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Exploring Organizational Culture of Restaurants Through Workplace Rituals

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EXPLORING ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE OF RESTAURANTS THROUGH
WORKPLACE RITUALS

By

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Abstract

Organizational culture can be a competitive advantage to the extent of how employees learn underlying core values. Workplace rituals are symbolic mechanisms through which employees may learn to operate in a given particular culture. Yet, surprisingly little research exists examining how different rituals are used as learning mechanisms in different cultures. Drawing on Cameron and Quinn's (1999) cultural framework, I examined four different types of organizational cultures: clan, hierarchy, market, and adhocracy. A total of 16, semi-structured interviews with managers, owners, and staff, along with 5 field observations were used to examine the link among rituals, learning, and culture. Findings suggest that the emphasis on emotional, cognitive, and behavioral rituals were linked with different cultures. Specifically, in clan-based cultures, learning of culture values occurred through personal belonging and trusting relationships; in an adhocracy-based culture, learning of cultural values occurred through collaborative creativity and empowerment; in market-based cultures, learning of cultural values occurred through performance and consistency (to sell); and in hierarchy-based cultures, learning of cultural values occurred through efficiency and consistency (of product). Theoretical and practical implications are addressed. Rituals help to foster a stronger culture that may contribute to a competitive advantage.

Dedication

To Jerica Fox for her unconditional support.

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Introduction

Workplace rituals symbolically represent an organization's culture. They are used as a learning mechanism for employees to discover the organizational culture and its underlying core values. Deal and Kennedy (2000:14) define rituals as "systematic and programmed routines of day-to-day life in the company…[that] show employees the kind of behavior that is expected of them." All rituals are symbolic of what the company values, and they also help employees to learn the environment of the organization. Furthermore, they help employees to learn how to do their jobs successfully and achieve the standards that the company expects.

The restaurant industry is marked by a set of characteristics (e.g. high turnover, low pay) that makes them suitable to examine through a ritual lens for cultural learning (Madera et al., 2013; Sparrowe, 1994). While research suggests that organizations can operate by a range of different values (e.g. quality, value, expectations, loyalty), customer service has been noted as a common one (Koutroumanis, 2012., Davidson, 2003). However, even within a customer-service based industry, different restaurants do not share the same values as they vie to differentiate themselves from competitors. This suggests that restaurants operate based on different rituals. Yet, research on how employees learn core values through rituals remains.

Research on types of culture in restaurants suggests that a culture that strives to be an extended family for the employees has been more frequented for independent restaurants (Robbins, Decenzo, and Coulter, 2011). It has also been stated that restaurants to use this style are better prepared to provide the best customer service (Koutroumanis et al., 2009). Unfortunately, there is very little known about how new employees learn

organizational culture through rituals within the restaurant industry. There are also challenges in the restaurant industry, which may affect and influence the ways that organizational culture is learned at the company. By popularizing this issue, researchers will be more informed with understanding the barriers and difficulties in the cultural learning. This study will help people involved with the restaurant industry to understand its organizational culture. This will also help managers to promote and systematize their rituals as learning mechanisms and integrate their new hires more efficiently. For a restaurant to strengthen its culture, the management needs to consider which rituals are cohesive with their restaurant's core values. Disregarding organizational culture can lead to an ethical failure (Madu, 2012).

This study will focus on one main question: How are workplace rituals used and leveraged for learning a particular type of organizational culture among new hires in the restaurant context? More specifically, the study will take a look at how new employees learn the culture of their organization by way of rituals that exist within the company. The study adopts a case-based research approach and uses four restaurants to examine the role of rituals through a set of 16, semi-structured interviews and 6 supplemental observations.

The following section is organized by first reviewing the extant research on rituals. I will elaborate on different types of rituals by borrowing from Smith and Stewart's (2011) research. Next, I outline research on learning and discuss how it is used as a social process. Finally, I explore research on organizational culture and explore cultures from Cameron and Quinn's (1999) research.

<center>**Literature Review**</center>

Different Types of Rituals

       Rituals by definition are acts performed in a ceremonious way and in accordance with social custom or normal protocol. They often contain a significant meaning and are regularly repeated. Rituals in the workplace can range within a variety of factors. They could be as simple as a daily work routine or it could be more complex like an office award for some sort of achievement. Terrence Deal and Allan Kennedy (2000) identified various types of rituals involving the workplace, including communication and social, work, management, and recognition.

       Workplace rituals can serve various functions. Smith and Stewart (2010) outlined three essential features. The first is how the ritual is differentiated from typical behavior. The second essential feature is that rituals are required depending on the situation. The third and final essential feature of rituals is that they produce conduct and actions that are atypical during a normal day. Above all, rituals are a mechanism for learning core values of an organization, because they help establish what the organization holds as a core value.

       In addition to the *function* of rituals, scholars have also outlined different *types* of rituals. Smith and Stewart (2010) divided rituals into three distinct categories: (1) affective anchoring, (2) cognitive capture, and (3) behavioral prescription. Affective anchoring rituals focus on emotional values. These are performed to bring out emotions of an employee. The next type is cognitive capture rituals which focus on thinking. These rituals deal with thinking-based actions and routines. The final type is behavioral prescription rituals, which focus on action-based routines.

Affective anchoring rituals are based on emotions. Smith and Stewart (2010:125) stated that "Everyday experience reinforces that rituals associated with sport, health, work and relationships can be profoundly emotional, and engender a sense of community or connection among or between its practitioners." These rituals are embedded in the emotions of the employees, and performing them strengthens the workforce into a collective and a cohesive team.

Cognitive capture rituals are based in thinking. Boyer and Lienard (2006:610) observe: "some behavior activates some mental templates in the mind of observers, and triggers non-random inferences about what is accomplished by the behavior." These rituals rely on the power of thinking and the ability of association.

Behavioral prescription rituals are based in the actions of the employee. Bird and Smith (2005) note that "anthropologists, ecologists, and biologists have begun to integrate altruistic or seemingly irrational behaviors into adaptationist and strategic analyses of decision making and social behavior." Observing behavioral rituals through an organizational culture lens would suggest that daily actions and routines have deeper underlying meanings based on the restaurant's core values. For example, if a restaurant values conformity, their employees may all be trained the same way and have many procedures in place to carry out daily operations. On the other hand, if a restaurant values creativity, the employees may be encouraged to create their own procedures.

While rituals may be helpful to understand how culture is learned, scholars have outlined specific aspects of activities in organizations that would constitute rituals. For example, in Trice and Beyer's (1984:655) research, it was stated that rituals contain "(1) relatively elaborate and planned sets of activities, (2) [are] carried out through social

interactions, (3) [are] usually for the benefit of an audience, (4) [and have] multiple social consequences." Smith and Steward (2011:114) expanded on this with their distinction between "full rituals," and "ritual-like activities." They determined that rituals occurred within the range of full to ritual-like activities. In this range, full rituals contained invariability, formality, symbology, and performance expectations. However, full rituals are considered to be uncommon, and because of this, ritual-like activities are considered more useful. These are activities that have an important symbolic representation of different types of culture. Based on this observation, this paper takes an approach based on Smith and Steward's (2011) research on ritual-like activities and investigates how the learning of these activities occurs.

Importance of Rituals

Rituals can help employees to learn company values by bringing their attention to what the organization views as important (Smith et al., 2010). The word "ritual" implies that it is an action that is repeated and performed in a particular fashion. The employee will learn what the company values most by thinking about what the ritual is and what it is accomplishing. For example, if a restaurant wants the waiters to fold napkins a certain way every time, the restaurant's management is illustrating to the employee that they value presentation.

Rituals are a part of the organizational culture, and, as such, they help define what the business is and how it operates. Based on the rituals of the company, employees can easily determine what sort of working environment he/she is in. Rituals could include anything from a special lunch, office parties, or work schedules (Ulrich 1984). The rituals

bind the employees together. As a result, this creates the atmosphere that the company desires and is what makes them unique from other companies.

Research has noted various rituals in the workplace, such as daily routines (Deal et al., 2000: 68), meetings (Cameron, 1998), and social interaction (Domenico et al., 2009). For example, within the workplace rituals of organizational culture, surgeons are required to wash up for seven minutes before going to perform surgery (Deal et al., 2000: 68). Workplace rituals offer an opportunity for bonding among coworkers to create a more cohesive team. However, little research has actually examined how these rituals and their underlying values are learned.

Organizational Learning

When an employee is hired at a new company, the employee must undertake various training processes to understand the company. Through this learning, employees will learn the organizational culture as well as learn more about their own jobs. The knowledge of culture will help the employee to understand the values of the company.

According to Dodgson (1993:376), "The management and business literature often equates learning with sustainable comparative competitive efficiency, and the innovation literature usually sees learning as promoting comparative innovative efficiency." Learning allows employees to learn the core values of the organization that contribute to a strong culture. Organizational learning needs to be analyzed through the organizational level rather than the individual level, and this is done through examining routines performed because of the organization's values.

There have been numerous studies exploring organizational learning. One of the most prominent studies on the subject is Crossan and Berdrow's (2003) work with learning. They created a model called the 4I Organizational Learning Framework, which has three levels called individual, group, and organization. Within these three levels are four processes called intuiting, interpreting, integrating, and institutionalizing.

The three levels of the framework work together to ensure the firm has learned (Vera et al., 2004). The first process is intuiting. In this process, the individual notices patterns. Intuiting can also affect his/her behavior. The next process is interpreting, which is explaining an idea or a thought to yourself as well as your peers. The third process is integrating, in which the person begins to understand other people and blend with them. In the final process, institutionalizing, routines start to emerge.

In this study, I focused on the institutionalizing of learning at the organizational level. These three levels of learning are what separates the distinguished processes and outcomes within the restaurant. At an individual level, the outcomes are focused on experiences, images, and metaphors (Crossan and Berdrow, 2003). The organizational level of learning has outcomes featuring routines, diagnostic systems, and rules and procedures (Crossan and Berdrow, 2003). Cook and Yanow (1993:603) define organizational learning as "the capacity of an organization to learn how to do what it does, where what it learns is possessed not by individual members of the organization but by the aggregate itself." The argument throughout this study is that learning does not necessarily need to involve change at the organizational level. Instead, I suggest that learning can be used to maintain the status quo of the core values of the business. Similar

to this, Durkheim (1961) studied rituals and viewed them as a way of maintaining social order.

This study focused on learning at an organizational level to understand how a restaurant develops its system of operation to provide optimal service for the customers. This organizational level is examined by researching the restaurant's organizational culture to further unpack the rituals and core values.

Organizational Culture

There have been numerous studies on this topic. For example, Klein and Weaver (2000) studied culture through six dimensions including politics, goals/values, people, performance, and language. I used Cameron and Quinn's (1999) 2x2 framework of types of organizational culture to frame this paper. This framework has been adopted before for the use of organizational culture (e.g. Koutroumanis et al., 2012). Their study looks at four types of culture. These four cultures are clan, hierarchy, market, and adhocracy. Cameron and Quinn (1999) produced a 2x2 framework (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
Rituals in Types of Organizational Cultures

Flexibility & Freedom to Act

Internal Focus & Integration

External Focus & Differentiation

Clan-Culture: Classic Pizza

Emotional Rituals:
- Personal Belonging
- Trusting Relationships

Ad Hoc-Culture: American Fusion

Cognitive Rituals:
- Collaborative Creativity
- Empowerment

Hierarchy-Culture: Wiener Dog

Behavioral Conformity Rituals:
- Efficiency
- Consistency (of product)

Market-Culture: Taco City

Behavioral Performance Rituals:
- Performance
- Consistency (to sell)

Stability & Control

Clan culture is the top left quadrant of the matrix. This type of culture is viewed as a "family" culture. It is based around things like friendship and loyalty. It has little concern for external competition. Businesses that would be in this category are flexible with an internal focus, which means that the business has little variation, if any. The business is more focused on integration rather than competition (Lund 2003), and is a flexible, rather than controlling, business.

Adhocracy culture is the top right quadrant of the matrix. This type of culture is more externally focused than internally. In an adhocracy culture, the organization will rely on innovation and employee empowerment. The business tends to address what the

customers' have to say. In a restaurant setting, this may mean that their menu changes periodically rather than remain stagnant. They also maintain the flexibility versus control style of culture similar to clan culture, but could take more risks as well.

Market culture is the bottom right quadrant of the matrix. This type of culture is externally focused, similar to adhocracy. The business is more controlling than flexible. In market cultures, the business uses competition among employees to produce results. One is also more likely to see titles within controlling cultures. The company as a whole is probably very goal oriented and focused on production (Lund 2003). The employees have a high drive for competition. The business as a whole may look towards the numbers to ensure they are accomplishing their goals.

Hierarchy culture is the bottom left quadrant of the matrix. This type of culture is internally-focused, similar to clan. The business also take on a more controlling culture, like market, over the flexibility of clan or adhocracy. The controlling aspect of the company shows through with their procedures for operating that are typical within a hierarchy culture (Lund 2003). The internal focus of hierarchy and clan within a restaurant setting may mean that the menus of the restaurant change very seldom, if at all.

Each culture framework within an organization helps to create the set of shared core values that hold the company together (Lund 2003). How the employees not only interact with each other but also interact with customers depends on how the organizational culture is established. My review of the literature shows the different types of rituals and organizational cultures established as well as the importance of examining at an organizational level, but I still know very little about how different rituals are used

as learning mechanisms in different cultures. Thus, my overall research question formally states:

RQ: How do organizational members learn core cultural values through emotional, cognitive, and behavioral workplace rituals in restaurants with different cultures?

Methods

For this project, I used a qualitative method to study the relationship between rituals and organizational culture within the restaurant industry. Using Cameron and Quinn's (1999) framework, I wanted to identify four restaurants that would fit each of the four types of culture. My sampling strategy was to approach franchises and independently owned restaurants. My overall goal was to conduct an internal interview with a manager to access the restaurant's culture. I approached ten restaurants, and gained access to five (one restaurant was eliminated based on overlap of one cultural archetype), which would serve as the cases for my study. These restaurants were chosen based on initial interviews with managers and personal experiences within the restaurants that would fit each quadrant represented in Cameron and Quinn's (1999) framework. The four restaurants are based in the Northeast of the United States and represent four different styles of cuisine including pizza, hot dogs, Mexican, and American fusion. A total of 16 interviews were conducted during a four month period producing a total of 46,045 words in notes and 604 minutes in recorded interviews. See Table 1 for data metrics.

Table 1

Demographics of Interviews

Age	Restaurant	Word Count	Position	Position Type	Time
30s	Wiener Dog	2724	Manager	Full	Since Inception
20s	Wiener Dog	2654	Cook	Part	6 Months
30s	Wiener Dog	3165	Cook	Full	1.5 Years
20s	Wiener Dog	3500	Host	Part	7 Months
60s	Classic Pizza	2861	Manager	Full	Over 30 Years
40s/50s	Classic Pizza	4112	Waiter	Full	2 Years
40s	Classic Pizza	2858	Waiter	Part	5 Years
20s	Classic Pizza	1823	Waiter	Part	6/7 Months
30s	Taco City	3042	Manager	Full	
20s	Taco City	3751	Host	Part	7/8 Months
20s	Taco City	1987	Waiter	Part	7/8 Months
20s	Taco City	3285	Waiter	Part	7/8 Months
30s	American Fusion	2929	Manager	Full	Since Inception
30s	American Fusion	2486	Waiter/Bartender	Full	2 Years
30s	American Fusion	2451	Waiter/Bartender	Full	3 Years
30s	American Fusion	2417	Cook	Full	Since Inception

The majority of the data was collected over a series of 16 interviews along with

six observations made at the restaurants themselves. The interviews were conducted with

members of management as well as lower level employees which include cooks and the

wait-staff. This was done to effectively triangulate my data. The interviewing of

managers and staff of the restaurants were conducted either at the restaurant in question

or a public place close by. The participation in the study was voluntary. Any participant

featured in the study was granted compensation in the form of a twenty dollar gift card to

a local grocery store. The interview itself was held in a semi-structured format. These interviews varied in length, with a range from thirty to sixty minutes. The interviews were recorded using an iPhone and/or laptop. This was done to be able to transcribe the interview as soon as possible after the initial meeting.

The questions used during the initial interviews with the restaurant managers focused on broad outlining of restaurant culture. This helped me to assign each restaurant correctly into the proper organizational culture. Sample questions from the initial interview included: to what extent is the organization a personal place (Clan); do you have clear roles and responsibilities or are they flexible (Hierarchy); how often and how much would you say your menu changes (Adhocracy); to what extent is the organization results-oriented (Market). During the interview, in addition to questions based on different organizational cultures, there were questions asked regarding rituals taking place within the restaurant. These questions included: please outline daily routines that you as a manager perform; do you have staff meetings; is the dress code important; when you first started working here; how did you get up to speed with your work (I.e. training); and how did you learn about what is expected of you?

For later interviews with other employees at the restaurants, the questions changed to further examine at a deeper level the rituals and practices of the restaurant. The core values of the restaurant were important to understand to grasp the foundation of organizational culture. To organize and focus my questions and thoughts regarding culture and values, I implemented a division of rituals into four categories including emotional, cognitive, behavioral learning, and behavioral performance. This is a modified version of Smith and Steward's (2011) study on rituals. I wanted to understand the

foundation of the restaurant and to do this I had to more closely examine the answers I was receiving. To do this, I practiced Schein's (2010: 343) method for uncovering values. This approach invokes the researcher to use the word "Why?" to find the root of values placed. Schein states that the question of "Why are you doing what you are doing?" helps expose the core values.

From the initial data collected from interviews, I then applied Miles and Huberman's (1994) three stage coding technique. This includes open coding, axial coding, and selective coding to analyze the data. According to Miles and Huberman (1994): "Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study." Open coding is generalizing the data into broad groups or themes. Axial coding is narrowing down the open codes into more focused groups of information. Selective coding is finding overall themes within the research. Table 2 illustrates my coding process and how the ritual-like activities were actualized.
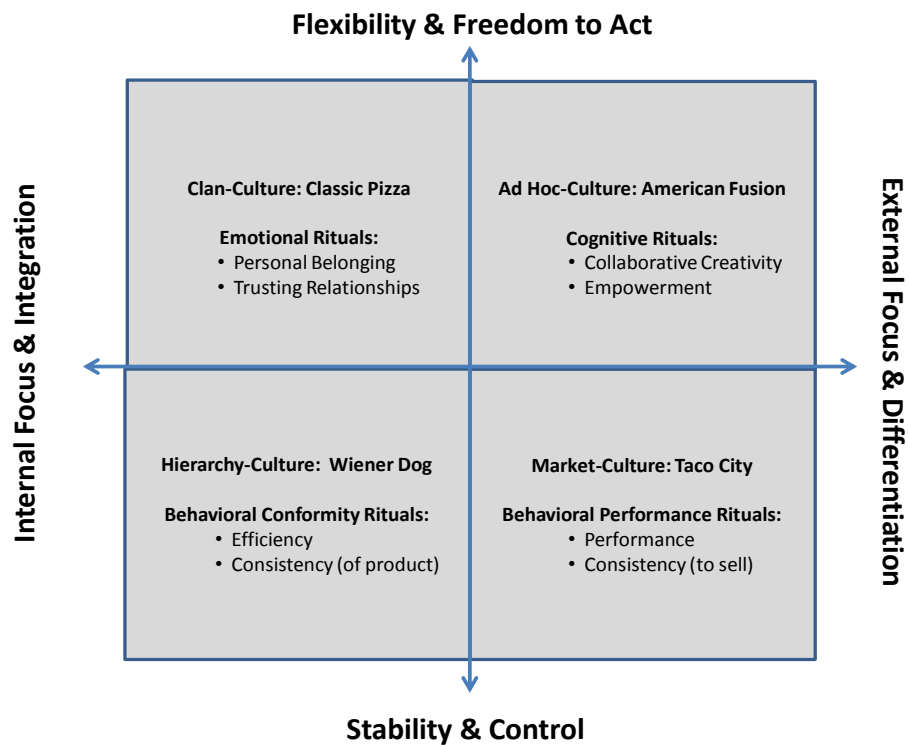
Table 2

Open, Axial, and Selective Coding: Emotional, Cognitive, and Behavioral Rituals

Open (Raw Codes)	Axial (Categories)	Selective (Ritual Themes)	Rituals for Core Values	Type of Culture
• Family • Helping • Friendly • Lots of regulars • History	• Reliance • Trust • Support • Tradition	• Personal Belonging • Trusting Relationships	Emotional	Clan
• Small • Local support • Open to suggestion • Togetherness • Low Turnover	• Adaptable • Changing • Teamwork • Free Thinking	• Collaborative Creativity • Solutions	Cognitive	Ad Hoc
• Thorough • Regiment • By the book • Performance Driven • Multi-State Chain	• Training • Competition • Motivation • Promotion	• Performance • Consistency (to sell)	Behavioral Performance	Market
• Clear Food Chain • Practical • Think Ahead • Professional • Protocol	• Consistency • Prediction • Efficiency • Confidence	• Efficiency • Consistency (of product)	Behavioral Conformity	Hierarchy

Findings

My fieldwork revealed that each restaurant, because of its organizational culture type, elicit different types of rituals that reflect its core values. These types of rituals include emotional, cognitive, behavioral learning, and behavioral performance. I identified two rituals in each restaurant that operated as learning tools for said culture. The restaurants chosen have been given fictitious names to ensure the protection of their identities. The analysis was performed using the structure in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Rituals in Types of Organizational Cultures

Flexibility & Freedom to Act

	Clan-Culture: Classic Pizza	**Ad Hoc-Culture: American Fusion**
Internal Focus & Integration	**Emotional Rituals:** • Personal Belonging • Trusting Relationships	**Cognitive Rituals:** • Collaborative Creativity • Empowerment
	Hierarchy-Culture: Wiener Dog **Behavioral Conformity Rituals:** • Efficiency • Consistency (of product)	**Market-Culture: Taco City** **Behavioral Performance Rituals:** • Performance • Consistency (to sell)

External Focus & Differentiation

Stability & Control

Clan Culture: Classic Pizza

Classic Pizza is an average pizza parlor style restaurant. They are a locally based chain with restaurants scattered throughout Maine. They have a total of 14 restaurants in operation. Classic Pizza is open all day and has a menu for every meal. They do offer other items for sale besides pizza; however, pizza is the main focus for the restaurant. Classic Pizza has a staff of 20 fulltime and part time employees. They originally opened in 1931 but pizza was not added to the menu until 1953. Their clients can range from typical college students to town residents who have been coming to Classic Pizza for years. Their staff is older but also features college students. The staff is also family based and members of the family who originally started the business are still involved in the restaurant to this day. The interviews that took place with Classic Pizza employees provided evidence that the restaurant is a clan-based restaurant. The staff views itself as an extended family and customers are treated according to the same values. One waitress commented that the restaurant "focuses on catering to the town and to the public." The restaurant is also very passionate about the tradition it provides. For example, one waitress stated, "The restaurant in [Undisclosed] is the oldest, so the pans they use have been in service for seventy years. It adds a different taste to the pizza." Like any restaurant, there are other types of rituals that take place at Classic Pizza; however, emotional rituals emerged as a primary one in my fieldwork.

Emotional Rituals: Personal Belonging: The first emotional ritual discovered through analysis was one of personal belonging within the restaurant. One waitress commented: "It is very open lace where I feel like I am working with friends. I have felt welcomed since day one and have never felt anything different since." Classic Pizza

employs people of all ages, but quite a few of them are family. The ones who are not family are still treated as such. There is a staff-wide reliance on one another which creates a sense of comradery present as a sense of belonging. For example, one waitress stated: "Everyone at [Classic Pizza] helps each other. The grill cook, for example, has more responsibility than a server. If it is really busy, however, a server may jump on and help the grill cook to accomplish what he needs to. Everyone tries to help each other so that everyone feels like they are in the 'same boat'." The employees at Classic Pizza also tend to share a lot about themselves with one another while they work. One waitress stated: "When you work shoulder to shoulder with someone every day, you end up sharing quite a bit." The waitress went on later to state: "Everyone is very loyal to each other and tend to watch out for each other." The restaurant bases itself in being a place where employees feel like they are part of the family.

Emotional Rituals: Trusting Relationships: Another emotional ritual discovered at Classic Pizza was one of trusting relationships. There is a mutual trust among the staff that brings out the foundation of a clan-based organization. One waitress stated: "The staff is very open and tend to share a lot about themselves at work." One waitress, when she was initially hired, unfortunately had to take sick leave for her first few shifts. The waitress commented: "Rather than be annoyed by a new person calling out so quickly, the staff was very understanding." The other employees had a trust in the newest addition to the "family" that allowed them to give the waitress the benefit of the doubt. It was also stated that the staff is very open among each other and do not mind sharing a lot about themselves at work. This shows that employees trust each other enough to speak about

their personal lives. This trust within the workplace has evolved into an occasional out of workplace meeting. On occasion, employees will take in a movie together in a friendship environment. The research conducted on this clan culture elicits a strong sense of family belonging and trust. Given this, my first proposition formally states:

Proposition 1: Clan culture elicits emotional rituals for personal belonging and trusting relationships.

Market Culture: Taco City

Taco City is a restaurant that focuses on Mexican cuisine. It is a chain restaurant that features over twenty branches across the northeast. The chain originally started in 1986 with their first restaurant opening in Concord, New Hampshire. Since then, they have opened 25 locations across the northeast. Their business relies heavily on dinner meals as they do not open until the late afternoon. The staff is made up of 30 employees with four managers and college students as the main base. Their customers range from college students to people of later generations. Taco City embraces a market culture which evokes behavioral based rituals with a focus on learning. The restaurant implements numerous amounts of procedures to ensure that each employee learns everything needed to adequately perform his/her job. Because of the numerous amounts of procedures, as well as Taco City's use of internal competition to sell more of a certain item, the restaurant has been labeled as a market culture.

Behavioral Performance Rituals: Performance: The first behavioral performance ritual observed at Taco City is performance. To ensure adequate training, one employee stated: "There are programs set up for every position within the restaurant. These are formal trainings designed to help people understand the job. Each position requires a certain number of days' worth of training." My interviews along with observational data suggest that performance is showcased through the restaurant's strong push for internal competition. One employee stated: "The restaurant runs 'iron chef' competitions where employees get to make different dishes. If the dish gets selected for any particular menu, the employee may win a prize or something of the sort." The employees engage in inter-competition to win prizes. Taco City also tracks who sold the most of a particular product. This data is posted every week. It is organized by restaurant, then by servers, and is posted on the manager's office door. It is also relevant to note that there are jobs that are considered to be more prestigious than other jobs within the restaurant which could evoke higher performance. For example, you start as a hostess, but the financial outcome is greater for a waitress position. This may inspire higher performance to move up and advance within the company. You may aspire to obtain the waitressing position because of the better benefits.

Behavioral Performance Rituals: Consistency (to sell): Another behavioral performance ritual observed at Taco City is consistency (to sell). The staff is trained the same way upon being hired. One employee commented: "Everyone gets a manual when they are hired. There are employee manuals and manager manuals." Taco City features a very formal way of training and onboarding new employees to ensure that they are fully

capable and comfortable with handling the job and the tasks given to them. When an employee is hired, they are given a packet of information to help guide them through the process. When questioned about interacting with customers, one waitress stated that she was "specifically told how to address them and it is talked about in the packet of information [given to each employee at initial hiring]." The initial training takes place over the course of six shifts at Taco City. During the first three shifts, the new employee shadows a veteran of the company to observe and obtain a working knowledge of the company. During the latter three shifts, the new employee is shadowed to ensure that they are performing the job correctly and according to the expectations set by Taco City. There are separate trainings for each position within the restaurant. Employees are given quizzes throughout their training to demonstrate their proper knowledge of the job. All of these instances of training are done to produce consistent behaviors of a wait-staff. The market culture conducts business with an emphasis on competition driven performance and the desire to consistently please customers. Thus, my second proposition formally states:

Proposition 2: Market culture utilizes behavioral competition rituals for learning and reinforcing core values of performance and consistency.

Hierarchy Culture: Wiener Dog

Wiener Dog is a restaurant that focuses on different types of hot dogs but also features other food items as well. The restaurant opened in 2012 as, initially, a partnership. Over time, one partner bought out the other for full ownership. The

restaurant employs around 15 fulltime and part time employees. There is only one Wiener Dog and it is located in the downtown area of a college town. The staff is primarily made up from students of the local university but there are other people who work there that do not go to school. They are open all day and have a menu for each meal of the day. The staff is overseen by the owner, who is present on a daily basis. The people who go to Wiener Dog are a wide variety of local people. The environment of the restaurant appears to cater to students. Wiener Dog has been labeled as a hierarchy culture based on their need for consistency with a focus on efficiency. They have a very distinct division of labor which also suggests a hierarchical culture base.

Behavioral Conformity Rituals: Efficiency: The first behavioral conformity ritual observed was efficiency. Prediction is very important at the restaurant with one employee stating: "It's all about anticipating what the customer may want." The restaurant does well to anticipate for large gatherings of people and events. For example, if a hockey game is happening that night and they anticipate seeing large groups of people in the restaurant, one employee stated: "There will be another person working and I will also stock up in preparation of more people." Wiener Dog bases their establishment around a core value of efficiency, which is evident in their hierarchy organizational structure. There are measures in place to ensure achievement of the desired efficiency. For example, the restaurant features a whiteboard in the kitchen. This whiteboard is used as a means for dividing work between the morning crew and the night crew at the restaurant. Furthermore, one cook stated: "the employee who closes the restaurant is the person responsible for writing down anything that needs to be done for first thing the following

morning on the board." Wiener Dog has a large and intricate menu. Because of this, the employees try to ensure any new customer feels comfortable enough to order. One waitress commented: "If they have not been in there before, I will run through the menu with them to help them order."

Behavioral Conformity Rituals: Consistency (of product): Another ritual within Wiener Dog is the ritual of consistency to produce the same product every time. One cook commented: "You cannot be giving people more fries one time and then less another because they will be asking why they have not received the same amount. Giving the customers the same thing every time, they know what to expect, they know what they are paying for, and they know what they are getting." Consistency is an incredibly important piece for the restaurant to be successful. Another cook stated that consistency relies on "having the right person in the position with the self-drive to put out the product you asked them to put out and then have it be managed by the people who are working." The restaurant wants to endorse a perfect product. Consistency is also very important when it comes to budgeting for the restaurant. If you give someone more fries than usual, you are spending more money to make the dish without raising the price. One cook stated: "I had to train everyone on the right portion sizes so that there is consistency between all of the cooks within the kitchen." During an observation at the restaurant, a customer asked for a modified version of an item on the menu called the "Chicago Dog." When met with this request, the person behind the register responded with: "A Chicago Dog is a classic man, don't mess with a perfect dog, you can't order it without white onions and yellow mustard!" This observation further supports the core value of

consistency of the product. It also demonstrates the inwardly cultural emphasis rather than customer preference. Because of this, my third proposition formally states:

Proposition 3: Hierarchy culture emphasizes behavioral conformity rituals for learning and reinforcing core values of efficiency and product consistency.

Adhocracy Culture: American Fusion

American Fusion is a restaurant that focuses on farm fresh food. They are an upscale restaurant with a casual feel. They try to rotate their menu four times a year to emphasize seasonal dishes. The staff is primarily made up of people who want to make this job a career. They currently employ 12 employees. There is only one American Fusion restaurant. There are two co-owners who work with the staff as much as possible. There is no hierarchy at the restaurant and everyone is considered to be on an equal playing field. The restaurant does feature higher prices and may be unaffordable for the average college student. The environment is casual but offers limited seating. There is always music playing in the background. The restaurant features both a formal dining area as well as a bar area. American Fusion is an adhocracy based culture because of their constantly changing menu and collaborative nature.

Cognitive Ritual: Collaborative Creativity: The first cognitive ritual that emerged in my fieldwork was an emphasis on creative collaboration among all of the employees. This core value is demonstrated through teamwork to produce the best possible product for their customers. When a menu is changed within the restaurant, the employees gather

to create the menu as a team. Staff meetings occur whenever there is a menu change for the employees to taste test the menu. One staff member stated: "The chef is very encouraged to suggestions. The whole process is very interactive." The employees are open to suggesting things to be put on the menu. During one of my interviews, one informant commented that "One employee has a salad on the menu because the chef liked it." Bartenders have their own drinks on the menu that they have come up with as well. One cook stated that the chef may ask other cooks for ideas. Suggestions are not reserved for the menu. The restaurant takes suggestions to improve the overall business from their employees very seriously. One waitress stated: "Even if it is a new person, a good idea is a good idea."

Cognitive Ritual: Empowerment: The next cognitive ritual discovered is empowerment. The employees are encouraged to think for themselves while still operating within the team environment. This translates to helping customers but in their own way. One employee stated: "We are free to describe things any way we want. Every response to customers' questions are personal responses rather than reading out of a dictionary." They should also be able to help answer any questions a customer may have. This is the reasoning for the menu tasting. One employee stated: "We are the face of the restaurant and we need to be able to answer any sort of questions that the customer may have." The employees may also help customers with making decisions. For example, if there is a certain type of wine in stock that needs to be moved, employees may suggest this wine to customers who order dishes that it would complement. This idea of thinking for themselves is also established in the kitchen. One cook stated: "The new employee is

expected to come up with their own ways of doing things if they cannot figure out the way we do it." The adhocracy culture is driven by the empowerment of the employees. Thus, my fourth proposition formally states:

Proposition 4: Adhocracy culture emphasizes cognitive rituals for empowerment and solutions.

Discussion

This study investigates rituals within the confines of four different restaurants. These rituals may be used for learning and reinforcing values of the restaurant. The project was based on the combining of two theoretical frameworks. These frameworks include one for types of rituals (Smith and Steward, 2011) and one for types of organizational cultures (Cameron and Quinn, 1999). The findings suggest that rituals work through four different systems. Categorically, rituals work to reveal values within emotion, cognition, behavioral performance, and behavioral conformity dependent upon the type of organizational culture in place at the restaurant. This is discussed further below.

Theoretical Contributions

This study has produced numerous theoretical contributions worth noting for further research. My first contribution is that this study accepts and adapts an already established framework on rituals (Smith and Stuart, 2011). In this framework it is established that rituals may be categorized into three distinct sections of emotion,

cognition, and behavioral rituals. I separate the rituals using underlying values of the restaurant that were established through interviews and observations. This helped us to establish certain values into matching organizational cultures. I altered the behavioral category of the study to further differentiate the restaurants observed. This category was separated into two sub-categories based on performance compared to conformity. The restaurant that featured a market culture promoted competitive values based on performance. The restaurant that featured a hierarchy culture stressed efficiency and conformity. Both restaurants focused on behavioral style rituals but different aspects of behaviors. The study produced eight rituals in addition to the aforementioned ones for further investigation into the topic.

Also, the study provides insight into rituals used as a means of sustaining social order (Durkheim, 1961). This is based on learning and reinforcement, as discussed earlier, and provides context for workplace rituals within their anthropological roots. Learning at a restaurant begins when a new employee is brought onboard. At this moment, they start to learn the inner workings of the restaurant. Each employee is brought up to speed to some degree. This occurs through some form of training to ensure that the employee is ready for his/her job. This training may be a combination of observation, classroom settings, or hands-on participation. From there, the new employee will transition into a fully trained member of the staff and an accepted member of the team. At all of the restaurants that were observed, there was evidence of this. Each restaurant, however, was different in how it executed this step because of the differing core values. For example, at Classic Pizza, the employees considered themselves to be members of an extended family who offered the same support for each other that a family

might. This may include helping out another employee during a busy shift or picking up shifts for a sick coworker. At Taco City, each employee is expected to complete a set training that is uniform for every new employee. This ritual includes shadowing and taking exams. At Wiener Dog, an employee will be able to anticipate the day and use their knowledge to ensure efficiency during a shift. At American Fusion, employees will collaborate with the rest of the team to create a new menu.

Practical Implications

The findings illustrated above raised the possibility of a practical implication that is worth discussing. Core values are viewed as important to the business and they are manifested through rituals. I found that the use of rituals could have an effect on how employees share core values among each other. For example, the restaurant may have a strong culture. The strength of a culture depends on the symbolism behind the rituals that the organization possesses and their compatibility with the core values of the organization (Denison, 1984; Saffold, 1988; Sorensen, 2002). This study offers an insight into the importance of rituals for learning and reinforcing existing organizational culture and the underlying values behind the culture. Through my research, I examined the motives behind routines and behaviors. The very word "ritual" implies some sort of repetition within an action. Repetition itself is a key factor for reinforcing behaviors and values. It would make sense for restaurants to implement rituals to reinforce their core values which, ultimately, keep the organizational culture of the restaurant intact.

Limitations and Future Research

The sample size for this study has been restricted to four restaurants. The food industry is known for being an industry filled with high turnover rates and low pay (Batt et al., 2014). The findings produced in this paper are transcendental and can be applied to a number of industries. There were two frameworks used as the basis for this study including one of organizational culture (Cameron and Quinn, 1999) and one of rituals (Smith and Stewart, 2011). These may be adopted by any industry. Making this study also adaptable for any industry. The rituals described and analyzed within this study are all specific to the restaurant industry but the core values may be found in other industries as well. I believe that my findings are generalizable to other restaurants as well as other industries with similar cultures. However, future research needs to test and validate my eight rituals. Research also needs to link with performance to see if they are linked with positive organizational outcomes. You can infer from the fact that these restaurants have been open for business for years which would suggest that these rituals have a role in terms of performance. In addition to this, my study was limited to 16 interviews. These interviews provided us with a working knowledge of each restaurant and the operations behind them. While I gathered a lot of information, each restaurant's culture could be examined more deeply than my study investigated. For example, each organization offered elements of several types of cultural values. What I have gathered and presented here are the rituals that most accurately represented each restaurant. Additional research on the subject of rituals within the restaurant industry would be beneficial. For future outlook, I hope that my research will generate more studies in the topic of rituals and their role in learning and reinforcing organizational culture and values. By looking at this

study from a business owner's prospective, it is important to view organizational culture as a competitive advantage and internally evaluate one's own workplace rituals. It is also encouraged for other researchers to examine rituals within other organizational practices to investigate how they occur within another industry.

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Appendix 1:

Interview Protocol for Manager

My focus is to understand the nature of the organization culture that exists in your restaurant and how managers and staff learn it. I plan to evaluate the process by interviewing people from four different restaurants. The interview will take about 45 minutes. To begin, please tell us a little about the company and what your role is? Next, I would like to discuss:

Assessing Type of Culture
- What are the core values that your restaurant operates by?
- Recruiting:
    - What do you look for when trying to find new employees? Probe on: fit, self-starter, personality, experience
- Clan:
    - To what extent is the organization a personal place (i.e. like an extended family).
    - Do people seem to share a lot of themselves?
    - To what extent do managers and staff socialize outside work?
- Hierarchy:
    - To what extent do you have formal routines?
    - Do you have clear roles and responsibilities or are they flexible?
    - To what extent are policies and procedures part of the daily routine?
- Adhocracy:
    - How often and how much would you say your menu changes?
    - To what extent is the staff part of changing the menu?
    - Does the staff have some say as to what changes can be made to improve the business?
- Market:
    - To what extent are employees held to be accountable for performance?
    - To what extent is the organization results oriented?
    - Are people here competitive and achievement oriented?
- How does Learning occur
    - Please outline daily routines that you as a manager perform.
    - To what extend are newcomers responsible to learn the routines by themselves?

Work Routines
- Please outline daily routines in your job as a manager. Probe on: first and last thing you do when you arrive, and during work.

- Do you engage in some form of social event with the staff (e.g., recognition, informal competition)
- Do you have staff meetings? Who attends, why do you have them, who talks, where are they held?
- How do the staff and managers talk to each other? Probe on: formal/informal language
- Dress code – is that important? Why/why not?
- Are there jobs that are more prestigious than other jobs?

Learning the Culture
- When you first started working here, how did you get up to speed with your work? Probe on: type and level of training.
- How do you bring new people up to speed? Probe on: type and level of training.
- Does the management have some special way to bring in newcomers into the "club"?
- How did you learn about what is expected of you?
- To what extend are newcomers responsible to learn the routines by themselves?
- How do you train the staff how to interact with customers? Is the language important?
- Do you know how this restaurant got started? Is that something that is talked about a lot?

Appendix 2:
Interview Protocol for Staff
My focus is to understand the nature of the organization culture that exists in your restaurant and how managers and staff learn it. The interview will take about 45 minutes. To begin, please tell me a little about the company and what your role is? Next, I would like to discuss:

Assessing Type of Culture
- Do you think that the restaurant has a set of core values that it operates by? Please elaborate.
- Clan:
  - To what extent is the organization a personal place (i.e. like an extended family).
  - Do people seem to share a lot of themselves?
  - To what extent do managers and staff socialize outside work (e.g. after a shift)?
- Hierarchy:
  - To what extent does your job have formal routines?
  - Do you have clear roles and responsibilities or are they flexible?
  - To what extent are policies and procedures part of the daily routine?

- Adhocracy:
  - How often and how much would you say your menu changes?
  - To what extent is the staff part of changing the menu?
  - Does the staff have some say as to what changes can be made to improve the business?
- Market:
  - To what extent are you held to be accountable for performance?
  - Do you feel that results (e.g. food quality, fast service) are important here? Please elaborate.
  - What happens if you make a mistake?

Work Routines
- Please outline daily routines in your job. Probe on: first and last thing you do when you arrive.
- Do you have staff meetings? Who attends, why do you have them, who talks, where are they held?
- How do the staff and managers talk to each other? Probe on: formal/informal language
- Dress code – is that important? Why/why not?
- Are there jobs that are more prestigious than other jobs?

Learning the Culture
- When you first started working here, how did you get up to speed with your work? Probe on: type and level of training
- Does the staff have some special way to bring in newcomers into the "club"?
- How did the manager instruct you about what is expected of you?
- What is the role of your colleagues in helping each other? Probe on: correcting mistakes
- To what extend are newcomers responsible to learn the routines by themselves?
- How did you learn how to interact with customers? Is the language important? Do you greet customer in a special way?
- Do you know how this restaurant got started? Is that something that is talked about a lot?

Author's Biography:

Joshua Deakin was born on Camp Lejeune, North Carolina on March 1, 1993. He was raised in East Millinocket, Maine and graduated from Schenck High School in 2011. Majoring in business administration, Josh also has a minor in psychology. He has received a grant from the Center for Undergraduate Research and presented his work on April 14, 2015.