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Balancing Art, Innovation & Performance In Food & Beverage, Hotel and Leisure Industries7-8 July, Lyon, France.
Introduction

The growth of restaurants i.e. the hospitality industry, is one component of economic change in the West, while restaurants themselves represent the free-market society, its production lines, and the consumer economy. This sector can, as Fine (1996) suggests, be studied from different perspectives while production, service, and consumption of food might be seen as a nexus of central sociological constructs – organization, resources, authority, community, rhetoric, gender and status. Work in the restaurant sector is often seen only as a step on the way for people aspiring to education or other forms of work. Therefore young people working in restaurants, although they love the performance and art of hospitality, talk about their dreams of “real careers” and education in other sectors of society (Jonsson et al, 2006).

This paper is part of a wider study with results in progress, using gender perspective as a lens to view working conditions for women and men/men and women in the restaurant sector. The aim of this paper is to show the art of the expanding restaurant sector or culinary field, and how to study it.

An expanding sector

The tourism sector is also on the increase in Sweden, though it has not traditionally been one of the key industries for the national economy. Sweden has not by tradition been a tourist nation nor has this country had any large restaurant sector. Now, though, the restaurant business is on the way to becoming an important cornerstone of tourism, and possibly even a potential basic industry for the national economy when one takes into consideration its hotels and conferences, bed and breakfast facilities, youth hostels, camping sites and restaurants (Hult, 2005)(TUI, 2010).
Accordingly there is a new kind of success among Scandinavian chefs in international competitions. In the prestigious Bocus d’Or competition for chefs in Lyon 2011, Denmark came number one, Sweden second and Norway third. The enormous interest shown in the home countries is exemplified, for instance, by a press release and blogs on the highest level, where the Swedish Government (Swedish Government 2011a, b) presents the chefs together with members of the royal family and ministers in the business affairs sphere.

There is a concept of “New Nordic Food” that was created by leading Nordic chefs in 2004 and adopted by the Nordic Council of Ministers the year after to bring international attention to the qualities of the Nordic kitchen (Meyer 2011). Right from the beginning, however, there was discussion in the “emancipated” Nordic countries about the eight male chefs who had been invited (no women) and the statement from one of them that “the most innovative kind of kitchen is led by men” (Dickson 2004, Jonsson 2006). On the one hand there are a number of well known chef profiles in the media who deal with what might be called exhibitionistic food making, while on the other hand and by contrast women work in the public catering sector (Ekström 2004). In Sweden meals produced by means of public catering constitute important encounters with food culture, good or bad, for millions of weekday eaters in childcare centres, schools, hospitals and places caring for the elderly (Jonsson, 2004).

Eating out – Dining out

The restaurant sector deals with the concept of “eating out”, i.e. eating outside the home arena (Warde and Martins 2000). To eat out can be seen as the “exotic other” in contrast to eating at home (Ashley et al. 2004), which constitutes the norm of the individual and collective household or family consumption of food (Valentine 1999). In the Scandinavian countries eating at home is still a strong factor but “eating out” in different kinds of venues such as pizza restaurants, petrol stations and cafés in shopping centres is increasing. Most of the meals in these kinds of places are motivated by hunger, like, for instance, fast food at petrol stations. But pizza chains and ethnic restaurants are also seen as social meeting places and good value for money (Bahr Bugge and Larvik 2007). On the other hand state school meals, another kind of eating outside the home, have been part of the Swedish social welfare system, i.e. everyday life, since the 1940s (Gullberg 2004). There is a shift from restaurant meals as a luxury restricted only to the elite. Eating out has now come in reach of the whole population in a kind of democratic process with a wide variety of customers (Bell and Valentine 1997). Dining out has become an important attraction in terms of urban experience and enjoyment, a kind of welcome alternative to the privatisation of
social life, with a comparatively safe restaurant and quasi-public environment (Bell & Valentine 1997). Finkelstein’s (1989 p3) idea is that “the restaurant is an appropriate setting for sociological analysis of contemporary habits of everyday life”. She continues some years later that “the desire of food is not only meeting basic nutritional needs but has become a part of a social discourse in which personal and collective identities are defined and presented”(Finkelstein 2004). Restaurants are nowadays part of a multi-billion dollar industry, a part of the industrialized society’s large scale economic structure and international position, she adds, a forerunner and a tourist attraction, including a luxury entertainment and social convenience. Today’s experience based economy provides opportunities for events of food service and chick cuisine (Finkelstein 2004)(Morgan & Hemmington 2008)(Pine & Gilmore 1999). Sloan (2004 p41) discusses whether “culinary taste” has become an important aspect of lifestyle in post modern society. He looks at the restaurant as an environment for learning stylised forms of behaviour, where you can seek membership in stylized groups in the light of declining social structures, and where people find alternative forms of social interaction and security by adopting lifestyles.

A growing culinary field

The fast growing interest in food and wine by a broader public may be connected with knowledge gained from a huge number of culinary shows on different TV channels. Accordingly audience expectations and knowledge vis a vis restaurants has increased (Chu 2008). The media interest keeps potential consumers watching and influences beyond television also make themselves felt through advertising and marketing of self-branded commodities. The celebre chef needs the full spectra of media offerings in order to publish a book (to be bought), have a website (to be accessed), star in a TV show (to be watched) and preside over a kitchen (to be patronised) (Hansen 2008).

The forerunner in evaluation of restaurant meals is Guide Michelin, also including the Nordic countries and the world one ranked Copenhagen restaurant Noma (Guide Michelin 2011)(Noma 2010). A meal-experience includes a much wider range of factors than the quality of food and drink alone (Campbell-Smith 1967)(Wood 2003). A tool for examining a customer meal-event is FAMM (Five Aspect Meal Model) inspired by the Michelin guide (Gustafsson et al.2006). The model scrutinizes five dimensions of experience in a restaurant: not only the edible (1) “product”, but also (2)“the (restaurant) room”, (3) “the encounter” with staff and other guests, (4) “the management control system” including business administration, organizational theory, leadership, laws, logistics, food safety, and security, melting together to form the guests’ experience of a holistic (5) “atmosphere/ambiance”, a good or bad meal experience to
remember. In Sweden the model is also more and more used as a tool to examine public sector meals, integrating the holistic private meal idea of dimensions of experience into the public sector (Socialstyrelsen 2011). In this respect there are also chefs, both men and women, getting new posts in the public sector – i.e. daytime work, five days a week, some acting as prototypes for a more ecological and healthy kitchen without readymade components (Weekly Affairs, 2009).

The culinary field is also expanding as authentic meals and food become increasingly important as part of a travel experience. “Culinary tourism” can be described as a tourism perspective where individuals use food to explore new cultures quite different from their ordinary ways of eating. Food is the subject, medium, destination and vehicle for the travelling tourist. The producers, on the other hand, realize that they can use food to sell their stories and construct a marketable and publicly attractive identity (Long 2003). Mossberg & Svensson (2009), using western Sweden as an example, draw attention to the regional development of destinations and trademarks – all of what they call “meal tourism” – showing the expansion of this area for the restaurant business, including meals for public relations, meal events, trade fairs open to the public theming food and meals, and different kinds of tourist “packages” based on meal experiences as well as meals as part of big exhibitions – all this quite apart from their ordinary restaurant work. Richards (2002) and Santich (2004, 2007) draw attention to the hospitality industry and to education, each with their natural role in the provision of gastronomic experiences, and to “gastronomic tourism”, including reflective cooking, preparation, presentation, and eating, the latter always being a social and, in the words of Warde & Martens (2000), a convivial act.

In tourist terms eating out at a restaurant is a focal part of the day, and furthermore tourists are often solo travellers with constraints as to the eating out experience: It is easier in the daytime but harder at night to be alone and select a restaurant, where the inclusion of mentally overcoming fears of public solitude is always a possibility (Jonsson & Pipping Ekström 2009)(Heimtun 2007). In tourist terms eating out at a restaurant is a central part of the day and furthermore tourists often are solo travelers with constraints for the eating out experience, easier at daytime but harder at night, to be alone and select a restaurant, which might include to mentally overcome fears of public solitude (Jonsson & Pipping Ekström 2009)(Heimtun 2007).
Culinary Arts & Meal Science: a University Subject – students’ working expectations

In a scenario where tourism and its core sector with hotels and restaurants is growing there is a need for well educated and skilled staff with the chance in future of making a career in this field. Unexpectedly for a sector with a traditionally low educational level and a long tradition of master-apprentice learning, a multiscientific or interdisciplinary basic university education in the culinary arts was implemented in Sweden as early on as 1990, while permission to educate at doctoral level was added in 2001 (Örebro university 2011)(Gustafsson, Öström, Annett, 2009). The BA educational curricula are designed for the hospitality sector with chef-, sommelier-, hotelier- programmes. Practical craft and an aesthetic eye is used by the students in scientifically planned education as well as in cases/events, studied and evaluated with the aid of an intersectional team of teachers. The students are seen as “reflective practitioners” (Shön1991) educated in the subject “Culinary Arts and Meal Science”, which includes three kinds of knowledge: science, praxis and aesthetics. The creative challenge since then has been to join and implement practical knowledge in scientific terms with artistic and aesthetic methodology and thinking (Gustafsson & Jonsson, 2004).

In her inaugural lecture the first professor prescribed the way forward as being the multidisciplinary scientific theory connections with scientific systematization in sensory science, psychology, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, nutrition, and home economic science, and recommended multiscientific tutorship. She concluded that this should take place in united action with art/aesthetics and praxis/practical knowledge in order to develop a holistic meal experience (Gustafsson, 2002). Maybe this new kind of university subject reflects a shifting of ideals in society, and the ideas of post modern society based on an experience economy (Jensen, 1999)(Bauman, 1997) in search of experiences and enjoyment (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) (Jönsson & Tellström, 2008). Seven doctoral theses have been completed so far, scientifically planned, described and evaluated with an intersectional team of teachers (Örebro University 2011).

1 1995 High School of Restaurant, Umeå University and 2005 Gastronomy program at Kristianstad Applied University started.
An evaluation was made looking at university gastronomic education (Jönsson & Tellström 2008). Interviews with former students made clear that they themselves said that what really mattered, and made them special when going out into hospitality work after university, was their trained ability to reflect. Nevertheless, when recruiting for staff less attention is paid to education than to the number of working years in the sector. It is interesting that the students have, through what they have said, broadened out the description of restaurant work inside restaurants to a gastronomic sector. Education makes it possible to go from serving to sommelier and on to the fine dining restaurant, progressing further to become a purchaser or wine agent, or to develop wine study courses or practise entrepreneurship in a wider context.

A study based partly on another group of students during training showed, for example, that dietician students were capable of crossing boundaries – from work in the healthcare-information sector into the more experience-based side, using their competence in food matters in a different direction such as a private Spa, etc. In the same way students from the Culinary Arts could see themselves working in the health or wellness sector and, against their hospitality background training, taking care of patients (Jönsson 2008).

In Sweden this university education in the culinary arts field has been part of the increase in status of restaurant professions and at the same time part of an era when gastronomy has been developed in Sweden in an extraordinary way, in terms of both knowledge and pleasure. In society as a whole during this same period a growth in economic resources has begun, making more money available for enjoyment of food and drink, part of the experience economy. Secondly, gastronomy has developed in Sweden as a cultural expression for the middle classes and part of the definition of “good taste” in terms of communicable competence (Jönsson & Tellström 2008)(Warde & Martens 2000). Handicraft and sensual beauty is upgraded, maybe because of the lack of such competence in everyday work. Nevertheless Bildtgård (2009) describes the interesting differences between the Swedish and the French in cultural thinking vis-a-vis food and meals – Swedes being health oriented and describing food as a technical tool for bodily health while French interviews describe food and meal sensations as important components of everyday life. Thirdly, according to Jönsson & Tellström (2008) the political development of liberalisation is perhaps associated with the political decisions involved in gastronomic education. This can also be seen as part of the fourth vehicle, by which they mean
the development of knowledge in research and education in the meal sector. There is a new kind of learning, i.e. reflective learning instead of master-apprentice learning. Former students are networking self confidently and broaden the knowledge of the restaurant sector with a more ample idea of what gastronomy means - and connect with other sectors in entrepreneurial and innovative ways. As one student says “Earlier on it sufficed for a guest that the food was good, but now it’s a question of animal transport, rearing, methods of growing grapes, the microclimate of the vines, terrior, and so on …(Jönsson& Tellström 2008, Pp73).

*Work in the restaurant sector*

Satisfying a guest is what men and women in the service sector deal with and when reaching this goal there can be a moment of *flow*, a kind of victory of challenges just as when one chooses to cope with a difficult but meaningful problem (Csikszentmihályi )(Fine 1990).

Tourism is growing and with it new work expectations all over the country (TUI 2010). The chairman (a woman!) of the Hotel and Restaurant Federation says:

“When politicians with different views talk about growth and work opportunities they are still locked into industrial ways of thinking, where the transport industry, biotechnology, pharmaceutical supplies, Information Technology and telecommunications are the branches reckoned to bring the country financial wellbeing. They forget, quite simply, the sector with the fastest growing expansion in the whole world: the experience industry” (Niia 2007).

The Federation also describes the sector as dynamic with many professionals struggling hard, though at the same time there have, over many years, been problems of low status, low recompense pay, and bad working conditions – aspects which are tough to consider (Hansson 2007). The hospitality industry in Sweden mirrors on the one hand class, ethnicity and inequality and on the other hand low pay and mobility, but somehow a marginalised sector suddenly in a phase of expansion is becoming the new service and experience economy (Mulinary 2007).

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sector suddenly in expansion becoming the new service- and experience economy (Mulinary 2007).

During the years restaurant work has been described as a performance drama with frontstage in the dining room and backstage in the kitchen (Goffman 2000/1959). It has also been problematised in the flight business (Peterson 2003). Restaurant work nowadays is still known to be stressful with unsatisfactory working conditions, and insecure employments (HRF 2002)(Mulinari 2009). Hochshild (1983) talked about emotional labour, in the sense that service employees sell part of their personality. There is still, however, a glamorous touch to the restaurant business though the back yards are also obviously of interest to the public judging by bestsellers such as Chelminski’s “The Perfectionist: Life and death in haute cuisine” (2005), and several others (Bourdin 2002)(Buford 2006).

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“Doing- Gender” in the restaurant

In Swedish politics, equality is a core objective emphasizing the same opportunities for men and women. But even if Sweden is regarded as being one of the most equal countries in the world Swedish research into gender and working life draws attention to structures in organisations with stereotyped positioning of women and men (Lindgren 1999)(Gunnarsson et al 2003) and gendered types of work in an ongoing process where professions tend either to be more or less engendered as “womanised” or male (“doing-gender”)(Gonäs 2006, Westberg 2001). One example is the work of the waiter in fine dining, once an art and craft with high male status. The waiter's role has changed from high status male handicraft to that of a low status waiter, often a woman, whose role is to transport plates (Janhammar 2005)(Lundqvist 2007)(Hall 1993a, Hall 1993 b, La Pointe 1992).

A study (Jonsson et al 2006, 2008) developed four key points to understanding positioning and collaboration in the restaurant: Mentoring: Male prototypes only in management, from apprentice to master. A male mentor only chooses other men (Lindgren 2001). The female waiter cannot see herself as having executive talents. Professional terms: In Sweden the male concept, the waiter, is often used for all the waiter staff. The owner in this study did so frontstage, while backstage he used the word “girls”. He said that his girl waiters “work responsibly, are always early at work and are treated as grown-ups”.
**Working clothes:** There are definite codes that signify work gender (Gunnarsson et al 2005, Hall 1993a,b). Dark tails are the code for a first class restaurant and the female waiters in the study were dressed in masculine clothes i.e. doing-gender at work. The owner prefers female waiters because of their “soft manners” but wants them to dress as men in order to act without sex appeal. **Knowledge of food and wine as male status symbols:** The male chefs are the ones who handle the food and the waiters have lost their craftsmanship (Lundqvist 2005). The knowledge and handling of wine used to be an instrument in the struggle for position i.e. wines were presented in an extraordinarily passionate way over and above the presentation of the dishes prepared on stage in the open kitchen. Professional roles in the restaurant dining room are a result of the historical background of the restaurant sector – and students with practical skills from the industry verify in the study that when dining out attention is paid mostly to the man, both when testing the wine and when paying for the meal experience (Andersson, Sandberg & Scander 2008).

**Result**

*The art of the expanding restaurant sector or culinary field* is described in this paper by means of a study of the literature, providing an overview of the field via the different themes described above:

This is an expanding sector all over the world shown in the Nordic countries by the concept of “New Nordic Food” with permission on high level from the Nordic Council of Ministers. *Eating out*—Dining out has become an urban phenomenon of enjoyment for wider groups of the customers, a social part of everyday life. But it is also a tourist attraction with luxury entertainment part of the experience industry. The *culinary field is growing* with new arenas which may give opportunities for new working expectations in the restaurant sector and more skilled staff. This can be shown by an expanding sector of education on higher levels as the Swedish example *Culinary Arts & Meal Science: a university subject* up to doctoral level. These changing conditions according to *work in the restaurant sector* may need more quality in terms of education, scientific research and better working conditions and working environment including men and women, peoples from different backgrounds in class and ethnicity, i.e. intersectionality.
Interesting to reflect for further analysis are the different values of the various themes. One might well use colours for them, some in Black as problematic themes and some in White as expanding experience based, and maybe some in a greyish shade.

Methods used to study the restaurant sector: Interviews and observations in field studies carried out by researchers using different perspectives.

The research was done in upper class restaurants, the Swedish restaurant trend setters. The sample of restaurants was discussed in the research group and verified by the Swedish guide to the best restaurants of the year (White Guide, 2009). Accordingly nearly all the selected restaurants and some of its staff had been portrayed in different kinds of media during the research period. This added extra material to the study in accordance with reflective ways of looking at data gathering and analysing (Thomsson, 2010), forming the kind of narrative of activities that involves the representation of events in time i.e. books, television, films, friends and relatives telling us about everyday occasions (Abbot, 2008).

In our case the method included multiple researchers in the same study with the idea of adding richness, complexity and depth. The researchers use different scientific perspectives i.e. Social Science, Public Health and Culinary Arts and Meal Science, including working experiences from restaurants. This can be reflected as a way of triangulation— an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of a study, an alternative to validation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p 5),(Flick, 1998).

Working experiences from restaurant sector can on some occasions be an instrument for obtaining admission and permission to interview.

The restaurants were visited incognito and “scanned” i.e. an unstructured observation was made by the researchers at a different time from the interview, and after the visit key words were noted to get the context for the interview, including the restaurant experience (Gustafsson et al 2006).

During the encounter with the interviewees, outside their working area, these methods were put into operation firstly by recording the interview questions and talk based on a “life story grid”, and secondly by asking the interviewees at the end of the interview to note down key words on paper using a prepared grid (See Figure 1.).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Working life</th>
<th>Private life</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earlier</td>
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<tr>
<td>At present</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the future

Figure 1. Life Story Grid

By using what appeared on the surface to be a simple grid a window was opened to facilitate a deeper conversation, a narrative telling, in itself a performance, a kind of presentation of self (Goffman, 1971) (Johansson, 2005). There are, according to Goffman, both successful narratives with positive capabilities and qualities serving as guidance throughout life, and tragic narratives serving as a kind of fiction a help to show that someone other than oneself is responsible: In Giddens’ (1991) words an ability or not to formulate and hold on to a narrative in terms of one’s own biography. With the help of narrative, social relations and identities are produced and reproduced (Johansson, 2005). But of importance also is the context, the coherence where it is told, the participating parts, the events and conditions etc. (Adelswärd, 1991). In summary, carrying out research on narratives means starting with the human being and the mediation of experiences and practice, whereby doing and meaning is articulated in words (Ricoeur, 1991). The interviews with staff from the restaurant sector include the common view that there is more tacit knowledge in practice in this sector and less reflection over action (Schön, 1983/1991) – to be discussed.
**Conclusion so far**

This holistic presentation related to the description of the art of the expanding sector will give an overall picture of life and work in the restaurant sector. The methodological considerations and results of data gathering will be worked through in connection with the transcribed interviews. The analysis phase is in progress looking at the content of the texts. The conclusion so far is that the restaurant sector has great expectations as well as big problems, and the balance needs to be discussed.

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