COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL
ACADEMIC AWARDS

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF WAITERS IN BRITISH HOTELS: THEIR REWARD SYSTEMS, UNDERLYING VALUES AND WORK ORGANIZATION

Thesis presented for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the field of Social Science

by

Michael Nicod

Centre for Occupational and Community Research,
Middlesex Polytechnic,
Enfield,
Middlesex.

June 1981

CONTENTS

TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

ABSTRACT

An Anthropological Study of Waiters in British Hotels: Their Reward Systems, Underlying Values and Work Organization

Michael Nicod

There is now a growing body of literature concerned with the rise of the service sector relative to manufacturing and the role of the personal service sector in the hidden economy. There is, however, a dearth of syste matic material in industrial sociology or in industrial relations which is based on empirical observation in the personal service sector and the hotel industry in particular. The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to examine people's attitudes to work and its rewards in the hotel industry and to develop hypotheses about the nature of covert reward allocation based on one occupation, the hotel waiter, and through participant observation.

The research was originally designed to develop work completed by Mars and Mitchell for the Open University on the hotel industry by empirically testing some of the concepts and hypotheses which they had speculatively raised: such as "ad hoc management", "individual contract making", "total rewards system", "core" and "peripheral" workers. The method was primarily by participant observation and hotels were selected in three situations (seaside, metropolitan and medium urban), chosen on the criteria of varied ownership and location and therefore involving different product markets.

As the fieldwork progressed, it became clear that the parameters within which individual contracts are negotiated could not be examined without considering other occupational variables that affect contract making. First, I found it necessary to distinguish the different ways by which managers, waiters and customers perceive the concept of service in different classes of hotel. Second, I needed too to distinguish between waiters at different stages of their careers and to look at the effects of different proportions of

different waiters amongst different prestige hotels. Third, I began to collect considerable material on the strategies of interaction between waiters and diners since it became integral to understanding relationships both with co-workers and management.

In order to understand and explain these wider aspects of hotels, I have developed a typology based on Mary Douglas' concepts of "grid" and "group". Following this typology, a set of four "ideal" occupational contexts emerge and each in turn favours the development of a distinct set of attitudes, values and beliefs. Important implications for industrial relations, managerial policies and government policies can then be examined in the light of what will seem appropriate for the effective running of different types of organization. The essential point is that hotel and catering can best be seen not as one industry, but in terms of this four-fold classification.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those people who have helped me in the preparation of this thesis, with ideas, encouragement and more practical help. In particular, I wish to thank Dr. Geoffrey Dench (Middlesex Polytechnic) and Dr. Stewart Henry (Trent Polytechnic) for reading the first draft and helping to clarify my thoughts and ideas. My thanks are also due to Peter Mitchell (Leeds University), Ken Saunders (Middlesex Polytechnic) and my colleagues in the Centre for Occupational and Community Research at Middlesex Polytechnic, whose enthusiasm for the subject has been a constant source of inspiration; the secretarial assistance of Daphne Clench, Shirley Webb and Elizabeth Jenks was especially valuable.

My greatest debt is to Gerald Mars upon whom I have depended for supervision, guidance and inspiration in my academic, waiter and fiddler roles.

And finally, I thank my wife, Lynfa, for all forms of support and dedicate this thesis to her.

PART I

NATURE OF THE STUDY

CHAPTER ONE

THE FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

1. Mars and Mitchell's model

The research described in this thesis began in July 1976 with an investigation into people's attitudes to work and its rewards in the hotel industry. Initially the main objective was to assess the nature of informal rewards and individual contract making in an industry noted for its long tradition of payment by the "fiddle". Questions about the kind of indulgences permitted, the limits prescribed, the techniques of rule making and rule breaking, the ratio between formalized and unformalized levels of reward, the process of transition by which workers are allowed access to various fiddle benefits, therefore, were my main concern at the outset.

What I found highlighted several points. Firstly, it seems that the low level of pay in the hotel industry (1) represents only one part of the total rewards available to some workers in this industry since they also benefit considerably from unformalized rewards. Secondly, informal rewards tend to vary greatly with the bargaining power of the individual. So whilst all workers apparently receive the same wage and do the same job, in fact some are selected for greater rewards than others due to their length of service, or perhaps the wider range of skills, abilities, experience and personal qualities which they can bring to the job. Thirdly, access to such informal rewards has become institutionalized - that is, they are accepted as a normal part of the total rewards received by a significant proportion of the workforce. Fourthly, one important reason which accounts for the low unionism in the industry (2) is the greater scope for individualism which institutionalized pilferage has helped to foster.

At the outset, I found it useful to introduce and develop the terms which Mars and Mitchell (3) initially coined in work on the hotel and catering industry: "ad hoc management", "individual contract making", "total

rewards system", "core" and "peripheral" workers

(i) Ad hoc management is a concept that allows us to focus on the special type of crisis management in which the need to supply personal service puts the manager who finds himself being controlled by the erratic nature of customer demand. The endemic erraticism of the demand for a hotel's services makes it difficult to develop strategies that permit a more controlled response to customers' needs. What tends to happen is that management develops an essentially ad hoc response to the changing patterns of customer demand, as against the strategic managerial response that is found throughout most of the manufacturing industry. A traditional feature of hotel management is that it should therefore be flexible enough to co-ordinate the capital and labour which it needs to meet the customers' varying demands and deal with the unanticipated crises that can so often occur without prior notice.

(ii) Individual contract making. To cope with the essentially ad hoc nature of customer demand, hotel management has largely avoided the formal collective contract which they do not regard as being so effective as having individual contracts with their staff on an informal basis. The secret nature of these individual contracts makes it difficult to know the proper rate for the job, but so long as the waiter believes that preferential treatment has been shown him by a manager, he is more likely to do work at short notice and without formal payment beyond normal working hours. Indeed, it is the ambiguity surrounding people's pay and working conditions which enables management to retain control of the situation - each member of staff in effect reaching a separate agreement with the manager concerning the nature

and extent of their mutual obligations.

(iii) The total rewards system is a concept which covers the TOTAL emoluments received by a worker: including basic pay, formalized perks such as subsidized food and lodging, semi-formalized perks such as tips or service charge, non-formalized additions to income from fiddles and "knock-off", together with the norms and values which determine their distribution among the workforce as a whole. It is management's ability to control and manipulate the less visible and accountable aspects of T.R.S. in favour of individual workers which has given them the autonomy they need for the smooth running of their hotels. Thus we can say that the T.R.S. of the catering industry comprises BASIC PAY + SUBSIDIZED LODGING + SUBSIDIZED OR FREE FOOD + TIPS + "FIDDLES" + "KNOCK-OFFS" together with the "climate" which offers and accepts payments in part by fiddle as normal to this industry.

(iv) Core and peripheral workers is a concept which is used here to distinguish between those benefitting substantially from individual contracts as against those who do not. Core workers tend to have full-time contracts and are usually "key" people whose labour is considered vital to the smooth running of the hotel or restaurant. Their speed, technical expertise, human skills, length of service and reliability distinguish them from the rest of the workforce. Although apparently paid at the same rate to do the same job, their superior bargaining power gives them the ability to negotiate individual contracts providing much higher informal rewards than peripheral workers normally receive. Peripheral workers, on the other hand, tend not to have full-time employment contracts. Their labour is usually required on the basis of the erratic nature of demand, especially for large occasions or banquets and during busy periods of

> seasonal demand. Workers in this industry tend to start as peripherals and some of the less or non-stigmatized then move over time to become core workers.

In what follows, I intend to explore Mars and Mitchell's original concepts in the light of my own research into the hotel industry. In particular I shall be concerned to consider how the nature and constituents of total rewards systems vary in relation to different product and labour markets and varied patterns of ownership. I shall seek to determine whether variations exist according to the class of hotel, the type of worker which different hotels attract and the differences between owner-managed and conglomerate company-owned hotels. I shall also try to examine how the weightings of different constituents of an individual's total rewards vary in relation to the individual bargaining power of each worker, and the position he holds within the organization.

Questions to be pursued shall therefore include: what bargaining pressures are able to be applied by the two parties? What strategies do theyadopt? What parts do personal reputations and expertise play? What limits are placed on employee managers in conglomerate-owned hotels as against owner managed hotels? In what circumstances does an individual contract break down? In what circumstances are they amended? How do contracts vary? What are the pressures towards a merging of their terms? Are there limits to the range of their terms?

2. Choosing the hotel industry

In the foreword to his classic study "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", W. F. Whyte wrote:

> "In the past, students of human relations in industry have concentrated their attention on the factory, and important advances have been made in that field. However, the proportion of our population employed in the service industries has been steadily increasing, so that those who wish to understand the functioning of American society must also turn their attention in this direction". (4)

There is now a growing body of literature concerned with the growth of the service sector relative to industry (5). Yet practically no work has been done in industrial sociology or industrial relations based on empirical observation of the personal service sector, and this despite the continual increase in the proportion of people employed in services (6). Most research which has been carried out centres on the non-commercial sector, notably in service organizations such as schools and hospitals in which access can be gained relatively easily and financial support easily found. But, by contrast, most other service organizations have been largely ignored by social scientists, in particular the hotel or restaurant (7) and there are certainly no general principles established which might enable us to compare productive and non-productive organisations.

Twenty years after Whyte, Miller and Rice made the point that the need still exists to draw attention to this neglected area:

> "There remains a tendency, among theorists and practitioners alike, to look upon the organization of production operations as essential and typical, and to assume that the principles of delegation and control that have emerged constitute general laws of organization ... We believe that examination of non-productive organization can help us to see production organization in a new light and to question some prevalent assumptions ...(and that) in the context of a general theory of organization the conventional factory situation, far from being prototypical, is a special case". (8)

In brief, the present study aims to test empirically the concepts and hypotheses which Mars and Mitchell have speculated are important in trying to understand the hotel as an organization. In doing so, I also hope to follow Miller and Rice's argument, inasmuch as the evidence which is likely to emerge should shed light on the various assumptions and claims of organization theories. The data to be discussed focuses principally on the study of five British hotels varying in size, ownership and location. I shall give further details of the five hotels and their settings in Chapter 2, but here it is sufficient to note that

they range from the popular seaside holiday hotel to the highly prestigious top international London establishment. (See table 1 for the general characteristics of the hotels chosen).

Table 1 Characteristics of the hotels studied

Hotel	Location	No. of Rooms	Quality Rating (AA Classification)	No. of Waiting Staff
A	North England coast	600		30
B	North England coast	300	***	15
C	London, West End	40	*****	20
D	London, West End	300	*****	40
E	Cardiff	200	***	16

Of course, there are bound to be risks in generalizing from such a limited sample, but an attempt has been made to cover the broadest range within the limits prescribed so that the enquiry would afford scope for wider application. The hotels chosen need somehow to reflect the factors responsible for the industry's changing manpower and industrial relations problems. Given that there are dramatic changes and developments taking place in the industry as a whole, a brief outline of the industry's origins will be useful in trying to identify what we shall need to examine.

3. A brief history of the hotel industry

The "hotel" made its first appearance in the early part of the nineteenth century. With the growth of the railway and the increasing affluence of the well-to-do, the importance of the inn began to decline and its place was taken by hotels - predominantly of the luxury type and located in town centres (particularly London) or in seaside resorts within easy coaching distance of the railway system. Among the hotels opened during the closing years of this century are some of the present-day most highly acclaimed London hotels

- The Hotel Victoria (1887), The Savoy (1889), The Carlton (1899), The Hotel Cecil (1896) and the new Claridges (1898) to name only a few. Most of the hotels built in seaside resorts and many railway hotels built in the provinces towards the end of the nineteenth century were also of the large luxury kind, and their clientele largely confined to the middle and upper classes.

In the twentieth century, the enormous social and economic changes which were taking place in society at large gave hotelkeeping a new impetus. This is a period which includes two modern World Wars and great technological development in every field, a period which has seen a general rise in living standards, easier transport, better communications, increased business and social travel, more leisure and a growth in tourism. Both World Wars caused considerable disruption and loss of manpower to an industry in which personal service demands a high labour intensity and the suitability of hotels for the accommodation of many Civil Service staff and the Armed Forces made it inevitable that they should be requisitioned for government use. Since the Second World War, however, a new and rapidly expanding hotel industry has begun to emerge. It now employs over one million people and ranks fourth largest employer of labour in industry and commerce - accounting for almost 3 per cent of the British working population (9).

The new impetus can be attributed, first of all, to general changes in patterns of consumption. Eating out and hotel accommodation can still seem an expensive luxury for many people. But with the appearance of the cheap commercial restaurants, teashop, cafe, holiday camp or hotel, designed to provide moderately priced refreshment and accommodation, increasing numbers of people are now using hotels and restaurants. The rapid development of transport by car, by motorcoach and by air has meant that hotels now tend to be dominated by group bookings (conferences, tours, etc.). The increase in particular of international tourism has created a growing demand for accommodation and catering facilities among overseas visitors with the money spent by foreign tourists in Britain

now beginning to exceed that spent by British residents abroad quite considerably (10).

A second crucial factor which has helped in bringing the hotel industry into prominence is the increasing government support for hotel and catering. Following the Catering Wages Act 1943 which was specifically designed to regulate remuneration and other conditions of employment in the industry, the Catering Wages Commission and Wages Board were set up; and the numerous reports by the Commission on a wide range of aspects of the industry have in fact helped to provide a much stronger basis for the industry's development. In particular, it has benefited from the establishment of such bodies as the Hotels and Catering Economic Development Council, the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board and the statutory tourist boards - all set up with the aim of improving the efficiency and prospects of this particular industry.

Thirdly, though there are still a large number of small independently run hotels, mostly on the coast, all the recent development has concentrated upon large hotels in major city centres. There has also been a shift in ownership towards conglomerate companies of which the largest 20 now own some 15 per cent of hotel bedrooms, the two leading companies accounting for 25,000 bedrooms or five per cent of the total. Nevertheless, the industry is still primarily a fragmented one - largely dominated by small independently owned hotels (11), with different kinds of customer demanding different kinds of service in different places and at different times (12). When referring to the hotel industry as a whole, perhaps I ought therefore to say that I am not talking of one industry but several. However, it is in the contribution of conglomerates that we find the greatest changes that are likely to influence industrial relations in the future, at least in the city areas in which their impact tends to be the greatest of all.

Then there are various changes of a technological kind. The increased use of pre-cut, pre-prepared and frozen foods; micro-wave ovens; vending machines which can now supply

more and more products; and computerized systems for administering many of the financial control and receptionists' tasks, etc. have largely been spearheaded by conglomerate companies. All these and the sophisticated "catering systems" have tended to reduce the skills required by catering staff,- particularly in the kitchens. Moreover, with the tendency of food and drink purchases to become centrally co-ordinated, the autonomy of kitchen staff, particularly those who have traditionally bought supplies, is greatly reduced. Chivers has suggested that the progressive "deskilling" of chefs might well lead to their unionisation (13).If staff can no longer enjoy the same opportunities for fiddled benefits as in the traditional situation, this will also help to foster unionisation (14).

Fifthly, this brings us to the changing nature of the industry's workforce and in particular to their changing aspirations and expectations. Most hotel workers still continue to resist joining trade unions - and this despite the very low wages in catering and attempts made by two major unions (the G.M.W.U. and the T.G.W.U.) to represent them over the past thirty years (15). The reasons why unions have not been able to make great inroads into catering are simple enough. It is difficult to organize an industry which is characterized by such high labour turnover (16), and in which labour is concentrated in such small isolated units (17) scattered over a wide area (18). However, with the changes taking place in this industry, these difficulties are now beginning to be balanced by factors favourable to unionisation. As the industry's product and labour markets become increasingly more homogeneous, one might expect to find that the task of organizing the industry becomes easier. As already suggested, progressive "deskilling" may create grievances that lead to the growth of collective action. Greater willingness by management in conglomerate companies to accept collective bargaining (19) and the intake in recent years of workers from other industries who have experience of collective agreements will also increase the prospects of organizing this industry.

In the final analysis, though, when discussing the

growth of trade unionism, it cannot be stressed too strongly how much will depend upon management and workers' attitudes. Management who fear that formal employment contracts will limit their autonomy often still prefer to negotiate with staff on an individual basis. Many workers, in particular those I call the core workers, may still consider unionisation as a threat to the benefits that they derive from individual contracts. One reason why hotel workers are still largely non-unionized, therefore, lies in the very nature of the individual contract that operates in the interests both of management and workers. Whilst it gives management the opportunity to exercise considerable control over their workforce, it also engenders in workers a belief in their receipt of preferential treatment - a belief which in turn encourages a greater degree of obligation towards management and militates against the growth of collectivism.

4. Emergence of a broader model

Mars and Mitchell's original hypotheses about institutionalized hotel pilferage (20) did shed light on the significance of hotel workers' fiddling and the idea of core and peripheral workers helped me to examine the different careers of workers in the varied kinds of settings. As the research developed, however, it became clear that the limits and choices within which individual contracts are negotiated necessarily formed part of a much wider concern. What I needed was a model that would enable me to examine the idea of individual contract-making, together with the values and understandings that underlie its practice. And such a model too needs to take account of the much wider cultural and structural context of which it is a part. In short, Mars and Mitchell's hypotheses provided a useful starting point but they failed to give a complete picture in several respects.

In the first place, I found that the idea of the total rewards system itself needed amendment to include aspects of reward that are non material. Some hotels, for instance,

particularly the more prestigious, act as training establishments and contain a large number of perpetually replaced peripheral workers whose main reward is not financial, at least in the short term, but who see their employment as providing experience which they can exploit elsewhere. Since the nature of total reward constituents now appears to include a subjective element, it became important, therefore, to obtain subjective accounts from people in the field.

Secondly, the original hypotheses focused primarily on the relationships of waiters to management and secondly to each other, but there is a third dimension that cannot be ignored: that between waiters and diners. This dimension is not isolated: it is integral to understanding relationships both with co-workers and management since it affects the waiter's perception of his own professionalism and the view of him held by significant others. This should not only affect movements from periphery to core but should also affect, therefore, access to constituents of the total rewards system. For how the restaurant manager or head waiter manoeuvres customers onto a table marks their assessed position as potential tippers or important persons (not always the same thing!); at the same time, it provides a way of rating staff, giving them informal rewards, granting them prestige and providing a potent source of management control.

Thirdly, as I have already said, when we talk about the hotel industry, we are not really talking about one industry but several. What I needed was a model that would enable us to examine the idea of individual contract making throughout the industry, and not simply one part of it. Though these considerations are discussed more fully later (21), I can, however, say what I found that determines management's acceptable level of tolerance and the proportion of the labour force that can be considered "core". The most important variables concerned the class of hotel and the degree to which rewards were bureaucratised.

In prestigious hotels, the emphasis in allocating reward is based on technical skill and professional expertise and staff are graded according to these criteria. In a

top class hotel, for instance, there might be no fewer than five levels involved in serving a single customer. It is, therefore, easy in this situation to create a system of ranks which are based on skill and through which rewards can be offered. In these hotels, we find a pyramidal structure that is broad as well as tall, with the base containing the majority who are peripherals under training and with the peaks of the pyramid containing the core. It is the core and only the core who are granted significant access to fiddled benefits - as much to boost differentials as to retain their goodwill. They represent a relatively small proportion of the labour force in their hotels and their career progressions are relatively slow.

In hotels below this top prestige level - and this covers the majority of the industry - the position is more complicated since a wider variety of structures exist but, on the whole, the emphasis on ranking by skill levels is less pronounced. Instead the emphasis is less on service per se and more on speed of service, on the ability to cope in critical periods, on reliability and on personal service. Where rankings are fluid and ambiguous, staff are more concerned as entrepreneurs to maximize their return for effort in the short term - which means their return from fiddles. There are often movements from these hotels by groups of core staff who will follow a boss from one hotel to another in order to maintain their individual contracts. Where management have tried to iron out the ambiguities that come from a fluid ranking structure, they have typically tightened up on fiddles and have formalized reward. They may be said to develop a bureaucratic response to the allocation of rewards, a response which is often found where hotels are part of larger groupings - a growing tendency in this industry. Such hotels offer a ranking system but it is one based more on length of service than on function and skill and they tend to pay increments which serve to loosen loyalty from individual contract-makers to the employing hotel.

Our preliminary findings, therefore, could be said first to emphasize variations within this industry and

second to underline the need to develop a broader framework of analysis. The model which I propose to use is based on the work of Mary Douglas whose ideas of "grid" and "group" have proved a useful tool for the comparative analysis of different cultures (22). Though there are major elements of the original hypotheses that still exist and can be seen, they now appear smaller and are seen within the broader context gained by the application of an entirely new approach. The result has not been so much to destroy the old model in order to erect a new one in its place, but rather to take the ideas which Mars and Mitchell initially worked out - and amend, develop and expand them as part of the new model based on grid and group (23).

I have only tried here to sketch in the broadest outlines what I found but there are at least three distinct categories of hotels, each with different proportions of core and peripheral workers. These workers typically have different kinds of career and for each there is an appropriate response to their work and its rewards. These responses I shall call craft, entrepreneurial and bureaucratic. These differences have implications for the industry's pattern of industrial relations and they vitally affect such matters as recruitment, selection, labour turnover and unionisation. They are implications, however, that cannot be understood if we ignore variations within this industry and the importance of the total rewards system.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. According to the National Economic Development Office, the hotel industry still pays its labour much less than all other industries. NEDO, Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Staff Turnover" (London: HMSO, 1969) and "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry" (London: HMSO, 1975). See also Commission on Industrial Relations, "The Hotel and Catering Industry, Part I: Hotels and Restaurants," Report No. 23 (London: HMSO, 1971).

2. It is well known that trade unions have had little impact on the hotel and restaurant industry. It was estimated in 1974 than only 80,000 out of the labour force of 1 million workers were unionized (G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Room for Reform: A Case Study on Industrial Relations in the Hotel Industry", Open University Press, 1976, p.19.). The National Economic Development Office estimates that only 13 per cent of workers are unionised and these are limited to some only of the major companies (NEDO, 1975, op. cit.)

3. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, 1976, op. cit.; G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Catering for the Low Paid: Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Unit Bulletin, No. 15, June 1977.

4. W. F. Whyte, "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948, p.v.

5. See, for example, D. Bell, "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society", London: Heinemann, 1974; P. Halmos, "The Face of the Counsellors",London: Constable, 1965; P. Halmos, "The Personal Service Society", London: Constable, 1970; J. K. Galbraith, "Economics and the Public Purpose", London: Andre Deutsch, 1974.

6. By considering the U.K. occupational distribution and its change since the middle of the last century when the population census first collected the information, the two trends which show up most clearly are: (1) the gradual decline in the numbers employed in primary industries; and (2) the steady rise of service employment. See, for example, J. Gershuny, "After Industrial Society?: the Emerging Self-Service Economy", London: MacMillan, 1978, p.60.

7. Apart from Whyte's classic sociological study, op. cit., there are a number of autobiographical accounts written about the industry, such as G. Orwell's "Down and Out in Paris and London", Middlesex: Penguin, 1968, and P. Leoni's "I Shall Die on the Carpet", London: Frewin, 1966. See also, J. P. Henderson, "Labour Market Institutions and Wages in the Lodging Industry", Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Michigan State University, 1965; J.P. Spradley and B. J. Mann, "The Cocktail Waitress", New York: Wiley, 1975; A. M. Bowey, "The Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976; and G. Mars, P. Mitchell and D. Bryant, "Manpower Problems in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Hants: Saxon House, 1979.

8. E. J. Miller and A. K. Rice, "Systems of Organization", London: Tavistock, 1967, p.45.

9. For a full account of the industry's history, see S. Medlik, "Profile of the Hotel and Catering Industry", London: Heinemann, 1978.

10. Medlik, op. cit. p.13.

11. NEDO, Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Hotel Prospects to 1985", London: HMSO, 1976, p.8.

12. See G. Mars and P. Mitchell, 1976, op. cit., p.10. for a development of this argument.

13. T. Chivers, "The Proletarianization of the Service Worker", British Journal of Sociology, 1973 (November).

14. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, 1976, op. cit., p.29.

15. For figures on the numbers of the labour force who are unionised in this industry, see footnote 2.

16. Figures of between 51 per cent and 132 per cent are quoted for quality restaurants and large popular hotels respectively, NEDO, 1975, op. cit., pp 22 - 25. The problem has been in existence for some time. In 1969, the Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering found that hotels, restaurants and (some other) catering units experienced rates of turnover covering a range from 38 per cent to in excess of 200 per cent a year. NEDO, 1969, op. cit.

17. Out of a total of 33,700 hotel establishments, over 61 per cent (20,700) have between 4 and 10 bedrooms and a further 20 per cent (6,700) between 11 and 15 bedrooms. NEDO, 1976, op. cit., pp8-11.

18. Despite the trend towards a greater concentration of large hotels in the urban areas, a majority still continue to be the smaller establishments scattered in the traditional coastal regions. NEDO, 1976, op. cit., pp8 - 11.

19. Evidence for this comes from the recent growth of company-wide agreements. For example, a recent important development has been the G. M. W. U. campaign to broaden and consolidate large company agreements, both to deal with wage fixing (e.g. Grand Metropolitan) and other aspects such as sick pay and maternity leave (e.g. Norfolk Capital). F. Cooper, "Blind Date", Low Pay Unit Bulletin, No. 15, June, 1977.

20. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, 1976, op. cit.

21. See Chapters 10 and 11.

22. M. Douglas, "Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology", London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1970; "Cultural Bias", Occasional Paper No. 34, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1978; "Exercises in the Sociology of Perception", ed. with D. Ostrander, New York: Russel Sage Foundation (Basic Books), forthcoming.

23. As T. M. Mills has said, when trying to develop new models for studying human groups: "Early elements that remain useful can be combined with what appear to be promising new ones, as we proceed to reconstruct our

paradigms... (but) without (some) courageous reconstruction of our working schemas and without imaginative enquiry, changes in societies' groups and individuals (will) simply outdistance us ..."; "Changing Paradigms for Studying Human Groups", The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science, Vol. 15 , No. 3, 1979, pp 407 - 423.

CHAPTER TWO

FIELDWORK SEQUENCES

1. The basis of the study

Essentially this is a study of five British hotels. Whilst I am aware of the dangers in generalizing from such a limited sample, I eschewed the use of traditional survey methodology because the sensitive nature of the research precluded such techniques. Instead I felt it necessary to carry out the research primarily through participant-observation - a research method central to social anthropology which, in this case, meant my absorption into the industry as a full-time working waiter for a period of one and a half years. I did, however, consider some of the key survey variables in the selection of hotels: small/large; conglomerate/owner-managed; low/high prestige; urban/coastal/metropolitan and I have discussed the findings with lecturers and students involved in this industry as well as with workers and managers outside the five hotels (1).

After a crash course from an experienced waitress and by posing as an ex-student with some experience as a waiter, I succeeded in gaining entry as a bona fide waiter into each hotel for varying periods (the shortest was one month; the longest was three). Whilst at work, I watched out for fiddles, participating whenever necessary but not asking too many questions and avoiding emotionally loaded topics until I had been there long enough. A kitchen porter, questioned too closely shortly after I began work in the second hotel, became suspicious asking whether I was "one of those blokes working for the government". In the first hotel a waitress who had found me deeply engrossed in Sutherland's "The Professional Thief" (2), while off-duty, knowingly remarked: "Now I can see why you asked me all those questions about fiddling yesterday!". As the research developed, it became apparent that after about two weeks of a discrete and incurious presence, a sufficient degree of acceptance could be achieved to enable relevant information to be gathered.

In my search for hotels, I adopted a similar procedure throughout the investigation. It consisted simply of tapping the widest possible sources open to anyone seeking a job in catering: viz. reading through the local press, especially the Evening Standard in London, telephoning hotels which I found in Yellow Pages or local directories, making enquiries in person off the street, applying through personal contacts which I began to develop during the investigation and going to the hotel and catering Jobcentres in each location (3). What this highlights is the enormous variety of ways in which one can seek employment in this industry. More significant, though, the methods vary according to the size, type and location of hotel and the kind of worker who is seeking employment.

2. Entry into the hotels investigated

In low level hotels, particularly those on the coast, much will depend upon when one actually looks for a job. In the first instance, I walked the entire length of the promenade in a northern seaside resort making enquiries in person off the street but without receiving a single offer of employment. When I finally did get a job, it was only after I had followed up a number of posts which I have seen in the Jobcentre and local press. Yet when I started to look for my second hotel along the promenade just two months later, I had no difficulty at all because with the tourist season now fully underway, the demand for labour had become more acute. Less prestigious hotels tend not to have the resources to employ more staff than they actually need at any one time. In this kind of situation, the hotel manager often has no choice but to accept whatever staff he can get at critical times - even if they fall below the standard which he might normally expect to apply.

When seeking employment in the extremely prestigious hotels of London's West End, however, a different pattern emerges. Here the question of seasonal variation is not nearly so important but what matters are the skills and experience which one can bring to the job. After several

days' search through enquiries off the street, I applied for a job advertised in the Evening Standard at a mediumly high level hotel. As it turned out, because it was only a commis' job, I had no difficulty in getting the job, provided I agreed to remove my beard. But had I been seeking a higher rank or a higher level establishment, there is little doubt that I should not have succeeded. Indeed, when I came to seek employment later on in a more prestigious establishment, it was only because I had worked with someone who had been employed there for 15 years or so that I got the job. Again, it was only a commis' job - and the restaurant manager gave me a close inspection, saying that I would have to remove my moustache and have a haircut. Thus it appears the higher the hotel's status, the less hair the waiters can generally have. Given that chefs are permitted to wear moustaches, there is no apparent reason why the same should not apply to waiters, although, as Orwell has suggested, this might itself explain the practice:

> " '... No one in the hotel wears a moustache, except the cooks. I should have thought you would have noticed it. Reason? There <u>is</u> no reason. It is the custom'.
>
> I saw that it was an etiquette, like not wearing a white tie with a dinner-jacket and shaved off my moustache. Afterwards I found out the explanation of the custom, which is this: waiters in good hotels do not wear moustaches, and to show their superiority, they decree that plongeurs shall not wear them either; and the cooks wear their moustaches to show their contempt for the waiters." (4).

With my new found experience at both ends of the prestige spectrum, I found little difficulty in getting a job in a medium status conglomerate hotel near Cardiff. I enquired off the street about a job, and the restaurant manager asked me a number of technical questions - presumably in order to determine how much I knew about serving food. These included: "What accompaniments would you serve with smoked salmon? ..."; "What accompaniments would you serve with pate? ..." In fact, the level of expertise which staff required was not nearly so high as

one might have expected from such questions. Moreover, irrespective of the different posts people held, everyone did much the same work - albeit varying in skill and paid at different rates to do the job. In trying to respond to varying pressures, management found it difficult to operate with the bureaucratic structure which the conglomerate company had sought to impose on it (5). What tended to happen, therefore, was that staff were appointed at different levels but there was not really a strict differentiation of tasks - so though I was employed as a chef de rang, I did the same job as everyone else.

Finding the hotels and gaining admittance to them was a long and arduous task. We shall more fully consider the problems of entry and professional ethics in the next chapter. But first a brief description of the five hotels and their settings will be helpful to provide a background for the analysis contained in later chapters.

3. Description of the hotels studied

HOTEL 1: NORTH ENGLISH COAST (JULY - AUGUST 1976)

The first hotel was a large, low tariff conglomerate-owned hotel overlooking the sea on the north coast of England. It is one of a small chain currently operating throughout London, the Midlands, the west country and the North of England. Its wide range of facilities includes an indoor heated swimming pool, hairdressing salon, sauna, games room, sun lounge, nursery, television room, cocktail bar and discotheque which stays open every night until 1 a.m. with live and recorded music.

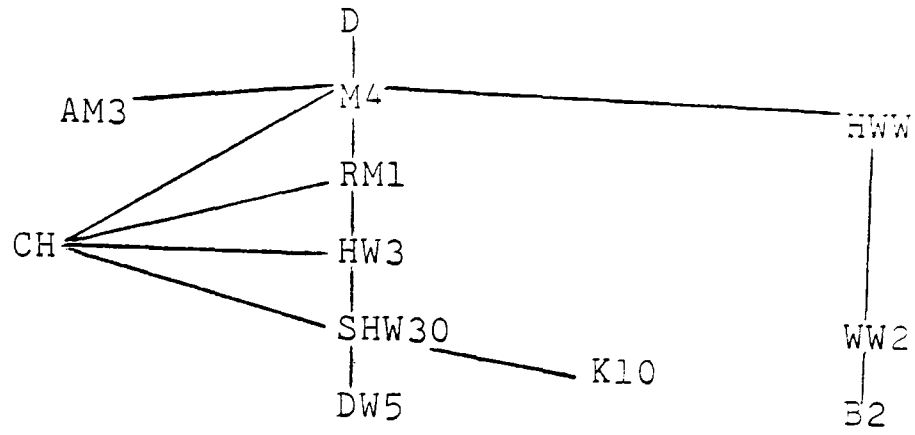
It began as an independently owner-managed hotel with a fairly good reputation for food and service but with the increasing demand of a less affluent clientele, it went the way of most large and inefficient hotels (6). Bankruptcy, first, in 1973 and not long afterwards the loss of its 3-star rating led to the final decline. Its immediate financial difficulties were met by a substantial local

authority loan and its ownership transferred to the hotel company which now runs it.

Permanent waiting staff currently number between 25 and 30 but there may also be 10 to 20 casual staff employed to serve a single meal for banquets, normally for cash in hand. One effect of the change in ownership has been the beginning of trade union representation which presently runs at about 50 per cent, a relatively high percentage for this industry. Yet the hotel is run with an odd combination of strong unionisation and not much team-spirit. A few of the staff live in, but most are people drawn from the local area who tend to keep their work and non-work activity quite separate. In particular, a large proportion are women employed on a part-time or casual basis.

Directors periodically visit each hotel in the chain. There are 4 managers and 3 assistant managers who are in charge of the day-to-day running of the hotel. The restaurant manager, 3 head waiters and 1 head wine waiter have the responsibility of running the restaurant. There are 20 to 30 permanent fully paid waiting staff and 4 or 5 young people who are paid at a lower rate to do the commis' job. Kitchen staff have their own hierarchy - a head chef, a sous chef, several chefs de partis, commis chefs, as well as dishwashers and kitchen porters. In addition, there is a checker whose job is to total cheques, make out the bills and collect money from hotel guests. A formal organisation chart is given in Figure 1, with letters representing the different positions and the number who fill a particular position shown in brackets next to each letter.

Figure 1. Formal organisation of hotel 1



Key:

D	=	Director	B	=	Bar worker
M	=	Manager	1HWW	=	First head wine waiter
AM	=	Assistant manager	1HW	=	First head waiter
RM	=	Restaurant manager	2HW	=	Second head waiter
HWW	=	Head wine waiter	CR	=	Chef de rang
CH	=	Checker/cashier	DC	=	Demi chef
HW	=	Head waiter	CW	=	Commis waiter
SHW	=	Station head waiter	CWW	=	Commis wine waiter
WW	=	Wine waiter	BM	=	Banqueting manager
DW	=	Dish washer	BW	=	Banqueting waiter
K	=	Kitchen staff	W	=	Cafeteria waiter

There is no a la carte menu but the table d'hote menu offers quite a reasonable choice at the price - £2 for lunch or £2.50 for dinner. (A typical menu at this hotel is given at appendix A). There is also a small restaurant next to the discotheque which serves a few dishes - such as scampi or minute steak for about £1 or £2. Service varies a great deal with seasonal demand. In the peak of the summer season, the number each waiter may have to serve is 30 - 50 people in a single sitting (7).

HOTEL 2: NORTH ENGLISH COAST (JULY - AUGUST 1976)

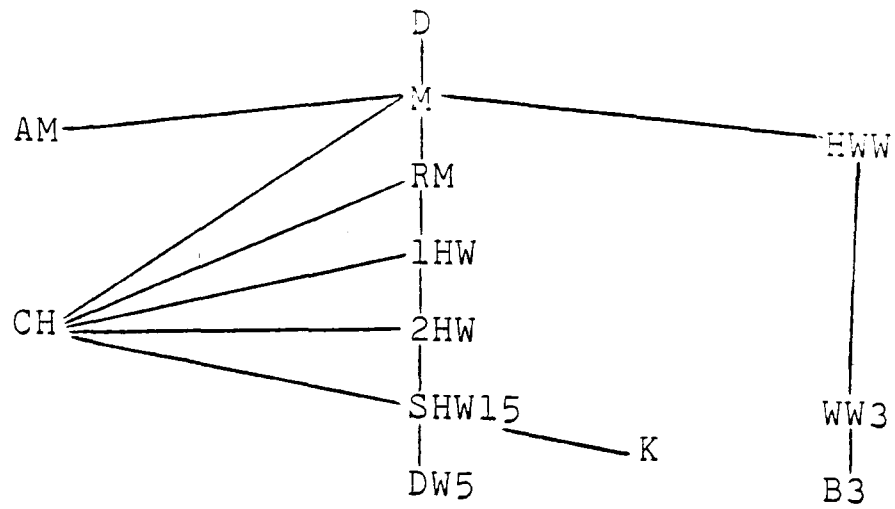
My second hotel is from the same seaside resort - again a large low tariff hotel, built about half-way along the promenade. Its facilities include a coffee lounge, a

television lounge, ballroom, several private suites, a licensed bar, a billiards room and a cocktail bar. Its origins lie in the golden era of hotelkeeping too but though it still has a 3-star rating, it can hardly be compared to the prestigious position that it once must have enjoyed. To attract custom, it provides reasonably priced banqueting and conference facilities for parties ranging up to 400 and it also has its own resident band which plays at Saturday night dinner dances.

The hotel is owned on a shareholding basis and it is run by directors who are amongst its largest shareholders. Permanent waiting staff number between 10 and 15, but casual staff (or "extra ducks" as they are called) are also employed whenever the need arises, say, at a banquet or conference. None of the waiting staff had joined the union, despite the fact that they have a union representative - a woman employed in the linen room. Nevertheless there seemed to be a strong element of group solidarity: partly because of the high proportion of staff who live in (about 70 per cent); and partly because the great majority are young people who have left home and regard the hotel as a place to establish new relationships.

At quarterly meetings between the directors and the hotel manager, matters of general policy are discussed and decided upon. There is 1 general manager and 1 assistant manager in charge of the day-to-day running of the hotel, both men still in their early and mid-twenties. The restaurant is run by the restaurant manager with the help of 2 head waiters - one providing general administrative assistance and the other helping more in the supervision of staff. In addition, there is 1 head wine waiter, 1 receptionist in charge of totalling bills and a hierarchy of kitchen staff which is slightly more elaborate than the first hotel. The overall pattern of work relations is given in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Formal organisation of hotel 2



Though, by no means, the most exclusive eating-place in town, nevertheless it probably ranks amongst the top three hotels for the quality of food and service that it provides. The table d'hote menu (see appendix A) that it offers compares favourably with the one offered by the first hotel at approximately the same price. In addition, there is quite an expensive a la carte menu with a choice of dishes which includes: Tournedos Rossini (£2.70), Escalope Cordon Bleu (£2.30), Scampi Provencale (£2.30), Crepes Suzette (90p) and Scotch Woodcock (70p). The menu at the Saturday night dinner-dance is a 5-course meal, and at £3.50 it was fairly good value, even at 1976 prices. Service on a Saturday night is not so good, however, because waiters are expected to serve up to 40-50 customers each, about twice the normal peak demand during the summer season.

HOTEL 3: LONDON WEST END (DEC 1976 - FEB 1977)

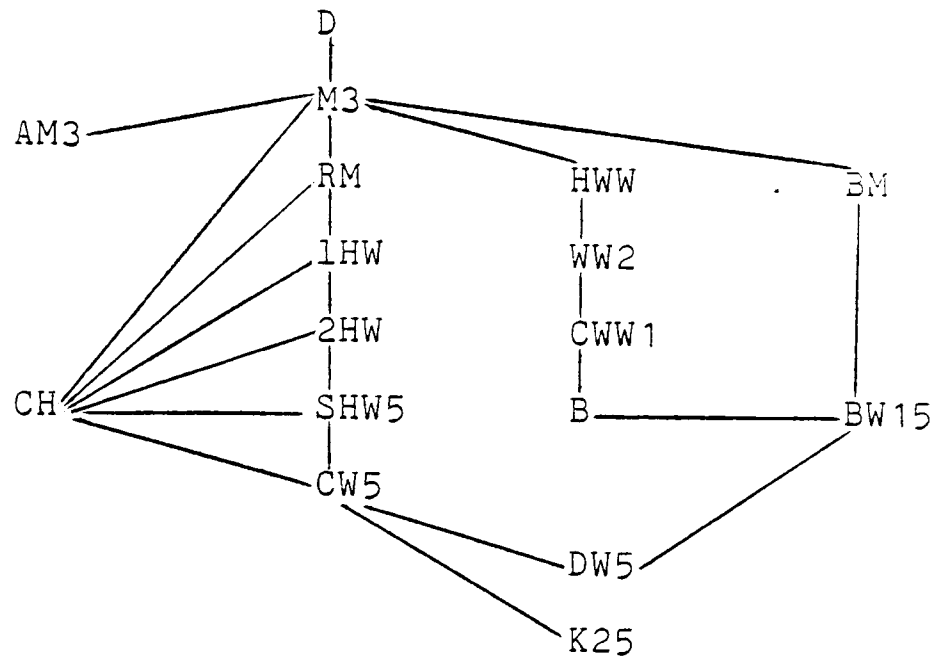
For my third hotel I found a job as a commis waiter in one of London's high level West End establishments - a small hotel with 40 bedrooms, but better known as a high quality restaurant providing late-night cabaret entertainment. Originally owned and run as a small family concern by two brothers, its heyday was the 20's and early 30's when it became the haunt of many people in high society eager to enjoy themselves in the post-war boom. But with the general decline after the second world war, the two brothers sold the business to a large company which itself was taken over by a larger company

again in the 50's. It now attracts a much wider range of clientele: top businessmen, foreign tourists, office parties especially in the festive season, birthday parties and family celebrations in general, as well as a few regulars who have never stopped coming and many people who simply want a night out on the town.

The restaurant employs between 12 and 15 permanent staff but in addition 2 or 3 casual staff are employed on Friday and Saturday nights when the restaurant is particularly busy. Perhaps it is a mark of the hotel's former prestige that its waiting staff must still be exclusively male. Most of them come from Italy but some have now married and settled in the U.K. - often with an Italian or English wife and children. Others, on the other hand, particularly the younger ones, have only come here to learn the language or to see what London has to offer. None can live in. It is against the company's policy to permit union representation among its staff. And there can hardly be an overlap between work and non-work activity when people live so far from each other and do not finish work until 2 a.m.

Despite its relatively small size, it has a more complex management structure than the less prestigious northern hotels in which I worked. There is a general manager, a personnel manager, 3 trainee managers, a full-time accountant, a restaurant manager and a banqueting manager - the latter having to organize and supervize staff at banquets, weddings, conferences and such like. In addition, there are five levels involved in serving food: the restaurant manager, a first head waiter, a staff head waiter, 5 station head waiters (in charge of a set of tables each) and 5 commis waiters attached to each one of them. There is also a carver whose job is to carve joints of meat at lunch time; a cashier whose job is to add up and make out the bills; as well as those employed to serve drinks to the customer. Kitchen staff similarly enjoy considerable ranking in this hotel. A simple outline of the work organization is given in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Formal organization of hotel 3



The restaurant offers a table d'hote menu at £4 (lunch) or £7.50 (dinner) and an extremely varied a la carte menu which has over 20 first course dishes, 9 fish course dishes, 18 main course dishes and 9 dessert dishes. Main course dishes range from those in the classical French or haute bourgeoise cuisine to the more traditional English dishes such as roast beef (£4.75), mixed grill (£4.50) and T-bone steak (£4.50); and there is an additional charge of £1.50 per person for vegetables and 45p per person for potatoes on the a la carte menu. Including the orchestra charge of £1.50 per person, if dinner is ordered a la carte after 8 p.m., this means that a 3-course meal may cost something in the region of £12 upwards - and this does not include wine. By comparison, the table d'hote table menu (see appendix A) is much better value - albeit limited in choice.

HOTEL 4: LONDON WEST END (MARCH - MAY 1977)

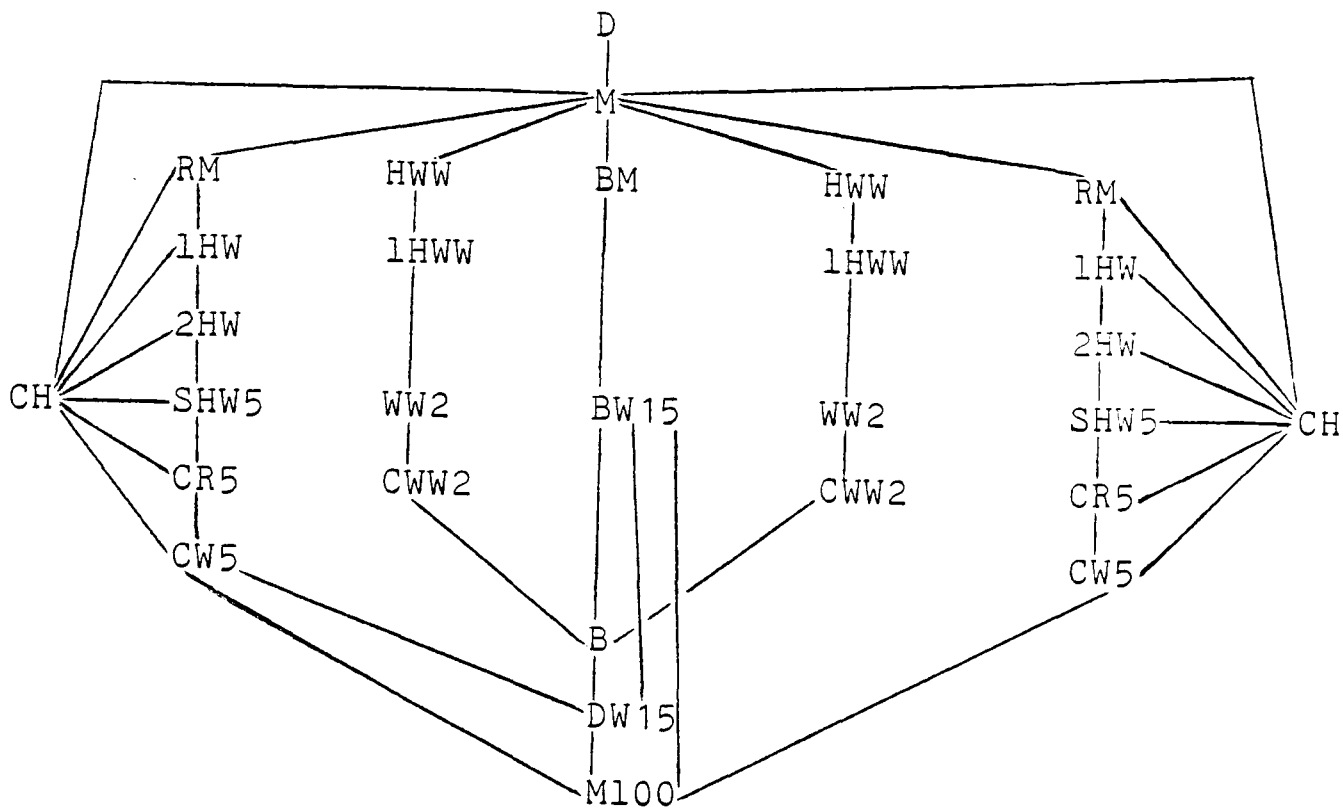
The fourth hotel where I worked is one of the most prestigious high-class international hotels in London. Ever since the hotel was built at the turn of the century, it has enjoyed the patronage of the aristocracy and royalty but now its clientele also includes the highest levels of the business and financial world, politicians, show business personalities,

leading industrialists and public figures in general. Since the Second World War, it has also suffered a considerable fall in demand but management has so far resisted the idea of providing cheaper off-peak rates for party bookings, as can be found in so many establishments today. Apart from what it can earn from its rooms and the two restaurants which it runs, it also draws a substantial part of its revenue from banquets and functions.

Of the two restaurants, the one in which I worked has the decor of a traditional English drawing room: oak tables, high quality table wear and a baronial coat of arms hanging on the wall. The other modelled upon the French style has a dance band to provide entertainment until 1 a.m. every morning. There are between 20 and 25 permanent waiting staff in each restaurant. Once again, they are exclusively male, and they are drawn predominantly from various parts of Italy or Turkey, with 4 out of 25 staff in the restaurant where I worked being Turkish or Turkish-Cypriot and 7 Italians. None can live in because the hotel has no accommodation for staff. However, there are a relatively high proportion who are union members (about 60 per cent). This is largely due to the fact that their union representative was someone who took an active interest in union matters - and had in fact succeeded in winning a number of concessions from management through the union.

Perhaps not surprisingly, this hotel has the most complex organization structure. There is a general manager, an assistant manager, a personnel department, an accountants department, a 100 strong brigade of kitchen staff, floor service waiters, banqueting waiters, not to mention the 50 or so waiters who are employed in both restaurants. Within each restaurant there are further distinctions. As well as the restaurant manager, there is a first head waiter, a second head waiter, a third head waiter, 5 station head waiters, 5 chef de rangs and 5 commis waiters. Then there is a head wine waiter, 2 wine waiters and 2 commis wine waiters; as well as a carver, his chef de rang and perhaps 1 or 2 casual staff on a busy occasion (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. Formal organisation of hotel 4



At lunch there is a table d'hote menu which has a number of dishes priced £3.50 to £6 - a few of British origin, such as "Contre Filet Roti Yorkshire" and "Irish Stew aux Legumes", as well as some from the French tradition (see Appendix A). The a la carte menu has a much wider range of dishes again, including about 20 first course dishes, 10 fish course dishes, 20 main course dishes, 6 different vegetables, a large selection of salads, 7 dessert dishes and a sweet trolley which offers even more choice. There is an additional cover charge of 50p per person, and this means that the total cost of an average meal without wine is something around £12 per person on a la carte. This works out at about the same price as for the first London hotel but given that there is no orchestra, dancing or cabaret entertainment, in effect one should expect the very highest quality of food and service which money can buy for this price.

HOTEL 5: CARDIFF (AUG - OCT 1977)

As my fifth hotel, I took a large medium-tariff

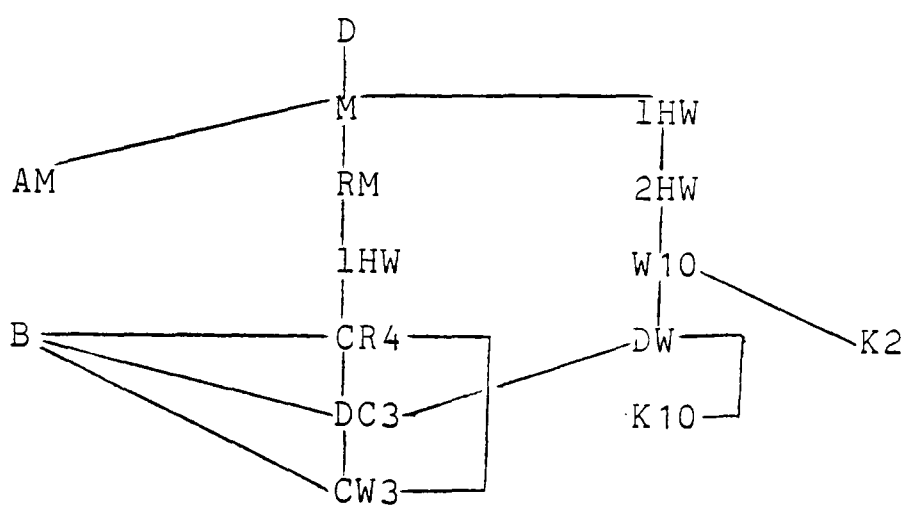
conglomerate hotel in Cardiff. Its range of facilities include a guests' sitting room, two licensed bars, two private suites for holding conferences and special functions, a cafeteria providing light snacks and cheaper meals and a restaurant offering a choice of a la carte and table d'hote menus. Built in the late 60's, it is a relatively new hotel - primarily designed to provide a quick service for passing trade, but also enjoying the patronage of tourists, business-men, commercial travellers and others who need a base for spending several days in Cardiff. It also has a small number of regular customers who come for a meal on business or purely social grounds.

Waiting staff number between 10 and 15 in the restaurant and about the same again in the cafeteria. Of those who work in the restaurant, there are only 3 women and these are fully experienced waitresses; but in the cafeteria, the waiting staff are all women, often young and inexperienced, because the work is considered easier - not involving silver service and with less complicated orders in general. Almost all the waiting staff live locally or live in. A Social Committee which comprises staff from every section within the hotel meets once a month and organizes events such as staff dances, parties, football matches, basketball practice and excursions. In addition, the staff often get together informally after work, usually just for a drink before going home, but on occasion in one of the hotel's bars after normal licensing when someone leaves and holds a party. In the early 70's, a number of staff went on strike to try to gain union recognition. They did not succeed - largely because many of the staff co-operated with management to keep the hotel running. And though many who went on strike have now been re-instated, there is still no union representation.

As one might expect, given that the hotel is part of a large bureaucratic structure, there is a highly stratified work organization, with almost the same number of levels as those found in the highly prestigious London hotels (see Figure 5). There is a general manager, an assistant

manager, a personnel manager, a duty manager, 3 trainee managers, a kitchen staff of about 50 and 15 waiting staff in each of the two restaurants. The restaurant itself has a ranking system which consists of restaurant manager, first head waiter, chef de rang, demi chef and commis waiter. As already stated, though, what position a person holds below the rank of first head waiter is irrelevant - at least insofar as everyone has to do the same work.

Figure 5. Formal organisation of hotel 5



There is a table d'hote menu at £3.95 (see appendix A) and an a la carte menu with a much wider choice of main dishes, each offering the same selection of sweets and cheeses from the trolley. A few Welsh dishes such as "Cawl Mamgu" (Welsh broth) and Welsh game pie have been introduced. However, the emphasis is upon plain English cooking and dishes such as fillet steak (£3.95), escalope of pork (£2.75) and chicken supreme (£2.80) are amongst the most popular chosen on the a la carte menu. At an average cost of £5 - £6 per head without wine, it cannot be compared with the less prestigious northern hotels for value. But, at the same time, the higher staff-customer ratio allows for a higher level of service (8).

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. My emergent findings have been discussed with a number of lecturers and students who are involved in the industry, as well as with workers and managers in a wide variety of hotels. I am particularly grateful to Peter Mitchell, Ken Saunders and other members of the Centre of Occupational and Community Research, Middlesex Polytechnic.

2. E. H. Sutherland, "The Professional Thief", Chicago: Phoenix, 1937, which now ranks as something of a classic amongst deviance studies of its kind.

3. Hotel and catering is serviced by more than 20 specialist Jobcentre offices spread over the country and is the only industry in this privileged position. In 1973, the Department of Employment claimed to have made 160,000 placings (70,00 in Central London) in the industry amounting to about 12 per cent of the total labour force in hotels and catering in that year. Although the role of the Department appears to vary across the country with more use being made of its services in the South and South East than in other areas, nevertheless it appears to make a considerable contribution in the recruitment of labour in this industry in general.

See "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London: HMSO, 1975, p18, a report by the National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, for further details.

4. G. Orwell, "Down and Out in Paris and London", Middlesex: Penguin, 1968, p62.

5. The heterogeneity and instability of individual customers is equivalent for hotels to the relatively unstable and uncertain environmental conditions to which Burns and Stalker say the "organic" structure is best adapted. Yet what we find in conglomerate owned hotels is a tendency to move away from the organic towards the "mechanistic" model which is, so to speak, inappropriate. We shall look more fully into Burns and Stalker's argument in Chapter 10 when we come to examine various assumptions and claims of organization theories. T. Burns and G. M. Stalker, "The Management of Innovation", London: Tavistock, 1961.

6. The introduction of the railways in the mid-nineteenth century had a profound influence on the development of seaside resorts. The railway age was directly responsible not only for the increase in the number of resorts; the new means of transport greatly influenced the size and character of the resorts, making them accessible to the masses for the first time. See S. Medlik, "Profile of the Hotel and Catering Industry", London: Heinemann, 1978, pp. 36-45.

7. Bear in mind that the figures quoted throughout this

chapter are for 1976-77.

8. We shall examine more fully the staff/customer ratio of the five hotels when we look at the concept of service in chapter 4.

CHAPTER THREE
TECHNIQUES OF FIELDWORK

1. Ethical questions involved in covert research

The method of research was primarily by participant-observation - a method which involved being employed as a full-time waiter and exploring events, both from the past and as these arose during fieldwork. Participant-observation ideally means trying to understand the whole social life of the people being studied; and so, as the field-work progressed, I began to collect data on people's families, their "off the job" social activities, their life crises and their involvement in the crises of their "significant" others. This meant, amongst other things, having to attend off-the-job drinking sessions, discotheques, parties and the like with fellow workers; joining the celebrations for someone leaving; being present at Christmas, New Year's Eve and other festive events during the year; and, where necessary and significant, kinship links and religious affiliations were also explored; as well as why, how and who leaves a job and the effects on relationships that such career changes have for those who are involved.

In choosing P.O. as the principal research method, I have had to consider the problems common to anyone who contemplates obtaining data using this method. In particular, I had to justify the need to fulfil covertly the researcher's role while being overtly employed as a waiter. Inasmuch as my own efforts to understand and tackle the problems attending the P.O. role in the field merits special consideration, I hope to put up a defence for covert methods of research - at least in specified circumstances. If nothing else, I hope to clarify what my own reasons were for going underground which some have argued is morally unacceptable because it represents an invasion of privacy of those studied (1). It might help, too, however, to extend the discussion on the ethics of covert research which currently appears to be attracting some attention in sociological circles widely afield (2).

In the first place I would like to make one thing clear. My adoption and defence of covert methods relate only to their use in specific conditions and for particular purposes - such as those which obtained in my own research. Had I not believed that the reasons for taking a covert P.O. stance far outweighed the serious reservations which I held about using such clandestine methods, I would certainly not have entertained its use here. But the sensitive nature of the subject under investigation made it virtually impossible to enter the field as an undisguised researcher. Not only would the declaration of research intent have been reactive of the behaviour observed, but in effect it would have limited my enquiry to those who had nothing to hide or least to lose from disclosure - namely, peripheral workers who do not substantially benefit from non-taxable earnings. My subsequent experience of overt interviewing and contact with management and staff in this industry confirmed their overall hostility to outsiders in general and researchers in particular (3). In due course, I shall go on to consider the practical pitfalls that generally arise with the adoption of a P.O. role, but for the present I shall concentrate upon the moral issues involved when P.O. is covert.

The ethical question rests on the fact that the researcher makes a conscious decision not to tell members his true identity. Erikson (4) argues that research of this kind is morally unacceptable because entry into a private setting as a disguised observer potentially causes discomfort for members of the action scene. His argument is that in addition to being unethical, the misrepresentation of identity involved may jeopardize the profession of sociology, making it difficult to do similar research again. Dingwall (5) also argues from the standpoint of an ethical-unethical dichotomy that no respectable journal should carry papers describing research of the covert variety because it is immoral to deny the individual's right of privacy. Furthermore, he says, surreptitious investigation can only be justified in studying extremist political or religious groups such as the National Front where importance of

the knowledge acquired overrides everything else. What both have said is refutable on several grounds.

Firstly, it cannot be denied that there are areas which each of us perceives as either "public" or "private". However, it cannot be assumed each individual looks at the world from the same perspective, and this applies equally to members' perception of both the "public" and "private" domains. As Denzin (6) says, if we categorically define a social setting as private, there is a risk that we shall completely ignore the perspective of those studied and supplant our own definition of the situation for theirs. Obviously there are cases, especially in deviancy research, in which members' and researchers' definitions of the situation coincide to a large extent. In Humphrey's study of homosexuality, for example, the researcher might assume the domain to be private. What Humphreys found suggests that members themselves tried to maintain the separation of this activity from their "normal" activity, preferring to participate in the homosexual encounter at a level of impersonal involvement (7). It seems that the more an activity is held to be discreditable in the public eye, the more members will define the domain as private because they have more to lose from it being made public. Before long, however, we will require to know exactly what members see as private and what they see as public. This necessarily involves the collection of data through covert means - otherwise should the research identity be announced, the effect is likely to be that private domains will be rendered even more private and precluded from the researcher's reach. Once such an announcement has been made, the researcher can never know how far what he finds out represents all the knowledge that members hold to be private. What, in short, I am saying is that the end serves as the justification - especially in an investigation of the present kind. How else, Polsky (8) argues, can crime be studied than in its natural surroundings?

Secondly, the charge that covert research is a mis-

representation of identity implies that members of the action scene would naturally reveal their identities in the presence of others. Clearly this is not true. Members of the action scene conceal some measure of identity even if they are not consciously aware of it themselves. Humphrey's (ibid) subjects, for example, concealed all of their "normal" identity. No one is going to suggest that they too are guilty of misrepresentation of identity. Once a role is adopted in the action area, whether it be the role of member or researcher, it is difficult to see how anything can be misrepresented. For the purpose of the interaction, you are your presentation of self. As Denzin (ibid) points out, the problem is not so much whether or not to wear a mask since all interaction involves mask wearing. Rather, the problem is one of which mask to wear.

There is still the moral difficulty, however, whether it is right to conceal the research identity when the purpose is to reveal members' identities to others. Thus as Henslin (9) argues, it is not the covert research method itself that is being questioned, but the results of it. This being so, why should we suppose that covert research is any different from other research of an overt kind? To present openly findings deceitfully gathered, to sell to one group the secrets of another, as Goffman (10) says, is to play the "defrocked priest". But, after all, whatever stance the researcher takes, involves deception being practised to some degree. In all research, as Ross (11) argues, there is some degree of secrecy, if only because it is not possible to tell the subject everything about the research as he usually does not know himself. Also, if the moral issue were taken to its extreme, it would mean having continually to reveal the research purpose whenever new members enter the action scene, as well as remind those who were already members in case they should forget. In P.O. especially, the researcher finds himself under such pressure to become involved in the action itself, that those he studies often forget he is there and react to him only as a member. A splendid example of this is Gans' study (12) of life in an American town (named

Levittown to protect the identity of those studied). Despite the fact that the city fathers all knew that Gans was there as a sociologist, they still praised him in public for his regular attendance at Levittown's governmental meetings.

Perhaps more questionable, though, are cases in which someone has previously been a member and has since taken the role of researcher (13). Douglas (14) says this amounts to covert research, dodging the moral issue. But again there is no clear-cut case for saying this. Revealing the content of an action scene, whether one is a researcher before or after the event, cannot itself be immoral. If this were the case, nothing could be taken from an action scene and reported as public knowledge. Rather, knowledge is non-transferable if what is imparted constitutes a private matter and cannot be reported without causing harm to those concerned. Thus it is not the moral integrity of the researcher alone which is at issue. Harm can come of broken confidences, whether these are broken by a researcher or anyone else.

Finally, Dingwall's point that covert research must always be regarded as unethical, but can sometimes be justified on the grounds of political or moral expediency. He argues that covert infiltration of some organizations, say, the National Front is acceptable because the knowledge acquired outweighs the risk of discomfort to those under investigation. Similar justifications have been suggested for the penetration of groups of Scientologists, Moonies and the Jones' Sect. What he is saying is that some communities are sufficiently undesirable to warrant surreptitious investigation, while groups which give no cause for suspicion should be protected from such enquiry. But why should this be seen as any less unethical simply because it necessitates prior evaluation of the subjects' right to privacy? Moreover, if one had to decide whether the research one sought to undertake justified involving damage to subjects in the field prior to every investigation, surely it would place an intolerable constraint on the researcher? What about the moral dilemma of the

researcher who is prepared to justify involving damage to subjects in the field?

What critics like Dingwall overlook is the peculiar restraint that a covert researcher may exercise in bringing the data collected to light. Indeed, I would argue that I have done little or nothing to damage my subjects' image or personal reputation because every effort has been made to mitigate the ethical offence. In the first place, I have omitted names and changed other irrelevant facts to protect the identity of those involved. I have also taken care not to report data covertly acquired wherever I have supposed that publication would violate their trust in me and cause discomfort. In the final analysis, those who adopt a covert stance are often more rigorously "ethical" because they have a greater obligation to meet considerations of this kind than those who had declared their research intent.

2. Problems upon entry into the field

That said, there were still a number of problems associated with entry into the field. These ranged from the most obvious practical difficulties facing a fieldworker without any previous experience of the job. How to turn up suddenly as a skilled waiter? How to provide a rationale for my presence which would be both understandable and acceptable to others in the hotels studied? How to develop a good rapport with different sections of the workforce?

Then there were problems of a theoretical nature. What particularly concerned me here was how to develop and define the area of investigation which encompasses such widely varying interests as social anthropology, industrial relations theory, deviance theory, organization theory and occupational sociology. I have settled for an approach which has greatly benefited from the collaborative support of experts in all these fields - most notably colleagues and research workers at the Centre for Occupational and Community

Research (Middlesex Polytechnic) and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. Certainly I owe a considerable debt to them. But since no general theoretical principles have as yet been fully worked out for occupational studies of this kind, the result was all too often that I simply had to play it by ear. There are, for instance, no general principles for identifying different kinds of pilferage or to show how they may be related to any ordered classification of occupations. If the hypotheses which have emerged are correct, they should have important implications for occupational studies and industrial relations - not only in this industry, but in other service occupations too. But how to discover these principles and how to tackle a subject so sensitive to my informants that inevitably the answers gathered from questions on fiddling are suspect? One of my tasks has indeed been to find a way of classifying fiddles through study of the hotel industry, the basis for which is more fully discussed in chapters 10 and 11. Let us now return to the question of the P.O. role itself.

One problem I had which is common to all who adopt a P.O. role was to maintain objectivity. However much care is taken, one will almost certainly develop a better rapport with some than others in the field. Polsky, for example, in his study of an adolescent delinquent boys' hostel in the U.S.A. (15) found himself being drawn towards the medium-status boys in the hostel's sub-culture. This was because in general he preferred them as they tended to be much more athletic, witty, verbal and less crudely aggressive than the boys' leaders, but yet not so introverted as the low-status boys. Another danger is that one becomes so accustomed to the settings under investigation that one begins to take for granted anything which the research should be trying to explain. Whyte noted that in his classic study of Chicago street gangs, for instance (16), everything that he saw and heard was new and strange at first, but he did not have a sufficient rapport or know enough to ask the right questions. As he became more absorbed in the local culture,

the richness of the data increased and the rapport that he had with those being studied improved but he found himself becoming blind to the very behaviour that his informants took for granted. What concerns us, then, is how can overt identification be avoided; and what safeguards are there against growing blind spots? There seems to be no totally satisfactory solution to these difficulties and the procedure I adopted is itself open to the same objections, but less so, I hope, in each important respect.

Finally, I have only so far touched upon the ethical problems of going underground. But what about the practical implications? Entrance into the field as a disguised observer may make it possible to gather information that cannot easily be obtained by any other means, but posing under some other guise usually requires more careful staging. First, as I have already said, it is not easy to turn up as an experienced waiter, a member of a street gang, or in any role which requires a dramatic change from what one is accustomed to doing in "real" life. Not having the excuse that one is doing research makes it all the more difficult for other people to accept one's shortcomings. Second, not revealing one's research identity sets limits on the amount of questioning which one can do without arousing suspicion. Thus it is more difficult to get information using covert methods. Indeed, had I not felt that knowledge of the research would almost certainly have prevented the research from being done (17), I would not have attempted to operate within the covert role: both out of consideration of the ethical issues that attend its practice and because it is altogether a simpler procedure to reveal one's research identity before entry into the field.

In later chapters, we shall examine more thoroughly the means by which I found myself being inducted to the hotels under investigation, the stages of induction, the costs and benefits of induction and the degree of exclusion - full or partial - that is practised within them. This will necessarily form part of what we shall consider when

we look at the waiter's career - and, in particular, the processes of social control that affect progression from the peripheral category to the core (18). What I shall seek to do is to show how I tried to tackle some of the practical difficulties mentioned here. In particular, I plan to focus upon the problems which I personally encountered and chart the effect that such contingencies had upon the development - at least in the early stages - of the research.

3. Tackling problems in the field

Deciding not to reveal my research identity in the field meant that I had to invent some credible explanation for my presence. Posing as a postgraduate student in search of a job during the vacation or before looking for more suitable employment helped to provide some rationale. At the very outset, I lived in the home of an experienced waitress, a friend and informant of Gerald Mars, who taught me the rudiments of the waiter's craft and tried to help me get my first job through her informal contacts in the industry. However, I soon discovered that the problem was somehow to convince a restaurant manager that I already had some experience.

Most people who have joined the industry within the past twenty years, as my conversations with waiters and waitresses have borne out, either began in a large high status establishment as a "commis" and were trained for the job over time. Or they began as I did - they bluffed their way into their first hotel, usually a low status establishment by telling the restaurant manager that they were experienced and picked up the job from others. Of course, this is not as easy as it sounds. All the restaurant manager had to do was to call my bluff if he wished to discover the truth. One manager asked me, for instance, to demonstrate how I would hold four plates at the same time in one hand without using a tray. Needless to say, I

failed the test but went onto the next hotel with my sense of purpose, if anything, strengthened because I had suffered such setbacks en route. By the time I reached the end of the promenade, I had repeated the story so often of how I had worked the previous season at another hotel in town that I began to believe it myself. Moreover, I began to elaborate and embroider the story as I went on, keeping largely to the original version, but adding an extra twist to the tale every so often until eventually I found myself saying that I had worked in the Ritz! There was an element of truth in this claim because I had worked for 2 nights in the Ritz as a dishwasher but, as the head waiter in my first hotel told me some weeks afterwards, the great mistake which I had made was to carry the bluff too far:

> "You could at least have chosen a hotel which no-one had ever heard of ... we had to take on staff at the time, or you'd never have got the job ..." (19)

It soon became evident that differences existed between the backgrounds, rewards and relationships of staff living in hotels and those living out. As a result, the original four months envisaged for fieldwork in this North seaside town was split into two, and under my own steam, I moved to a second hotel in the same location as a resident waiter staying for six weeks. Finding my second hotel certainly proved much easier because I now had some experience and a few contacts in the industry which enabled me to fall into the labour market as a "normal" waiter. So when I eventually moved down to London I did not have to bluff my way in - but got taken on as a commis without much difficulty. So, too, when I came to look for employment in Cardiff, though I did not have personal contacts in the industry there, I could exploit my new found experience to get a job in a large conglomerate-owned hotel - especially since it belonged to the same chain as one of the London hotels where I had worked.

Mistakes in participant observation, compared with many other techniques, have much more dire consequences

for the whole enquiry. If, say, a faulty approach were adopted in a survey which led to a respondent's refusal to be interviewed, another respondent can usually be substituted without much harm to the investigation. One false move in dealing with a key person in P.O., however, can put the entire enquiry at risk. Establishing relationships gradually, not trying to go too far too fast, not asking too many questions and avoiding emotionally loaded questions until my relationship with those being studied was secure, therefore, proved essential. On the whole, I found that it was not difficult to achieve acceptance and establish good relations with those studied upon entry. But since every time I tried a slightly more direct approach too early on, they immediately began to suspect my real motive for being there, the value of the less direct approach was never far from my mind. I have already mentioned how a kitchen porter whom I had questioned too closely in the second hotel suspected that I was a government employee. I have also mentioned how a waitress found me in the first hotel reading "The Professional Thief". Yet perhaps the closest I came to having my cover completely blown was soon after I began the study when an article appeared in the Sunday Times about the work which Mars and Mitchell were currently doing in the field - only days or hours after I had pressed several people for information about fiddling. Fortunately, the only person to notice the article was a student working in the hotel during his summer holidays and he narrowly failed to see the connection:

> "It's amazing to think that we were only talking about it last night and the next thing you know, it's all over the Sunday papers!..." (20).

Time, of course, is a crucial factor determining the approach adopted here. The period of stay varied from one to three months in each hotel. As the research developed, it became apparent that about two weeks of a discrete and incurious presence were sufficient before even the most suspicious and sensitive person, busy with his or her job, would tolerate being asked questions or volunteer the kind of information I was looking for. How much information was

gathered also varied with different people and with events arising during the fieldwork. One old-timer in the first hotel, not long after my first week of being there, quite unexpectedly on his way past me, said: "You'll not get very far in this business if you don't learn how to make a bit on the side!..." Upon being questioned later on, he explained what he had meant and freely admitted putting money in his pocket whenever the opportunity arose. His advice that I should do the same was accomapnied by a few useful tips, such as how to pocket the money which customers paid and pass them off as residents whose bills are put on account and paid at the end of their stay. To minimize the risk of being caught fiddling, he suggested making up the bill to a round figure so that customers would not be so likely to require change. Others, not quite so open about it, would volunteer the same kind of information but had to get to know me better first. For instance, the second head waiter whom I had got to know in the same hotel had previously shown no sign of wishing to talk about fiddling. It was not until a wine waiter had been caught fiddling in the restaurant on the table next to the manager that he began to talk for the first time quite openly about it. As if wanting to take me under his wing, he said:

> "Everyone fiddles in this business ... but it's one thing to fiddle, and quite another to fiddle right in front of the manager's nose..."

Just as it was important to refrain from asking people too many questions at first, it was also important not to overidentify with the role being played in the field (21). On the one hand it was a problem to keep myself from becoming so personally involved in the situation that I took for granted the sort of things which I had set out to explain. I can still remember the great disappointment that I felt upon not being given a station head waiter's post after working three months in my first London hotel as a commis! The reasons for my disappointment seem quite irrelevant now. In retrospect, I had allowed myself to become so fully

absorbed in the culture as a participant that it impaired my objectivity as an observer. On the other hand, the problem was how to avoid the effect my own feelings and behaviour might have upon the people and events in the setting I sought to observe. In the second hotel, for instance, I became so deeply involved in the events following the dismissal of a waiter, that I found myself assuming the role of spokesman when a confrontation developed between the restaurant manager and the waiting staff. The waiter in question had been dismissed after he had asked to be paid overtime for working extra hours the week before. None of us were union members but when someone suggested threatening to go on strike unless the manager agreed to reinstate him, it was generally agreed that we should do so. When the restaurant manager approached us shortly afterwards to find out what we were doing, however, no one was prepared to say anything. Then, without thinking, I suddenly broke the silence with: "We don't think your treatment of Franceso was reasonable ..." Hardly the words of someone seeking to maintain an objective stance, and had the result been to precipitate action which otherwise might not have occurred, I would have only had myself to blame. As it was, the waiter in question had already left on his own accord - saying that he would never return; and with the main cause of the dispute removed, it was decided to call off the strike anyway.

To increase the accuracy of observation and maintain objectivity, I tried several techniques. One was simply to disengage myself from the participant role whenever possible. Obviously the covert stance I adopted made it impossible to record behaviour as it actually occurred but everything I observed and was told had to be written down in private after the event. How to remember what had been said or done was not the main problem. At least I did not have to contend with Ditton's dilemma of being stuck "on the line" for 12 hour shifts with nowhere to go to jot things down in private except the innocently provided lavatory cubicles (22). In any case because a waiter normally works split shifts, I did not have to keep anything that I wanted to remember in

my head for more than a few hours. I could quite easily slink off between shifts or in a slack period to scribble things down - if not in the seclusion of my own room, then in one of the many nooks and crannies invariably to be found in hotels. The real danger, however, was that material gathered in this way always suffers from possible selective recall. Full recording helped me to detach myself from the participant role and restore objectivity. As far as possible I tried to record whole parts of conversations verbatim and waited until I had collected sufficient data to put an interpretation on it. To protect myself against over-identification, a close regular outside contact was maintained throughout the fieldwork with Gerald Mars and others. By making fairly frequent progress reports to people outside the situation, especially at the regular monthly seminars at the Centre for Occupation and Community Research (Middlesex Polytechnic), I became aware of the points at which explanations were weak, the points at which explanations were needed and not provided.

Another kind of check I tried came from people who are or who have been employed in the industry themselves, some of whom I took into my confidence about the research. Since none of the names given to the characters in my study are real, I cannot directly acknowledge the help of local informants. Indeed, because the research was for the most part gathered covertly without their knowledge, the part that people played in this study is probably greater than most of them ever realized. Needless to say, the answers they gave to many quite innocent sounding questions that I put to them throughout the fieldwork afforded the best possible source for cross-checking material. However, when it was a question of having to check something of a more sensitive nature, in some cases I felt that it was not worth the risk of jeopardizing the whole study to ask people in the field about it. This is not such a major problem when the research intent is declared. What Whyte did, for example, in gathering material for "Street Corner Society" was to have innumerable discussions with "Doc", one of the key

informants in the group he was studying, so that he could check how far he had caught the meaning the situation had for them (23). Being denied the chance of such an approach, I had to rely upon key informants outside the situation to play this kind of role - in particular, upon the ex-waitress and friend of Gerald Mars who gave me some help in finding my first hotel, a lady of seemingly infinite knowledge upon whose experience I have drawn a great deal to check on the validity of my findings. In addition, I have especially benefited from the knowledge and experience of staff and students on H.N.D. courses in hotel management at Middlesex Polytechnic and Leeds Polytechnic whom I frequently used as a sounding-board for developing ideas which emerged during the fieldwork.

Finally, an occupational study cannot cover everything. Entry into the field as a full-time waiter necessarily meant that I had greater contact with workers than management or customers, and in particular with the waiting staff rather than kitchen workers, chambermaids, porters or other staff. This would seem to pose a major problem for the research if it were thought necessary to present a god's eye view of the wider social universe of which the hotel waiter is a part. But fortunately there was no need in this particular project to adopt such an approach. The enquiry is not concerned with discovering the workplace relationships of an industry which calls itself hotel and catering. It is concerned with formulating a method of understanding workplace behaviour. At the outset, I did not expect to find necessarily any great common ground between the workplace behaviour of the hotels chosen for investigation. On the contrary, wide variation between them would have been welcomed for the better scope it would afford to an exercise in method. Once the broad outlines of what is held in common are discerned, it would be possible to produce hypotheses for predicting the kinds of policy that are likely to be effective in different parts of the industry. But in order to develop these hypotheses, it is necessary first to understand the hotel as an

organization - and people's realtionships within it.

That said, I did find myself being "naturally" drawn into a position where I only made contact with the peripheral workers. Just as anyone who enters a new situation gravitates towards a position in which his presence is less likely to be obtrusive, I unwittingly fell into this trap and became what Hughes would call the "marginal man" (24). A study which depends so much for data upon the investigator's par ticipation in the group he is studying cannot expect to achieve the accuracy and completeness that his recordings should aim for until he himself has entered the central arena. At the same time, I was aware that it would almost certainly influence the situation I was trying to observe if I began to play such an active role upon entering. And the fact that I did not possess the technical expertise necessary for entry into the core added to the problem. Just how far is it possible to participate fully and not limit the opportunities for collecting data because it keeps the researcher from making the wide variety of contacts which he needs? Apart from spending a whole lifetime in the industry, there is no easy solution. What I did, therefore, was to try and steer a middle course.

4. A Priori Assumptions

To meet the problem of imported assumptions, I tried to make my assumptions completely explicit at the outset. Therefore what I imported to the study is clearly visible in the structure of the research interest. I knew what I was looking for. In brief, I expected to find correlations between the value system and the pattern of social relations that exist within the workplace. My aim was to look for regularities that might appear between values and workplace behaviour. It is possible that the smallness of scope may have led me to imagine regularities which would have disappeared in a welter of new facts if the research had been more extensive or prolonged. Therefore I needed as big a gamut of hotels as could be achieved. It was an integral part of the method,

required by these assumptions, that the hotels be chosen on the criteria of varied ownership and location: ranging in quality from the lower level to the top international class end of the prestige spectrum.

At this point, it may be useful to spell out some of the other assumptions which I shall make in analysing cultural regularities. First, behaviour is assumed to be not random. It is a prior assumption of cultural anthropology (and one that would underline all sociological study) that human behaviour is patterned activity. Second, it is assumed that the tendency to fall into patterns is affected by economic and political concerns. Consequently, and thirdly, the patterns that are sufficiently stable to be identified in research are assumed to be adapted to an equally stable distribution of power in the social dimension . As the distribution of power changes, so will the cultural pattern affected by it. When these assumptions which are almost too deep to be explicit in tribal studies are brought to the fore, and applied to the workplace, they shed an unfamiliar light upon people and their attitudes. We assume easily enough that within given constraints and widely agreed cultural standards, it makes sense to speak of a social system. To call it a social system implies that if one part varies, other linked variations can be expected.

We find, in fact, that this assumption is perfectly acceptable as it raises questions about the relations of each part to the rest of the system. There is, for example, no reason to suppose that the cut we make for analytic purposes between people and the technology they use is not arbitrary. Indeed, one of the earliest accounts of how an aspect of technology may influence patterns of human behaviour is to be found in Whyte's study of the hotel industry. In his description of the role played by "the insignificant looking spindle", what Whyte points out is that it is possible for such a simple device to be used in regulating social relations and preventing a potentially explosive situation:

"Where we have men (unaccustomed to taking orders from

> women) behind the counter, it seems likely that the spindles make a difference between a workable business and one that would blow up ... wherever the people on the receiving end of the orders are related to the order givers as males v. females ... then it is important for the pantry people to have some impersonal barrier to block the pressure from themselves ..." (25)

The assumption that there would be a correlation between the ordering of social relations and the system of beliefs marks the limit of the preconceptions that I brought to the study. Beyond it, I was ready to find everything or nothing. I could have lit upon a hotel in which people, say, were expected to work on their own, or upon a hotel in which everyone regularly sought the co-operation of each other working in unison. In some hotels, work might have been valued for itself whilst in others it might have been regarded as nothing more than the economic return for effort. Nothing would have surprised me. But without some correlation between the structure of workplace behaviour and the value system of those who work in the same organization, I would have been surprised to find a smoothly run hotel.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See, for example, K. Erikson: "A Comment on Disguised Observation in Sociology", Social Problems, No. 14, 1967, pp366-373.

2. For example, an interesting exchange of views on the ethics of covert research has recently emerged following the publication of a paper by R. Homan, "Interpersonal Communication in Pentecostal Meetings", in Sociological Review, Vol. 26, 1978. Extracts of the correspondence between R. Dingwall, R. Frankenberg, R. Barbour and R. Homan appear in issues 11, 15, 16 and 17 of Network (British Sociological Association). The main concern of the paper which initially sparked off this interest was simply to present Homan's research findings. But in a subsequent paper (British Journal of Sociology, March 1980), the methodology and in particular the reasons for his adoption of a covert stance are more fully discussed.

3. As a good example of the need for subterfuge, see Jason Ditton's study of pilferage and fiddling in a bakery (1977, p10). Taken in comparison with an earlier study of bakery roundsmen by Daniel (1963, p108), it serves as a powerful reminder of the penalty which one may have to pay for not resorting to covert practices on moral or ethical grounds. When interviewed, the bread salesmen in his investigation denied being on the fiddle, despite the evidence of this being so. Daniel concludes that the reason why the roundsmen have cars and the inside men only bicycles is that the roundsmen could have part-time jobs, or that different expenditure preference patterns might operate. No other explanation is possible without some subterfuge.

W.W. Daniel, "A Consideration of Individual and Group Attitudes in an Expanding and Technically Changing Organization", M.Sc. (Tech.) Thesis, Unpub, (Manchester University), 1963; J. Ditton, "Part-Time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage", London: Macmillan, 1977.

4. K. Erikson, 1967, ibid.

5. R. Dingwall, 1980, ibid.

6. N. Denzin, "A Comment on the Ethics of Disguised Observation in Sociology", Social Problems, No.15, 1968, pp502-504.

7. L. Humphreys, "Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places", Chicago: Aldine, 1970.

8. H.W. Polsky, "Hustlers, Beats and Others", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.

9. J. Henslin, "Craps and Magic", American Journal Sociology, No. 73, 1967, pp316-330.

10. E. Goffman, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979, p163.

11. J. Roth, "Comments on Secret Observation", Social Problems, No. 9, pp283-284.

12. H. G. Gans, "The Participant Observer as Human Being", in "Institutions and the Person" ed. by H. Becker, B. Geer, et al, Chicago, 1968.

13. See, for instance, H.W. Becker's "Outsiders", New York: The Free Press, 1963.

14. J. Douglas, "Research on Deviance", New York: Random House, 1972.

15. H.W. Polsky, "Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment", New York: Wiley, 1962.

16. In his classic study of life in an Italian-American slum, Whyte has added an Appendix which contains one of

the best written and certainly the most lively accounts of how someone operates using participant observation in the field. In his own words, the particular problem which I refer to here is described as follows:

"I had to balance familiarity with detachment, or else no insights would have come. There were fallow periods when I seemed to be just marking time. Whenever life flowed so smoothly that I was taking it for granted, I had to try to get outside of my participating self and struggle again to explain the things that seemed obvious" (1955, p357).

W.F. Whyte, "Street Corner Society", London: University of Chicago Press, 1955, pp279-258.

17. Anyone outside this most insular of industries is likely to meet resistance - a fate too that faces trade union officials as Mars and Mitchell have pointed out. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Catering for the Low Paid: Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Unit Bulletin No.15, June 1977.

18. See, in particular, chaps. 6 and 7.

19. Evidently the type of people like myself who find they have to bluff their way into their first job because hotels or restaurants are not generally prepared to take on inexperienced staff is not uncommon. Angela Bowey has also researched it in her book: "The Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976, p135.

20. This was an article which appeared in the Business Section of the Sunday Times on 2 August, 1976.

21. Much has been written about the difficulties facing the participant observer in maintaining objectivity following entry into the field. In particular, I found a book by Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook on "Research Methods in Social Relations", London: Methuen, 1969, pp207-221 to be a useful guide. Some helpful hints are also given in Whyte (op. cit., 1955, pp219-356). For a more psychodynamic approach on the same subject, see Gans (op. cit., 1968, pp302-317).

22. Apart from the awkward tendency for pencilled notes on Bronco toilet paper to be self-erasing, the amount of time that Ditton was spending in the lavatory began to get noticed. He had to pacify some genuinely concerned work-mates until eventually he "came out" as an observer - albeit in a limited way (ibid, 1977, p5).

23. W.F. Whyte, op. cit., 1955.

24. E.C. Hughes, "Men and Their Work", Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958, p120.

25. W.F. Whyte, "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", New York: McGraw Hill, 1948, pp74-75.

PART II

SERVICE AS A CAREER

CHAPTER FOUR

IDEAS OF SERVICE

1. Service and different types of hotel

Most hotels prior to World War II were either the luxury kind associated with large cities (particularly London), or they were tourist hotels in coastal areas or service adjuncts to the railway system (1). Now it is a large and developing industry of considerable economic importance - due to considerable changes occurring largely since the late sixties. Most significant has been the development of a wider range of facilities to meet the needs of different markets and types of clientele. There are still a small number of highly prestigious top international class hotels - Claridges, The Savoy, The Ritz, The Dorchester, and so on. But now we find the industry beginning to incorporate increasing numbers of establishments aimed at the lower end of the market - cheap hotels, motels, holiday camps, guest houses, boarding houses, hostels and the like. We find, too, that the number of moderately priced eating places has greatly increased over the past 20 years: ethnic restaurants, snack bars, wine bars, take-away establishments, self-service restaurants and the like now exist in vast numbers (2).

When we now talk about the hotel industry, we are therefore discussing an industry which encompasses widely varying types of organizations. This begs the question: how far can we talk about the hotel industry as a whole? Instead of one industry, perhaps there are really several? In presenting the data, I have chosen to treat the industry as homogeneous with different sectors having different problems. This is because I felt the variation between hotels is less obvious than the characteristics they hold in common. Parts of the industry may in fact reflect major changes of some kind, but such changes usually take place without the essential nature of the product or service being altered. Whatever else the hotel aims to do, it must always provide service. Just what it is that peoople are supposed to be

serving or receiving varies in different parts of the industry, but some notions about service are capable of wide application. To find a definition of the service ideal at both ends of the prestige spectrum was my concern.

Since many different meanings are attached to this term, it is necessary to choose a usage. Service in the present analysis is taken to mean something more than the basic act of serving. On the other hand, it is not taken to refer specifically to the act of serving food. Service involves the need to supply customer satisfaction in a variety of ways, not all of which are explicit or can easily be defined. Seeking a definition is therefore fraught with difficulty since it is all too often the most intangible aspects of customer satisfaction upon which the service is judged, especially in hotels of the highly prestigious kind. The most satisfactory definition seems to be one which is wide enough to be relevant to the whole industry, but referring specifically to the total set of actions and physical features that come together to provide satisfaction. Further, it is the satisfaction that comes from receiving something that goes beyond the bare minimum. Thus it refers to an action or material thing that goes beyond what one might normally expect, at least compared with what happens in the domestic setting.

The more people actually pay for the service they receive, the more discriminating the demand for better and more individualistic service. Moving down the scale towards mass catering, people's discrimination becomes less strong on the other hand. To what extent the service ideal and its practical fulfilment match varies a great deal. Broadly, though, the ideal and the norm equate at each end of the prestige spectrum. The interesting area occurs in the expanding middle where ambiguity prevails. Here expectations of customers are uncertain and management are at their weakest in dealing with the essentially erratic nature of the demand for their product. To this I shall return later, but first let us consider the concept of service at each end of the spectrum, broadly speaking, "individualistic" and "mass".

In the highest level hotels where the satisfaction of customers' needs has highest priority, one would expect to find the emphasis on personal choice and quality. All such hotels have a number of defining characteristics in common. These include a wide choice in both a la carte and table d'hote menus, less emphasis on quantity, more emphasis on quality, greater scope for the customer to set his own pace, few restrictions on personal space (i.e. a great deal of elbow-room and space between tables), high quality table-ware, highly skilled and specialized staff. Naturally the ability to provide such service hinges upon the level of demand and other concomitant economic factors. These may be summed up by saying that hotels of this kind depend upon having a high staff-customer ratio, a low turnover of production, relatively large units of profit; slow returns on outlay and low staff turnover rates, especially amongst their skilled labour. Tables 1 and 2 below show how the two high level London hotels I studied follow the pattern broadly described here, but bear in mind that these are 1977-8 prices.

Table 1. Conglomerate ownership, Metropolitan, 45 bedrooms, one Restaurant with a maximum seating capacity of 120 : hotel 3

No. of customers allocated to each waiter on average sitting	12
Average length of customers' sitting time	1 hr. 30 mins. (lunch) 3 hrs. (dinner/cabaret)
Cost of average meal (wine included)	£10 (lunch) £15 (dinner)
Average gross weekly earnings of waiter	£50 (incl. tips) + service

Table 2. Non-conglomerate ownership, Metropolitan, -00 bedrooms, two Restaurants with a maximum seating capacity of 150 each : hotel 4

No. of customers allocated to each waiter on average sitting	8
Average length of customers' sitting time	1 hr. 30 mins.
Cost of average meal (wine included)	£15
Average gross weekly earnings of waiters	£60 (incl. tips)

Now if we turn to the other end of the spectrum, we find the very antithesis of everything mentioned so far. Most forms of mass catering (industrial canteens, self-service, take-away and such like) thrive by trying to meet the demand for a cheaper product with only the very thinnest layer of service. Most people have a fairly clear idea of what features characterize such establishments: limited choice of menu, more emphasis on quantity, less emphasis on quality, little opportunity for the customer to set his own pace (often sharing one's table with people who are strangers), limited access to tables and chairs in general, cheap plastic cups, plates, paper serviettes, etc., inexperienced, semi-skilled and unskilled staff. Certainly in the northern hotels I studied, the emphasis was on having to reduce production costs through cuts in labour and quality of output. Here I found a low staff-customer ratio, a high turnover of production, relatively small unit profits, quick returns on outlay and high labour turnover rates, at least amongst peripheral workers (see Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Conglomerate ownership, seaside, 600 bedrooms, one Restaurant with a maximum seating capacity of 600, Grill Room seating 50 (mainly used by non-residents) : hotel 1

No. of customers allocated to each waiter on average sitting	30
Average length of customers' sitting time	45 mins.
Cost of the average meal (wine included)	£2.50
Average gross weekly earnings of waiter	£40 (incl. tips)

Table 4. Non-conglomerate ownership, seaside, 300 bedrooms, one Restaurant with a maximum seating capacity of 200, Grill Room seating 20 (mainly used by non-residents): hotel 2

No. of customers allocated to each waiter on average sitting	25
Average length of customers' sitting time	60 mins.
Cost of the average meal (wine included)	£4
Average gross weekly earnings of waiter)	£30 (incl. tips)

Between these two extremes we have the expanding middle area - the part of the industry that has come to be dominated by big hotels in city areas, largely built since the late sixties and belonging to a small number of conglomerate companies. Some of the newly built hotels have a new product or service such as those situated near a motorway. Others have much more in common with the older traditional hotel, essentially providing the same product or service as them.

However, the ideology and business orientation of their managers - derived as they are from outside the industry - are very different from those of the traditional owners and managers of hotels and are subjected to constraints of a very different kind. Thus the danger is that medium level hotels are often judged on the same criteria as those much higher up the hierarchy, when, in fact, they possess many of the characteristics of those much lower down: i.e. high turnover of production, low staff-customer ratios, relatively small unit costs and the like. The medium level Cardiff hotel I studied suffered this fate (see Table 5).

Table 5. Conglomerate ownership, medium urban, 200 bedrooms, one Restaurant with a maximum seating capacity of 200, Grill Room seating 200 : hotel 5

No. of customers allocated to each waiter on average sitting	25
Average length of customers' sitting time	1 hr. 25 mins.
Cost of the average meal (wine included)	£6
Average gross weekly earnings of waiter	£45 (inc; tips)

2. Elasticity of demand and service

Once comparison is put in hand, essentially what we find are two hypotheses for predicting the kind of service that is likely to be judged as good. In hotels where food and service are expensive at the extremely prestigious end of the market, a rise in price will not be accompanied by a proportionate decline in sales turnover. In such hotels, running costs will always be high because of the large numbers of highly skilled staff they need in order to meet the demand for individualistic service. Increases in the cost of production will fall directly upon the consumer who

will have to pay more but as far as sales go, the demand for this kind of service is inelastic. So long as there are people willing to pay for the very best that money can buy, there will always be a steady demand for it, hardly responsive to price changes. Thus in the prestigious hotels I have been studying, I found that people were more inclined to disregard the economic factors when choosing from the menu. Certainly there are cases in which economic restraints play a part in the customers' choice of food. Once, for example, a customer who only ordered an omelette in the highest level London hotel I studied apologized to the waiter for not having ordered more, but explained that he had chosen the least expensive item on the menu since all he wanted was to be able to say that he had eaten at this luxury establishment. But given that the demand for a more expensive and better quality food and service generally comes from people who are well-to-do, their demand for individualistic service is fairly steady, however high the price required to pay for it (see Figure 1).

In mass catering, the reverse applies. Here the elasticity of demand with respect to changes in price will be high so that any rise in price will normally be followed by a greater than proportionate decline in sales turnover. Increases in the cost of production have somehow to be met as far as possible without raising the price for the consumer. Low staffing and poor quality food may help to keep the costs down but as even the slightest rise in consumer prices may bring a decline in sales output, practically nothing can be done to maintain the balance. Greater competition at the lower end of the market means that, if the price is too high, people will simply take their custom elsewhere whenever they see the opportunity to pay less. In such hotels, increased running costs, therefore, have to be met by whatever means are judged likely to have the least impact upon consumer demand (see Figure 2).

Between these two extremes much ambiguity prevails. High expectations tend not to be fulfilled because low staffing and poor quality of food militates against the

Figure 1: Inelastic demand for a hotel's services

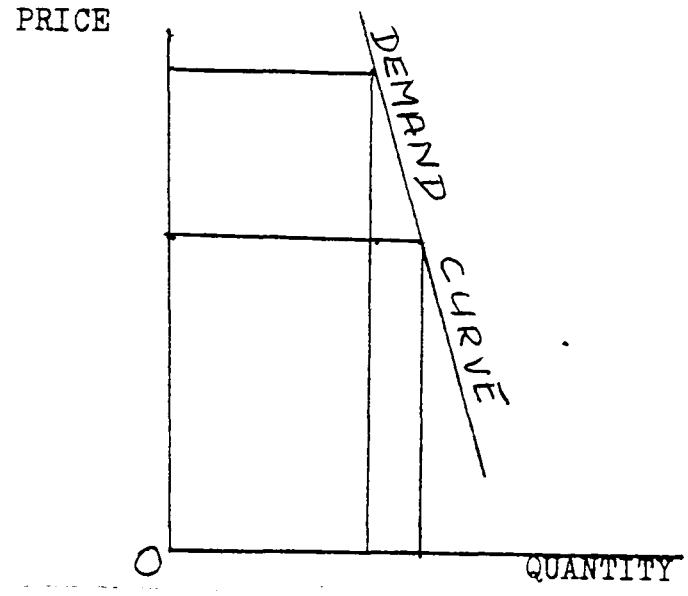


Figure 2: Elastic demand for a hotel's services

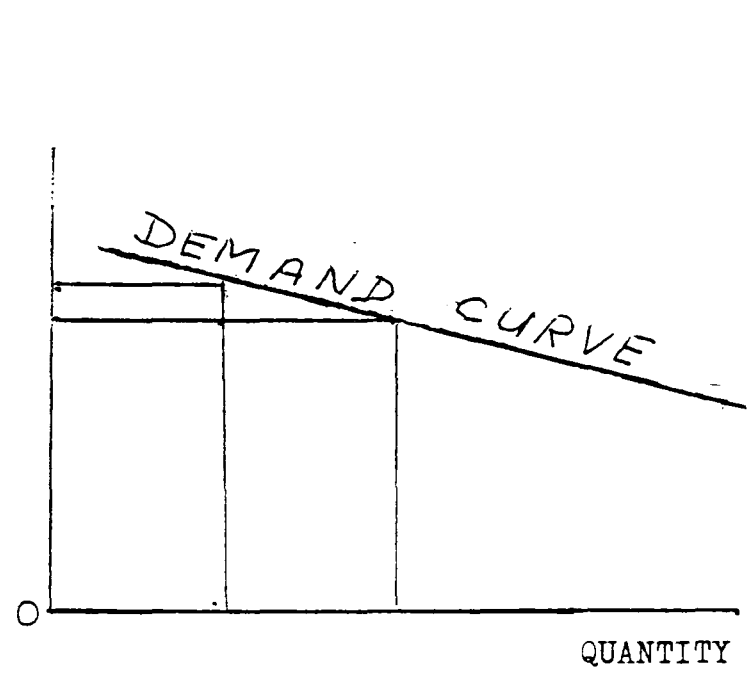
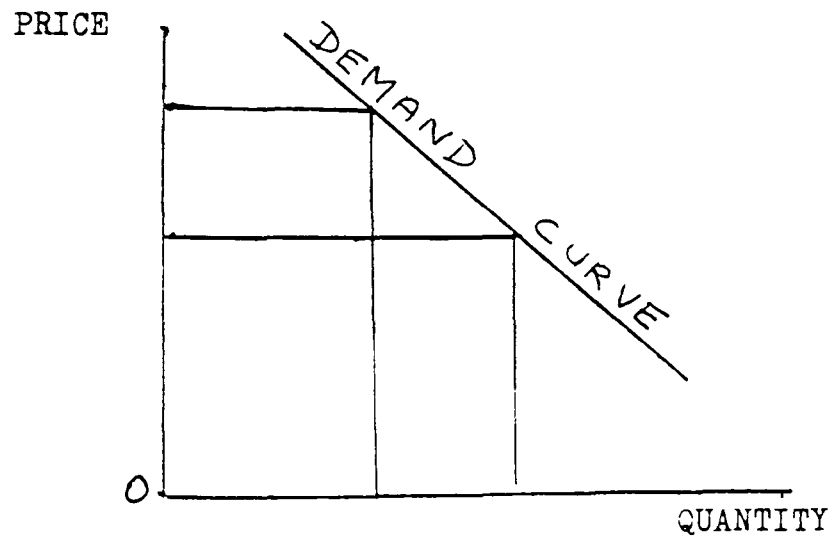


Figure 3: Unit elasticity of demand for a hotel's services.



service ideal. On the other hand, amongst those who use this kind of hotel are large numbers of people for whom quality does not count, where demand is more for keeping down the price. The danger, therefore, is that nothing can be done to reduce production costs because of the high expectations of some customers who use the hotel, but at the same time price elasticity will be high (see Figure 3).

3. Master and auxiliary status traits

In trying to arrive at a definition of the hotel industry, we have so far focused upon the concept of service because this is the key trait that all hotels can be said to have in common. But if we wished to take the analysis further, we are still left with some problems of definition and classification. The danger is that if we classify things together because they have one dominantly common characteristic, we assume that members of such a category also possess other secondary characteristics in common. It will make our position clear at the outset, therefore, if we accept that there are several dominant characteristics that can be selected to form the basis of a classification of hotels, one of which is the service they provide. Here service is related to the defining characteristics of two grand categories of hotel, mass versus individualistic. In this respect it is distinguished from a classification based upon the hotel's status which may amount to the same thing but not necessarily so.

To analyze the consequences of assuming the identity of one or other class, let us make use of Hughes' distinction between master and auxiliary status traits (3). Hughes notes that most statuses have one key trait which serves to distinguish those who belong from those who do not. It might, for example, be the formal or legal requirements that a person must fulfil for entry into a given status or profession. Thus, whatever else he may be, the doctor is a person who has a certificate stating that he has fulfilled

certain requirements and is licensed to practice medicine. There might, on the other hand, be no formal or legal requirement to qualify for entry but an informally expected master trait that all those who belong are normally required to have. For example, there might be no formal or legal requirement for a person to call himself a supporter of a political party but he would at least be informally expected to vote in support of that party at an election. However, as Hughes points out, in addition to having a master trait, people often have auxiliary characteristics determining their status relative to one another. Thus most people in our society also expect a doctor to be middle class, heterosexual, white, male and protestant. To take the analysis one step further, it follows that one may have the formal qualifications for entry into a status but be denied full entry because of lack of the proper auxiliary traits: for example, one may be a doctor but be female or black.

Hughes deals with this phenomenon in regard to statuses that are well thought of, desired and desirable. But as Becker points out, the same process occurs in the case of statuses that are deviant or not so desirable (4). To be labelled a deviant may carry a number of connotations specifying the traits associated with anyone bearing the label. Thus a man who is known to have committed an offence is not only labelled a criminal. He is also presumed to be likely to commit similar kinds of offences again and, because he has shown himself to be "without respect for the law", he may be considered likely to commit entirely different crimes as well. What, in short, Becker is saying is that apprehension for one deviant act is all that is necessary for a person to be labelled as such; this is the master trait. But because a person possesses one deviant trait, it may be assumed that he must also possess other deviant or undesirable traits; that is, the auxiliary traits allegedly associated with it.

Both Hughes and Becker were particularly concerned to analyze the statuses of individuals. But there would

appear to be no reason why we should not apply the same concept to analyze the collective statuses associated with a workgroup or organization. As in the case of individuals, some traits assume a certain priority over others in defining the status of a workgroup or organization; what Hughes calls the "master trait". In hotels this refers to the kind of service they provide. To treat a hotel as though it possesses high or low status presupposes a certain kind of service appropriate to all hotels of the same kind. But it also brings to people's minds an image of what they expect hotels of this kind generally to be like.

How hotels are judged then depends on their capacity to match the image people have of them using other hotels that belong to the same category as a yardstick. The fact that a hotel has high quality food, good decor or table-ware and plenty of elbow-room will not prevent it from being regarded as having low status - should the hotel fail to provide service of an individualistic kind. People, on the other hand, are surprised and find it anomalous if a hotel turns out to have the kind of service they expect but lack some of the other traits characteristically associated with hotels of its kind. Thus we might find a hotel which has individualistic service but because the food is poor, the decor and table-wear are poor, etc. it fails to fill the bill as a high level establishment. A chart summarizing the traits associated with hotels at each end of the spectrum is given in Table 6.

Table 6. Status defining features of a hotel

MASTER TRAIT	AUXILIARY TRAITS			
KIND OF SERVICE	FOOD	TIME	SPACE	
Individualistic	High quality. Wide choice Good pre-sentation	Customers able to set their own pace	Great deal of personal space. Good decor. Good table-ware.	HIGH PRESTIGE
Mass	Low quality Little choice Poor pre-sentation	Customers have the pace set for them	Small amount of personal space. Poor decor. Poor table-ware	LOW PRESTIGE

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. A brief account of the industry's history has already been given in chapter 1. For a fuller account of the history and recent changes taking place in the industry, see S. Medlik, "Profile of the Hotel and Catering Industry", London: Heinemann, 1978.

2. The recent boom in parts of the industry, particularly in London hotels, seems all the more remarkable when set against the enormous difficulties facing the industry since the mid-seventies. Ever since the end of 1973, there has been a worldwide recession hanging over the industry, a period marked by the onset of the energy crisis, increased unemployment, unprecedented inflation and a fall in real wages. Added to which the problems of financing alterations to meet new legislation on fire precautions make it appear the most difficult period the industry has had to face since the Second World War. As Medlik has said:

> "In place of these formidable challenges, the industry (has) survived reasonably well ... A rationalization of many catering services made major headway and innovation was clearly in evidence in new forms and in new ways of meeting the market needs and the requirement of viability". (ibid, pviii)

3. E. C. Hughes: "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status", American Journal Sociology, Vol. 50, 1945 (March), pp353-359.

4. H. S. Becker, "Outsiders", New York: The Free Press, 1963, pp32-39.

CHAPTER FIVE

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN A HOTEL

1. Procedural pitfalls

Research into a service occupation is normally hampered by three procedural pitfalls. One is failure to disengage the different ways in which customers may judge the kind of service they receive. It might be assumed that customers' judgements are based on quality alone but without some understanding of the social or budgetary constraints guiding their choice, the results are bound to be cued by the narrow concerns of the investigator. Second, those who serve are not disengaged from those served. Occupational research by nature is about employer-employee relations but in service occupations, the proximity of the client means that there is a triadic relationship (employer/employee/customer) with any two of the triad providing a potential link that may be directed against the third. Our main concern is with the relationships of waiters to management and of waiters to each other but since it is part of the waiter's professionalism to meet customers' needs and supply satisfaction, we cannot ignore the customer relationship. The third pitfall has to do with the division of labour. Those who make or prepare a product are not disengaged from those supplying the product to the customer direct. However much care is taken to distinguish them, service is a concept so open to personal interpretation that the result is only too often a mishmash which reflects the investigator's prejudices rather than revealing the principles upon which service is judged by different sectors of the workforce. How far I have gone in finding a solution to all these difficulties is hard to say. But at least I have tried to develop techniques of counteracting or containing the misleading effects before these problems could develop.

In trying to meet the first difficulty I have concentrated upon the social uses to which food can be put rather than the gastronomic side of dining out which has already

been much written about in restaurant guides, cookery books, magazines and the like. This sort of thing is so thoroughly written about that I did not presume to be able to offer anything on the subject. As far as the economic aspect is concerned, I have tried to cover as wide a gamut of hotels and restaurants as could be achieved: from the cheap seaside holiday hotel to the highly prestigious top international London hotel. If I have been successful the method will afford some insight into the way customers use food in a hotel or restaurant to exercise influence over one another, accelerate the process of getting to know one another or reinforce their relations with people they already know (1). This limited target enabled me to deal with the other difficulties more boldly. Establishing a role as a full-time waiter, I was able to observe people's behaviour at first hand, making a special note of the kind of service offered in different types of hotel and how this appeared to correlate with people's notions of service within each hotel - especially those of the waiting and kitchen staff.

2. The waiter-customer relationship

Most waiters I met in the highly prestigious hotels where I worked said that they thought the actual qualities that they needed in their profession were to be pleasant, charming, polite and discrete. Others placed greater emphasis upon the need to show respect and play a submissive role. Interestingly enough, however, I found very few who were prepared to put technical expertise or knowledge higher on their list, even though most would say that these were extremely important when asked. Examples of what some people said will help to illustrate the point:

> "In order to please you have to be charming ... just look at me for instance ... I know I don't speak English very well, so when it comes to describing what dishes are on the menu I'm not very good ... but everyone will tell you I'm very good at putting on the charm ... it helps me a lot to keep people happy, even if they're not too pleased

> with the food or service otherwise ... it also helps if I'm dealing with people in a tricky situation such as having to ask them to leave because they're not suitably dressed..." (station head waiter, hotel 3)
>
> "It doesn't take a good head on your shoulders to be a good waiter ... all you really need in this business to get on is the ability to say 'Yes Sir, No Sir, Three Bags Full Sir' ... if you can do nothing else, it doesn't matter so long as you can keep this up ..." (station head waiter, hotel 4).

Even management in top class establishments may rate a waiter highly if he lacks other skills because provided he has the ability to supply satisfaction and defuse complaints, nothing else really matters. At least this was how the restaurant manager in my first London hotel saw it, describing a man whom he had taken on as a station head waiter the week before:

> "Bloody Pole ... he doesn't know the first thing about the job and nearly all the time behaves like a complete idiot ... but I'll say this about him ... no one puts more money (i.e. tips) in the box (i.e. tronc) than him ... he's got what it takes to please the customers, never mind his daft and silly ways... and however long he works here, I bet we'll never get any complaints about him ..." (restaurant manager, hotel 3).

Here the service is highly individualistic and customers' expectations can largely be met without much difficulty. However extraordinary or awkward their requests might sometimes appear, most customers can get whatever they want - provided they pay the price for it. Take the retired colonel, a regular customer in hotel 3, who invariably asked for poached turbot whenever he came for lunch but on one occasion took everyone by surprise - with a request for "bacon, bangers and mash". This is a dish which did not even appear on the menu, being the kind of dish which would not generally be served at lunch in such a high class establishment. Though presumably a much less expensive dish to prepare than others actually on the menu, the customer was charged the full price of a table d'hote meal: £4 (at 1977 prices). Had it not been for other

aspects of the service (the personal element, greater privacy, better decor, table-ware and so on) the customer might have gone elsewhere and had the same meal for less than half the price. Here, then, is a good example of how it is not the food alone which determines customer satisfaction.

Another example is the case of a customer who ordered two bananas for dessert in hotel 4. Like all raw fruit, the bananas were served on a silver platter with a knife ready for the customer to peel herself: the price £1.40. Not wishing to peel the fruit herself, the customer called for a waiter and asked him to do it for her. As a general rule, a waiter should not be seen to touch the food which he serves by hand. So the waiter set about the task just as if he were carving a joint of meat. With a carving knife in one hand and a fork in the other, he carefully cut along both edges of the skin until nothing but the bare inside was left ready for the customer to eat. Here, again, we find that the personal element of service supersedes everything else. But because the waiting staff know what is normally expected and management generally have sufficient resources to meet the most erratic and idiosyncratic demands on their service (2), we do not find any great disparity between the service ideal and its practical fulfilment.

Oddly enough, the same appears to be true of hotels at the other end of the prestige spectrum. Here, a large number of customers are "passing trade" whose main concern is to obtain cheap and quick service before they move on to their next port of call. Or they are people seeking cheap holiday accommodation for short periods who prefer a reduction in cost rather than pay for better service. So long as the hotel satisfies their basic requirements, no one usually complains because they know they cannot expect anything more - they get what they pay for. Thus in the hotels I studied on the north coast, people's complaints did not focus upon the quality of service but instead tended to concern the speed of service because it is assumed that

(notwithstanding the price which people pay) there is no excuse for slow service. Here the low expectations of customers can easily be met. But should there be a gap between what people expect and the service they receive, it is probably because management has insufficient resources to cope with the demand for their product.

Between these two extremes is the expanding middle area where ambiguity prevails. Here expectations of customers are uncertain because hotels have neither the traits of one class nor the other. On the one hand, some customers may be disappointed because they expect the kind of service normally associated with the less prestigious hotels. Take the customer in our medium status conglomerate hotel in Cardiff who complained because she preferred to serve her own coffee out of the machine rather than be served by a waiter at her table. Her reason for saying so was that people get to know one another better because they begin to strike up a conversation while they wait in the queue (3). This might well be true. But for a hotel seeking to model itself on the high level type of establishment, it runs counter to the very notion of service to minimize the personal element in this way.

On the other hand, some customers may be disappointed because they do not receive the kind of service normally associated with high level establishments. A good example is the diner who was so dissatisfied with the service he received in a Jewish restaurant in Jerusalem that he said to the waiter: "It's easy to see that you've never been a waiter at the London Ritz ..." Not wishing to let this remark go unchecked, the waiter replied: "It's easy to see that you've never been a guest at the London Ritz ..." (4). The danger common to all hotels of medium status is that customers' expectations are raised so high that they cannot actually be achieved. Obviously there are likely to be discrepancies between the ideal and the norm at all points along the prestige spectrum, but nowhere is it more marked than in the medium status hotel. Here the kind of strategies that enable a better showing to be made are an integral part of the performance that is put on and sustained

by the whole organization. The most important consequence is the drastic length to which a waiter may often go so that he can confirm his customer's image of him and maintain standards.

This is strikingly demonstrated by Goffman in his study of a family tourist hotel on the Island of Shetland. In "Shetland Hotel" (as Goffman refers to it), the overall impression of middle-class service was projected whenever guests were present by the management who allocated to themselves the roles of middle-class host and hostess and to their employees that of domestics. Whereas in terms of the local class structure, the girls who acted as maids were of slightly higher status than the hotel owners who employed them. When hotel guests were absent, little nonsense about a maid/mistress status system was allowed by the maids (5). This teamwork ensures a good staff showing - provided, of course, that the impression is not spoilt because the hotel guests are privy to information which reveals the true situation to them.

3. Routine versus emergency

Closely connected with the capacity to fulfil the expectations of customers is Hughes' distinction between routine and emergency (6). Hughes noted that in many cases those who have need of a service perceive it as something of an emergency, whereas those providing a service deal with the matter routinely. He goes on to suggest that this is a source of chronic tension.

Certainly this would appear to be the case for many highly prestigious hotels where customers expect a strong element of personal service. Should a waiter fail to pay sufficient attention to their needs, they may feel that he is trying to belittle their importance; he is not taking the job seriously enough. His very competence comes from having served a thousand customers who have placed exactly

the same order - each of whom would like to think that the unique culinary experience is his alone. The server knows from long experience those who have particularly high standards of expectation and develops strategies for supplying satisfaction and defusing their complaints as far as possible. The station head waiter might, for example, play a charade of dressing down his staff in public for the benefit of a complaining customer. Or he may prefer to go to the kitchen himself and place or receive an order rather than leave it to his commis in the case of an awkward customer. At the most prestigious hotels I studied in London, one station head waiter always used to go to the kitchen himself and ask for extra chives in the vichysoisse soup whenever he served a particular customer: "He's a real bastard ... if he thinks there aren't enough, he's bound to kick up a fuss..." In the mind of those who receive the service, then, there is resentment that something so special to them can be treated as a matter of routine by those who provide it, even though they know perfectly well that such an attitude is necessary to competence, and though they would not tolerate it if those who provided the service were to show any sign of not being competent. To sum up: his emergency is my routine, as it were, and the art of service is creating the impression that there is something of a struggle involved in supplying satisfaction.

By contrast, in less prestigious hotels, the very opposite is often the case. Here those who serve may have to develop emergency tactics so as to give the impression that everything is going according to plan. In this kind of situation, the social drama of work takes on a different meaning. The chronic source of tension that arises here is largely due to the server having to attend to large numbers of people at the same time. Here the problem is not so much that the server may belittle the importance of those whom he serves. It is more a question of trying not to fall short of certain minimum standards that customers would normally expect. Here again, the experienced server

seeking to supply satisfaction and defuse complaints may develop all sorts of strategies in order to deal with the customer and anticipate the problems that so often arise. But the impression that he hopes to give has less to do with engendering in those served the belief that his relationship to them has something special or unique about it. Instead the impression he hopes to give is that there is nothing extraordinary about the routine that he is presently performing. But if something about the performance of his routine were to suggest that he is having to struggle to maintain control, then he must somehow show that this is not part of his normal routine and that it should simply be regarded as the best he can do in the circumstances. In brief, he will seek to give the impression of having everything under control when, in fact, he is having quite a struggle to cope with the situation: his routine is my emergency, so to speak, and service depends upon having to tackle the unanticipated crises that arise and not show any signs of excitement or panic.

4. Discrepancies in the service ideal

Summing up, however specialized or unique the routine, in a service encounter when a person serving presents himself before his client, his performance will tend to claim facts that offer an idealized view of the situation. By the same token, he will try to conceal or underplay those activities, facts and motives which are incompatible with the impression being fostered. To the degree that his performance will incorporate and exemplify whatever he believes will conform to other people's expectations - highlighting whatever has come to be accepted as right or proper - we may look upon what he does as being a ritual. That is, he attempts to put on a show which is socialized, moulded and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of those before whom it is presented. It is important to note that this applies equally at whichever end of the prestige spectrum one cares to look at. But

nowhere, as I have already said, is the tendency to maintain front and put on a better showing than is actually the case more marked than in medium status hotels - more so, in fact, than in highly prestigious ones where appearance is not so removed from reality. Some illustrations taken from my own experience may help to show the subterfuge involved in trying to foster the right impression (7).

First of all, however much time and effort is usually required before the server can provide those he serves with food, he will only show them the end product, and they will be led into judging him on the basis of something that has been prepared, cooked and served. In some cases, if very little effort was actually required to prepare the food, this fact will be concealed. Such practices as the use of frozen foods, the introduction of micro-wave ovens and sophisticated "catering systems" have all reduced the time and effort required and "deskilled" certain occupations - particularly within the kitchen (8). Here if those who serve in the restaurant are to maintain the impression of high quality, they must conceal what the kitchen staff really do and try to sustain the customers' image of them still having to engage in feverish activity to prepare the food they are served. In other cases, it will be the considerable effort that will be hidden. For example, the nonchalant air affected by many waiters and waitresses in the restaurant can be compared with the anger and frustrations they so often display in their queues for the food. One solution is for waiting staff to work in pairs but in the lower level hotels (where this discrepancy most frequently occurs) people often prefer to work on their own - and a system of placing trays to mark one's position in the queue may develop instead. This allows those serving to take orders or serve hors d'oeuvres, sweets and coffee rather than waste the time waiting for a main course.

Another source of irritation that the waiter may have to conceal from customers is the chronic shortage of materials (china, cutlery, etc.) that so often exists. A

surprisingly high proportion of all the arguments and fights that take place between staff have something to do with the struggle that everyone experiences in getting enough china and cutlery to lay their tables. Some out of despair may resort to taking things from others when they are not looking and pretend not to know anything about it if asked. Accusations abound and ill feelings run very deep, especially if supplies in the kitchen run short just as waiters are beginning to relay their tables for more customers in the same sitting. Nor does it necessarily help to have large supplies of cutlery and china, stored in places of safekeeping, ready for use when required, because the effect of hoarding is to reduce the total stock and make it harder still to find supplies. Nevertheless, those able to provide the fastest service generally prove to be those who have spent the greater time and effort in hoarding materials and finding private storage place spaces to conceal them from others. In her study of Manchester restaurants, Bowey noted that waitresses would hoard materials in a little cupboard called a "dumb waiter" from which they served their tables (9). In fact, what I found was that those who did best at hoarding materials were those that did best at concealing the places in which they were stored. Apart from the dumb waiter and cupboards, I found a wide variety of private storage places: such as on the floor below the side-tables, behind the curtains next to the window, beneath a piano on the stage, in the staff cloakroom, in shopping bags, cardboard boxes, coat pockets, and so on. Some even took home whatever they had ordered for safekeeping. Others kept their materials firmly under lock and key (10).

Then there is the fact that those serving tend to conceal from their customers any evidence of tasks which embody Hughes' notion of "dirty work" (11). In Hughes' terms, we find that dirty work of some kind is present in all occupations whether those doing the job like it or not. Dirty work may involve tasks which are physically unclean, semi-illegal, cruel or degrading in various ways, but these

disturbing facts are seldom expressed or fully declared unless it is an intimate part of the very activity which gives the occupation its charisma. In the case of a physician whose hands are "dirty" with having to handle the human body, this part of his work is somehow integrated into the very role that he is playing, for example. The waiter, however, is more like the janitor whose job is to handle other people's rubbish. Dirty work for a waiter involves having to lay tables, fetching and carrying food, clearing away dirty dishes, throwing away half eaten food, and carrying dirty dishes back to the kitchen. For him the most satisfying and prestige-giving part of the job - and the activity on which he is mainly judged by significant others - is serving the food. Dirty work, therefore, is not knit into some satisfying and prestige-giving definition of his role but seems somehow to be something wil fully put upon him which he tries to brush aside or let others handle if possible.

In the highly prestigious hotels, the different ranks have something to do with the relative cleanliness of functions performed. Those who have risen to the higher rank of station head waiter can delegate the more lowly of their traditional tasks to others. To draw an analogy with the medical profession, those at the top of the hierarchy have something of the physician's status. They are the ones who perform the miracle and they are more than absolved from any potential uncleanliness through the delegation of their dirty work to others. By contrast, those who perform the lowly task (i.e. nursing staff in the first case, or "chef de rang" or "commis" waiters in the second) generally fare badly in the prestige ratings, not being amongst the miracle-workers and only able to operate at the margins. In the lower level hotels, the division of labour is not so marked, however, and the theme of uncleanliness has little to do with the ranking as such. Here it is the waiter's role to perform both the prestige-bearing and the less satisfying part of the job himself because none of the dirty work can be delegated, or where possible only to a limited

extent. Here, then, the waiter frequently has to engage in activities that are beneath his personal dignity - doing the physically disgusting part of the job which in a more prestigious establishment would be done by someone else. No wonder his professional status is so low when he has to conceal so much of what he actually does from those he serves (12).

Closely connected with the notion of dirty work is a fourth discrepancy between the appearance and actual activity of those providing the service. Assuming that a notion of service embodies several ideal standards, if a good showing is to be made, it is likely that some of these standards will only be sustained in public by the private sacrifice of some of the others. What tends to happen is that, if there are standards whose loss can always be concealed to some extent, those serving will make this sacrifice in order to maintain the standards whose loss cannot be so easily concealed. Thus if service is judged on the basis of speed and quality, quality will fall before speed because on the whole poor quality can be concealed, but slow service cannot. Whenever we ran short of real coffee in hotel 3, for example, we would serve instant coffee instead because in the restaurant manager's words: "By the time they're ready for coffee, they're usually too pissed to notice the difference ..." Similarly, whenever we had to make a lot of coffee in hotel 5, a waitress taught me how to save time by making two pots of coffee out of one: "Just make a normal pot to begin with, pour half of it into a second pot, and then add boiling water to both of them ... they won't mind, they don't like it too strong..." Another trick of the trade which I picked up in hotel 3 was to mix the mustard together whenever supplies ran short of one particular brand. Though, of course, French "Dijon" and English mustard each have a distinctive flavour of their own, both have a similar yellowish-brown colour and when mixed in equal quantities cannot easily be distinguished from one another - either in terms of colour or taste.

So, too, if those serving find it difficult to provide quick service and maintain standards of hygiene, poor hygiene can be concealed, not slow service. Many examples of this are to be found - for instance, serving used dishes again, using spittle to clean cutlery, wiping china and cutlery with a serving cloth that is dirty through overuse, handling the food to test how hot it is, nibbling bits of food from the plates and so on (13).

Finally, when the discrepancy between actual activity and the impression that the server is seeking to foster becomes so great that he can no longer keep up the pretence and maintain front, there is nothing he can do but play the last card up his sleeve. I am thinking here of occasions when standards fall so low that nothing he can do will retrieve the situation because the discrepancy is too great for concealment. For example, in one of the northern hotels I studied where an acute shortage of milk jugs frequently posed a problem for waiting staff, it was common practice for milk to be served in tea pots, coffee pots, water jugs, beer mugs and a wide variety of other such vessels, ready to hand and adapted for the purpose. Similarly I know of a high class hotel located in a remote part of Yorkshire in which those serving have the constantly recurring problem of water shortages (14). In both cases, it is simply not possible to practice concealment because nothing can be done to hide the fact from those being served that there is something wrong. As a last resort, those serving may try to pass it off as something unusual. For if all else fails, they have little choice but to appeal to the customer's goodwill and persuade him that these difficulties have arisen due to circumstances beyond their control; that it is a unique situation and would not happen again. Obviously this kind of strategy can only be effective in dealing with passing trade who know nothing about the real situation (15); but in any case, it should be seen as a last-ditch measure, a step only to be taken if nothing else can be done.

5. The waiter-chef relationship

Until now in this chapter, we have taken the server's performance as the basic point of reference and have been concerning ourselves with two levels of fact - the server and his performance on the one hand and those whom he serves and the interaction between them on the other. For any study of a service occupation this might seem sufficient. It is the people who provide the service and those being served who regularly come into crucial contact. Often, however, the co-operative activity of those involved in providing the service is just as crucial. For however different their individual performance is, if they fit together into a whole, the overall impression which arises can conveniently be treated as a fact in its own right - as a third level of fact located between the group of consumers on the one hand and the total interaction of participants on the other (15). In the case of the hotel industry, it is this dimension that can make all the difference between good and bad service. When we talk about service in this industry, we cannot ignore the vital link in the chain between waiter and chef.

It is the chef who is most crucially concerned with supplying the basic needs of those whom the waiter serves. Part of the social-psychological problem of the waiter's job is having to depend upon the chef for the basic materials of his craft. Though in fact service tends to be judged in terms of the total satisfaction that those serving are able to provide, in many cases they are judged simply in terms of the quality of food they serve - even though they may have taken no part in the actual preparation or cooking. Much of the tension that arises between waiter and chef stems from this. In applying pressure on the kitchen staff (largely through shouting abuse and insults) those serving hope to establish some control over the situation, over the quality or the speed of service, and over the disposition of their routine and the performance they put on in front of their customers.

Often whatever the reason given for customers' dissatisfaction, though, it is not so much the quality of food as other aspects of the service that really matter to them. These are: speed, technical waiter skills, and human skills which customers have come to expect and yet are not so easy to define. So when they claim that something is wrong with the food, this should not deceive us into thinking that food is necessarily their main cause for concern. It might simply be the way they have chosen to say what they feel about the service because it is easier to express their dissatisfaction in these terms. In effect what happens is that blame is passed on to someone outside the service encounter. Indeed rather than complain about those who are most intimately and crucially concerned with supplying their needs, customers may prefer not to criticize the waiting staff but instead to go outside the service relationship. Here we have then a good case for saying that the division of labour is more than a technical phenomenon; that there are infinite social-psychological nuances in it (17). Thus the chef-waiter conflict is not just an expression of the status inconsistencies between them; but arises largely from the more fundamental differences in their objectives and will normally be triggered off whenever the waiter finds himself being held to blame for the poor craftsmanship of the chef; or whenever the chef is held to blame for the incompetence of the waiter.

In explaining the conflict which so frequently arises between those who prepare and cook and those who serve, William Foote Whyte suggested that waiting staff had no other way of "letting off steam" and so diverted the pressure they felt upon them onto the only available target. He also suggested that when the kitchen staff are men and the waiting staff are women, the potential conflict is more intense than when both are female because men find it more difficult if women initiate action for them (18). Bowey has developed a different interpretation of the situation. But though she departs from Whyte in saying that chefs come into conflict with waiters just as often as

they do with waitresses, she too dwells upon the significance of male-female relationships. Her argument goes like this:

> "Since men in the restaurant industry ... are more career-orientated than women ... it follows that they will be more strongly motivated towards achieving objectives related to their careers than will women... One of these career-related objectivies is the achievement of high quality in the food they prepare. Since this objective brings the chef into conflict with the waiting staff, we would expect to find conflict between chefs and waitresses occurring more intensively and more frequently than between female kitchen staff and waitresses ..." (19)

Whilst it is true that an unpleasant encounter with a customer may sometimes cause those who serve him to snap unreasonably at the next person they contact -usually someone amongst the kitchen staff - my research suggests that this is not the main cause. Like Bowey, I found that very intense conflict can arise between chefs and waiters just as it can between chefs and waitresses. On the other hand, if Bowey's interpretation is correct, we might expect to find that the more waiters or waitresses have to depend upon career-orientated chefs for the food, the more likely they will come into conflict with them. From my own experience of working in two of the most prestigious hotels in London, this certainly was not the case. Rather the rows were more frequent and more dramatic in the less prestigious northern hotels I studied where those who prepared the meals were men but not so strongly career-orientated as those in London. This leads me to think that if there is one element in the situation that matters more than anything else, it is the class of hotel - not the sex or career motivation of those involved. In most hotels at the lower end of the spectrum, we would expect to find a conflict of interests between those who prepare and cook and those who serve - the chef's concern with quality runs counter to the waiter's concern with speed. But as we move higher up the hierarchy we would not expect to find such a conflict of interests. Here again the chef's concern with quality is

crucial but he is not put under pressure from the waiter for faster service because the waiter's concern is with quality too.

Typically, then, as the following two extracts show, notions about service vary with waiters amongst different prestige hotels. In prestigious hotels, the emphasis is on technical skill as a waiter; in lower level hotels, the emphasis is on speed of service. Starting first with a high level hotel, one station head waiter in hotel 4, seeing himself as a service specialist, put it like this:

> "A restaurant is just like a doctor's waiting room ... when you go to the doctor, you've got to sit in the waiting room until you're told you can see him ... it's just the same with customers .. they can't just sit down and expect to get served straight away - they've got to wait until its their turn ..."

Alternatively, in lower level hotels, waiting staff pride themselves on their ability to provide fast service. One waitress in hotel 1, with great glee, told me:

> You won't get anywhere in this business unless you've got the speed ... Jock (her husband) and I are considered the best because we're the fastest here ... so we get the best customers and serve on the best tables ... poor old Ernie who's worked here for 14 years will never get one of the best stations ... why? Because he's too bloody slow..."

So, too, with customers, the same variation can be found amongst different prestige hotels. Diners in prestigious hotels look for quality, those in lower level hotels prefer fast service. In the latter case, jokes are frequently made to drive home the point such as one which I came across quite recently:

> "Diner: 'Are you the waiter I gave my order to? I expected an older man" (Gloucester Citizen)

Finally, I have suggested that rows between waiting staff and chefs occur less frequently in prestigious hotels because there is not such a great conflict of interests

as in low level hotels. But another reason has to do with the waiters' system of ranking in different prestige hotels. In the high level hotel those who serve the food rank highest of all - and they delegate their "dirty work" to the chefs de rang or commis waiters who work under them. This rigid division of labour means that chefs and waiting staff avoid one another at the higher levels. Only the commis normally comes into direct contact with the kitchen staff - and in dealing with, say, the chef or the sous chef, he must always be ready to show as much deference as befits someone of higher rank in the kitchen. The danger is that if he should fail to do so, he might upset the delicate balance which operates here. Soon after I began work as a commis in hotel 4, for example, I came dangerously close to this. The sous chef, half jokingly and half seriously told me off because I had not addressed him in the proper manner:

> "What, just a commis, and you've got the cheek to call me Nobby? ... you'll have to learn a few manners before you give me the next order, boy ... my name, as far as you're concerned, is Mr. Nobby!..."

By contrast, in the lower level hotel, such delegation is possible only to a limited extent because rigidly defined roles and ranks do not exist as a rule. Here it is not possible to insulate those who prepare and cook from those who serve. There is no one of lower rank to delegate the task of going to the kitchen to fetch and carry food. Every waiter or waitress must come into direct contact across the serving counter with the kitchen staff. And yet, in the low level hotel, we find that kitchen and waiting staff are more subject to customers' complaints because of the other's errors over which they have no control. Thus they are at the very source of each other's problems, but have nothing to fend one off from the other.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For further information on the rules of commensality and on the strategies which waiters use in trying to defuse complaints and supply satisfaction, see chapters 8 and 9. Much of this material also appears in a paper entitled: "Diners, Drinkers and Waiters: the Politics of Drink and Hospitality" by G. Mars and M. Nicod, in "Drinking and Hospitality", ed. by Mary Douglas, publication date uncertain as yet.

2. Odd requests, complaints, bargaining with tips and other strategies which diners regularly use in trying to take and maintain the initiative are more fully discussed in chapter 9 when I explore the service encounter in some detail. As W.F. Whyte puts it, "Does the waitress get the jump on the customer,or does the customer get the jump on the waitress?": see Chapter VII in "Industry and Society", ed. by W.F. Whyte, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946, pp132-3.

3. This had been the practice at another hotel in the same chain where the customer had previously stayed. Presumably management saw it as a way to save on labour costs, without jeopardizing customer satisfaction.

4. G. Mikes and N. Bentley, "Land of Milk and Honey: Israel Explored", London and New York: Wingate, 1950, pp49.

5. Goffman gives a number of examples of how crofter culture tended to prevail within the hotel kitchen where the guests' food was prepared and where the owning couple and their staff spent a considerable time together. Reciprocal first-naming was employed, management and employees ate together and when the owners held informal kitchen parties for friends and extended kin, the hotel workers participated. This pattern of intimacy and equality between management and employees was inconsistent with the guests' notions of the social distance which ought to obtain between them, as it was inconsistent with the impression both elements of staff fostered when guests were present. See E. Goffman, "Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959, p84, pp118-20.

6. E.C. Hughes, "Men and their Work", Illinois: The Free Press, 1958, pp54-55.

7. Maintaining front and impression management are concepts which Erving Goffman has shown underlie and control those involved in all interaction. In Goffman's terms, when an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason to mobilize his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interests to convey. In presenting this material on the hotel industry, I therefore owe much to Goffman's analysis of the way in which people generally behave, in particular how they foster an idealized impression of their routine

Goffman, op. cit., 1959, esp. pp44-59.

8. In chapter 1, mention was made of the effect that progressive "deskilling" might have in increasing unionization amongst chefs. See T. Chivers, "The Proletarianization of the Service Worker", British Journal of Sociology, 1973 (November).

9. A. M. Bowey, "The Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976, p140.

10. Personal places of safekeeping are, of course, prevalent in prisons, mental hospitals, school dormitories, army barracks and the like where, apart from anything else, they may provide an extension of the self and its autonomy, becoming more important as the individual forgoes other forms of selfhood and is denied personal freedom. See, for example, E. Goffman's description of the hospital underlife of mental patients, "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961, pp220-232.

11. E.C. Hughes, op. cit., 1958, pp49-53.

12. Ibid, pp72-73.

13. Another example which Goffman gives is the restauranteur, grocer or butcher who, in times of rationing, seeks to maintain his customary show of variety, and affirm his customers' image of him, by purchasing illegal supplies without publicly revealing the source. See E. Goffman, 1959, op. cit., p53.

14. The kind of difficulties facing the staff in this hotel were not limited to water shortages. Peter Gillam, the general manager, gave members of the Occupational and Community Research Centre (Middlesex Polytechnic) a first-hand account of his experience there - in particular, describing the difficulties he had encountered in trying to maintain front when in fact there was a chronic shortage of everything because the two owners were trying to remove as much as possible before the sale of the property and its contents. As the date for completing the sale drew closer, there were only 3 ice-buckets and 30 pieces of silver for 60 covers at an average sitting. They had no ice-making machine because the owners had refused to replace or repair anything which had broken down. Other things such as expensive pieces of Jacobean furniture, tapestries, porcelain and copper pans began to disappear mysteriously in the middle of the night.

15. Presumably if the same strategy were adopted for dealing with long term or regular guests, one might easily get the kind of response which Peter Gillam received when a lord in one of the shooting parties staying at his hotel complained about not having water and was given the same story as the day before: "Don't give me that crap again... Every night this week it's been the same bloody story ..."

16. Referring to the teamwork involved in all interactions, Goffman points out that "the definition of the situation projected by a particular participant is an integral part of a projection that is fostered and sustained by the intimate co-operation of more than one participant..." See E.Goffman, op. cit., 1959, pp83-108.

17. In Everett C. Hughes' terms, a role definition of a division of labour is necessary to complement any technical description of it. See E.C. Hughes, op. cit., 1958, pp72-77.

18. W.F. Whyte, "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948, p64.

19. A.M. Bowey, op. cit., 1976, pp36-37.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WAITER'S CAREER

1. Two types of career pattern

All occupations invoke rules prescribing an individual's behaviour at a particular stage. Once the individual has demonstrated sufficient ability and willingness to learn, in the normal course of events he will then pass from one status to another (1). All the stages in this development will vary in terms of the actions, attributes and underlying values that are involved. They may also vary in their length of duration. Some stages are essentially preparatory but might require a long time and this notwithstanding the individual's ability or the number of openings available for him in the next stage. In other stages where the length is more flexible and depends largely upon the actual rate of learning, it is often a brief passage from one status to the next. So, too, important differences might emerge in the degree of formality that marks the transition from one stage to another. In occupations where there is a strong element of bureaucratic control, one would expect to find standard procedures for advancement and the passage of individuals marked through every stage by a clearly defined office or status position. In less structured occupations, the individual has more latitude for creating his own position or choosing from the existing ones but he has less certainty of achieving any given position.

In order to understand the type of career that is normally open to waiting staff in the hotel industry, it is suggested that we take Hughes' definition of the term:

> "A career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him. This perspective is not absolutely fixed either as to points of view, direction or destination ... A study of careers ... may be expected to reveal the nature and 'working constitution' of a society. Institutions are but the forms in which the collective action of people go on. In the course of a career the person finds his place within these forms, carries on his active life with reference to other people, and interprets the meaning of the one life he has to live." (2)

What, then, emerges are two types of career structure in this industry. One is clearly associated with hotels in which the workgroup is highly stratified and workroles defined according to formal criteria of ranking. Good examples are the highly prestigious hotels - The Dorchester, The Savoy, The Ritz, Claridges and so on. We also find it in the large conglomerate hotels which have a high degree of bureaucratization and model themselves on the highly prestigious type. The second is more likely to be associated with hotels whose workgroups are relatively undifferentiated and in which jobs have little formal or precise definition. These are the small traditional independently run hotels - most of which are found lower down the hierarchical scale and which still dominate the industry despite the growth of large conglomerate hotels (3).

Starting with the first type, many waiters move through a series of job changes in which each new job represents a higher ranked position than the previous one. Quite often a young man will begin his career as a "commis" or trainee waiter at a highly prestigious establishment so that he can acquire the repertoire of skills and attributes which he needs to achieve higher rank elsewhere. Because such little importance is attached to formal qualifications in this industry, the best way to achieve promotion is through

using contacts and previous experience as bargaining counters. There are some hotels, particularly the more prestigious ones, which act as training establishments and contain a large number of perpetually replaced peripheral workers who see their employment as providing experience which they can exploit later on. Just as Sandhurst represents the Army training school par excellence and Oxford and Cambridge the apex of the university system and academic career structure, there are a small number of highly prestigious hotels which fulfil a similar function in providing seed-bed institutions and a training-ground for the hotel industry. Indeed, when I began work as a commis in hotel 4, I can recall being told:

> "This is no ordinary hotel ... it's like a teaching hospital where people come to learn the trade ... and you'd better try to forget anything you might have picked up ... it's better if you start again at the very beginning" (station head waiter, hotel 4).

Many people who work in the more prestigious hotels regard their limited stay as an apprenticeship that defers greater rewards until later. Indeed they are often low paid but they regard the immediate financial return as less important than the better training and experience which can only be had in such establishments. Their economic loss is something which must be borne in the short term so they can obtain higher paid jobs later on (4). As one Italian who had just left a better paid job to work in hotel 4 put it:

> "I was getting more money at the last place ... but then I don't really mind because I'm only working here for the reference ... and when I go home it'll help me to get a much better job" (commis, hotel 4).

The passage through the ranks can be a long protracted process in a high level hotel. Not so long ago a commis might work 10 years in the same establishment before he could expect promotion to the next rank. Even today, a waiter might work for 5 years as a commis until eventually he is offered a station head waiter's post. This is partly

because higher positions are always in short supply and attract far more people than the number of vacancies available. At the same time, if a restaurant manager himself is new, he tends to introduce people from outside the organization whom he knows he can trust - "strategic replacements" as Gouldner would say (5) - rather than promote or transfer people within it. So what normally happens is that higher rank is achieved through the informal network that exists amongst waiters themselves. Management in high level hotels rarely turn to the advertising agencies or Department of Employment Jobcentres to fill these higher posts (6) - and if they do, as one head waiter in hotel 3 told me: "You know that it can't be very good! ..."

As one might expect, a great deal of dissatisfaction can be caused by the introduction of newcomers over the heads of present employees. And because the hopes and aspirations of some individuals in the organization will necessarily be frustrated by the newly appointed staff, they may in turn try to find jobs through their friends. So it is a self-perpetuating process; staff will change jobs just as frequently as they have the opportunity to find a better job elsewhere (7). It is not until they reach a position in which pay and conditions appear to be satisfactory that staff will begin to settle down - and then they tend to stay for several years because at this point they realize that they cannot expect any more. Moreover, any lingering doubts which they might have will largely be dissolved as they move over time into the core.

As already stated (8), core workers derive a substantial proportion of their income from non-taxed rewards, and so the prospect of a higher basic wage is unlikely to lure them into changing jobs unless they are also guaranteed the same level of informal rewards. This means that there is often a very high rate of mobility during the early part of a waiter's career; once he has been in the industry several years a more stable pattern begins to emerge (9). Mario, for instance, the son of Italian parents but

English by birth, who now works as the first head waiter in hotel 3, described his own career as follows:

> "Perhaps you'll think I changed jobs a lot in between ... but I began working as a commis in the same place as I am working today 30 years ago ... I left to take a job as a wine waiter's commis ... then I got a job somewhere else as a wine waiter ... then I worked for a little while at the Royal Garden Hotel as the head wine waiter ... in fact it was while I was there that Andrjez offered me the job here ... we had worked together as commis waiters in this hotel many years ago and had remained good friends ... Andrjez had become the restaurant manager at 25 - the youngest man in Britain to hold this position at the time - and he needed a new first head waiter ... he knew how well we had worked together and so he offered me the job ... I took it because I knew he'd let me do things my own way and not complain ... that was 28 years ago and I've been here ever since"(10).

Thus we find that waiters embark upon a second type of career. What concerns us here are "the regular sequence of changes that career entails in the person's self and in his framework of imagery for judging himself and others"; what, in other words, Goffman defines as the "moral" aspects of a career (11). By "moral" I do not mean anything to do with morality, but rather the informal side of an occupation and the effect upon the practitioner as he becomes party to it. Learning to fiddle is a moral career because those who practice it undergo the identity crisis of status passage, just as Becker put it in discussions of the changes in self involved in becoming a marihuana user (13). For the neophyte waiter, the typical career pattern develops along both these lines: the occupational career which acts as tactical cover and public legitimation for the moral career as fiddler.

The terms "core" and "peripheral" when applied to waiters refer to the different stages of their moral career. It is mainly those whose informal rewards appear quite extensive who justify the description "core". "Peripheral" workers, though apparently paid at the same rate, do not substantially benefit from fiddled reward. The access to

such rewards reveals a different distribution of the core and peripheral categories amongst different prestige hotels. There can be five levels involved in servicing a customer in the prestigious hotels and it is easy therefore to create a bureaucratic structure for the offering of rewards. Rewards are accordingly allocated through a system of bureaucratic promotions. These levels do not exist in lower level hotels, however, and here rewards - no less necessary to distinguish the skilled from the unskilled - are essentially found to be offered through informal means alone, that is through fiddles. Workers can normally expect to start as peripherals and then move, over time, to become core workers - even though in less prestigious establishments, they might well occupy the same formal position within the organization.

Of course this way of allocating real rewards allows the socially stigmatized such as blacks or women to be discriminated against without any legitimate complaint. Little resentment is expressed over the core having the prior claim on informal rewards, however, presumably because it is accepted as part of the perceived system of privileges that those with special skills or long service should be rewarded in this way (14). One waiter who had worked for 26 years in hotel 2, for example, was paid the same basic wage of £16 per week (plus service) as everyone else. But because he was always allocated those known to tip well, the long-stay residents and regulars, his total rewards were substantially higher than other staff. No one appeared to mind, as a waitress pointed out:

> "Stephan gets all the good customers ... but you can't really grumble about it ... when a bloke has been working in the same place for 26 years, he deserves a little bit extra ..."

So long as management is characterized by a close dependence upon the availability and expertise of its core staff, one finds a considerable scope for individual contract making. The net result is that workers, particularly those who fall into the core category, develop a strong personal obligation towards the manager

because he affords them access to fiddled benefits. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a high labour turnover should follow a change in management. Because he knows so little about his newly met staff and their individual bargaining power, a new manager may try to apply general rulings which cut across the individual weightings of the informal reward system. Many core workers whose total rewards fall far more drastically under a new regime than anyone else's frequently "vote with their feet"; they tend to follow their old boss to his new situation or use their contacts to gain entry into the core elsewhere. This can sometimes bring a spectacular rise to power. Amongst the staff in hotel 1, for example, it was well known that the last restaurant manager who had worked there left because he had been caught fiddling but now had a job in a larger hotel further along the coast as the general manager. Someone descibed what had happened as follows:

> "Everyone knew that the restaurant manger, head waiter, assistant general manager and a receptionist were all on the fiddle ... the new general manager put a stop to it and the restaurant manager left to take a job as first head waiter at The Grand ... not long after he'd started, the general manager and the restaurant manager got the sack for fiddling ... no one suspected him because he'd been there for such a short time - and in fact they appointed him as the new general manager ... what's more, the head waiter, the assistant general manager and receptionist have all joined him at The Grand ... and are doing very well, thank you, so I believe" (waitress, hotel 1).

2. Rites of passage

Van Gennep described the patterning that governs initiation rites by noting that rites fall into three parts: a beginning, a middle and an end. The beginning and the end mark the birth and rebirth of those who pass from one status to another. The middle is an intermediate state in which the initiates who have first been separated from society - and who will eventually be reintegrated into it - live for a short time in a state of in-between (15).

A travesty of what Van Gennep said, it is tempting to make the comparison between rites and the structure of a career which incorporate the three separate stages: recruitment, learning and practice (16). In the preliminary stages, those embarking upon a new career are typically apprehensive of what lies ahead; the crucial intermediate stage involves learning the skill and expertise required for past performance; and the full entry of a person into his new status position denotes the final stage.

For the neophyte waiter, the typical situation is that the division between all three stages can hardly be discerned because the status change is a slow and subtle process of transformation. Ordinarily, though, a successful recruit begins as a commis waiter and becomes, in sequence: a demi-chef; a chef de rang; a second head waiter; a first head waiter; and a restaurant manager. Obviously how the change in status is achieved - or as Strauss puts it, "How a person <u>becomes</u> something other than what he once was" (17) - is of crucial importance. What we especially need to know, therefore, are the arrangements that are involved at the intermediate stage for status passage to be effective.

The intermediate state commonly has three essential characteristics. One is that new recruits are normally expected to learn the rudiments of the waiter's craft on the job. In effect, this means that he is taken through a particular set of tasks by an experienced hand until he is judged sufficiently competent to work on his own. The danger, of course, is that novices might easily be attached to a worker who is ill-equipped to train them. But because their work involves direct contact with those they serve, the "sitting next to Nellie" approach must always play an important part in the learning process. Moreover, the strategies waiters use for dealing with and manipulating customers are, in effect, professional or trade secrets. If teachers and pupils are not numerically in a one-to-one relationship, it is likely that facts previously concealed from the public eye will be promulgated beyond hotel staff

and the illusion of providing good service might thus be destroyed (18).

Secondly, status differences must be marked by the guise in which an individual appears before others. Once admitted into the hotel's service, the novice is normally stripped of his or her usual identity, in particular the clothing, jewellery and personal paraphernalia by which he or she maintains it, thereby causing him or her a personal defacement. The institutional issue permitted as a substitute for what has been taken away is typically a uniform of some kind, often unflattering, associated with one rank in particular, and the same for all those holding the same office (19). It is crucial if others are to interpret correctly the actions of the new recruit that his learner status should thus be proclaimed. Such an outward display will greatly ease the neophyte's learning path because it will absolve him from liability for many otherwise discreditable mistakes which he commits during the "make believe" or "not for keeps" (20) honeymoon period so expressed. Once he abandons the learner's badge of office and passes perceptibly to a position of full status, his temporary licence expires because he can no longer claim immunity when he enters a non-marginal state (21).

Thirdly, status passage must be accomplished through a change in the recruit's relationships with others. Many ethnographic accounts have recorded how the strains and tensions involved in this change are carefully handled within a ceremonial context. Before admission to a new status is fully recognized, a novice may be required to pass through a series of initiation tests which serve to separate literally the end of one and the beginning of the next stage. Whilst there are no real passing out ceremonies for hotel waiters, the sudden acquisition of one's own set of tables (i.e. "station") and the absence of a chaperoning supervisor is significant enough to be recognized as a status change by co-workers.

Finally, perhaps it is worth noting that some of these processes may be so subtle as to escape the notice of the undiscerning diner. Amongst people outside the industry, for instance, it is not commonly known that the progression from one station to another within the same establishment significantly alters the waiter's status. Nor that this happens to be true because waiters ordinarily will be assigned the more highly valued stations, in sequence, and relative to their age, skill and length of service. What, then, we are talking about is a kind of secret society to which only the staff and perhaps a small number of the more regular clientele are admitted. How waiters, therefore, learn to negotiate a path between the pitfalls and the dangers that confront them will be particularly interesting in view of the fact that there is so little publicly known.

The next section of this chapter describes (via amalgams of several cases) the various stages of status passage. The data presented principally concerns the five hotels studied but I have tried to incorporate other material whenever possible. So, too, I have tried to concentrate upon what the hotels had in common rather than the differences between them. It is, in short, what Rock describes as the "basic career" (22) of the learner: recruitment, selection, learning the ropes and secondary adjustments.

3. Recruitment and the selection process

In recent years, the government has made a considerable increase in the resources and efforts that it has devoted to the hotel industry. As a result the industry holds a unique position as being the only one that is serviced by its own specialist Department of Employment Jobcentres, with more than 20 such offices presently spread over the country. Managers can also recruit through private employment agencies, advertising posts in the

trade press, national and local newspapers, magazines and the like. In fact, as I have already said, managers typically do not depend upon agencies or advertising media, preferring their own grapevine and informal channels to recruit staff. Indeed, N.E.D.O. figures show that large numbers of people find their way into jobs through informal channels, such as a relative or friend already in employment there or speculative enquiries about the possibility of a job (23).

The essential feature of this industry is its strong element of personal service - it is perhaps the archetypal personal service industry. By tradition managers have had to make rapid and instant responses to changing patterns of customer demand. Because of the endemically erratic nature of the demand for their product, they must be able to adapt immediately to any problems which threaten to limit their provision of service. But because problems so often arise in hotels that cannot easily be planned for, it is impossible to maintain high standards of service through the more strategic, controlled and regular managerial responses found in manufacturing industry. Instead, adaptation by management tends to take the form of a series of short term tactical or "ad hoc" responses to satisfy customer demand (24). Typically the hotel manager is able to cope precisely because he is able to mobilize large bodies of staff at a moment's notice to meet a sudden need. Accordingly most managers rely upon having a large pool of casual labour which they can draw upon at all times and eschew collective agreements - preferring instead to negotiate individually with each employee.

In brief the tradition and extent of individual contract making is important in providing the flexibility that is required to meet the erratic demand on a hotel's services. It is management's control over and ability to manipulate the less visible and accountable aspects of the total reward system which has in the past been a major factor in establishing the flexibility required. By

contrast, formal contracts of employment and well established personnel procedures normally reduce their ability to cope with the frequent and essentially unanticipated crises which are so characteristic of hotels and restaurants. Many managers in conglomerate hotels, in fact, resent the increasing interference by senior management which they see as limiting the provision of good service. As the restaurant manager in hotel 3 put it, after he had seen several changes in management following the hotel's acquisition by a large conglomerate:

> "You'd hardly know it was the same place ... nowadays, managers think they know everything and the man on the ground hardly has any say ... tonight the general manager had the cheek to tell me that I couldn't employ 2 extras for example ... he said we had enough staff as it was and we didn't need any more ... I don't know, they expect us to win the war but they won't give us the guns to fight it ..."

Few managers in fact are prepared to take on inexperienced staff unless no other option is open to them. This means that most people entering the industry have to bluff their way into their first job and then pick up the waiter's trade once they are employed through observing others. But because of the severe labour shortages in this industry, managers find that they often have no choice but to take the first person who comes along, only to dispense with his services if he later proves unacceptable. The probationary or trial period then becomes a means of rectifying mistakes in selection and weeding out the unsatisfactory recruit. Only management in high level hotels can rely upon a steady stream of labour at all times. Here the process of selection is tightly structured - and operates through routine bureaucratic procedures on the whole (25).

4. Learning the ropes

Until the new recruit has acquired the knowledge and skills he requires for the job, he will be expected to

behave strictly according to the rules governing past performance. It is only when the neophyte waiter has mastered how to perform his tasks strictly to the letter that those in supervision will permit him to step outside the prescribed role and develop strategies for corner-cutting and performing his tasks otherwise. Closely connected with Goffman's notion of "role distance" (26), there is a ritual prescription that the novice must demonstrate "competence, sincerity, and awareness of his place" before he can depart from the strict-rule role that he is officially required to play. One manager in hotel 5 astutely likened the process to that of a person learning to drive a car:

> "It's no good pretending that you know how to drive ... you've got to be taught the proper way to do things at first ... once you've passed the test, you can begin to bend the rules a little ... but you've got to know when things have to be done properly, and when they don't ... there are times when you've always got to do things the proper way, and there are times when it doesn't matter ..."

Typically, then, a waiter's career will begin with an overemphasis on the prescriptive element of his job. Novices are normally taught at first to treat all the rules as the same. It is not until he becomes more fully socialized that he will find out for himself which are the general rules, always applicable, and regulating the main part of his job; and which are the discretionary rules, not applicable in every case, but situation-specific and associated with particular aspects of the job. In short the course upon which he embarks becomes, over time, progressively infused with the "moral" aspects of his career (27). Though in fact the progression generally involves a gradual awakening to the moral aspect of his role, analytically there appeared to be two different frameworks; and it is convenient to talk about them separately as if independent of each other.

First, then, there are the general rules or "house rules" (28) - the formal prescriptions which spell out the main requirements of occupational conduct, say, to do

with the allocation of specialist tasks amongst staff; workers' personal appearance; their use of the hotel and its facilities. Upon entry the recruit finds himself stripped of his past life and provided with a new set of prerogatives which house rules assign him. Essentially this is the organization's way of preparing him for the subservient image of himself that the service relationship necessarily implies. But as the nature and extent of these prescriptions vary considerably according to rank, it is clear that it has a secondary purpose which we cannot ignore: that of reinforcing the internal authority structure. Let us therefore start with the question of work allocation.

Between hotels the number of workroles that are precisely defined varies quite considerably. In the low level northern hotels studied, only four clearly emerged: the general manager, the restaurant manager, the head waiter and the waiter. Hardly anything now remains of the system of ranking which once existed in both hotels - each having 3 or 4 ranks below the level of the present-day waiter at one time. Interestingly enough, both hotels have retained the rank of "commis" though it would appear to be no more than a device to employ people at lower rates to do the same job as the waiter. Both the commis and the waiter have the same uniform, and though initially the commis' duties are limited, say, to serving children (children's lunch or tea) where plate service rather than silver service is required, or to helping the waiter serve - a job known as "vegging" because he serves the vegetables but not the meat, it is not long before he has his own station to serve. Often the only difference is that a commis does not have quite so many tables to serve. As one 17 year old, a commis in hotel 2, put it:

> "When you're asked to serve a station yourself for the very first time, it's a bit frightening ... I remember feeling a little proud of myself, but you soon realize that there's nothing to it really ... and after a you've done the job for a little while, you begin to think: 'Why don't I

> get paid the same wage?' ... if you ask me, it's slave labour - and it really pisses me off that others are getting paid more to do the same job ..."

By contrast, in the high level London hotels studied, there are a large number of status differences and specialist tasks. Workers in these hotels are strongly stratified; their roles interdependent, highly specialized, well publicized through dress and subject to a strong element of supervisory control. A general decline in trade over the past two decades has led to a reduction in the number of staff and some changes in the system of ranking. Now instead of 4 or 5 waiters per station, the number in both hotels has dropped to 2 or 3. Much of the old tradition still remains, however, at least compared with the vast majority of hotels which have suffered over the same period. Both hotels have retained the rank of commis - and those employed in this position really do have a separate function: viz. to prepare the "mise en place", fetch and carry food from the kitchen, clear away dirty dishes, clean down the tables, throw away food left and carry dirty dishes into the kitchen for the plate-wash. Essentially the chef de rang and the station head waiter's job is to lay the tables, re-heat the hot dishes, prepare salads and cold dishes, actually serve the food and generally administer the customers' needs. In addition the station head waiter normally takes the customers' orders, answers their queries about the menu, supervises the work of his staff, assists with their training, handles all the awkward customers and deals with any complaints that arise.

This brings us to the question of personal appearance and the signs announcing a person's status within hotels. The individual ordinarily expects to exert some control over the guise in which he appears before others. But for those who work within or otherwise belong to a "total institution" (29), the degree of control that the individual is likely to be permitted over his usual appearance will be greatly circumscribed. Not all hotels, though, invoke the same controls. The more prestigious the hotel, the

more we find the restrictions that deny people full individual autonomy; the more so, apparently, when the distance between those serving and the served is great.

In many hotels, a restaurant manager used to carry out a regular tour of inspection - with all his staff lined up outside the restaurant door, their hands held out for him to examine - and anyone not having a tidy appearance or clean finger-nails faced instant dismissal. So, too, a waiter or waitress used to be denied all forms of personal adornment - such as rings, bracelets, fancy cuff-links and wrist watches - because nothing was supposed to distinguish them except the plain uniform in which they stood. Nowadays the rules that prescribe waiters' appearance are not so strict but in the most prestigious hotels the tradition can still be found to some extent. Before entry into the highest level hotel studied, a prospective recruit is scrutinized by the restaurant manager to find out if he possesses any disqualifying physical features: long or dirty finger-nails, long hair, hunched shoulders, poor posture, general untidiness and the like. One chef de rang complained:

> "Three years ago, I came from Turkey to work here ... I left to join the Turkish army and now I'm back again doing the same job as I did before ... I didn't want the same job but this was all that I could find ... not that I'd mind so much if I wasn't told what to do all the time ... it's worse than the Turkish army for discipline ..."

In this hotel, the military model was commonly used by waiters to describe the way in which the strict-rule role was imposed. Thus, someone else, the second head wine waiter, who had served in the British Army, explained to me how I was expected to behave using the same analogy:

> "As a waiter, you're not paid to ask questions ... it's just like the army ... I'll never forget that phrase we used to hear all the time I was doing military service: 'If it moves - salute it; if it doesn't - paint it' ... it's the same here ... if you get too big for your boots, they'll soon bring you down a peg ..."

Finally, a word about the uniform worn. Many informants helped me to reconstruct the traditional form of dress worn in the past. Piecing everything together, I found the commis' uniform to consist of a black jacket, a black waist-coat, black trousers, a white shirt, a white bow tie and a white apron affectionately known as a "bum freezer" because it only covered him at the front. A chef de rang also had a black waist-coat, black trousers, a white shirt and a white bow tie but instead of the white apron, he wore a black jacket with tails. A station head waiter wore exactly the same as him but instead of the white bow tie, he had a black one. The first head waiter wore exactly the same as the station head waiter except that in the evening he put on a white waist-coast. Finally the restaurant manager wore a black morning suit, a white shirt and a white and grey striped tie during the day. He, too, wore exactly the same as the first head waiter in the evening but stead of the black bow tie, he had a white one (see appendix B).

Although it had now almost entirely disappeared everywhere else, the traditional dress was still being worn in the highest level London hotel studied - but even in this case, at the time of my study, a new uniform was shortly to be introduced because the staff were no longer prepared to buy, clean and maintain their own uniform which has now become very expensive. Oddly enough, the commis waiter in hotel 3 still wore the white apron or "bum freezer". Otherwise the dress worn at the other hotels I studied was essentially the same. All the waiters wore a black bow tie, black trousers, a white shirt and a jacket - and only the first head waiter whose jacket was a different colour and the restaurant manager who wore a black morning suit could be clearly distinguished (see appendix C).

5. Secondary adjustments

However much the social barrier between servant and

master appears to have been lifted, we find, in actual fact, that those offering the service are never expected to enter freely into transactions. Typically the waiter is someone who is present but whom others treat as if he were really not there - a "non-person" as Goffman would put it (30). Admission procedures and house rules generally prepare the newcomer for the non-person role. Taken to the extreme, this means that a waiter must not be seen doing such things as eating, drinking, smoking, sitting, talking, burping, farting - or anything else which signifies being human. In our highest level London hotel, the austere round of life hardly permits the waiter to take anything for granted. As the carver in hotel 4 nicely put it: "We're only allowed to breathe on our day off ..."

Against this stark background, though, we must not underestimate the importance of a small number of privileges that are held out in exchange for personal loyalty towards management, professional expertise, length of service, dependability, experience and other qualities. Many of these potential gratifications offer little more than the right to obtain something that people outside the organization ordinarily take for granted. On the outside, a person probably decides unthinkingly when he wants to sit down, whether he should eat, whether to light a cigarette, or when to talk; on the inside such matters are problematic for staff. Very commonly their need to conceal from the customers anything which serves to contradict the impression of having to play a non-person role is met through a simple expedient - a "back region" or "back stage" in which aspects of their performance which might discredit the impression may make an appearance (31). Most hotels have clearly defined areas, often located at the side of the place where the customers sit, cut off from their view by a partition or guarded passageway and providing a refuge where a waiter can step outside his prescribed role. It is here that the waiter can relax; he can drop his front; he can do things in private that he is publicly

denied; he can masquerade momentarily as a full person. It is here that illusion and impressions are openly shattered; the waiter can sit and chat with co-workers; he can even engage in the illicit practice of taking food intended for the guests' consumption.

It was interesting to watch the sudden transformation, for instance, as soon as the time came round for the cabaret show in hotel 3. Every night service had to be temporarily suspended during the show. First head waiters, wine waiters, station head waiters and commis waiters would all rush to the various corners of the hotel in which food had been stored for safe-keeping. Then they would return with a prawn cocktail, smoked salmon, Palma ham, cold chicken, a wide range of sweets, salads, cheeses and so on; sit on a chair or empty upturned wine crate in a back room or just outside the wine waiter's office; and calmly munch their way through a whole meal made up of their illicit takings. No one seemed to object to this practice so long as it was done discreetly and no tell-tale signs were left. In the words of the restaurant manager:

> "Just take whatever you want ...provided I don't see you taking it, I don't really care ... but once you've finished, don't forget to pick up the crumbs and clear away the dirty dishes ... we'll all be in trouble if Mr. Brown (general manager) sees the mess ..."

Obviously if a good impression is to be presented at all times, it is of vital importance to keep the passage that leads to the back region closed to those served. Little wonder, then, that the occasional customer who wanders in, absent-mindedly, or perhaps defiantly to make a complaint, is hastily removed before he is able to see anything which he might take amiss. For a description of the sheer squalor that may sometimes be found hidden behind the green beige door, it is hard to match the one provided by Orwell:

> "It was amusing to look round the filthy little scullery and think that only a double door was between us and the dining-room. There sat the customers in all their splendour - spotless tablecloths, bowls of flowers, mirrors and gilt cornices and painted cherubim; and here, just a few feet away, we in our disgusting filth. For it really was disgusting filth. There was no time to sweep a floor till evening, and we slithered about in a compound of dirty water, lettuce-leaves, torn paper and trampled food. A dozen waiters with their coats off, showing their sweaty armpits, sat at the table mixing salads and sticking their thumbs into the cream pots. The room had a dirty mixed smell of food and sweat. Everywhere in the cupboard, behind the piles of crockery, were squalid stores of food that the waiters had stolen. There were only two sinks, and no washing basins, and it was nothing unusual for a waiter to wash his face in the water in which clean crockery was rinsing. But the customers saw nothing of this. There were a coconut mat and a mirror outside the dining-room door and the waiters used to clean themselves up and go in looking the picture of cleanliness" (32).

In most hotels people's access to the building from outside is also governed by the same principle. On close inspection, the front of the hotel building looks relatively well decorated, well repaired and tidy; the rear is relatively unprepossessing. It is not uncommon, for example, to find oneself being assailed there by the sight and smell of rotting garbage, dirty linen, delivery vans, cleaning equipment, unfinished brickwork and similar unpleasant or offensive things. Correspondingly, the customers enter through the front and the socially stigmitized or incomplete - chambermaids, chefs, waiters, porters, delivery men and the like - enter through the rear.

We may all be familiar with the line that is drawn here. Territorial arrangements, however, are not always so easy to define. New staff, particularly in medium status hotels, must learn which areas are open to hotel guests and staff; and which areas are always strictly out of bounds to staff except on duty. Often it is not entirely clear whether staff can enter or not. Nor frequently is it brought to their attention until <u>after</u> the rule has been broken that they are not permitted use of this area after

work. Perhaps on the first occasion of infraction, the penalty is nothing more than a friendly warning from the restaurant manager. On the second occasion, stronger action will normally be taken because management fear the threat of insubordination.

To take my own experience, I was warned by the restaurant manager in hotel 1 after I had been there for one week: "Mr. Hamilton (duties manager) saw you sitting in the sun lounge this afternoon ... please see that it doesn't happen again Nicod ..." Then I was severely reprimanded because by sitting in the television room between shifts - though no one else had been present at the time - I had unwittingly broken the house rules for the second time running in my first two weeks of being there. Had I not implored the duties manager to let me stay, he would have dismissed me there and then. Instead he let me off saying:

> "I'll tell you what you've done wrong ... it's your general attitude ... if you want to get anywhere in this business,my lad, you'll have to stop acting like a bloody toff... a waiter isn't expected to act like a lord ... he's nothing more than a serf..."

While the process of socialization goes on, the recruit continues to receive formal and informal instruction in the "dos" and "don'ts" of his profession. At first it must always appear to the new recruit that the prescriptions that limit his autonomy are much greater than those permitting him to enjoy rights or privileges. Upon admission, the neophyte's attachment to his usual self is severely shaken. All that he can initially achieve are a small number of minor gratifications carved out of the rigid regime. But as soon as he begins to learn the skills of the trade, and he is judged by others to be competent at his job, he is gradually drawn into the hotel's "underlife" (32) and offered a wide range of favours, privileges, forbidden satisfactions, illicit indulgences and many other varying forms of gratification that he would not otherwise obtain. As we have seen, and will see further, the extent

and character of the co-operation that makes this possible will normally be concealed and kept secret. We should expect, therefore, the novice to pass through the process of occupational rebirth in some furtiveness before he can begin to fully participate.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The obvious source of information on the movement of individuals or groups from one condition to another is Van Gennep's study of ritual: "The Rites of Passage", London: Routledge, 1960.

2. E.C. Hughes, "Men and their Work", Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press, 1959, p63.

3. As noted in chapters 1 and 2, N.E.D.O. figures show that the industry is dominated by small primarily unlicensed establishments - and this despite the existence of the well-known giants of the industry. Out of the total of 33,700 hotel establishments, some 20,700 (over 61 per cent) have between 4 and 10 bedrooms - out of which some 14,000 are unlicensed and located mostly at the coast. National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Hotel Prospects to 1985", London: HMSO, 1976, pp8-18.

4. One notion which emerged from Gouldner's analysis of a wild cat strike was that tension will increase between people to the extent that some can defer gratification of their expectations more than others. A.W. Gouldner, "Wild Cat Strike", New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1954, p142.

5. See A.W. Gouldner, op. cit., 1954, pp67-101, for further details on the build-up of events which led to the wild cat strike he studied. Briefly, Gouldner attributed the action to the arrival of a new manager who had violated the established expectations of workers in the plant by eliminating the dual standards which had allowed people within the company to enjoy a pattern of indulgences. He did this by enforcing the formal rules at the workplace and by introducing new supervisory staff whom he could trust to tighten rule enforcement. Workers became increasingly embittered until the plant was precipitately closed by a walk out..

6. The industry is now serviced by more than 20 specialist Jobcentres spread over the country and is the only industry in this privileged position. The Department of Employment has certainly done a great deal to increase the total placings

in the catering industry but EDC's studies suggest that managers still depend heavily upon informal recruitment procedures. Whereas 58 per cent of staff find their jobs through formal methods (such as advertisements, staff agencies and the D.E.): 42 per cent obtain employment through informal channels (such as making speculative enquiries off the street, having a relative or friend already in employment there, etc.)

National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London: HMSO, 1975, pp17-21.

7. Hotels are notorious for their extremely high labour turnover rates. See, for example, National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Staff Turnover", London, HMSO, 1969; N.E.D.O., op. cit., 1975.

8. For a full description of all the concepts which I found useful for the present investigation, see chapter 1. "Core" and "peripheral" workers are terms which were previously developed in Mars and Mitchell's work on the hotel and catering industry. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Catering for the Low Paid Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Unit Bulletin, No. 15, London: LPU, 1977 (June).

9. Other studies confirm that staff turnover would appear to follow this pattern. In a study carried out by the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board on the problems of staff turnover, it was noted that:

> "Staff turnover seems to be, at least in part, a problem associated with individual workers. While 53 per cent of experienced catering workers have never held any job for less than 2 years, and a further 24 per cent none for less than 18 months; some 3 per cent have held no job for longer than 6 months. The high rates of staff turnover reported by some employers would seem to be associated with a small minority of their employees experiencing a large number of short stays".

I.B. Knight, "Patterns of Labour Mobility in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Report on the Findings of a Survey of Hotel and Catering Staff for the HCITB. See also A.M. Bowey, "The Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976, pp88-89.

10. This employment hierarchy of restaurants has been described by other waiters. See, for example, P. Leoni's fascinating account of his career as a waiter: "I Shall Die on the Carpet", London: Freewin, 1966.

11. E. Goffman, "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient", Psychiatry, Vol. 22, 1959, p119.

12. As Ditton nicely points out in his study of bakers roundsmen, the fiddler's career learning path should be regarded as a "moral career" because he must not only learn to participate, but he must cope with the psychological implications of infraction too. J. Ditton, "Part-Time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage", London: Macmillan, 1977, pp21-22.

13. H.S. Becker, "Outsiders", New York: The Free Press, 1963. pp41-78.

14. There are, of course, more subtle skills than those I have mentioned here. In "Men who Manage", New York: Wiley, 1959, esp. chap. 7, M. Dalton argues that, in industry, corresponding to a wide range of unofficial rewards, there is a very wide range of unofficial services that the executive must somehow call forth from his men if the organization is to function smoothly:

> "Although informal reward ideally is given for effort and contribution beyond what is expected of a specific rank, it is also granted for many other purposes, often unexpected and formally taboo, yet important for maintaining the organization and winning its ends" (pp198-9).

15. Van Gennep, op. cit., 1960.

16. These reflect general properties of self-reconsituations as outlined by Van Gennep, op. cit., 1960; and T. R. Sarbin and N. Adler, "Self-Constitution Processes: A Preliminary Report", Psychological Research, Vol. 57, pp599-616.

17. A. Strauss, "Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity", New York: The Free Press, 1959, p92.

18. Boella has also highlighted the importance of on the job training in this industry. He suggests that "it can be very effective for the teaching of manual and social skills, but it requires that training objectives are clearly defined and those responsible for instruction are proficient in training techniques". Certainly, newcomers should, if possible, be attached to experienced staff. But in some cases it is not appropriate for training objectives to be made explicit - and responsibility for training must lie entirely with the instructor. See M. Boella, "Personnel Management in the Hotel and Catering Industry", London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974, pp55-66.

19. See E. Goffman, "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961, pp29 et seq., for a full description of the impact of this substitution on those admitted to a mental hospital.

20. Ibid., pp91-92.

21. Others have commented upon both these themes of marginality and tolerance. See, for example, E. Goffman, "Encounters", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961, pp91-92; A. Strauss, op. cit., 1959, p92; J. Ditton, op. cit., 1977, pp27-28.

22. P. Rock, "Deviant Behaviour", London: Hutchinson, 1973, p63.

23. N.E.D.O., op. cit., 1975, pp17-21.

24. As noted in chapter 1, the notion of "ad hoc management" was originally coined by Mars and Mitchell in their work on the industry. See G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Room for Reform?: A Case Study of Industrial Relations in the Hotel Industry", Unit 6, Industrial Relations Course, P.881, Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1976.

25. As Bowey points out, many people in low level hotels have to bluff their way into their first job because there are so few training schemes for them. See A.M. Bowey, op. cit., 1976, p135.

26. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p82.

27. By "moral" I mean anything to do with a career that impinges upon the indivudal's view of himself or of significant others but that lies outside the formal and explicit rules which limit individual autonomy. As noted earlier, the concept was originally developed by E.C. Hughes, op. cit., 1958, p71.

28. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p51.

29. Originally defined by Goffman as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together leads an enclosed, formally administered round of life". See E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p51.

30. E. Goffman, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959, p151.

31. Goffman has defined a back region or backstage "as a place relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course"; op. cit., 1959, p140.

32. G. Orwell, "Down and Out in London and Paris", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973, p60.

33. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p180.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HIDDEN SATISFACTIONS AT WORK

1. The informal rewards system

Research currently being carried out at the Centre for Occupational and Community Research at Middlesex Polytechnic suggests that there is a wide divergence between the informal benefits and the recognized rewards from work in many different industries. And all the evidence suggests that nowhere is there quite such a marked divergence as in hotels and catering - an industry noted for its long tradition of payment by the "fiddle". Yet as the research has progressed, I have found that an initial interest in fiddled benefits has led to an increased understanding of a whole range of variables affecting behaviour - not only in this industry, but in other service occupations too.

Information about the low wages in hotels and catering is continually being pressed upon us by the media and by trade unions, pressure groups, legislation, official reports and academic literature. Although concern about low pay in this industry is well meant, and is certainly valid for some workers, my research suggests that the formal aspects of pay represents only one part of the total income which other workers actually expect to earn. This is because whilst some workers benefit substantially from informal and sometimes illegal rewards, others certainly do not. In my experience, those who do benefit, however, do so with the full collusion of management and this kind of reward can be considered to be institutionalized.

The popular press and TV news editors have been as guilty as anyone of misleading us on this matter - in particular in their coverage of disputes in the industry to do with union recognition and unfair dismissals. My research shows that these are often to do with perceived injustices in the allocation of informal rewards rather

than with what they are projected as being about.

In spite of its notoriously low basic pay, the efforts made over the past thirty years by the major trade unions to organize this industry have been largely unsuccessful. According to a government report, no more than 13 per cent of those working in hotels and catering are unionized (1). There have been various explanations for this surprising low unionism and as Mars and Mitchell have argued elsewhere (2), the single most important reason is that union activists have been primarily concerned to appeal to the more permanent members of the workforce and to do so by aiming to raise their basic pay. In doing this the unions have failed to take into account the nature and extent of informal rewards which mainly benefit these key workers and which will be at risk if rewards were to be collectively set.

Like the unions, pressure groups such as the Low Pay Unit (3), established to highlight the plight of low paid workers in general, only emphasize the formal aspect of people's income in industries like hotels and catering. And whilst there may be several reasons why the Wages Council has failed to determine minimum wage levels in this industry and to achieve effective collective bargaining (4), it seems fair to say that its failure is one of understanding. As with the trade unions and the Low Pay Unit, this too can be attributed to its being all too often insensitive to local labour and product markets and again unaware of the levels of hidden reward paid to catering workers. Ironically, by stressing the general low level of wages in the industry, each of these bodies do a singular disservice to those who are really at the bottom of the heap, who genuinely lack the opportunity to gain informal rewards, but whose fate is obscured by a misdirected emphasis on formal pay.

Government reports have consistently stressed both the high labour turnover rates in hotels and the low wages which the industry pays its labour (5) without paying much

attention to the value of hidden fringe benefits which underlie and obscure an understanding of both. N.E.D.C. has estimated, for instance, that of hotel and catering workers, 49 per cent of full-time adult men and 88 per cent of full-time adult women are paid below the levels which can reasonably be said to constitute low pay (6). But these figures are bound to be distorted because they ignore such things as free subsidized food, accommodation, tips, fiddles and, most particularly, other perks which unofficially accrue to the hotel worker. When it comes to analyzing and interpreting the amount of rewards which people actually take home, official statistics hardly tell us anything.

Nor do we find those who have done research in the industry a great source of enlightenment. For example, although William Foote Whyte's classic study of the restaurant industry in Chicago during the forties did not entirely overlook the importance of "tips", "service charge", "bonuses" and other remunerations including pilferage, he seems to have concentrated largely upon the psychological satisfactions these practices offer, without considering their influence on patterns of work-place behaviour. Indeed he makes no reference at all to the system of competitive privileges whereby one waitress is permitted more substantial benefits from tipping than another (7).

Bowey (8), on the other hand, in her study of the British restaurant industry, took the analysis further by trying to show the relationship between the seasonal variation in tips and the level of labour turnover. She found that the fall in tips arising from seasonal fluct-uations often resulted in staff moving from one restaurant to another in which they had friends who were able to find jobs for them. And Philip Nailon's (9) review of the practice of tipping which he sees in terms of its value as a motivator, both for the recipient and the customer, is the most useful analysis that is to be found

to date.

What both Bowey and Nailon have written, however, needs to be taken still further if the analysis is to include those informal aspects of hotel workers' incomes which do not appear to be quite legitimate. In spite of the important implications they have for the pattern of workplace relations, almost all published comments on the hotel industry have coyly neglected giving data on pilferage and theft, the numbers who benefit by its practice, the range and different types of fiddled benefits and the values and attitudes which tend to be associated with this practice. Even in the kind of study involving in-depth participant-observation where knowledge of its practice could hardly be ignored, no mention is made of the subject at all (10); or if mentioned it is discussed in the most condemnatory way as something which "with sufficient supervision ... will be detected in the long run" (11).

This neglect is now giving way to a growth of interest in this branch of occupational studies, though this has yet to be pulled together in any really systematic manner. One of the first accounts of the practice of colluding in occupational theft was based on ethnographic experience as a hotel waiter in Blackpool (12). Other occupations which have also received attention in this connection include bread salesmen (13); milkmen (14); dockworkers (15); shopworkers (16); and factory workers (17). But despite this recent interest, the area still remains largely undeveloped. To find a way of classifying fiddles and show how they might be related to different types of organizations was one of the major tasks in this study of the hotel industry.

2. The context of hotel pilferage

All organizations invoke controls which deny people full individual autonomy. As noted earlier, no waiting staff are permitted to sit, eat, smoke, shout, swear or

engage in any activity considered inappropriate in the customers' presence. Thus whatever the individual's attachment to his everyday self, any formal arrangement whereby he must always observe such rules necessitates a curtailment of the self from which no one is entirely exempt. It is only when he begins to take part in the co-operatively required activity of the organization without feeling alienated that he is transformed - that he begins to accept that self-curtailment is a "normal", "standard" and "built-in" part of the job. This, in Goffman's terms, is the stage at which it is possible to speak of the individual having a "primary adjustment" to the organization - the point at which "he is officially asked to be no more and no less than he is prepared to be, and obliged to dwell in a world that is in fact congenial to him" (18).

One way which management use to help their staff pass through this stage is to hold parties for special festive events when staff (perhaps once or twice a year) are able to engage freely in all the activities they are normally denied. For example, at the staff Christmas dinner, workers and management mix in a relatively relaxed and informal manner - eating and drinking together, playing party games, and talking to one another as if social equals. Normally such is the importance attached to maintaining social distance that workers are not allowed to mingle with guests - even when staff are off duty and out of uniform. Therefore if a waiter wishes to eat out or celebrate a festive or life-cycle event, say, a wedding, christening or 21st birthday party, he must go outside the hotel in which he works. Imagine, then, the difficulties that this must inevitably raise for management when they try to stage a staff party.In the larger hotel a backroom or banqueting hall can be set aside for such purposes. Alternatively, hotels frequently have reciprocal arrangements with one another so staff can be transferred to an entirely different setting whenever parties are held.

In form the annual staff party is an institutionalized get-together characterized by a relief from the formalities and the task orientation that normally governs staff-guest contacts and the usual chain of command (19). Given the usual role, these activities represent "role releases"(20). It is at such times that workers will have the licence to "take liberties" and generally act above their station, possibily imagining for a few hours that the whole world lies at their feet. In particular they are likely to cut across the system of ranking by certain standard devices.

First, to the degree that staff are normally defined as non-persons by the dress they are obliged to wear, it elevates their status to be granted the privilege not to wear uniforms. As I prepared to join the staff Christmas party in hotel 3, I can recall the restaurant manager saying to me: "Don't forget to change ... you want to look like a human being don't you? ..." and I found that staff generally obtained satisfaction from the feeling, however, illusionary, that, if they put on a three-piece suit, they would suddenly acquire the same status as the general manager.

Second, in some cases, the staff-management line might be crossed through ritual role reversal. Essentially this means that management wait on tables for staff and perform other menial services for them (21). But as if to emphasize the fact that he wished to demean himself and suffer a greater loss of self-respect again, in the highest level London hotel I studied, the first head waiter stood on his chair at the staff Christmas dinner and then declared, in broken Italian, a language unfamiliar to him, that he was an ugly stupid old fool.

A third way in which status differences may be eliminated is for staff to take advantage of the moratorium that exists to say things that would not ordinarily be permitted in order to make management feel uncomfortable. There will always be a few people who will seize

the opportunity of role release to abuse, ridicule, embarrass, humiliate or otherwise behave towards management in an offensive manner. The annual get-together is such an occasion because it allows people the freedom to vent their feelings of anger, resentment or disrespect without the fear of retribution. In effect, it provides a kind of safety-valve because potentially explosive situations can thus be averted before there is a risk of major consequences. In hotel 3 I found a commis chef, for example, who boldly went up to the general manager in the staff Christmas party and publicly declared: "Mr. Brown, I think you're a fucking snob!..." No penalty followed because the manager was quite powerless to do anything; it is generally regarded as outside the manager's jurisdiction to punish anyone for taking advantage of the situation.

This brings us to what Goffman has called "secondary adjustments" - practices that do not directly challenge management but allow staff "to obtain forbidden satisfactions or to obtain permitted ones by forbidden means" (22). Such practices enable the individual to stand apart from his official role, not simply on those occasions during the year such as the staff Christmas party, when everyone is permitted to act out of character, but whenever opportunities arise for self expression. For a relative newcomer to the job, secondary adjustments might consist of nothing more than a relief from the more trivial aspects of prescribed conduct. On one occasion I was reprimanded in hotel 4 because I had been seen smiling in the restaurant. Although this did not really infringe any hard and fast rule, because I was newly employed as a commis, it was considered necessary for rules prescribing minor acts of physical self-involvement to be applied at all times - at least until I was just sufficiently competent to know when rule-breaking of this kind <u>was</u> permitted. I became accustomed to receiving instrucitons like: "You must never pick your nose, never scratch your hair, never stroke your chin, never touch or put your hands anywhere

near your face ... and you must always try to stand straight like Prince Charles". It was not so much intended to put me in my place, but rather to make me fully aware of the minor deprivations which I would not ordinarily be expected to sustain later on.

There are other secondary adjustments, however, such as a waiter's practice of satisfying his family's needs for food from that which he helps serve. These become so much an accepted part of the workings of an organization that they take on the character of perquisites, indulg-gences, 'knock-off' or 'fiddles'. Some of these practices must always remain unofficial and cannot become a legiti-mate part of work activity because, as Melville Dalton has pointed out, a special capacity of the work will often have to be underwritten with unofficial rewards that are given specifically for effort or merit beyond the normal call of duty. In fact what the worker may regard as a bonus or perk is often deliberately allowed - often as an ad hoc 'one off' indulgence by management who turn a blind eye for the sake of the organization's overall efficiency (23).

A great deal of conflict and hostility between management and staff is concerned with the habitual tacit understanding of what both would expect, but neither would in most cases want to frame, even unofficially; namely, where, between the two extremes, the line is to be drawn separating the officially accepted level of tolerance from the intolerable. Much of the ambiguity concerning management's definition of 'an acceptable level' has to do with the variations which are permitted according to the class of hotel and the waiter's position within it. But before we go on to discuss this matter further, it would be better first to consider some of the techniques involved. Having done this the extent, complexity and implications of fiddling in the hotel and catering industry can be more fully appreciated.

3. Techniques and types of fiddling

One of the most common forms of hotel pilferage is often simply known as 'knock-off' - a term which among hotel workers refers to illicitly obtaining food or items such as soap, toilet paper, serviettes or tablecloths that are intended for customers' use. Almost all hotel waiting staff are permitted to indulge in this type of fiddle, but with the access to these rewards having a different distribution depending on the class of hotel, the techniques used and the type of worker using them. Peripheral workers mostly take only the relatively inexpensive items such as soup, sweets, and hors d'oeuvres which are left unguarded in the kitchen. Core workers, on the other hand, are likely to take more valuable items of food through an informal arrangement with kitchen staff - in exchange for a drink, a lift home, money, gifts, or a favour of one kind or another. Their greater degree of involvement at work allows the development of relationships and in many respects the goods which flow along these lines of relationship are secondary to the relationships themselves (24).

In most cases what is taken as knock-off is nothing more than the food which hotel staff actually consume at work. But the provision of free food for staff in canteens reduces management's acceptable level of tolerance, even to the point where in our second high class London hotel it was common practice for anyone caught taking food from the kitchen to be charged the same amount as a customer. One waiter for example, was charged £2 for helping himself to strawberries and cream. Some, however, try to turn their quasi-legitimate rights in knock-off to greater advantage by also taking home what can be 'knocked-off' to satisfy their families' needs - in particular supplying them with staple foods such as bread, butter, sugar, jam, cheese, cream, tea-bags, or breakfast cereals because these can usually be taken unnoticed and transported easily. Finally, a few go still further and make a profession out of selling

the proceeds of such involvements: buying, say, steak fillets for 50p each from a 'bent' chef and re-selling them at a profit to the cafe down the road. To avoid detection they would strap, say, a side of smoked salmon or fillet steaks to their legs and hidden beneath their trousers. One waiter in the first high quality London hotel helped to run two restaurants of his own partly on the supplies which he managed to obtain in this way.

Such characters, however, are exceptional since they run the risk that anyone caught fiddling on such a scale can often find himself being prosecuted. In the same London hotel a kitchen worker was arrested during my field-work period and later prosecuted for taking a 5-gallon tin of cooking oil worth about £5. But as the pastry chef pointed out, it was not so much because he had taken some-thing which did not really belong to him, but the fact that he had exceeded long established limits without seeking social approval that accounted for him having to pay the consequences:

> "Everyone fiddles a little in this business ... in fact you wouldn't be considered any good as a waiter if you weren't able to make a little on the side ... It's something we all do from time to time, only some are not so good at it as others. A few don't know how far you should go ... One thing you've got to learn is that you shouldn't be too greedy ... No one is going to mind much if you take just the small things ... but when you start to nick quite expensive stuff on a regular basis, as this man was, you can't expect the head chef or sous chef (who get paid a percentage of the profits) to stand still while you walk off with half their earnings."

'Money fiddles' is a term I use to refer to a distinct class of fiddle - often involving similar tech-niques to those used to obtain food illicitly but quite different from the practice of knock-off in that it provides staff with a direct cash benefit. In the typical lounge or dining room the majority of money fiddles are practised at the hotel's expense leaving the customers unaffected and unaware. Basically these fiddles involve,

first, getting food and drink past a checker or control clerk and, second, serving exactly what the customer has ordered, and then pocketing the payment for it. Since a waiter must eventually account for every cheque he presents to the kitchen or stillroom, his problem is to obtain food and beverages without a cheque. One solution is to introduce items which he has purchased outside the hotel so that a profit can be made when they are sold at the hotel's higher prices. This type of fiddle is most often practised by wine waiters. At the second northern hotel I studied one such waiter who regularly filled the boot of his car with £150 worth of wine, beer, and spirits so that he could sell them to customers. Another way round the problem is to charge customers for food or drink obtained as knock-off. An example of this is a lounge waiter who had worked several years in the same hotel and who developed the practice of removing a gateau from the dining-room every Sunday, and cutting pieces from it which were then sold to the innocently unsuspecting guests in the lounge. Again this is a fiddle commonly practised by wine waiters who, for instance, pour the left-over wine from people's bottles into a carafe which they then sell as 'house-wine'.

Perhaps the most common type of fiddle, is for waiting staff to form an alliance with either kitchen staff, the restaurant manager, or a control clerk to provide the access and support which they need for practising undetected pilferage. As already mentioned, the kitchen staff may be bought off, granted favours, or otherwise persuaded to provide access to food for a waiter's knock-off. This food can then be sold to hotel guests who are charged the normal price for it and the waiter pockets the full amount. More often the chef or kitchen staff who collude with waiting staff in this way receive a percentage of the illicit takings - usually sharing on a 50/50 basis anything that they earn from pilferage.

Even though their awareness of much of what goes on helps to institutionalize its practice, higher management is normally outside this fiddle system. On the other

hand the more lucrative dining-room fiddles do involve one or more waiters in some kind of alliance with the restaurant manager or head waiters. He can provide both the services to facilitate pilferage and the protection against higher management if anything goes wrong (25). A practice which I found occurring frequently, for instance, was one in which a restaurant manager encouraged some of his casual staff to give false names and addresses in order to evade tax. A similar fiddle is the practice of hiring less casual staff than the number which is actually put down on the account books and giving false names and addresses to prevent detection. The restaurant manager and the head waiter, who both have some responsibility for hiring and firing staff, can then pocket the amount which should really have gone to the extra staff they did not employ.

By and large, dining-room money fiddles primarily involve taking the cash paid by customers for the food and service they receive. But as Nailon (26) has pointed out in the context of a discussion of tipping, the manager's allocation of customers to stations (i.e. sets of tables) may be crucial. By manoeuvering those customers seen as potentially high tippers on to a particular station, a head waiter is able to benefit a particular waiter. And it is similarly so in the case of fiddles. By manoeuvering non-residents to a particular station, a head waiter is able to channel fiddled benefits to the waiter of his choice. Whereas residents usually pay for their meals by cheque at the end of their stay and are therefore not good for fiddles, most non-residents pay cash to the waiter serving them. Such non-resident customers who are good for fiddling are known as 'chance'.

Sets of tables which chance customers are most likely to find attractive, such as those near a window with a view, or those away from the clatter and smell of the kitchen are therefore desirable to a waiter intent on maximizing fiddles. Thus allocating these to waiters

might become a matter for favourt ism by the restaurant manager whose strategy is basically to provide his core workers with the best stations. 'Best' in this sense means best both for tips and for fiddles. In return for 'kick-backs', the head waiter or restaurant manager is then expected to service his chosen stations in such a way that the waiters' earnings can be maximized to their mutual benefit.

Perhaps, though, the greatest opportunities for money fiddles are those practised by bar staff and wine waiters. As well as the more simple forms of pilferage, such as over-charging and short-changing, there is a wide range of fiddles of an increasingly complex and lucrative nature in which bar staff and wine waiters are able to engage. Unlike the lounge and dining-room fiddles which have been described, these fiddles are not usually at the expense of the hotel, but at the expense of customers. Most involve trying to short measure or to pass off less expensive beer, wine, or spirits as the more expensive kind ordered by the customer, and then charging the full amount so that the waiter can pocket the difference in price. A waiter, for instance, who receives an order for bottled beer, say, a Double Diamond, can usually get away with serving an ordinary draught beer which costs 4p less. Similarly he can pour cheap wine into a bottle bearing the label of a more expensive one, and then again can pocket the difference in price. Or if he receives an order for an orange juice, he can easily get it from the supply kept on tap in the kitchen but charge the customer the full price of a more expensive bottle of, say, Britvic orange.

A large number of bar fiddles are based upon short measures or watering down, but perhaps the best known and most frequently practised fiddles are at banquets. Should, for example, a table order 12 bottles of wine, only 11 bottles may in fact be served. The larger the numbers involved, the greater the ambiguity and the greater the likelihood of fiddles. Another commonly practised fiddle

in bars is to dilute the bottles of spirits from which people are served so that each bottle can then be used to serve more than the number for which the hotel expects to receive payment. Alternatively if a waiter receives an order for, say, two gin and tonics, he can pour a single measure into two glasses, and then conceal the fact by adding more tonic than usual.

Finally, the night porter has his own brand of fiddles. The night porter's duties include serving sandwiches and drinks in the lounge; booking in the guests who have arrived late; locking up; keeping a watchful eye on the building. He can, of course, engage in the lounge fiddles already described. Indeed because he holds keys providing access to all the food or drinks in the hotel and no other staff are normally present when he is on duty, the problem of getting past the control system hardly applies. On top of this, a night porter can engage in other kinds of fiddles related to room-letting. One example is the way night porters can provide male guests with a woman for the night in return for a 50 per cent commission on the business brought to her. Another is to "sub-let" rooms for the night to couples who need a place in which to indulge secretly in affairs. He gives them his own or an empty room for the night if they promise to leave the hotel before 7.00 am when staff begin to arrive for work. Finally, in one case described to me, the night porter had a homosexual partner who was employed in the stillroom and lived in. Everyone knew that they were "working the system" (27) - the night porter acted as pimp and his mate the role of male prostitute. But management made no attempt to prevent this going on because it did not involve a drain on the hotel's resources - nor was it a direct challenge to them.

The enormous range of fiddles which I found have a common feature: they are acts of dishonesty which the people involved do not consider to be dishonest. What underlies this notion is an unwritten code, not very easy to discern,

in which the limits beyond which it is considered inappropriate for a particular person in a particular situation to benefit from fiddling are set out. This is why tacit understandings and double dealings between management and staff are often necessarily so complex. As a wine waiter in an extremely prestigious hotel put it when questioned by the restaurant manager about the loss of a bottle of wine and a corkscrew belonging to a party of V.I.P. customers:

> "Well you know that I nick things ... I know that you know that I nick things ... but I don't nick things when it's someone important ... or, if I do, I make bloody sure that no one knows that something has been nicked! ..."

4. Learning to fiddle

Once the recruit has realized the stage when he is judged sufficiently competent to cope with the technical side of the job, it is not long before he can begin the preliminary stages of fiddler training. New recruits, first of all, may be put through a series of initiation tests, first of all, to ensure successful fiddler transformation. The aim is to find out whether they are sufficiently able and willing to practise the fiddle before actually getting involved themselves. Moral training generally hinges upon a whole gauntlet of Hiawathan trials. Polski, for instance, admits that, in his study of an American adolescent delinquent boys' home, he only began to be tolerated as a six ft. six in. participant-observing adult after a long period of testing in which, among other things, he was forcibly obliged to smoke marihuana (28). So, too, prospective entry into the deviant sub-culture of hotels tends to start in this way.

Managerial hand-outs, usually consisting of a small sum, say, 50p are given to selected members of staff in private. This may alternatively be seen as "hush money" or "conscience money". For example, not long after the restaurant manager in hotel 2 received a £20 tip which he was asked to share with the pastry chef, he gave £1 each to the two

waiters who had been standing nearby at the time he received the money. This was designed first to appease the two waiters who might have resented not getting some reward themselves; and second to draw them into a position of sharing the guilt for keeping the pastry chef's share of the money. Thus what Cressey calls a "non-shareable problem" (29) emerges because in effect it seals everyone's lips and prevents the injustice coming to light.

During the initial stages the neophyte is left largely to pick up the fiddling techniques for himself. Information about fiddling tends to be transmitted unintentionally, often imperceptibly and through a gradual process of absorption starting from the moment of the recruit's moral awareness. However, if judged to have the special skills or qualities required for tutelage, the recruit may suddenly find that the trials become demonstrations in which he is expected to learn something through formal instruction. Judgement of a recruit's character and ability is made along the lines of Sutherland's study - ideally he should have "an adequate equipment of wit, front, talking ability, ... reliability, nerve and determination" (30). Self-interest or opportunism normally determine the actual occasion on which tutelage begins; a head waiter may require the collaboration of his commis to obtain knock-off, provide alibis, prevent him getting caught, or give him assistance of some kind.

At first, the pupil will receive instruction in minor fiddles or quasi-legitimate perks. Once waiters are confident that a recruit has the right predisposition, they may test him out with an offer or request for something small, say, an hors d'oeuvre or soup. In his study of bakers' roundsmen, Ditton observed that this often took the form of a particularly loaded question - the "alerting phrase" as he puts it: "Classically between sales and bakery staff, the 'alerting phrase' for 'those in the know', is the demand for, or offer of, 'extra bread'". He notes that this appears in the form of a question; "Is there any bread about?" (31). Similarly Henry found that illicit trading began with what members describe as either a "test line" or a "probe line",

requesting or offering "cheap goods", "cheap gear" or "cheap stuff" (32).

It is not until he has shown that he has no moral qualms but can carry out the most trivial acts of dishonesty satisfactorily that he may begin to engage in the more lucrative forms of illicit activity. Staggering opportunities for the fiddle in this way has two advantages. In the first place, anyone who does not accept the fiddle poses something of a threat to those who practise it. By making sure that the moral career is taught in stages, it should be possible to find out the whistle-blowers before they have the chance to report a major fiddle. At the same time, the gradual progression helps to insulate the novice against the psychological shock when full disclosure is eventually made. Obviously the socialization process involves some identity crisis, some self-reevaluation. But presumably the idea of having to engage in activity hitherto regarded as taboo can more easily be absorbed in stages. Thus, before he knows what has really happened, a novice undergoes a complete "transformation" (33).

It may help to take my own experience in hotel 3 as an example. One night the station head waiter approached me and asked if I would like to invite two friends for a free meal. His proposition was that if they shared the price of a table d'hote meal (£7.50) between them, both could order whatever they wished from the a la carte menu. In order to avoid detection a cheque for the table d'hote meal would be placed with the chef. If questioned about the second person at the table, the waiter would simply claim that he/she had been taken ill and had consumed nothing at all. To obtain the second person's meal, another cheque with a different table number would be placed on order - saying, if asked, that it had been necessary to serve someone a second meal because he/she had complained about the first. Usually no strict control applied to the hors d' oeuvres or sweets: only a few words in the ear of the cold larder or pastry chef were needed - and anything on the menu could be obtained. Once I had accepted this proposition,

it was not long before I was given the opportunity to try it out. Having demonstrated that I was a capable accomplice and not averse to the fiddle, I began to get drawn into the fiddle system before the significance of the situation became really clear to me.

The non-spectacular way in which people become involved in deviant activity has a number of functions. One is to provide the kind of training required without fear of arousing management's suspicion. Thus teaching recruits the rudiments of the fiddler's craft in stages has a purely practical function. It paves the way for entry into the fiddle system without exposing the recruit to unnecessary risks. Secondly, as already suggested, it helps to soften the emotional blow that a sudden awakening to his fiddler role might bring. No identity crisis or "psyching out" (34) is experienced until after the novice has learnt the techniques and practiced their use. By this stage, the learner has become a fully fledged fiddler. Thus he turns into someone who can be trusted because he is "one of us" - being no longer a "marginal man" (35) but someone as strongly committed as we are. Hence a third function is that direct involvement in deviant activity amounts to a <u>permanent</u> transformation - it is a kind of virginity test. Once the novice begins to practice the art of fiddling himself, there can be no return to his previous state of innocence. However insignificant this might appear, the act is irreversible and labels people for ever. Once a fiddler, always a fiddler you might say.

It is useful in this connection to comment upon the experience of a commis chef whom I know. Within the second day of his arrival, he found himself being "dragged" into deviant activity at the hotel where he worked. Regardless of whether he liked them or not, he simply had no choice but to take the After Eights which they offered him:

> "They keep these chocolates in a cupboard off the dining-room and one of the assistant chefs just shoved these two boxes of After Eights at me on my second day ... 'Here you are', he said, 'They're yours' ... when I said I didn't want them, didn't even like the taste,

> he got quite firm and insisted ... 'In any case, they can't be put back', he said, 'because the cupboard is locked and the record has already been altered' ... then one of the other chaps came round and got his share and it's suggested that I couldn't really keep out of it - not without dropping some others in it ... so I said 'Thank you' and took them ... after you have become involved like this your're trusted ..."

At first, then, involvement in the fiddle converts the newcomer whose moral attitudes are unknown and therefore "dangerous" into a participant; at the same time providing a means to demonstrate and to reaffirm the shared culture of pilferage and social function which it serves. Then as the novice begins to practice the fiddle himself, he will rely more upon the advice meted out to him by other more experienced hands; he will obtain greater returns, build up greater trust with his immediate superiors and develop the strategies required to assure success and prevent getting caught. For instance, after two or three weeks' careful tutelage, I can recall being advised by my station head waiter in hotel 3 on what <u>types</u> of knock-off to take home:

> "Food can be taken without much risk because as soon as you get home you can eat the bloody stuff ... but never take china, table-cloths, napkins or cutlery - especially if the name of the hotel is printed on them ... you never know when they might catch up with you ..."

Sooner or later, somewhere along this chaperoned route, fiddle occasions begin to lose their mystery and become defined as ordinary. So, too, when the waiter's training is morally concluded, his commitment to the wider organization begins to fade. Instead he developes a strong attachment towards his immediate superior upon whom he has come to depend for access to customers and goods. But because the nature and extent of his fiddled benefits is normally determined by the position he holds within the group, no one worker can act individually. If he should do so, he may find himself quickly earning the scorn and contempt of co-workers; he may even risk being reported to the police as happened in the cooking-oil case mentioned earlier. Only

core workers can step outside the limits and not risk group sanctions being applied against them. This is why, despite his reputation for stealing things, the greatest fiddler in hotel 2, not only escaped punishment, but went on to become the night manager; though still only 18, he had worked in every department from the age of 14 and was easily the most experienced member of staff - and someone who could always be relied upon in the case of an emergency.

Our analysis in this chapter has focused primarily upon the relationship of waiters to management and secondly to each other because in order to understand the fiddle system, it is crucial that we consider the ordinary daily life of these people. Thus we have looked at what conditions apply to different categories of worker, itemised the limits, discussed the different types and techniques of rule breaking, and examined the process of transition by which workers are allowed access to various fiddled benefits. However, there is a third dimension that cannot be ignored: that between waiters and diners. This dimension is not isolated: it is integral to understanding relationships both with co-workers and management since it affects the waiter's perception of his own professionalism and the view of him held by significant others. This should not only affect movements from periphery to core but should also affect, in turn, access to constituents of the total rewards system.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Indeed it is likely that union membership in hotels and restaurants is now the same or less than in 1947 and this despite the industry's growth and an increase in the overall density of union membership in the working population as a whole. See National Economic Development Office: Economic Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London: HMSO, 1975.

2. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Catering for the Low Paid: Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Bulletin, No. 15, London: LPU, 1977 (June).

3. Low Pay Unit, "Low Pay in Hotels and Catering", Low Pay Pamphlet, No. 2, London: LPU, 1975.

4. See, for example, F.J. Bayliss, "British Wages Councils", Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962; P. Mitchell and R.K. Ashton, "Wages Councils: Do They Matter?", Hotel and Catering Institute Management Association Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1974, pp20-28.

5. As noted in the last chapter, hotels are well known for having extremely high labour turnover and low wages. See, for example, National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Staff Turnover", London: HMSO, 1969; N.E.D.O., op. cit., 1975.

6. N.E.D.O., op. cit., 1975, p13.

7. Based on wartime Chicago, the study probably did not give the fairest picture of how the industry operates in peacetime. But many still regard it as being the finest sociological study of the hotel industry to date. W.F. Whyte, "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948.

8. Despite the author's claim to be in the tradition of British social anthropology which is hardly sustained, this study presents a useful analysis of organizational theory based on the hotel industry. A.M. Bowey, "Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976.

9. P. Nailon, "Tipping: A Behavioural Review", Hotel and Catering Institute Management Association Review, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1978, pp231-243.

A report by the British National Economic Office also draws attention to management's loss of control due to tipping. National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Why Tipping?", London: HMSO, not dated.

10. J.P. Spradley and B.J. Mann, "The Cocktail Waitress: Women's Work in a Man's World", New York: Wiley and Sons, 1975; A.M. Bowey, op. cit., 1976.

11. W.F. Whyte, op. cit., 1948, p89.

12. G. Mars, "Hotel Pilferage: A Case Study of Occupational Theft", in M. Warner (ed.) "The Sociology of the Workplace", London: Allen and Unwin, 1973.

13. J. Ditton, "Part-Time Crime: An Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage", London: Macmillan, 1977.

14. O.E. Bigus, "The Milkman and his Customer", Urban Life and Culture, Vol. 1, 1972, pp131-65.

15. G. Mars, "Dock Pilferage", in P. Rock and M. McIntosh (eds.) "Deviance and Control", London: Tavistock, pp209-28.

16. See, for example, G.D. Robin, "Employees as Offenders: A Sociological Analysis of Occupational Crime" (Ph.D. Thesis), University of Pensylvania, 1965; K.A.D. England, "A Consideration of the Alienated Conditions of Shopworkers in the Retail Trade" (mimeo), 1973; A.P. Franklin, "Internal Theft in a Retail Organization: A Case Study" (Ph.D. Thesis), Ohio State University, 1975.

17. D.M. Horning, "Blue Collar Theft: Conceptions of Property, Attitudes Toward Pilfering and Work Group Norms in a Modern Plant" in E. Smigel and H.L. Ross (eds.) "Crimes Against Bureaucracy", New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, pp46-64.

18. E. Goffman, "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961, p172.

19. Of course, the annual staff party is not confined to hotels but may be found in establishments of many different kinds. Some of the best reports of these events are still to be found in fiction. See, for example, Nigel Balchin's description of a factory party in "Private Interests", Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953, pp47-71; Angus Wilson's description of a hotel staff/guest in his short story "Saturnalia" in "The Wrong Set", New York: William Morrow, 1950, pp68-89; and J. Kerkhoff's version of the annual party in a mental hospital, "How Thin the Veil: A Newspaper Man's Story of His Own Mental Crack-Up and Recovery", New York: Greenberg, 1952, pp224-5.

20. This term was first employed by J. Gusfield in an unpublished paper, "Social Control and Institutional Catharsis"; and is developed by E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, pp90-93.

21. See Max Gluckman, "Custom and Conflict in Africa", Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press, Chap. V, "The Licence in Ritual", 1955, pp109-36.

22. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p56.

23. Dalton argues that, in industry, corresponding to a wide range of unofficial rewards, there is a wide range of unofficial services that the executive must somehow call forth from his men if the organization is to function smoothly. M. Dalton, "Men Who Manage", New York: Wiley and Sons, esp. Chap. VII, "The Interlocking of Official and Unofficial Reward", 1964.

24. This argument is more fully developed in S. Henry, "The Hidden Economy: The Context and Control of Borderline

Crime", London: Martin Robertson, 1978; and in S. Henry and G. Mars, "Crime at Work: The Social Construction of Amateur Property Theft", Sociology, 1978 (July).

25. As G. Mars has pointed out, "access" and "support" always appear to be necessary for pilferage to occur: "It is in the distribution of these two facilities and the alliances which follow such distribution that a system can be seen". G. Mars, op. cit., 1973, p207.

26. P. Nailon, op. cit., 1978.

27. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1961, p89.

28. Two significant features of the boys' subculture thus emerge. One was that the boys intended to terrorize the newcomer by having him perform an illegal alleged habit-forming act. A reputation for being tough and getting into trouble appeared to be integral to group membership. Another was their concern to make the candidate feel obliged to put loyalty to the group above the institution. By not reporting the boys whom he discovered engaging in illegitimate activity, Polski made it clear that he supported their deviant subculture - even to the extent that he puts his own position at risk through non-interference. H.W. Polski, "Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment", New York: Wiley and Sons, 1962.

29. A term which was originally coined by D.R. Cressey in a study of the social psychology of embezzlers; "Other People's Money", Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971.

30. E.H. Sutherland, "The Professional Thief", Chicago: Phoenix, 1937, p213.

31. J. Ditton, op. cit., 1977, p107.

32. S. Henry, op. cit., 1978, pp38-9.

33. By this I mean an alteration of character caused "Whenever one aim grows so stable as to expel definitely its previous rivals from the individual's life"; see William James who originally put forward this definition in "The Varieties of Religious Experience", London: Fontana, 1902, 1974, pp108-9. However, it is not a change of total identity such as that contrived by public degradation ceremonies; see, for example, H. Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 61, 1956, pp420-24. Rather it is the laminition or layering of a new set of attributes onto an old identity core; the sudden realization that one is somebody new.

34. F. Davis, "Socialization as Subjective Experience: Process of Doctrinal Conversion Among Student Nurses"

in H.W. Becker, B. Geer, et al (eds.) "Institutions and the Person", Chicago, 1968, pp244-5.

35. E.C. Hughes, "Men and Their Work", Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press, 1958, p120.

36. The effects of being labelled as a deviant are fully discussed in H.S. Becker, "Outsiders", Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press, 1963, pp31-39.

PART III

THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER

CHAPTER EIGHT

RULES OF COMMENSALITY

1. Commensality in the hotel industry

A hotel restaurant is a stage for playing a variety of roles. Obviously it is a place where people come to eat and drink but it is also a place where they can meet and talk to one another. Some, because they prefer to keep their relationships formal and specific, see the hotel restaurant as a substitute for normal domestic dining. By dining "out" they can get close but avoid getting too close - they can meet and talk but it does not impinge too much upon their private world. Others, however, want to draw a line between themselves and those they know more intimately: for them the anonymity of the hotel or restaurant can provide a welcome refuge from those with whom they share their personal trials, worries and everyday secrets (1). Then there are some who use the hotel as a second home. This kind of customer tries to build intimacy into the occupational relationship itself - to incorporate those who serve him as quasi-family members, to call them by their first names, to buy them drinks, give them presents on their birthdays or at Christmas or other celebratory events and even on occasion to leave them money in their wills. What clues do these differences offer us? How far can they help us to develop a body of rules which has wider application - which can contribute to a framework, a theory about hotel customers and their interaction with those whose job it is to serve them?

Anthropologists paying attention to the importance of food and drink in other societies have long noted how kinship ties and informal networks are maintained and reinforced through the frequent festive occasions at which people eat and drink together. Charles Frake, for example, who studied the Subanun of the Phillipine Islands (2) discovered that social encounters beyond the family frequently occurred during festivals that always included

"beer" drinking. By way of preparation the Subanun put fermented mash into a single, large communal drinking jar. When water is poured over the mash, each person in turn then sucks the air from the bottom of the jar using a long bamboo stalk. As the water passes through the mash, it is transformed into a potent alcoholic beverage. There are elaborate rules for those who participate in these drinking sessions that govern activities such as competitive drinking, drinking with opposite-sexed partners and games that depend upon collective drinking. But what we find is that rules about drinking among the Subanun are part of a set of rules which govern Subanun society generally and that their drinking is secondary to talking:

> "The Subanun expression for drinking talk ... 'talk from the straw', suggests an image of the drinking straw as a channel not only of the drink but also of drinking talk. The two activities, drinking and talking, are closely interrelated in that how one talks bears on how much one drinks and the converse is, quite obviously, also true ..." (3)

Amongst anthropologists, it has long been accepted that food and drink have a capacity to mark social relations and to celebrate big and small occasions. But practically no work has been done and certainly no general principles established to develop this insight for comparative purposes. What we have in fact are two extremes. Starting with Claude Levi-Strauss where we find universal meanings attached to food and drink that are applicable to all humanity (4). And at the other extreme where we find ethnographic thoroughness but little systematic analysis, say, in Mayer or Dumont's studies of the role of commensality in the Indian caste system (5). What we actually need, then, to open this neglected area is a clearer understanding of the rules governing food and drink in a particular social system. With this we can hope to develop a method capable of more general application (6). This was the aim of a piece of research which Nicod carried out with Douglas on British working-class families and the food they ate (7). An extraordinary feature of the dietary system they discovered was

that it possessed a cyclical pattern that was frequently and quickly repeated. They also found that food preferences were important as a basis for transactions within the family and that there were plenty of concessions on likes and dislikes which were the subject of constant negotiation. Thus the domestic menu itself was shown to be integrally linked to the social structure of the family - not only to reflect it and the power relations of its members but also to contribute to its form and to provide the basis for transactions between them.

By contrast, the menu in a restaurant or those in magazines or cookery books describing classical French or haute bourgeoise cuisine are menus which have to be <u>independent</u> of local social structuring and its pressures (though they are orientated to the more standardized demands of their own clientele). It is tempting to make a comparison between the domestic food system and what can be called the national food system such as is found in restaurants and hotels. Such comparison, though it cannot be taken too far, tells us something about the importance of transactions that are associated with commensality in both systems.

In a national system, the reason for variations in a menu can be fully explained, not by reference to local social structuring, but to the food system itself and its budget. For example, the reason why a particular dish might not appear on a table d'hote menu on a given day could merely be that it has appeared on the day or the meal before; while a good reason for producing it on a different day might simply be that it had not appeared for some time in the slot in which it was available as a choice.

In the domestic menu, however, the presence of items are a product of localized transactions whilst the <u>form</u> that a meal takes is a reflection of the local social structure. Thus, for instance, whether it is chicken, leg of lamb, turkey or round of beef that appears before a family, if it appears at the high point of the week, Sunday dinner, the meat is invariably produced as <u>one</u> unitary piece which

symbolizes the unity of the participants. It is also garnished with more than one vegetable and extra trimmings and accompanied by a glass of beer or lemonade instead of plain water, all of which emphasize its place at the pinnacle of the domestic food week. This kind of eating and drinking is then quite different from eating out in a restaurant where theoretically it is possible to order a Sunday dinner every day of the week. In short, the restaurant menu lies outside the ordinary daily round of food-taking and it must not be confused with menus from the family food system.

But if we leave the food and the differences between the two menus, and concentrate on the negotiations and transactions that occur between the parties who are involved, we begin to understand their significance. The main difference between the two is that transactions taking place in a restaurant between those serving and those served are altogether much more elaborate than anything likely to be found in the home. Indeed they are so pronounced that they can serve as a marker in classifying different types of customer. Take the regular customer in my first high level London hotel who was always served coffee in a large cup rather than a small one without his having to ask for it. Or the couple in the Cardiff chain hotel who, whenever they came to their Sunday lunch, always expected to find a bottle of wine waiting for them in an ice-bucket, with a wine waiter, corkscrew in hand, hovering ready to open it. One regular customer in my second high level London hotel even expected to find his bottle standing upside down in the ice bucket - literally a case of inverted snobbery! (8).

Many more examples might be cited to illustrate the point that food and drink transactions are elaborate and varied, that they are a vital dimension of service and that, though service is individually negotiable, it operates within set parameters that are socially determined. But despite strong popular interest in anecdotes about service, the charting of these parameters still remains largely undeveloped. No general principles have emerged for

identifying the way in which host and guest use the hotel meal and the drinks that go with it to manipulate social relationships - nor indeed to show how the waiter is involved in a variety of strategies aimed at categorizing his customers, supplying satisfaction and defusing complaints.

2. Open and closed transactions

Early in my research I became aware of the importance of the role of commensality and its effect upon relationships, both among customers and between customers and waiters. At first it was thought useful to create a typology of customers based on the different terms which waiters themselves use to describe different kinds of people. With this in mind I tried to arrange all the terms into a single folk taxonomy, much like an anthropologist might do for a set of kinship terms. This procedure led to a long list of terms, including the following:

resident	bastard
chance	bitch
regular	pig
perm	Mr. Smith
person off the street	nice man
banquet	punter
party	prostitute
couple	stiff
businessman	peasant
management	snob
V.I.P.	

As I checked out the various terms it became clear that waiters operate with several different sets of categories. Some refer to the customers' length of stay (e.g. "resident", "perm", or "chance"). Others indicate the size of company assembled (e.g. "banquet", "party" or "couple"). Whilst others can only be understand in terms of the specific context in which they are used: e.g. "V.I.P." may be a person who has an important position in public life, the

host(ess) to a banquet or large party, a person staying in the best suite, someone known to be a good punter, or even a particularly awkward customer in some cases. All customers are known as "punters" - presumably because the waiter depends upon their potential for tipping. Then there are some terms which have a regional character: for instance, "good for a drop", which in parts of northern England and in Scotland refers to a regular customer who is known as a good tipper. Awkward customers are variously described as "bastard", "bitch", etc. "Prostitute" is a term applied to women whose appearance suggests that they have been hired from an escort agency. "Peasants" are people whose conduct and appearance give the impression that they are not accustomed to dining out (9). A "snob" is someone who knows (or thinks he knows) how to behave but tries to draw attention to the fact whenever he can. A "pig" is simply a person who eats a lot and anyone who leaves without tipping is said to have "stiffed" the waiter.

However important it might appear to waiters to make such distinctions between types of customers, I soon found myself having to abandon this approach because it proved too delicate in its necessary discriminations, too cumbersome in its yield of rules, too weak in predictive power and too dependent on the verbal and packaging criteria of items. Certainly waiters often learn names and individual identities, arrange people in terms of these specific social categories and develop strategies for performing their role accordingly. But I did not find them sufficient to understand the complexities of social interaction between waiters and their customers. Nor indeed is it necessary for waiters to know them, even though they may have literally dozens of criteria for organizing people into different categories. In any case, the criteria used for labelling might be irrelevant. There might be some categories for which native terms do not exist, or of which people in the situation are not fully aware themselves (10).

What every waiter must know, however, is the kind of

transactions which customers prefer to enter upon from the beginning of their first encounter. Transaction in this case means anything which typically constitutes the regular basis for social interaction. More specifically it is related to the defining characteristics of two distinct types of exchange between waiter and customers - hereafter referred to as "boundary open" and "boundary closed". The boundary open kind includes the waiter in the transaction at the table; the boundary closed kind essentially excludes him.

2.1. Boundary-open transactions

These transactions, as the term implies, offer an open boundary for all those within their ambit. It is not exclusive and can include a relatively wide circle of people. There is little emphasis upon internal divisions in boundary open transactions and relationships can encompass the host's family, close friends, business associates, distant relatives or any mixture of acquaintances. Most importantly it also includes the waiter himself.

In prestigious hotels, those entering into transactions of this kind tend to be customers who use the hotel as a second home. It was well known, for instance, that Victoria Sackville-West always used to be "at home" at the Dorchester on the first Thursday of every month. Anyone who wished to see her on her trip from Cissinghurst Castle would therefore always find her - if, of course, they were prepared to pay for themselves (11). A businessman I served at my highest level London hotel told me: "Rather than keep a flat in London, I always try to stay here on my way to Europe from Brazil ..." One customer, a resident in the same high level London hotel for over 25 years, died at the age of 97 and left two thousand pounds each to the two brothers, now first and second head waiters, who had served her so faithfully over that period.

It is this kind of user who tends to build intimacy, to incorporate waiters as quasi-family members and ask them

questions about their families. They are likely to offer reciprocal hospitality, "If you should ever find yourself in Argentina ...", as well as to leave them money in their wills. Staff often develop strong feelings of personal attachment towards them too. Thus, for instance, staff would often receive the news of a customer's death as though it were a personal loss to them, as part of a conversation in hotel 4 which I overheard clearly illustrates:

> "RESTAURANT MANAGER (solemnly): You'll be sorry to hear, Manuel, that your old friend, Mr. Nesbitt-Smith, has died...
>
> STATION HEAD WAITER: Oh dear, all the old customers I've known for years are dying off."

Oddly enough I found the same kind of transactions taking place in the lower level hotels I studied. Here it is not simply the surrogate home user, though, but almost all hotel guests who try to build intimacy into the service relationship and to incorporate the waiter within their social circle. This might involve some form of physical contact. One customer in my first northern hotel, for instance, asked if I would pose for a photograph with my hand on his wife's shoulder, "Just so we'll be able to show the folk back home what a wonderful time we've had ..." Joking relationships of the kind observed in many societies around the world (12) also frequently develop here between waiters and customers. Take the American tourist at the same hotel on a golfing holiday who asked me whether I would like the autograph of a famous American athlete. When I cleared away the dishes from the table he had just left, I found his signature, written in black ink, and in letters an inch high on the table-cloth. In addition, I found that the waiter might become more closely involved in interaction through the diner's use of familiar language ("Mum will have the plaice, please... "), as a result of asking the waiter's advice ("What wine would you recommend?...") or sometimes sharing a joke or piece of personal news with him ("We'll have champagne; Harry's passed his exams").

2.2. Boundary-closed transactions

By contrast boundary-closed transactions put a frame around the participants and are more concerned with exclusion. Business diners, for the most part, prefer boundary-closed transactions and they use the hotel meal to build and develop intimacy between host and guest within the boundary. At the same time, such a host will "freeze" and formalize relationships across the boundary. These excluding strategies are designed both to impress the guest and to reduce the waiter to obvious subordination. It is as if the emphasis on ranking and protocol that occurs across the boundary encourages and enhances an equality and a common fellowship among those within it.

In this kind of transaction, hosts appear eager to stand on ceremony. They prefer behaviour that follows a format and interaction that does not intrude. These kind of formalities apply to both sides of the boundary. So long as the line between a host and his guest matters, then boundary closure between waiters and customers will be maintained and it will be maintained by an emphasis on ritualized formality.

Boundary-closed transactions, therefore, make the waiter particularly vulnerable to criticism and complaints, especially about failures to observe social etiquette or ritual in service "protocol". Take the customer who complained at being given an ordinary knife and not a fish knife when he ordered plaice and chips in one of the low level hotels I studied. I can also recall being rebuked by a customer for serving him first, and not the lady whom I had not noticed sitting at the other end of the table: "Have you no manners, boy? ..."

Nowhere is this more pronounced that in the multiplicity of "rules" and the protocol which surrounds the serving of drink affecting everything to do with the way it is poured, the temperature at which it must be stored, the length of time it has to be aired, the order in which it

is served to guests, and the appropriate food that it "goes" with. In particular, the ritual surrounding the host's sampling of a wine before it is poured highlights the point - and is shown in extremis where the host insists on sampling a carafe or a bottle of cheap wine in the same way as if it were a more expensive wine.

3. Protocol and social etiquette

Of course, in talking about transactions as being boundary-open or boundary-closed, we should not overlook the fact that a number of standard procedures must always be observed in the service encounter. There are rules for giving and receiving service that pertain to the service relationship, which do not vary according to the time and place, being a sign of respect (or disrespect) for those involved. These include the rules for initiating an encounter and bringing it to an end; standard forms of response to the words and actions that particular others may emit; the rules for taking and terminating a turn at being served; and the obligation to refrain from certain activities in the presence of others (13).

It is useful in this connection to give a few examples. These can be stated, in brief, as follows:

(i) Always serve a guest before you serve the host(ess). This rule takes precedence over everything else, and should always be observed whether it runs counter to other rules or not.

(ii) Always serve a woman before you serve a man. The problem, of course, is that a woman is very often the hostess in which case she must be served last.

(iii) Always serve an older person before you serve a younger one. Here, again, older people acting as the host must be served last. Broadly speaking, sex always takes precedence over age so

that if a woman accompanies an older man, she would normally be served first.

(iv) Always address a customer by his or her surname, or as "sir" or "madam". Obviously this form of address demonstrates the deference of those serving towards those served. In addition, it is an essential part of the waiter's professionalism that he should try not to put customers in a compromising position whenever possible. However much the people he is serving appear to be married, he should therefore avoid the terms "husband" and "wife" in case they are not. Similarly, it might be more appropriate to address someone as "sir" and not by his surname, say, if the customer wishes to conceal the fact that he has previously been there with other women when he takes his wife out for dinner.

(v) Always serve from the left but clear the dirty dishes from the right. Although apparently not a matter of great importance, there is a real need for some such convention if waiters are to avoid colliding into one another. It is particularly important, say, for waiters moving in a crowded banquet holding large service trays in one hand and serving with the other that some formal understanding should be provided so that they are better able to manoeuvre. A heavily loaded tray decreases the carrier's capacity to turn or to stop quickly and yet the nature of the waiter's job itself puts pressure on him to move quickly and without interruption. In these circumstances, it would be difficult to imagine how a waiter might steer clear of a collision . course without some such convention to regulate movements (14).

It might be assumed that a customer can very easily

enter the kind of transaction which he wants by telling the waiter to follow a particular line when it comes to general rules of this kind. Theoretically this might be true if the purpose of these rules was simply to maintain front or put on a good show. In fact, the need to create a good impression is not so important as the need to maintain certain minimum standards. Obviously a diner can, and often does, tell the waiter that he does not mind being served out of sequence or from the right because he believes that this may help to build intimacy into the service relationship. But in this kind of situation, boundary closure is not likely to be affected because these are rules which have been made not to be broken. Each of these rules has a specific function to fulfil and anyone who actively seeks or at least condones deviation from or non-compliance with them will unwittingly be seen as trying to undermine the whole system.

Put briefly, in both kinds of transaction, formal understandings normally appear central, comprising what might be termed a dining etiquette which must always be obeyed. In terms of collision contingencies, such rules are to hotel staff somewhat as the highway code is to the motorist. Sanctions will not necessarily be used against those who fail to comply but should this happen, there is always a risk that they will be brought to justice or penalised in some way.

4. Cues and signals

In everyday life, it is generally true that a person provides a reading of himself when he is in the presence of others. If unacquainted with the individual, others can glean clues from his conduct or appearance about what he will expect from them, what they may expect from him, and how best they should act to avoid conflict or maintain goodwill (15). So, too, the waiter must learn the meanings attached to the cues or signals which people give off so that he can distinguish the different types of diner and

develop an appropriate set of responses. In the case of the regular or long-stay resident who is well-known from transactions that have previously taken place, the problem, of course, does not arise. Learning how to classify and deal with the unknown diner, however, poses a major problem. With experience, the waiter can distinguish the different types of diner according to the kinds of transaction that his relationship with them would probably involve. Like learning a language, the ability to interpret the cues and signals has to be learned over time. Having dealt with a long succession of customers similar to the one presently before them, waiters must rely upon their previous experience for assumptions about how to stereotype him.

The way in which the diner and those with whom he dines are classified appears to involve two distinctly different kinds of sign activity. One is the impression that a person conveys of himself that, more or less, is sustained by him everywhere, whatever he happens to be doing: an impression that is not specific to the social setting in which he finds himself and that remains constant over appreciable periods of time. Gender, age, class, state of health, ethnicity will all be conveyed, in the main unwittingly, as the part of a customer's make-up that can be thought of - and hereafter I shall refer to - as the "primary traits" of a diner's appearance. Ordinarily we would expect that this relatively fixed form of display, because it is mostly visual and easy to discern, provides the waiter with sufficient evidence to enable him to respond without much difficulty. The problem, however, is that some customers fall outside this classification, whether because they have primary traits which belong to different categories, or they have guests whose primary traits belong to another category, or they lack well defined primary traits.

Secondly, then, in cases where people are not very easy to classify, it might be necessary for waiters to obtain more conclusive information by making finer distinctions about the type of diner. Many crucial facts about the

customer's identity can only be ascertained at closer inspection or through more direct communication than that required for the purposes of identifying primary traits. Evidence, for example, of such expressions as the diner's manner of dress, speech, gesture, posture and bodily movement might enable a more accurate reading to be taken. These forms of display are by nature a response to something specific and relatively flexible. Whilst it might be sustained at least for the duration of the social occasion, more often the evidence, say, a word or a gesture conveys an immediate reaction about events which are rapidly changing. These I shall call the "secondary traits" of a diner's appearance and by this I do not simply mean the self-conscious gesticulation or "body gloss" to which Goffman has referred (16), but also those less transient forms of expression which an individual can easily alter such as clothes, jewellery, cosmetics and the like.

So far, I have suggested that the customer possesses certain characteristics and that the standard reading that can be derived from them will prove useful for a waiter, particularly in his dealings with the unknown diner. I have also suggested that the waiter acquires the ability to interpret these cues and signals over time. To elucidate the significance that his reading of the situation might produce, it is now proposed that we should concentrate upon his interpretation of the customer's primary traits. In particular, I propose to look at the relationship which exists between the primary traits of the customer and those of the waiter serving him. In such matters as age, sex, place of origin and dialect, it appears that there is a special set of rules which applies to maintain congruency between the server and those served. These may simply be presented, in brief, as follows

> Rule 1. When a waiter and a diner are approximately the same age, their transactions will tend to be boundary-open and not boundary-closed; whereas if they are not, the converse is true.

Rule 2. When a waiter and a diner come from the same country or place of origin, their transactions will again tend to be boundary-open and not boundary-closed; whereas if they do not, the converse is true. The same principle applies at a regional level - especially in respect of language which can create a social barrier, for instance, if one person has a strong regional dialect and the other speaks standard English.

Rule 3. By contrast, when a waiter and a diner are not the same sex, their transactions will tend to be boundary-open and not boundary-closed; whereas if they are, the converse holds. There are several reasons why this should be so. On the one hand, a male customer is more likely to build intimacy into the service relationship if a waitress serves him rather than a waiter. A single man, for instance, may want to set the stage for further interaction and many girls do in fact get taken out by men staying at hotels. A man who is accompanied by other men may want to demonstrate his prowess with women in front of others. Then there are some men who simply want to talk but choose a waitress because they fear that their motives might be misinterpreted if they were to approach a waiter in the same way. On the other hand, a female customer may prefer to be served by a man because she is likely to be treated with greater respect and cordiality than if she were served by a woman (17).

As suggested earlier, though, the particular reading of a situation that primary traits provide depends a great deal for its accuracy upon customers being what they signify they are. Difficulties arise, however, if the customer who enters a restaurant for the first time does not exactly fit any of the known stereotypes waiters use for purposes of classification. Similarly, if events occur during the interaction which contradict, discredit, or otherwise throw doubt upon the initial interpretation of the cues or signals

that customers transmit, then the interaction may come to a confused and embarrassed halt.

Customers often oscillate between the two boundary type extremes, for instance, in relation to the different types of company they keep. A man who entertains a group of businessmen might not ordinarily drop his front before those who serve him but when it comes to taking his wife out for dinner feels that he can be more open in his dealings with the waiter. By normal standards any middle aged couple who dine together for the first time in a restaurant would be expected to build intimacy into their relationship with the waiter. But for the couple who are in fact discussing business over dinner, the very opposite may be true. To reduce the distance dividing those who serve from those served is to destroy the impression that most people in business particularly seek to foster.

The waiter's main source of defining cues comes from the host rather than from other guests at the table. But ambiguity can arise over who <u>is</u> the host when - as increasingly is the case - women engage in business negotiations that involve them in hosting the entertainment of males. Such ambiguity is further increased when women who act as hosts to men offer them drink - a traditionally male prerogative since it is a dangerous product - affecting consciousness as it does and being a common source of sexual conquest by males. Such incongruity is most pronounced when it is a young woman who - as host - offers drinks to an older man. Many waiters cannot accommodate to such role reversal and the dissonence it creates for them. In these situations, they often attempt to manipulate the service so that it is the male guest who handles the drinks.

In such cases where ambiguity surrounds the classification of customers, the waiter will generally try to find the conclusive proof that he is looking for in their secondary traits. Of these, perhaps the most important is the form of dress in which people appear before others. Certainly it helps to define a customer's position because in most

hotels he can choose exactly what he wants to wear. His freedom of choice in this matter hedges him off from those who serve and provides a greater scope for individual expression. For men, the full range extends from jeans plus an open-necked shirt to a 3-piece suit or even a dinner jacket, white shirt and black tie. For women it extends from jeans to a full length evening dress. Somewhere along this continuum, it should be possible to draw a line between those situations that express formality and those that are clearly informal. Admittedly it can only offer a rough and ready guide but at least it helps to place people on the social map; enabling the waiter thus to clarify the exact nature and extent of what it is the diner is about.

Unfortunately, it is not so clear, however, what interpretation can be put upon dress in extremely prestigious hotels. Here, by tradition, there is a rule against not wearing a jacket or a tie that applies to all men at dinner - though apparently the rule does not apply at lunch. Any man who is not so attired for dinner will be offered the loan of a tie, if it is simply this that is absent, or be denied entry if he has no jacket. One exception to this rule is the man who is wearing ethnic dress of some kind but the diner generally has no choice but to wear the prescribed clothing, no matter who he is, or whatever company he keeps (18).

In cases where a clear understanding still does not emerge, the ambiguity that remains is seen as a potential threat by those who serve because the situation appears to have no predictable outcome (19). So rather than permit a customer to remain unclassified, the skilled waiter has to try to steer him towards a position in which he has a less ambigious status - preferably from the waiter's viewpoint into the two boundary type extremes. The capacity to seize and hold the initiative then depends upon who can sway the balance - the customer whose claim to the special services that money can buy gives him an advantage over those who serve, or the waiter whose skill in manipulating those who

serve is largely a matter of guiding them into a position where he can control their behaviour, defuse their complaints and hopefully supply satisfaction. Essentially, this is what William Foote Whyte has called "getting the jump" (20) - a theme which we shall more fully explore in the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. As E. Goffman has said, a man who wants a restful dinner may seek the service of a waitress rather than a wife because he can treat her at "occupational face value". "Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959, p57.

2. C.O. Frake, "How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun", American Anthropologist, Vol. 66 (6), Part 2, pp127-136.

3. Ibid., pp128-129.

4. C. Levi-Strauss, "The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology", Vol. I, London: Jonathan Cape, 1970.

5. A.C. Mayer, "Caste and Kinship in Central India: A Village and its Region", London: Routledge, 1960; L. Dumont, "Homo Hierarchicus: The Class System and Its Implications", London: Paladin, 1972.

6. This argument is more fully discussed in M. Douglas, "Deciphering a Meal", Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 101, No. 1, 1972, pp61-80.

7. M. Douglas, and M. Nicod, "Taking the Biscuit: the Structure of British Meals", New Society, 30, 1974, pp.744-747.

8. Such examples, of course, are part of the invisible dimension of social interaction. See E. Hall, "The Silent Language", Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1959, for an extended discussion of the importance of non-verbal communication.

9. "Peasants" can easily be spotted in a high quality establishment because, for instance, they cannot understand the menu written in French; or they order a dish such as Caneton d'Aylesbury a l'Anglaise which requires at least 45 minutes to prepare and cook and then complain after 15 minutes about the slow service. However, the label is not

confined to high quality establishments only. In the low level hotels I studied, the term was also used, say, to describe the type of customer who would point at the boiled potatoes and ask:: "Can I have some of the white ones, please?..." or the type of customer who would say, "I don't want any carrots thank you ..." when in fact the waiter was serving croquette potatoes.

10. The problem of whether there are sufficient native terms to apply to every concept which exists is known by linguists as the "zero lexeme problem". Amongst those who have tried to tackle the problem are several anthropologists who have used card sorting and attributed ranking techniques. See, for example, S.F. Silverman, "An Ethnographic Approach to Social Stratification", American Anthropologist, Vol. 68, No. 2, 1968; and Hamel's analysis of occupational prestige in Belgrade, Man, The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, New Series, Vol. 6, 1971.

11. In Nigel Nicolson (ed.), 'Harold Nicolson,'Diaries and Letters: 1937 - 45' ", London: Collins Fontana, 1970.

12. Radcliffe-Brown has written extensively on the nature and function of joking relationships based largely on data collected in small-scale African societies (e.g. "Structure and Function in Primitive Society" New York: The Free Press, 1965). There are some anthropologists who argue that this concept must be restricted to describing non-Western societies. (See G.J. Kennedy, "Towards a Rethinking of Joking Theory", in W. Goldschmidt and H. Hoijer (eds.) "The Social Anthropology of Latin America: Essays in Honour of Ralph Leon Beals", Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970, pp36-68). Many believe, however, that this narrowing of the concept is not necessary. For examples of the application of Radcliffe-Brown's model to complex societies, see P. Bradney,"The Joking Relationship in Industry", Human Relations, Vol. 10, 1957, pp179-187; A.J.M. Sykes, "Joking Relationships in an Industrial Setting", American Anthropologist, Vol. 68, 1966, pp188-193.

13. As already stated in chapters 6 and 7, a waiter plays a "non-person" role. In effect, this means that in the restaurant he cannot be seen doing such things as eating, drinking, smoking, sitting, talking, burping, farting - or anything else which signifies being human.

14. As Ross has written at the turn of the century: "The members of an orderly community do not go out of their way to aggress upon one another. Moreoever, whenever their pursuits interfere, they make the adjustments necessary to escape collision and make them according to some conventional rule". E.A. Ross, "Social Control", New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908, p1. See, also, E. Goffman, "Relations in Public", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, pp26-29.

15. As Goffman has suggested, there is an element of performance in all our strategies of self-presentation in society. His analysis was in fact derived largely from his observations of "Shetland hotel" and therefore applied in a very real sense to the waiter-customer relationship. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1959, passim.

16. E. Goffman, op. cit., 1971, p31, pp154-171.

17. Note, however, that, in the case of highly prestigious hotels, behaviour related to sex-role differences cannot take on the same significance because no women are employed. In our male-dominated society, it appears to be a mark of high status that hotels of this kind should employ men only.

18. The action taken by a restaurant manager against a customer who is not wearing a jacket or tie when he enters a top class establishment is the subject of endless anecdote. On one occasion, for instance, Elizabeth Taylor's son was turned away from my highest level London hotel for wearing jeans and an open-neck shirt. Much to the delight of the general manager who thought that the publicity would bring the hotel some extra business, the incident was widely reported in the national press on the next day.

Another way of getting customers who are not properly dressed to toe the line is to make them feel uncomfortable in the presence of others. For example, when a waiter in my first high level London hotel noticed that there were two men without a jacket or tie sitting at one of his tables, he turned to the commis who stood next to him and said: "Well, really, I don't know where these people think they are ..." This was said in such a way that those who were causing the offence could not fail to hear the words - and not long afterwards they left on their own accord!

Of all the cases which I came across, the most absurd was one which concerned a regular customer who arrived for dinner in hotel 4 dressed in a polo-necked pullover. He explained that he had just arrived after a long day's drive and had not had time to go home and change. As the second head waiter who was telling the story put it: "The best idea seemed to be for him to borrow someone else's clothes ... fortunately we were about the same build and height and the shirt that I'd worn to work that day had just been washed and ironed. He was very grateful and gave me a fiver for helping him out ..."

19. Useful arguments that ambiguity is social anathema can be found in Mary Douglas, "Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo", London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

20. W.F. Whyte, "When Workers and Customers Meet", Chap. VII, in W.F. Whyte (ed.) "Industry and Society", New York: McGraw Hill, 1946, pp132-3.

CHAPTER NINE

WHO GETS THE JUMP?

1. The spatial dimension

No discussion of the structuring of social relationships can be complete without considering the spatial dimension in which it takes place. Although the particular significance of spatial cues often lies outside awareness, it is a common feature of all cultures that people tend to stake claims on space and attach meanings to them (1). Claims on space vary, of course, according to the social setting. In the home, for instance, territorial rights include access to beds and privacy. Who gets the best seating spaces near or far from the window, the door, the kitchen, the television? Whose early bed similarly needs to be respected by hush in the rest of the house? In a large organization, territorial rights are crucial to understanding different people's functions. Who is given preference over others as regards having an office of his own? Who gets the key to the executive loo? Wherever people live, work, or play, space must be divided up and allocated according to preconceived notions - often developed through a process of indirect bargaining and direct appeals to physical needs in the domestic setting (e.g. "Babies need sleep" or "The bread-winner needs rest"); or due to the exercise of authority or out of respect for certain attributes such as age, skills, experience, length of service and dependability in the occupational milieu.

The concept of territoriality involves two distinctly different kinds of claims. Those which I shall call a "fixed" claim, being staked out and attached to one claimant with permanent tenure over time. The claims exist for as long as the claimant holds the title deed or a particular office, and it cannot be acquired except through a direct transfer from the present incumbent or from whomever is held responsible for administering the preserve or estate.

Obvious examples are fields, yards, houses. Yet it can also apply to whatever area within a fixed territory is clearly demarcated as belonging to one individual and not another, say, the tables assigned to a waiter in a restaurant. The second shall be referred to as a "situational" claim, being part of the fixed equipment in a setting and yet capable of providing temporary tenancy for a large number of different claimants. Unlike a fixed claim, it exists only for as long as the claimant remains in possession, and then only with the support of diffuse sanctions, (i.e. gossip, scandal, public scorn), informally exerted and to do with territorial boundaries that often are not clear-cut. Park benches and hotel rooms are good examples.(2).

This twofold distinction is, of course, only valid in degrees. A hotel room is a situational claim, yet it can function much like a house, a fixed territory, especially for those who regard the hotel as a second home. On the other hand, it might be argued that the only person who holds a fixed claim to restaurant tables is the proprietor; the restaurant manager, the waiter and the customer having nothing more than a situational claim, albeit with varying degrees of permanency. But for the present purposes of analysis, it is useful to take only the customer's claim as situational, and the restaurant manager and the waiters' claims as fixed. Starting, then, with the latter, we shall move by stages to focus on the former - showing the process by which peoples' claims begin and when they terminate.

Given that people seldom isolate spatial cues but largely take them for granted, it follows that the hidden dimension of space often only comes to light through close observation of people's use of it. But if we take the tables in a restaurant, it might seem that they are distributed amongst waiters at random, or at least without waiters being aware themselves why the restaurant should be divided up in a particular way; nonetheless, in fact, the tables <u>are</u> arranged in a particular way, being graded according to informal criteria of ranking. Of paramount importance is

the fact that the station (i.e. set of tables) ranked the highest should be the one most highly valued by customers, especially those who appear likely or are known to tip well. All other stations may, then, be graded accordingly because the system of ranking revolves around the question of money - this being an essential part of the total rewards system. In hotels where a waiter is permitted to keep his own tips, the difference between stations might have a direct influence in increasing or decreasing the workers' earning capacity, and the manager therefore creates a greater obligation of personal loyalty towards him by handing out the more lucrative stations on an individual basis. In other hotels, particularly the more prestigious ones, where tips are first pooled and then redistributed on a points system, preferential treatment involves a strong element of bureaucratic control, with those who serve the most important stations being awarded the highest number of points. Even so, being allocated a station provides some external proof of the waiter's status and, if he should be assigned one of the higher ranked stations, the effect is the same: he will receive higher informal rewards because his points will be higher.

At the same time, because the higher ranked stations are assigned to core workers, this means that those served are given the very highest possible standard of service. This is important because there is a particular type of diner, for example, the regular customer, the resident staying in the most expensive suite, or a person giving a large banquet who would ordinarily expect to receive, if not as part of an explicit prior agreement, then in appreciation for past emoluments or in anticipation of future payments a service of the highest possible quality. By being given one of the best tables, he will also have one of the best waiters automatically assigned to him: the overall result being a mutually beneficial social arrangement between those serving and those served.

Although, of course, the precise nature of the spatial arrangement is largely determined by the physical properties

that are peculiar to a particular restaurant, the way in which space is organized was basically similar in the five hotels studied (3). In analyzing the patterns of spatial arrangement, we may therefore start with assumptions about the nature of space which are widely held in all hotels. First, a premium is placed upon preserving privacy. Everywhere space is both a spatial matter and part of the physical background against which other more immediate events and activities can take place. But because in a public place the opportunity for engaging others in any form of interaction, undisturbed, is so limited, privacy has a special value. The restaurant tables that are normally most highly valued, therefore, are those that are in a position near to or against the rear wall, well beyond the range of other people's voices or earshot, away from the noise of the band playing, and as far from the sight and sound of the plate-wash or kitchen as possible (4).

Another consideration, of course, is the decor and personal comfort. Again, a scarce resource will often be involved such as a table with comfortable chairs, a table with a view, a table within easy reach of the dance-floor, a table with greater space between seats, a table decorated with flowers, and so on. We might also include here the tendency for a regular customer to lay claim to one particular table because he feels "more at home" with a table that he can call his own. In gentlemen's clubs, mental hospitals, old people's homes, and domestic living rooms, the same phenomenon can be found: proprietary claims tend to grow up around chairs and other property so that, though apparently available on a first-come basis for anyone's continuous period of use, the claim actually takes on the character of a fixed territory possessed by one individual whether or not he is present to claim by use. Obviously many different individuals may have the same proprietary claim upon a restaurant table. But because of the relatively infrequent use made of it, the same table can be left temporarily while different people sustain a proprietary claim upon it (5).

Finally, those who have tables near to the entrance area tend to receive the restaurant manager's personal attention. This is because the restaurant manager has the task of greeting customers upon their arrival, his range of mobility limited, for the most part, to an area immediately adjoining the entrance and those tables in close proximity to it. Those served within this zone can therefore expect to receive better service, partly because the restaurant manager is able to lavish his personal attention upon them, and partly because the waiter himself is apt to do his best for them - knowing that his work is always under the close scrutiny of the management.

2. Initial interaction

Once a customer enters the area or "post" (6) where his presence functions as a summons, the restaurant manager or head waiter will normally provide a greeting and conduct him to an appropriate seat. If he is a regular or long-stay resident, he will be taken to his usual place - more often than not, one of the "best" tables because he knows the lay-out and can sit wherever he chooses. But if he is a "chance" customer (7) or short-stay resident, he will not usually be permitted to choose his own table but must sit wherever the restaurant manager guides him. Knowing how to allocate the unknown diner to a particular table often involves a complex set of criteria, not all of which apply in a given case, but some of which appear more important than others. Some examples will help to make this clear.

Amongst diners who are not well known, perhaps the most important principle in table allocation is "first come, first served", establishing the claim of an individual to be served at a better table than the person who comes behind him. Upon fuller consideration, however, it appears that the viability of this rule is often dependent on a number of associated rules covering a wide range of contingencies. For example, when crowding is such that this allocation

would leave some individuals standing, then this factor will increasingly articulate and take priority over the first-come claim, sometimes enabling the party behind to go ahead because those in front are too many or too few people to sit round the tables available. Other factors include the customer's own preferance if stated, how pleasant he appears before the restaurant manager, the potential tipping of a customer - the latter being estimated according to various criteria which we shall consider later.

Normally, as I have said, the unknown diner is not permitted to choose where he sits in a restaurant; and even a regular may be obliged to sit where he is told in a crowded setting. In some cases, however, an unknown diner may state his preference for a particular table and in fact be permitted the use of it. Indeed this is a good example of how a customer may seize the initiative and take control of the situation, thereby gaining a turn above those ahead of him and "getting the jump" on the waiter (8). Until events develop which provide the restaurant manager or head waiter with the conclusive evidence they need to classify the customer, his presence will take on a promissory character. They must accept the diner on face value, offering him a better place than he has any right to expect because the true value of anything offered in exchange will not be established until after he has paid the bill (9).

Closely related to this problem is the fact that there does not appear to be a common consensus amongst waiters as to what are the best clues for predicting customers' potential tipping. Some assumptions in table allocation, however, are made about tipping which suggests that it can be assessed within broad limits. The "tip", of course, has various possible meanings attached to it, but we shall follow Nailon's definition of the term: being "a gratuity voluntarily paid by customers directly to staff in an hotel or restaurant, over and above the price, whether a service charge is included or not, for the service provided" (10). In trying to assess tipping, some of the major assumptions which the restaurant manager makes may be set out as

follows:

(i) On average, men are considered to be better tippers than women. With his greater experience of dining out, the male customer is assumed to know the basic ground rules of the service relationship, especially concerning the appropriate tip to give.

(ii) On average, a man who is accompanied by a woman is considered to be better than two men for tips. This is because a man feels that he is under a greater obligation to display generosity when his guest is a woman.

(iii) On average, the older person is considered to be a better tipper than the younger one. Again the older customer is more likely to know through experience what is the appropriate amount to tip. In addition he can generally afford to tip more because he has more money.

(iv) On average, customers with children are considered to be poor tippers. People rarely tip in accordance with the effort and time which serving children involves.

(v) People on package tours are considered low tippers. These customers are often inexperienced, budget conscious, and always ready to take advantage of cheaper rates; this only too often extends to reduced rates of tipping.

(vi) Large parties are also notorious for low tipping. With the smaller bills, the tipping ratio is relatively high; but with the higher cost of the meal, a distinct fall-off occurs and those served in a large group rarely tip in the same proportion to the bills they receive (11).

As suggested earlier, where tips are kept by individual workers, the allocation of stations is a matter, not only of personal pride, but often of real economic importance. The customers whom the manager manoeuvres onto the "best" stations are those perceived as potentially high tippers. Thus, the approximate additions to income from tipping represents, not simply "what the customer thinks of them" (12), but how the manager actually rates his staff too. And the possibility of moving staff away from stations - thereby incurring substantial losses in tip earnings - provides management with a potent source of control over its labour. This may happen if a worker's performance is particularly unsatisfactory, say, in respect of persistent lateness,slow service, untidy appearance, drunkenness, swearing in front of customers, or picking quarrels with other staff (13).

Oddly enough, where a "tronc" is in operation (i.e. where tips are pooled and redistributed according to points), the effect upon management-employee relations is essentially the same. Those given the higher ranked stations can expect the "tip averages" to be higher because of the higher points awarded to them. Conversely those whose stations are not so highly valued receive less from tips since they are generally awarded fewer points. And anyone whose performance is not regarded as satisfactory can be punished by having points deducted from his usual score, thus reducing his tip averages in much the same way (14).

3. Setting the stage

Much initially will depond on how the restaurant manager takes charge of the situation as to whether customers will be comfortable in an unfamiliar setting. When entering a restaurant for the first time, there can be little doubt that all customers have feelings of uncertainty. Inexperienced diners may fear the full threat of exposure: improper attire and posture, inability to understand

the menu, not using the cutlery correctly. But even for the experienced diner whose knowledge of the conventional rules gives him some degree of confidence, uncertainty may still arise over the extent to which he can encroach upon another person's preserve. As anyone who enters a territory to which he has no prior claim must be aware, he may be making demands upon a wider sphere than others feel is his due (15). Entering the scene for the first time, the diner is uniquely equipped to step into a vast filigree of trip wires unless he is guided by those who know the restaurant well. Thus, it is safer to gravitate towards and sit at any table that the restaurant manager cares to give him. Only when he has patronized the establishment a few times will it be possible for him to demand a particular table without fear of encroachment (16).

In his dealings with the customer, it is therefore imperative that the restaurant manager should alleviate these anxieties and any deep-seated suspicion that is felt in the preliminary stages. In fact there are various methods of greeting diners, seating them at a table, handing menus to them, and taking orders that the restaurant manager can employ to put them at ease (e.g. "I've got just the right table for you, sir ...") But as to which particular form of greeting, seating, etc. is appropriate, much will depend upon what type of customer the restaurant manager is dealing with: whether he is the boundary-open or the boundary-closed type (referred to in the last chapter).

In the boundary-open case, perhaps a joke or a light-hearted remark will help to put him at ease. Take the head waiter in my Cardiff hotel who upon showing customers to their table always asked if the lady would like a view of the sea, then pointed to a painting of the sea on the wall. Or if a customer asked for steak, "well done", he would say: "I'll have it <u>cremated</u> immediately, sir ...".

By contrast, when the situation is boundary-closed, it is better if the waiter subordinates himself to the non-

person role. To alleviate the customer's anxieties, he must visibly act within the prescribed limits of his official role, making sure "that the customer is always right". Take the procedure of seating people at the table: first, the customers will be led to their table; then the restaurant manager will draw out the chairs and, with the flat of his hand, strike the top of them to get rid of any dust; then he will beckon the customers to sit down; and finally, once they are all seated, he will unfold their serviettes and place them on their laps. In fact, the first movement is the only one that can be said to be indispensible. Every succeeding move is not essential but helps to complete the full expansion of the performance. Some parts of the performance are, of course, omitted when those charged with the responsibility consider it unnecessary to observe the ritual. The point about the rules for opening and closing encounters is that protocol is strictly observed and elaborated upon when the need arises. Boundary-openness brings a decline in ritual activity, boundary-closure supports it.

4. Getting the jump

Initial transactions and dealings between the restaurant manager and the customer, whatever else they are supposed to do (e.g. welcome guests, arrange seating, take orders), set the scene for further interaction. By the time the customer is brought into contact with the waiter, if he did not hold a strongly entrenched position before entry, then he would at least have been already influenced by the restaurant manager or head waiter before the waiter himself has had an opportunity to meet the customer. Thus, the waiter is normally expected to take over the customer relationship wherever the restaurant manager or head waiter has left off.

It might be assumed that a waiter cannot very easily expect a choice as to what line of treatment to receive from or direct to those whom he serves. Certainly it might be thought difficult to see how a waiter can significantly

influence the situation when he is of lower status than his client. But there is some evidence that waiters can seize and hold the initiative by a skillful manipulation of the service relation achieved through subtle aggressiveness on their part. Essentially that is what William Foote Whyte referred to in his classic study of the restaurant industry in Chicago during the forties as "getting the jump on the customer":

> "The first question to ask when we look at the customer relationship is 'does the waitress get the jump on the customer, or does the customer get the jump on the waitress?' The skilled waitress tackles the customer with confidence and without hesitation. The relationship is handled politely but firmly, and there is never any question as to who is in charge ..." (16).

In Goffman's terms, whenever the interaction at the beginning of an encounter is itself merely the initial interaction in an extended series that involves the same participants, there is a clear understanding that first impressions are important (17). Thus I found that one experienced waiter in my Cardiff hotel took the following view:

> "In this game, you've always got to be one step ahead ... if you let the customer get the upper hand, before you know where you are, he'll be treading all over you ... and then it'll be too late to do anything about it ..." (18).

5. The customer tries to get the jump

5.1 Tips

Before entering into a discussion of what the waiter does to get the jump, however, we must first examine the customer's position because clearly he has the advantage in the preliminary stages. Perhaps the single most important factor that gives him an advantage is the practice of tipping. Undoubtedly there are some people who will never tip (19) but it is the very element of uncertainty surrounding the whole transaction that puts them a step ahead,

especially the unknown diner whose tipping potential cannot easily be assessed. Prospectively high tipping may even provide the basis for outright bribery.

Many variations within hotel folklore play on this theme. How, for instance, the customer who enters a restaurant for the first time, tears a ten pound note into two halves, offers one half to the waiter and then promises to give him the second half if he is satisfied at the end of the meal. In the first hotel I studied, I can recall that someone, on the first day of his stay, gave £5 to the restaurant manager, £5 to the chef and £5 to the waitress before being served his first meal. It was clear from his actions that a further payment of the same kind might be expected at the end of his stay if he was pleased with the service. I can also recall people in the same hotel saying: "Give us as much of everything as you can, my lad, and we'll see that you're all right ..."

An exchange of desirables <u>in effect</u> therefore emerges but because the relationship is not equalitarian, the balance is often easily upset. Too much and too little can easily disturb the equilibrium. Over-tipping, on the one hand, may have the effect of reinforcing the customer's position of socio-economic superiority. Take the customer who in my first high level London hotel gave me a £2 tip for doing no more than serving him vegetables, a normal part of the commis' job. Many more cases, though, may be cited where the opposite is true. Customers very often give an inadequate reward for the service they receive. Sometimes they leave nothing at all. Just how much this upsets those who serve indicates that non-monetary factors are involved. In describing how some customers will sit at another table on their last day so that they can avoid whoever has served them during their stay, a waitress in the first hotel I studied said: "It's not that I really mind whether someone gives me a drop or not ... it hurts, though, when someone is so mean that he won't even say 'Thank you'..."

For many waiters or waitresses, the greatest insult

however, is to receive such a small tip that they feel degraded, embarrassed, non-plussed, or otherwise upset at having to accept it. Some thought, for instance, that it was better to receive nothing at all than be given an amount which was totally unrepresentative of the service they provided. One waitress in the first hotel I studied said that, if she had served a large family with children for one or two weeks, and then she was given a 10p piece, she would give the money back to them, saying, "It's all right, thank you, I've got enough change for my bus fare home ..."

Others were glad of the service charge which meant they did not have to depend so much on what they earned from tips. Take the waiter in my first high level London hotel who, ever since he had worked there, could recall being asked by a customer to fetch a box of matches for him whenever he came to lunch:

> "He used to give me a shilling and in the old days it seemed quite a lot ... but now when he comes here and gives me a 5p piece, he still expects me to be grateful ... well I mean to say, we wouldn't last long if we had to rely on people like that ..." (20)

What, then, emerges is a two-way exchange, one individual providing goods or services, the other providing a sign of his appreciation. Like a gift, the tips received for service ordinarily may be expected, but not demanded, and are meant to measure appreciation of a relationship, not exchange value of work done. Something given must typically be returned with something of equivalent value, what Mauss would call the "counter-prestation", but it need only be returned if the relationship calls for it - it cannot be pressed in jural-economic terms (21). Analytically speaking, therefore, it is quite different from a frankly commercial exchange. Agreement in advance about what is to be exchanged is characteristic of an economic exchange, but might be compromising when it is a purely social transaction, for what can be frank purpose in one must merely be incidental consequence in another. In economic

exchange, no amount of mere thanks can presumably satisfy the giver; he must get something of equivalent material value in return. To count the cost in social exchange, however, is contrary to the very spirit of the relationship; a substantial favour given by one person can be adequately balanced by a mere ceremonial gesture from the other (22).

5.2 Special requests

Obviously the money waiters ordinarily receive is an economic payment; this is the money which management pays its staff for certain services that they must always provide. However, service may also be rewarded on a purely personal basis. The direct dependence on the customer for additional payment in tips is more accurately construed, not as a reasonable mark of payment, but rather as a mark of appreciation for providing some additional service that might not normally be expected. So, too, customers may sometimes not only tip for a service the waiter renders of his own accord but also ask him to do something as a special favour, thus exerting a claim for something which they have no right to demand, but which they may come to expect in return for tipping.

Take the customer in my first high level London hotel who asked for his cheese to be accompanied by a spring onion. In general, of course, spring onions are not available during winter but the waiter went to the kitchen to find out what they had to offer and returned, saying, "May I bring you a finely chopped Spanish onion instead, sir? ..." Or the regular customer in the same hotel who invariably ordered poached turbot whenever he came for lunch but on one occasion asked for bacon, sausages and mashed potatoes - a dish which is not even on the menu. In fact the waiter was able to meet this request and treated the matter as if it were of no special concern. Then there was the customer who, whenever he came for lunch in the same hotel, always used to order a watercress and onion salad - again

something which was not on the menu, but which he received without even having to ask for it.

Thus, for the customer who always wants to be a step ahead, he may make a special request simply so as to enable him to seize control of the situation. It is a kind of game in which the customer pits himself against the waiter's wits and scores points very easily. Many waiters feel that they have no choice but to accept any claims which customers may wish to exert, as part of the service relationship. In some cases, the waiter may even anticipate what the customer wants and grants him a favour without being asked. Though presumably this might help him to retain some control, the waiter is always vulnerable because the customer can change his mind very easily. On one occasion, the customer who always had the watercress and onion salad, for instance, rebuked the waiter for bringing him it, saying, "I don't remember ordering this," as if he had never ordered it before in his life. Characteristically, then, the waiter has very little manoeuvring power open to him but must simply accept that his subordinate status is part of the "primary adjustment" required of him (23). In short, we would therefore presume that customers always have a greater capacity to seize control and take advantage of the situation.

5.3 Complaints

I have suggested that tips and gratuities, and the degree of customer satisfaction these economic activities imply, provide a positive measure of how a waiter's performance is judged by significant others. Conversely, it might also be possible to measure the waiter's performance in negative terms, by looking at the number and frequency of complaints he receives, both in relation to the number and frequency other staff receive, and the number of customers they each serve on average. Admittedly, it can offer nothing more than a rough and ready guide, but knowing how to defuse complaints before serious repercussions can arise,

and the strategies waiters use for dealing with the different types of complaint, constitute an important part of the waiter's professionalism. Accordingly, I collected considerable material on complaints and complainants and the strategies waiters use for dealing with them, in particular noting the different types of complaint found in the hotels I studied.

In cases where the complaint is a genuine one, the remedy is quite simple: all that needs to be done is to return the food and ask the chef to do something with it or prepare another dish of the same kind. Anyone who complains about his food being undercooked, for instance, can usually have the food put back in the oven or under the grill. Difficulties arise, of course, when the customer complains about his food being overcooked because the waiter can only remedy the situation by asking the chef to prepare another dish. As this will involve additional costs, the waiter must assess how far the cause of the customer's complaint derives from ignorance of what he should actually expect, and how far it is really true. Take the customer in my first high level London hotel who complained about her steak being overcooked because it "looked charred". In fact she had asked for steak "well done", and it did not look particularly charred. So rather than give her another steak which she would still dislike, the waiter invited her to choose something completely different.

Then there are cases where a complaint is not genuine, and customers do not honestly believe that it is true either, but regard the complaint simply as a means of drawing attention to their own importance. One customer in my first hotel had a great reputation for complaints of this kind. Before she even entered the restaurant, she would begin to make complaints in the ladies' loo about the colour of the wallpaper. Once in the restaurant she would complain about the butter which was too cold, about the carafe of white wine which was too sweet, about the meat which was too tough, etc. Practically nothing can be done to satisfy

this kind of complainant because no sooner have they had their original complaint dealt with, than they begin to invent new ones. Indeed whether their complaints are dealt with hardly matters, so long as they can somehow draw attention to themselves.

Finally, there are complaints which are a blatant attempt to obtain some reduction in the cost of a meal, perhaps even a complimentary meal. Perhaps the best example of this is the customer who sends a letter complaining about the service - a "big con", in waiters' terms, because the customer is only "trying it on" so that he can get a complimentary meal. Waiters particularly resent having to serve such people. First, the mere fact that they appear to be "getting something for nothing" does not seem right to them. Second, and more important here, most given the opportunity usually order the best of everything, but fail to show their appreciation at the end of the meal. Thus, as the wine waiter in my first high level London hotel put it:

> "After a while, you get to know them ... take the fellow who had a meal on the house the other night ... he ordered the most expensive dishes, a £20 bottle of wine, two double brandies and, to cap it all, asked if he could have a framed photograph of the cabaret artist ... I wouldn't even mind so much if he had shown his appreciation ... but the mean bugger didn't leave a thing ..."

In cases where a complaint appears to be genuine, or at least where the customer honestly believes it to be so, the manager will generally take action against the waiter. On one occasion in the first hotel I studied, for example, the manager decided that he had no choice but to dismiss a waiter for swearing. What had happened was that the waiter was about to serve some customers when he discovered that his tray and serving cloth were missing. Out of sheer dispair he shouted at someone across the other end of the dining room: "Where's my fucking tray? ... what the hell've you done with my bloody cloth? ..." Judging from the number of complaints, this had upset a large number of

people and instant dismissal was apparently the only course of action (24).

In cases where a customer's claim is unreasonable, on the other hand, the waiter may rely upon the manager's support to put the customer in his place. In my first London hotel, for example, there is a general rule that no one should be served between 11 and 12 when the cabaret takes place. Those who arrive shortly before 11 are warned that it is part of management policy that those who come early should not be disturbed by latecomers. One night a customer who arrived late claimed that he should not have to pay the service charge because of the long delay in service during the cabaret. But when the waiter threatened to call the manager, the customer immediately paid the bill in full. Knowing that he had no right to press the claim, he preferred to withdraw before it was too late for him to do so and maintain front.

In cases where complaints are not so easy to define, however, the stance adopted by the manager may take on an ambivalent character. Here I refer to the kind of claim which might not be authentic and yet must be taken seriously - at least until known to be invalid, exaggerated, or based on a false premise. In this kind of situation, the manager may often give the waiter a public dressing-down for the complainant's benefit but in fact his relations with staff are left unimpaired or even strengthened by backstage activity designed to contradict this impression and build up lines of defence against the customer (25). Take the waiter in my first London hotel who was called to a customer's table at the end of his meal, and then told to wait until he had written down a long list of complaints on his serviette. These included: slow service, food undercooked, food overcooked, cold food, etc. Then, finally, the customer insisted that the waiter should show this list to the manager. The manager's immediate reaction was to come over and apologize personally for the poor service but once he had returned behind the scenes, he made it clear what he really thought

of the customer: "What a bastard, he doesn't even have the courtesy to write on a piece of paper..."

Often, then, the manager may initially have to satisfy two quite different sets of demands, both having to show deference towards the complaining customer and take a sympathetic line towards the waiter backstage. Once sufficient evidence emerges to make a proper judgement about the nature of the complaint, the initial course of action may however be modified. In the exercise of such control, the manager reinstates the symmetry of the communication process, and helps avoid the open conflict that might otherwise arise. Playing the role of "go-between" (26) or mediator, he makes an effort to translate any serious differences of view into a framework more generally acceptable to all concerned.

6. The waiter tries to get the jump

When we allow that initially the customer is likely to have the advantage over the waiter, we may also find that the waiter, however passive his role may appear to be, will himself have some control over the situation by virtue of his response to customers and by virtue of any lines of action he indicates to them. Ordinarily, both parties in a service encounter are sufficiently attuned to the role played by one another so that open confusion does not occur. The maintenance of this surface of agreement, this veneer of harmony, or "working consensus" as Goffman puts it (27), is facilitated by each party feeling under an obligation to pay lip service to a crude overall definition of the situation. At the same time, it is understood that the working relationship established in one type of social setting will be quite different from that in another. Thus, between waiter and customer in boundary-open transactions, a reciprocal show of affection, cordiality and goodwill towards the other is maintained. In a boundary-closed transaction, on the other hand, the waiter takes on the role of service specialist, anxious not to become too involved with the personal problems of his client, while

the customer responds from his standpoint of social distance, with a show of respect for the competence and integrity of the waiter performing his role.

Given that first impressions are important for both parties in preparing for the interaction that follows, we must not overlook the facts that (a) people are not always easy to classify and (b) that ambiguity is social anathema (28). Customer satisfaction - the essential concern of both sides to the transaction - is built on the principle that any customer who possesses certain defining characteristics has a right to expect that he will be served in a way appropriate for someone of his type. Conversely, then, a customer who implicitly signifies that he has certain defining characteristics ought in fact to be what he claims he is. As stated already, however, there are some customers who enter a restaurant for the first time that do not exactly fit any of the known stereotypes waiters use for purposes of classification. Where customers oscillate between the two boundary type extremes, the waiter's ability to seize the initiative will often hinge upon whether he can steer them towards a position in which they have a less ambigious status - preferably towards one of the two extreme types.

6.1 Boundary-breaking devices

When there is a clear understanding that those being served share some, but not all, of the defining features which characterize a boundary-open transaction, the waiter's ability to seize the initiative will often depend upon whether he can break down remnants of the boundary that divide the servers from those served. A waitress I was told about, when serving a family with a young child, for instance, frequently adopted the following device. When the family were all seated and waiting to give their order, she would approach their table and in doing so deliberately knock over the drink or bottle of milk that belonged to the child, making it look as if it had been the

child's fault. In sorting out the melee that this caused, she could take the initiative and at the same time was able to put the whole family under an obligation to her. It is difficult for those of higher status to maintain formality and social distance when there is such an imbalance of obligation owed from them to those of lower status. Furthermore, she could arrange this switch in initiative without causing loss of face on her customers' part since it is generally understood that children are irresponsible, not fully socialized and apt to cause accidents (29).

Some devices are more specifically designed to deritualize the waiter's performance and put him on a par with his customers. For example, I found that some waiters swear in public for good effect: "Oh bugger, I've dropped the bloody peas ..." (30). Others would adopt slang words, colloquialisms, expletives and familiar forms of address; or perhaps on occasion crack a joke, grin or make a lighthearted remark designed to breach the possibility of boundary-closure. One waiter in the first northern hotel hit upon the novel idea of dispensing with the menu at breakfast (31). As breakfast never alters, he could easily recite the menu from memory. Then, if challenged, he would say: "You don't really need a menu ... I'm a 'walking menu' and I'm much better than the ordinary kind ... I can tell you things which you won't even find on the menu ..."

Other strategies involve the waiter performing minor acts of kindness, and ingratiating himself upon those served. Often "non-person" categories are selected for such treatment; the very young, the very old, and the physically handicapped for example. Thus we find him helping the old or the infirm, fetching high-chairs for children too small to sit at the table, offering free advice about whether the food is appropriate for them, and even passing remarks about their appearance or conduct. He might also use physical contact of some kind. A waitress in the second northern hotel, whenever serving a family with children, for example, always used to run her fingers through the

youngest child's hair, saying, "What wonderful curls you've got... if only I had lovely hair like yours ..." Given that there is some uncertainty as to what kind of intimacies are permissible, it seems safer, first, to build familiarity into the relationship with those who are not full participants. The possibility of more familiar forms of communication with this type of customer paves the way for breaking down the barriers generally.

Taken together, strategies of this kind provide a plan for the co-operative activity that follows. They are not, of course, part of the official workings of the organization but the waiter is typically engaged in activity which is not inconsistent with the impression offically maintained during interaction. There are, however, other strategies which, if officially communicated and not kept a secret, would contradict an discredit the impression officially being fostered. In some cases, for example, customers who are treated respectfully in face-to-face treatment are often ridiculed, gossiped about, caricatured, cursed and criticised when the waiters are backstage; here, too, plans may be worked out for "selling" things, "touting" for tips, or employing "angles" against them (32).

Touting for tips may take several forms. For example, the waiter might provide larger portions, extra items, coffee with cream instead of milk, special items normally in short supply, such as melba toast, petits fours, etc. This is often preceded by a phrase such as "Would you like any extra (...),sir?" to make customers aware that such treatment is only provided as a special favour to them. It also means that the waiter may delay commitment or extricate himself from the situation, should the customer's response be inappropriate. Take the waitress in the second northern hotel who asked a customer if he was "a big breakfast eater". His reply, "I'm a big eater of everything ...", left her in no doubt about where he stood on the matter. So, too, waiters often tested the customer out with offers of extra icecream, cheese and

biscuits, tea, coffee or cake before they actually delivered the goods. If the response was right, and they knew that there was some guarantee that the time and effort invested on their part would bring greater financial reward, they would then take the risk.

6.2 Operating outside the boundary

In the final analysis, though, the waiter must always show a proper concern for the trust that is placed in him by those served. By this I mean that if a customer demonstrates that he has complete faith in his judgement, the waiter should do nothing that may destroy or damage this trust. For instance, the customer should not be made to pay more than he wants; the price of what he orders should make no difference to the service he receives. Thus, if a customer asks him to recommend something on the menu, a waiter should suggest a wide range of dishes - not simply the most expensive ones which he cannot really afford. Similarly the wine waiter in my second high level London hotel thought that it was wrong to fill people's glasses until they were full. Quite apart from the fact that the wine's bouquet cannot be fully appreciated, it made people finish sooner and order more than they really wanted.

Whatever the waiter does, then, to ensure that he has control of the situation, it must always lie within the accepted limits of the service relationship. A waiter may advise, suggest, influence, persuade, badger, or cajole - but he must never appear to dictate from inside the boundary. Indeed, particularly in higher status hotels, a waiter might find it easier to control transactions from outside the boundary. Here the parties engaged in the transactions maintain the spirit of those consummating a coldly bargained agreement, not exchanging favours. Thus in such higher status hotels - whose staff I have earlier categorized as being "craft orientated" (33) - a waiter will take particular pride in the skills he uses to manipulate customers from the outside; and it is here that the service specialist

is supreme.

Nonetheless, the subordinate nature of personal service in boundary-closed transactions means that a waiter frequently feels resentment that must be kept inarticulate (34). Not wishing to put the possibility of customer satisfaction beyond recall, however, a waiter may use his service specialism to cheat, insult or at least cause the customer some undefineable disquiet. To do this he must use strategies that combine subtle aggressiveness with what should be able to pass for good professional conduct in any standard textbook on the subject (35).

Before he can engage in such aggressive activity, a waiter must first visibly establish that he is acting within the prescribed limits of his official role. When a waiter enters the presence of those he serves, he must act as if he accepts certain moral obligations. Thus, some customers may prefer a waiter not to intrude or come too close because they can never be sure to whom he will convey their secrets. Knowing this, the waiter may lower his voice as he enters their presence, throwing himself, as it were, into the role of being seen but not heard. In doing so, the waiter appeals to those he serves to treat him as if he were not present - as someone who can be relied upon to keep their secrets and not betray their trust in him. In my high level London hotels, for example, I frequently heard the waiters dropping their voices to a whisper whenever they entered the customers' presence.

Interestingly, this appears to be in keeping with the traditional role of the domestic servant in early eighteenth century England. Contemporary accounts suggest that it was the difficulty of keeping secrets from servants that led to the acceptance of the "dumb waiter" - originally a tier table which was stocked with food, drink and eating utensils, prior to a meal, for guests to serve themselves. Upon the introduction of the dumb waiter in England, Mary Hamilton reported:

> "My cousin Charles Cathcart din'd with us at Lady Stormont's; we had dumb-waiters so our conversation was not under any restraint by ye Servants being in ye room" (36).
>
> "At dinner, we had ye comfortable dumb-waiters, so our conversation was not obliged to be disagreeably guarded by ye attendance of Servants" (37)

A second technique the waiter can employ to present himself from getting too close is to make use of the politely formal terms, such as "sir", "madam", "Mr. -", or "Mrs. -", whenever he addresses customers to their face. Behind their backs he may refer to them by bare surname, first name, nickname, or some title which assimilates them fully to an abstract category; e.g. "pig", "peasant", "snob", "regular", (a full list of the terms they may use in private was given in the last chapter). So, too, the waiter who wishes to maintain some dignity in their presence, may adopt a slighting pronunciation, say; an exaggerated emphasis upon the "sir" or "madam", giving forceful evidence to those addressed of the disrespect that he really feels towards them. Given the fact that, verbally, customers are treated relatively well to their faces, they cannot be certain about the discourtesy implied by the tone of voice, mannerisms, innuendo, or double ent endres that the waiter may use throughout the interaction to heap abuse or familiarity upon them. Nor can the customers, by implication, effectively bring an official complaint against the waiter without more substantial evidence to support his claim.

I have suggested two standard ways in which waiters keep their distance - by lowering their voice and through politely formal terms of address. So long as the line is sustained, the waiter can then freely use his special knowledge and inside experience to derogate the customer with impunity. Because of the mass of the rules and (often spurious) expertise that surrounds the whole subject of dining out and social etiquette, a waiter is always in a strong position as the specialist relative to those he serves. A

good example of this is the case in which a customer complained in my second London hotel of not being given a Remy-Martin brandy as he had ordered, but instead had been given a less expensive brandy. By taking the glass back and returning impassively with it a little later, the waiter managed to create the impression that the brandy might have been changed for the kind which the customer had ordered. On the other hand it might have not. In fact, it was the same glass of brandy and the customer had been deceived but it would take a particularly confident customer to send it back a second time.

Similarly a customer may lower his defences in the waiter's presence - making a special request or "faux pas", showing signs of nervousness or plain ignorance. By such an act, the customer puts himself, as it were, at the mercy of those serving him. This sort of thing is embarrassing enough, but if a special favour were refused, or if his nervous disposition, his ignorance or his mistakes were openly admitted, he would suffer the greatest humiliation. Rather than risk getting into such a position, a waiter may opt to pass the whole thing off as a joke - thus getting the jump without quite acting outside the prescribed limit of his role. Thus when a customer complained in my second London hotel because there were no English cigars on sale, the waiter half jokingly and half seriously replied:

> "I'm very sorry, sir, but I can't offer you English cigars ... as you're probably aware, sir, we don't grow tobacco in this country ... perhaps you'd care to choose one of our very fine Havannah cigars instead? ..."

Perhaps the cruellist treatment that waiters can mete out is when a customer makes a complaint or orders something and this is formally acknowledged, but then he receives something which he did not really bargain for. Thus whenever someone orders "lobster bisque" in my first London hotel, he was frequently taken by surprise to find that the brandy was lit and poured into the soup, causing those who did not know better to wait several minutes until the

flames subsided. Depending upon how much he wanted to "give the customer a hard time", the waiter might intervene and show him how to dip his spoon into the soup and not get burnt. So, too, a wine waiter in the Cardiff conglomerate hotel always put on an exceptionally fine display for people who had ordered an expensive brandy, not for their sake merely, but so he could push them back into their proper place. First, holding a brandy glass by its stem, he would twist the glass over a lamp, making it go in and out of the flames, until it reached the right temperature. He would then pour a little brandy into the bottom and tilt the glass towards the lamp, allowing the brandy to catch fire and making the glass turn round in his hand until the flames went out. Finally, he would pour the brandy into the glass about a third full - so that the bouquet could be fully appreciated.

And, finally, if a customer chooses to put the waiter under some pressure, diners may even be mistreated or "taught a lesson" to their face. For in situations where the waiter is abused by those he serves, he may act in such a way as to humiliate them or cause them discomfort - at least to the extent that a real transition takes place in their relative power, standing and authority. Thus when a customer complained in my second London hotel that he had been brought a plate of scallops when in fact he had ordered mussels, the waiter knew that he had made no mistake, but gave him the opportunity to choose again. When the customer then asked for a lobster or prawn salad but did not specify which he preferred, the waiter chose to cause him the maximum possible inconvenience and expense - he ordered the dressed lobster which cost £7.50 and took about 20-30 minutes to prepare rather than prawn cocktail which cost £2.50 and only took 5 minutes to prepare.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. E. Goffman, for example, stresses the social importance of the use of space, and posits a relationship between social status and space. See "Relations in Public", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971, pp40-41. See, also, R. Somner, "Studies in Personal Space", Sociometry, Vol. XXII, 1959 (Sept.), pp247-60; and K.B. Little, "Personal Space", Journal of Experimental Psychology, Vol. 1, 1965 (Aug.), pp237-47.

2. See E. Goffman for a more detailed discussion of both these terms: op. cit., 1971, pp50-56.

3. Mention was made in chapter 4 about the differences that can occur with higher prestige, such as the greater elbow-room and distance between tables in high level hotels.

4. For a useful review of the issues touched upon under the heading "Privacy", see A.F. Westin, "Privacy and Freedom" New York: Atheneum, 1967. See, also, O.M. Ruebhausen and O.G. Brim, Jr., "Privacy and Behavioural Research", Columbia Law Review, Vol. LXV, 1965 (Nov.), pp1184-1211.

5. See M.A. Woodbury, "Ward Dynamics and the Formation of a Therapeutic Group", Chestnut Lodge Symposium, Rockville, Maryland, mimeo, 1958; and A. Lipman, "Chairs as Territory", New Society, Vol. XX, 1967 (April), pp564-6.

6. This term is taken from an unpublished paper (1968) by M. Merritt, "On the Service Encounter".

7. As I explained in chapter 8, a "chance" customer is someone off the street.

8. As mentioned in chapter 7, "getting the jump" is a concept which was originally developed by W.F. Whyte in "When Workers and Customers Meet", Chap. VII, "Industry and Society", ed. by W.F. Whyte, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946.

9. A useful paper on turn-taking in one type of extreme is L. Mann, "Queue Culture: the Waiting Line as a Social System", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXXV, 1969, (Nov.), pp340-54.

10. P. Nailon, "Tipping: A Behavioural Review", Hotel and Catering Institute Management Association Review, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1978, pp231-243.

11. R.L. Karen, "Some Factors Affecting Tipping Behaviour", Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 47, 1962, pp68-74.

12. W.F. Whyte "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", London: McGraw-Hill, 1948, p98.

13. Note, though, that it is rare to find workers being transferred between stations except in the case where a person leaves and others shift to fill the gap created.

14. The extent to which waiters may compete to give their own customers good service and so promote their own interests is described by A.M. Bowey in her book, "The Sociology of Organizations", London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976, pp88-81.

15. See E. Goffman, op. cit., 1971, pp74-84; a useful classification of territorial offences may also be found in S.M. Lyman and M.B. Scott, "Territoriality: A Neglected Sociological Dimension", Social Problems, Vol. XV, 1967 (Fall), pp243-4.

16. W.F. Whyte, op. cit., 1946, pp132-3. This has more recently been examined in an empirical study by Butler and Snizek whose controlled experiments showed how the waiters' skills in selling can increase the total bill and hence tips. See S.R. Butler and W.E. Snizek, "Waitress-diner Relationships", Sociology of Work and Occupations, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1976 (May); see also C.L. Cooper and H. Oddie, "Group Training in a Service Industry: Improving Social Skills in Motorway Service Area Restaurants", Interpersonal Development, Vol. 3, 1972, pp13-39.

17. E. Goffman, "Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959, pp22-3.

18. Similarly, some teachers may feel that if pupils are put in their place on the first day, and made to see who is boss, much future difficulties will be prevented. See, for example, H.S. Becker, "Social Class Variations in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship", Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. XXV, p.459.

19. Figures for those who never tip vary considerably from somewhere around the 4 per cent of respondents in a survey of the Consumers Association, "Which?", 1968 (June) to the 88-92 per cent in the Hotel and Catering EDC study "Trends in Catering: A Study in Eating Out", Quarterly Report, No. 4, London: NEDO, 1975 (Jan. - March).

20. Some further substantiation is given about the non-monetary factors involved in Whyte who quotes a waitress as saying: "You think of all the work you've done and how you've tried to please those people, and it hurts when they don't leave anything for you. You think, so that's what they really think of me ... It's like an insult". See W.F. Whyte, "Organizational Behaviour: Theory and Applications", Homewood, Illinois: Irwin-Dorsey, 1969.

21. As Marcel Mauss has said: "Failure to give or to receive, like failure to make returning gifts, means a loss of dignity ..." See "The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies", London: Cohen and West, 1966, p40.

22. Further discussion of the interesting dilemmas which can occur in social exchange may be found in Mauss, op. cit., 1966; Levi-Strauss, "Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente", Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1949; G. Homans, "Social Behaviour as Exchange", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIII, 1958, pp597-606; and A. Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity", American Sociological Review, Vol. XXV, 1960, pp161-78. See also M. Deutsch, "A Theory of Co-operation and Competition", Human Relations, Vol. II, 1949, pp139-52.

23. As noted in chapter 7, the term was originally developed by E. Goffman in his book, "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961, pp171-75.

24. Such outbursts in fact were commonplace. At the height of the summer season, waiters in this hotel have a hard and often frustrating job to find items (cutlery, crockery, trays and serving cloths); and the problem is exacerbated because people hoard materials in secret and take things from one another whenever they run short. See chapter 4.

25. Many other examples of backstage activity may be found in E. Goffman, op. cit., 1959, pp168-173.

26. Ibid, pp148-50.

27. Ibid, p21.

28. The dominant concern in all matters of ritual importance would seem to be with the integrity of the social universe. Anything which defies ordinary definition may be invested with extraordinary powers of defilement because it brings into question the rules about approved forms of behaviour. See M. Douglas, "Purity and Danger", London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

29. Insofar as children are defined as "non-persons", they have some licence to commit gauche acts without requiring the audience to take the expressive implications of these acts too seriously. However, whether treated as non-persons or not, children are often in a position to discover crucial secrets. In Newfoundland, for instance, a child would often be sent into a neighbour's home to borrow 1 lb sugar or jam so as to find out something which a neighbour would not normally disclose in front of others. (Private communication from Gerald Mars).

30. Oddly enough, the same words which in the case I mentioned earlier caused the waiter to lose his job were used here to accelerate intimacy between those served and those who serve. Much, then, depends upon the way the words are used to convey a particular meaning.

31. Normally a menu is written in a foreign language and

cannot easily be understood by those served. This is particularly true of people who are not accustomed to dining out but it may make even the more sophisticated diner feel ill at ease. Take the two American tourists who complained in my second high level London hotel because, after travelling for two months in Europe, they had looked forward to their arrival in England because people spoke their own language: "But what do we find when we get here? ... A menu written in French just like the rest of the Continent! ..."

32. To take another service occupation, see, for example, the case report on "Central Haberdashery" in R. Dubin (ed.) "Human Relations in Administration", New York: Prentice-Hall, 1951, pp560-63.

33. See chap. 1.

34. For a useful analysis of the subordinate role people play in service occupations generally, see Boas Shamir, "Between Service and Servility: Role Conflict in Subordinate Service Roles", Human Relations, Vol. 33, No. 10, 1980, pp741-756.

35. See, for example, J. Fuller and A.J. Currie, "The Waiter", London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966.

36. As quoted in Hecht, "The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England", p208.

37. Ibid, p208.

PART IV

A NEW APPROACH TO STUDYING AN OCCUPATION

CHAPTER TEN

WORK CULTURE AND VALUES

1. Grid and group analysis

In attempting to understand the nature and implications of the service encounter, we have so far considered the different kinds of transactions and the strategies and tactics which waiters may employ appropriate to them (1). It must be emphasized, however, that the incidence of boundary-open and boundary-closed transactions varies from one hotel to another. Moreover, a simple equation of closure with high class and of openness with lower class hotels - though apparently the case - is insupportable. Instead it is suggested that a typology be used which considers hotels in terms of the constraints affecting the behaviour of their staff and customers - and of how they perceive the world. The argument here is that people within a workgroup or organization tend to build up their own distinct culture based on a common set of beliefs, attitudes, values, justifications, explanations and the like. Further, it is argued that two factors are dominant in affecting peoples' view of the world and their workplace behaviour - both to do with the structure of the workgroup or organization in which they find themselves. The first relates to the degree of constraint prescribing what they can do - and how far their roles are formalized - whilst the second reflects the extent of their group involvement.

These are in fact the central dimensions on which Mary Douglas's ideas of "grid" and "group" are based. Her aim was to find the formula which can be applied across the whole range of tribal and modern industrial societies for predicting the match between cosmological bias and the various kinds of social structure in which individuals find themselves (2). But whilst preliminary results show it to be an extremely powerful tool, no one, as far as I know, has applied the approach to an occupational or organizational context.

Group, as I use it, refers to the strength of moral coercion experienced through being members of a bounded "face-to-face" unit at work. As a dimension it measures the strength or weakness of people's associations with one another (3). Grid refers to the total body of rules and constraints that define, limit and prescribe what the individual can do in the workplace and at the occupational level he occupies. With grid controlling the flow of behaviour, the individual has little scope for autonomy other than for fulfilling his allotted role.

Much of the data was therefore collected with a specific grid and group mode of analysis in mind. It was hoped that it would advance considerably our understanding of the behaviour and systems of attitudes and cultural values within an occupation. Indeed I have found this approach to be particularly fruitful though it has required some considerable amendment since I have used it in an occupational milieu when it was originally designed as a general tool for the comparitive analysis of different cultures. The dimensions of grid and group have proved crucial in providing a systematic basis for defining different types of hotel. Hotel workers can usefully be allocated to sections of a grid and group chart in ways that clearly distinguish one hotel from another.

Thus if we take Mary Douglas' original categories as in Figure 1, the hotels I studied appear on the chart as shown in Figure 2 and hypotheses about the nature of hotels as organizations can be made related to this classification. On one level the dimensions of grid and group provide a systematic basis for defining five main types of social environment in which one might expect different degrees of control and exclusion . At another level, it is all that needs to be known for the derivation of distinctive value and belief systems to be made. Capable of expansion or reduction between macro and micro scale social behaviour, it is a method of analysis that can be applied to the smallest primitive society and the most modern industrial one (4).

Figure 1. Five main types of social environment

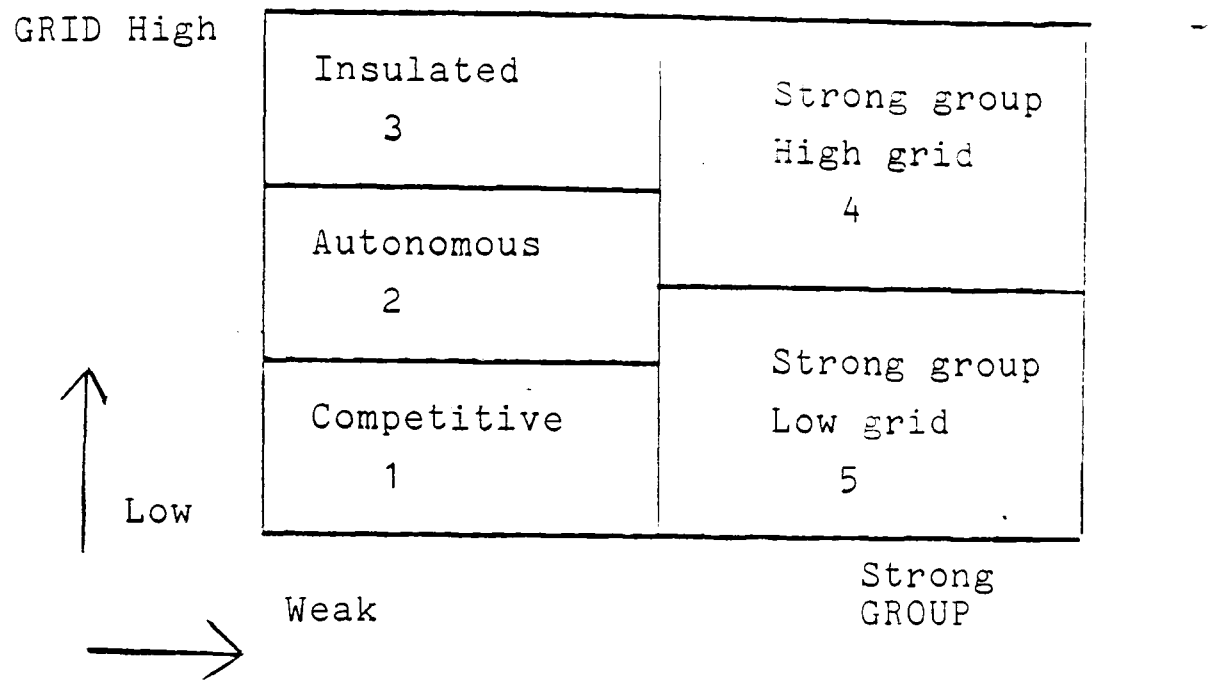
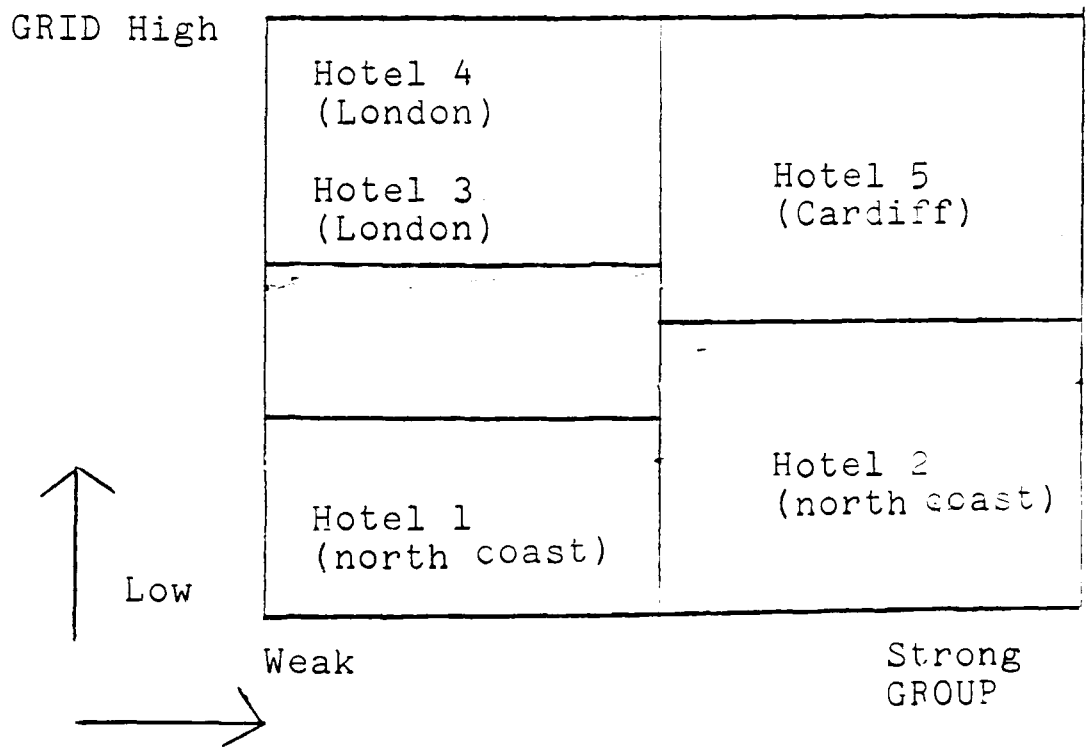


Figure 2. Classification of the five hotels studied by grid and group



In applying grid and group to an occupational/ organizational setting, it was found that the hotels I studied could usefully be placed in four "ideal" occupational contexts. For each occupational context, an itemized list of the characteristic features to be found in that context can be elicited. Thus it would appear that different notions about time, space, money, personal responsibility, group involvement, group identity and different attitudes to work can all be found related to this four-fold classification. Important implications for industrial relations, managerial policy and government policy might also be examined in the light of what is appropriate for the effective running of the different types of organization. I shall take up some of these issues more fully in later sections. But before we go on to examine the specific variables that may be predicted from a grid and group analysis, let us first examine the defining features associated with these dimensions.

2. Defining features of grid and group

There has in fact been very little anthropological work on occupations particularly in the U.K. (5) - the main reason in my view being the lack of any effective basis for comparison. As I have said, the typology I propose to use depends upon Douglas' concepts of grid and group. Douglas' argument is that all cultures can be assessed and classified according to these dimensions - ranging from non-industrial societies to those such as our own. The question that concerns us here is what shapes the way in which certain things are given cultural salience at work. What is the significance, for example, of the various types of organizations in which jobs are located, their scale of activity and structure? To what extent are output, the type and rate of production, access to rewards and the scale and type of remuneration shaped by the occupational culture? Here I do not wish to enter the debate as to whether the things mentioned themselves form part of the culture or are sources of it. Suffice it to say that all these things are both part of

occupational culture and provide the framework within which it is generated - and our task is simply to understand the way people at work think and behave (6).

In defining what we mean by culture, it is suggested that we try to avoid getting bogged down in the minutae of alternative definitions. Culture should be seen in the widest sense, as a system of implicit rules, learned and shared by the members of a given community and used by them in organizing their social world. Certain things are selected as significant, while other things are ignored as insignificant. Our task, then, is to learn the code by examining the native's application of its rules (7). The approach adopted here is to take a particular kind of community - the workplace - as a starting point and demonstrate how, given the premises involved in defining that community, certain distinctive value and belief systems will follow as necessary for the legitimation of actions taken within it. The dimensions of grid and group are crucial in that they provide a systematic basis for defining four main types of workplace in enough detail to allow the derivation of belief systems to be made.

However, a caveat needs to be recorded here. Though the approach involves this directionality, it should not be thought that the chains of cause and effect between the different types of workplace and the value and belief systems supporting them only move in this direction. The reverse may also occur. Nor should the individual simply be seen as being acted upon by external forces, but he is himself a part of the social environment and may also be actively maintaining and constituting it. Any individual can thus interact with both levels and choose to accept or reject the social pressures and belief systems in which he finds himself. He will serve as the mediating link between what is sometimes seen as two alternative perspectives: the "objective" definition of social context (which would probably mean obtaining a consensus of other people's perceptions) and the "subjective" notions that people hold

about themselves (which might well include some understanding and assessment of what they "objectively" do).

Both dimensions constitute legitimate objects for study. But it would be a mistake to try to separate them out and adopt the traditional approach of holding everything constant while observing the relationship between an independent and a dependent variable. No attempt to hold perception constant while examining the relation of social context to belief and value systems can ever be completely successful because the individual's subjective experience is part of the whole system of social interactions, perceptions, values and justifications. We can however approach the problem if we construct a taxonomy of social contexts which hold good at various levels of experience. Most interestingly for the present investigation, it should be possible to show how this taxonomy will feed into a description of the work process and provide an effective basis for studying occupational cultures generally.

Then we have the problem of how to define "occupation". Since there are many different meanings of the term, it may be helpful to attempt to describe just what it <u>does</u> and what it <u>does not</u> mean in this study. Occupation is taken here to mean something more than the minimal unit of work activity. I am not simply concerned with what happens at the workplace or point of production. Although the origin of occupational culture might lie here, and in certain cases we need look no further, I believe that we generally do need to consider a much wider range of activity to understand the true nature of work. Thus I am not so much concerned with the particular organization but with the particular <u>type</u> of organization where people work. What does being a waiter mean in different types of hotel? How does the job vary from one type of hotel to another? What I have found is that grid and group help to open discussion of the wide range of issues that industrial sociologists and anthropologists so often ignore. Particular reference will later be

made to the characteristics associated with each dimension. But first I shall give a brief summary of the concepts and how they are seen to be related to each other.

Let us first turn to GRID. As a dimension, grid refers to the set of explicit rules, definitions and categories which a culture imposes on its people in a particular context. High grid is associated with a high degree of insulation and a precise definition of roles and statuses, together with a lack of scope for individual autonomy and entrepreneuriality. The Indian caste system or any culture where social position is largely determined by "fixed" factors such as age, sex or birth are good examples. By contrast, in cases of low grid, we find that all definitions are open to question, and uncertainty is a fact of life, and the individual is in a state of free, open, opportunist competition with others; each person must learn to adapt to a system in which everything is potentially negotiable and nothing is fixed in advance. Take a culture such as our own which places a high premium on achievable status, social mobility and competition, whilst the fixed factors of age, sex and birth are not so important in determining people's social position. Among us, social position and status are increasingly coming to be judged on merit alone whilst autonomy and individuality are highly valued - the kind of characteristics associated with low grid.

GROUP, the second dimension, focuses on the extent to which an individual derives his life support from other people with whom he has face-to-face contact. These are cultures where people have a strong sense of belonging to a well defined group, where the survival of the group is more important than the survival of the individual and where the interests of the individual are essentially subordinate to those of the group. Where group is strong the individual will interact with the same people in work, leisure, place of abode and family occasions. The immigrant ghetto is a good example; so are cultures that emphasize lineage and clan organization, age, sex, religious sects and other groupings. On the other hand, some cultures minimize the strength

of moral coercion which groups can exert over the individual, and these are weak on group. This is not to say that these societies have no groups at all. There may be several groups within them but none can exert an overriding control over people - these are cultures rather like our own, especially in its urban aspects.

Douglas originally saw the concept of grid and group as a way of applying the principles of control and exclusion (8) to ideas about whole cultures. Yet the full significance of this approach can only be taken on trust unless in fact the two dimensions extend equally well when applied to the analysis of cultures in a narrower sense, say, at the work-place. My argument is that occupations can be treated as cultures and may therefore be assessed using grid and group in exactly the same way. In some occupations the workgroup will be clearly stratified and workroles are precisely defined according to formal criteria of ranking - these are low grid jobs. In others, the scope for individual autonomy or competitiveness tends to be more highly valued and jobs lose much of their formal and precise definition - these are high grid jobs. In some cases, individuals work in isolation from workmates - weak group jobs; in others they work with the co-operation of a group performing in unison - strong group jobs.

There are difficulties with the approach, however, which should not be overlooked. First, there are problems with grid. For example, does grid refer both to the rules which govern behaviour and the rules of the organization in which people find themselves? Though these are quite often the same thing, there are occasions on which we might want to keep the two distinct. Here I am primarily concerned with the rules affecting behaviour within an organization, not the organization itself. I should also add that I am primarily concerned with the rules governing waiters' behaviour, not management's or anyone else's; and that I am using grid as a measure of the entire gamut of rules which order behaviour, not simply the organization's formal

rules.

Second, there are also problems with group. How, for example, is groupness measured? Are there various dimensions of groupness and are all of these correlated in a simple way? Are we referring to subjective or objective criteria? All collectors of ethnography, of course, are subject to the danger of "butterfly collecting" (9) and should be on their guard not to reify what are in fact no more than practical devices. Indeed there is no reason to suppose that the cut I make here for analytic purposes between one category and another is not arbitrary. Both grid and group are conceived as continuous variables. Theoretically, then, we could find an infinite number of possibilities; but nonetheless grid and group enable us to reduce everything to the four categories. It should be stressed, however, that the categories represent "ideal" or "pure" types and that many examples are not as clearly defined, or indeed as defineable as the matrix might suggest. The argument is that there should ideally be a link between value and belief systems and the social environment - each of which should itself be coherent. Where an adequate fit does not exist, the individual can change his own beliefs and values so he can adapt to the social environment. He can shift to another environment where his own beliefs and values are more in line with those around him. Or he can attempt to adapt his social environment to bring it more into line with himself.

This brings us to the question of what is the relationship between grid and group. Should grid and group be granted equivalence in the matrix? Do grid and group form part of the culture as we define it? And, if so, how can we justify using grid and group in analyzing culture and by implication trying to explain it? When grid and group were originally developed by Douglas, it was assumed that they should be seen as independent variables - and my approach is based on this assumption. It might, however, be argued that what, in fact, we have here is concomitant

variation. For we might find that high values of grid and group consistently go together, and low values do likewise. Or, alternatively, we might find the opposite: the more we have of one dimension, the less we have of the other. It might then be possible to argue, say, that group is subordinate to grid - an idea which has its attractions since "grid" might then be seen as part of the structure that generates "group", the culture.

However, though it is hard to produce evidence to support the claim, I believe that logically it <u>is</u> possible to keep these dimensions separate. In the first place, if we take the view (which I believe we must) that grid and group are ideal type analytical concepts, there is no reason why it should not be possible to "place" every conceivable type of organization somewhere along these two dimensions. Secondly, and related to this, if grid and group constitute the tools of the analysis whereby the structuring of social relations is found to be related to belief and value systems in a given context, we cannot simply say that grid is a measure of the "given" structure of an organization. If this were the case, we might easily assume that high and low grid simply refer to the formal / informal distinction (10). Theoretically this would seem to pose a major problem for our analysis if it were considered necessary to distinguish the workgroup as a subculture of the organization of which it is a part. But fortunately there is no need to make any such distinction. As I have already said, we shall be concerned with any rules, definitions, constraints, etc. that impinge upon an individual, whether these arise within the workgroup or the wider organization. Thirdly, though it might be true that in some cases group is subordinate to grid, the reverse may also hold: i.e. grid is subordinate to group, and group forms part of the "culture" which generates "grid", the rules. As already stated, one way of measuring whether an occupational context is strong group or not, is to determine the extent to which patterns of non-work life spill over and affect relations and values at work (11). What

in fact we find are two types of hotel worker. Those for whom experiences on and off the job are quite separate: in their case there is little spillover between work and non-work activity and the values present in each are generated by different sources (12). Some staff, on the other hand, are attracted to this industry by the cheap accommodation and the occupational environment that allows relationships to be carried over to non-work domains. For them, the hotel is a kind of "total institution" - most notably in cases where a high proportion of staff "live in" (13).

Given that grid and group can in principle be combined to produce two constructed scales which are independent of each other, one can predict that certain characteristics will be associated with each one. Thus if we take these five hotels studied, one can predict that differences may be found in such things as the control of resources, staff recruitment, staff development, workplace relations and work orientation. I have developed several hypotheses along these lines; these are arranged below under the two main headings, one dealing with group and the other with grid.

3. Grid and its effect upon hotels

3.1 The total rewards system

My findings suggest that the level of formalized wages represents only one part of the total rewards available to hotel workers and that they benefit considerably from unformalized rewards - the "fiddle", "knock-off", tips, and so on. It is clear that the distribution of different constituents of the individual's total income is determined primarily through the individual bargaining power of each worker. But in addition, individual contracts are negotiated within certain parameters which vary according to the grid dimension and the hotel's position

upon it.

In a high grid hotel, the staff are differentiated through the bureaucratic means of a system of ranking which may involve 5 different levels of waiter. Rewards are accordingly allocated to staff on a formal basis and bureaucratic controls are imposed which greatly reduce the scope for individual contract making. Only the higher ranks are likely to benefit substantially from informal rewards - and this because "perks" in fact serve to reinforce the established order rather than give those employed greater individual autonomy. By contrast, in low grid hotels, these levels do not exist and here rewards - no less important to distinguish the core from other workers - are found to be offered through informal means, that is, through the fiddle or payment in kind.

3.2. Control of resources

If the concept of T.R.S. were broken down, it would be found to contain four main items which are somehow related to each other. Broadly speaking, these are the resources over which management and staff exercise some control: money, food, time and space (14). The question is how far are these resources centrally allocated, how far are managers or staff independently in control of their use:

(i) Money. In all hotels differences in the formal wage structure are controlled and reflect the formal status hierarchy within the organization. But when it comes to informal rewards, payment may be centrally controlled or staff may have greater control themselves over pay. In high grid hotels, the unformalized rewards have been largely "bureaucratized out". For example, staff canteens provide good meals for workers so they do not need to take food for their own consumption; and there is often a "trone" system for pooling tips and then distributing

them according to rank. By contrast, staff will generally take their own initiative where hotels are low grid. Normally they prefer to rely upon "knock off" because the food served in staff canteens is so poor; and they keep their own tips as a rule.

(ii) Food. Misappropriation of food for one's own consumption or commercial gain has its limitations. In high grid hotels, heavy sanctions may be brought against those caught taking food. One thinks here of staff who upon being caught are charged for the food, or in extreme cases prosecuted and brought to justice. With low grid, sanctions are less frequently brought against those caught; and in those cases where sanctions are applied, the penalties are not so great on the whole.

(iii) Time. Again this is a resource over which control is exercised within certain limits. In every hotel, penalties are likely to be imposed for persistent lateness and speed of service is also important. With high grid, though, the hours of work are fixed in advance: no one is expected to work above or below the number of hours fixed without adjustments to their pay; and people typically have little control over the disposition of their own time or routine of work. By contrast, people in hotels which are low grid work however long it takes to finish the job. In theory this should allow the worker to set his own pace and get the job done whenever he decides to put in the time. But in practice, the job cannot be done in the time allotted for it so workers tend to get paid the same basic wage for working longer hours. Core workers who bear the brunt of the extra work may be indirectly rewarded for it;

but this should not strictly be seen as payment for overtime since their individual contract depends upon their willingness to do it.

(iv) Space. This again is a resource over which control may be centrally exercised or devolved on an individual basis. In all hotels, there are some tables (e.g. those near the entrance or window with a view) on which a higher premium is placed within the dining room. The manipulation of space by the hotel and its staff serves a two-fold function. Firstly, the allocation of customers to tables marks their assessed position as potential tippers or as important persons (these are not always the same!). Secondly, it also provides a way of rating staff, giving them informal rewards, granting them prestige and providing a potent source of management control. In low grid hotels where tips are kept by individual employees, this is particularly significant. Here management can move staff towards the preferred stations or take them away - thus increasing or reducing what staff can earn in tips. Alternatively, in high grid hotels where a tronc is usually in operation, the converse is true. Allocation of stations and their retention by staff is not so significant because tips are pooled and shared in a pre-determined way which may have little to do with the allocation of tables amongst staff.

3.3 Work assessment

Workers can normally expect their performance to be assessed by management in two main ways. The first is a rule constrained method where the standards of service are

fixed in advance and assessment is purely concerned with whether these standards have been met. The alternative approach is associated with ad hoc management where workers are judged on their ability to supply satisfaction, whatever means are employed. The second method allows more scope for initiative in the same kind of way as described for low grid in 3.2 above, whereas the rule constrained method is high grid. The reasons for this difference of approach are plain enough. In low grid hotels the erratic nature of the customers' demand for service means that there is always a considerable degree of uncertainty inherent in the situation. Where such uncertainty exists, there is a far greater need for risk-taking and opportunism, and hence in these circumstances an ad hoc approach is to be preferred to the rule constrained method which allows little autonomy to individual workers.

3.4 Methods of staff recruitment

Given that one aspect of low grid is the uncertainty that must be faced, one would expect that management in low grid hotels would try to anticipate all the possibilities involved and plan strategies for dealing with the situation. As far as staff recruitment is concerned, management relies to a large extent upon personal networks for their permanent staff. On top of this, they may have a large pool of "casual" labour - known in the industry as "extra ducks" - upon which they can draw whenever they need additional support (e.g. for banquets, weddings, large parties and heavy bookings). By contrast, recruitment in high grid hotels is based largely upon formal personnel procedures. Banqueting managers may employ casual labour but in the restaurant it is felt that there should be sufficient full-time staff to meet the crises that may arise.

3.5 Career progression

In high grid where staff promotion is largely

determined by factors such as age, previous experience and length of service, one would expect that less emphasis would be placed upon personal qualities or skills. There is, however, considerable disagreement amongst staff as to the most important criteria by which work performance should be judged. Whereas staff in lower ranks attach the greatest importance to technical skill and previous experience, higher ranks also stress the importance of such things as charm, patience, pleasant disposition and willingness to play the subordinate role.

In low grid where social position is largely based on achievable status, people tend to have a much better idea of each other's goals and to share a similar order of priority within the organization. Here the emphasis is upon having such qualities as charm, loyalty, dependability, resourcefulness and alertness against the crises that so frequently arise. Because there is less differentiation through formal rank, and hierarchical organization is tempered by many cross-cutting areas of interaction, core workers are often distinguished by this means alone and there is less discrepancy amongst staff on the criteria for judging successful performance.

4. Group and its effect upon hotels

4.1 Workplace relations

In a weak group hotel, one would expect people to assume tasks that are clearly differentiated, and to have separate interests, activities and social ties from those of co-workers. Workers will, as it were, have dealings with a number of people at work - some (but not all) of whom will have dealings with one another. Although co-operation may be found between workers of different ranks, one might expect to find conflict and open hostility between those of the same rank. Few workmates will know or be known out-

side the workplace to people with whom they interact, say, in the home, local pub, social clubs, church and so on. In short, what we have is a "network" or set of social relations in which a number of people are involved, some of whom are directly in contact with each other and some of whom are not (15).

Within a strong group hotel, however, relationships are more like an "organized group" than a network. One would expect those who make up the workforce to have common aims, interdependent roles and a set of shared expectations and values. It is not so much a case of knowing people - some of whom may also know each other - because what we have is, so to speak, an everyone-knows-everyone situation. Co-operation may be found both between and within ranks and often people's roles are interchangeable so that one person can do the job of another should the need arise. Those with whom workers have dealings in the workplace will often be people whom they know outside in another setting; and in the extreme case of the hotel acting like a total institution, no distinction will effectively be drawn between work and non-work relationships.

4.2 Work orientation

In a strong group hotel, work has something of an economic meaning. But it is not only seen as the means of acquiring the income necessary to support a particular way of life, it is also valued for itself. Relatively small economic rewards are often accepted because workers would prefer to do nothing which might threaten group norms or group solidarity. For instance, when the group with which they identify is the whole organization, they may prefer not to take collective action over pay, even when higher wages can be had elsewhere. However, when identification is only with the immediate workgroup, people may feel alienated from the organization in which they work and risk taking collective action. In Goldthorpe and Lockwood's terms,

people who have a "solidaristic" orientation to work (16), may regard the group as a source of power against their employer - resulting in a growth of collectivism.

In a weak group hotel, work is regarded primarily as a means to an end. It is not the activity itself, but rather the economic return for effort that is seen as the primary meaning of work. Workers' involvement in the organization which employs them will continue so long as their economic return for effort seems the best available. What we find here is an "instrumental" orientation to work, which as Goldthorpe and Lockwood have said, militates against collective action on anything but a limited and discontinuous basis (17). Insofar as workers are willing to consider collective action , then it is usually the individual benefits they can accrue which leads them to take such action rather than anything else. Once their personal objectives have been met, they take no further interest in collective activity.

4.3 Low collectivism

With weak group, because there is no strong sense of moral commitment binding the worker to those who employ him, the money that he earns might well be the only reason for him to stay in his job. With nothing but cash to bind him to an acceptance of the situation, what emerges is something remarkably like the "cash nexus" that Marx originally identified (18). So long as he is satisfied with the economic return for effort, the established order will always be tolerated. But should the amount or dependability of the money be threatened, the instability inherent in the situation might manifest itself. In fact, the labour force is too segmented to act collectively but discontent may still be expressed through other means - people may, for instance, vote with their feet (19). Once pay falls below a certain level, the latent instability of the worker's commitment and orientation might lead him to challenge the established order.

With the general rise of prosperity and higher standard of living in the last fifty years, one might have expected that the persistence of social inequality would have been nowhere more acutely felt that among workers in one of the country's lowest paid industries. Yet trade unions have made little progress in organizing hotel workers (20). Whilst it may be true that the workforce is too fragmented to respond to collectivism if the hotel is weak group, the question arises why strong group hotels have resisted too. People, Runciman argues, set their own standards of economic aspiration according to the levels that they believe are actually achieved by others (21). Inasmuch as a worker compares his own material standards with those of people at a lower level than himself, he may believe that inequalities have been substantially reduced - even when in fact marked inequalities persist. This might explain why many workers in catering are very low paid indeed but because they are limited in their experience or otherwise lack a wide economic reference group, they may not see themselves as being low paid; these are the peripheral workers. Core workers whose total income includes a substantial proportion of non-taxable rewards are not so low paid. Furthermore, because they tend to compare their income with that of peripheral workers or with the lower than actual stated wage levels in other industries, they tend to regard themselves as well off.

4.4 Individual contracts

As already stated, the allocation of different constituents of the T.R.S. is determined primarily through the individual bargaining power of each worker. With weak group, however, the allocation may be based upon the manager's assessment of the individual's performance and this may bear no relationship to the idea of him held by fellow workers. Because management cannot rely upon the united strength of the workforce for help in the smooth running of the hotel, there is a greater tendency for management to depend upon the availability and expertise of its core staff. This

means that the core receive preferential treatment over peripheral workers so as to encourage loyalty and personal obligation towards the manager. Workers' feelings of moral commitment towards the group are likely to be further weakened as a result - a fact that managers may believe is in their interests because they wish to stave off collectivism.

By contrast, in strong group the T.R.S. serves to bind the members of the workforce together, as well as provide a form of internal stratificiation amongst people who otherwise appear to be a homogeneous group. Informal rewards substantially benefit those held to have the best claim by members of the group itself. Management will not need to depend upon its core staff to the same extent because the individual's desire not to disappoint others within the group guarantees that high standards of performance are maintainted. With commitment towards the group enhanced by the individual manipulations of the T.R.S., management may rely upon their loyalty and goodwill for the smooth running of the hotel.

4.5 Blame passing

Both waiters and kitchen staff are well aware of the need to rely upon each other for the provision of customer satisfaction. In a weak group hotel, however, each would probably feel no compunction about blaming its own failures of performance on the lack of proper support from the other. Thus a common strategy that waiters adopt for dealing with customers' complaints is to pass blame onto the kitchen staff when in fact they are not responsible. Service is maintained through errors being falsely attributed to other people outside the workgroup.

With strong group, though, the shuttling of blame rarely exists. This is particularly so where a hotel is strong group and high grid because there are well defined responsibilities so that blame passing simply is not possible.

On the other hand, if group is strong and grid low, passing blame will not be tolerated due to group pressures of loyalty; whilst it cannot be done overtly, however, some underground system of covert suspicion may well be found by which suspicion is pinned on hidden enemies of the group (22) or external factors beyond their control.

It is suggested that these ten areas give us an insight into the way in which grid and group may be applied to the hotels studied. I shall explore the implications in the next chapter for the industry as a whole; but first it might be helpful to give a summary table of the proposed hypotheses. (See Tables 1 and 2).

TABLE 1. Characteristics associated with grid

Area	High grid (= Low personal autonomy)	Low grid (= High personal autonomy)
A1 Total rewards system	Only the higher ranks receive a substantial element of non-taxable unformalized reward	Though often having the same rank and basic pay, the core receive a substantially higher non-taxable reward than the peripheral workers
A2 Control of resources	Centralized control: (1) Tip-earnings are collected and redistributed according to rank by the restaurant manager ("tronc") (2) Distribution of free food to staff controlled by establishing a canteen. (3) Work hours fixed in advance, with little scope for individuals to work to their own time-table (4) Individuals' control of their own set of tables is not significant	Individual autonomy: (1) Workers allowed to keep their own tips (2) Each individual has to rely largely on his own ability to get food by "knock off". (3) Work hours vary according to the time taken to complete a particular task; greater flexibility in organizing the disposition of one's time and work routine (4) Retaining the same set of tables is highly valued; and often signifies the individual's position in the informal status hierarchy
A3 Work assessment	Rule-constrained method: assessment of workers' performance by rules fixed in advance	Ad hoc approach: workers' performance judged primarily by good results, whatever means are employed
A4 Staff recruitment	Formal personnel procedures considered sufficient for the most part; people rarely employed on a casual basis	Recruitment based on personal contact for the most part; casual labour often used
A5 Career progression	Roles ascribed on the basis of age, previous experience, length of service; also roles achieved but poor agreement on the criteria for judging successful performance	All roles achieved on the basis of skill, speed, personal qualities; good agreement on the criteria for judging successful performance

TABLE 2. Characteristics associated with group

Area	Strong	Weak
B1 Workplace relations	Organized group: inter-dependent and interchange-able roles; close co-operation both between and within ranks; considerable overlap between work and non-work areas of inter-action	Network: clear different-iation of tasks within the workplace; some co-operat-ion between ranks but com-petition and potential conflict in the same rank; separate spheres of inter-action outside workplace
B2 Work orientation	Solidaristic: work seen as an activity valued for it-self; close identification with a group, whether this is with co-workers or with the wider organization	Instrumental: work seen as the economic return for effort; involvement in the organization only maintained for reasons of self-interest
B3 Low collectivism	Runciman: discontent restrained by the low reference points which a worker tends to adopt; comparison with other lower paid workers which masks the actual inequalities	Marx: resigned toleration of a low paid and low status job guaranteed because there is no notion of collective consciousness; labour forces are too segmented to act collectively
B4 Individual contracts	Management able to rely upon the united strength of the workforce and the individual's desire not to disappoint others in the group; individual contracts serve to encourage workers to remain loyal to the group	Management characterized by a close dependence on the availability and expertise of its core staff; indiv-idual contracts made to encourage loyalty and greater degree of obligation to the manager
B5 Blame passing	Strong sense of group solidarity makes it diff-icult to pass blame; though suspicion often pinned on hidden enemies of the group if grid is low	No obligation to conceal hostility; blame passed frequently both between and within different sections of the workforce

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The theory necessary for a clear understanding of transactional analysis was first developed by E. Berne in "Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy", Evergreen, 1961: and was further developed in his book "Games People Play: the Psychology of Human Relationships", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971. Perhaps the most common drift of undercurrent communication is for each party subtly to put itself in a favourable light and subtly to put the other party in an unfavourable one, what others have called "one upmanship", "making points", "status forcing" and "putting a person down". See, for example, the widely read and rather shrewd writings of Stephen Potter; E. Goffman, "On Face-Work", Psychiatry, Vol. 18, pp221-2; "Where the Action Is: Three Essays", Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1969; A. Strauss, "Essay on Identity", 1959; J. Haley, "The Art of Psychoanalysis", ETC, Vol. XV, pp189-200.

2. Douglas' ideas of "grid" and "group" were first developed in "Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology", London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1970; and the technique was further refined in "Cultural Bias", Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional Paper, No. 34, 1978.

3. Here "group" is being used in a similar way to previous notions about group strength and commitment. See, for example, D.T. Campbell and R.A. Levine, "Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behaviour", New York, 1972.

4. Indeed if we accept Douglas' argument, tribal societies may vary from one another in the same way as any chosen segments of London life. M. Douglas, op. cit., 1970, px.

5. It is interesting to compare the work done in the U.K. with work of the Sociologie du Travail group in France or the wealth of ethnographic literature on the older "traditional" economies in non-European countries. See, for example, R.W. Firth, "Malay Fishermen: their Peasant Economy", 1946; M. Gluckman, "Economy of the Central Barotse Plain", 1941; E.R. Leach, "Social and Economic Organization of the Rowanduz Kurds", 1940; C.D. Forde and A.C. Scott, "The Native Economies of Nigeria", 1946.

6. In what follows I have tried to answer some of the points made by those who heard me speak about my research at the S.S.R.C. "European" Seminar, held at the University of Sussex, 16-17 Dec., 1978.

7. This way of defining culture is taken from S.F. Silverman, "An Ethnographic Approach to Social Stratification", American Anthropologist, Vol. 68, No. 2, 1966.

8. Note that it was B. Bernstein's work on speech systems in London families which originally led Douglas to try and

understand the processes of cultural transmission using grid and group. See, for example, "Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language", Vol. 1, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974.

9. Essentially what Leach has said is true. There are two kinds of anthropological inquiry: Malinowski-style intensive fieldwork based on a single small-scale community; and the entirely different "structuralist" methods on which Levy-Strauss, in the tradition of Sir James Fraser (1854-1941), author of the Golden Bough, has chosen to rely. However, in trying to understand how the social system works by grid and group, we might appear to be adopting a structuralist approach. In fact, the gap between the two kinds of analysis is very wide. First, there is no attempt in our analysis to discover fundamental or universal truths. Secondly, in his writings, Levy-Strauss draws a sharp line between primitive societies, which are timeless and static, and advanced societies, which elude anthropological study because they are "in history", whereas no such distinction is made here. Thirdly, whereas Levy-Strauss assumes that the model generated by the informants' own interpretation of phenomena closely corresponds to ethnographic reality, we would prefer to eschew all such evidence and bring greater empirical thoroughness to bear upon the analysis. See E. Leach, "Levy-Strauss", Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1974.

10. One thinks here of the literature on the importance of informal or "across the line" systems of organization which may be in conformity with the ultimate goal of the organization or give expression to alternative goals outside the organization. In the classic Hawthorne study of informal or unofficial workgroups, the main function of worker solidarity seems to have been to counter management's view of what workers ought to do and what they ought to be. (See F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson, "Management and the Worker", Harvard, 1939). However, later studies illustrated the fact that informal cliques at work might sustain activities perfectly compatible, and even supportive of, the role established by management for workers. See, for example, E. Gross, "Characteristics of Cliques in Office Organizations", Research Studies, State College of Washington, Vol. XIX, 1951, esp. p135; "Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organizations", American Sociological Review, Vol. XVIII, 1953, pp368-73. See, also, M. Dalton, "Men Who Manage", New York: Wiley, 1959, esp. pp198-9; D. Roy, "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII, 1952, pp427-42; O. Collins, M. Dalton and D. Roy, "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry", Applied Anthropology, (Human Organization), Vol. V, 1946, pp1-14.

11. Much research has been carried out on the relationship between workers' experiences on and off the job; and in particular on the debate over whether workers' experiences on the job carry over into the non-work arena.

and vice versa; or whether work is considered deficient, at least in some respects, by workers and they try to compensate for these deficiencies in their choice of leisure and family activities. For a useful paper summarizing the data from relevant studies on the subject, see G.L. Staines, "Spillover Versus Compensation: A Review of the Literature on the Relationship Between Work and Non-work", Human Relations, Vol. 33, No. 2, 1980, pp111-129.

12. By tradition, there is little spillover between work and non-work activity and the barriers present in each are generated by different sources. A separateness of this kind was implied by George Orwell who describes the waiter as having "the mentality, not of a workman but of a snob. He lives perpetually in sight of rich people, stands at their tables, listens to their conversation, sucks up to them with smiles and discrete little jokes. He has the pleasure of spending money by proxy. Moreover there is always the chance that he may become rich himself, for, though most waiters die poor, they have long runs of luck occasionally". ("Down and Out in Paris and London", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973, p68).

13. Broadly speaking these are examples of what Goffman calls "total institutions". In his study of a mental hospital, Goffman pinpoints the central feature of total institutions as being a breakdown of the barriers that ordinarily separate the three spheres of life: sleep, play and work. Other features which follow from this include: (1) all aspects of life are conducted under the same single authority; (2) each phase of a daily activity is carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others; (3) all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled; and (4) the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purpotedly to fulfil the official aims of the institution. See E. Goffman, "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970, esp. p17. T.E. Lawrence provides a military example: "The Mint", London: Cape, 1955. For the concentration camp version, see E.A. Cohen, "Human Behaviour in the Concentration Camp", London: Cape, 1954.

14. The relationship between them is clearly a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. But though the subject cannot be analysed in detail here, one obvious way in which money and time are related concerns those who engage in clandestine employment: either carrying it on as their sole occupation or doing it as well as their regular jobs. See, for example, R. de Grazia, "Clandestine Employment: a Problem of Our Times", International Labour Review, Vol. 119, No. 5, 1980 (Sept. - Oct.).

15. The idea of network is often met in anthropological, sociological and psychological literature, although it does not always bear the same meaning. In taking the term to describe a set of social relationships for which there is no common boundary, I follow the usage chosen

in some of the earliest studies. See, for example, A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish", Human Relations, Vol. 7, 1954, pp39-58; E. Bott, "Family and Social Network", London: Tavistock, 1971, p59.

16. J.H. Goldthorpe, D. Lockwood, et al, "The Affluent Worker: Industrial Relations and Attitudes", Vol. 1, London: Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp40-42.

17. Ibid, pp38-39.

18. As J.H. Westergaard argues, what Goldthorpe and Lockwood call an "instrumental" orientation to work should not necessarily be taken to imply a politically acquiescent working class: "The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus", The Socialist Register, 1970.

19. As G. Mars has suggested, "Though strikes are the most dramatic manifestation of industrial discontent, they are of course not appropriate or even very common responses where individual contracts are the main means by which rewards are allocated". See G. Mars, "Some Implications of Fiddling at Work" in "The Social Psychologist in Industry", a conference held by the British Psychological Association, Loughborough University, 1977.

20. National Economic Development Office: Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London: HMSO, 1975.

21. In his review of the condition of labour and the Labour Party since World War I, Runciman emphasises the paradox, whereby the organized labour movement has become more moderately inclined despite the persistence of social inequality. Discontent is restrained, Runciman argues, by the low reference points which the working class tends to adopt. See W.G. Runciman, "Relative Deprevation and Social Justice", Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966.

22. This is the quadrant where, Douglas argues, the great historical heresies would have arisen. This is where the witch-hunting cosmologies of contemporary Africa and even the witch-hunting movement in contemporary politics would be likely to emerge. See M. Douglas, op. cit., 1970, pix.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

MANAGEMENT POLICY AND FUTURE TRENDS

1. Cultural integration and the individual

My argument is that most of us have a need to integrate our attitudes into a consistent frame of reference. Often our attitudes and behaviour appear contradictory but such evidence as exists suggests that most people are unable to maintain inconsistency between beliefs they regard as important, the attitudes they express in the company of others and the way in which they behave over any length of time (1). If there are such inconsistencies between the beliefs and attitudes shared by the group with whom an individual identifies and those regarded by him or her as necessary for the legitimation of his/her actions, then discomfort or dissonance is experienced(2). Efforts to reduce this dissonance can take a number of forms but essentially the most common kinds of response are threefold.

First, and most commonly, the individual can adapt his own attitudes and beliefs so as not to be divergent from those of the group or social context in which he finds himself. This will invariably be the case whenever a person enters a new set of social relationships for the first time, say, when he begins a new job, moves into a new neighbourhood, joins a social club and so on. Most people make such adjustments fairly easily. But in some cases people feel that they cannot conform because they are not prepared to compromise what they regard as important simply so as to be accepted by others.

Thus for those who feel that their beliefs and attitudes can never be accommodated by the group to which they belong, we may find that people adopt the more acceptable attitudes and beliefs of a group to which they do not belong - but which serve as an external reference group with which they prefer to identify themselves. A good example is the kind of white-collar worker who has no real hope of promotion into higher management but who nevertheless tries to adopt

their values and life styles in preference to those of clerical or manual workers. Alternatively the individual may decide, not simply to adopt the values of an external reference group, but actually to leave the group to which he belongs and join one in which his expectations do not diverge so greatly from the possibility of fulfilment.

This is nowhere better illustrated than in the field of industrial relations. Industrial discontent, as Fox points out, cannot simply be measured in terms of such dramatic manifestations as strikes, lock-outs, overtime bans, working to rule, going slow and other forms of "organized" collective expression. There may also be a number of other manifestations such as absenteeism, poor time-keeping and labour turnover which can take place on an "unorganized" individual basis (3). So if the work-group to which a person belongs cannot fulfil his expect-ations and aspirations, the frustrations which arise often result in a high labour turnover - particularly in an industry like hotel and catering where there are so few formal procedures for raising and dealing with grievances.

Thirdly, there may be some individuals who prefer not to change their own behaviour and attitudes so as to fit in with other people but instead try to introduce changes that will bring others into line with themselves. An important feature of an organization or workgroup is the amount of social cohesion or integration which exists at an informal level. Most people in organizations affiliate themselves to small informal groups in which they may pursue their own private interests and goals. It follows from this that informal relations and structures may change to reflect the divergent interests and beliefs of people within the workgroup or organization - and such changes as take place may be the product of the spontan-eous activity of individuals. Gouldner's famous account of a wildcat strike is a good example. By trying to enforce the formal rules and by changing supervisory staff to tighten rule enforcement, the new manager so embittered the workforce that the plant was precipitately closed by a walk-

out. There was no previous history of action of this kind, and Gouldner suggests that we should see it as developing out of the stress created by the new manager's violation of long established patterns of expectations at the plant (4).

Essentially trade unions serve to organize and focus group opinions and aspirations, giving them coherent expression and providing the machinery through which the conflict between sectional interests may be negotiated. In an industry which throws up a considerable number of disputed issues, potential disaffection and alienation may manifest themselves in organized forms such as those previously listed. Thus we have manual workers, technicians and clerical workers with their respective trade unions, and perhaps professionals and technologists with their associations and institutes. Given that only the overt and organized forms are generally recognized as conflict, the popular view is to regard such forms as indicative of organizational ill-health and low morale. Conversely their absence is generally taken to indicate a clean bill of health and high morale. As Fox argues, this may or may not be so - it is impossible to say without close inquiry into specific instances (5).

All one can say is that the kind of informal relations and structures that exist will be likely to determine the form which any potential disaffection may take. Thus if informal structures have largely arisen which have the effect of binding workers to the organization or workgroup, then if conflict comes about through management's failure to understand the existing work culture, it is likely that disaffection will take an overt and organized form. On the other hand, where informal structures have largely arisen out of the individual contracts which management makes with its staff, then if conflict should come about for whatever reason, it is likely that disaffection will take a less organized and direct form. In Table 1, I have tried to show how all these various elements come together on the same matrix.

Table 1 Conflict and different forms of alienation

Stage	Form of alienation	Effect of alienation	Conflict
1	Individual entering a new set of social relationships for the first time	Individual tries to adapt his own beliefs and attitudes to those shared by other people in the group which he has joined	None
2	Individual's realization that his own set of beliefs and attitudes can never be accommodated by the group to which he actually belongs	(1) Individual may try to disassociate himself from the group by adopting the attitudes and beliefs of an external reference group. (2) Individual may shift to a different social environment in which other people's attitudes and beliefs accord with his own (3) Individual may prefer not to change his own behaviour but instead try to introduce changes that will bring others into line with himself	Discontent may be manifest but not for the group as a whole
3	Increasing numbers of people becoming disillusioned with the traditional views held by the formal group or organization	(1) Informal relations and structures may arise in an effort to encourage greater personal loyalty and obligation towards particular manager (2) Informal relations and structures may also develop as a result of attempts to maintain people's loyalty to the wider group or organisation.	(1) Unorganized conflict will follow if informal agreements are not in fact honoured by management (2) Organized conflict will follow management's failure to comply with long established formal and informal procedures

2. Change and organization structure

We may sum up the preceding section by saying that, before any type of change is attempted within an organization, those wishing to introduce the change should examine the existing local culture that may have built up over time. Economic and technological changes are clearly important in this respect and in recent studies there has been a great deal of discussion about the various problems which may arise as a result of trying to introduce changes of this kind (6). The important point that needs emphasis here is that failure to understand the social structure of the organization can have dire consequences. Without a proper diagnosis of the problems, we cannot hope to find the right kinds of remedies to tackle them. But first the reasons for my particular line of approach demand a little background.

There is a clear recognition, in organization theory, of the relationship between organization structure and performance. This largely follows from Weber's sociology of bureaucracy and the classic studies of Joan Woodward's "Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice" (7) and Burns and Stalker's "The Management of Innovation" (8). From these early beginnings, many people have turned to studying groups and organizations from widely different standpoints - and the origins of modern organization theory can be traced to the work of philosophers, psychologists, psychoanalysts, sociologists, practical managers and administrators (9). Given the wide diversity of disciplines and social climates from which its original proponents have come, it is hardly surprising that there is a range of opinion as to exactly what a study of group or organization theory should encompass. Indeed, opinion is divided as to the very nature of what a group or organization comprises, and the way people behave in them.

The work and ideas of Weber (10) and especially his categories of organizations, have greatly influenced the work of people like Burns and Stalker who describe the

relationship between organizational structure and such activities as task allocation, the exercise of authority, and the coordination of the various functions. What Burns and Stalker postulate is that there are two "ideal types" of industrial organization, the one "mechanistic", adapted to relatively stable conditions; the other "organic", adapted to conditions of change. Mechanistic systems are characterized by a rigid division of specialist functions; precise definition of duties, responsibilities and power; and a well developed vertical chain of command in which information filters up and decisions and instructions flow down. Organic systems are more adaptable; jobs lose much of their formal and precise definition; specialist tasks are performed in the light of people's knowledge of the organization's aims and objectives; and communication between different ranks will take the form of lateral consultation rather than vertical command (11).

What Woodward did (12) was to collect a great deal of empirical evidence from a hundred firms in South Essex, drawn from a wide range of manufacturing types that covered between them the full scale of technical complexity - "unit", "mass production" and "process". The essential demonstration of her study was that, for each of these principal types of productive system, there tends to be an appropriate pattern of managerial and supervisory structure. Her study also showed that industrial relations in firms with unit and process production benefitted over those with large batch or mass production. The smaller spans of control of first-line supervisors in unit or process industry tend to evoke comparatively co-operative and harmonious behaviour. Process technology itself has its effect, giving rise to notably less tension and pressure than mass production technology where products are manufactured intermittently and often against a quota system (13).

Out of this has grown the "socio-technical systems" approach. At its core, systems theory is concerned with the ways in which a given set of elements is related, i.e.

the set of relationships which define the "organization". The major components within an organization are the technological aspects concerning the machinery, the particular method of working and the social aspects that involve the interpersonal relations between the employees. These components are interlinked with each other and changes in one will automatically cause changes in the other. The whole system can be perceived as a "socio-technical" system and its total effectiveness will depend on the balance achieved between the social and the technological components. Within the system, there must be an appropriate organization for people and materials. Equally, the system must be able to respond, both reactively and proactively, to external market forces (14).

Systems theory and the empirical evidence of this school (15) have particular importance for the management of change and innovation. However, the concept of a "socio-technical system", especially as shown in Trist's coal-mining studies (16) and Rice's work in India (17), also highlights the problem that arises in seeking an optimum level of technological usage. Since the emergence of mass production methods in organizations, the great problem has been how to make the most effective use of technology and also provide jobs that enable people to work in ways that are compatible with their emotional needs. The essential and ongoing debate about the quality of life (18) and motivation (19) is based on the assumption that forms of work organization can be found which provide the best match between task and human need. What all such theories have in common is the notion that the effectiveness of organizations depends upon their capacity to satisfy these needs and at the same time develop the proper structure to meet the non-human criterion of technical efficiency and output.

It is my aim, then, to show that, by taking Douglas' concepts of grid and group, one can develop a theory of organization by which it would be feasible: (1) to measure

the differences in people's orientations to work; and (2) to identify the type of organization structure in which views of a particular kind would most likely be accommodated. The approach I have outlined in the last chapter will now be extended to consider the changes that are taking place in the hotel industry. The implications for industrial relations and management policy will be considered too when I come to examine how training, recruitment, selection, trade union representation and labour turnover vary according to the two dimensions.

3. Recent trends in the hotel industry

If we take the management structure and those who work in the traditional small independently run hotel, we find that management-staff relations are based on a high degree of individual contract making. Thus we find a considerable scope for individual autonomy - and those employed in such hotels tend to have an entrepreneurial attitude towards work. To say this is to echo J.P. Henderson whose study of the American hotel and lodging industry provides an interesting insight into the way small independent hotels are run. In examining the practice of tipping, Henderson said:

> "A worker who receives seventy five per cent of his income from tips is not an employee in the usual sense but merely a private entrepreneur doing business on somebody else's property ...It is questionable whether there is really a wage contract or whether it would not be more accurate to say the worker has merely been given permission to do business on the premises." (20)

I would argue that fiddles, knock-off and other informal additions to pay serve a similar function to tips. The amount received varies a great deal according to individual ability or merit. How well people are able to compete against others within a given grouping is important too. Collusive arrangements between management and staff may develop - the collusion being that preference will generally be shown to staff management values more than

others, both in their allocation of high tippers and their tolerance of those who practise the fiddle. One advantage for management is that they can use this control to stave off any collective action that is seen as limiting their own autonomy. What, in effect, I am saying is that individuality, competition and entrepreneuriality have a free rein but at the expense of group values and group solidarity. In Douglas' terms, this kind of hotel is low grid and weak group.

With the entry of conglomerate and brewing companies into the industry, many hotels have developed a more bureaucratic form of management structure - a development that has led to formalized personnel procedures and a tendency for costs, wages and profit levels to be subject to centralized control. This has resulted in a reduction of the individual autonomy of the unit manager who is no longer able to grant informal rewards to retain key personnel; at the same time it limits the autonomy of the rank and file worker because he has no scope for individual contract making. Instead there are incremental procedures for advancement by which a worker's income steadily increases over time and largely due to rank. Work itself is organized according to a rigid breakdown of specialist functions. Workroles are formally differentiated and interdependent and stratification is arranged from above according to such criteria as age or seniority rather than personal qualities. If workers have strong feelings of loyalty towards the manager, it is because each individual gladly accepts his place and function within the organization as part of a team - striving to achieve a common objective rather than a private end (21). What, in short, we find here is strong group and high grid.

It is tempting to equate this trend towards large conglomerate hotels with bureaucracy and to leave the matter there. There would be little need for further argument if all conglomerate hotels possessed the same management structure and if the movement away from the small

independently run hotels could be plotted along a graph showing more and more the effects on the division of labour and workplace behaviour. But given that the contrast of conglomerate with small traditional hotels is crucial, it should not deceive us into thinking that these are the only forms of management structure. Indeed there are a large number of small independently owner-managed hotels in which individual autonomy and job discretion are rated highly but where group influences and group commitments are also found. These are independent hotels in which a large element of the workforce "live in", and individuals closely identify with the group, whether it is with co-workers or with the wider organization. Here, essentially, is a context strong on group and low grid.

Finally, there are a small number of hotels which have a strong element of bureaucratic control but lack any sort of group support or control. These are predominantly the more prestigious London establishments - The Ritz, The Dorchester, The Savoy and so on - which have a highly structured pattern of work organization but at the same time generally involve people working in isolation. Highly personalized service calls for such a high degree of functional specialism that corporate unity is not able to flourish. At the same time, autonomy is a rare commodity - particularly in the lower ranks where people are required to accept the constraints placed upon them. Such hotels are high on grid and weak group.

Using the statistics gathered for "Hotel Prospects to 1985" (22), we can try and estimate the overall distribution of hotels from now until 1990 in terms of this four-fold classification (see Figs. 1 and 2). The essential point is that hotel and catering (and probably this applies to other industries as well) should not simply be considered as a single industry in which blanket solutions can somehow be found to alleviate industrial relations problems and develop managerial policy. The implications for training, recruitment, selection, trade union representation, labour

Figure 1. Estimated distribution of hotels by grid and group, Great Britain, 1974

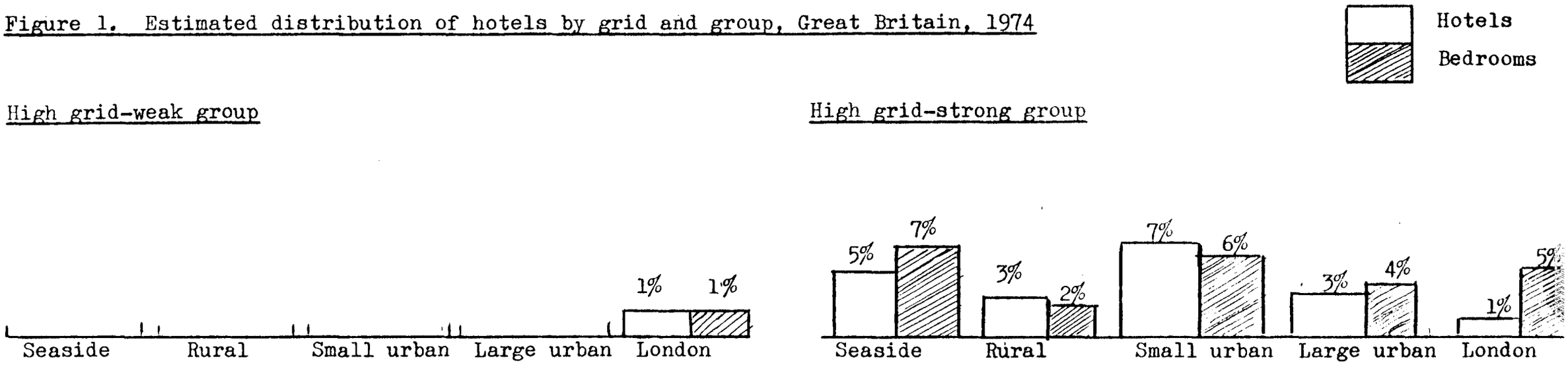
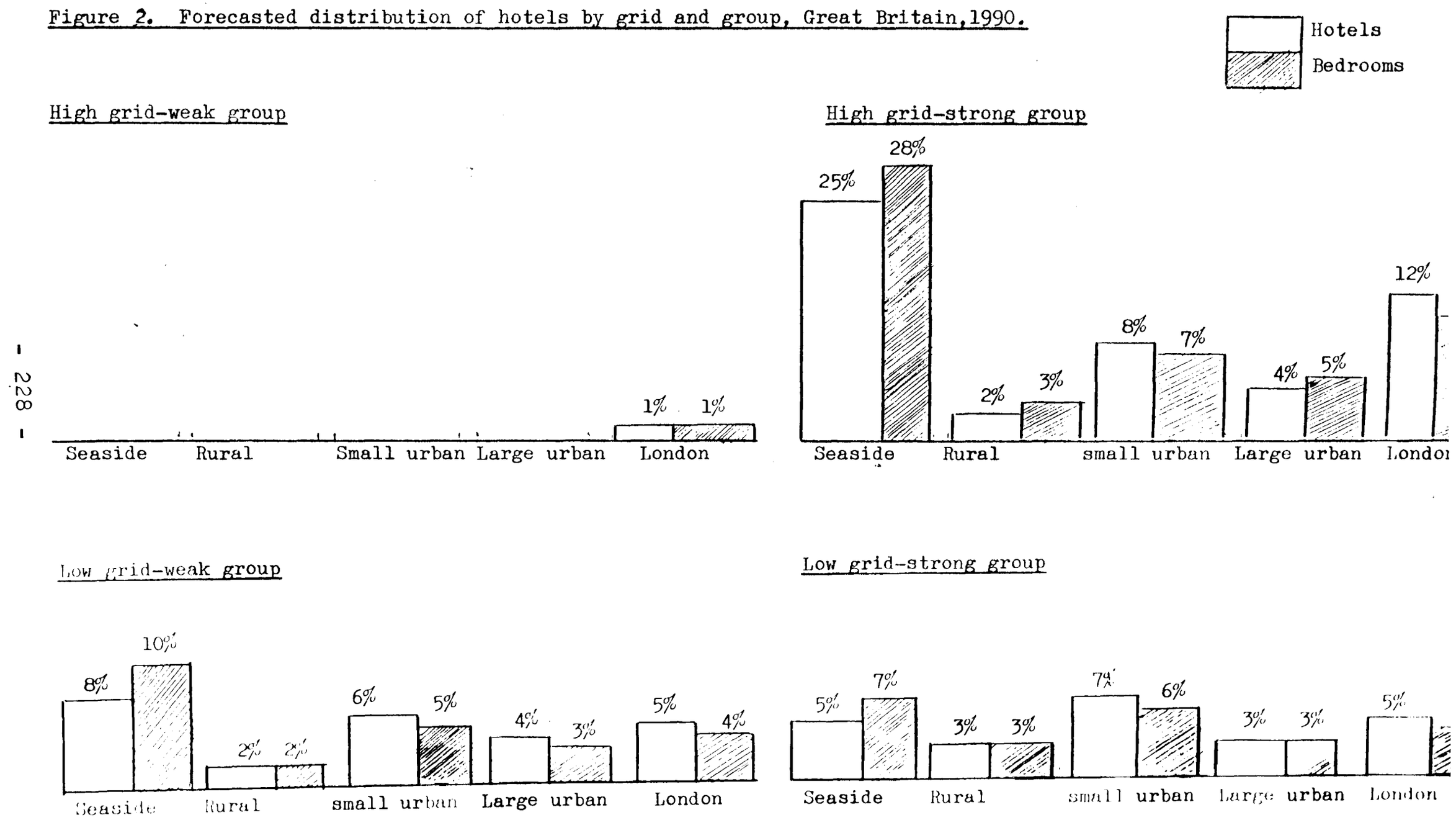


Figure 2. Forecasted distribution of hotels by grid and group, Great Britain, 1990.



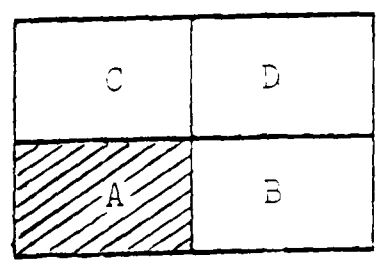
turnover and employee participation would seem to be quite different in the four categories.

4. Management policy and industrial relations

What I am saying is that there are no standard management principles valid for all types of organization; and though certain policies may work in a particular type of organization, this is no guarantee that the same policies will be equally effective when applied to another type. Obviously if we can identify and develop a classification that provides a method of analysis for understanding the nature of the industrial organization, we can at least suggest policies that ought to ensure success. Grid and group, I have argued, would provide such a method. It now remains for us to consider the main features of the four occupational contexts that emerge with this typology.

In what follows I shall present evidence assuming that these quadrants are pure or "ideal" types. It is recognized that many organizations are not as clearly defined or defineable as the schema would suggest. But it is the most extreme cases that are the most interesting and informative and we shall therefore concentrate upon them.

A. LOW GRID/WEAK GROUP



This is the quadrant of the small traditional independent hotel. Individual differences make for disproportionate returns and flair, competition and entrepreneurality have a free rein. Accordingly, we find a large number of workers here whose informal rewards form a

substantial element of their total income - preferential treatment being accorded to those whom management values more than others. Workers tend to rely upon a particular manager who offers fiddled additions to pay and access to customers as incentives.

What happens, then, if the present manager should leave and be replaced by a new one? First, there is likely to be a general movement from the hotel of large numbers of staff - perhaps eight or ten waiters in a dining room might all decide to leave at the same time. The new manager or head waiter loses their goodwill and support because he is not aware of the individual bargaining power of his newly met staff and fails to administer the different weightings of the T.R.S. in the same way as the old manager. Core workers will especially suffer because their previously strong bargaining position now disappears under the new regime - and so large numbers of key personnel are likely to leave the hotel. Second, though perhaps less significant, there may also be a movement in the opposite direction of workers following their old boss to his new appointment. Indeed the new manager might try to introduce staff from his last post as "strategic replacements" (23). However, though he may benefit from having their personal support in the short term, all too often this has the effect of promoting antagonism between the different factions of the workforce - with the result that the older staff become so embittered by the manager's preference for his own people that they leave the hotel in even larger numbers.

High levels of turnover cost a great deal in terms of recruitment and training, not to mention the cost due to the disruption of the hotel's services (24). If turnover continues to be high, it is partly because the nature of informal rewards and the purpose they fulfil is still misunderstood. What needs to be done is to eliminate the need for individual contract making but replace it with something that provides similar opportunities for competition and entrepreneurality as workers presently enjoy in

their job. One way in which this might be achieved is by the introduction of individual incentive schemes aimed at rewarding workers for special skills and good performance. Many forms of incentive payments have been successfully tried in other industries but those operated in the hotel and catering industry have been largely limited to the bonuses and commissions which a head of a department can earn through achieving growth profit targets. What is being suggested here is that staff as well as management should be paid according to results by comparing their performance with forecasts, targets, standards or budgets on an indivual basis (25).

Because workers have always traditionally held an entrepreneurial attitude towards their work, it is not hard to understand why trade unionism has been resisted for so long in hotel and catering. Management has been able to deter the growth of collectivism by manipulating the allocation of informal rewards in favour of its core staff. It is these core workers who offer the best and most likely chance of establishing stable trade union organization in this industry. But those who are willing to lend support to trade unions will generally be guided by considerations of the individual benefits that collective action might bring, and in terms of the amount they receive in total weekly earnings, core workers are not badly off. What they do say causes them considerable anxiety, however, is the lack of security that their jobs afford them. The best prospect for unionisation, then, is not, as in the past, to argue about basic pay but instead to focus upon the overall advantages of having a formal contract of employment.

These may be briefly summarised as follows:

(i) Holiday and sickness benefits fully guaranteed. Hotel workers who depend for a large proportion of their income upon informal rewards face a substantial drop in wages whenever they are absent from work. No matter what the reason

(illness, holiday, etc.) if they should fail to attend work, they can only expect to receive their basic wage - they will get nothing of their individual contract benefits. One advantage of a proper employment contract, therefore, is the protection it affords against contingencies of this kind.

(ii) Protection against casual dismissal. So long as workers must depend on illegitimate or quasi-legitimate rewards for part of their income, they will always be an easy target for casual dismissal. Given that anyone caught fiddling can be dismissed, management may take advantage of the situation to eliminate those whom it regards as trouble-makers. Mars and Mitchell have evidence that one hotel chain uses this technique to scapegoat emergent union organisers (26). Another advantage of a proper employment contract, then, is that workers will not be quite so vulnerable.

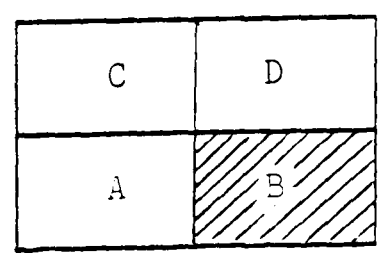
(iii) Mortgage and cheap credit facilities. Core workers may substantially benefit from the untaxable income they can earn. But because of their low visible earnings, in effect this means that they are less likely to become home-owners - the best opportunity for capital accumulation that most workers have. In any case they cannot raise a mortgage on their fiddled income so this limits the value of the property they can afford. Nor can they obtain cheap credit facilities in the same way as workers who enjoy more visible rewards. Having a formal employment contract, therefore, makes it easier to raise capital and get the best return from their income.

(iv) Work hours and conditions. Because pay in this industry comprises a wide range of

> resources, not all of which are explicit or easily discernible, it is often difficult for an individual to equate hours worked with rewards received; there is also little effective basis for collective bargaining to take place. Increasingly, hotel workers are coming to demand proper employment contracts coupled with a written document that specifies their duties. The advantage is that workers will no longer be obliged to perform tasks or work longer hours than specified in their contract - and should they be asked, it is not something that they must readily consent to do.

Workers in this quadrant will vote with their feet rather than raise complaints with management. Any notion that consultative procedures may lead to a better understanding of the potential trouble-spots and causes of irritation and frustration would, therefore, be misguided. Instead it would probably be better if management tried to interview employees when they leave to find out the reasons for their departure. The numbers and types of people leaving an organization can be a valuable source from which to learn where improvements in management policy should be made (27).

B. LOW GRID/STRONG GROUP



Not all small independently run hotels can be regarded as low grid/weak group. As I have already suggested, some permit a considerable degree of autonomy but with group influences. What happens in this situation is that

workers obtain fiddled benefits, but here it does not so much establish their loyalty towards a particular manager as reinforce their support for the workgroup as a whole. Informal rewards help to bind members of the workgroup together and mark the status they attach to each other and their own ratings of tasks. The classic case is a smaller owner-managed hotel where a high proportion of workers "live in".

Labour turnover tends to be high during the first six months of employment because many workers will leave if they can get better pay and conditions elsewhere. But often the rate of turnover will decline dramatically because those who survive the first six months then tend to stay for several years. Those who leave in the greatest numbers will tend to be peripheral workers. Once workers have entered the core, they will generally be encouraged by the greater informal rewards they receive to stay on.

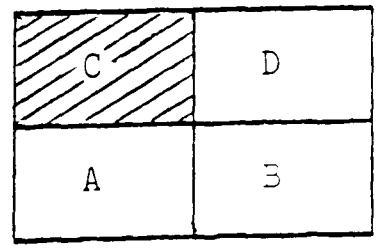
One way in which it might be possible to reduce the high turnover is to introduce "multi-skilling". Thus a waiter might be trained for other types of work so he can usefully be employed, say, as a chef when his primary occupational skills are not needed. Multi-skilling has the great advantage that it enables management to recruit its staff from a much wider field so, for example, if waiters are in plentiful supply, they can be employed and then trained to do jobs for which labour is not available. At the same time it creates a more flexible basis for co-ordinating the hotel's resources so management can cope more easily with the varying demands. From the workers' point of view, the effect is to invest a person's job with wider responsibilities - to change it in ways which lead to an "enlargement" and "enrichment" of discretion (28). Should such changes be effective, it might help to relieve monotony and reduce labour turnover and absence. More important, it might help to reduce split shift working which, in turn, should make it easier to recruit staff (29).

Again the prospect of union recruitment is poor

because core workers stand to lose so much in real terms from having a formal employment contract. Moreover, because workers in this quadrant have a strong identification with the workgroup or organization, union officials are seen as "outsiders" - and find it all the more difficult to draw support from the local labour force. Perhaps the best prospect for unionisation lies, therefore, in a strong shop floor organization. Acting from his position within the organization, the shop steward or staff representative may play a vital part, both in the recruitment of and negotiation for staff at the local level. In effect, this means that the union official will remain outside on the sideline - his role being to advise and step in as a reserve force whenever the need arises, as well as disseminate the advantages of having a formal employment contract.

Again there is little chance that formal consultative procedures will have much success. However, given their strong commitment to the workgroup, staff can and will take up matters of concern to them if informal channels are available for doing so. Every effort should therefore be made to encourage staff to pursue their complaints by a direct approach to their immediate supervisor or manager. If this should fail, staff representatives might be chosen to take up their complaints with management at a higher level.

C. HIGH GRID/WEAK GROUP



These are jobs that isolate workers and in which individual autonomy is extremely low. Workers in this quadrant are stratified and their orientation to work focuses on the craft or professional skills they require to perform specialist tasks. A very small proportion of

hotels, namely the most prestigious, fall into this category. Good examples are The Dorchester, The Savoy, The Ritz and Claridges.

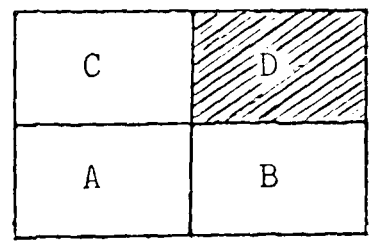
If labour turnover is high amongst peripheral workers, it hardly poses a problem because these extremely prestigious establishments have such an international reputation that they can always attract a steady stream of labour. Only those who stay long enough to obtain higher rank and enter the core develop a long-term commitment and they often remain for many years. But given that the number of jobs at higher rank are not sufficient to meet the needs of all who wish to achieve them, it is quite understandable why such a high number should leave as soon as they have an opportunity to exploit their skills and experience elsewhere. In these circumstances, there is no hope of encouraging people to stay but at least the intermittent and irregular nature of their movement can be controlled through the provision of special training. What we presently find is that each worker is taught the basic rudiments of his craft or profession by an immediate superior but very often people have to feel their way and pick up the rules themselves - as they go along and on the job. Courses that already exist in technical colleges cannot meet the highly specialized needs of this type of establishment. Instead what ought to be done is to encourage these hotels to provide off-the-job training schemes for their staff - by arrangement between groups of hotels (as already tried to a limited extent).

Here again, unionisation is not likely to take root. It is only amongst the small minority of people holding higher rank that trade unions can hope to attract long-term support. Again every effort should be made to draw attention to the advantages of having a proper employment contract. But so far as the larger numbers of the workforce are concerned, the best outcome can only be a short-lived success because of the high turnover amongst the lower levels. However much effort is made to attract support,

unions are never likely to make inroads because their membership base is so unstable.

Nor are these hotels likely to have procedures for staff to raise matters of concern. This is partly because these hotels have existed so long without any such procedures that management fear a change may do nothing but rock the very foundations upon which they are built. It is partly because these hotels can always attract labour and staff are reluctant to raise complaints if it means that they might lose their jobs or the reference they require. All methods of consultation will therefore be eschewed - and probably nowhere more so than here because these hotels are renowned for their die-hard conservatism.

D. HIGH GRID/STRONG GROUP



This is the quadrant of the large conglomerate owned hotel. Here hotels are also organized into work-groups that are highly stratified and interdependent. But workers will generally have a much stronger commitment to the organization than those described in C above: partly because there are well defined incremental procedures for advancement which encourage them to stay longer; partly because those holding higher office tend to leave for higher quality hotels which, in turn, creates greater opportunities for advancement within the organization.

The danger that may arise is that within this tightly structured system the unit manager will try to operate with the same set of informal rules traditionally found at plant level. In order to achieve stability through the introduction of formal bureaucratic procedures, all workers must be given the same opportunity for advancement.

Individual contract making must therefore not be allowed to interfere with the allocation of rewards - and senior management, especially in conglomerates, should try to impress upon their subordinates at local levels the need for consistency at all levels.

Here I would suggest that though day-release courses are available at technical colleges for trainee chefs and trainee waiters, it might be cheaper and more effective to provide on-the-job training for staff. In the first place, it might help to attract and retain staff if they know they will receive proper instruction on the job. Secondly, it might be easier to apply what is being taught if the instructor himself is familiar with the workplace methods and work relations that prevail. Thirdly, if arrangements were made with the more presigious establishments for people of higher rank to be appointed on promotion, staff might stay longer and leave by agreement and at a time mutually convenient to the employer and the employee (30). This means that the movement of staff can generally be kept under control. Moreover, if it is a conglomerate company that runs a chain containing a large number of high quality establishments, it might be possible to divert people toward these hotels and thus prevent good staff from leaving the organization.

To take the same argument as for B, the best advantage for unionisation lies in organizing labour on a shop floor basis. Given their strong commitment to the work-group, people will respond better if union representatives or shop stewards are appointed to represent their interests and negotiate on their behalf. Indeed, if hotels contain a strong element of foreign labour, it might be better to establish separate groups based on nationality and appoint leaders to represent them. Bear in mind, however, that some employers have tried to overcome the potentially alienating effects of large-scale conglomerate hotels by offering their staff better working conditions (31). If trade unionism is to make inroads, efforts must therefore

TABLE 2. Grid-group analysis of industrial relations in the hotel industry

Key: (1) attitudes to work (2) labour turnover (3) recruitment and training.
(4) unionisation (5) consultation with management

HIGH GRID/WEAK GROUP

(1) Cosmopolitan orientation: major reference group of employee is within a craft or professional group outside the organisation; short-term commitment to the organisation.

(2) Lower ranks regard their limited stay as an apprenticeship that defers greater rewards until later; whilst those holding higher office tend to stay.

(3) Off-the-job training to attract and retain recruits; especially off-the-job training by arrangement with similar high quality establishments.

(4) Good prospect of unionisation only amongst stable minority of higher ranks - if attention is focused on the advantages of a formal contract rather than basic pay.

(5) All formal and informal methods of consultation likely to be eschewed at all levels because it is generally felt that staff have no need to discuss complaints or policy matters.

HIGH GRID/STRONG GROUP

(1) Local bureaucratic orientation: work seen as a service to organisation in return for steadily increasing income, social status, long-term security; incremental procedures of advancement.

(2) Lower ranks stay if provision is made for them to achieve higher positions within the organization; whilst those holding higher office tend to leave for higher quality establishments.

(3) On-the-job training to attract and retain recruits; need to control movement of higher ranks by an explicit local agreement with higher quality establishments.

(4) Good prospect of unionisation at all levels - if recruitment is directed towards organizing cohesive and stable elements of the workforce on a local shop floor basis.

(5) Strong preference for formal methods of consultation amongst the staff: need for regular meetings between staff representatives, heads of department and management to discuss complaints, etc.

LOW GRID/WEAK GROUP

(1) Entrepreneurial orientation: work seen as the economic return for effort; involvement in the organization only maintained for reasons of self-interest.

(2) General movement from the hotel of large numbers of staff; core workers may follow their old boss to his new position because loyalty is felt towards him and not towards the organization.

(3) Competitive individual incentive schemes; payments may be related to results by comparing performance with forecasts, targets, standards or budgets on an individual basis.

(4) Unions are never likely to make great inroads because labour forces are too segmented to be organized on a collective basis; but the best prospect is to convince core workers of the need for a p oper employment contract.

(5) No method of consultation likely to be effective because workers prefer to vote with their feet rather than raise complaints; employees leaving should be interviewed to discover the real reasons for their departure.

LOW GRID/STRONG GROUP

(1) Local workgroup orientation: work seen as an activity valued for itself; close identification with a group, whether this is with co-workers or with the wider organization.

(2) Peripheral workers leave for better pay and conditions elsewhere unless they stay long enough to enter the core; whilst those who survive this period tend to stay.

(3) Multi skilling: staff with a special knowledge of one task may be trained in other occupational duties so that higher discretion will be built into the individual's work.

(4) Poor prospect of union recruitment because core staff stand to lose so much in real terms from a collective contract; but with a strong local shop steward it may be possible to take advantage of the more stable situation.

(5) Informal procedures for consultation likely to be favoured by staff; need to encourage employees to discuss complaints, etc., by a direct approach to their immediate superior or manager.

be made to organize the growing numbers of people largely disillusioned with the benefits of company management.

It is in the large conglomerate hotels that formal methods of consultation are likely to meet with greatest success. This is because the tightly organized structure of workgroups that we find here is conducive to having formally achieved means of seeking solutions to problems that might arise. The advantage of formal procedures is that they create rights for the staff, and consultations do not have to be sought as a favour (32). Regular meetings should therefore be held at which staff representatives, heads of departments and management should all be invited to attend; their purpose being to settle disputes and discuss matters over a wide range of concerns including the working methods, conditions and pay within the organization. To summarize it all in diagrammetic form, see Table 2.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. H.C. Triandis, "Attitude and Attitude Change", New York: Wiley, 1971.

2. For a more detailed analysis of the same phenomenon, see L. Festinger, "A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance", New York: Row Peterson, 1957. Cognitive theory is, perhaps, the most influential of the major theories of human behaviour that have been developed in general psychology and then applied to groups. Strictly speaking it is not a theory but a "point of view" that concentrates on the way in which information is received and integrated by the individual, and how this influences behaviour.

3. A. Fox, "Industrial Sociology and Industrial Relations", Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, Research Paper No. 3, London: HMSO, 1966, pp8-9.

4. A. W. Gouldner, "Wildcat strike", New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965 (first published 1954).

5. A. Fox, op. cit., 1966, p11.

6. See, for example, E. Spicer (ed.), "Human Problems in Technological Changes", New York: Wiley, 1952; and C.A. Carnall, "The Evaluation of Work Organisation Change", Human Relations, Vol. 33, No. 12, 1980, pp885-916.

7. J. Woodward, "Management and Technology", Problems of Progress in Industry, No. 3, London: HMSO, 1958.

8. T. Burns and G.M. Stalker, "The Management of Innovation", London: Tavistock, 1961.

9. A useful analysis of modern organization theories may be found in D. S. Pugh, "Modern Organization Theory", Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 66, No. 4, pp235-51.

10. M. Weber, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", London: Allen and Unwin, 1930.

11. T. Burns and G.M. Stalker, op. cit., 1961, esp. pp119-125.

12. J. Woodward, op. cit., 1958; and "Industrial Organization: Theory and Practice", 1965, p60.

13. So, too, Blauner found that, in his study of the effect of technology on workforce alienation, the degree of alienation was not directly related to the technical complexity of the production system. Industrial relations in firms at the two extremes of the scale tended to be better than in those located in the middle range. See R. Blauner, "Alienation and Freedom", Phoenix Books, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

14. In other words, the organization is an "open system" in that it exists within an environment and must continually import energy, materials and people from that environment. These imports are used within the system to create whatever goods or services are being produced, and then exported back into the environment with an added value. As will all open systems, the organization maintains a steady state only as long as it continually changes and adapts to the forces outside. Robert de Board gives a useful overview of work based on the "socio-technical systems" approach in his book, "The Psychoanalysis of Organizations", London: Tavistock, 1978. See also S. Glaser and M.I. Halliday, "Organizations as Systems", Human Relations, Vol. 33, No. 12, 1980, pp917-928.

15. Many of the leading experimental and theoretical psychologists using the socio-technical systems approach in the U.K. have been influenced by the work of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations. See, for example, W.R. Bion, "Experiences in Groups", London: Tavistock Publications, 1968; E. Jaques, "Social Systems as a Defence against Persecutory and Depressive Anxiety", in M. Klein, P. Heimann and R. Money-Kyrle (eds.), "New

Directions in Psychoanalysis", London: Tavistock Publications, 1955; K. Lewin, "Regression, Retrogression and Development", in D. Cartwright (ed.), "Field Theory in Social Science", London: Tavistock Publications, 1952.

16. E.L. Trist and K.W. Bamforth, "Some Social and Psychological Consequences of the Longwall Method of Coal-cutting", Human Relations, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1951, pp3-38.

17. A.K. Rice, "Productivity and Social Organizations: The Ahmedabad Experiment", London: Tavistock Publications, 1958.

18. The Government began its active interest in problems of work motivation and job satisfaction in 1970 when, at the request of the NATO Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society, it sponsored an inquiry into relevant research, available information and "the state of the art" in the western world. Following Dr. N.A.B. Wilson's report, "On the Quality of Working Life" (London: HMSO, 1973), the Government set up a Tripartite Steering Group on Job Satisfaction; and, in October 1973, the Tripartite Steering Group set up a research programme, based on planned experiments in a number of selected industrial and commercial settings, to examine how the content and organization of work could be changed to meet individual needs for satisfaction from work. Details of the research programme can be obtained from the Work Research Unit, Department of Employment, Almack House, 26 King Street, London, SW1Y 6RB. For a useful summary and comprehensive guide to work carried out in this field, see M. Weir (ed.) "Job Satisfaction: Challenge and Response in Modern Britain", Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1976.

19. Maslow and Herzberg, for example, hold that all behaviour can be understood in terms of the needs that people are constantly striving to satisfy. See A.H. Maslow, "Motivation and Personality", New York: Harper & Row, 1970; and F. Herzberg, et al. "The Motivation to Work", New York: Wiley & Sons Inc., 1959.

20. J.P. Henderson, "Labour Market Institutions and Wages in the Lodging Industry", Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Michigan State University, 1965, p61.

21. The cliches of this ideology are too familiar to need emphasis. Perhaps, as Fox points out, they reach their high-water mark in the proceedings of the Industrial Co-partnership Association to which many large companies are affiliated:

> "Under the aegis of this organization, the top-level managers of our economy urge upon each other the crucial importance of inspiring leadership, of promoting harmony of purpose with their work-people, and of building up loyalty and 'esprit de corps' ... It publishes pamphlets under such titles as 'All

on the Same Side' and 'Partnership in Industry', the latter of which argues that 'In the final analysis the problem of good industrial relations is a psychological problem. The ultimate aim should be to create a true sense of partnership; of unity; almost of family' " (A.Fox, op. cit., 1966, p3).

22. National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Hotel Prospects to 1985: Research Findings", London: HMSO, 1976.

23. A term coined by A.W. Gouldner in his study of a wildcat strike: see op. cit., 1965.

24. The figure considered by NEDO as being a conservative estimate of the cost in 1973 was an average of £100 per recruit. And it has long been suggested that measures should be taken to make the industry more attractive to workers and to produce a more stable labour situation. See National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee for Hotels and Catering, "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London: HMSO, 1975, p24; and Commission on Industrial Relations, "The Hotel and Catering Industry", Part I, Report No. 23, London: HMSO, 1971, p50.

25. This is not to say that income should entirely hinge upon such schemes but that, over and above a certain guaranteed minimum wage, it should be possible for people to earn more through individual differences in merit or effort. See M.J. Boella, "Personnel Management in the Hotel and Catering Industry", London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1974, pp 94-95.

26. G. Mars and P. Mitchell, "Catering for the Low Paid: Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Unit Bulletin No. 15, 1977 (June).

27. See M.J. Boella, op. cit., 1974, pp112-113.

28. For a useful discussion of these concepts, see A. Fox "Man Mismanagement", London: Hutchinson, 1974, pp114-121.

29. See I.B. Knight, "Patterns of Labour Mobility in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Report on the Findings of a Survey of Hotel and Catering Staff for the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board, 1971, p172.

30. A good example of how this can operate is given in G. Mars, D. Bryant, P. Mitchell, "Manpower Problems in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Farnborough: Saxon House, 1979, pp45-50.

31. Sometimes referred to as the "welfare approach". the idea is to improve the worker's physical environment so as to increase working efficiency: providing free nourishing food in canteens, subsidized lodging, special concessions on the purchase of particular goods or services, facilities for a wide range of sporting and social activities.

along, perhaps, with other fringe benefits such as pensions and medical care. See A. Fox, op. cit., 1974, pp56-62.

32. NEDO, op. cit., 1975, p35.

APPENDICES

TABLE 1. A typical menu in hotel 1: £2.50 incl. V.A.T. and Service Charge, August 1976

Course 1:	Seafood salad - Pineapple Cocktail - Chilled Fruit Juices - Creme Parmentiere - Consomme Julienne
Course 2: (hot)	Poached Fillet of Sole Bonne Femme - Roast Fylde Turkey a la Anglaise - Entrecote Minute Steak Chasseur Cauliflower Polonaise, Buttered Garden Peas, Fondant Potatoes
Course 2: (cold)	Roast Pork - Ham - Ox Tongue - Cheese - Roast Beef - Grosvenor Pie Fresh salads in Season
Course 3	Fresh Cream Gateau - Apricot Conde - Cream Caramel - Assorted Dairy Ices - Cheese & Biscuits - Coffee

TABLE 2 Table d'hote menu in hotel 2: £2.50 incl. V.A.T. and Service Charge, October 1976

Course 1:	Grapefruit Cocktail - Mortadella Italienne - Chilled Orange, Grapefruit or Tomato Juice
Course 2:	Consomme Brunoise - Cream of Vegetable
Course 3: (hot)	Roast Chicken a l'Anglaise - Escalope Provencale - Grilled Halibut Maitre d'Hotel Brussel Sprouts, Garden Peas, Parsley Potatoes
Course 3: (cold)	Roast Turkey - Boiled Ham - Ox Tongue Assorted Salads
Course 4:	Sherry Trifle - Coupe Glace Alexandra - Various Ices or Cheese & Biscuits

TABLE 3 Table d'hote menu in hotel 3: £7.50 incl. V.A.T., Service Charge and Orchestra Charge, January 1977

Course 1:	Melon Rafraichi - Avocado Vinaigrette - Coctail de Crab - Mousse de Saumon Fume - Pate Maison - Petite Marmite
Course 2:	Supreme de Fletain Argenteuil - Aile de Poulet Josephine - Mignon de Boeuf Cafe de Paris - Minute Steak Grille - Escalope de Veal Bouquetiere de Legumes
Course 3:	Desserts ou Fromages aux Choix

TABLE 4 Table d'hote menu in hotel 4: incl. V.A.T. and Service Charge, Cover Charge (50p) extra, May 1977

Course 1:	Consomme au Fumet de Tortue aux Paillettes (90p) - Veloute Andalouse (90p).
Course 2:	Salade de Scampi a l'Avocat (£1.90) - Mousse de Haddock Fume Mimosa (£1.30) - Vol au Vent Toulousaine (£1.75) - Oeufs Brouilles Chatillon (£1.10) - Filet de Plie St. Germain (£2.10)
Course 3:	Delice de Sole Francine (£5.80) - Contrefilet Roti Yorkshire (£4.85) - Irish Stew aux Legumes (£3.80) - Hachis de Dinde Colbert (£3.40) - Ballotine de Volaille Hongroise (£3.30) - Steak de Veau Grille Bouchere (£4.15) A choice of two vegetables: Chou Vert, Petits Pois St. Cloud, Epinards Menagere Potatoes: Persillees, Croquettes, Mousseline
Course 4:	Bordure Diplomat (95p), Cassata Veronica (95p).

TABLE 5 Table d'hote menu in hotel 5: £3.95 incl. V.A.T. and Service Charge, October 1977

Course 1:	Chilled Fruit Juices - Iced Melon - Sardine and Egg Salad - Welsh Broth
Course 2:	Whole Plaice Grilled and Garnished with Parsley and Lemon - Entrecote Chasseur - Lamb Cutlet Reforme Assorted Cold Meats and Seasonal Salad Selection of Freshly Cooked Vegetables
Course 3:	A choice of sweet or cheese and biscuits from the trolley

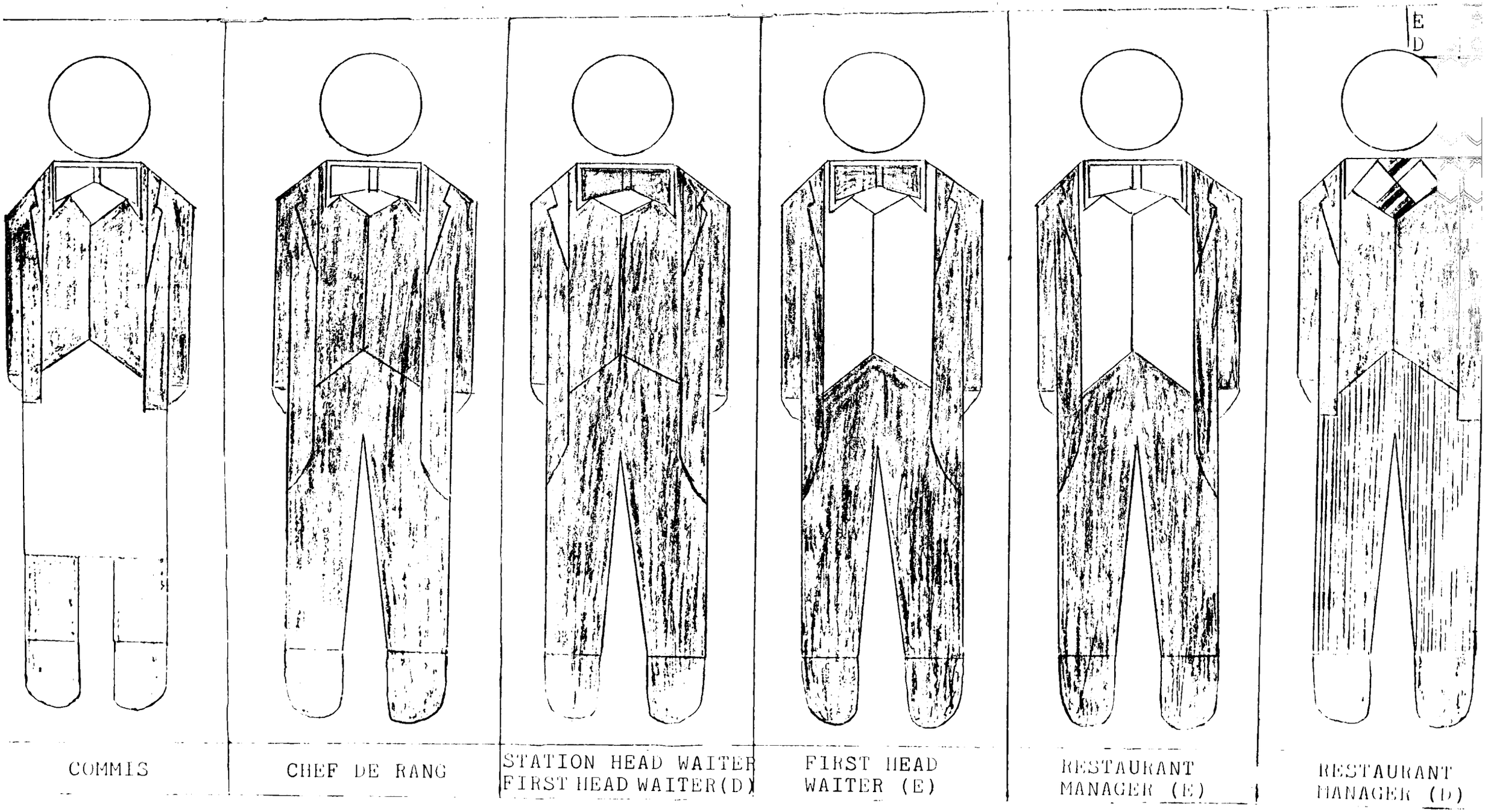


Figure 1. The traditional style of dress worn by different ranks

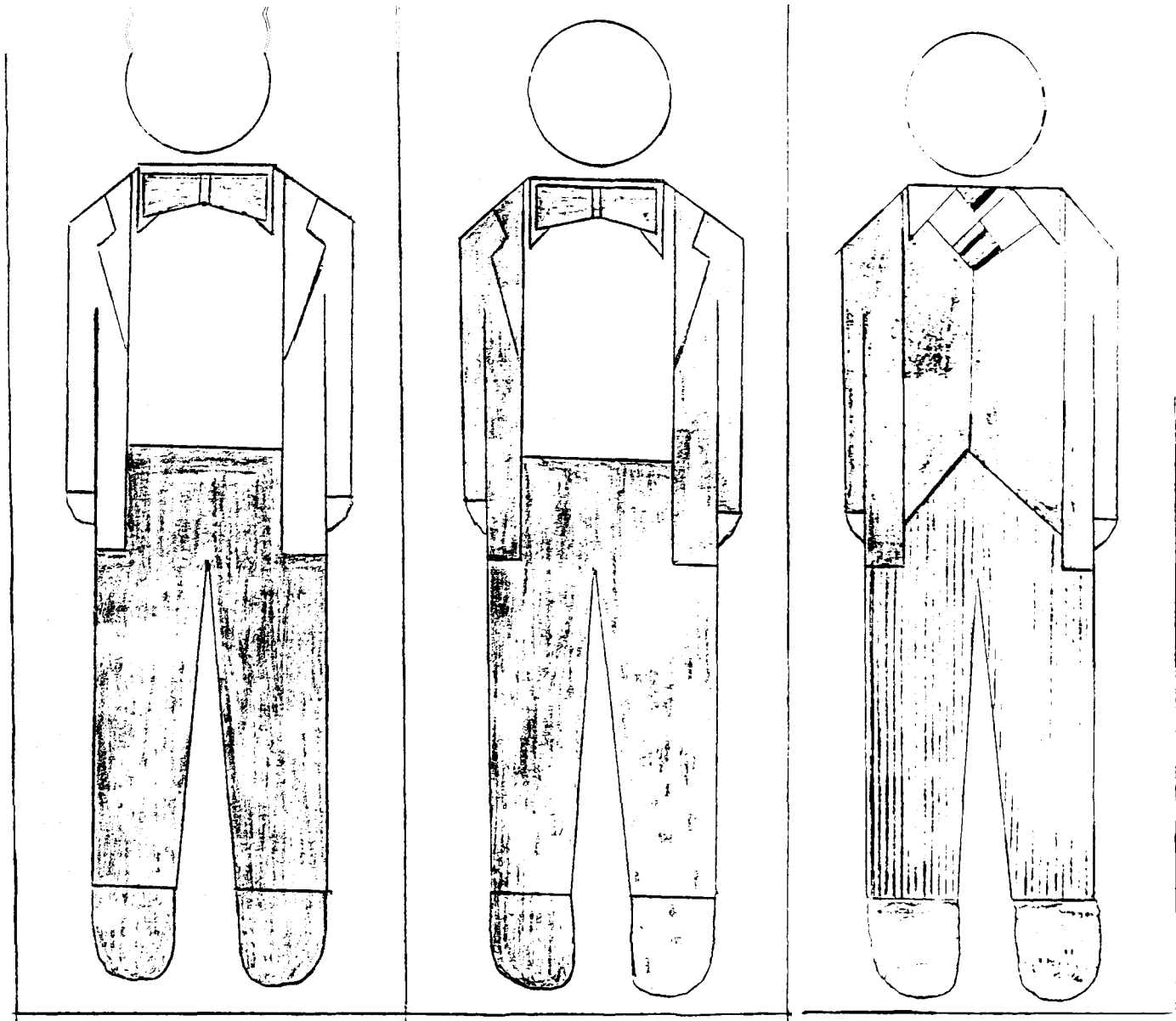


Figure 2. Present-day dress typically worn by different ranks

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balchin, N(1953), "Private Interests", Boston, Houghton - Mifflyn

Barnes, A (1954), "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish", Human Relations, 7, pp 39-58

Bayliss, F.J.(1962), "British Wages Councils", Oxford, Basil Blackwell

Becker, H.S., "Social Class Variations in the Teacher - Pupil Relationship", Journal of Educational Sociology, XXV, p459 et seq

Becker, H.S.(1963), "Outsiders", New York, The Free Press

Becker, H.S., Geer B., et al(eds)(1968), "Institutions and the Person", Chicago

Bell, D(1974), "The Coming of Post-Industrial Society", London, Heinemann

Berne, E(1961), "Transactional Analysis in Psychotherapy", Evergreen

Berne, E(1971), "Games People Play: the Psychology of Human Relationships", Harmondsworth, Penguin

Bernstein, B(1974), "Class, Codes and Control: Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language", 1, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul

Bigus, O (1972), "The Milkman and his Customer", Urban Life and Culture, 1, pp 131-65

Bion, WR(1968), "Experiences in Groups", London, Tavistock Publications

Blauner, R(1964), "Alteration and Freedom", Phoenix Books

Boella, M(1974), "Personnel Management in the Hotel and Catering Industry", London, Barrie and Jenkins

Bott E(1971), "Family and Social Network", London, Tavistock

Bowey, A.M.(1976), "The Sociology of Organisations", London, Hodder and Stoughton

Bradney, P(1957), "The Joking Relationship in Industry", Human Relations, 10, pp 179-187

Burns, T and Stalker, G.M.(1961), "The Management of Innovation", London, Tavistock Publications

Butler, S.B. and Snizek, W.E.(1976), "Waitress-diner Relationships", Sociology of Work and Occupations, 3, No.2

Campbell, D.T. and Levine, B.A.(1972), "Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behaviour", New York

Carnall, CA(1980), "The Evaluation of Work Organisation Change," Human Relations, 33, no. 12, pp885-916

Chivers, T(1973), "The Proletarianization of the Service Worker", British Journal of Sociology (Nov)

Cohen, E(1954), "Human Behaviour in the Concentration Camp", London, Cape

Collins O, Dalton M and Roy D (1946), "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry", Applied Anthropology, (Human Organisation), V, pp 1-14

Commission on Industrial Relations (1971), "The Hotel and Catering Industry, Part 1: Hotels and Restaurants", Report No 23, London, HMSO.

Cooper, C.L. and Oddie, H (1972), "Group Training in a Service Industry: Improving Social Skills in Motorway Service Area Restaurants", Interpersonal Development, 3, pp 13-39

Cooper, F.(1977), "Blind Date", Low Pay Unit Bulletin, no.15(June)

Cressey, D.R(1971), "Other People's Money: A Study of the Social Psychology of Embezzlement", Belmont, Wadsworth

Dalton, M(1959), "Men Who Manage", New York, Wiley
Daniel, WW(1963), "A Consideration of Individual and Group Attitudes in an Expanding and Technically Changing Organisation", M.Sc (Tech) Thesis, Unpub. /Manchester University/
Davis, F(1968), "Socialization as Subjective Experience: Process of Doctrinal Conversion among Student Nurses" in Becker, HW, Geer B, et al (eds) (1968), pp 244-5
de Board, R(1978), "The Psychoanalysis of Organisations", London, Tavistock
de Grazia, R (1980), "Clandestine Employment: a Problem of Our Times", International Labour Review, 119, no. 5 (Sept - Oct)
Denzin, N(1968), "A Comment on the Ethics of Disguised Observation in Sociology" Social Problems, No.15, pp 502-504
Deutsch, M(1949), "A Theory of Co-operation and Competition", Human Relations, II, pp 139-52
Ditton, J(1977), "Part-Time Crime: an Ethnography of Fiddling and Pilferage", London, Macmillan
Douglas, J(1972),"Research on Deviance", New York, Random House
Douglas M (1966),"Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo", London, Rowtledge and Kegan Paul
Douglas, M(1970), "Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology," London, Barrie and Rockliff
Douglas, M (1972), "Deciphering a Meal", Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 101, no.1, pp61-80
Douglas, M and Nicod, M(1974), "Taking the Biscuit: the Structure of British Meals", New Society, 30, pp 744-747
Douglas, M(1978), "Cultural Bias", Occasional Paper No. 34, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
Douglas, M and Ostrander, D(eds) (forthcoming), "Exercises in the Sociology of Perception", New York, Russel Sage Foundation (Basic Books).
Dubin, R(ed), (1951), "Human Relations in Administration", New York, Prentice - Hall
Dumont, L(1972), "Homo Hierarchicus: the Caste System and Its Implications", London, Paladin
England, KAD(1973), "A Consideration of the Alienated Conditions of Shopkeepers in the Retail Trade", mimeo
Erikson, K(1967), "A Comment on Disguised Observation in Sociology", Social Problems, no.14, pp 366-373
Festinger, L(1957), "A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance", New York, Row Peterson
Firth, RW (1946), "Malay Fisherman: their Peasant Economy"
Forde, CD and Scott, AC (1946), "The Native Economies of Nigeria"
Fox, A (1966), "Industrial Sociology and Industrial Relations", Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, Research Paper, No.3, London, HMSO
Fox, A(1979), "Man Mismanagement", London, Hutchinson
Frake, CO,"How to Ask for a Drink in Subanun", American Anthropologist, 66(6), part 2, pp 127-136
Franklin, AP(1975), "Internal Theft in a Retail Organisation", Ph.D. thesis, Ohio State University
Fuller, J and Currie, AJ(1966), "The Waiter", London, Barrie and Rockliff
Galbraith, JK (1974), "Economics and the Public Purpose," London, Andre Deutsch
Gans, HG(1968), "The Participant Observer as Human Being" in Becker, H, Geer, B et al(1968).

Garfinkel, H (1956), "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies", American Journal of Sociology, 61, pp 420-24
Gershuny, J (1978), "After Industrial Society?: the Emerging Self-Service Economy", London, MacMillan
Glaser, S and Halliday, M1 (1980), "Organisations as Systems", Human Relations, 33, no. 12, pp 917-928.
Gluckman, M (1941), "Economy of the Central Barotse"
Gluckman, M (1955), "Custom and Conflict in Africa", Glencoe Illinois, The Free Press
Goffman, E (1959), "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life", Harmondsworth, Penguin
Goffman, E (1959), "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient", Psychiatry, 22
Goffman, E (1959), "Encounters", Harmondsworth, Penguin
Goffman, E (1961), "Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Harmondsworth, Penguin
Goffman, E, "On Face-Work", Psychiatry, 18, pp 221-2
Goffman, E "Where the Action Is?: Three Essays", Allen Lane, The Penguin Press
Goffman, E, (1971), "Relations in Public", Harmondsworth, Penguin
Goldthorpe, J H and Lockwood, D, et al (1972), "The Affluent Worker: Industrial Relations and Attitudes", 1, London, Cambridge University Press
Gouldner, AW (1954), "Wild Cat Strike", New York, Harper Torchbooks
Gouldner, AW (1960), "The Norm of Reciprocity", American Sociological Review, XXV, pp 161-78
Gross, E (1951), "Characteristics of Cliques in Office Organisations," Research Studies, State College of Washington, XIX, p135 et seq
Gross, E (1953), "Some Functional Consequences of Primary Controls in Formal Work Organisations", American Sociological Review, XVIII, pp 368-73.
Gusfield, J (1961), "Social Control and Institutional Catharsis", unpublished paper, referred to in Goffman, E (1961), pp 90-93
Haley, J, "The Art of Psychoanalysis", ETC, XV, pp 189-200
Hall, E (1959), "The Silent language", Connecticut, Fawcett Publications
Halmos, P (1965), "The Face of the Counsellors", London, Constable
Halmos, P (1970), "The Personal Service Society", London, Constable
Hamel, 1971, "Study of Occupational Prestige in Belgrade", Man, The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, New Series, 6, 1971
Hecht, "The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England"
Henderson, JP (1965), "Labour Market Institutions and Wages in the Lodging Industry", Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Michigan State University
Henry, S(1978), "The Hidden Economy: the Context and Control of Borderline Crime", London, Martin Robertson
Henry, S and Mars, G (1978), "Crime at Work: the Social Construction of Amateur Property Theft", Sociology (July).
Henslin, J (1967), "Craps and Magic", American Journal Sociology, no. 73; pp 316-330.
Herzberg, F, et al (1959), "The Motivation to Work", New York, Wiley and Sons Inc.
Homan, R (1978), "Interpersonal Communication in Pentecostal Meetings", Sociological Review, 26; subsequent paper (1980) British Journal of Sociology (March)

Horning, DM (1970), "Conceptions of Property, Attitudes towards Pilfering and Work Group Norms in a Modern Plant" in Smigel, E and Ross, HL (eds), "Crimes Against Bureaucracy", New York, Van Nostrand Reinhold, pp 46-64
Hughes, EC (1945), "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status", American Journal Sociology, 50 (March), pp 353-359
Hughes, EC (1958), "Men and Their Work", Glencoe, The Free Press
Humphreys, L (1970), "Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places", Chicago, Aldine
James, W (1902) (1979), "The Varieties of Religious Experience", London, Fontana
Jaques, E (1955), "Social Systems as a Defence against Persecutory and Repressive Anxiety" in Klein, M, Heimann,P and Money-Kyrle, R(eds) "New Directions in Psychoanalysis," London, Tavistock Publications
Karen, RL (1962), "Some Factors Affecting Tipping Behaviour", Sociology and Social Research, 47, 1962, pp 68-74
Kennedy, GJ (1970), "Towards a Rethinking of Joking Theory" in Goldschmidt and Hoijer, H (eds), "The Social Anthropology of Latin America: Essays in Honour of Ralph Leon Beals", Los Angeles, University of California Press, pp 36-68
Kerkhoff, J (1952), "How Thin the Veil: A Newspaper Man's Story of His Own Mental Crack-Up and Recovery", New York, Greenberg,pp 224-5
Knight, IB, "Patterns of Labour Mobility in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Report for the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board
Lawrence, TE (1955), "The Mint", London, Cape
Leach, ER (1940), "Social and Economic Organisation of the Rowandus Kurds"
Leach, ER (1974), "Levy-Strauss", Glasgow, Fontana/Collins
Leoni, P (1966), "I Shall Die on the Carpet", London, Frewin
Levi-Strauss,C(1949), "Les Structures Elementaires de la Parente", Paris, Presses Universitaires
Levi-Strauss, C (1970), "The Raw and the Cook: Introduction to a Science of Mythology", 1, London, Jonathan Cape
Lewin, K (1952), "Regression, Retrogression and Development" in Cartwright, D(ed), "Field Theory in Social Science", London, Tavistock Publications
Lipman, A (1967), "Chairs as Territory", New Society, XX (April), pp 564-6
Little, KB (1965), "Personal Space", Journal of Experimental Psychology, 1 (Aug), pp 237-47
Lyman, SM and Scott, MB (1967), "Territoriality: A Neglected Sociological Dimension", Social Problems, XV (Fall), pp 243-4
Mann, L (1969), "Queue Culture: the Waiting Line as a Social System", American Journal of Sociology, LXXV (Nov), pp 340-54
Mars, G (1973), "Hotel Pilferage: A Case Study of Occupational Theft", in Warner, M(ed), "The Sociology of the Workplace", London, Allen and Unwin
Mars, G (1973), "Dock Pilferage", in Rock P and McIntosh, M (eds), "Deviance and Control", London, Tavistock, pp 209-28
Mars, G and Mitchell, P (1976), "Room for Reform: A Case Study on Industrial Relations in the Hotel Industry", Bletchley, Open University Press
Mars, G and Mitchell, P (1977), "Catering for the Low Paid: Invisible Earnings", Low Pay Unit Bulletin, no. 15 (August)

Mars, G (1977), "Some Implications of Fiddling at Work" in "The Social Psychologist in Industry", conference paper presented to the British Psychological Association, Loughborough University
Mars, G,Mitchell, P and Bryant, D (1979),"Manpower Problems in the Hotel and Catering Industry", Hants, Saxon House
Mars, G and Nicod, M (forthcoming),"Diners, Drinkers and Waiters: the Politics of Drink and Hospitality" in Douglas, M(ed), "Drinking and Hospitality"
Maslow, AH (1970), "Motivation and Personality", New York, Harper and Row
Mauss, M (1966), "The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies", London, Cohen and West
Mayer, AC (1960) "Caste and Kinship in Central India: A Village and Its Region", London, Routledge
Medlik, S (1948), "Profile of the Hotel and Catering Industry", London, Heinemann
Merritt, M (1968), "On the Service Encounter", unpublished paper referred to in Goffman, E (1971), p 180
Mikes, G and Bentley, N (1950), "Land of Milk and Honey", London and New York, Wingate
Miller, EJ and Rice, AK (1967), "Systems of Organisation", London, Tavistock
Mills, TM (1979), "Changing Paradigms for Studying Human Groups", Journal of Applied Behavioural Science, 15, no.3, pp 407-423
Mitchell, P and Ashton, RK (1974), "Wages Councils: Do They Matter?", Hotel and Catering Institute Management Association Review, 1, no.1, pp 20-28
Nailon, P(1978), "Tipping: A Behavioural Review", Hotel and Catering Institute Management Association Review, 2, no. 4, pp 231-243
National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee (1969), "Staff Turnover", London, HMSO
National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee (1975), "Manpower Policy in the Hotels and Restaurant Industry", London,HMSO
National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee (1975), "Trends in Catering: A Study in Eating Out", Quarterly Report, no. 4, London, HMSO (Jan-March)
National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee (1976), "Hotel Prospects to 1985", London,HMSO
National Economic Development Office, Economic Development Committee (not dated), "Why Tipping", London, HMSO
Nicolson, N (ed)(1970), "Harold Nicolson, 'Diaries and Letters: 1937-45'", London, Collins Fontana
Orwell, G (1968), "Down and Out in Paris and London", Harmondsworth, Penguin
Polsky, HW (1962), "Cottage Six: The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment," New York, Wiley
Polsky, HW (1967), "Hustlers, Beats and Others", Harmondsworth,Penguin
Pugh, DS (1966), "Modern Organisation Theory", Psychological Bulletin, 66, no.4, pp 235-51
Radcliffe-Brown, AR (1965), "Structure and Function in Primitive Society", New York, The Free Press
Rice, AK (1958), "Productivity and Social Organisations: The Ahmedabad Experiment", London, Tavistock Publications
Robin, GD (1965), "Employees as Offenders: A Sociological Analysis of Occupational Crime", Ph.D.thesis, University of Pensylvania

Rock, P (1973), "Deviant Behaviour", London, Hutchinson
Roethlisberger, F J and Dickson, W J (1939), "Management and the Worker", Harvard
Ross, EA (1908), "Social Control", New York, The Macmillan Company
Roth, J (1962), "Comments on Secret Observation", Social Problems, no. 9, pp 283-284
Roy, D (1952), "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop", American Journal of Sociology, LVII, pp 427-42
Ruebhausen, O M and Brim, O G, Jr (1965), "Privacy and Behavioural Research", Columbia Law Review, LXV (Nov), pp 1184-1211
Runciman, W G (1966), "Relative Deprivation and Social Justice", Harmondsworth, Penguin
Sarbin, TR and Adler, N (1970-1), "Self-Constitution Processes: A Preliminary Report", Psychological Research, 57, pp 599-616
Selltiz, C, Jahoda, M, et al (1969), "Research Methods in Social Relations", London, Methuen
Shamir, B (1980), "Between Service and Servility: Role Conflict in Subordinate Service Roles", Human Relations, 33, no.10, pp741-756
Silverman, SF (1966), "An Ethnographic Approach to Social Stratification", American Anthropologist, 68, no.2
Somner, R (1959), "Studies In Personal Space", Sociometry, XXII(Sept), pp 247-60
Spicer, E (ed) (1952), "Human Problems in Technological Changes", New York, Wiley
Spradley, J P and Mann, BJ (1975), "The Cocktail Waitress", New York, Wiley
Staines, GL (1980), "Spillover Versus Compensation: a Review of the Literature on the Relationship Between Work and Non-Work," Human Relations, 33, no 2, pp 111-129
Strauss, A (1959), "Essay on Identity"
Sutherland, EH (1937), "The Professional Thief", Chicago, Phoenix
Sykes, A J M (1966), "Joking Relationships in an Industrial Setting", American Anthropologist, 68, pp 188-193
Triandis, HC (1971), "Attitude and Attitude Change", New York, Wiley
Trist, EL and Bamforth, KW (1951), "Some Social and Psychological Consequences of the Longwall Method of Coal-cutting"
Yan Gennep, A (1960), "The Rites of Passage, London, Routledge
Weber, M (1930), "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", London, Allen and Unwin
Weir, M (ed) (1976), "Job Satisfaction: Challenge and Response in Modern Britain", Glasgow, Fontana/Collins
Westergaard, JH (1970), "The Rediscovery of the Cash Nexus", The Socialist Register
Westin, AF (1967), "Privacy and Freedom", New York, Atheneum
Which? (1968), survey on people's attitudes to tipping (June)
Whyte, W F (ed)(1946), "Industry and Society", New York, McGraw-Hill
Whyte, WF (1948), "Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry", New York, Wiley
Whyte, WF (1969), "Organisational Behaviour: Theory and Applications", Homewood, Illions, Irwin-Dorsey
Whyte, WF (1970), "Street Corner Society", London, University of Chicago Press
Wilson, A (1950), "The Wrong Set", New York, William Morrow
Wilson, NAB (1973), "On the Quality of Working Life", London, HMSO
Woodbury, MA (1958), "Ward Dynamics and the Formation of a Therapeutic Group", Chestnut Lodge Symposium, Rockville, Maryland, Mimeo

Woodward, J (1958), "Management and Technology", Problems of Progress in Industry, no. 3, London, HMSO
Woodward, J (1965), "Industrial Organisation: Theory and Practice"