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Regimes of Meaning: The Intersection of Space and Time in Kitchen Cultures

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Abstract

Drawing on participant observation of a high-end restaurant, I examine how work group culture and discourse are formulated through the organization of space and time. To date, scholars have typically divided the study of space and time into two separate fields of inquiry, but the two constructs are intimately integrated. I use a natural ethnographic experiment, observing two different kitchen regimes while keeping the space and occupational pressures constant, to illustrate that groups can arrange time and space according to local cultures. My findings reveal that internally created pressures (i.e., chefs creating constraints via their managerial style) combined with external demands influence both how restaurant workers use the kitchen space during particular moments and what forms of speech they deem acceptable in those spaces and times. My study demonstrates the social organization of time and space, particularly in the context of a restaurant kitchen.

Keywords

culture, discourse, work and occupations, organizations, time and space

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> Few things are more beautiful to me than a bunch of thuggish, heavily tattooed line cooks moving around each other like ballerinas on a busy Saturday night. Seeing two guys who'd just as soon cut each other's throats in their off hours moving in unison with grace and ease can be as uplifting as any chemical stimulant or organized religion.
>
> Anthony Bourdain (2006), *The Nasty Bits: Collected Varietal Cuts, Usable Trim, Scraps, and Bones*

In this article, I examine how external demands, such as the busy Saturday night described above by a celebrity chef, influence the use of space, the social experience of time, and coworker relations. Time and space have powerful transformative qualities, especially within the workplace. Scholars have established that every occupation has temporal (Fine 1990) and spatial demands (Baldry 1997, 1999; Halford 2004) that shape a worker's life and an organization's operation. In addition to these pressures, time and space can have very different effects depending on the local internal structure, such as the managerial regime in place. Structure is not simply imposed, but is an active and dynamic process that can enable and constrain (Giddens 1984; Sewell 1992). Group culture is a central component of the workplace shaped by these temporal and spatial structures. Using a dual ethnography of two different chefs within the same kitchen, I ask: How are a group's informal cultural practices organized through space and time? In other words, how do imposed spatial and temporal qualities of a workplace influence where and when talk occurs and the form that it takes?

People typically view space and time as mundane realities; however, they can generate meaning and gain power. I define space as a recognizable, physical, and bounded location that is invested with meaning and value by those who occupy it. Similarly, time takes on personal meaning through social interaction, yet the physical and institutional realities of a society can limit time (Lewis and Weigert 1981). I define time as the lived progression of existence. As socially constructed concepts, time and space can be shaped and altered by those who experience and live them. This reality holds especially true in the workplace, where management frequently uses space and time as tools to exert control. For example, the ubiquitous "nine to five" operating hours and assigned cubicle niches punctuates many workers' daily lives.

Restaurants provide a valuable experimental site to study space and time because of their rigid temporal and spatial pressures. They organize time and

space in order to achieve goals, giving workers little autonomy. Kitchen spaces are barren. They do not have office doors or classic indicators of hierarchies such as an office secretary or placards denoting personal space. Rather, a cook must share the kitchen with other restaurant employees: waiters and waitresses, dishwashers, management, the head chef, and fellow cooks. Restaurant workers refer to one's personal space as a "mise en place" (literally translated from the French as "putting in place"): a cooking station, typically not larger than two to three feet wide. Time in the kitchen is equally restrictive. As Fine (1990) noted, kitchens are "temporal worlds" in which external demands shape the usage and experience of cooks' time. Cooks must prepare a meal within exact timing (typically less than fifteen minutes). In addition, cooks must remain in the kitchen waiting for orders to come in during service. They are metaphorically held captive by the diners on the other side of the swinging doors, unable to take personal breaks, such as run to the bathroom or smoke a cigarette, in case an order arrives. Consequently, lulls in work are rare, and "free" time becomes a luxury for kitchen workers.

I argue that taken together, the spatial and temporal pressures of a workplace influence social interactions. Specifically, I focus on one manifestation of culture in an organization, *forms of group discourse*, and illustrate how they are shaped not only by the general occupational demands of kitchen work but also by chef regimes. Using data derived primarily from ethnographic observation, I trace how speech norms differed between two head chefs, keeping the kitchen space and time constant. This natural experiment reveals that while from a distance space and time may appear unchangeable, those in power can subtly shape and craft these forces. Consequently, by altering the usage of space and lived experiences of time, the two head chefs also shifted the accepted forms of talk among their workers. Not only did each managerial regime change *what* type of talk was considered appropriate in the kitchen, but also *when* and *where* this speech occurred. Diverse temporal moments and spaces must be filled with varying forms of speech. For instance, slow periods of service brought distinctly different language and usage of the space than busy times. Thus, I argue that the linked constructions of time and space shape and influence group culture and its accepted forms of discourse, such as gossip, complaints, and evaluations. In addition, time and space are not just dependent on the mere place and physicality of a restaurant but local forces, such as that of a head chef in the kitchen, can alter time and space.

Next, I briefly outline the divided scholarship on space and time and the role of discourse in group culture. I subsequently provide a more detailed description of my field site and ethnographic methods. I divide my findings by the two differing types of chef regimes I observed, which I call

"camaraderie" and "professional." For each regime, I review both the internal pressures, the chef's particularities in managerial style, and external demands that shaped group speech. My observations reveal that not only does the front stage impact the backstage, but the backstage also influences itself through the organizational preferences of the chef in charge. I conclude by highlighting the contributions my study makes to the understanding of space, time, and culture.

Spatial and Temporal Theory

Until recently, spatial theory has predominately been the focus of anthropologists and geographers. Contemporary sociologists focus on two inherent features of space: first, individuals' uses of space, or agency within the space, and second, how the structure of space determines our relationship with that space and its influence on human behavior. In other words, space can be *structuring* and *structured*. Spatial theorists can be grouped into three main camps. First, scholars of the use-centered view argue that space is dynamic and that the usage of space is what shapes society (Gans 2002; Halford 2004; Lechner 1991). The second cluster of scholars looks at how space is controlling and shaping (Baldry 1997, 1999; Lefebvre 1991). This faction is largely influenced by the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991, 26), himself inspired by Marx, who saw space as a "means of control, and hence of domination, of power" and a central mechanism underpinning modern capitalism. A prime example of space's structuring abilities is seen in the work of Daphne Spain (1993), who concerns herself with how space can be gendered and, consequently, controlled by the dominant sex, most frequently men. Third, several scholars of space examine the link between structure and agency. Here, spaces are both objects of human agency and agents of their own (Gieryn 2000; Kidder 2009; Spicer 2006). Similar to these theorists, this paper focuses dually on space's structuring aspects—its influence on talk—and agentic power within the space, primarily by how the head chefs were able to create new and different meanings to the same physical place and temporal schedules.

Writers who research time conceptualize it as a social construction similar to that of space (Bluedorn and Standifer 2006). While classical theorists such as Aristotle, Plato, and Kant only looked at time in a linear form (Maines 1987), contemporary temporal sociologists see social time as diverse and multidimensional (Flaherty 2003; Lewis and Weigert 1981; Sorokin and Merton 1937). Symbolic interactionists have long focused on how time, especially the past, can be used to explain micro-level human interaction (Katovich and Couch 1992). In particular, George Herbert Mead has strongly

influenced current temporal scholarship. Time for Mead is a reflexive, structuring, and constructive concept (Maines 1987). Mead (1938, 64) proposed that we inhabit a "temporal world": time is crucial to understanding and becoming aware of ourselves. In accord with a symbolic interactionist perspective, Mead views the present as the dominant force in how we interpret the past and foresee the future (Flaherty and Fine 2001; Maines, Sugrue, and Katovich 1983). Other sociologists have taken a more macro-level perspective. For instance, Giddens (1991) has regarded time, like space, as a way to grapple with and understand modern society. Eviatar Zerubavel (1987, 1989, 1997) explores the social division and management of time. For example, in his taken-for-granted illustrations of the political creation of time zones and our seven-day weekly cycle, Zerubavel reveals how time is socially established. Fine (1990) also looks at time in the context of kitchens to argue that all work is structured by temporal demands, which influence how workers experience their labor.

Several temporal theorists have focused on the interplay of agency and temporal experiences (Hitlin and Elder 2007). Flaherty concerns himself with people's perceived passage of time (1991, 1999) and their agentic ability to customize temporal experiences (2003, 2011). A prime example of this is Flaherty's (2011, 11) concept of "time work": "intrapersonal and interpersonal effort directed toward provoking or preventing various temporal experiences." For example, kitchen employees commonly attempt to speed up the passage of time during slow service by gossiping or complaining.

As this brief review of the literature reveals, the literature on time has neglected the spatial domain and the literature on space has generally ignored temporal experiences. However, these two constructs are inherently linked. Lefebvre wrote that "space is the envelope of time" (1991, 339), implying that space is a container for one's temporal experiences. The division in scholarship may be historically based. As space became an intense topic of study in the 1990s—described as the "spatial turn" (Warf and Arias 2009)—researchers relegated studies of time to the periphery. Despite the work of Edward Soja (1993), who argued for the equal recognition of time, space, and the social, the literature, as reviewed above, has remained steadily divided. Giddens (1991) and Harvey (1989) are two notable exceptions. Both authors have argued that as modernity accelerates, time and space conflate. However, their time-space dimension is a macro-level analysis of the consequences of a globalizing world; the influence of space and time *together* through a micro lens remains understudied.

I seek to ameliorate this division by noting how space and time, taken together as linked constructions, impact workplace discourse. Simply put, space and time cannot coexist without one another. If one is to occupy space,

then he or she must also experience the passing of time. In addition, as an individual changes a space, he or she consequently alters his or her sense of time. Thus, a person's temporal experience must be contextually and consequently spatially placed (Flaherty 1999). For example, one feels time pass far differently when in a restaurant than in a jail because of the different spatial circumstances. In addition, the timing of certain events takes on spatial questions: should we have the birthday party at home or in a restaurant (Flaherty 2011)? Consequently, as humans we think and communicate spatially (Levinson 1996) and concern ourselves constantly with the aspect of time, even though we may not be consciously aware of its continuous presence in our lives.

Group Culture and Discourse

Culture is perhaps one of the most nebulous terms in sociological inquiry. Early scholarship typically conceptualized culture as inner norms, values, and beliefs held within a person that drives action. In the organizational literature, scholars view culture as monolithic, an independent variable that can be crafted by management to boost employee morale and participation (Ouchi and Wilkins 1985). In contrast to this "means to an end" view of culture, contemporary writings see culture as a set of repertoires, or a "tool kit" (Swidler 1986) of habits and skills that generally guide behavior. Culture is a type of shared communication that can take on different meanings depending on the context.

While culture operates at many levels, scholars have focused recently on the micro-level daily experiences of culture, or culture in action. As Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003) argue, one of the ways larger culture functions in everyday life is through "group style": defined as a group's shared assumptions about correct behavior in communal settings. A "group style" filters broader collective representations from the larger culture in a cognitive vein, and in the process creates a "culture in interaction." In other words, a group culture channels broader cultural codes and applies local meaning. Consequently, from this approach, culture—in the broadest sense of the term—becomes linked to the local and available for study. Thus, even if local culture has its unique properties, it connects to the wider understanding of culture as a way of life, its values and beliefs. Similarly, Fine's (1987, 2012) concept of "idioculture," the unique culture shared by interacting members of a group, contends that individuals perform and embody culture on the local level. In this paper, I refer to a number of synonymous terms—local culture, group style or culture, and idioculture—all of which refer to a process where reoccurring patterns of interaction within a group create culture.

If culture is a performance (Alexander 2004), how can one observe such repertoires on the ground? One approach, which this article uses, is by examining "informal cultural practices" (Swidler 1986), such as speech norms. Indeed, ethnographers have a natural inclination to focusing on talk (Philipsen 1991), and recordings of informants' communication take up much of our field notes and become easily transferred to publication (Fine 2012). However, we can take speech, like time and space, too quickly for granted because of its universal nature (Finnegan 1988). For example, organizational studies often prefer written practices over speech as cultural manifestations of study (Martin 1992). This article seeks to bring back the focus to these perhaps mundane artifacts of daily life.

While group discourse has long been the forte of linguistic anthropologists (Ardener 1971), sociologists have also focused on this form of talk. For instance, Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003) view "speech norms"—a group-based shared idea about what is and isn't appropriate speech patterns for the local context—as one observable dimension of "group style." Philipsen (1991) highlights a similar concept, "speech communities," which refer to groups of people who share a set of expectations surrounding the usage of language. Mead also emphasized social forms of communication, like speech, in his social behaviorist theory (Sandstrom, Martin, and Fine 2006). Through language, the mind and self develops (Mead and Morris 1934). In addition, spoken language is a primary medium through which individuals raise social pasts—common or shared experiences—to become situated in social encounters (Katovich and Hintz 1997).

Extending such basic assumptions that group culture prescribes particular forms of discourse among members, I argue that so too do local spatial and temporal pressures. Both the obdurate spatial and temporal qualities of kitchen work and the local managerial regime punctuated and structured the group culture of the cooks I observed. In addition to the distinctive qualities speech takes on because of a local culture, particular types of talk must fill certain spaces and times. Thus, this paper seeks to illuminate not only the form speech takes in a local community (i.e., what is considered appropriate topics of conversation) but also when and in what spaces this language arises. Consequently, I argue that all group cultures inevitably involve choices about space and time and that speech is a central medium to investigate such decisions.

Methods

To understand such choices, I used ethnographic methods because space and time are fluid concepts, and inhabitants' perceptions are continually changed

by them. Ethnographic observation allows a researcher to better understand the micro-level transformations that occur within space and time and their impact on other aspects of the workplace environment, such as talk. In addition, because interviews impose a particular spatial and temporal experience created by the researcher, this study primarily draws on participant-observation data.

I observed the kitchen of a high-end restaurant in a suburb of a midwestern city for approximately six months, varying my day and time of observation.[1] Each observation lasted approximately four hours and I visited once or twice a week. In addition, I conducted formal interviews with all core organizational members (cooks, chefs, and managers) and informal interviews with peripheral workers (valet, waiters/waitresses, and dishwashers). My observation became comparative in nature when, unplanned, half-way through my ethnography, the head chef abruptly left and management hired a replacement. As Halford (2004) metaphorically states, the change offered a "window" into conventions that may be taken for granted. The shift in head chefs produced two types of managerial regimes, which altered both the usage of the space and temporal experiences for cooks, and the forms of speech deemed appropriate within the kitchen.

I wanted to observe an independently owned and relatively high-end restaurant so the workers there had a certain degree of autonomy in comparison with other fast-food or commercial eateries. Tatin[2] is a moderately priced restaurant. Meals range from fifty to sixty dollars, not including alcohol. The restaurant is located within walking distance of a university and caters mostly to university professors and upper- to middle-class residents of the area. Despite its position as one of the few high-end eateries in the suburb, attendance was generally low during my observation, which allowed me more opportunities to watch how the restaurant employees used the space during slow periods.

The staff I observed was relatively small for both the expansive kitchen space and the restaurant. Organizational members on a given day of observation consisted of one head chef, three full-time cooks (one of whom left half-way through my observation), two interns from a local culinary school, two dishwashers, a manager, and an assistant manager. The two owners were peripheral and rarely involved in the daily operations of the restaurant, aside from infrequent visits to dine. There were also two full-time waiters and half a dozen on-call servers who would double as the sommelier or bartender for the evening. Cooking as a profession is predominately male-dominated and Tatin was no exception. Apart from two female managers, one female cook, and an occasional waitress, the rest of the restaurant employees were male.

Tatin's space was arranged as follows (see Appendix for a diagram of the space): the garde manger (the station that produces desserts and cold appetizers) was in the far rear corner of the space and physically separate from the rest of the kitchen. One intern from a local culinary school typically occupied the space because the chefs viewed it as a less challenging position. Three cooks, at times including the head chef, worked the hot line, often nicknamed the "heart of the kitchen" because it produces all of the entrées. Because of its importance, the hot line was the largest and most central working area of the kitchen. Across from the hot line was the dishwashing station, the waiters' bar area, and a small space called the "dining table," a small nook equipped with a petite table and two chairs. This space was available to guests (at an extra price) to watch the kitchen life while enjoying a chef's tasting.[3] However, the dining table was rarely used by customers. Rather, it became an informal office for the first chef, Matt, and a storage space for the second chef, Paul. Lastly, the managing office, accessible only through the kitchen, was in the far back of the space and fitted with closed doors.

One cannot just watch in a kitchen. The pandemonium that occurs on a busy Saturday night provides direct confrontation with the reality that this is a space for *everyone*, even for the ethnographer watching and scribbling notes. Thus, during my months in the kitchen I was perplexed where to stand and was perpetually trying to find my own space. I began my observation by roaming the kitchen, moving from one cook's station to another, similar to an interviewee's "staging" (the process of interviewing in a kitchen) and learning the ropes of kitchen work. I was frequently in the way of the cooks as they skillfully crisscrossed the space and awkwardly placed in the direct line of waiters and waitresses, making it impossible for me to stand in any one spot for long. Nevertheless, as my time in the kitchen passed, I became more like an actor within the space. Soon, I was no longer simply "observing," but also a direct participant and encouraged by the first chef, Matt, to explore. Matt would use me as a "go-to" to relay messages, and carry dishes and utensils from cook to cook. One evening, I was even put to work "cooking" (admittedly it was less complex tasks such as preparing a salad). For the most part, my active involvement as an extra set of hands dwindled under the new chef, partly because of his professional managerial style. Yet, I had then established enough rapport with the rest of the restaurant staff to maintain comfortable ground in the kitchen space.

I framed my data analysis strategies with the "grounded theory" approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Accordingly, I treated the creation of my theoretical framework as a "process," coding, analyzing, and writing memos during and after data collection. In the beginning stages of my research, I was

conceptually intrigued by the usage of space in the workplace. However, after some period in the field and open coding of my observations, I discovered that time was also an important variable in a worker's experiences. Because "grounded theory" depends on comparisons, I sought to evaluate as many possible differences and similarities within the data. The primary comparison was between the two head chefs, their separate usage of the space and time, and how this shifted workers' understanding and treatment of their own spatial and temporal circumstances. Once the main categories of time and space emerged in my data, I began to theoretically sample these.

When I found theoretical saturation in the field—no new categories were emerging—I returned to my data (field note observations and interview transcripts) and did focused coding for constructs of space and time. During this process, my field notes revealed an intriguing change in speech norms between the two chefs. Consequently, I partook in axial coding, connecting the categories of talk (which encompassed forms of discourse such as gossip, complaints, jokes, etc.), time and space (further divided into subcategories for each chef), and exploring the links between them (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Through axial coding, I investigated the causal relationship between these constructs.

Findings: Two Chefs, One Kitchen

Regime 1: Camaraderie, Chef Matt

Internal Pressures. The first head chef, Matt, was particularly young for his executive position at only twenty-five years of age. As a reflection of his youth, Matt conceptualized the kitchen as a playful work atmosphere. Built on meanings of informality and friendship, I call Matt's managerial style and consequent group culture "camaraderie." Matt placed emphasis on treating his employees as "friends" instead of workers and he encouraged a relaxed workplace through a "hands off" approach to managing. Matt envisioned his coworkers' relationships as intimate, telling me that "restaurant people are one step above carnies because they live together and they sleep together" (Field Notes). Matt even extended the culture of amity to the diners. He insisted on calling customers "guests." Matt's choice of the word *guest* evoked special entry into the restaurant. I argue in this section that Matt's loose managerial presence in the kitchen was an internal pressure on the cooks' social experience of space and time and consequent speech norms.

The following field notes come from my first day of observation and illustrate the casual atmosphere in the kitchen space under Chef Matt:

> The dining room of Tatin has an inviting atmosphere: one is greeted by beige and light-green color tones and a roaring fireplace. Soft lighting bathes the room, and classical music plays quietly in the background encouraging one to relax and unwind. Two swinging doors with glass window cut-outs lead to the kitchen. I walk into the kitchen to find the TOTAL opposite of the relaxing dining room ambiance. Rap music is blaring, and cooks in jeans and T-shirts are nodding their heads as they work separately at their stations. The manager motions me to the "dining table"—a small nook across from the hotline set up similar to the tables on the other side of the swinging doors. Inside sits Matt, the head chef, typing on a white Mac laptop, surrounded by stacks of mail and clothing draped all over the table. (Field Notes)

This excerpt exposes two primary material tactics Matt used to create a relaxed workplace: music and the physical adornment of personal space. During Matt's tenure there was consistently music playing in the background, and even at times a movie. The music functioned as more than simple entertainment during work, but would incite dialogue and friendly banter among workers. Employees would associate particular songs to one another, often using the music for teasing purposes. For example:

> The Hanukkah song begins to play in the background. Matt yells over to Grayson, "Hey, it's your song dude!" Grayson smiles and nods his head to the music. They begin to sing the song together, despite being separated across the kitchen. (Field Notes)

As both these quotes show, it was not uncommon for the cooks to sing and dance along to the music as they worked.

In addition to physical components, expressions of shared experiences (such as the Hanukkah song being linked to Grayson) were particularly important in informing social action among kitchen workers. As Katovich and Couch (1992, 44) have argued, when social actors successfully evoke "shared pasts," they produce "consensual anticipations and intentions." In other words, under Chef Matt's tenure the cooks frequently raised their history with one another to simplify and unify daily interactions, increasing their bond as coworkers and producing a cohesive kitchen group. By drawing frequently on shared pasts, the cooks and chef announced their identities, linking themselves to the kitchen's culture of amity.

When he was not roaming the kitchen space, Chef Matt spent most of his time at the dining table (the small nook across from the hot line). As my field notes display, Matt treated the space similar to an office, littering it with personal objects. While Matt made himself available to cooks for questions, for the most part, he did not give explicit instructions as to how each individual's

mise en place should be kept. Instead, he encouraged the personalization of space though physical trinkets, similar to how he treated his pseudo-office. For example, Ben, the intern who occupied the garde manger, adorned his station with a boiled egg that he had drawn on a humorous face. Mitch, a line cook, decorated his space with small plastic toys, a dinosaur and a shark. Workers plugged cell phones into the wall of each station to remind one another of invisible spatial boundaries. The autonomy Matt gave each cook over their mise en place was an important distinction between him and the second chef. Workers' mastery over their mise en place not only brought pleasure and personal control, but it also blurred hierarchies between the employees and their chef, further reinforcing a culture of camaraderie. However, the cook's material embodiment of their stations was a superficial sense of exclusivity, because Matt ultimately conceptualized the kitchen as a communal space for everyone's usage.

Flaherty (2003, 24) notes, "one's schedule can become a vehicle for hedonism and self-expression." Indeed, Matt's temporal schedule reflected his laid-back demeanor. Employees had no strict start time. Matt explained, "There are no specific rules, you just have to come in between 12–2 P.M. If you are late, you have to bring pizza or beer for everyone!" (Field Notes). Matt's schedule may appear lackadaisical to an outsider; however, he still manipulated his cooks' temporal experiences and social relations among them. Such a late start to the workday resulted in an increased frequency of the kitchen employees going to bars together to drink after work, oftentimes staying out until four in the morning. Matt's flexible call time blurred any division between work and play. Accordingly, it was commonplace to see beer bottles and martinis sitting by the cooks' stations. Tracy's comment below demonstrates the lack of clear boundaries between private and work time:

> I wonder if anyone will get to go home early because it's so slow. I ask Tracy about this. "No, that doesn't happen often. Most people here are night owls. We hang out together, get a drink after work . . . I don't even know what time we formally close!" (Field Notes)

The lack of a regimented temporal structure created a disjuncture between the cooks' lived perception of time and that of synchronized time, that is, time passing in alignment with clocks (Flaherty 1999). Tracy's quote displays the multidimensional nature time can take (Flaherty 2003) and how temporality can be experienced in a variety of forms. However, what is perhaps most unanticipated was how Matt's schedule affected the cooks' lived temporality both inside and *outside* of work. As this quote indicates, by encouraging a

later call time, the cooks rarely had a chance to separate their work lives from their personal ones. Many times, the cooks would stay in the kitchen to socialize once their formal work was done: "We were sooooo drunk on Tuesday. We were in the kitchen till after two A.M.!" Matt tells me as he motions to the bottle of vodka sitting on top of the fridge (Field Notes). Consequently, the cooks spent most waking hours together, producing and maintaining a culture of camaraderie as they did.

Matt's imposed schedule also influenced the cooks' treatment of the physical space they inhabited. A later start time gave the cooks less time to prep before service. Consequently, the kitchen would be a complete disarray of cooking utensils, buckets of meat, and cartons of produce that lingered through service. Personal items, such as book bags, would also be thrown around the space. Even the one time of day that the restaurant employees viewed as a sacred period for the workers to commune as a group, "family meal," would be a hodgepodge of leftovers for consumption and take place in the kitchen standing up a few minutes before dinner started. Some nights, it would even be forgotten.

The informality that Matt evoked within his regime of camaraderie created a particularly intimate discourse. Above all, high levels of profanity became an accepted form of speech among employees. Below is a typical exchange among the chef and one of his cooks, Tracy:

> Tracy is coughing heavily. "Are you ok?" I ask concerned. "I'm fine; it's just from quitting smoking." Matt chimes in, "Yea, right after she quit she was a bitch, a fucking whore." Tracy rolls her eyes, "I was a bitch for *one* day." (Field Notes)

Many workplaces would judge this interaction as unprofessional. However, the presence of obscene language was an indicator of casualness and familiarity between the kitchen employees and chef. Indeed, this form of discourse is more common in relationships where partners are close with one another (Winters and Duck 2001). Swearing can create relational boundaries between outsiders and insiders of a group, consequently serving to bond members (Hopper, Knapp, and Scott 1981). Within the restaurant industry, it is colloquial knowledge that cooks are known for their particularly loose language, an "obscenity factory" of sorts. The high concentration of male workers in the restaurant industry likely influences the prevalence of swearing, as the usage of such informal speech has been shown to be male-dominated (Jay 1992; Winters and Duck 2001). During observation of Matt's regime, the restaurant workers would use rhetoric frequently laced with obscenities. In this context, swearing served as a shared occupational language for the informants I observed. However, once

the second chef, Paul, took over, this form of discourse became less acceptable because of his regime's meanings of professionalism.

In sum, Matt's regime of camaraderie placed particular spatial and temporal pressures on the cooks. As the next section will argue, such internal demands impacted how workers dealt with external pressures. Taken together, the cooks' internal and external spatial and temporal pressures impacted the forms of accepted discourse and where and when speech occurred.

External Pressures. Particular temporal moments during a workday vary employees' use of workspace and their speech choices. In this section, I argue that Matt's regime of camaraderie influenced what type of talk the cooks used to fill two externally produced temporal periods—slow versus busy service—and the consequent usage of space during such communication. As reviewed above, Matt's informal managerial style created an intimate form of discourse among the cooks; they would commonly fill the night with jokes and gossip packed with profanity. However, it is primarily *where* and *when* these restaurant workers evoked such language that is of interest.

Because Chef Matt encouraged a familial space, he envisioned everyone as a brother or sister, the workers treated the kitchen as an open area for them to roam freely. Even though each employee had his or her formal assigned "station" adorned with personal trinkets, the cooks typically wandered around, frequently invading one another's space. Roaming was most common during slow periods of work. Cooks came together to chat across the space of the kitchen in an effort to pass the duration of time spent between orders. For example:

> I am standing over at the garde manger talking to Matt. He brings up a former employee, whom he nicknamed "Sensitive Sam." "Hey, remember Sensitive Sam?" Matt calls out to Tracy and Mitch (line cooks) who come over to join our conversation. "Why was he called that?" I ask. Matt explains that he was overtly emotional (hence the nickname) because of "being raised by all females." . . . Mitch told the story: Sam contacted Matt after leaving (apparently due to financial cutbacks at Tatin) to ask if he could put that he had been a pastry sous-chef on his résumé. This caused uproar in the kitchen as Mitch told the story. "He [Sensitive Sam] had only been working the appetizer-dessert section for a short time and had *no* pastry experience," Mitch explained. "Hey, I ran into him on the train recently," Grayson yelled out from the hot line. "Ugh, I would have gotten off and switched trains!" Matt responded with a disgusted voice. "Hey Terence?" Matt called out to the dishwasher putting away pots, "Did Sensitive Sam every try to hug you?" Terence doesn't understand Matt's question and the conversation over Sensitive Sam ends. Everyone returns to his or her station. (Field Notes)

This excerpt reveals how the staff used the space during quiet times. Lulls in work would result in employees coming together as a group, leaving their personal niches to occupy the kitchen space as a whole. Matt involved everyone in conversation, even those still at work and physically separated, like Grayson. As we see in Matt's attempt to include Terence (the dishwasher), the chef primarily initiated the communal occupation of the kitchen. The second significance of this example is that the type of talk—here gossip—serves as boundary-work (Gieryn 1983; Lamont and Molnar 2002), further tightening the collective by communicating the social and cultural values of kitchen workers (Baumeister, Zhang, and Vohs 2004; Noon and Delbridge 1993; Rosnow 1980). The act of gossiping also becomes a form of "time work" (Flaherty 2003, 2011), where workers attempt to speed up their sensation of passing time between customer orders. Lastly, from a symbolic interactionsist's lens, this incident displays the cooks' usage of a shared past to enable social interaction across the space. The end of the excerpt also reveals what happens when actors do not effectively produce a shared past and social action becomes disrupted, that is, when the dishwasher does not recognize the topic of conversation and everyone disbands (Katovich and Couch 1992).

The following quote illustrates a second example of Matt's direct effort at producing a casual and inclusive atmosphere during slow periods:

> I arrive at Tatin to find the dining room empty. I ask the assistant manager how many people there are tonight and she says they only expect eleven diners total for the evening. When I walk into the kitchen I see Matt setting up his laptop, I assume to play music. Instead he starts playing the cartoon "Family Guy." While the show is playing, Matt is at the garde manger preparing desserts and watching. The line cooks casually glance over at the screen while they work on their prep. One of the characters, Stewie, says the words, "shallow and pedantic" and Matt begins to repeat it, imitating the character's British accent. "What does pedantic even mean?" he asks. Andy, a line cook, wanders over and looks up the word on his phone and gives Matt the definition. "You're a genius!" Matt says sarcastically to Andy. The discussion of vocabulary shifts conversation to the SAT. Tracy walks over to listen. Matt tells the group, "I got an 1100, but I spelled my name wrong." Tracy laughs, "How could you spell your name wrong!?" she asks, poking fun at Matt. As he plates the profiteroles, chuckling to himself, he replies, "I just bubbled it in wrong!" (Field Notes)

Slow periods allow for relaxed and playful conversation among the kitchen workers. In addition, while informants talk, they conceive the space in a communal manner. Neither Tracy, nor Andy, worked at the garde manger; however, they still convened at it because Matt conceptualized the space

as open and welcoming, it belonged equally to all the workers present. Such a shared usage of the space is something that changed dramatically under the second chef.

In contrast to slow periods of business, busy times shifted the cook's usage of the space and subsequently the form of talk expected. The colloquial saying "in the weeds" is used in the restaurant industry to describe a particular temporal moment for a cook when he or she is overwhelmed by orders. A rush of tickets is a common occupational constraint that not only alters cooks' temporal experiences but also their spatial arrangements. When tickets for orders came in, cooks returned to their tight and limited stations and were quick to shift from talking with one another to concentrate on their work:

> Andy is dancing to the music and playing with Mitch, throwing fake punches in the air. He asks Mitch, "Have you ever been knocked out in a fight?" Before Mitch can reply, a ticket comes in and they tackle each other over it. Mitch shouts out the order to the line, "two snappers, one lamb!" They quickly return to work and silence permeates the hot line (Field Notes).

Because cooking takes full concentration, dialogue between the cooks lessened dramatically during periods of high intensity. Casual banter disappeared, and the cooks spoke in a rushed and direct manner that lacked the elaboration seen during slow times. For instance:

> Matt watches the hot line from his informal office in dining table space. He asks Grayson, "You all right there, Cheese?" (Cheese is the Chef's nickname for Grayson). Grayson replies quickly "Doing fine, Chef!" In his usual manner, Grayson paces back in forth cursing to himself in his tiny mise en place. Grayson—without looking up—yells over to Tracy at the other end of the hot line, "How is that chicken?" Tracy replies curtly: "One to two minutes, probably closer to two, not going to lie." (Field Notes)

This excerpt illustrates a new form that speech takes during periods of rush and constrained space. Here, communication is functional and swift in nature. Workers provide curt, simplified, and streamlined answers to questions so that they can produce meals in a timely manner. On another occasion, Tracy walked behind a coworker with a knife and shouted out "Sharp! sharp! sharp!" (Field Notes) to quickly and directly communicate the message that she was present in his space. Worker's discourse focuses on the practical matters of work, for instance, time left on a dish or presence within the space. In addition, we see the phenomenon of talking to oneself to

negotiate the stress of hectic periods. Cooks commonly used intrapersonal communication, typically laced with obscenities, as they worked.

Under Matt's tenure, there was a loose and informal kitchen, primarily evoked by the intimate banter among cooks and playful usage of the physical space (i.e., personal artifacts and music/films playing). The cooks frequently evoked shared pasts, bonding them in the process. This treatment of the kitchen, in conjunction with the spatial and temporal demands of the restaurant industry, resulted in varying accepted forms of speech. Different temporal moments—busy versus slow—brought about different uses of the space and subsequently different forms of talk. During Matt's managerial style of camaraderie, slow periods of work resulted in an open usage of the entire kitchen space. The customary discourse during this leisure time was inclusive in nature; Matt invited everyone to participate in casual chitchat and group gossip was common. Conversely, during hectic moments, the cooks experienced constrained space, returning to their personal spatial niches. During this externally imposed temporal instance, the cooks expected rapid and direct forms of speech with one another. As the following section exposes, the cooks' social experience of space, time, and concurrent speech norms altered significantly under the second chef, Paul.

Regime 2: Professional, Chef Paul

Internal Pressures. The second head chef, Paul, was older than Matt—thirty years of age—and more established in the culinary world, having already owned and operated a locally acclaimed restaurant. I call Paul's regime style "professional" because of his emphasis on regulations and business-like manner in the kitchen. In addition, Paul conceptualized his own managerial style as "professional" in contrast to Matt's regime of camaraderie:

> As he is plating, Paul asks me how he is different from the last chef. I note how less cluttered the space is now. Paul looks up and motions around the room; "Professional establishments run like this; the previous gentleman was not very professional." (Field Notes)

As I argue in this section, Paul's assertive and direct regime created new internal pressures on the cooks' spatial and temporal experiences. In addition, as under Matt, group speech norms aligned themselves with Paul's meanings of professionalism in the kitchen.

Kitchens are difficult to alter physically; one cannot simply pick up an oven and move it to another location. Consequently, Paul's retooling of the kitchen space into his vision of a polished organization required more

creative techniques. In an interview, Paul described the process of shifting managerial regimes and attitudes toward his new position:

> We did a complete overhaul of the kitchen. Cleaned everything, organized everything. And all that little trinket B.S. stuff went into the garbage . . . it was me coming aboard right away and pretty much being an alpha male and saying, ok listen "I'm in charge." These are how things are going to be, and you really are laying the ground work from day one and showing them who is in charge. And number two . . . you know Tracy would have stuff on her station and Grayson would have stuff on his station? It's not their stations, it's my kitchen and this is how it is going to be and I am not going to have those things out there because it is a distraction. Half of those things are childish. . . . I took away all that and yeah, I sort of do run it like a prison or military. (Personal Interview)

As his quote displays, Paul imposed his new position removing all physical reminders of Matt. He tossed small trinkets and forbade the loud music that previously played during service. My first day of observation of Paul's regime notes these distinctive material changes:

> The most prominent change in the kitchen is the absolute quietness. No music, no talking, nothing. It is also very tidy, and somehow feels much larger than before. This is probably due to the fact that all the small trinkets have disappeared, now stored in a box in the corner of the garde manger by the pantry. (Field Notes)

Paul instigated a more forceful spatial shift by reassigning each cook to a new mise en place. In the process, Paul placed himself in the center of the hot line in order to oversee the cooks' usage of their new personal niches. Here, Paul conceptualized himself as the central actor of the kitchen, and he removed the cooks' previous understandings of a communal and inclusive space. Rather, Paul conceptualized the kitchen as an exclusive area. The quote from Paul's interview reveals that he deemed full ownership of an employee's assigned work space.

Paul quickly ostracized spaces that were previously envisioned as group hangout areas. This change was most apparent in the garde manger, which, despite its spatial distance from the hot line, was the hotspot for the kitchen workers to convene and chat under the supervision of Matt. However, the new chef reassigned the same space an outsider identity. The other cooks excluded Tracy, the garde manger's latest occupant, from group conversation because of her new social position:

> Tracy is working the garde manger tonight. She calls for a runner but Ricky (waiter) ignores her. This occurs several times in the night. Tracy tries again for a

> runner and Sandy (waitress) just ignores her while looking straight at her. Later in the evening, when a string of orders comes in for desserts, Tracy calls out for help from the hot line but gets little attention. Paul asks her why she hasn't prepped an item for his meal and Tracy simply responds because she is "in exile." Paul ignores this comment and continues to work. Tracy keeps talking to the hot line, receiving no response, "I have to have some faults. When Matt was here I oversalted everything. When you are here, I burn everything!" (Field Notes)

Paul's reconceptualization of the garde manger as having outsider status reveals that even without a physical alteration, space can take on an exclusionary meaning. In addition, the garde manger became an area where the restaurant employees deterred speech, rather than encourage it like before. Tracy's attempt to partake in conversation and her coworkers' lack of response exemplifies the new exclusionary value given to the garde manager. Her quote also reveals how time can be used as a tool to deal with novel constraints. Tracy negotiated her new spatial pressures by symbolically reconstructing the past (i.e., where she oversalted everything) based on her present experiences. In turn, the new past Tracy created aligns with current and future constraints (i.e., that she will burn everything), demonstrating Mead's notion that the past and future are components of the present (Maines, Sugrue, and Katovich 1983).

In addition to shifting the cooks' understandings of their work space, Paul altered their temporal experiences by establishing a strict work schedule. By altering the start time, Paul forced his employees to adapt their temporal experience to his own as they had done under Matt. Cooks now came into the kitchen strictly at noon, two hours earlier than before. Paul also made compensation salary-based, a change which allowed him to get an extra ten hours of work a week out of his cooks. Consequently, social relations among the cooks altered. Because Chef Paul enforced an earlier start time and refused to partake in social activities outside of work, the routine of going out after service dwindled among the restaurant workers. Drinking at work, common with Matt as chef, immediately ceased, and boundaries arose between work relations and private ones outside the restaurant.

Despite the drastic change in their work schedule, there was, surprisingly, little resistance from the cooks. In part, Paul's basis of power came from the very real fear that pervaded the cooks of losing their job and finding comparable employment elsewhere (Tatin was one of the rare kitchens that offered health benefits to full-time employees). In addition, before my observations, the restaurant fired several employees because of financial problems, a memory still fresh in many of the cooks' minds. However, this did not mean that informants were completely incapable of resistance.

Many employees grumbled about the increased hours privately to one another. The most defiant act of resistance came from the intern, Grayson. He threatened to quit, arguing that the change in schedule made it extremely difficult for him to balance school and the increased work load in the kitchen. Yet, Grayson needed the financial support, and after some compromises stayed on.

The new temporal schedule changed how the cooks used the kitchen space throughout the day. There became a clear physical distinction in the kitchen between prep time and the service period. The chaos of produce cartons and kitchen tools that were present throughout the evening under Matt would quickly disappear after Paul's mandated "family meal": the entire kitchen staff, including waiters, ate sitting down in the dining room every afternoon promptly at four. After their meal, the cooks threw away empty produce cartons, replaced huge containers of meat to the fridge and sent knives and cutting boards to the dishwasher. They would spread clean pans across the hot line in preparation for the first string of orders. Cooks went to their assigned stations dressed in their uniform black pants and white jackets. The space would physically transform between these two distinct periods of the workday.

As the cooks' spatial and temporal experiences became more professional in nature, so too did their speech norms. Profanity lessened among the cooks' interactions, and if it did occur, Chef Paul immediately made a remark:

> Gabe is upset that his meat is still undercooked and screams out "Oh come on! Fuck!" Paul, standing to the right of Grayson on the line, immediately turns and says "shhhhhhh!" in a disapproving tone." (Field Notes)

In addition, before guests came to eat at the dining table in the kitchen, Paul would lecture the cooks to avoid their explicit language while cooking. Because Paul's managerial style was modeled by a "lead by example" (Field Notes) motto, he refrained from personally using profane language while in the presence of his subordinates. This was quite a shift from Matt, where loose language was a tool to communicate directions.

In sum, Paul's regime of professionalism shifted the cooks' social experiences of space, time, and accepted forms of speech within the kitchen. As the cooks dealt with new internal pressures from Paul, they adapted accordingly to their unchanged occupational demands.

External Pressures. Despite a new chef, the external demands placed on the cooks did not change. Outside pressures were a hazard of their occupation. Workers still experienced two predominant temporal moments (rushed

versus slow) created by the diners on the other side of the swinging doors. However, Paul's particularities within the kitchen altered how space was utilized during low and high periods of demand. Consequently, the cooks changed where and when discourse was enacted and its forms. In order to negotiate and restore their social world from the drastic changes Paul had made, the cooks called upon social pasts to create a new narrative experience. Here, coping mechanisms were interactionally based (Katovich and Hintz 1997).

Even though external pressures mandated the presence of "time work," both chefs controlled how their workers partook in such efforts to pass periods of duration. In the workplace, temporal manipulation is not always motivated by efficiency; it can also be sparked by aesthetic desires (Flaherty 2011). Paul did not encourage a communal usage of the kitchen during relaxed temporal moments like Matt; rather, he insisted that cooks remain at their mise en place prepping. From an outsider's perspective, Paul's new conceptualization of "time work" appeared to be productive; however, upon closer examination, his shaping of the cooks' temporal experiences was in fact a vehicle for personal aesthetic expression. Paul reasoned that taking a break would slow down a worker later on during periods of rush. He evoked his "time work" philosophy:

> I always try to give them remedial tasks to keep them busy. . . . Because the minute you start not thinking, or not thinking about food and your mind goes elsewhere and then you get busy, it's really difficult to keep your mind in third gear. So I try to keep them occupied the whole time. (Personal Interview)

Consequently, Paul's presence changed the group's habitual "time work" of chatting during long breaks to partaking in small kitchen duties, such as peeling fava beans (Field Notes). The cooks weren't the only ones occupied with busy work. The chef also partook in this form of "time work": The table is late, and Paul is getting anxious; he is pacing the floor. He makes a point of letting me know that the table is five minutes late. Paul declares "Alright, I'm going to burn one before they come in" (Field Notes), a reference to cooking something on the grill to pass the time.

If workers chatted during slow periods, they did so standing at their mise en place while cleaning and prepping. While casual topics, such as celebrity chefs, were still common among the cooks, the dynamics of discourse changed. Talking together as a group became rare; rather conversation was centered and initiated by the chef himself, often in the form of complaints:

> Paul seems very concerned with how he is different from Matt, the previous chef. He asks the staff, while waiting for his now late seven o'clock guest (whom he repeatedly comments on), which one thing is different with the kitchen under him versus Matt. He jokes, "I'm going to play Matt and play on my computer, like I said 'lead by example.'" I tell Paul that the biggest difference is the music and that it isn't like a—he finishes my sentence—"club?" Paul explains his distress when he came to do the tasting and the music was playing. He tells me and the group of cooks on the line how he wanted to strangle Matt because he felt it was rude to leave the kitchen in that disorganized of a condition for the next chef. Mitch, the sous-chef, chimes in, "Well, he (Matt) was a bitter guy." (Field Notes)

Slow periods under Chef Paul not only led to different speech norms, but also where such talk would to take place. As the excerpt above reveals, during periods of low demand the cooks used less inclusive language than with Chef Matt. Rather than attempting to create communal discourse by inviting his cooks into the discussion, Paul mostly used the time to present complaints and negative gossip on the previous chef. Subsequently, Paul used a common past—the shared experience of working with Chef Matt—to establish himself among the new cooks. Evoking the past can be a useful tool for agreement in the present (Katovich and Couch 1992). By activating this common experience, Paul artfully creates a shared focus with the cooks. Mitch confirms Paul's statements about Matt, showing Paul's success at evoking a common past.

During down times, in addition to a shift in language, the cooks did not overtly change their physical positions. If conversation did occur during a period of rest, it did so within a worker's personal niche, either on the hot line or as Tracy in the previous example displayed, yelling from the ostracized garde manger. The cooks' new crafting of space stands in contrast to how Chef Matt encouraged the full usage of the kitchen during similar temporal moments. Paul once noted, "Chefs shouldn't be heard or seen" (Field Notes). This quote aptly conveys the second chef's attitude toward friendly discourse in his kitchen.

"[It's] all fun and games till the first ticket comes in" (Field Notes), Chef Paul noted. Indeed, moments of high demand brought forth different speech norms than during slow work periods. While this temporal period did not change the physical location of the cooks the way it did under the previous chef, the amount of talk presented did alter. The cooks spoke more during intervals of rush about their current state in the process of preparing a meal. The increase in communication was encouraged by Paul's frequent micro-oriented directives and lecturing. This was quite a

contrast from the cooks' quick blurts of communication maintained under Chef Matt. For example:

> Tonight was particularly busy for the cooks at Tatin, the busiest they have been since the place opened under the new chef, approximately 60 people came. Because Grayson was missing from the hot line tonight, Paul moved Tracy to the hot appetizer section. . . . Paul begins to order Tracy on her new position, "Ok, now go ahead and do the foam . . . remember that you always flour first or else it has nothing to adhere to and one is going to burn because you're 'Crispy' (Paul's nickname for Tracy). . . . Listen, this station is all about speed, we got to pick up the speed!" Tracy is clearly flustered, she repeatedly sighs, "I am getting my ass kicked," as the night continues. "This is the kind of stuff that throws me off," Paul motions towards the scraps and pans lying around Tracy's space. "I'm just so busy that I'm afraid I won't have enough time to wipe my station down or I will fall behind!" she says defensibly in reaction to Paul's critique. Paul sternly tells her, "If you have a clean station you will have a clean service. . . .You just have to take one ticket at a time." (Field Notes)

In this hectic snapshot, Paul directs Tracy on how to utilize her assigned space and even her social experience of time. Because Paul conceptualized the kitchen in a professional manner, providing directives became an accepted form of discourse during rushed temporal moments. Professional discourse is assertive in nature; however, it lacks the harshness of an authoritarian regime. Accordingly, criticism would be softened by jokes and/or teasing language. For instance, in the example above, Paul gives Tracy the nickname "Crispy" because she often burns food.

In order to cope with these altered demands and re-create a sense of unity after the disruption Paul produced, the cooks created a new narrative based off of social pasts. Matt's regime was now viewed by cooks as inefficient, while Paul's new schedule was framed as beneficial. Despite a constant level of external demand under both chefs, the cooks explained that they felt as though they were "in the weeds" under Matt's supervision. In contrast, Paul's reshaping of the kitchen space made the workers feel less hurried and made "shit run smoother" (Field Notes). Symbolic interactionists argue that time, especially the past, can become an interpersonal tool in dealing with traumatic events (Katovich and Hintz 1997). In my case study, the cooks reconstructed the past to create a positive narrative of the present. In the process, this novel account allowed cooks to justify their changed interactional dynamics.

Thus, in contrast to the first chef, Matt, Paul's regime created different temporal moments filled with particular usages of the space and accepted speech norms. Paul's professional managerial style encouraged an exclusive

conception of the kitchen area. He displayed control by separating group members via their assigned spatial regions. In addition, roaming the kitchen space was no longer encouraged, and Paul expected his workers to occupy their mise en place during both busy and slow periods of work. Forms of discourse altered between these two temporal stages: quiet times resulted in sporadic and separated talk, often in the form of complaints from Paul. Meanwhile, rushed periods encouraged lecturing and conversation over craftsmanship. In an effort to cope with these changes, the cooks created a symbolic shared past in which they viewed Matt's organization as inferior to Paul's, negotiating the stark changes Paul had implemented.

Discussion

Taken together, internal and external spatial and temporal pressures in a workplace influence where and when discourse occurs and what forms become acceptable among a group. In addition, the combination of a chef's managerial regime and occupational demands directs how space is utilized during particular moments of the workday, and vice versa. During my observation, the physical kitchen space and professional forces that cooks experienced remained constant. Simply put, a drop in business created a decline in time spent cooking and an increased workload was a result of customer demand. However, shifting managerial regimes altered how the cooks dealt with outside pressures. Both chefs utilized space and time as forms of social control over their cooks, and subsequently altered how their workers navigated the two temporal periods externally imposed on them.

In brief, I call Matt's management style "camaraderie" because he framed his coworker's relationships as intimate friendships. Matt expressed a regime of informality through his playful treatment of the space. He encouraged music, personal trinkets, and set a flexible schedule; no set start time was required. Accordingly, language among the cooks was as casual as the kitchen they inhabited; for example, profane language was abundant. Despite the impression of equality, Chef Matt still manipulated his cooks' sense of time, space, and their interpersonal relationships. For instance, a late start time meant that workers stayed in the kitchen longer, developing a cycle of partying together till the early morning. Internal pressures impacted how the cooks dealt with external demands and their consequent usage of space and forms of discourse. Slow periods of work resulted in an *inclusive* usage of space and group gossip. Busy periods brought workers back to their personal spatial niches and limited dialogue.

Paul inherited the same physical kitchen, yet his managerial style shifted it into a different social space. His professional regime conceptualized space as *exclusive*, with the chef as the central inhabitant. Paul imposed a rigid temporal schedule, transforming how the cooks treated the kitchen during prep and dinner service. Consequently, the cooks' group speech norms altered, and the usage of obscene language lessened. The cooks adapted to external pressures accordingly. During slow work periods, Paul mandated busy work. He kept workers separated from one another, squelching their frequent casual communal banter as seen with Chef Matt. When service picked up, workers remained in the constrained space of the hot line and were susceptible to Paul's directives on the quality of their output. Surprisingly, the cooks offered little resistance to Paul's changes. Instead, they negotiated their new occupational demands by symbolically reconstructing their shared past under Matt as inferior to Paul's organization.

Can the altering of head chefs produce such clean-cut shifts in small group culture? A review of my findings above may suggest yes. However, later observations of the second chef revealed that changing workers' perception of their temporal and spatial experiences is not so swift and easy. This was made apparent during one day of observation when Chef Paul was absent, and the kitchen workers quickly reverted to the same usage of the space and talk as accepted under Chef Matt:

> The lack of a head chef is obvious everywhere. Pots, pans, and towels are scattered throughout the kitchen. Certainly Paul would not have put up with this mess. Music is also playing in the background. Several times through the night the cooks mention how the kitchen feels like how when Matt was here. Tracy nostalgically notes, "This is how every day used to be. People are casually talking with each other. Grayson is dancing and cussing as loudly as ever." Ben adds, "Paul not being here is about the same [as when Matt was here]." . . . Indeed, the dirty and corny jokes common under Matt returned. (Field Notes)

This excerpt reveals that meanings attached to a social space can be deeply habitual for inhabitants. Changing occupants' core perceptions of their spatial and temporal experiences takes time. Paul had only been in his position for a little over a month when this incident took place. Thus, it may have been too soon for Paul to ingrain the cooks with his professional behavior. In contrast to spatial studies of the workplace that assume space is simply "done to workers" (Halford 2004, 2), my field notes display a moment of spatial—and temporal—agency by informants. The cooks chose to occupy the kitchen space as how they best understood and enjoyed it, which

was in direct contrast to Paul's meanings. However, once Paul came back into the kitchen, the workers returned to his spatial expectations. This quick reversion of behaviors implies that an individual with appropriate power needs to simply occupy the space to shift social relations in the moment. Consequently, this example displays well the unique balance between an individual's agency within a space and its structuring capabilities. It also reinforces the argument that space is socially organized, and that users adopt space to their own local meanings.

From a temporal lens, this instance of resistance reveals how deeply engrained and compartmentalized temporal routines can be. Such opposition to temporal change is not just a micro-level phenomenon. Even omnipresent and taken-for-granted time schedules have been a source of contention. For instance, Zerubavel (1989) provides a macro-level historical case of resistance to changes in the seven-day week. Both the postrevolutionary French and Bolsheviks attempted to obliterate the classic week structure to a ten- and five-day week respectively. The change, Zerubavel argues, was symbolic of a larger desire to dechristianize through the removal of Sunday. Yet, because of its religious anchor, the seven-day week persevered. Traditionalists resisted by continuing to take days off according to the original seven-day calendar. Both examples—micro and macro—display the resilience of temporal schedules and social desire for regularity.

Lastly, from a symbolic interactionist approach, the cooks' nostalgic remembrance of life under the first chef aligns with Mead's theoretical approach to temporality. This may seem surprising, given that only a few days before this small act of resistance the cooks were symbolically reconstructing their past of Matt as inefficient in contrast to Paul's kitchen organization. However, the stark difference in these two episodes aptly displays how the past is rooted in the present (Maines, Sugrue, and Katovich 1983; Mead 1932). As Mead noted, experience is at its core temporal. The rose-colored memory of Matt's regime also reveals the utility of shared pasts to make adjustments for present conditions, especially novel events (Katovich and Couch 1992). Here, the cooks conjure a shared past by both language (i.e., this is how it used to be) and appearance (i.e., messy space). Simply put, the cooks evoke a past that is appropriately aligned with their new present state—Paul's absence from the kitchen.

Conclusion

This article presents a natural ethnographic experiment by observing a single restaurant under two chef regimes, which I call "camaraderie" (Chef Matt) and "professional" (Chef Paul). With the kitchen as my case study, I argue

that given the same temporal and spatial structure, groups can organize time and space differently. Consequently, time and space are not things unto themselves, but are socially organized and socially defined. For instance, as understandings of space and time change, so do accepted forms of speech within a group. In other words, certain times and spaces bring about particular forms of discourse. The local culture of a workplace and industry demands influence the form, accepted times, and place in which talk occurs. My findings also exhibit Mead's, and his followers', understandings of how time plays a critical role in producing social action. The past can become a useful tool to make adjustments to novel circumstances and pressures.

With this project, I seek to expand scholars' understandings of group discourse by linking it to the literatures on time and space. Indeed, knowing *where* and *when* something takes place is critical to understanding how and why it happens (Warf and Arias 2009). As ethnographers, we concern ourselves with the communication of our informants. To better understand the importance of what informants say in our field sites, scholars must scrutinize both the spatial and temporal circumstances that give rise to particular forms of discourse.

In addition, this paper has focused on illuminating the various ways that space and time interact. Given their intimate nature, it is surprising that the scholarship on space and time remains divided. As the examples from my ethnography aptly reveal, individuals never experience time and space as two separate realms. By focusing on discourse, I argue that different temporal moments lead to varying usages of space that impact speech norms. These experiences are not exclusive to the workplace. For instance, individuals use particular spaces in their homes in different manners depending on the time of day. For many families, the kitchen is the bustle of activity in the evening and morning, complete with communal conversation over the day's events. Conversely, people oftentimes relegate the bedroom at night to more intimate forms of discourse.

From a practical lens, this study adds to the understanding of workplace communication and its relationship to time and space more broadly. As Fine (1990) has argued, temporal demands control all forms of work. In addition to time, this project also reveals that a workspace substantially influences its inhabitants. While management often takes speech, time, and space for granted in the workplace, they are highly influential to an employee's satisfaction and productivity while on the job. The examination of two chefs' managerial styles reveals that an organization can use time and space as a form of social control over workers. Sometimes space and time become indirect forms of manipulation, such as Matt's late call time controlling his employees' experience outside of the workspace. Direct or indirect,

meanings imbued by an individual of power into a space have enduring impacts. Matt's managerial style of camaraderie left a residue on the workers, as was seen in their interpretation of the space during a brief absence of the second chef, Paul.

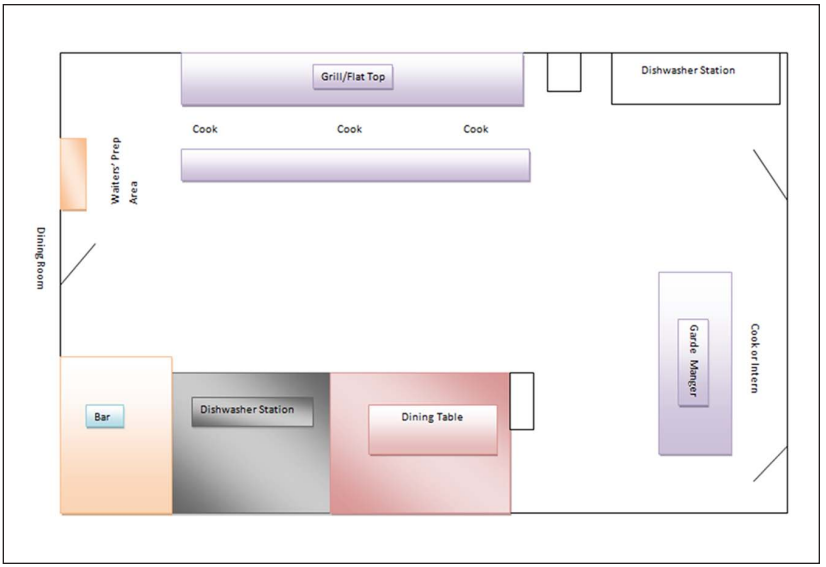
This paper's findings have applicability to the study of culture, particularly within organizations. Culture is not always monolithic and static as many organizational culture studies would suggest. Rather, the shift of head chefs, and the consequent alteration of group norms, reveals that culture is created through action, and ever changing depending on the local context. The cooks behaved significantly differently when the second head chef Paul left the space, affirming that culture is based on local interaction. In addition, scholars have understudied the obdurate qualities of where "culture in action" reveals itself. I show that uncontrollable spatial and temporal pressures can also impact the shape and function of a local culture.

Lastly, these findings have relevance for the workplace. This study has shown that workers are highly sensitive to managerial presence. Indeed, organizational space is "fragile" (Spicer 2006, 10), as it is constantly reappropriated with meanings by those who occupy it. By understanding the role that space and time play in particular forms of discourse, management may be better suited to eradicating speech judged unacceptable (for instance, gossip or profanity) or encourage productive talk (i.e., brainstorming sessions). For instance, while open space may be viewed as a detriment to gossip because there are few private spaces to partake in it, my research reveals that if supported by those in positions of authority, such forms of language flourish. Accordingly, some worksites might consider implementing the physical placement of a superior among employees, rather than a full restructuring of the space to produce changes in workplace communication. Ultimately, space is a social product, invested with meanings by those who occupy it.

Through an examination of discourse in the workplace, space and time become concrete variables that can be unpacked for sociological analysis. However, unlike predecessors in spatial and temporal scholarship, I have chosen not to separate space and time into different domains. Rather, this article argues that the temporal order connects to the spatial order in all areas of daily life. Furthermore, not only do spatial and temporal experiences shape individuals, but social actors also actively live and shape their time and spaces. Lastly, I call on others not simply to ignore space and time because of their mundane qualities, but instead to recognize that because of these characteristics, they provide valuable insight to work and talk.

Appendix

Map of Tatin's Kitchen Space



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Notes

1. This study has received institutional review board approval from Northwestern University.

2. The restaurant's name and all informants' names have been changed.
3. A tasting menu consists of a number of smaller dishes of the chef's choosing. A chef's tasting is typically created to provide a sample of the cuisine offered by the restaurant.

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