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Unravelling the complexity of organizational and occupational culture through an exploration of eight cultural schools: a case study of chefs working in luxury hotels and restaurants

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the cultural concept with an attempt to unravel cultural complexity and diversity in conceptual forms of organizational and occupational culture. Drawing from classical papers related to social anthropology and using the framework of Allaire and Firsirotu (1984), eight cultural schools are explored to themes of organizational- and chef-occupational culture. It was observed that all eight schools were instrumental in identifying the rudiments of applied hotel- and restaurant- organizational and chef-occupational work culture. Although not always explicit, competing cultural values demonstrated the complexity of culture when ideation- and socio-cultural systems were interrelated, aligned and engaged with discourses of corporate culture and chef-culture.

Keywords: Typology, Organizational and Occupational Culture, Chefs.

INTRODUCTION

Allaire and Firsirotu (1984) describe culture as belonging to two distinct systems of thought, the *ideation system* (e.g. 'the minds of culture-bearers') and the *socio-cultural system*. For this paper, eight cultural schools are explored using the conceptual framework of Allaire and Firsirotu (1984, p. 196). They relate to the ideation system of Cognitive, Symbolic, Mutual-equivalence, Structuralist and the socio-cultural system of Functionalist, Functionalist-structuralist (synchronic), Historical-diffusionist and Ecological-adaptationist (diachronic). Due to the diverse nature of culture, a methodical approach was applied by examining a typology of study for its uniqueness, regularities, and as integrated processes between other typologies that are (in many cases) comparable to more than one school. As a result, it will be shown that it is possible to locate an array of intra- and inter- complex relationships of cultural coexistence within and between the ideation- and socio-cultural systems. In addition and although culturally multifaceted, the paper highlights variables of culture, which can be manipulated, as well as the phenomenological context in which cultural behaviour is not easy to decipher outside or sometimes within a cultural group. Related to the contemporary, the much publicised *credit crunch* will likely put pressure on existing cultural relationships. The *Economist* (2008, p.140), predicts corporate 'boardrooms' in 2009 will be 'less of vision and much more of value'. To elaborate, Kellaway, (2008, p.140) speculates there will be much pressure placed on workers and employers alike. For example; '...“talent” will be a word we wave goodbye to' [...] 'In 2009 the word “staff” will make a comeback, as will headcount' (Kellaway 2008, p. 140). A contrasting viewpoint sees an open letter to the national press (e.g. The *Observer*, 2008), a media campaign by UKCES (UK Commission for Employment and Skills), where prominent leaders of industry (i.e. Rake, Davies, Barber, Lambert and

Rose) advise employers not to cut spending on staff training and development. Notably in past recessions, a sentiment ‘...not to cut back on training...’ was held by Horst Schulze (1992), the founding President and Chief Operating Officer of The Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company and recipient of the 1992 and 1999 prestigious Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award. Notwithstanding, organizations in all probability will apply stringent financial controls which by implication will put pressure on traditional work practices; a notable characteristic commonly documented in previous recessions (e.g., Arron, 1992; Cameron 2001). Any pressure for change, particularly from a functionalist perspective, would require adaptive processes within organizations. The purpose would be to modify a workable organizational climate aligned to current economic pressures for *the here and now*. Business examples within hospitality notate a proactive spirit in addressing new market conditions (e.g., Jones, 2008; Batey, 2008). However, should the *Economist* (2008) prediction run true then learning organizations based on a shared vision (implying the facilitation of occupational sub-cultures) will be at risk in many corporate businesses. Conversely, the quality of service output relative to staff retention and employability would be a policy that opts for behavioural learning (reinforcement-stimulus). Under this assumption, there would be less operational emphasis on the cognitive learning *why*. Related to chefs, organizational commitment would be based on achieving cognitive drives such as creativity and career development. Moreover, should cultural values within the occupation be curtailed by an organization then a behavioural relationship based on ‘accumulated side-bets’ (Becker, 1960) would in all probability be accelerated by chefs to avoid negative ‘sunk costs’ (McGee and Ford 1986). Put simply, chefs would look to the internal labour market in order to protect their careers. In short, the working relationship suggests that ‘by any definition neither identity nor culture are singular concepts: they both evoke a group context’ (Cameron, *et al* 1999, p. 226). Based on these and on more complex cultural assumptions, the usefulness of cultural typologies will be observed throughout this paper in processes of analysing and exemplifying the ideation and socio-cultural world in which organizations and occupations engage.

IDEATION SYSTEM

Cognitive

Goodenough (1971) sees learning as a series of cognitive constructs that can be discriminated against, depending on their usefulness, within moments of time. Culture therefore becomes a product of human learning. People will ‘organise their experience of their phenomenal world so as to give it structure’ (Goodenough 1971, p. 62). He does not attempt to answer the question of how individuals relate to patterns of learning as he considers this as a matter for psychology and not for anthropology (Goodenough 1971, p. 53). Instead, Goodenough views culture as stemming from ideation. Individuals as employees would look for structure in order to make sense of their real world. Culture is, therefore, generated by individuals mapping out cognitive routes. These may be shared by others but not necessarily by all within an organization, and therefore have potential for confrontation within an organization. Notwithstanding, people are likely to develop their cognitive thinking by observing, familiarising and learning. When organizational culture is viewed beyond a unitary concept, perceptual cognitive goals and objectives may represent differences between corporate vision and perceptual vision. For example, an apprentice chef’s perceptual values are an inducement to his/her occupation. In short, corporate culture should take into consideration occupational inferences. Should organizational culture be in confrontation with occupational beliefs, practices and norms, then it is likely the cognition as to what is ‘valuable’ (Becker 1960, p.

39) to chefs will represent some dissonance to what is shared. For cognitive processes, it seems problematic to assume that systems, policies and procedures within an organization are willingly shared. Considering this assumption, dysfunction could occur if cultural diversities are at odds with company objectives. As a management tool, a corporate culture that incorporates diversity of occupations provides potential for a reciprocal relationship between cultures. However, dilemmas for hotel organizations invariably occur in weak personnel functions where, for example, training opportunities are not highly ranked within human resource policies. In such an environment, workers see little or no reason to become socially obligated to an organization.

Symbolic

Corporate cultures can derive a complex range of symbols, rituals and stories. Symbols can collectively exist and be derived through paternalistic values of organizational and occupational cultures within, and by the environment. For Turner (1986, p. 103), 'The study of organizational symbolism... [manifests to] ...what is revealingly called 'corporate culture'. Organizational symbolism can assist to promote what an organization stands for e.g. ethics, morals and vision. Symbols can be commonly shared among workers and management but should disagreements occur they could become perceptual vehicles for confrontation. Symbolic disputes can be closely related to what Geertz (1957, p. 53) calls a symptom of 'static functionalism'. This functionalist typology 'fails to realise that cultural structure and social structure are not mere reflexes of one another but independent, yet interdependent, variables' (1957, p. 53). Geertz (1957, p. 53) therefore calls for a 'dynamic form of functionalist' an approach that treats the ideation system (a product of symbolism) and socio-cultural system on equal terms.

Operationally, symbolic meaningfulness as a progression to 'significant symbols' (Stacey 2001, p. 108) can be observed within enactments of 'storytelling' (e.g. Boje, 1991). Culturally, storytelling provides day-to-day thoughts grounded in the perceived past, present and future (e.g., Martin, *et al* 1983; Boje, 1991). Transcended to forms of 'conversational talk', there can be meaningful 'gestures' (e.g. McKee 2003, p. 51) capable of influencing other cultures. Conversely, confrontational or negotiable enactments of conversational talk can encourage occupations to conduct adversarial discourse which, according to Samra-Fredericks (2003, p. 156) 'cannot be stripped of rhetorical force'. By way of identity, chefs are renowned in their use of occupational rhetoric (Fine, 1996). Although rhetorical behaviour is not always operationally or symbolically obvious, negative forms of discourse have the ability to entrench an in-group (e.g. organizational culture) and/or out-group (e.g. occupation culture) to positions that can be culturally bound. In short, an organizational climate resembling static functionalism is where structure or organizational climate has failed to understand forms of dynamic functionalism which Wallace (1961) might describe as mutual-equivalence.

By way of contrast, The Savoy Hotel (London), which is currently under restoration, has used in 2003 symbolically famous employees such as Escoffier (1846-1935) and César Ritz (1850-1918) as past iconic professionals to promote the hotel (Savoy, Online 2003). For the organizational culture and corporate identity their reputations (in their day) convey for The Savoy (London) symbolic associations that are renowned for transmitting opulence and consistent standards. Indeed, the term 'Ritzzy' is cited in the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1976, p. 972) to definitions of 'high-class; luxurious and ostentatiously smart'. From a paternalistic viewpoint The Savoy Hotel (London) is what Allaire and Firsirotu (1984, p.

207) might phrase as an organization that ‘...secretes and sustains its own system of symbols and meaning’. Using Geertz’s (1957) terminology it could be argued that The Savoy Hotel (London) has applied dynamic functionalism for which tradition fits well with the market, consumer and employees. Symbolically, icons such as Escoffier and César Ritz extend beyond The Savoy Hotel in London. Predominately, some of the finest chefs in the world base their trade on classical cuisine doctrines and by doing so manifest a system of symbolic culture for others such as *commis chefs* to aspire to. The Savoy (London) is due to reopen in May 2009. Symbolically, it is to retain its ‘traditional Edwardian influence for the lobby and public spaces’ (Savoy, Online 2009). Managed today by Fairmont Hotels and Resorts, the company (as with past owners) continue to use symbolic commentaries that are rooted in the past in their preplanning promotional preparations for the reopening. To elaborate, the hotel’s website (January 2009) has adopted the term: ‘leading the past’. Moreover, Fairmont Hotels and Resorts have used a quotation from the iconic Rupert D’Oyly Carte (1876-1948) who commented in 1930 ‘The Savoy is always up-to-date and, if possible, a little ahead’ (Savoy, Online 2009). These comments represent symbolic utilities; transposed to historical prompts. Furthermore, they have been given a functionalist role to the *here and now*, noticeably a transformation from the *diachronic* to the *synchronic* – a marketing strategy used by Fairmont Hotels and Resorts to keep The Savoy (London) visible throughout the hotel’s temporary closure.

Mutual-equivalence

A key premise for Wallace (1961) would be to relate symbolic interpretation to material relationships. Put simply, Wallace (1961, p. 32) equates *symbol* – ‘...as a reasonable interpretation of the logical relationship of material implication’. In Figure 1, this is referred to as representing ‘primary and secondary equivalence structure’ (Wallace 1961, p. 31).

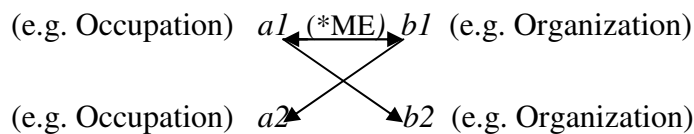


Figure 1: Mutual-equivalence to be conceptually applied to chef self-percept
(Adapted from Wallace, 1961, p. 32) (*ME) = mutual-equivalence

Symbolic forms invariably interact and identify with components of the socio-cultural system. Hence, both primary and secondary equivalence structure(s) form the basis of a mutual-equivalence. To briefly explain and by way of conceptual transfer this can be achieved by identifying what is ‘valuable’ (Becker 1960, p. 39). In an applied sense ‘*a1, a2*’ would be the occupation of chefs and ‘*b1, b2*’ the hotel/organization where they work. Referring to Figure 1 above, Wallace (1961, p. 32) comments ‘...we may interpret acts *a1* and *b1* as instrumental acts (‘primary equivalence structure’) e.g. goal setting and *a2* and *b2* as ‘consummatory acts’ (‘secondary equivalence structure’) e.g. a pathway towards consuming. This conceptualisation of mutual-equivalence relates to standardised cognition but not necessarily cognitive sharing (Wallace 1961, p. 40). In other words, individuals formulate their world so that it has mutual predictability to standardise outcomes. The term *mutual predictability* strongly resembles *expectancy theory* in which an individual looks for personal benefit through valence. Cultural mutual-equivalence when applied to chefs may have motivational drives that preserve predicted standards and outcomes. For example, it

may not be unreasonable to suggest that chefs see their profession as an art as well as a science. As artisans, chefs will probably show forms of behavioural commitment to an organization should they be satisfied with the product and services they create. Should economic circumstances put pressure on management to modify these standards, e.g. trading down, then an individual's or an occupation's expectancy could come into confrontation with changing organizational needs. In the case of chefs, the culture for which mutual-equivalence manifests is deeply rooted in behavioural constructs of tradition and ideology. The relative strength of an occupation will sit comfortably with expectations being realised which for Lewin (1951, p. 79) resides with the importance of valence, particularly when dealing with change criteria. He comments:

'Anyone who wishes to influence likes and dislikes has to be aware of the changes of valences which take place with the changes of needs in the process of satiation or during development' [...] 'It has been one of the fallacies of classical behaviourism to describe the character of any activity by its physical aspects only to neglect the great effect of the psychological setting' (Lewin 1951, p. 79).

Therefore, a change in 'physical aspects' e.g. an introduction of new technology could imply chef de-skilling. This, in turn, could threaten group solidarity should an occupational culture become indifferent to desired managerial change within an organization's culture.

Both psychological and physical contexts would have a prominence with mutual-equivalence. For example, central to Wallace's (1961) mutual-equivalence theory are individual precepts to 'minimal cognitive maps' (Wallace 1961, p. 34). They can perceptually provide symbolic orientations as to what is meaningful to an individual. Represented as processes to 'minimal cognitive mapping' a chef may formulate cognitive-schema by placing a perceptual valence (degree of preference) to expectancy. Here a chef's perceptual concern would be to construct minimal cognitive mapping with the organization (Wallace 1961, p. 32) for occupational satisfaction. This provides a workable climate for non-cognitive sharing in which the chef accumulates culinary experiences. This presumption would suggest chefs are likely to leave one organization for another based on the premise of expectancy and mutual-equivalence. Transferred to commitment theory this could be seen as chefs achieving occupational progression through a series of 'accumulated side-bets' (Becker, 1959). In short, organizations can represent perceptual gateways for chefs (Cameron, 2004). This infers an in-group and out-group relationship of 'primary and secondary structures' as outlined by Wallace (1961). Furthermore, it allows for non-cognitive sharing to conveniently take place where goals and objectives for both an organization and occupation become realised.

Structuralist

Structuralism refers to 'unconscious processes' and 'assumes that the human mind has built-in constraints by which it structures psychic and physical content' (Smircich 1983, pp. 342, 351). Related to an organizational context, this can be related to notions of 'kinship' whereby people unconsciously share values and beliefs (e.g. Lévi-Strauss (ed.) 1969). Operationally, cultures can be representations of 'unconscious infrastructure' (Rossi, 1974 in Smircich 1983, p.351) for which interpretation is likely to be explained at best, in phenomenological terms. To reinforce the phenomenological viewpoint, Smircich (1983, p. 352) argues that

there has been little development in the concept of structuralism and this therefore currently offers limited scope in management practice. Although a highly complex typology to develop, Boisot (1997, p.2) has offered some interesting dynamics related to sub-cultural observations. He comments ‘...there are potentially as many types of culture as there are ways of grouping people together and these are often overlaid’. In a structuralist and ideographic context, sub-cultures are synonymous with unconscious infrastructures. Similarly, he speaks of ‘instantaneous communication’ which can bring to the fold ‘local villages’ or sub-cultures to global corporate infrastructures (e.g. nomothetic engagements) thus coining the phrase ‘think global but act local’ (Boisot 1997, p. 2). Moreover, global corporatism can diffuse cultural influences on local villages with innate universal characteristics. In short, organizations serve local cultures and therefore more often incorporate ‘unconscious infrastructure; psychic and physical content’ (Lévi-Strauss, (ed.) 1972, Rossi, 1974), which are often in the form of rituals, artefacts, customs, beliefs and values. In chef culture, an out-group tendency as a form of identity is invariably ethnocentric to that occupation. The interplay of unconsciously shared values is likely to be a phenomenon embedded within the occupation. From a corporate perspective chef-culture becomes inclusive with organizational culture. Paradoxically, chef-culture can resemble Boisot’s local village concept, where unconscious infrastructure diffuses and transcends to a broader concept resembling occupational culture. Therefore, chefs working in internationally renowned 4-5 star hotels will in all probability enact manifestations of unconscious infrastructure equitable to the occupation they emulate. On a slightly different note, Lévi-Strauss, (1963, p. 28) albeit with symbolic reorientations, sees ‘cooking’ to be ‘...a truly universal form of human activity’. By way of critical extension, cooking coupled with the commercial world (i.e. capital over labour), facilitates a working environment for which chef-occupational culture is able to exist and moreover, flourish. As an out-group the culture provides its own customs, work ethic and perceptual engagements and therefore undoubtedly includes processes of unconscious infrastructure within the realms of self-percept and occupation.

SOCIO-CULTURAL SYSTEM

Functionalist (Synchronic)

From a functionalist perspective Malinowski sees ‘culture is an instrument - serving human biological and psychological needs’ (Smircich 1983, p. 342). For Malinowski, ‘society’ or ‘culture’ should be regarded as a complex whole...’ (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p. 50). Therefore, a ‘functionalist’ organization exists merely to serve the good of society. This concept can be linked to classical management theory, which views organizations as ‘social instruments for task accomplishment’ (Smircich 1983, p. 342). Organizations serve human needs by applying scientific methods to management practice. To facilitate a society’s needs, organizations will seek to find cost-benefits to socio-cultural outcomes in relation to the capital and labour employed (e.g. Boisot, 1995). Allaire and Firsirotu (1984, p. 200) acknowledge that both cultural typologies in this category (the other, Functionalist-structuralist) propose different prescriptions to achieve a more harmonious fit between an organization and its members. For example, in more contemporary times, management use tools such as vision statements to reinforce a humanistic ideology within an organization. The objective is to achieve efficient and effective processes from workforce activity. Vision statements, therefore, aim to induce and orchestrate workers to a shared culture that is not too dissimilar from the organization. Its approach relies on *soft* human resource techniques, which in turn support *hard*

human resource management outcomes, which are based on primarily scientific positivistic inclined processes. For Malinowski (1944) organizations exist to serve society therefore, in his view society is culture and culture is society. Based on the organization and occupation relationship Malinowski comments:

‘This [(occupational ability)] clearly, is a far less specific type, because the distinctions as regards occupation, training, and differentiation of typical activities vary more from culture to culture than differences in reproductive or territorial necessities’ [...] ‘It is clear that, as a culture advances, the various occupational and specific functional tasks become gradually differentiated and incorporated into specific institutions’ (Malinowski 1944, p. 59).

This comment by Malinowski appears to support writers on culture (e.g., Pettigrew, 1979; Turner, 1987; Hunt, 1990; Harris and Ogbonna, 1998; Hassard, 1999) who have criticised organizations’ culture for representing a too restrictive unitary concept. Although Malinowski (1944) would likely to have been sympathetic to this sentiment, he would still, however, give precedence to the nomothetic viewpoint. For example, it infers that occupational functions are part of a bigger picture i.e. the complex whole, for which occupational practices and norms would take a subservient role within an organization. In other words, the cultural relationship conforms or is constrained to socio-cultural perspectives of functionalism. To elaborate, for Burrell and Morgan (1979, p. 26), the sociological description ‘functionalism’ holds paradigmatic characteristics in terms of ‘order, consensus, social integration’ [that is] ‘realist, positivist, determinist and nomothetic’. Under these parities a ‘nomothetic’ unitary culture concept takes the dominant role over ideographic sub-cultures, for example chef-occupation.

The overall approach to functionalism therefore, ‘seeks to provide rational explanations of social affairs’ (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p. 26). Functionalism from a management perspective aims to find economic and competitive appeasement by engineering businesses to society’s needs. However, the dilemma for the functionalist is to determine what is past and subsequently left to history, and what aspects of functionalism remain? Such dilemmas have been highlighted by Leach (1954, p. 282) in Geertz (1957, p. 33) who attempts to explain that ‘we functionalists, are not really anti-historical by principle; it is simply that we do not know how to fit historical materials into our framework of concepts’. This dilemma between organization, occupation and skills can be clearly observed in Cameron (2001) and Riley (2005).

Functionalist-structuralist (Synchronic)

This discipline has close similarities to the functionalist school of typologies. The difference, however, is the cultural environment, which seeks radical change by removing, for example, features of present working practices perceived by society to be redundant. For Radcliffe-Brown (1952), structure and function changes frequently, suddenly and unexpectedly. Therefore, approaches to society can be seen as radical in their implication. To elaborate the position to radical or sudden functional-structural change Radcliffe-Brown comments:

‘Throughout the life of an organism its structure is being constantly renewed; and similarly the social life constantly renews the social structure. Thus the actual relations of persons and groups of persons change from year to year, or even from day to day’ (Radcliffe-Brown 1952, p. 192).

Notably, radical change criteria have always been within organizations. What is different today is the sense of speed and time compression and even the unpredicted i.e. the credit crunch. Related to more innovative times the advent of new technologies, communication, globalisation and fierce competition ‘to get there first’ has called for adaptive resource-based competencies. Related to chefs, kitchen brigades have adapted to what they were in the 1960’s, 1970’s 1980’s and 1990’s. In some cases radical change to the *partie* system has occurred as a result of technologies such as cook-freeze and cook-chill systems, which by technical implications have centralised kitchen production for markets such as conference facilities. These principles are no different from management thinking with applications of contingency theory. The implications are however, that cultural aspects are seen in time as being discontinuous. A problem for organizations is that over time, certain skills can be lost forever.

Historical-diffusionist (Diachronic)

The historical-diffusionist school holds diachronic attributes to historical development. Although developmental, it was noticed, for example, that functionalist theorists struggle when determining what has occurred in the past in terms of practices and norms. Contextually, change can have an impact symbolically and cognitively on perceptual cultural beliefs and values. For example, Wallace’s (1961) mutual-equivalence and Geertz’s (1957) symbolism as in the ideational system, may serve to support historical dimensions such as tradition. Therefore, the traditional ways of doing things such as the *partie* system, the division of labour within a kitchen setting, reinforces historical dimensions in which other cultural typologies might come into play.

In a seminal study by Salaman (1974), out-group identity is inferred as expression for which:

‘...people seeing themselves of a particular occupation’ (Salaman 1974, p.23).
[Moreover, occupations are likely to manifest a] ‘status, skill...’ [and workers will likely] ‘see themselves in terms of their occupational role’ (Salaman 1974, p. 29).

By way of critical extension, origins of occupations could be referred to Kimberly’s (1979) analogy of an organization marshalling resources towards the formation of an ideology (in Quinn and Cameron 1983, pp. 39-40). The term *organization* in this context can refer to an emergence of sub-cultures by developmental processes from the past. For example, Riley (1981, p.102) comments:

‘The ‘European tradition’ in British hotels originated with the obsession of the eighteenth century upper classes with European, and especially the French, culture (*haute couture, haute cuisine*), and which became the dominant culture of the great houses of the period’.

Moving through the centuries, a prominent chef in earlier times was Antonin Carême (1783-1833), ‘who profoundly affected cookery in Britain as he did in France’ (Fuller (ed.) 1981). The trend continued in the 19th century by ‘grandee chefs’ such as Alexis Soyer (1810-1858), ‘whose greatest days were at the ‘Reform Club’ (Fuller (ed.) 1981, p. 15). Soyer orchestrated a self-fulfilling limelight for publicity by demonstrating artistic temperament,

confidence and with innovations to cooking processes (Fuller (ed.) 1981, pp. 13-16). Some of these attributes can still be seen today, to a degree, typifying historical and symbolic cultural traits in contemporary chefs. Some practitioners and writers see chef behaviour as restricting policy outputs, where executive chefs become overtly 'tyrannical' (Zetie, *et al* 1994; Hallam and Baum, 1996). Historically, such traits can be seen by others as temperament of a personal nature, rather than perhaps, tempered behaviour in persistence for occupational standards. In the example offered by Saunders (1981) it can be observed that the reputation of a hotel would be an important occupational criterion for many an esteemed chef:

'If the hotel has made a name for itself in a particular specialism, the kitchen department will bathe in the halo effect transmitted from it. Sometimes, the quality of food cannot be maintained, particularly when an esteemed chef is lost and irreplaceable' (Saunders 1981, p. 113).

Saunders' comments imply a scenario of chefs building a stature particularly where industry awards, such as Michelin Stars and AA Rosettes, for levels of outstanding cuisine have been granted to the executive chef. Here, consumers can be said to be party to sustaining the skills and behavioural traits of chefs. For example, the luxury restaurant and hotel market would likely command opulence and acquiescence for fine dining. Such services require skills that lend themselves to some diffusion with history (e.g. Johnson, *et al* 2005, p.176). In short, historical-diffusion plays its part in which knowledge acquired by aspiring chefs is partly from culinary traditions that have been past down by former Grandee chefs. Taking the discussion further, kitchen practices reveal a prevailing French culture (Riley 1981). The language used describes 'the occupation (*Chef de Partie*), the work ethic (*se débrouiller*), and the mode of technology - albeit modified - (*à la carte*)' (Riley 1981, p. 102). For chefs and hotels, this typology represents 'pedagogic-regulatory discourses' (e.g. Bernstein (ed.) 2000), that is reciprocal to 'diachronic framing' (Oswick, *et al* 2007, p. 249). Top restaurants in France 'are examples of organizations characterised by the presence of creativity and a strong formation of work and production processes' (Balazs, 2002). This is arguably a work-ethic repeated in other countries (e.g. Ottenbacher and Harrington, 2007). Therefore, moving to contemporary culinary kitchens, it can be surmised that cultural practices and tradition are tempered to day-to-day regularly-discourses; distinctive to the occupation of chefs. Occupationally this would be a collective force to be reckoned with. Thus, any attempt to 'deskill' would be enough to encourage 'labour mobility' (e.g. Robinson and Barron, 2007) i.e. a process for a chef to look elsewhere within the internal/external labour market.

Ecological-adaptationist (Diachronic)

Ecological-adaptationist characteristically resembles observations made by Eisner (1993). For example:

'The world has changed since Copernicus told us how it worked. The world has changed since Tycho Brae provided a picture of the heavens. The world has changed since Newton, Einstein, and Bohr gave us their versions of how it is. I suspect it will continue to change...' (Eisner 1992 cited in Hammersley 1993, p. 55).

Eisner's (1993) comment demonstrates examples of the socio-cultural system, which diachronically and ecologically evolve and innovate through time. Hence, from an ecological-adaptationist perspective and in relation to organizational theory, culture and society by their actions are diachronic and thus, subject to humankind's historical development. Perceptually, ecological change from generation to generation is often gradual despite overt influences placed on society through the functionalist, radical-structuralist design. For Allaire and Firsirotu (1984) organizations as members of a wider society:

‘...take on varied forms, as they adapt to environmental characteristics’ [...] ‘As products of dialectic interplay with their environment, organizations will reflect to a varying degree the values and culture of society’ (Allaire and Firsirotu 1984, p. 201).

From an organization standpoint, ecological-adaptationist has managerial interplay, with among others contingency theory and socio-technical systems (Allaire and Firsirotu, 1984). Moreover, ‘organizations face constraints generated by their own history’ (Hannan and Freeman 1977, p. 931). Therefore, cultural adaptation can invariably become a gradual process. Transferred to the occupation of chefs this could infer ‘evolving cuisines’ (Durand, *et al* 2002) or their spin-offs that have been continually modified. For example, although not explicitly mentioning ecological-adaptationist, some relevance to this cultural viewpoint can be observed in Durand *et al's* (2002) study in which they have observed ‘identity movements of elite French chefs moving from classical cuisine to *nouvelle* cuisine’, for which this cuisine advocates, among others, leaner ingredients e.g. less use of butter and cream.

SUMMARY

From the functionalist perspective, *consummatory acts* (an intersection with mutual-equivalence – Wallace, 1961) co-exist with instrumental structures that serve society. Chefs, for example, take advantage of a strong internal labour market, where opportunity and career development can be achieved. In short, conceptual mutual-equivalence is a process of identifying consumables that are important to chefs. This will undoubtedly for a chef embrace elements of tradition, relative to the historical-diffusionist school. In a way, this demonstrates notions of single-discourse, where *chef-percept* interacts with accumulated ‘side-bets’ (Becker, 1960). Therefore, a perceived outcome by a chef to what is of value symbolically engages to expectancy, a functionalist parity. The expectancy for chefs is calculated along schema representing processes of *minimal cognitive mapping* Wallace (1961). Conceptually, chefs are likely to stay with an organization as long as they are able to consume expectancies to a series of accumulated side-bets. Paradoxically, this can be an engagement with multiple discourses, which can disclose a chef's intention to leave or stay with an organization. As a calculative process, *side-bets* represent for chefs, in many instances, a behavioural commitment to the organization (Cameron, 2004). Attitudinal commitment is likely to be reserved for the occupation by the majority of chefs (Cameron, 2004). Cost benefits within hospitality, relative to ‘participative budgeting...’ [...] ‘...provide support for management paying attention to employees need for achievement so to engender organizational commitment’ (Subramanain 2002, p. 315). Sadly, the corporate landscape for 2009 is likely to constrain operational budgets to cost cutting, unless companies take heed to the advice offered by UKCES. Moreover, a somewhat bleak business environment could occur where types of organizational *counter culture* may

unwittingly manifest adversarial behaviours to work attitude, a concept that is well-explained by Parker (2006, p.10) who comments:

‘...documenting elements of the counter culture of organisation is to give them a certain voice, and perhaps suggest that these practices and materials are actually rather central to constituting a sense of an oppositional or dissenting identity in the work place’.

Consciously or unintended enactments of counter culture can be avoided and the starting point would be an avoidance that leads to a unitary culture concept and therefore, the exclusion (partially or otherwise) of sub-cultures in decision-making process. As a result, cultural out-groups have less influence and as a consequence play second fiddle to economic constraints that are likely to force companies to focus on cost to the detriment of a once all-embracing *shared* ‘vision’ (Kellaway, 2008), a luxury more suited in healthier economic times.

CONCLUSION

The unitary cultural concept, although conceptually dynamic, provides for one dimension. Taking this approach does not necessarily reduce cultural complexity. Instead, research has to some extent failed to identify the significance of sub-cultural groups within organizations. The examination of cultural typologies provides plausible propositions for researchers in hospitality. This paper has attempted to provide an insight into the field of cultural typologies and their application. Finally, due to the complex and diverse nature of social anthropology, the explanations given in this paper to dynamics of organizational and occupational culture, represent a modest contribution in this field and are, therefore, by no means all-exclusive.

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