

# Improved Meal Offerings in Tourist Destinations Provided by Professional Practitioners

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## **Abstract**

Restaurants are central to the growth of a tourist destination, and rural, small-restaurant owners/managers are important actors in the development of attractive meal offerings. There is a lack of research scrutinising the skills and knowledge that may contribute to the growth of small-sized restaurant businesses. There are specific conditions of daily work in the restaurant and in the hospitality industry overall, and these are also relative to seasonal conditions in tourist destinations. In this licentiate thesis, the overall aim is to elucidate the specific conditions of small restaurant owners in a seasonal tourist destination and the making of their meal offerings. This paper explores the complexity of daily work in the restaurant business using an ethnographically inspired method applying an insider perspective. The complementing research methods used were interviews, fieldwork, repeated field visits and a short survey. The insider perspective is a challenging research method in itself but helpful for detecting the daily practice, organisation, and routines of the informants and their personnel, as well as for indicating the impact of workload on the informants' lives. The study was carried out with eleven owners of eight small-scale rural restaurants, four with attached lodgings, and two managers in one urban restaurant/hotel. The results of the study show that the offering of a restaurant meal is dependent upon the multitude and variation of the culinary as well as hospitality competence of the practitioners, and the complexity of restaurant work has to be matched with a proactive daily practice. Use of time, reflectivity, and the need for professionalism is in focus.

**Keywords:** restaurant work, meal offering, time, professionalization, education

## **List of papers**

This thesis consists of a compilation and a discussion of the work in the following papers, referred to in the text by their Roman numerals:

### **Paper I**

“Restaurant race and seasonal stress – The double impact on workload”

Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M., and Walter, U.

*Scandinavian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality*, under review

### **Paper II**

“Professionalization of practitioners in rural restaurants”

Wellton, L., Jonsson, I.M., and Walter, U.

*Scandinavian Journal of Tourism and Hospitality*, under review

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## **Introduction**

The national strategy of the Swedish Visitor Sector suggests that the restaurant and hospitality industry should be further developed in order to double in size compared to what exists today. There are high hopes in relation to the entrepreneurial growth of this industry, especially in rural tourist destinations. At a time of labour-market changes and expectations of new jobs in the service sector, the hospitality business is seen as a big creator of work. Restaurants are central to the growth of a tourist destination, and rural small-restaurant owners/managers are important actors in the development of attractive meal experiences (Timothy & Ron, 2013; Mossberg & Svensson, 2009). In a fast-growing tourist industry, new and extended skills are required to improve, for example, what is offered in the way of local meals and culinary heritage development (R&D Fund of the Swedish Visitor Sector, 2014). Commercial hospitality is not domestic hospitality on a large scale—it is business-driven. The sector has to be efficient in focusing on improvements and competence development in order to meet the increasing customer demands for flexibility and innovation (Lockwood & Jones, 2000). In the restaurant business (RB), it is not only the food served that contributes to the expected experience for visiting guests, nor is it only the food and the cooking that preoccupy the restaurateur during his or her working hours. Rather, it is the meal as a whole that constitutes the experience, both from the guests' and the operator's perspective. The guest perspective has been explored in many studies, particularly with economic and administrative starting points, but little research about restaurant work has been conducted. There are a few ethnographic studies about cooking and chefs in high-end restaurants and even fewer about hospitality-service work in restaurants. There is a need to investigate and discuss middle- and lower-level small businesses in the restaurant sector, especially in tourist destinations. Thomas, Shaw, and Page (2011) point out that there is a lack of research scrutinising the skills and knowledge that may contribute to growth among small businesses in tourist destinations and how such skills and knowledge relate to financial planning, management, innovation, and supply chains.

## **Aim**

In this licentiate thesis, the overall aim is to elucidate the specific conditions of small-restaurant owners in a seasonal tourist destination and the making of their meal offerings.

## **Summary of papers**

This overview of papers I and II is intended to give the reader a summary of the contents of the papers, including each paper's aim, methodology, informants, data analysis and contributions, as well as a summary of the presentations of the papers in full or in part at conferences and seminars.

**Table 1.** Overview of papers I and II.

	<b>Paper I</b> Restaurant Race and Seasonal Stress	<b>Paper II</b> Professionalization of Practitioners
<b>Aim</b>	The aim is to examine working conditions for small-restaurant owners in a tourist destination and the ways they handle restaurant work and management in combination with seasonal guest inflow.	The aim is to examine the daily practices of restaurant work in a holistic way. Two research questions in particular are asked: How do small-restaurant businesses produce hospitable meal offerings? In which ways do daily production practices matter for the development of attractive meal offerings?
<b>Research perspective</b>	Ethnographic, with an insider perspective from restaurant businesses.	Ethnographic, with an insider perspective from restaurant businesses.
<b>Research methods</b>	Interviews, fieldwork and observations, field visits, e-mail questionnaire (and perusal of advertisements and articles in local magazines, newspapers and websites).	Interviews, fieldwork and observations, field visits, e-mail questionnaire (and perusal of advertisements and articles in local magazines, newspapers and websites).
<b>Informants</b>	11 owners of 8 rural restaurants, 4 with attached lodgings.	11 owners of 8 rural restaurants, 4 with attached lodgings, and 2 managers in 1 urban luxury hotel/restaurant.
<b>Data analysis</b>	Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim; notes from the field studies and visits and answers from the e-mail questionnaire were all compiled. The research group individually and together studied the findings to make a content analysis. Interview topics, field notes, and notes were ordered in consistency according to the most significant answers; answers were condensed into meaning units, and then coded and categorized. Categories judged to have similarities were identified, and then brought together as themes, showing the empirical results of the study in a holistic way.	Recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim; notes from the field studies and visits and answers from the e-mail questionnaire were all compiled. The research group individually and together studied the findings. Interview topics, field notes, and notes were ordered in consistency according to the most significant answers; answers were condensed into meaning units, and then coded and categorized. Categories judged to have similarities were identified and then brought together as themes, showing the empirical results of the study in a holistic way. Additionally, the Five Aspects Meal Model, FAMM, was used as a categorizing framework.
<b>Contribution</b>	The findings pointed out the role of the restaurateur and his/her dreams, visions, concepts and philosophy in combination with the running of a restaurant and its daily practices. These circumstances affect and sometimes determine the lives of owners of small seasonal RBs. The study also showed that the offering of a restaurant meal is dependent upon the multitude and variation of the professional culinary skills as well as hospitality competence in the daily practice of the running of a restaurant.	This study concluded that there are two different ways of producing meal offerings, reactively and proactively. The proactive way is characterized by reflectivity. The reflectivity needed for the daily production of meal offerings, including human resource management and evaluation, planning and networking, may be furthered through education in restaurant work. Both education and experience-enhanced competence can augment much-needed professionalism in the restaurant industry. The potential for small-restaurant businesses to grow and contribute to the

		development of the visitors sector would be reinforced by new ways to make education attractive for different groups of practitioners.
Research group	Lotte Wellton, Inger M Jonsson, and Ute Walter	Lotte Wellton Inger M Jonsson, and Ute Walter
Conference presentations	<p>Conference theme: “The eaters, the food makers and their intentions – Strategies and tactics for meaningful meals”, The Network for Cultural Studies on Food and Meals (ICAF Sweden), Stockholm, 31 Jan–1 Feb 2013.</p> <p>Conference theme: “Tourism, local foods and regional development”, Linnaeus University School of Business and Economics Kalmar, Sweden 30 September–1 October 2013.</p> <p>Conference theme: “Seminar on Hospitality”, Campus Helsingborg, Lunds Universitet 8–10 April 2014.</p>	<p>Conference theme: “The Values of Tourism”, 23rd Nordic Symposium on Tourism and Hospitality Research. NORTHORS (Nordic Society for Tourism and Hospitality Research), Copenhagen, Denmark, 1–3 October 2014.</p> <p>NAFS, Nordic Association for Food Studies. Conference theme: “Indoor, Outdoor and In Between”, Stockholm, Sweden 5 Nov 2014.</p>
Approved abstracts for conference presentations	<p>“Festivity Cooking – Female Caterers in Sweden in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century”, Conference theme: International Conference on Food History and Food Studies, 26–27 March 2015, Tours, Frankrike.</p> <p>“Culinary Collisions in Rural Restaurants – The vision of local food use collides with daily restaurant practice”. Conference theme: Foodservice and Hospitality, The International Conference on Culinary Arts and Sciences, 3–5 June 2015, New Jersey, US.</p>	
Publications	Under review <i>Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism</i> .	Under review <i>Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, Special Issue: “Food and Tourism Synergies”</i>
Approved abstract for publication in international anthology	“The collisions between daily restaurant practice and local food use”, <i>Food and Regional Development</i> , Editor: Michael C Hall, Routledge, England	

## **The disciplinary background of the thesis**

This thesis contributes to research in the culinary arts and meal science, and adds perspectives to sociology and tourism research with a starting point in ethnological methodology. The understanding of the constitution of a meal experience and its hospitable elements is the scientific basis of the multidisciplinary subject of culinary arts and meal science at Örebro University (Gustafsson, 2004). Until now, research in meal science has focused on sensory aspects, customers' and guests' experiences, health aspects, cultural aspects, and business aspects of the meal. The makers of the meal and their conditions in the restaurant business have received scant investigation. This empirically driven and exploratory thesis will contribute to the discipline of culinary arts and meal science, including perspectives of sociological research about work, tourism, and hospitality research and to methodological developments in research methods. The interdisciplinary perspective used in this study increases scientific knowledge about professional meal-making and emphasizes the importance of culinary arts and meal science. The study aims to examine daily practices in restaurant enterprises. The practical work and practical knowledge that constitute restaurant work are important aspects of the discipline of meal science, which relies on three forms of knowledge: science, practical knowledge, and aesthetic design. Descriptions of tacit knowledge and methods for investigating restaurant businesses and practices in dining rooms and kitchens are central to the subject and how it can be studied.

The tacit knowledge of restaurant work also comprises aesthetical creativity, which is acknowledged in this study but will be further investigated in a planned second study. The Five Aspects Meal Model (FAMM) developed at the Institute of Hospitality, Culinary Arts and Meal Science at Örebro University (Gustafsson, 2004, 2006) is useful in research about restaurant work and practices, as it points out and helps to analyze the different parts of the meal offering and its preparation as used in this study, Paper II.

The use of an ethnographically inspired method with an insider perspective, that is, a perspective based on long experience in the restaurant business, provides the possibility to identify and interpret the culture of restaurant work and its conditions and outcomes in small restaurant and hospitality enterprises. The method is also useful for research about restaurant meal-making, such as investigating tacit knowledge in restaurant work, knowledge transmission between practitioners, gender issues, and hospitality development in restaurants.

## **Previous research – conceptual and theoretical inputs**

### **Small-scale restaurants and lifestyles**

The structure of the restaurant business is highly influenced by economic conditions including customer frequency, prices and availability of raw materials, and the experience and education of personnel, all requiring an elaborate control and evaluation system (Parsa et al., 2005). Successful service innovations are dependent on the knowledge and capacity of the service personnel and the use of human resource management (HRM) (Ottenbacher & Gnoth, 2005). This is confirmed by Parsa et al. (2005), who note that, in order to become successful as a restaurateur, you must be a flexible, communicative, and positive manager. The RB is a low-threshold business, especially concerning earlier experience and education (Brouder & Eriksson, 2012; Getz & Petersen, 2005; Skalpe, 2002). In tourist destinations, the majority of hospitality entrepreneurs, who are often middle-aged, point to lifestyle as the predominant motivational factor for starting or purchasing a small business (Getz & Petersen, 2005; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003). Self-efficacy is a main characteristic of successful RB entrepreneurs, as it is fundamental to believe in one's own capability to start a business (Parsa et al, 2005, Bradley & Roberts, 2004). A mayor component in business start-ups is risk evaluation, which sometimes seems to be made by heart and gut feeling in the lifestyle-tinged restaurant industry. This may be due to the complexity of reasons involved in choosing to be part of the restaurant business, rather than maximisation of wealth and minimisation of risk (Skalpe, 2003, Balazs, 2002).

### **Seasonality**

The seasonality of the business and the possibility of making a living influence the opening hours of tourist enterprises (Goulding, Baum & Morrison, 2008), and the throughput of guests in the restaurant is essential in relation to how much said guests spend. This is especially important considering that it is not possible to “save” an opportunity to sell a restaurant seat from one day to another (Hayes & Miller, 2011). This may explain why business owners in tourist destinations endure working for 12-16 hours a day during the peak season (Lundtorp, Rassing & Wanhill, 1999). For the restaurant owners to be relieved from working extreme hours is to hire personnel, but a huge problem, is to find those with the desired qualifications (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003). In seasonal tourist destinations personnel can seldom be offered all-the-year-round employment, which reduces the amount of skilled people likely to look for employment in these areas (Lundtorp et al, 1999). And as temporality of work changes from season to season and day to day, it affects the amount of working hours that are affordable from the point of view of the management (Fine, 1996/2006). Also to be considered is acceptable scheduling for the people working, concerning work amount in relation to wages (ibid), but also amount of working hours in relation to union contracts. The low season, finally, gives the tourist business owners a break which helps them to recover and provides a chance to take long holidays (Goulding et al, 2008). It may be easier to cope with stress and feel well even if you have long-working hours when you are in control of the job demands and the tasks to be undertaken, i.e. have autonomy at work (Owens, Kirwan, Lounsbury, Levy & Gibson, 2013; Camillo, Connolly, & Woo Gon, 2008; Taris, Geurts, Schaufeli, Blonk, & Lagerveld, 2008; Bradley & Roberts, 2004).

### **Experience and learning**

A study by Ramos-Rodriguez, Medina-Garrido, and Ruiz-Navarro (2012) concluded that higher education does not influence the decision to start a restaurant. However, Camillo et al. (2008) found that small- and medium-sized entrepreneurs in the RB in California who survived and succeeded possessed detailed knowledge of the industry or had higher education in a hospitality or culinary programme. Young-Thelin and Boluk (2012) investigated small hotel firms in a rural part of Sweden and found that owners/managers were aware of the need for human resource management and staff education; however, due to their own lack of professionalism, they were not fully able to understand HRM's impact on the organizing of enterprises. The theoretical university educations in hospitality and the culinary arts in Sweden have influenced the development of the gastronomic field; higher education has contributed to widening the perspectives in the business (Jönsson & Tellström, 2009; Jönsson, 2012). However, the master–apprenticeship relationship lingers in the restaurant business, and the divide between reflective knowledge and practical gastronomy still has not been bridged, although there has been education at all levels. Jönsson (2012) states in a Swedish ethnographic study about chefs' work that, in order for the cook to be considered skilled, he (almost always a young man) must be an apprentice long enough in restaurants with well-enough renowned chefs, while progressing in his career by imitating and repeating handgrips. Working methods and attitudes are almost inherited by newcomers from senior professionals in the restaurant business, and established practices are not questioned. Tacit knowledge, which can be defined as routinized behavior or know-how not put into words (Sennett, 2008), is built on tradition and craftsmanship.

Another master–apprentice relationship is found in dining-room work, especially referring to social skills in the dining room, as experiences of service encounters are shared between newcomers in the business and skilled personnel (Lundberg, 2010). Formal education through schooling and short courses gives the service personnel feelings of security when it comes to technical knowledge of service (Lundberg & Mossberg, 2008). In addition, introductory courses in the workplace contribute to that kind of knowledge and, furthermore, to social skills concerning the service meeting (ibid).

### **Meal making and restaurant work**

According to Mossberg and Gustafsson (2008), a meal is an event that takes place in a defined place and time, with people meeting and eating, and is most often determined by economic and regulatory factors. The Five Aspects Meal Model (FAMM)—building on the following: the room, the meeting, the product, the management control system, and the atmosphere (Gustafsson, Öström, & Annett, 2009; Gustafsson, Öström, Johansson, & Mossberg, 2006; Gustafsson, 2004)—describes the complexity of creating the pre-conditions for a meal experience in a restaurant. Additionally, the model can be used to simplify the planning of creative and aesthetic meals and as a tool for practical application in professional restaurant meal planning. It can also be used as an analytical tool for public and private meals (Sporre-Magnusson, Jonsson, & Pipping-Ekström, 2013).

Daily work in restaurants consists of calm, systematic preparation and routine work, and of high-tempo, high-stress, and unexpected challenges. The daily work is a combination of

knowledge, timing, focus, and interaction, as shown by Jönsson (2012); Lundqvist (2006); Gustafsson, Öström, Johansson, & Mossberg (2006); Fine (1996/2006), and the Culinary Institute of America (2014).

In his ethnographic study of cooks in four privately owned American restaurants, Fine (1996/2006) found that working in restaurant kitchens demands the ability to cope with a fluctuating work pace, to make adequate preparations, to know the craft of cooking many different courses simultaneously, to have an aesthetic feel, and to know how to cooperate with others in an often challenging and fast-paced work environment. Accordingly, Gustafsson et al. (2006) indicate that service skills in the dining rooms of restaurants and culinary skills in kitchens are equally important for the entirety of the meal experience. The dining room of a restaurant functions as the location where food and beverages are consumed but is also the place where an event is taking place. The service personnel are, as a team, staging a performance for their audience—the guests. Goffman (1959/2014) describes how, for example, waiters and waitresses go from being themselves “backstage,” in the kitchen, to walking into the dining room with a service personality. He also speaks of dramaturgical discipline as being in control of the role and not being carried away or making mistakes (ibid). The ability to manage all kinds of service situations can, in a sense, be regarded as the craftsmanship of dining rooms (Culinary Institute of America, 2014).

### **Time and work**

The time spent in work places can be referred to as “temporal structures in practice”, according to Orlikowski and Yates (2002). This is the way people in work organizations experience time through shared everyday practices. Temporal structuring is a social process (ibid), and there are always several different schedules and temporal structures to which people adjust in everyday working life, such as seasonality, opening hours, meetings, financial cycles, and suppliers’ delivery schedules. These temporalities are both event-based and clock-based structures. This is apparent concerning time put into, for instance, an academic project, where time use can be both negotiated by the participants and event-based, and there are deadlines decided in advance, clock-based time. From the point of view of Orlikowski and Yates (2002), people should be able to shape time both individually and together in their working communities, especially to overcome the hegemony of clock time in work organizations and to promote flexibility and innovation. This is done by temporal reflectivity—awareness of the human potential for reinforcing and altering temporal structures (ibid)—which may make it possible to manage time in working life.

Flaherty (2011) has a slightly different view and means that people have conceived strategies surrounding their use of time, such as making personal schedules or deciding in what order things are to be done at home or at work, as a way of managing time. In his study about temporal experience, he suggests that people relate to time as intervening agents, regarding duration, frequency, sequence, and timing. Flaherty (2002) also notes that, even though this agency can offer interpersonal freedom, it is constrained by cultural, relational, and organisational conditions, “in large meaning they [people] want what they are taught to want and what they want runs parallel to cultural prescriptions of admirable behaviour” (Flaherty, p. 386).

The way time is used is central for the successful performance of a restaurant meal. The professional organization of time and place are central for restaurant labourers. Staff experience time as moving extremely quickly when the rush is on, and at other times, when there are no guests arriving at a well-prepared restaurant, as boringly slow, notices Fine (1996/2006). He also concludes that the varying work pace influences how tasks are executed and how kitchen workers experience tasks and what the work results in, and the other way around. “The rhythms of work create and are created by the structure of the workplace” (Fine 1996/2006, p. 12). Focus and timing are dependent on rhythm, which in turn promotes flow (Csikszentmihalyi & LeFevre, 1989), which is often pointed out as the rewarding experience of an entrepreneur’s challenging and stressful work (Schindehutte, Morris, & Allen, 2006), especially in the restaurant business. Accordingly, one major reason for working in the restaurant business is to have fun at work (Wildes, 2008; Balazs, 2002). Another main reason for small-scale restaurant owners to work hard and long hours is the fulfilment of the dream of having one’s own business (Hultman, 2013; Parsa et al., 2005).

### **Professionalism and reflectivity**

Professionalism, in the overall sense, is, according to Evetts (2003), a normative value system where people share a professional identity where they have similar experiences, understanding, and expertise. This identity is reproduced by a common professional education, professional experience, and participation in a professional organisation, and on an individual level, it is reproduced through working places (Evetts, 2003). Professional competence can be seen as the content of professionalism and is denominated by Mulder (2013, p 111) as: “the generic, integrated and internalized capability to deliver sustainable effective (worthy) performance [including problem solving, realizing innovation, and creating transformation] in a certain professional domain, job, role, organisational context, and task situation.”

Knowledge, skills and attitudes are components of competence (Mulder, 2013).

In a 1989 study, Sheldon stated that food service was the least professional part of the service industry and highlighted that all sectors of the industry should move to further enhance their professionalism through formal education programs. This is also discussed by Hussey, Holden, and Lynch (2011) in their research about Irish tourist enterprises.

In addition, the importance of networking was identified as a key element in the development of the collegiality implicit in professionalism. Markowska and Rögnvaldur (2011) show how professional restaurant entrepreneurs in rural regions learn from others in the area in order to develop their business ideas. For hospitality personnel, occupational knowledge, a feel for quality service, customer orientation, a code of ethics, self-awareness based on reflective practice, and the ability for self-management are dimensions that should be included in professionalism (Lee, 2014; Hussey et al., 2011). In an American survey about professionalism in kitchen work, chefs and culinary educators indicated that the top three areas for improvement for chefs and cooks were interpersonal skills, respect for others, and work ethic (Mack, 2012), whereas cooking ability and a sense of urgency were depicted as the main components of professionalism in the culinary craft. Gustafsson et al. (2006) assert the necessity of professionalism among the actors who participate in the making of a restaurant meal, such as the actors being *reflective practitioners* (as described by Schön, 1983/1991).

Concentration, rhythm, and a sense for quality, according to Senett (2008), may develop practical knowledge into craftsmanship, which can be designated as skilled professionalism. Senett also discusses how tacit knowledge can be paired with a reflective and intellectual process, especially concerning creativity. This occurs when people reflect on the almost-internalized actions their own hands perform and what new outcomes this can offer (Senett, 2008). Ottenbacher and Harrington (2007) claim that chefs often develop the skills to create new and inventive meal courses through their tacit knowledge. The tacit knowledge demonstrated in dining-room work is also seen in the management of the daily practice in a professional way, where communication between employees is crucial. An example of this is in the context of sequencing the food ordering to the chefs and timing the delivery of the courses with other activities in the dining room, such as clearing tables and serving wine (Marshall, 1988; Whyte, 1949). Experience in the RB may be satisfactory in regard to specific daily decision-making but might not be sufficient for making more strategic decisions about one's restaurant enterprise. This was the conclusion of Barnett and Koslowski (2002) in a study of well-educated business consultants with no RB experience who were able to resolve problems more accurately than highly experienced restaurant managers, mostly due to their overall business acumen.

## **Method and material**

To obtain a holistic understanding of daily restaurant work, a qualitative ethnographically inspired research method was chosen for this study. Van Maanen (2001) notes that ethnography, with its emphasis on symbolic meanings and history in collective identity, is highly suitable for research inside work organizations, especially in regard to its function of interpretation, which is the method's main feature.

An advantage to organizational research, especially in seldom-researched work places such as restaurants (Jönsson, 2012), is to have knowledge of and long experience in the business. Jönsson (2012) concludes in his ethnographic study of a small, high-end restaurant that, without his know-how and experience of working as a chef, he never would have recognised the tacit knowledge of kitchen work and how daily practice was organised. To mirror and comprehend the living and working conditions of small-restaurant owners, it is essential for the researcher to capture, identify, and recognize routines and practices of daily work in the dining rooms and kitchens and to interpret the actions and statements of the restaurant owners and their personnel. In this study, three researchers with both practical and scientific knowledge of the restaurant field formed the research group. The main researcher has many years of experience in the restaurant business as a cook, waiter, headwaiter, housekeeper, and owner/manager of a restaurant enterprise, which indicates that the researcher is an insider in the restaurant business. This perspective will be described in the following section.

### *Insider perspective*

In this study, the insider perspective is essential for the outcome of the results. The pre-understanding of the researcher contributed to the assessment of daily practices in the observed restaurants from the perspective of restaurateurs in the sense of what they do or

don't do and say, as well as what they do not articulate. The insider perspective or "insiderness", as suggested by Merton (1971), is the researcher's access to and his or her prior knowledge of the studied context in contrast to the outsider's inability to acquire insight into the same context. The background of the researcher in this study contributes to an insider perspective, which is defined by Alvesson and Skoldberg (2008) as being the point of view of a researcher who uses his or her position to conduct research in his or her own environment. At the same time, they point out that it is crucial for the researcher to analyse his or her own cultural context without letting personal experience get in the way. Prior knowledge can offer the researcher several ways to get in contact with informants and enable him or her to interpret the organization's language, culture, and belief systems through shared experiences, as concluded by Labaree (2002) in his literature review. Accordingly, Ehn (2011) points out that it can be difficult to identify sequences of events unless the researcher has previous knowledge of work organization and routines in the field.

### *The risks of insiderness*

In this study, the researcher with an insider perspective was at all times aware of the impact of her prior knowledge of the field and took into account what presumptions might be made. The researcher had the role of being an observer in all situations, and even while participating in the daily work, it was important for her not to be biased because of her professional RB experience. The researcher had to behave neutrally, to simply listen and observe and abstain from any kinds of comments that could have been interpreted as personal opinions or advice, as stated by Thomsson (2010). Labaree (2002) gives prominence to the awareness of the researcher's status within the community studied and the bonds that might occur between the researcher and the participants. He says that it is important to articulate the purpose of the research and to properly disengage from the studied community, as well as to offer feedback to the participants. Reflexivity must play a prominent role in ethnographic research in order to reach an accurate representation. Aull Davies (2008) offers a broad definition of reflexivity as being a self-reference or critical self-reflection in the research process. He also comments on how the process affects the relationship between the researcher and the informants and their statements and actions. A main methodological concern regarding the insider perspective is the risk during interviews of, for example, being trusted with confidential information that has not been sought, and trying to navigate properly away from those kinds of conversations may be difficult. Another apparent risk of this perspective is the difficulty for the researcher to balance his or her own pre-understanding and use it in a non-biased way. There may also be an urge on the part of the researcher to deliver consulting advice, as there can often develop a sense of closeness between the researcher and the informants, whose situation can be easy to understand because of mutual experience. Discussing the insider's observations with several other researchers is one way of handling ethical dilemmas during data collection.

## **Research process (I & II)**

### *Selection of restaurants*

A study of restaurants in a seasonal, rural tourist destination was conducted in order to explore the daily practices of restaurant work and meal offerings in an area that supposedly could meet the requisites for the growth expected in the visitor sector, such as the need for

increased employment, increased attractiveness for tourists, and the development of local food and heritage. Furthermore, a study of one high-end restaurant/hotel in an urban tourist destination was conducted in order to learn more about the daily practices of restaurant work in an enterprise that meets high expectations from its guests concerning its meal offerings. The study was carried out at eight small-scale restaurants, four run in combination with accommodation, in a seasonal tourist destination. Six of these restaurants are part of an association that outspokenly guarantees the sincerity and reliability of the members, considering economic, sustainable and educational issues. The two restaurants that were not part of the association were chosen because they are well known throughout the region for their quality products. The homepages of the restaurants as well as advertisements and articles in local tourist magazines were explored in order to learn more about the owners' meal offerings in relation to local culinary heritage, local foods, and the restaurants' pricing, business hours, and overall hospitality concepts. There were also conversations with local business consultants hired by the authorities to obtain an overview of the local business area. Small-restaurant owners/managers generally perform daily restaurant work as well as business management and are employers and sometimes entrepreneurs. These features in combination mirror the various conditions in the business.

#### *Data collection*

The main study consists of interviews with the owners of the small rural restaurants. The restaurants have also been field studied during high season. Furthermore, the owners answered a short questionnaire (see Table 2).

In addition to the data from the rural study, interviews were conducted separately and together (3h) with two managers (both with degrees in the hospitality field) in the urban restaurant/hotel, including a field visit.

All the fieldwork and visits were documented in notes and diaries, including the field visit at the small, urban restaurant/hotel. Notes and diaries were transcribed verbatim, as were all recorded interviews. All data collection in the rural tourist destination was conducted during one season; see Table 2.

**Table 2.** Overview of data collection in paper I; data also used in paper II

<i>Before season</i>	<i>Pre-season</i>	<i>High season</i>	<i>Post-season</i>	<i>Off-season</i>
Contacts with restaurant owners via telephone and e-mail	Recorded interviews (1.5–2 h) with 11 restaurant owners	Fieldwork with active participation in daily work in kitchens and dining rooms and conversations with RB owners and their personnel, 1–2 days in 5 of 8 restaurants (1 during peak season)	2–3 field visits at all 8 restaurants with observations and conversations with RB owners	E-mailing of short questionnaire; responses received from 6 restaurants
Perusal of homepages, articles, advertisements, etc.	Transcriptions of interviews verbatim	Field notes	Field notes	Compilation of answers from questionnaire
Conversations with local business consultants		Transcriptions of field notes	Transcriptions of field notes	
Planning of interviews	Diary of research process	Diary of research process	Diary of research process	Diary of research process

The data collection was conducted by the researcher who has much experience in the restaurant business and who is also familiar with the tourist destination and the urban area.

### *Interviews*

The interviews were conducted with 11 owners, 8 women and 3 men, before the start of the season. All are middle-aged except for one couple in their thirties. Six informants had no experience prior to starting their current business; two informants had between four and eight years of experience; and three informants had more than twenty years of experience. Four of the informants had a higher education. The semi-structured interviews lasted between one and a half to two hours each and took place in quiet surroundings either in the homes of the informants or in their restaurants that were not yet open for the season. The interviews quickly became conversations between the informants and the interviewer. In this case, the researcher's background was likely an advantage in the respect of being welcomed by the informants as someone with whom they could talk openly about all subjects related to the restaurant business and about their own enterprises. The interviews were recorded and completed with notes in a research diary. The interviews included questions about experience, education, marketing, business plans, and revenues. There were also more-general topics such as drivers, lifestyle, working conditions, seasonality, and networking as well as hiring and training personnel, and the destination.

### *During high season*

In the written invitation before the start of the research process, the informants were asked if participant observations were convenient for them; furthermore, at the end of the interviews, the researcher requested permission to return and participate in the daily work for a day or two during the high season. The researcher suggested that she could be of help as an extra pair

of hands in order to increase the willingness of the informants to welcome her in the daily work. That suggestion was not particularly noted by the informants, but the researcher was welcome to book a session of field studies later on. Other informants preferred that the researcher come on quieter days so that they could “take care of” her properly and the restaurant would be more “in order”. Two of the informants did not want a field study at all for the same reason, i.e. “too messy” during high season. All the restaurants were visited spontaneously at least twice during the high season and at the end of the season. The researcher participated in the kitchen work as well as in the dining room and talked directly with restaurateurs and personnel. All fieldwork and visits were documented in notes and diaries.

#### *Survey – off-season*

The purpose of the survey, in the form of a short questionnaire, was to get an idea of whether or not the season had been economically successful. In addition, questions were asked about how the informants viewed the future of their businesses and any plans they had. The questions were sent out by e-mail during the off-season. All but two informants responded.

### **Analysing the data**

The recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim, and the notes from the fieldwork, spontaneous visits, and short meetings were compiled as well as the answers from the e-mail questionnaires. Individually and together, the research group of three persons studied the findings. The interview topics were ordered in consistency according to the most significant answers from the informants; answers were then condensed into meaning units, which in turn were coded and then categorized (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The notes from the fieldwork, visits, and meetings were treated in the same manner, i.e., condensed, coded, categorized.

Data analysis was then conducted in two steps. First, the categories from interviews, field notes, and questionnaires that were judged to have similarities were identified. Secondly, those categories were brought together into themes, showing the empirical results of the study in a holistic way. Graneheim and Lundman (2004) state that one way of obtaining credibility is to show representative quotations from the transcribed texts. Another way is to seek agreements among co-researchers. Both methods were used in this study. During the process of analysis, it is useful to have an insider perspective in order to be able to interpret and understand socially constructed cues and patterns of communication and actions in organizations (Labaree, 2004; Van Maanen, 2001).

### **Categorizing framework (paper II)**

The FAMM (Gustafsson et al., 2006) is used as a tool to structure the daily practices of restaurant work in a holistic way and to gather important circumstances concerning daily practice in the completion of a restaurant meal (see Table 2).

The term “meal offering” is used here to emphasize the process of fulfilling the meal concept of small restaurants. In focus is not only the offering of food and drinks but also the reciprocal transaction of hospitality between guest and host (Santich, 2007). Hospitality in this study

refers to the service meeting, when the guest is acknowledged, greeted, and taken care of by the owner or the personnel in the restaurant (Walter, 2011).

### **Credibility of the research**

The quality of a study such as this is dependent upon the way the data gathering is conducted and the accuracy of the analysis. Silverman (2006) notes that the credibility of social science lies in the use of appropriate research methods and that the handling of data should be rigorous, critical, and objective. There is a primary focus on the empirical in the ethnographic method, added to which there is no standard methodology framework and, therefore, relative freedom in the writing (Van Maanen, 2006). However, the research process for this study, the empirical findings, statements of the informants, and citations are included to augment the transparency of the interpretation. Silverman (2006) also puts forth criteria for qualitative research reports that must be met for the research to be evaluated as credible, such as topics that fill a research gap and contribute to existing research, and that demonstrate a transparent research and analysis process.

The research gap to be filled by this study has been demonstrated in the review of previous research in this area; especially noted is the lack of research about restaurant work, where this study contributes to existing research in several fields, especially the culinary arts and meal science.

The transparency of the research process of this study is accounted for in the sections concerning the sample, data collection, and analysis. In addition, the composition of the research group and the experience and knowledge of the main researcher is described. The validity of the analysis was also enhanced as the datasets were reviewed and discussed in many rounds by the research group (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). Furthermore, in the writing, as Van Maanen (2006) advises, there is a constant collectivity in the manner in which research papers are read and discussed by colleagues and reviewers; this has also contributed to the validation of this research.

The way the interviews were conducted can be said to contribute to the validity of the findings. For instance, the situation in which the researcher is welcomed by the informant is an event whereby the interview becomes a give-and-take situation between the interviewee and the interviewer and involves a mutual exchange and creation of knowledge, and in that sense deepens the quality of the findings in respect to identifying and understanding the circumstances in which the informants work and live. It also deepens the representativeness of the results (Aull Davies, 2008).

The reflexivity needed for ethnographic research is discussed, and ethical implications are accounted for in order to improve transparency.

## **Main results and discussion**

The findings are built on the results from papers I and II. The results of the study of small restaurants/hotels in rural tourist destinations (paper I), called rural, are also integrated with the findings from the study in paper II of one small, urban restaurant/hotel, called urban.

### **Running a seasonal restaurant in a rural tourist destination (I)**

When dreaming of having one's own restaurant in a tourist destination, lifestyle and vision are the beacons (Getz & Petersen, 2005; Ioannides & Petersen, 2003). Some planning is done and concepts conceived, but the actual conditions of restaurant work are probably not taken into consideration. All the rural informants in this study own their businesses with their husbands or wives or partners. They are individualists who manage by themselves; they say that they are not in need of RB education; and they express an abundance of self-confidence. They can all be characterized as "capable doers". They have many ideas and projects that they implement with enthusiasm and energy. They all fulfil their dreams of having their own businesses, and are all driven by the idea of being self-employed and the potential independence that accompanies this. The rural informants all see themselves as creative personalities. Additionally, they say that they are following their dreams and that making a profit is not their main goal, which is typical of lifestyle entrepreneurs as noted by many researchers.

For the rural informants, meeting guests and offering hospitality are the most rewarding aspects of being a restaurateur. However, being a personal and enthusiastic host is not enough; it is only one component of running a restaurant. The rural restaurant owners in this study undertake their daily work with enthusiasm and gut feeling (Brouder & Eriksson, 2012; Getz & Petersen 2005; Skalpe, 2003) and mainly use intuitive decision-making in their daily practices (Camillo et al., 2008; Parsa, 2005; Skalpe, 2003).

Running a restaurant is reflected in the short cycles of a day-to-day operation with quick decision-making and limited time to produce the food and hospitality established by the restaurateur. This study has shown that the offering of a restaurant meal is dependent upon the multitude and variation of culinary and hospitality competence in the daily practice of restaurant work (Jönsson, 2012; Lundqvist, 2006; Gustafsson et al., 2006; Fine, 1996/2006; Culinary Institute of America, 2014). This includes managing the intricate system of kitchen and dining-room work, and the ambition to maintain high standards in everything that is part of the offering of a restaurant meal (Ottenbacher & Gnoth, 2005; Parsa et al., 2005). It is important to note the use of time in this study, as it determines almost all aspects of restaurant work. An awareness of the amount of time that passes from the guest's entrance to the moment the guest is welcomed is crucial for the qualitative outcome of the meeting and the meal offering. In addition, all the time that passes between the different elements of the meal, albeit in the dining room or the kitchen, must convey timing and organisation, as Fine (1996/2006) concludes. A competent and well-reflected structure of the work in the restaurant saves the practitioners from wasting time and instead allows them, using Goffman's (1959) words, to perform a qualitative meal experience for the guests.

### **The essential experience and the importance of education (I & II)**

Some of the rural restaurateurs lack experience and knowledge, and they experience difficulties with organisation, such as arranging the business and the daily running of the restaurant along commercial lines. The more experienced and vocationally established rural informants are also reluctant to invest in more-elaborate planning and evaluation of their businesses.

A few of the rural informants have years of experience in the restaurant industry, whilst others have had their restaurants for several years and thus have experience in their particular operations; others have no experience of the industry at all. Mentorship rather than education is characteristic of their years in the restaurant business. None of the rural informants has a higher restaurant or hotel education, which, according to Camillo et al. (2008), is more or less a prerequisite to succeed in the RB. Instead, they all learn by doing as they go along in their daily practices and gain more experience.

Tacit knowledge, which is the foundation of restaurant work, is transmitted from more-experienced to less-experienced practitioners. This process can, at best, become “reflexive routines,” as Senett (2009) asserts, but the process is incidental to commitment and also takes time. In this study, reflectivity is demonstrated in the daily practices of the managers in the small urban luxury hotel/restaurant—they are reflective practitioners (Schön, 1983/1991; Gustafsson et al., 2006). Furthermore, they can rely on their competence that results from higher education, which is said to be a precondition for professionalism (Evetts, 2003); in the restaurant business, this refers to a university education in the culinary arts and hospitality (Jönsson, 2012; Sheldon, 1989).

The urban informants emphasize experience as necessary for conducting restaurant work properly but also say that, in the long run, a higher education ameliorates the quality of performance, especially in regard to hospitality but also business management, according to findings (Barnett & Koslowski, 2002) that highlight the need for the level of competence provided by a higher education in order to solve complicated problems in the RB. Most of the rural informants stated that they were fully experienced to handle all conceivable situations that might occur in their daily work. However, it is not sufficient to develop leadership and human resource management skills from experience, as when managers/owners are mostly unschooled in HRM (Young-Thelin & Boluk, 2012), they see little benefit in education and trust their own abilities to show their employees how the daily practice is supposed to be handled. This is often the case in seasonal restaurants, where personnel work for shorter periods and are inserted into the daily practice without having sufficient time to gain experience and knowledge. Using organized workplace introductions and formalized education such as short courses and job descriptions, as suggested by Mossberg and Lundberg (2008), may allow restaurant owners to get the work going smoothly.

### **Development and networking (I & II)**

All the rural informants have spent much time, effort, and money in renovating, designing, and decorating their facilities. They have ambitious plans to renovate and redecorate during the slow season and when there are funds. None of the rural business owners has collaborated with an interior designer. Professional designers have contributed to the aesthetic and designed feeling in the urban restaurant/hotel, which is a large part of the business concept. The rural restaurateurs all embrace a local-food philosophy. Most of the owners had the goal and intention of using local food products in their cooking, and one restaurant is dedicated to using only organic products; however, due to logistical problems, most of them end up ordering food from the big national providers. Some of the rural owners overcome the logistical obstacles by ordering from local producers at longer intervals and thus have to use freezers and vacuum-sealed containers. The aesthetic dimension of the courses served at the

rural restaurants, with a few exceptions, seemed not to have been consistently reflected upon, even though some courses were tasty. The urban restaurant/hotel encourages guests to order whatever they would like to have for dinner, preferably a day or a half in advance so the chef can acquire the proper organic and seasonal ingredients. All the urban meals are aesthetically well thought out and presented in an elegant manner. In the long run, having the time and the opportunity to work with the taste and composition of the courses develops competence in the kitchen and in the dining room (Jönsson, 2012; Lundberg, 2010). Product development, with the help of a craftsmanship that considers taste and aesthetic dimensions, is also a way to further enhance meal quality (Ottenbacher & Harrington, 2007; Fine, 1996/2006).

The rural informants do not network to any major extent. Business contacts with other companies and suppliers are not prioritised among the informants. They did not feel that they had time to focus on anything other than their own businesses. The urban informants have a large network of suppliers and colleagues in the RB. Learning more and getting new ideas by networking with peers in the destination area during the slow season might be a way to extend knowledge in the hospitality and culinary arts, as well as networking with local suppliers to improve culinary quality. This kind of networking has the potential to further professionalism, as elaborating networks is identified as a key element in both tourist destination development and professionalism in restaurant work (Hussey et al., 2011; Markowska & Rögnvaldur, 2011).

### **Economising earnings and wasting time (I & II)**

The profitability of the business operations of the rural informants varies from a couple who are very profitable to the majority who just make ends meet, and one or two who are losing money. Some of them also use the premises as a direct source of income. The rural restaurateurs reinvest their earnings in their properties, especially by doing renovations themselves, which they all point out as something desirable and are often doubtful about investment costs. The rural restaurateurs often use uncertain strategies to try to improve economic results, like squeezing costs and at the same time risking the quality of their product. To augment turnover, the solution for the rural restaurateurs seems to be to work even harder and more hours. The running of a small restaurant is very dependent on the owner's personal work efforts, a factor that has not been given enough attention and is given only limited regard by researchers such as Hultman (2013), Camillo et al. (2008), Parsa et al. (2005), and Skalpe (2003). The workload in the seasonal RB means spending excessive numbers of hours in the workplace and thus becoming worn out even before the culmination of the busy season. This is to ignore the ultimate use of one's energy and strength. The flippancy concerning use of time also leads to the absolute necessity to have a long rest after the busy season. Being overworked also leads to limited ambition and prioritising of involvement in business matters during the off-season. Rather than evaluate, plan, and reorganise their businesses, this is the time when the rural restaurateurs rest, renovate, redecorate, and think about new business ideas, which many of them also consider being one of the most fun parts of having one's own business. Starting new ventures is a way of learning by doing, as many of the decisions to create start-ups and test new ideas are made on a whim and navigated by gut feeling.

The overwhelming amount of work time spent by the rural informants in this study is not reflected in the income from their seasonal restaurant enterprises. Earning a decent income in the RB is difficult, as noted by Skalpe (2003), due to business structures (Camillo et al., 2008; Parsa et al., 2005) and the volatility of guest inflow (Hayes & Miller, 2011). Likewise, there is an imbalance between work and private life during these extreme work periods. The extreme workload in the peak season is an accepted fact among the rural informants, but at the same time they are ambiguous. The workload naturally influences the structure of family life as well as the boundaries between work and leisure time.

Earlier studies suggest that it is easier to cope with stress and long working hours when you are in control of the job's demands and the work place (Owens et al., 2011; Camillo et al., 2008; Taris et al., 2008; Bradley & Roberts, 2004). However, the intensity of running a seasonal RB confines the rural informants in this study to their work places, thus reducing freedom and the sense of joy in "being one's own master". Furthermore, having fun at work and being dedicated (Wildes, 2008; Balazs, 2002) are not factors that compensate for the high workload during the peak season. Exhaustion can be a factor that lessens the successful outcome of the restaurant meal and thus inhibits the feeling of flow and contentment that Schindehutte et al. (2006) describe as the reward for the entrepreneur's hard work.

Between the lines and noted in the analysis of the interviews, one can catch a glimpse, to be further investigated, that there is in the restaurant business a notion that being able to endure working long hours is a kind of a hallmark in itself, a working behaviour that is seldom questioned, especially during apprentice years. This can be said to be a cultural reproduction, a proper and admirable thing to do (Flaherty, 2012), for everyone working in the business. None of the rural informants is pondering to any great extent how to sort out the uneven and sometimes massive workload resulting from the combination of the race in the running of a restaurant and the stress caused by the seasonal arrival of the guests/customers. Neither do they use the low season to evaluate the past season or make changes for the next.

### **The daily practice (I & II)**

All urban personnel are able to welcome and show the premises to the guests. The wishes and habits of guests are noted and communicated among the personnel consistently. All staff are involved in providing service regardless of position, which makes guests feel comfortable and at home. According to the urban managers, the best way to further hospitality is for the personnel to really know the business's core product. This can be considered as professional attitude in the RB (Lee, 2014; Hussey et al., 2011).

One major obstacle for the rural informants is the difficulty of finding skilled personnel. This is mainly because of the seasonal effect on the labour market in the tourist destination (Ioannides & Petersen, 2003; Lundtorp et al., 1999) but also a matter of attracting employees who do not need to be instructed anew every season. The majority of the staff in all the rural restaurants, however, returns year after year, so they are mostly familiar with their working places. The owners prefer to train their staff by themselves, due to economy and time. All rural owners care about their personnel, and virtually all personnel in the visited rural restaurants seemed happy at work. But few of the rural owners offer specific instruction or training and encouragement, and there was a general lack of communication between owners

and staff concerning changes in menus and similar alterations. Most of the rural informants regard leadership as being fair and kind to the employees. They themselves generally make all the decisions. The supervision of the staff is very time consuming, to the level that the rural restaurateurs are very seldom able to get time off themselves. In addition, the fact that hiring personnel is costly forces the rural informants to work very long hours since their own input is needed at all times. As a result, they have endless workdays during busy seasons—around 16 hours a day, three to four weeks in a row.

One way of balancing the work hours and the workload while still ensuring the quality of service and food in one's restaurant might be to try leadership based on communication, team building, and training. With both long-term planning and daily organisation, it is possible to ensure that different groups of employees execute their different tasks in an orderly way and that the work pace and rhythm mediate a pleasant atmosphere for both guests and personnel (Gustafsson et al., 2006). The short cycles of the RB, the day-to-day operation with quick decision-making, and a fast-paced environment are not matched by the necessary short-cycle planning and elaborate routines crucial to managing the rural informants' own daily work and that of their employees.

### **Distinctions between rural and urban restaurateurs (II)**

A summary of the findings in this study (II) demonstrates the differences in two ways of producing meal offerings, a reactive and a proactive way.

*Reactive practitioners:* The restaurant owners in the rural tourist destination are “capable doers,” hard-working enthusiasts with lots of ideas who have independence as a lifestyle. They have an overall picture of what it means to be a service-minded restaurant-business owner. For instance, they stress the importance of greeting guests and the quality of the food. The owners have all kinds of different competences and skills—for example, high-quality baking and fine-dining cooking, calculating and bookkeeping, ecological knowledge, and high social competence, but although they all work in pairs, they do not meet all the requirements needed to master the complexity of daily restaurant work. Few have a higher education, and none have a higher education in hospitality; some rely on a shorter or longer amount of experience in the business. The owners often make intuitive decisions. They react to situations that occur suddenly, and planning is not prioritized. As a result, the daily practices in rural restaurants are seldom optimally organized. Leadership and control of one's own as well as staff use of time is partly neglected. In addition, the fact that the workload increases successively toward the peak of the season means that the owners put in more and more hours. By the time they close down for the winter, they are not in the mood to consider an evaluation of the season that has just passed.

*Proactive practitioners:* The managers of the small urban restaurant and hotel show reflectivity concerning their daily practices. They are aware of the importance of participatory leadership with both extensive internal communications among staff and external communication vis-à-vis guests, as well as long-term planning. They are proactive in the way they take time to plan and manage their own and their staff's time with regular meetings and to update information several times a day. The way in which their work place is arranged

demonstrates their professionalism, as they are active in anticipating the needs of their guests and develop the business accordingly. The managers are, together with the owner, dedicated to maintaining and perfecting the design in the hotel/restaurant. The managers have university degrees from the area of hospitality and culinary arts, as well as vast practical experience.

## **Contributions**

The contributions of this study are both empirical and methodological.

### **Empirical Contributions**

This study shows the importance of being proactive in the daily practice of producing a meal offering and demonstrates that professionalism is needed to match the complexity of running a restaurant. The most important requirement for a small-restaurant entrepreneur is reflectivity, especially when the entrepreneur has to master all the parts of the completion of a qualitative restaurant meal offering, often by himself or herself. The planning, organisation, supervision, and control, as well as at least one of the main skills, culinary and hospitality, demand knowledge that is acquired not solely by experience but also by higher education. The latter was looked upon with scepticism by most of the informants in this study.

The temporal achievement of finishing daily work, putting in as many hours as needed to satisfy the guests, and completing the meal offering in a qualitative way is structured through practical circumstances (Orlowski & Yates, 2002). In the RB, the use of time can seem dictated by non-negotiable circumstances, with ad hoc decisions and endless duties, as in the case of the rural restaurateurs, who must carefully reflect on their use of time to be able to alter the work structures (Orlowski & Yates, 2002) in a more flexible and innovative way and make use of their agented capability (Flaherty, 2012) to control their own time rather than showing endurance.

### **Methodological Contributions**

In this ethnologically inspired study, interviewing and field studies were used, and the insider perspective added a further ability to identify different activities and events of the daily work of the informants (Ehn, 2011; Van Maanen, 2001). An insider perspective is, above all, useful for conducting field studies and visits. By being in place and able to identify the cooking craft and the dining-room work and being able to sort out the different sequences (Jönsson, 2012) and what is done by whom, it is possible to discover on a more fundamental level the considerations and often stressful decision-making of the business owner/restaurateur, as reported in this study. This insider perspective method can be a useful development for these at all levels in the culinary arts and meal science.

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