as you put it on, in the most… turning so they can see what you are doing, in a almost very uncomfortable position. Like, you are opening your whole self out to show them. On show.

David - you are working in a uncomfortable way to…..

2m – yes, yes, yeah….. just to show what you are doing, you feel obliged to do it almost. In a way almost, I don't know. You feel like you I giving a misinterpretation of what you are doing and you are doing it that way, nice and slowly. But as soon as they have gone, I've got to fight more now, speed up… you know… you I giving this impression this theatre, and everyone goes then, oh, I wish I was a chef. That's just because you have seen me doing it nice and slowly, no stress or pressure on my face that I can show. I'm smiling looking good.

David - so what sort so what training did you get, and support from your managers from that managers. Because you said manager said you could not show that you were under stress or felt you could not show that you were under stress. Was that part of the induction, how was that communicated.

2m - it was more communicated in the sense of…….. because it wasn't formal in the sense of, that you had to smile when this, it was like. The chef was more… right, you need to be clean and hygienic, you need to have a shave…… if you don't then you are gone, you need to be presentable, and then they keep throwing in the underlying thing, people can see you, people can see you, people…. and it is drummed in, drummed into rather than formal training. These people are judging you rather than formal training, give the best in impression to then and if you do your lives are going to be easier because, they are going to be happy, customers are going to be happy even if he is looking at his kitchen. He wont`s people from outside world to view his kitchen as a happy kitchen as a nice kitchen. What it was, was anything that was, made the head chef's life easier got you promotion.

David - could we used the word it was a happy kitchen.

2m - than the closed kitchen, yes the actual vibe of the kitchen was happier. I think, picturing it in my head I picture this dark box kitchen. What it was like to go into this kitchen. But you knew who you were dealing with you knew you were going down there and we are all in it together, and he did have a laugh and it was not all bad. Just in my head the big show kitchen as it was, was happier in the sense of brightness and light. I think some people I generally much happier when it is light. I definitely know it was not the happiest because there was so much stress in fact more stress. People were looking at you watching you.

David – it became a gladiatorial sport……

2m – yes….gladiatorial… people watching you a spectator sport, but….. people were gunning for the head chef to throw a plan that you. They wanted the action so that they could have a laugh at your expense.

David - was it really a line that?

2m - the emotional level yes, it was almost like…… and they would laugh and smile when somebody did badly. Not do badly, if somebody was in trouble with their job it would make them happy. You've got a baby or something and you hurt yourself and they laugh…. they laugh…. that kind of thing.

David- you have put a different spin on things for me.

2m – oh, really..

David - at the end of your working day then how did you generally feel moods, general positive attitude all negative attitudes.

2m - the hours were a lot longer if I remember; if I did normally double shifts that in the wintertime when it is dark in the morning and dark going home. It just seems like there is this blur of light that just goes past the window and ehm… yes when I left, I felt more

like I had learned something, I had taken something away, I could actually see, actually see where I could go with it.

David - but you mentioned that the tension would still go with you.

2m - yes definitely, you would leave work and you would not be able to shut off … because there had been a big organisation at the side of its and you are regularly your brain working like clockwork to think. Oh well I do not have enough off of this, especially if you had been in trouble that night, running out of something and getting screamed and shouted at, and it was a particularly bad night. Yes …. so I need to get more of this, so some people would call in the early, leave late. Starting at 6 o'clock in the morning, rather than eight and going home at 11, sometimes 10 clock in the morning. Quite often without an afternoon break. To do another double because there is no room for error, no slack. Because it is your responsibility to get your work done.

David - did you find people outside of work more supportive in the open or the closed kitchen.

2m – erm. I think it was easier to be friends with the people in the open kitchen because you were so close and in each other's face so as long as you got your work done and they had their work finished it was a good working relationship with those people, or less they had stolen something of yours I think that outside of work, people that did not seem as supportive, but they did seem more passionate about it. They seemed more keen to work their way up, the excitement of it. There was always something to look forward to …………yeah…

David – Okay…..intersecting, so thinking about the open and closed kitchen now how do you think the interactions and relationships are different between the two.

2m - the difference between the two.. the tension in a closed kitchen was relationship wise…. actually dealing with the people you were working with..short and hard…..

David – intense….

2m – yes, the day would seem long and dragged out, the tension…. kind of thing. And it could ruin your whole day, and you took a lot of that home afterwards, these issues could not be resolved there and then.

David - all because people could see what you were doing…

2m – yep, yes. And that's why it's a bit….. I don't know it was, similar and completely different because it's the same world isn't it, but it is open to public gaze and scrutiny. It is one of the only industries that people have been encouraged to scrutinise openly. And I think that is where have come from, scrutinise some more… sort of thing.

David - I think how we got there is really interesting open kitchens, new lines feeding to it, the media, and nouvelle cuisine era, TV chefs. But what I have found really interesting talking to you is chefs.

Stop the tape for drawing

Time - 1.28.06

Appendix 4 - Nodes coding

	Name	In Folder	Created On	Created By
	Affectivity -Positive	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:47	DG
	Affectivity -Positive\ Happy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:50	DG
	Affectivity -Positive\ Planning	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	08/03/2012 07:50	DG
	Affectivity	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:29	DG
	Affectivity - Negative	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:30	DG
	Affectivity - Negative	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:48	DG
	Affectivity - Negative\ Unhappy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:30	DG
	Affectivity - Negative\ Unhappy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:50	DG
	Affectivity\ Happy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:29	DG
	Affectivity\ Nervous	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	21/03/2012 07:51	DG
	Affectivity\ Planning	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	08/03/2012 07:49	DG
	Career Profile	Nodes\\ Career\\ Career Profile	29/02/2012 07:50	DG
	Chef thought of the environment	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Closed Kitchen	02/03/2012 07:44	DG
	Chef thought of the environment	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Open Kitchen	02/03/2012 07:35	DG
	Chef thought of the environment\ Theatre	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Open Kitchen	20/03/2012 07:14	DG
	Closed Kitchen	Nodes\\ Drawing	08/03/2012 07:32	DG
	Closed Kitchen - Description	Nodes\\ Career\\ Closed Kitchen	01/03/2012 07:52	DG
	Confidence	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	13/03/2012 15:47	DG
	Control - Lack of Autonomy	Nodes\\ 3. Moderators\\ Open Kitchen	13/03/2012 15:42	DG
	Customer Interaction	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Open Kitchen	02/03/2012 07:31	DG
	Customer Interaction	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Closed Kitchen	07/03/2012 14:47	DG
	Development	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Open Kitchen	05/03/2012 08:25	DG
	Display Actions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:51	DG
	Display Actions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:52	DG
	Display actions\ Adrenalin	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	08/03/2012 07:47	DG
	Display Actions\ Adrenalin	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	08/03/2012 07:46	DG
	Display actions\ Aggression	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:52	DG
	Display Actions\ Aggression	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	28/02/2012 07:53	DG
	Display Actions\ Changed Physical Appear	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	22/03/2012 07:45	DG
	Display actions\ Communication	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	12/03/2012 08:33	DG
	Display Actions\ Communication	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	12/03/2012 08:33	DG
	Display Actions\ Excitement	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	09/03/2012 16:25	DG
	Display actions\ Fear - Panic	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:27	DG
	Display Actions\ Fear - Panic	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	06/03/2012 17:27	DG
	Display Actions\ Friendliness	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	21/03/2012 07:43	DG
	Display actions\ Interactions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:35	DG
	Display Actions\ Interactions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:38	DG
	Display actions\ Interactions\ Chef colleagu	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:35	DG
	Display Actions\ Interactions\ Chef Colleag	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:40	DG
	Display actions\ Interactions\ Customers	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	02/03/2012 07:47	DG
	Display Actions\ Interactions\ Customers	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	02/03/2012 07:39	DG
	Display actions\ Interactions\ Front of Hous	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:35	DG
	Display Actions\ Interactions\ Front of Hous	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:39	DG
	Display actions\ Interactions\ Management	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/02/2012 07:35	DG

	Display actions\ Level of acting	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:34	DG
	Display Actions\ Level of Acting	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:38	DG
	Display Actions\ Mood - negative	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 15:51	DG
	Display actions\ Physical actions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 08:41	DG
	Display Actions\ Physical Interaction	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	08/ 03/ 2012 07:53	DG
	Display Actions\ Pleasure - enjoyment	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:35	DG
	Display actions\ Pleasure -enjoyment	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:35	DG
	Display actions\ Power	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:41	DG
	Display Actions\ Power	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:41	DG
	Display actions\ Status	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:41	DG
	Display Actions\ Status	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:41	DG
	Emotional Exhaustion	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:31	DG
	Emotional Exhaustion	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:32	DG
	Emotional Exhaustion\ Relationship	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:12	DG
	Emotional Exhaustion\ Relationship	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:22	DG
	Emotional Exhaustion\ Relaxed less tense	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	28/ 03/ 2012 08:29	DG
	Emotional feeling - Positive	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	20/ 03/ 2012 07:52	DG
	Empathy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Closed Kitchen	28/ 02/ 2012 07:51	DG
	Empathy	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:32	DG
	Empathy\ customer interaction enjoyment	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	22/ 03/ 2012 17:12	DG
	Empathy\ Respectfulness	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	21/ 03/ 2012 07:44	DG
	Empathy\ Working together co-operation	Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\ Open Kitchen	17/ 04/ 2012 07:32	DG
	Job Satisfaction	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:30	DG
	Job Satisfaction	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	29/ 02/ 2012 07:31	DG
	Job Satisfaction\ Commitment	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	22/ 03/ 2012 07:34	DG
	Job Satisfaction\ Negative	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	20/ 03/ 2012 17:30	DG
	Job Satisfaction\ Relationships	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 16:10	DG
	Job Satisfaction\ Self worth	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Closed Kitchen	22/ 03/ 2012 07:40	DG
	Lack of outside exposure	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Closed Kitchen	21/ 03/ 2012 07:40	DG
	Open Kitchen	Nodes\\ Drawing	08/ 03/ 2012 07:32	DG
	Open Kitchen Description	Nodes\\ Career\\ Open Kitchen	01/ 03/ 2012 07:54	DG
	Physical Interactions	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	08/ 03/ 2012 07:53	DG
	Positive Mood	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 15:57	DG
	Pressure	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 16:39	DG
	Relationship in Kitchen	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 16:34	DG
	Relationship in Kitchen\ Post work relations	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	20/ 03/ 2012 17:54	DG
	Relationship in Kitchen\ Trust	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Closed Kitchen	21/ 03/ 2012 17:19	DG
	Relationships in Kitchen	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	13/ 03/ 2012 16:35	DG
	Relationships in Kitchen\ Post work	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	20/ 03/ 2012 17:55	DG
	Relationships in Kitchen\ Trust	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	21/ 03/ 2012 17:20	DG
	Relaxed - Calm	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	21/ 03/ 2012 07:33	DG
	Self reliance - Autonomy	Nodes\\ 3. Moderators\\ Closed Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 08:49	DG
	Self Reliance - Autonomy	Nodes\\ 3. Moderators\\ Open Kitchen	06/ 03/ 2012 17:23	DG
	Skill	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	27/ 03/ 2012 07:47	DG
	Skill\ Productivity	Nodes\\ 2.. Emotional labour\\ Open Kitchen	05/ 04/ 2012 08:51	DG
	Team Work - support	Nodes\\ 4. Consequences\\ Open Kitchen	03/ 04/ 2012 17:26	DG
	Training	Nodes\\ 3. Moderators\\ Open Kitchen	07/ 03/ 2012 08:35	DG
	Training	Nodes\\ 3. Moderators\\ Closed Kitchen	28/ 03/ 2012 15:51	DG
	Waiter interaction	Nodes\\ Environment\\ Open Kitchen	20/ 03/ 2012 18:05	DG

Appendix 5 - Nodes compared by number

Nodes	Number of coding references	Number of items coded
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Affectivity -Positive	2	2
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Affectivity -Positive\Happy	14	10
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Affectivity -Positive\Planning	2	2
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Affectivity - Negative	6	5
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Affectivity - Negative\Unhappy	17	12
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Closed Kitchen\\Empathy	25	14
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Affectivity	3	3
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Affectivity - negative\Unhappy	6	4
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Affectivity\Happy	20	15
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Affectivity\Nervous	6	6
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Affectivity\Planning	9	7
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Empathy	7	6
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Empathy\customer interaction enjoyment	12	6
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Empathy\Respectfulness	16	9
Nodes\\ 1. Antecedents (before hand)\\Open Kitchen\\Empathy\Working together co-operation	7	5
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions	1	1
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Adrenalin	12	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Aggression	50	20
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Communication	25	14
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Fear - Panic	20	11
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Interactions	6	5
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Interactions\Chef colleagues	68	23
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Interactions\Customers	32	16
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Interactions\Front of House	35	19
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Interactions\Management	7	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Level of acting	15	10
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Physical actions	26	14
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Pleasure -enjoyment	22	14
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Power	29	13
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Display actions\Status	21	12
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Physical Interactions	13	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Relationship in Kitchen	16	8
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Relationship in Kitchen\Post work relationships	6	4
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Closed Kitchen\\Relationship in Kitchen\Trust	7	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Adrenalin	10	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Aggression	9	6
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Changed Physical Appearance	12	9
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Communication	96	24
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Excitement	27	15
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Fear - Panic	14	10
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Friendliness	50	17
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Interactions	1	1

Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Interactions\Chef Colleagues	70	22
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Interactions\Customers	125	27
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Interactions\Front of House	34	20
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Interactions\Managers	4	4
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Level of Acting	98	27
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Mood - negative	7	7
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Physical Interaction	28	12
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Pleasure - enjoyment	79	24
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Power	15	8
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Display Actions\Status	46	22
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Pressure	27	13
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Relationships in Kitchen	20	11
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Relationships in Kitchen\Post work	5	3
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Relationships in Kitchen\Trust	18	12
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Skill	6	3
Nodes\\2.. Emotional labour\\Open Kitchen\\Skill\Productivity	3	3
Nodes\\3. Moderators\\Closed Kitchen\\Self reliance - Autonomy	14	11
Nodes\\3. Moderators\\Closed Kitchen\\Training	3	3
Nodes\\3. Moderators\\Open Kitchen\\Control - Lack of Autonomy	9	6
Nodes\\3. Moderators\\Open Kitchen\\Self Reliance - Autonomy	24	14
Nodes\\3. Moderators\\Open Kitchen\\Training	11	9
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Emotional Exhaustion	14	11
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Emotional Exhaustion\Relationship	7	6
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Emotional Exhaustion\Relaxed less tense	5	3
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction	6	6
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction\Commitment	6	4
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction\Negative	7	6
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction\Relationships	7	6
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Closed Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction\Self worth	6	6
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Confidence	28	16
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Emotional Exhaustion	10	9
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Emotional Exhaustion\Relationship	9	8
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Emotional feeling - Positive	25	14
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Job Satisfaction	49	23
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Positive Mood	33	17
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Relaxed - Calm	20	15
Nodes\\4. Consequences\\Open Kitchen\\Team Work - support	11	4
Nodes\\Career\\Career Profile\\Career Profile	22	19
Nodes\\Career\\Closed Kitchen\\Closed Kitchen - Description	8	7
Nodes\\Career\\Open Kitchen\\Open Kitchen Description	10	9
Nodes\\Drawing\\Closed Kitchen	15	15
Nodes\\Drawing\\Open Kitchen	21	20
Nodes\\Environment\\Closed Kitchen\\Chef thought of the environment	55	20
Nodes\\Environment\\Closed Kitchen\\Customer Interaction	9	7
Nodes\\Environment\\Closed Kitchen\\Lack of outside exposure	13	9
Nodes\\Environment\\Open Kitchen\\Chef thought of the environment	92	25

Nodes\\Environment\\Open Kitchen\\Chef thought of the environment\Theatre - acting	17	11
Nodes\\Environment\\Open Kitchen\\Customer interaction	30	18
Nodes\\Environment\\Open Kitchen\\Development	22	17
Nodes\\Environment\\Open Kitchen\\Waiter interaction	12	8

xxx

Appendix 6 - Interview matrix

Code	Current status and location	Nationality	Current job role	Type of kitchen experience	Previous experience	Age	Gender
1m	Student Sheffield	British	Part-time chef - French wine bar kitchen	Closed/open	Wash up, commis chef, French restaurants.	19	m
2m	Student Sheffield	British	Part-time chef de partie Michelin star Restaurant	Closed/open	College trained. Pub kitchens (p/t). French brassiere, Michelin star restaurant.	20	m
3m	Fine Dining London	British	Chef de partie	Closed/open/chefs table	College trained, French restaurant, Derbyshire, New York (USA).	20	m
4m	Fine Dining London	British	Sous chef	closed/open/chefs table	College trained. Chef fine dining, London.	21	m
5m	Student Sheffield	British	Chef de partie	Closed/open	Part-time working in a kitchen until 18 years old while at college, then moved to full-time kitchen employment, fine dining French, entered pub catering 4 months before university. Costa coffee while at university.	22	m
6f	Upscale casual dining Manchester	British	Grill chef	closed/open	Café kitchen. Hotel kitchen, Lake District. English degree, part-time kitchen work, full time chef.	22	f
7m	Fine Dining London	British	Demi-sous chef	Closed/open/chefs table	Potwash from 14 years old hotel in Preston, college from 16. Fulltime fine dining restaurant, Lake District.	23	m

8m	Fine Dining London	German	Chef de partie	Closed/open/chefs table	Worked one star restaurant Germany. Western/French style kitchens in China/Hong Kong.	23	m
9f	Fine Dining London	Northern Irish	Senior sous chef	Closed/open/chefs table	Worked parent's casual dining restaurant kitchen. Degree hospitality.	23	f
10m	Fine Dining London	British	Larder chef	Closed/open/chefs table	College trained. Larder chef, grill chef, Dorchester, London.	24	m
11m	Fine Dining London	Australian	Chef de partie	Closed/open/chefs table	College trained, Chef Gastro-pub Australia. Fine dining restaurants. Michelin star restaurants, London,	24	m
12m	Fine Dining London	Australian	Larder chef	Closed/open/chefs table	Kitchen porter. College, chef at restaurant, Melbourne, Australia.	27	m
13m	Casual Dining Sheffield	British	Head chef/manager	closed/open	Hotel kitchen porter. Preparation chef. Commis chef branded hotel restaurant kitchens.	28	m
14m	Casual Dining Sheffield	British	Head chef	closed/open	Café Bistro, Colchester. Catering college. Fine dining hotel kitchen, USA. Gastro-pub, Sheffield.	31	m
15m	Upscale casual dining Manchester	Zimbabwe	Vegetable chef	closed/open	Hotel chef Zimbabwe. Mc Donald's UK. Chef casual dining restaurant, Manchester.	32	m
16m	Casual Dining Sheffield	British	Chef	closed/open/field kitchen	Hotel kitchen. Army cook. Various casual dining restaurant kitchens.	34	m
17m	Hotel upscale casual dining and banquet Sheffield	British	Head chef	closed/open	YTS scheme. Hilton hotel kitchen Coventry. Accor hotel group.	38	m

18m	Casual Dining Sheffield	French	Head chef	closed/open	Hotel Kitchen and restaurant France and the UK. Novotel Heathrow first UK job.	38	m
19m	Education Cardiff	British	Head of hospitality programmes	closed/open	Started as a waiter. Pub kitchen. Hotel kitchens Manchester. Golf/banquet Resort Kitchen	46	m
20m	Education Manchester	British	Chef lecturer	closed/open	Chef worked Michelin star restaurants. Hotel kitchens moved up to Head Chef.	46	m
21m	Contract catering Cardiff	British	University head chef	closed/open	Hotel Kitchens, Jersey, New York, Canada, contract kitchens UK.	48	m
22f	Education Belfast	Northern Irish	Chef lecturer	closed/open	Catering college OND Manchester, HCIMA part B. Receptionist Stratford on Avon. Then entered kitchens as a passion. Fine dining restaurants in Northern Ireland. Youth Programme trainer.	52	f
23m	Education Manchester	British	Chef lecturer	closed/open/exhibitions	Left school 15 - hotels kitchens in Bath, Glasgow, Switzerland, Bermuda, Buckingham Palace, Sultan of Oman.	52	m
24m	Education Manchester	British	Chef proprietor / pt chef lecturer	closed/open	Restaurant chef/owner, Lytham St Annes. Chef, Hotel Metropole, Macclesfield. Golf and Casino restaurants. Chef brand manager for Casino group.	52	m
25m	Education Manchester	British	Chef lecturer	closed/open	Chef Manchester airport. Manchester Metropole Hotel. Hotel group head chef in Cornwall. Salford Casino catering. Chef/owner restaurant, Winslow.	54	m
26m	Contract catering Cardiff	British	Chef trainer	closed/open	Apprentice at 14. Hospital catering. Hotel kitchens, banqueting, hotel restaurants	56	m

27m	Education Manchester	British	Chef lecturer	closed/open/exhibitions	City and Guilds at 16/17. Hotel Kitchens. National Trust banqueting. Welfare catering.	56	m
28m	Education Cardiff	British	Head of hospitality programmes	closed/open/exhibitions/field kitchen	City and Guilds at 16/17. Savoy Hotel and Connaught Hotel London. Austin St Mary, St Ives, Head Chef, Co-Director. Instructor Army Catering.	57	m
					Total	988	
					Average age	**35.29**	