Perspectives on Training for the Local Café Industry:

How well does the Hospitality Training Provided by Institutional Providers Meet the Expectations of Local Café Stakeholders?

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Abstract

The researcher holds a hypothesis about tacit differences in motivation behind training for the hospitality industry in New Zealand. Trainees have long held that there are differences between the experience of training in a tertiary institute and the realities of the workplace. These perceptions prompted this study of the values placed upon formal institutional training among a sample of owners, managers, and supervisors in the local café sector. The local café sector is known for its vibrancy, informality and unregulated approach to hospitality. The sector is a proliferation of small businesses which operates in a competitive environment. This study explores the relationship between small locally operated cafes and formal training of the kind fostered by polytechnics and similar institutions.

The findings show there is little reliance on formal training or qualifications in the sector. There is a mixed attitude towards the hiring of staff members who have formal training. Some local café management views the qualifications and formal training with indifference. The main factor in employing new workers in the sector is 'experience' and in some cases, intrinsic qualities like 'personality' are important. This sector is largely made up of small business run by independent owner-operators. Competition in the sector is intense, and profit margins are small. Café employees are not generally well rewarded for their qualifications, and there is little in the workplace culture that may distract or inhibit the desire of workers to train formally. There is more evidence of formal institutional training and gaining of qualifications among cooking staff in cafes than front-of-house areas, signifying that cookery is an area of specialised skill and features more as a career choice. While the management of local cafes will sometimes seek to hire qualified staff, they accept the lack of them. Management of local cafes who have themselves in the past been trained in formal institutional programmes are more likely to see benefits in employing people who have undergone similar training.

This study concludes that formal institutional training is not a necessity in the local café sector, and that generally this sector views formal training to be of lesser relevance. As in most small businesses, cafes show that the need to survive commercially over-rides the propensity employers may have to improve the professional standing of their employees. Many employers will train employees on-the-job with the skills immediately necessary for the commercial well-being of their cafe. Local café managers have little energy or time to promote formal training programmes, and are content to accept that many of their employees will not be formally trained. The relationship between the content of traditional institutional training programmes and the skills required in the informal environment of the local café industry is somewhat incompatible.

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"The chargings to and fro in the narrow passages, the collisions, the yells, the struggling with crates and trays and blocks of ice, the heat, the darkness, the furious festering quarrels which there was no time to fight out—they pass description. Anyone coming into the basement [kitchen] for the first time would have thought himself in a den of maniacs."

George Orwell

This project has been reviewed and approved by Massey University Human Ethics Committee, WGTON protocol 04/26

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Preface:

- *'N' is the Head Chef and Kitchen Manager in one of Wellington's busiest pub cafés. He has a share in the business which is the reward for long service marked by being a loyal and hard-working employee. 'N' is a formally trained professional chef and tries to employ trained workers where possible. In his considerable time in this café, he has undertaken one apprenticeship for a trainee.*
- *'C' is the owner/proprietor in a small café in the inner city on the fringe of suburbia. He is the latest in a string of owners of a café that was once a front-runner in the Wellington scene. 'C' does not have a lot of experience in this type of small business, having managed this café for only 2 – 3 months. He believes that 'experience' is an important quality in new employees. He says they do not have time to train staff in his café.*
- *'G' is a Head Chef in a contemporary waterfront café not far from Wellington's central business district. The café he works in alters its character from offering café service during the day to restaurant service at night. The café tries to be different things for different types of people at various times during the day.*
- *'R' is the Kitchen Manager and Chef in a small ethnic[1] café in Wellington's busiest café area. It is difficult to find people specifically trained to work in the style of cookery that is implemented. 'R' relies on informal on-the-job training to induct new employees.*
- *'D' is the owner-proprietor of another contemporary café on the fringe of Wellington's main downtown café area. He finds that there are not many formally trained front-of-house staff members, but says that kitchen staff members usually have some formal training.*

[1] An 'ethnic' restaurant or café engages in the cuisine of the people from one particular nation, region, or religious culture, e.g. Indian, Japanese, Creole, Jewish, or Szechwan.

- *'P' is the owner-proprietor of a busy lunch café in a large downtown pedestrian plaza. He has been working as the front-of-house host for many years and his partner runs the kitchen. Neither of them is formally trained but they run a very successful business.*
- *'L' is a fully trained Head Chef in a popular suburban pub café. He worries about the part-time nature of many employees in his establishment and the stress that this factor places on the senior permanent staff.*

The experiences of these café owners, managers and supervisors are used in this research project to explore the value of formal training in the local café sector. The themes that are gleaned from the interviews of these people, together with a comprehensive review of the literature form the basis for the findings and recommendations of this research.

A number of themes arise. The salient ones are:

- The distinguishing characteristics of the local café sector and how these have an effect on the training culture of this sector.
- The learning principles that could apply in café training, and whether these principles are more aptly applied in the training institutions.
- The part that owners, managers and supervisors play in the training culture.
- Formal training is more likely to occur in some café-based vocations than in others.
- The usefulness of formal institutional training for the needs of this sector.
- The methods of training that are used for workers in the sector.

and

- Employment factors and working culture in the café sector that may affect the training culture.

1.1 Background

The hospitality industry, which includes the local café sector, is one of the most important and widespread industries in New Zealand, although this importance is often understated. In introducing this study it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the hospitality industry to New Zealand and to the Wellington area. Statistics reveal that the hospitality industry employs at least 60,000 people nationally and is the largest service retail sector in New Zealand. The café sector is a very vibrant part of the

hospitality industry in Wellington. As the dining habits of people have changed, the café sector has enjoyed an upsurge in patronage over the last two decades. There are currently about 240 local restaurants and bars, and about a third of these identify themselves as 'cafés'. The food in these cafes is perceived to be relatively inexpensive, yet good value for money. A significant number of these cafes are small businesses. These claims are supported in Chapter 2.2 of this report.

Having an understanding of the significant characteristics of the local café sector is necessary in order to grasp the nuances of this study. In particular, the role of formal training in this sector is of significant importance. Many industries have a code of practice that dictates whether a product or service is being executed to acceptable professional standards. Is the café sector bound by any such quality systems? The café sector seems to be an unregulated labour industry in the sense that workers do not need to be registered on the basis of proficiency in the way that say, electricians do. In fact, the workers are not required to be formally trained or have formal qualifications at all, in order to work in the industry. This study hopes to identify any effects that these industry characteristics have in the local café sector. Is there an incentive to become formally trained when there is no absolute requirement to do so? Is there a responsibility for the employer to facilitate worker training and how much resolve, if any, does the worker have to become a trained operative?

Hospitality is reputedly an industry that attracts workers from varied backgrounds and is regarded as an industry in which it is possible to gain employment easily. How much does the local café sector rely on part-time workers and casual workers? How is the value of formal training and qualifications affected by the presence of part-time workers and casual workers? What kinds of training are these people given, and how does the presence of trained or untrained workers affect the café industry? These are some of the important questions that this research will attempt find answers for. As there are numbers of unqualified workers in this dominant industry, this project also seeks to find what value formal training has within the local café sector.

There is also a perception that a 'café' is different from a 'restaurant'. The research explores the differences and draws conclusions as to how these differences affect formal training regimes. It is hoped that important insights will emerge to indicate any disparity in training values between the two entities. A café, for the purpose of this study, is a small, (30-80 seats) unpretentious commercial hospitality business which serves food and beverages to the public to consume on the premises.

Some of the jobs within the hospitality industry, particularly that of chef[2], maitre'd[3], and sommelier[4] are regarded by those who engage in them, as being creative jobs in which a high level of skills is exercised by dedicated crafts people. This research will endeavour to discover if this is a context which exists mainly in the 'fine-dining' restaurant scene, or also in cafes. The fine dining scene, where customers expect to pay a premium price for top class food, served with particular attention in a salubrious setting, caters for a minority market. The skills required to function effectively at the fine dining level can be sophisticated and formal and much training is required. Cafés can also have good quality cuisine and service, although perhaps not in such a traditional way. It would be interesting to discover if restaurant attitudes also permeate into the café scene. There is a variety of other types of catering in industrial and institutional settings, which are more utilitarian in nature and have fewer requirements for higher level skills and therefore less emphasis on formal training. Does this variation of standards indicate that different types of training are appropriate for different sectors of the industry? It is expected that a study of the relationship of these different branches of the local hospitality industry will reveal to the researcher the training values of each, and by comparison will give forth reasons for any distinctiveness in the value of training in the local café sector.

What then is the nature of café culture? Many countries have a functional indigenous cuisine that is based on local ingredients, geography, climate and culture. These local cuisine styles contribute greatly to 'street food' or the patchwork of informal eateries at which the local population of that country dines. In many countries, it is part of the social culture to frequent such places regularly. Historically New Zealand had little café culture of this type, but it is developing. Wellington has encouraged a wide variety of cafes featuring food from other countries and allowing diners to experience international cuisine styles. There has also developed a throng of informal eateries which provide good coffee, alcohol and good quality food which experiments with local and imported ingredients. Is one training regime suitable for these different styles of dining establishments? How would a trainee who works in a Turkish restaurant or perhaps a small café serving bistro meals fare in the typical traditional institutional training environment which is more suited to turning out fine-dining chefs?

[2] A chef is a professional cook, trained to a high standard. The term is also used as an abbreviation for the chef de cuisine or head chef.
[3] Maitre'd is an abbreviation for Maitre dhotis. This person is the head waiter.
[4] Sommelier is the wine waiter

Much of the content and methods of current hospitality training in New Zealand emanates from training systems that were in use in the days when hotels, traditional fine-dining restaurants, polytechnics and the armed services were the prevalent sources of hospitality training. The world of café catering is generally casual in comparison with the constraints and discipline of the traditional hospitality industry. Cafés try to provide simple, nutritious natural products that are usually good value for money. How well do traditional hospitality values fit with this notion?

A turning point in the hospitality industry was reached as a consequence of the stock market crash in October 1987, an event that punctuated the end of an economic boom in this country. Traditional restaurants suffered fall-off in trade and some were forced to close (New Zealand History Online, 2005). In this time of dramatic economic downturn the urban restaurant trade was forced to reflect on its purpose and intent in the commercial marketplace. This gave rise to the development of contemporary cafes; a new genre of eating houses that better suited the changing economic conditions of the time. How well has the training regime adapted to the changing face of local catering? The establishment of this genre as a major contributor to the hospitality industry was further enhanced by the deregulation of the liquor industry by the introduction of the Sale of Liquor Act 1989. The advent of liberated liquor licensing meant that alcoholic beverages could be sold more easily in restaurants, and people were changing their social habits. Hill, L., and Stewart, L (1996) write: "This change was attributed to consumer choice in a more open and competitive market, as well as to the legislative requirement to provide food."

Many restaurants and cafes could now supplement food-related income with that from alcohol sales thus becoming more viable as businesses. In a growing marketplace these factors would assist the continued viability of many cafés and was to entice new operators into the industry.

Social changes have also played their part in the development of the local café sector. New Zealand society has undergone many changes in the last few decades. Changing lifestyles in society have assisted the rise of the café industry. With both adults in the family often working, there is less inclination to cook meals at home than there once was. Increased leisure time and more expendable income has allowed for more time to indulge in the pleasures of life, including dining-out. The effects of increased tourism from abroad, immigration, globalisation, and New Zealanders travelling overseas have brought with them cosmopolitan influences in cuisine styles (New Zealand History

Online, 2005). Among the many new influences is the introduction of superior coffee from freshly-roasted beans which the citizens of Wellington have learned to consume with a passion and is a cornerstone of café culture.

1.2 The Researcher

1.2.1 Professional Background

In this introduction it is relevant for the researcher to share his professional background in order to establish his interests in the area of hospitality training for the local café industry. The views of the researcher are interwoven through the observations and discussions of the research project. He was until recently an educator engaged in the training of catering students at Massey University, Wellington. He held this position for eleven years, firstly in the employment of Wellington Polytechnic and subsequently with Massey University when the two institutes 'merged' in 2001. Prior to this, he has approximately seventeen years experience as a chef, working in industry. He has worked abroad for several years, but much of his industry experience was gained locally in cafés, restaurants and hotels in which he held a variety of positions, many in managerial roles. Currently, the researcher is engaged as Head Teacher of TAFE Hospitality and Tourism Management at the New Zealand International Campus in Upper Hutt, a position he has held for one year. In all, he is well positioned to reasonably debate the aspects of this study. The training and formal learning he undertook to gain qualifications as a professional chef were completed in Wellington in the early 1980s but like many people, he has never stopped learning and studying. He currently maintains associations with significant personnel in the industry and he is actively involved in a couple of professional organisations related to the hospitality industry. An aspect of this research that he relishes is the opportunity to meet and communicate with industry people.

1.2.2 Research Motivation

Another question that propels this work is how well the type of catering training provided by local training providers meets the needs of the local café industry. While professional cookery is a long-held passion for him, the researcher's interest in this instance is principally educational in nature. In his commitment to hospitality training, he has for some time held a perception that there exists a difference in purpose between the technical environment of training institutions and that of the industry that makes use of the 'products' of the training. This hypothesis provides some motivation for engaging in this study. The researcher's opinions in this regard are based on

personal experiences and an assortment of anecdotal evidence which suggests that there are some differences in the intentions of training institutes and the requirements of the café industry. A part of the task is to undertake a study which will assist to justify this hypothesis. In acknowledgement of this perception, it has always been important to him, as an educator, to sustain meaningful connections with industry people in an attempt to diminish any feeling of seclusion of institutional training.

To emphasise the perception of differences between the two environments, industry practice outside the training institute is sometimes called the 'real world' by trainers and trainees alike. The use of the phrase 'real world' in this context, whether irreverent or not, implicitly suggests that the modus operandi of the two environments are different from each other, with the inference that the industrial environment is the valid example of the use of skills imparted. The researcher has some sympathy with this notion of validity as it is the industry that receives and utilises the products of the training, and so industry forces are the best placed to judge the value of the training. It seems natural that the proper context for the practice of the skills is in the industry. The café industry is a highly competitive industry that must respond to the realities of the marketplace for commercial survival and surely this is the best environment to discover the relevance of formal institutional training. Training requirements for the café industry are surely forged by the commercial expediencies that form an integral part of the industry. Cafés are typically small business operations which appear to operate in an ad hoc fashion, as needs dictate. The commercial forces that cause an industry to develop should also cause the training requirements for that industry to evolve. If there is a methodological disparity between the way skills are learned while training in institutes and the way skills are practised in the café industry, then how prepared is the trainee for the reality of the workplace and how valid is the institutional training? Is the training institute the best scenario for vocational skills training? If there is doubt about this, are there any improvements required that would make institution-based training a more viable proposition for the trainee and ultimately for the industry that will utilise the skills? What should these improvements be?

The researcher's interest in undertaking this study has been spurred by a variety of factors. He believes the traditional nature of much institutional training is, in part, an impediment to the development of contemporary relevant training for the café sector. The researcher also has a belief that many training institutes have an ethos more interested in filling training programmes with students rather than educational integrity. He wonders how much the offering of international standards of skills at high levels is

warranted given that the trainee has aspirations to work in the less formal local café environment. In a recent study (Lutter, F.W., 2001, p43) the researcher interviewed several ex-students of Massey University regarding their industry experiences. The responses he received varied in their point of view but one common sentiment that prevailed was a disparity of the experience between the training institutes and the reality of the café industry. This important revelation has further fuelled the researcher's interest for researching this topic.

1.3 Research Questions

The aim of this research project is to find out:

1 Whether café sector staff is formally trained.
2 What form does training take in the sector?
3 What is the value placed upon training in the café sector?
4 How does formal institutional training serve the sector?
5 How does working culture influence the training?
6 What skills do people gain in the café sector?

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into the following chapters:

Chapter 1: The Introduction

Chapter 2: The Literature Review

This is made up of two parts,

1. The first part is an extensive search of hard and soft literature sources. 'Hard' and 'soft' are the terms adopted by the researcher for refereed and non-refereed data sources respectively. The key themes that are explored were those listed on page 2 of this chapter. Each theme provides a section in the chapter. The main questions (1-6, previously in this chapter) emanated from the literature research. In conducting the literature review the researcher had fears that it would not be singled out for study very often, given that the café sector is distinguished by its informality and improvisation, It was resolved to delve into unanticipated sources to extract information, and some of it will come from unexpected sources.

2. The second part of the literature review was a survey of thesis material that had been previously done by others on similar themes. It turns out that very little was discovered, especially local studies of training in the café sector.

Chapter 3: The Methodology

The methodology begins with a discussion on the nature of qualitative analysis and its value in the case of this research. The use of interpretive and constructivist epistemology is described in relation to current educational theory and its relevance in the context of this research is shown. The method of sampling is described and the reasons for selecting this method are discussed. Interview techniques that will be used with the industry based participants are discussed and described. The important issues of ethics, privacy and anonymity regarding the rights of the participants and the safety of the research material are emphasised and the role of Massey University in these processes is described. The rationale for the method of data analysis is described and finally, any perceived shortcomings in the methodology choices are extrapolated upon.

Chapter 4: Findings and Results

This chapter is developed using excerpts from the transcribed interviews with the local café sector managers, owners and supervisors. The findings are structured in the main themes developed and supported by the literature review.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Interpretation.

The key ideas which were expressed by the participants are discussed and important understandings formed on the relationship between formal training and the local café sector.

Chapter 6: Summary

The concluding section discusses the possible implications that the research may have on the local café sector and may also speculates how the tertiary educational institutes may gain some use from the outcomes. The limitations of this research are discussed. Ideas for future research projects emanating from this study are suggested.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW.

2.1 Literature Sources

Initially the researcher did not expect a wealth of information on the training practices within the café sector of the New Zealand hospitality industry. This assumption has proved to be ill founded, although some of the information uncovered does tend to merge the characteristics of café sector with the more academically studied restaurant and hotel sectors. The lack of distinction for the café sector as an separate entity has served to make specific literature and electronic sources more difficult to uncover.

This literature review has been gleaned from a variety of sources. The researcher notes that some of the material is not from academically refereed sources, or sanctioned public documents. Information from all sources is useful as it provides a means of cross-referencing to endorse or contradict key themes. Some of the information that is not refereed is written by journalists and placed in publications that have professional standards to uphold, so such information has some credibility as a source or as an example but the researcher acknowledges that journalism is sometimes emotive and political in intention and must be used prudently. The researcher also acknowledges that his own experiences within the industry in question have also enhanced the research experience.

The key areas identified as being important to this literature review are:

1. The nature of training in adult education.
2. The nature of a café.
3. The nature of hospitality training for cafes.
4. The nature of café-oriented courses which are available through local institutional providers.
5. The nature of the working culture in the café industry.
6. The nature of the local café industry.

These themes above are explored in this literature review.

2.2 The Nature of a Café.

2.2.1 What is a Café?

It is difficult to categorize exactly what a café is. Specific literature on the subject is scarce. In many contemporary situations, the distinction between restaurant and café is blurred. The Food Lover's Companion, 2nd Edition (Epicurious website, 1995) defines a café as being "a small, unpretentious restaurant" and draws a significant connection with the French term for 'coffee'. Celia Hay (2000, p12) writes:

> "A café was originally called a *maison de café* and the first records date from 1672.' Coffee was originally thought to be a cure for alcoholism! Later cafés began selling beer, wine and offering small meals. During the 19th century, the Parisian cafés became more fashionable and sophisticated. The decor became more elaborate and the prices more expensive. In the early 20th century the less formal corner café was established. This was open from breakfast until late at night, serving both coffee and wine as well as light meals."
>
> (Hay, C. 2000 p 12)

Official descriptions often place cafes and restaurants in the same category. This is because bureaucracy sees these two entities as providing similar public services, with similar business structures and requiring similar legal regulation. For instance, under the auspices of the Food Hygiene Regulations 1974 restaurants and cafes are regarded as "eating-houses" for the purpose of applying the food safety laws (Statutes of New Zealand website, 2005). It is therefore useful to study definitions of 'restaurant' as well.

The meaning of 'restaurant' is varied. A Google search on the web brings forth many descriptions. The definition of restaurant that the researcher prefers is from a local health authority in Fort Worth, Texas, USA which states that a restaurant "shall mean a food service establishment where food is served in individual portions for consumption on the premises". (City of Fort Worth Texas website, 2005) An important proviso of this definition is that food must be served for consumption on the premises, which separates a restaurant from other food establishments which specialise in 'takeaways' or ready-to-eat food to be eaten away from the premises (although some food premises provide in-house dining together with takeaways). A further important condition the researcher wishes to add to this description is that a restaurant is a commercial entity and the food is sold to the customer in the hope of making a profit,

as opposed to those dining operations (usually institutional) which work within a prescribed budget. So the qualities of dining on the premises and producing for profit are the two important requirements of a restaurant, with the other characteristics found in a restaurant being found in other forms of the catering industry also. This description is also accurate for local cafes, thus further confusing the distinction between café and restaurant. The Fort Worth Health Authority makes a further interesting observation that a café can have "an outdoor dining area located on a sidewalk and containing removable tables, chairs, plants, and related appurtenances" (City of Fort Worth Texas website, 2005). In New Zealand a lack of formality, functional unobtrusive service, good simple food that presents value for money, the availability of good quality coffee and often alcoholic beverages are the basic hallmarks of a café operation. A more extensive description of 'café' is found on wikipedia, the internet reference site. This definition clearly delineates restaurants from cafes.

> "A café (also spelled cafe, ['kæfeɪ] or [kæ'feɪ]) is a type of cafeteria, often with an enclosed or outdoor section extending onto the pavement or sidewalk, where food and drink are served. Generally serving coffee and other beverages, cafés (or more commonly known as cafeterias) also serve meals but this is generally not considered their main trade (in contrast to a restaurant)."
>
> (Wikipedia website, 2007)

Thus a café, for the purposes of this study, is a small (20-80 seats) informal unpretentious eating house that serves food and beverages to the public to consume on the premises, with the intention of making monetary profits. In New Zealand the typical café is classified as a 'small business'. Statistics New Zealand website (2005), states that "ninety-six percent of non-farming businesses had fewer that 20 employees." Most local cafes are in this group.

2.2.2 The Fashion Factor

A further operational aspect of a café is that of 'fashion'. Parts of the hospitality industry, in particular some local restaurants and cafes, are part of the food 'fashion' industry, whether they realise it or not. This faction relies on being constantly in the public eye in a strategy of self-promotion. Part of this emphasis requires 'trendy' food and atmosphere. Walker and Lundberg (1993, p17) describes this fashion-driven part of the industry as being "funky". This phenomenon is a product of commercial

pressure, steeped in marketing values and requires the café or restaurant to perpetually reshape its 'concept' to maintain its public image and its market share. Such establishments are constantly changing menus and styles to keep in touch with the competition and to utilise the latest trendy ingredients. The converse of the fashion-oriented sector is those cafes that have a set theme which is unlikely to change, like a franchise café which has bought into a prescribed theme, or an ethnic café which is bound to the signature food and atmosphere of the featured country, or those cafes that operate at a level where they provide basic sustenance food and service which also does not change much. Management and staff skills and attitudes will differ in relation to the level of fashion requirements of the business. The skills and flair of the staff are partly inherent qualities, partly as a result of training and partly developed from experience. How much of a factor the fashion requirements of the industry feature in the nature of training for the local café sector?

2.3 The Nature of Training in Adult Education.

2.3.1 What is Training?

This study explores the value of training in the local café sector and so it is pertinent to look at the meaning of 'training' in educational theory and how it relates in context to the area of this study. It is hoped that it will be possible to formulate a definition of training that will suit the context of this study. It is prudent to look at the wide view of training first and then specify how training is applied in the local café context. What is the nature of training? Some commentators of adult education explain the position of 'training' as related to those of 'education' and 'learning'. Malcolm Tight (2002, p 21) states that: "The idea of training is most usually associated with preparing someone for performing a task or role, typically, but not always in a work setting." A prevailing view is that training is centred on acquiring or improving specific task-oriented skills, knowledge and attitudes to an accepted standard (Tight, M., 2002 p. 21). These values of training are further enhanced:

> "Training became involved with the 'how', teaching with the 'why'; the former activity was concerned with the acquisition of appropriate pattern of habits in limited situations, the latter was said to be related to 'development of the whole person'. ..."Education" implies that a man's outlook is transformed by what he knows [whereas] "training" suggests the acquisition of appropriate appraisals and habits of response in limited conventional situations [and] lacks the wider cognitive implications of "education"."
>
> (Curzon, L.B., 2003 p 28)

> "Learning is a general term covering all the experiences, processes and activities by which a person can gain new behaviours. Training is a subset of learning, limited to the acquisition of specific skills through deliberate classes and structured instruction."
>
> (Burns, Robert, 2002, p. 95)

The tracts above have a common thread in that *training* as an educational regime is seen as being different and subservient to *education* and *learning*. An inference drawn from the tracts is that training is an educational strategy of lesser importance as it deals with material tasks and perhaps the study of training is less interesting to educationalists as it deals with manifestly functional learning.

> "Training is a learning process that involves the acquisition of skills, concepts, rules, and attitudes so as to increase the performance of each team member. Training is not education. Training is the process of integrating personal and organizational goals. Training is used to close the gap between current and desired performance of individual kitchen team members. It is also about helping people learn and develop."
>
> (Cullen, Noel C, 2000, p 171)

Cullen (2000, p 171) sees training as a vehicle to meet immediate and commercially-oriented needs within industry with the objective of influencing and enhancing performance to meet prescribed standards within the hospitality industry. Cullen suggests that that the outcomes of training are prescribed and can be measured against. A study of course outlines from local training institutions endorses this idea as skill levels are described in learning outcomes as defined competences. Competency in these skills being measured by prescribed developments in performance, behaviour, knowledge and attitude (New Zealand Qualifications Authority website, 2005.).

The notion that training is usually tied to work is a common one among commentators, as espoused by Goldstein and Gessner, (1988) in Tight, M., (2002 p. 43); "training is defined as the systematic acquisition of skills, rules, concepts or attitudes that result in improved performance in the work situation." Training can also involve the changing of behaviours, at least in relation to work practise; such as customer relations, sales techniques, supervisory skills, assertiveness training (Dearden 1984, p. 59 in Tight, M., 2002).

Some of the factors identified as inherent in training are 'mastery' of a task or role and the need for repetitive 'practice' in order to achieve this. (Tight, M., 2002 p. 20). The concept of mastery, as used in reference to training to describe a standard of performance, is similar to professional 'competence' in this context (Bennett, N, Dunne, E., & Carré C., 2000 p. 13), in that it is not intended to describe a measure of excellence. Moorby, Ed. (1996, p. 89) further endorses the position of prescribed outcomes of training:

> "[training approaches] tend to regard the subject as rather inert and typically produce a training course aimed at the medium level, with remedial training for those who are significantly worse than the norm but have to do the task. The basic logic is very appropriate to jobs that can be analysed and where the learning and behavioural change objectives can be specified clearly and unambiguously."
>
> (Moorby, Ed., 1996 p 89).

2.3.2 The Place of Training in Learning

The training regime in its workplace setting usually enhances a person's performance to achieve a prescribed standard consistently within an accepted timeframe, and this reinforces the notion of competence. Bennett, N, et al, (2000 p. 12) views competence as a set of professional attributes, and proceed to interpret the Chetham & Chivers (1996) model of professional competences and discuss four sets that interlink:

1. "Functional — the ability to perform a range of work-based tasks effectively to produce specific outcomes.

2. Knowledge/cognitive — the possession of appropriate work-related knowledge and the ability to put this to effective use.

3. Personal/behavioural — the ability to adopt appropriate behaviours in work-related situations.

4. Values/ethical — personal/professional values and ability to make sound judgements."

(Chetham & Chivers, 1996 in Bennett, N, et al, 2000 p. 12)

In relation to the above sets of professional competences, Bennett, N, et al, (2000, p. 12) further argue that corralling these competences is a set of "meta-competences" (Bennett, N, et al, 2000, p 12) which are "generic, overarching, transferable between situations and tasks, and fundamental to effective performance." These meta-competences can be seen as life-skills which profoundly influence the use of the professional competences. These life-skills are listed as including "communication, self-development, creativity and problem solving" (Bennett, N, et al, 2000, p 12), and they rely on the inherent character make-up which is different for each individual. Although theoretically a person can be trained in the techniques of a task, the quality of the application of professional competences is greatly refined by the natural meta-competences that are present, or not. This argument suggests that there is an intermingled dependence between the four competences: functional, cognitive, behavioural and ethical abilities required for training, which is not effective without certain standard of generic life-skills.

Other commentators view these generic skills as components in a stratified hierarchical relationship with each higher layer building on, and being influenced by the skills acquired at the lower levels. Anderson and Marshall (1996) see the primary stage as being the "'educational basics' of reading, writing, numeracy and oral communication, and 'personal traits' including honesty and reliability". The second stage is made up of 'occupation-specific skills', i.e. those skills needed to complete the job to a satisfactory outcome; "generic skills' such as communication, problem solving, application of number and reasoning skills; and 'personal competences' such as motivation and leadership." Stage three of this model is "the 'Overarching Capabilities' for maximizing organizational performance...which include teamworking, self-management, business thinking and customer orientation." (Anderson and Marshall, 1996). The researcher speculates that the occupational skills at stage two above are currently the most consciously desired in the local café sector, with the inter-social and generic skills at stage two also being important. While the overarching skills in stage three are

intrinsically desirable it is suspected that they do not consciously feature prominently in many employers' recruitment strategies, with the exception of customer orientation.

2.3.3 Enlightened Learning and Generic Skills

Bennett, N, et al, (2000, p. 14) state that a report by Harvey, et al (1997) establishes that employers generally require "employees who are going to be effective in a future changing world – intelligent, flexible, adaptable employees who are quick to learn and can deal with change." The evidence for this theory is inconclusive, but it is useful to test it in the local café scene to discover how important these attributes are. Do café employers really care about such things, or are they focussed on creating the product and providing service; the practicalities of their business? Bennett, N, et al, (2000, p. 16) also discusses the transferability of skills. They ask how well do core skills, or transferable skills transfer from the educational to the workplace setting.

The researcher has mused on the effectiveness of the skills transfer from one environment to another very different environment. Informal discussions with industry people over the years have disclosed a divergence of training and industry reality between the learning in the training environment and the commercial use of the skills in the industry. Industry operatives sometimes display dismissive intolerance to the precepts and niceties of the training curriculum in educational institutes. On occasions he has heard supervisors with trainees telling them to 'do it that way at Tech, but do it this way here!' This questions the relevance of some aspects of the training. It would be interesting to discover whether there exists such an attitude of separation between the perceptions of the conditions in local café sector and the conditions of the training institutes which train the workers for it.

The cross-over from the training institution to the industrial workplace is also elaborated on by Bennett, N, et al, (2000, p. 18). They make reference to the 'culture shock' and resulting stress experienced by many first-time employees, and the differences in ethics and conditions between the training institution and the industrial workplace. Is it that the generic skills required in the workplace are not covered in the training institute? The social and interpersonal skills required are apparently mainly acquired 'on the job'. What does this say about the effectiveness of institutional training? Other questions also emanate from this discussion on culture shock. How much should training be oriented towards acquiring the skills that are useful commercially, i.e. industry oriented, and how much should it be oriented towards the long-term capability and adaptability of

the trainee? Who decides the emphasis of the training, as it seems that the interests of the various stakeholders are different in nature?

> "the increasing focus on education and training as primarily or solely a servicer of the economy. As its role in relation to democracy, citizenship, personal development, and culture has been marginalised, it is those areas which service the economy which have been emphasised and funded."
>
> (Edwards, R., Sieminski, S., & Zeldin D., 1995, p 3)

2.3.4 Who gets trained?

While the trainee may well be interested in acquiring some generic skills to assist in the future, the employer may prefer to emphasize training for the tasks in hand as a means for sustaining the commercial activity and the training provider may emphasize training courses that attract students and government funding. The government of New Zealand is also an important stakeholder and can revise national training strategies in dramatic ways, as the current awareness of skills shortages in industry (Conway, P. & McLoughlin S, 2002, p24). has done in reviving the emphasis on apprenticeships.

Skills in England, (2002,) is an annual report produced to promote economic prosperity in that country through encouragement of employers to enable training and employees to take up training. In this instance training is seen as the universal panacea, "they [the skills] can enhance economic performance at an individual, organisational and societal level" and "investment in skills, by individuals, by organisations and by the state can reap substantial [financial] rewards." (Skills in England, 2002, p 2) Is this propaganda? Do trained café personnel 'reap substantial rewards' because they are trained? The purposes of the stakeholders are not necessarily aligned to each other. The motivation to participate in and the accessibility to training differs from one stakeholder to the next. Edwards, R, et al, (1995, p 1) states:

> "Participation, that is who engages in what forms of learning, is one of the central issues in the education and training of adults. While initial schooling is compulsory, encompassing everyone up to a certain age, adult learners are overwhelmingly voluntary learners, *choosing* to participate" (emphasis from original text)."
>
> . (Edwards, R, et al, 1995, p 1)

This is a commentary on adult learning in general. The researcher feels that this view is further complicated by the motivating factors of gaining employment. The possibility of attaining wage rises and promotions within work will spur adult learners to undertake further education and training that is work related. It could be said that whilst there is a choice to gain further training, there are often negative consequences of not doing so, which compromises the notion of choice. Employer-initiated training also has a distinct financial and productivity focus, with training being sponsored to enable employees to keep abreast of new and emerging trends in the industry concerned. Based on the readings of the educational principles of training it has become obvious that, in terms of this study, it is proper to view 'training' as a work related activity, while acknowledging that it can take place in other settings too. It is useful to see training as a task-oriented activity. Later stages of this literature review will show that most tertiary programmes engaged in training for the local café industry are very much concerned with training for the overtly materialistic aspects of providing products and services within the industry (Bennett, N, et al, 2000 p. 12).

A surprising revelation from the reading is the notion that those who already have qualifications of some sort are more likely to receive further formally training, i.e. the gaining of more skills and qualifications, than those without any. The Skills in England report (2002) states

> "access to training remains unevenly distributed across the workforce. Semi and unskilled manual and service workers, part-time workers and older workers are least likely to receive training. Most training is received by those who are already quite well qualified and endowed with skills."
>
> (Skills in England report 2002, p26)

It seems that industry has determined that it is worth training those who already have some training. The unskilled are economically not so viable as a training option. This state of affairs leads the researcher to ask if there is a vocational sector which acts as an area of refuge for the unqualified (but possibly informally skilled) within the hospitality industry. If there is such a refuge, how much of it is exists in the informality of the café sector?

2.4 The Nature of Formal Hospitality Training for Cafes.

2.4.1 The Diversity of Training Requirements

The café industry is involved in making and providing products and providing services. Most café employees work in small businesses and have some direct contact with the customers. These employees need to be multi-skilled within their field. Is it true that the smaller the business the more skills and versatility are required of an employee due to the intensive nature of the work? Larger organizations deal in catering for larger numbers of customers and so there is more specialization in the work. Do smaller operations like cafes need employees to be 'jacks of all trades'? How do training institutions deal with this disparity in employee functions in different industry operations? The inherent skills that involve behaviour and values that are of importance in the industry feature strongly in the written curricula of the café oriented training programmes that were accessed for this study (Whitireia Community Polytechnic webpage, 2005). How are these values and attitudes encouraged in the trainee? Are we to assume that the aspects of training involving behaviours and values are somehow woven into the learning informally by emulating the attitudes of the trainer or role-model on the job or as the task-oriented training takes place? Is this learning to take place by a form of osmosis or is to be taught in an open structured way?

2.4.2 Confused Training Signals

The New Zealand Government Department of Labour website production "The Changing Workplace – Future of Work" (2005) is a source of interesting theory on the expected changes in New Zealanders' working habits in the future. A tract from this production states:

> "As the economy shifts from goods production to services, manual skills are declining in relative importance, whereas communication skills are increasingly in demand. While vocational skills (those relating to a particular occupation) are still important employers are putting more emphasis than before on generic skills such as literacy and numeracy, problem solving, and communication skills. These skills are essential for workers to adapt to the changes taking place in today's workplaces. Flatter management structures and decentralised decision-making have raised the need for workers to display judgement, leadership and initiative. Personal traits such as motivation and attitude are becoming more important."

("The Changing Workplace – Future of Work" website 2005)

Although not a source of 'hard' data this website must hold some credibility because of its official nature as the mouthpiece of a government department. This information echoes the views of Bennett, N, et al, (2000 p. 16) and it will be interesting to see how much value is placed on personal attributes of the employee in the local café sector.

A confusing relationship exists between information in various on-line documents by the New Zealand Labour Department. In the previous quotation we are told "manual skills are declining in relative importance"(The Changing Workplace – Future of Work website, 2005), yet in another presentation we are told: "The fall in the unemployment rate to a 19-year low was matched by a sharp rise in skill shortage indicators to 30-year highs." (Department of Labour, Publications website, 2005). If a skills shortage currently exists how is this affecting the local café sector? It is possible to find some reference to the implications for restaurants. In the Wellington region in 2005, three of top ten categories of job vacancies were for positions in the hospitality industry. (Labourmarket website, 2005). Keith Stewart writing in the 'New Zealand Listener' (April 8th 2006, p26-27) offers a reason for the shortage of 'good' people training in the hospitality industry:

> "If restaurants want school leavers to make a career in hospitality, they need better training, wages and leadership. Yet restaurant-sector wages went down in the five years to 2005."
>
> (Stewart, K, 2006 p 26-27)

Is it also more difficult to find suitably trained staff for cafes? How has this affected training for the industry?

It will be interesting to note the commitment of the employer to training and what form that training takes. Kate Payne (2001) notes that: "Small to medium sized hospitality businesses for example fail to recognise that training and education of employees is an investment which returns healthy profits." One would expect that such a situation would have an effect within the café sector.

2.5 The Nature of Café-Oriented Courses which are available through Local Institutional Providers.

2.5.1 The Hospitality Standards Institute Perspective

The Hospitality Institute lists typical café occupations as: waiter, short order cook, kitchen assistant, food counter worker, and café manager (HSI Careers Info website, 2005) and gives job outline descriptions of them. As this study is concerned with training in the local café industry it is useful to look at personal and educational requirements in the sector. It is noted that educational requirements at secondary and tertiary levels are not of a mandatory nature but the recommendations are "Sixth Form Certificate or NCEA equivalent English, maths is useful" (Kiwicareers.website, 2005) for most of the positions outlined. A look at the skills requirements required for these positions reveals that they require "practical skills, memorising skills, the ability to follow instructions and good communication and people skills. They also need to have organisational ability." (Kiwicareers website, 2005) Personal qualities required are largely a list of attributes which could apply to many vocations and so must be seen as generic and at a basic level. They are listed as: "- Friendly, helpful and polite. – Able to work well and remain calm under pressure. – Quick and efficient. – Reliable and punctual. – Able to deal with complaints." (Kiwicareers website, 2005) These general skills are supplemented by low-level specific skills, largely task-oriented such as: "serve food and drinks, open and pour bottles of wine at the table ...clear used dishes from tables, calculate bill and take money from customers, tidy the restaurant." (Kiwicareers.govt.nz/jobs 10/04/2005) Of the positions described, that of the cook has similar personal requirements and in addition, the skills requirements state that some low level cookery experience would be beneficial. (Kiwicareers website, 2005) The café manager position outline again recommends certain secondary standards, including English, maths, and accounting. Tertiary education recommendations for a manager's position are limited to a National Certificate in Hospitality, but this is not mandatory. (Kiwicareers website, 2005) At the level of café manager a General Manager's Certificate is a requirement if the café in question wishes to sell alcoholic beverages. (Kiwicareers website, 2005) With the exception of some aspects of the café manager's position the vocational descriptions for this sector of the industry are lacking in pre-employment training requirements. This suggests that a degree of training occurs informally on the job. It is useful, in the context of this study, to discover the extent of informal on-the-job training and the ramifications for the local café industry of this type of training.

2.5.2 The Modern Apprenticeships

The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) (2005) has endorsed the 'modern apprenticeship' scheme as a vehicle to solve current skills shortages.

> "There are currently more than 6000 Modem Apprentices in New Zealand, working in 31 industry and business sectors, towards more than 260 different qualifications. A Modern Apprentice will study for a National Certificate at levels 3 and/or 4 of the National Qualifications Framework. This will take two to four years, depending on the industry."
>
> (NZ Government Modern Apprenticeships website, 2005)

Modern apprenticeships are work-based training schemes which sometimes use tertiary institutes to augment the workplace training. This study seeks to ascertain the impact of workplace apprenticeships in the local café industry. Modern apprenticeships involve workplace assessment and considerable input from the employer. The training is regulated by a national curriculum which is devised and supervised by the Industry Training Organization (ITO) for the hospitality industry. The Hospitality Standards Institute (HSI) fulfils this function, purportedly representing the interests of the hospitality industry as a whole in New Zealand. A modern apprenticeship usually leads to the attainment of a National Certificate or Diploma which is nationally recognized. "Gaining a national qualification means your Modern Apprenticeship is flexible and is recognized by employers in New Zealand and increasingly overseas." (NZ Government Modern Apprenticeships website, 2005) There is no National Certificate specifically for the café sector. The national certificates in hospitality are designed for the general hospitality industry and encompass the variety of skills required in café work as well as other skills more suited to the structured work environment of hotels and 'fine-dining' restaurants (New Zealand Qualifications Authority website, 2005). It would serve the purposes of this study to learn how much the workers and management of the café sector value the national qualifications in hospitality.

2.6 The Nature of the Local Café Industry

2.6.1 The National Importance of Hospitality

The Restaurant Association of New Zealand (RANZ) provides the following statistics to emphasise the national importance of the hospitality industry, "Food Service employs 63,340 people [in New Zealand]. This industry provides the largest retail service sector in the country" (Restaurant Association NZ, website 2004). The RANZ industry

forecast for 2004 tells that "industry sales will continue to rise in the next 12 months reaching a record $3,763 million dollars." (Restaurant Association NZ, website 2004) A significant part of this income is from restaurant and café sector of the industry (79.9%). Significantly RANZ predicted that the café and restaurant sector "will show most growth" and will experience "growing skill shortages" (Restaurant Association NZ, website 2004). These two factors are paradoxical as a growth industry should attract more trainees. How do these factors affect the training environment in the local café sector? The New Zealand Immigration Service lists 'Chef' as being the only category of service workers to be included on its Long Term Skills Shortage List for preferred immigrants (Immigration.NZ website, 2007). This is an attempt to alleviate the shortfall of trained chefs in New Zealand by encouraging those from overseas with appropriate qualifications to immigrate here. The qualifications required are professional chef's qualifications which would indicate that most of these immigrants will gain employment in hotels and restaurants rather than cafes.

2.6.2 The Wellington Café Scene

An area to be explored in this literature review is that of the Wellington city café scene. This is useful to place the concept of 'training' in the distinct environment of the local hospitality industry. A study of the history of the local café scene can be viewed on NZ History website, (2005). This is a brief history that encapsulates the evolvement of tea rooms and milk bars in the city in the 1930s and 1940s to the coffee bars of the 1950s through to the 1980s. It was mainly due to an influx of discerning European immigrants, a few of which saw an opening for the comparatively sophisticated coffee bars of their former homelands (NZ History website, 2005). The New Zealand liquor licensing laws did not allow the legal sale of alcoholic beverages in these places (Ministry Social Development Publications website, 2005) prior to 1970 there was not a great emphasis in the region on institutionalized tertiary hospitality training in Wellington, except in the armed services. Wellington Polytechnic was the main provider of tertiary technical training in the area and hospitality courses were initiated in 1972 (Dougherty, I., 2001, p 38) and implemented the British oriented London City & Guilds programmes.

Commercial hospitality in the Wellington area is a vigorous and diverse industry which has continued to flourish and evolve over the last two decades. Wellington Tourism Statistics (2005) states that the "Café Society is an integral part of Wellington's lifestyle and visitor appeal" 1999 saw a significant increase in 43% in retail sales for cafés, restaurants and bars since 1996." (About Wellington Tourism Statistics website, 2005).

A search on this website conducted in April 2007 shows that 249 restaurants and bars are listed in Wellington City, of which 83 have the word 'café' in their title. The price range of menu items in the cafes is shown as being generally in the $10.00 to $20.00 price range. Statistics New Zealand website, (2007) indicates that in 2005 there were 398 cafes and restaurants with 4,490 employees in the greater Wellington region. The Wellington region had an estimated population of 460,300 in 2005 (Statistics New Zealand website, 2007) These figures emphasise the number of restaurants and cafes, (with one for every 1156 people) and the large number of small businesses in the local café industry with an average of 11 employees for each café or restaurant.

Wellington has many cafes and restaurants. According to the Positively Wellington Tourism (WellingtonNZ.com website, 2005) web page "Wellington has more places to eat and drink per head than New York [City]". There is fierce competition between the many cafes and ethnic restaurants with many of them located in the same district of downtown Wellington. Keith Stewart writing in the 'New Zealand Listener' (April 8th 2006, p26-27) describes the downturn of profitability in the hospitality sector relative to the increase in competition. To illustrate the competitive nature of the industry he says this of 'fine-dining' restaurants:

> "However, with restaurant returns at a miserly 4%, compared with 11% 20 years ago, the demise of restaurants as we know them is a possibility if the real profit crisis they face is not resolved".
>
> Stewart K (2006) p 26

This indicates that people are not spending money on lavish dining experiences as they once were. It is also an indicator of the changes in dining in New Zealand over this time. This research will try to discover how training has adapted to this trend.

Have cafes become the preferred places to dine out? The standards of local cafés have improved immensely. An indication of the level of sophistication that the local café scene is capable of is that "Café Bastille was named Cuisine [Magazine's] Restaurant of the Year [for 2004]". (Search Wellington website, 2005). The website goes on to describe Café Bastille in the following way: "This is a restaurant which looks and feels like a friendly neighbourhood café, but which serves outstandingly good food." The description indicates quality of product and informal, unobtrusive service. What is the value of training in such a café? David Burton the renowned food writer, in

assessing his picks for the 'Top Ten Wellington Restaurants' in 2007, has this to say about the differences in skills between the upper echelons of restaurants and 'the rest':

> "I have to concede that at the lower end of the industry chefs make no great claims to innovation and refinement. Rather humbly, they work at the level of a craft...The service too, is often wanting at these lower end bistros..."
>
> (Burton, D, 2007)

In 2003 the Wellington accommodation industry had around 3.7 million visitor nights from international tourists and this was increase of 48% over the previous year. International tourists comprised 40% of the accommodation market with the remainder being internal New Zealand tourists (Search Wellington website, 2005). Assuming that many of these visitors frequent local cafés and restaurants during their stay, and then including the many local customers it is possible to see the economic and social importance of the sector.

The current local café scene emerged in the early eighties and gained momentum with the onset of the stock market crash in October 1987, which brought forth harsher economic times and changed the dining habits of the wealthy and corporate 'high flyers' who had formerly feasted in style at 'fine dining' establishments. Throughout the last few decades the local population have travelled more overseas and have become more aware of international dining-styles. Wellington has become home to more immigrants who brought their diverse food styles with them, and locals seemed willing participants. Society was changing and people ate out more often. (NZ History website, 2005). Perhaps the most important liberating factor was the introduction of the Sale of Liquor Act 1989 which made it easier for eating houses to serve alcohol. (NZ Government Legislation website, 2007.), (Hay, Celia. 2000, p 9). This ended the brewery monopoly of alcohol retail in New Zealand and enabled the traditional accompaniment of alcohol and food in cafes and restaurants in New Zealand on a widespread scale (NZ History website, 2005). These foundations, along with the influence of some visionary café owners like Harry Seresin and Suzy van der Kwaast who believed in a 'keep it simple, keep it honest' approach to food, laid the basis for the local café industry as we find it today (NZ History website, 2005). These early café owners helped introduce New Zealanders to continental foods and fine coffee. Through this history runs a thread of informality in the preparation and presentation of food, and informality in the training. Is this still the case?

2.7 The Nature of the Working Culture in the Café Industry

2.7.1 Hospitality Culture

The researcher construes from his own experiences in the local catering industry that, to some extent, the prevailing work culture has an effect on the value placed on training. He recalls twenty years ago working in cafés where few staff members had formal institutional hospitality training. In fact, formal training was decried as being contrary to the informality of café work in one place that he worked. This informality lends itself to the various functions of the café in a variety of ways. The décor, atmosphere, management styles, furniture, mode of service, dress of the staff and type of food all expressed a kind of studied informality that expressed a subdued disdain for the ostentatious affectations of 'fine-dining' restaurants and hotels. Inherent in this early maverick café culture seemed to be a disregard for the conventions of formal training. Yvonne Guerrier (1999, P 43) describes the relationship between the guest and the staff of a restaurant thus:

> "Natural hospitality involves welcoming guests into one's home. But guests are not members of the household and so there need to be some restrictions about where guests are allowed. All hospitality operations have a front-of-house area where hosts are on their best behaviour for the benefit of the guest and a private back-of-house area where the household can behave in their natural way."
>
> Guerrier, Y. (1999, P 43)

The notion of customers as 'guests' and the idea of: "best behaviour for the benefit of the guest" are passé concepts in the local café sector. In cafes host behaviour towards the customer is often utilitarian and natural, without being offensive. Staff dress and manner is often as natural 'out front' as it is 'back of house'. The kitchen operations are sometimes visible to the customer, and so kitchen staff behaviour becomes part of the atmosphere of the premises. Another aspect of café work that is evident is relative lack of the traditional demarcation of jobs and skills. Employees are expected to be more multi-skilled and versatile. These are attitudes that belie the almost militaristic staff hierarchy of more traditional catering establishments. How does this relatively relaxed attitude to traditional labour delineations affect the motivation for café managers to implement traditional training regimes?

Some people are attracted to café work because of the lifestyle that accompanies the job. This lifestyle is not readily apparent to the customers when availing themselves of

the café's services, but it is an implicit, latent part of café and restaurant staff culture. Anthony Bourdain is a chef from the United States of America and an articulate commentator on the sociological nuances of the hospitality industry. He describes a swashbuckling kitchen culture that belies public perceptions:

> "Highwaymen rogues, buccaneers, cut-throats, they were like young princes to me, still only a lowly dishwasher. The life of a cook was a life of adventure, looting, pillaging and rock-and-rolling through life with a carefree disregard for all conventional morality"
>
> (Bourdain, A. 2000 p 22)

While this is a theatrical description of kitchen life, it is in some ways realistic. It is difficult to reconcile this image with the views provided by hospitality management orientated texts. From my own experiences I can verify the impressions of kitchen life given by Bourdain (2000). In another publication Bourdain elucidates further on the peculiarities of kitchen life:

> "I love the sheer weirdness of the kitchen life: the dreamers, the crackpots, the refugees, and the sociopaths with whom I continue to work...In America, the professional kitchen is the last refuge of the misfit. It's a place for people with bad pasts to find a new family. It's a haven for foreigners – Ecuadorians, Mexicans, Chinese, Senegalese, Egyptians, Poles."
>
> (Bourdain, 1999. p 61)

2.7.2 Last Choice Industry

Yvonne Guerrier, (1999, P 58) describes the hospitality industry as "the Cinderella industry". She argues that the industry tends to attract people who see it as a "*last choice industry* rather than the *industry of choice*." It seems to attract people not readily accepted in other sectors of industry. The views of Bourdain and Guerrier are important as they describe an industry in which many people take refuge for a variety of reasons, rather than an industry which attracts people as a planned career option. Is this the case in New Zealand? Could the local hospitality industry be failing to attract and retain the people it needs to function at its best? Is the industry attracting people who seek to receive formal training to do the work or are people being attracted because of the lack of requirements for formal training? Guerrier (1999, P 58) contends that the industry gets the calibre of workers it deserves, "by offering the lowest pay and poorest conditions that they can and by neglecting to invest in training and development."

Aspects of these descriptions of working-life in cafes are evident in the local industry. An important feature of the hospitality industry is the large numbers of part time and casual workers employed in the industry. Statistics New Zealand figures for 2004 show that of a total of 98,100 workers in the accommodation, cafes and restaurants sector 56,900 of them are in part-time employment (Statistics New Zealand website, 2005). This makes 58% of the employees in the sector part-time employees. This is a high percentage and it is debatable whether part-time employees have the same degree of pride and professionalism in the job as full time employees who have made a career commitment and are looking to get ahead in the industry. Which of these types of employees are likely to be interested in formal training?

A tacit feature of the seamy side of restaurant life is the alcohol and drug abuse amongst the staff. The hospitality industry is one of those known to have a significant proportion of its staff indulging in such activities, even at work. An article (anonymous) in *Hospitality* magazine states

> "...the Institute of Environmental Science and Research estimates that 40% of the national workforce in New Zealand has partaken of illegal drugs at least once over the past 12 months. With the social nature of the hospitality industry – combined with the relatively young demographic of the workforce – ESR believes the 40% figure hold true for the hospitality and foodservice sectors."
>
> (Hospitality magazine, October 2004, p 6)

The article goes further to link substance abuse with "workplace violence and theft" (Hospitality magazine, October 2004, p 6). It is appropriate to ask whether a cultural climate of such concern is an environment that is conducive to attracting and retaining people who value training and professionalism.

2.7.3 Staff Retention

It is important to note the trouble that catering employers have retaining employees of the right calibre. A recent U.S. report states "With an average annual employee turnover rate of 125 percent, and rates as high as 300 percent in some segments, hotel and restaurant companies are losing employees as fast as they get them" (Goldwasser, 2000, p46). What is the message here and how accurately does this situation apply to the local café scene? Is it that employers are forced to hire people with insufficient professional abilities who cannot cope with the demands of the industry, is it that expectations of the employee's professional abilities are unrealistic,

or is it a combination of both? In the New Zealand context, Paul Stowers (2005, p22) of *Food Service* magazine writes about the staff turnover in the local industry "...once employed, there is a 50% chance that that any given foodservice or hospitality employee will leave their job within one year." He goes further and makes a startling revelation that

> "The overwhelming majority of people who leave foodservice or hospitality business leave because of the way they are treated every day. Lack of appreciation, lack of teamwork and the perception that the company doesn't care about employees are consistently the highest-rated reasons for low job satisfaction."
>
> Stowers, P., (2005) p22.

The point of this *Food Service* magazine article is to explain the cost to the industry of discontented staff and to extol the virtues of retaining staff in a positive way within the local hospitality industry. Could employer encouragement of enhanced career prospects based on the acquisition of skills and qualifications be a way of retaining staff in the industry?

2.8 Other Studies on this Topic

Despite much searching, not a lot of information on the subject of training cultures in cafes was discovered from academic theses or dissertations. Perhaps this is because the café industry is large and diverse with much of its functions improvised and informal. It involves a myriad of small businesses which may find the precepts and structure of formal business practice unpractical. One treatise on training for the local catering scene is a Masters' degree thesis by John Hudson (2003). He explores the impact on the industry of the various changes in catering qualifications over the last few decades and the different emphases in training that these changes provided. Hudson's study focussed primarily on chefs' training and so is grounded in the more traditional and entrenched side of the hospitality industry. He makes an interesting observation on the state of industry training latterly.

> "Four different eras of recognized training structures, and their respective qualifications, were utilized over the 1980 — 2000. At the same time that the hospitality industry has reinvented itself to keep pace with an increasingly competitive and diversifying market. With the diversification of the industry, it

seems that their training needs became equally diversified. Unit standards were introduced as a training model that would accommodate the diversity of industry by introducing national standard in the workplace. The data suggested strongly that one particular standard in one business was not necessarily the standard required in another — there is a marked difference for instance, between a fast food restaurant and a fine-dining hotel restaurant - both establishments respond totally differently to the requirements of their customers. The catering industry is a clear example of an industry sector where *one size does not fit all.*" (emphasis from original text)

(Hudson, J B, 2003. p 58)

Hudson is saying that within the training there is a diversity of standards depending on the type of establishment and the background of the trainer. He is suggesting that the type of training should fit the style of establishment. Training in one establishment will not be the same as training in another establishment, thus creating inconsistency in the outcomes of the training. An all-encompassing National Certificate system based on units of competency might not be the best option for all styles of establishment. What kind of establishment does this system of training suit? As the current training regimes have developed from the earlier chefs' apprenticeship systems (Hudson, J B 2003, p 58) this suggests that the same structured sector of the industry is being targeted still. This is possibly because the traditional side of the hospitality industry is organised, represented, and has its requirements heard through official channels. The diversity and informality of the café sector possibly makes it averse to such organisational aspirations and so it seems to remain a *maverick force* in the industry. What is the best training option for the local café industry? Indeed, does the local café industry favour a training option leading to a formal qualification at all? It may be that the attraction that this section of the hospitality industry has for employees and customers is in its informality and lack of prescribed standards. Perhaps the *laissez faire* environment of the café sector is required to create *cutting edge* cookery that is innovative and commercially sensible. The final decision of quality lies with the customer. John Hudson's thesis (2003) traces the evolution of catering training in the last two decades and asks serious questions about the place of competency-based assessment in the training environment as a whole. His thesis does not specifically emphasize the café sector and this researcher has had difficulty locating other studies that deal with the local café training situation. The conclusion drawn from the lack of other academic analysis is that this area has not been extensively studied to date.

2.9 Summary

Through extensive reading on the area to be studied using a variety of sources, a number of key themes have emerged from which the interview questions will emanate. These are as follows:

- The qualities that it is desirable for employees to bring to enhance the café enterprise.
- The value to your café enterprise is training in the 'life-skills' of communication, self-development, creativity and problem solving.
- The relevance of skills taught in the training institutions to your café enterprise.
- The value of social and interpersonal skills acquired 'on the job'.
- The accessibility of formal training and how the café enterprise supports the training.
- The extent that trained café personnel are rewarded for having qualifications.
- The reliance on new employees learning from more experienced workplace role models.
- The value of apprenticeships in the local café industry?
- The value placed by workers and management of the café sector on the NZQA national qualifications in hospitality?
- The ability of the industry attracting people who are amenable to receiving formal training?
- The smaller the business the more skills and versatility are required of an employee.
- The influence that the culture of café work has on the conduciveness of formal training.
- The qualities that employees to bring to enhance the café enterprise.
- The value to your café enterprise is training in the 'life-skills' of communication, self-development, creativity and problem solving.
- The relevance of skills taught in the training institutions to your café enterprise.
- The value of social and interpersonal skills acquired 'on the job'.
- The accessibility of formal training and how the café enterprise supports the training.
- The extent that trained café personnel are rewarded for having qualifications.
- The reliance on new employees learning from more experienced workplace role models.

- The value of apprenticeships in the local café industry?
- The value placed by workers and management of the café sector on the NZQA national qualifications in hospitality?
- The ability of the industry attracting people who are amenable to receiving formal training?
- The smaller the business the more skills and versatility are required of an employee.
- The influence that the culture of café work has on the conduciveness of formal training.
- Training can have inconsistent outcomes.

There seems to be a lack of research in the area of café sector training in New Zealand, which suggests that any work in this area will be rewarding.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology of this research project. It details the reasons for selecting the type of research method used and then describes the research process as it is expected to occur. The description of the process is concerned with planning issues, operational aspects, analysis and presentation. This chapter ends with a discussion of possible limitations of the research in view of the chosen research methods.

The issues that emanate from the literature review are:

- Whether café sector staff is formally trained.
- What form does training take in the sector?
- What is the value placed upon training in the café sector?
- How does formal institutional training serve the sector?
- How does working culture influence the training?
- What skills do people gain in the café sector?

3.1 Research methods.

3.1.1 Qualitative research

These issues have a *qualitative* theme as they seek to gain deeper understanding of the issues within a particular socio-cultural context. Qualitative research is the exploration of social issues in a mainly subjective way in order to gain understanding of a localised set of circumstances by interacting with others who experience those circumstances (Holliday, A., 2002, p7) It does not focus on achieving an objective scientifically quantifiable result. So the aims of this research include trying to gain an understanding of *how* and *why* things happen rather than merely *what* happened. Qualitative research is the suitable format to facilitate this, as it allows a personal interaction with the sample group of contacts.

3.1.2 Interpretive processes

Interpretivist processes will be used to analyse the qualitative data accumulated from the interviews. Interpretivism is described as being interpretations of social issues based on interactions of people within a cultural environment at a given time (Crotty, M. 1998, page 67). Harris, C. & Jimenez, S. (2001, p. 85) explains the interpretivist

approach as being an *'interpretive lens'* which brings together the influences of theory, data, participants, and the researcher. They say: "The interpretive lens is both shaped by and in itself shapes, our views of these four informants and the ways in which they inter-relate." (Harris, C. & Jimenez, S. 2001, p. 85) In this research, a number of people engaged in management and supervisory jobs within the local café industry will be interviewed to give their interpretations on the value of formal institutional training in their sector. The views expressed will be tinged with the feelings and meanings of those interviewed and inextricably, those of the interviewer. The findings of such discourse will be "values mediated" (Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. 1998 p. 206). These findings need to be interpreted with an eye to the social and cultural context from which they are generated. Theories that develop from interpretivist research are not generally theories that are universally applicable in a normative sense but usually apply to the localised situation (Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K., 2000, p. 23). Interpretivist research does not usually come up with truisms or rules but may lead to the construction of generalisations which can lead to the formulation of helpful themes. It is useful to note that the factors of interpretivist research are continually changing with the interaction between the targeted group and the evolution of the targeted environment, in this case local cafes and their management. As well as concentrating on the issue of training, this study seeks to also explore the nature of the environment, albeit a changing one.

3.1.3 Constructive learning

Interpretivist research is strongly supported by the premises of *constructive* learning. Internet educational website *thirteen: ed online* (2004) describes constructivism in the following way:

> "...people construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world, through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. When we encounter something new, we have to reconcile it with our previous ideas and experience, maybe changing what we believe, or maybe discarding the new information as irrelevant. In any case, we are active creators of our own knowledge."
>
> (thirteen: ed online website 2004)

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998, p. 207) describe the function of constructivist epistemology in research by stating that "The investigator and the object of

investigation are assumed to be interactively linked so that the "findings" are *literally created* as the investigation proceeds."

3.1.4 The role of subjectivity

The views of Guba & Lincoln (1998 p. 206) endorse an anti-positivist view that in qualitative research the issues are best understood in a situation where "the researcher shares the [participants'] frame of reference: understanding of individuals' interpretations of the world around them has to come from the inside not the outside" (Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K., 2000, p. 20). The researcher in this case, has knowledge of both the café sector of the hospitality industry and local institutional vocational training and so his experience in these areas will enhance the outcomes of this study. While objectivity is a desirable feature of research (Langley, P, p. 1) subjectivity in interview processes is inherent. This subjectivity is due to the various perspectives, motives and feelings of both the interviewer and interviewee which they bring to the interaction, and even their abilities to articulate their ideas (Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., and Delamont, S., p. 120). In this research the subjective influences in the data will be recognised as such and will be used as effectively as possible to help establish the themes.

3.2 Literature review

3.2.1 The use of varied media

An extensive literature review has been conducted and a variety of media explored to build a picture of the knowledge and views of other commentators on the subject. The following media sources have all provided valuable information for the literature review.

1. Academic literature, subjected to referee processes.
2. Theses on related topics
3. Other literature, not refereed.
4. Trade and Professional Magazines
5. Tertiary institute training course outlines
6. New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) competency descriptions
7. Hospitality Standards Institute (HSI) training standards
8. Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) reports
9. Department of Labour reports
10. Statistics New Zealand
11. Tourism Wellington

12. Daily newspapers
13. Video material
14. Television presentations

As is the case in much contemporary research this material was gleaned from a mixture of media including websites on the Internet and also from 'hard copy' sources. The hard copy material was obtained from library collections, borrowed from peers and mentors, or from the researcher's own collection. Some hard copy material was obtained directly from government department offices, HSI and the Wellington City Council.

3.2.2 Triangulation of sources

Information from a variety of sources is useful as it provides a means of *triangulation* to endorse key themes. Triangulation, in this instance, is "the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour." (Cohen, L., et al, 2000, p. 112). The aim was to identify convergent overlapping areas within the different sources to identify themes and add validity to the research outcomes. Comparing different sources of data has brought forth compatible themes and contradicting ones. Both cases are useful for supporting discussion. Compatible themes allow data from various sources to verify and support each other whereas contradicting themes bring cause for further discussion and contemplation.

3.3 Ethics, privacy and anonymity

The research proposal for this project is subjected to Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) scrutiny (appendix 1). This is undertaken to seek endorsement of the proposed research methods and to seek approval for the processes designed to protect against repercussions to the University or to the participants and their establishments, employers or employees.

The researcher has taken all possible steps to ensure the privacy and anonymity of the participants. Initial contact with the participants is either by telephone or in person. In each case, the participants have been invited to take part by letter (appendix 2) and advised of the aims and processes of the research. The research questions have been given in writing with sufficient time for the participant to reflect on them before the interview. A consent form (appendix 3) has been included and has been read and signed by each participant as a statement of understanding and participation in the

research processes. The consent form also outlines the participant's rights in the research process. It states that the participant:

- Has read the information letter and the details of the study have been explained to their satisfaction. The participant has had any questions answered to their satisfaction and may ask further questions at any time during the process.
- Has the right to withdraw from the process at any time, and the right not to answer a question at any time.
- Has the right to remain anonymous, and that any material that could identify them or their establishment will not be used without their permission.
- Has the right to know and give consent to what use the information is being put to.
- Has the right to agree to the interview being audio taped and that the audio taping will be stopped at any time according to their wishes.
- Understands that the taped discussion will be transcribed and that the person doing the transcription will abide by the privacy issues and has signed a confidentiality agreement.
- Understands that they have access to inspect any material coming from the interview discussion.
- Agrees to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

3.4 The interview strategy.

3.4.1 Formulation of the questions.

After the research briefing, in which the researcher outlines the major issues he wishes to explore, a working title was formulated. This title, which has since been modified, gives direction to the literature search. The questions that form the basis of the interview situation have emanated from the literary review. Scrutiny of information from various sources gives rise to a number of key issues which the researcher seeks to enlarge on and clarify through the interview process. The various themes that arise from the literature review bring forth unexpected issues in some cases. These themes provide the basis of the interview questions. It is important to the researcher that the questions would 'work' well in the interviews, so several of the researchers' colleagues at Massey University have acted out the interviews and given their opinions on the efficiency of the questions. This scrutiny has resulted in some refinement of the questions, and a change in their order. The interview questions (appendix 4) have

been provided to the participants in written form prior to the interview so that the participants were prepared for the event.

Interpretation of the questions and answers are important in establishing the research outcomes. The questions are mostly of an open-ended nature to encourage explanations and descriptive answers. Other relevant questions emerge from the answers given during the interviews and these questions and their answers have been included in the interview transcripts and in the ensuing discussions.

3.4.2 Sampling

The sample of participants is determined by two types of sampling methods operating at different levels. There is an element of *purposive sampling* involved, in that the status of the people interviewed i.e. café manager or supervisor, was pre-determined by the researcher (Cohen, L., et al, 2000, p. 104). It is felt that people in these positions have an important stake in the value that is placed on training in the sector, and are in a good position to observe the effects of training or lack thereof. They are also likely to have experience within that context, and are better placed to articulate their observations. Within the target group, at a more direct level, *snowball sampling* (Cohen, L., et al, 2000, p. 104) is to be used. This method allows the researcher to make use of the first participant to connect with further people who, in the view of the first contact, typify the model of a café manager or supervisor, and use these as a source for further contacts that fit the description. This allowed the researcher to contact people who were receptive to participation in the research and were representative of the sample group. The use of snowball sampling assisted in obtaining some objectivity in the research. It encouraged access to participants that were outside the researcher's immediate range of connections and this assisted the validity of the interviews by reducing the *halo effect*. Halo effect is when the researcher's personal knowledge of the participant or the subject is allowed to sway the discussion (Cohen, L., et al 2000, p. 116). Snowball sampling is useful in social research to reach 'hidden population groups', which by their very nature spurn contact with mainstream society (Atkinson, R. and Flint, J., 2004 P. 1). While this usually applies to researching miscreants and social deviants, it was useful in this case. Café management, while not exactly a 'hidden' group in this mould, are hard to isolate because of the pressure and time constraints inherent in the hospitality industry. It is expected that through referral by one of their peers the café manager or supervisor will be more amenable to participation in the research.

3.4.3 The interviews

The main form of obtaining information is by an interactive interview with each participant. Discussion is stimulated by a series of mostly open-ended questions. Langley, P., (1987, p. 23) describes the 'in-depth' interview processes as "not as 'structured' as questionnaire interviews. They are more like 'chats' with the interviewer encouraging the respondent to give detailed answers and to express his or her views." The interview process inextricably includes some observation of the participants as there will be discovery of culture, attitude, language and way of life (Fontana, A. & Frey, J.H. 1998 p. 57). The interviews are undertaken on a face-to-face basis and were intended to take place in a mutually neutral and relaxing environment with minimal distractions. Seven participants have been interviewed, with the process taking between 20 and 35 minutes. Owing to the time and location constraints most of the interviews have been conducted in the workplace environment of the participant. This was usually at the behest of the participant as being the most convenient place for them, at the time. This choice of venue for the interviews did have the disadvantage of creating the inclusion of background noise and the occasional interruption of other people in the recordings which, in a few cases, made the transcription process difficult. The interviews were audio-digitally recorded and each has been transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Transcription has been undertaken as soon as possible after the actual interview, usually just a matter of days later, while the information is fresh in the researcher's mind. These transcripts are typed and each has been subsequently viewed and appraised by the participant involved. No changes in the transcripts are required as a result of this process. The transcriptions are electronically stored in secure files requiring a password for access. The participants were each sent a letter conveying the researcher's profound gratitude for their time and contribution when all processes involving them were completed (appendix 5). Wherever practicable, letters were written on Massey University letterhead paper to instil confidence and give authority to the processes.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis

The salient data is provided by the interview transcriptions using the original interview questions as a preliminary set of reference classifications. The data has been painstakingly scrutinized, evaluated and dissected by the researcher to identify the likely themes. The data is then grouped into common themes. These themes (in no particular order) are as follows:

- Environmental factors
- Institutional
- Cafes
- Values and attitudes
- People skills
- Education
- Workers
- Commercialism
- Cultural factors
- Behavioural
- Restaurants
- Job Skills
- Training
- Managers
- Qualifications
- Careers

Many of the interview comments can be categorised in more than one of these compartments so the links between themes and data are quite complicated. With the assistance of a computer word processor programme (Microsoft Word) the transcripts have been numbered for each page allowing for easy reference. Lines containing similar themes from different transcripts are then able to be copied and collated together for comparison (appendix 6). Colour coding of the themes has been useful.

Question 1 deals with the participants' views on what type of establishment comprises a café. This is an open question and elicited a variety of responses which were categorised using the method described above to gain the main themes. The number of times that each theme occurs through the answers of the seven participants to the question determines the importance of the theme. The answers that are supplied here set the context for this study.

Questions 2 and 3 ask the participants to talk about themselves, their own training background, and the training of their staff. These questions initially require a positive or negative response, and further prompting from the researcher extracts information about the participant's values and attitudes towards training. These answers are sorted in 'yes, they have been formally trained' or 'no, they haven't been formally trained", noting if any have been 'partially formally trained'. Further distinctions are made as to what part of the café operation the staff are working in, and whether they are management or operational staff. This dissection of training backgrounds allows for more specified information on the people working in the café sector. The participants' comments provide a platform on which to base further assertions about the culture of training in cafes.

Question 4 is broad in scope and brings forth a variety of answers. Links are made with the collated comments back to the collected data with regard to the different ways people learn café skills (informal on-the-job training, apprenticeship, or in a tertiary institution.)

Question 5 is about values and attitudes towards training and again brings forth a variety of answers. The answers to this question relate to rewards, incentives and encouragement that may stimulate a desire for formal training in cafes. Common threads are identified and extracted from the data

Questions 6, 7 and 8 call for value judgements from the participants on skills and training. Common threads are drawn from the explanations of the participants.

Using this method of collation the key issues of the research emerge from the transcript for discussion in Chapter 5.

3.6 Possible limitations of the methodology

3.6.1 Subjectivity issues

The nature of this research is inherently subjective, as described earlier. Subjectivity is an integral part of interpretive based research. This subjective nature is largely created by the necessity for personal contact in order to gain understanding and by the relatively small number of participants involved. (Langley, P., 1987, p. 23) Some commentators have difficulty with the subjectivity of the qualitative research situation and its outcomes as they contend that representation tends to be confined to the local situation and that the outcomes are coloured by the feelings of the participants at that moment in time (Atkinson, P., Coffey, A. & Delamont, S., 2003, p 121). In the case of this study, the sample of participants is necessarily small, due to the intensity of the interview process. This means that the ability to draw universal conclusions is diminished and the outcomes are less able to be measured against objective standards in a scientific way. (Cohen, L., et al, 2000, p. 4).

3.6.2 Mass media sources

The literature review has been gleaned from a variety of sources, some of it from the mass media. The researcher notes that some of the material was not from academically refereed sources, or sanctioned public documents. Some non-refereed material, like magazine articles, that are used have been devised by journalists or

authors wishing to put forward their view or that of the publication. Such views may be embellished or lacking in balance. (Langley, P., 1987, p. 53) Even so, material of this kind can be subjected to content analysis to tease out important themes. They can be useful to provide an illustration or an example of themes elicited from more formal sources.

3.6.3 Interviewer influences.

The researcher acknowledges that the interview situation has not been without predisposition. This bias is inherent because the interviewer and the participants bring their personal and emotional qualities into the interview scenario and this affects their perceptions of the ideas that emerge from the discussion (Cohen, L., et al, 2000, p. 267). However, the researcher feels that his experience in the fields of catering and education has helped to give a balanced academic approach to the interviews.

3.6.4 Sampling Issues

One disadvantage of using the snowball sampling method is that it may result in placing the researcher in an environment of like-minded individuals who tend to endorse each others' opinions (Atkinson, R. and Flint, J., 2004 P. 1). In this case, the sample group is necessarily small and localised, so there is less likelihood of reaching theories that could apply acceptably in a universal way (Cohen, L, et al 2000, p. 23).

3.6.5 Interview Environment

Café management are very busy people. Many of them prefer to be interviewed 'on-the-job' to minimise inconvenience to themselves and this means that they may occasionally be distracted from the interview. There may be time limitations imposed on the interview for the same reason. Holding the interviews in the cafes means that often there will be background noise which will be recorded and make transcription difficult later.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND RESULTS

The findings and results from the interviews are detailed in this section. A profile of the participants is presented first, followed by a summary of the styles of establishments that are involved. This information is gleaned from the interview transcripts, discussions with the participants and the researcher's observations.

The findings and results are then presented as categorised views on the value of training in the local café sector.

4.1 Profiles of the Participants

It is expected that for this research a sample of around six or seven participants would be sufficient to gain qualitative information about the value of training in this sector. Table 1 summarises the demographic profile of the participants as gathered in the interviews.

Table 1

Profiles of the participants

Profile	Number	Qualities
Gender	All	Male
Age range	4	20-30 years old
	3	30-40 years old
Ethnicity	5	Pakeha/European
	1	South East Asian
	1	New Zealander of Asian descent
Financial interest	4	Partners / owners
Position within establishment	3	Front-of House-Managers
	3	Kitchen Managers (Head chefs)
	1	Assistant Kitchen Managers (Sous-chefs)
Formal hospitality qualifications	2	Advanced chef's qualifications
	2	Basic chef's qualifications
	3	Not formally qualified.
	0	Food & beverage service formal qualifications
Apprenticeships	1	Served as an apprentice
Experience in the café industry.	1	0-3 years
	1	4-7 years
	2	8-11 years
	2	12-15 years
	1	15-19+ years

The status of these research participants within the café sector is deliberately similar i.e. the participants must have the position of manager, supervisor or proprietor, and this position is a prerequisite for inclusion in the study. The research sample may seem to lack balance in a few areas, as witnessed in the gender type in Table 1 above in which all the participants are listed as being male. These situations come about because the group of participants selects itself in a manner beyond the control of the researcher, through the snowball method of sampling (Atkinson, R. and Flint, J., 2004 p. 1) and it may be that people who have contacts in the same industry are attracted to people similar to themselves. The gender imbalance of this sample could suggest that currently the majority of café management is male, but observation will indicate that this is clearly not true. The sample composition is co-incidental and the suggestion is not made under scientific circumstances. All the participants who were approached

readily agreed to partake in the interviews. In fact, one participant was very keen to be included and phoned back to leave messages on the researcher's telephone. He said that he felt the research could be helpful to learn about the industry training situation. The interview process had a response and participation rate of 100%.

4.2 Profiles of the Participating Cafes and Personnel.

Table 2 shows in brief the types of cafes from which the participants were sourced. This information is included to give an insight into the commercial situations of the sample cafes.

Table 2

Profile of the Participating Cafes

Profile	Number	Qualities
Location of café	3	Wellington's restaurant district
	3	Inner Wellington suburbs
	1	Suburban shopping centre
Accessibility	6	Fronting the street, at street level.
	1	Pedestrian plaza, at street level.
Size	7	Between 40 – 80 seats
Number of workers covering seven days.	0	1-5 workers
	3	5-10 workers
	3	10-15 workers
	1	15-20 workers
Licensed	7	Sell alcohol to complement food.
	2	Operate in conjunction with a bar facility
Outdoor seating	3	Have designated outdoor seating areas.
Dining times	1	Open for breakfast
	7	Open for lunch
	6	Open regularly for dinner
	1	Open 1 day weekly for dinner
	7	Open Saturday
	6	Open Sunday
	5	Open 7 days a week
Coffee	7	Provide espresso coffees
Production	7	Produce food from raw materials on the premises.
Counter Food	7	Provide some form of counter food.
Longevity in current form	1	< 1 year
	0	1 – 3 years
	2	3 – 6 years
	3	6 – 10 years
	1	> 10 years

These figures help to emphasise that cafes are small businesses. *Small and Medium Businesses in New Zealand* website (2004) notes that the key features of a small business are very much involved with the personal influence of the owner/manager. These personal features include financing the business, furnishing the concept for starting the business, providing the specific technical skills, and often having "little formal business experience or few generic business skills" (*Small and Medium Businesses in New Zealand* website, 2004) The size of a small or medium business for statistics purposes, measured in numbers of workers, is 20 workers or less (Statistics New Zealand, 2005) with the smaller businesses having as few as four or five workers (Small and Medium Businesses in New Zealand website, 2004). In all of the participants' establishments, less than 20 workers are employed covering up to seven days a week. The word 'worker' is used rather than the word 'employee' as it is necessary to include the owner-operator in the statistics. The owner in each of the sample cafes, except one, works on the premises and fulfils the role of one of the workers. Four of these owners work in the front-of-house section of the café, one is a chef supervising the business and one is a chef supervising the kitchen with his partner supervising the front-of-house section of the business. What is apparent here is the large proportion of owners who take an active part in the operations of their business.

4.3 Findings

This section details the findings of the interview process. The main themes are delineated by the interview questions (appendix 4) that have emanated from the literature review. This chapter attempts to gain information on the value that is placed on formal training in the local café sector.

Comments from the interview transcripts are presented in italics and indented with bullet points. The comments are coded with identification letters and the page number of the participant interview excerpt e.g. ('A', p9). The participant's identification letter has been placed in single quotation marks when it appears in text so that it is less likely to be confused with anything else, e.g. 'A'. Any identification of workplaces and persons in the transcripts have been removed and replaced with a prolonged dotted line (e.g. .....). There is no intended significance to the order of the comments throughout this chapter; it is entirely random. In a few instances there was no substantial answer to a question from one or other of the participants, so a response from that particular participant has been omitted for that question. In other instances a participant may have many things to say in response to a question and the researcher

feels it is necessary to include more that one quotation from that participant to do justice to their contribution.

4.3.1 What is a Café?

In Chapter 2 a café is described as a small informal eating house specialising in serving coffee, alcoholic beverages, and light meals. The operational format is less structured than that of a restaurant. (Hay, C. 2000 p 12), (City of Fort Worth Texas website, 2005).

This question is the first to be asked of each participant and is included to help define what a café is and to show the differences between cafes and other types of dining outlets. The answers are varied and included the following extracts:

1. Ahhh, informal. ('N', p1)

2. I think the quality...cafes generally are more relaxed dining, drinking environment...a café is more focused on serving light food and coffee and if there's alcohol involved that's secondary. It generally focuses more on coffee and light food. ('A', p1)

3. It's very blurred. Well, I mean, even here. The term café, we are a café, per se. During the day our service is café. At night time we'll put on white tablecloths and we'll have cutlery and put wine glasses on the table. And our prices, they are 26 to 28 dollars a main. So we could be more of a bistro at night time, definitely more than a café. Although we are a café at night time, you can't obstruct café people. We have 8 to 10 dollar items, coffee and cake, you know. ('G', p2)

4. We are not a restaurant and we don't have, you know, restaurant quality chefs and that is the difference between a café and a restaurant. ('C', p2)

5. I think, for me personally, I think cafes are more of a meeting place, if you like. ('C', p3)

6. A café is more designed for sort of, fast service. Still good quality food and stuff, but at a fast pace. Not all the trimmings, you know the white tablecloths, wine glasses, silver service sort of style. Just sit down, eat you know. ('R', p1)

7. A café to me has always been the informality of counter service, or the type of service we give here, but without the trappings of a restaurant. A café, I guess is a price point as well, emphasis on a mixture of to-order foods, cabinet foods, coffee, cold drinks. ('P', p1)

8. People looking for, like, nice simple food. Plus they like to run in, and want the food fast. ('L', p1)

These views are significant as they set the scene for this study and so place the value of training into a café context that is defined by people who are actively employed within the café sector. The essence of a café from the descriptions above are listed below:

- often shares some of the attributes of a restaurant
- informality
- less 'trimmings'
- speed
- relatively cheap
- relaxed
- meeting places
- professional chefs are not a necessity
- a variety of hospitality functions
- the quality of the food is a difference

4.3.2 Are You Yourself Formally Trained?

This question is included after the first interview. The researcher wants to explore the hypothesis that there could be a natural link between the fostering of training in the local café sector and the training background of the managers involved. What is suggested here is that those managers who have had formal training are perhaps more likely to foster training of a similar type in their own employees. It is supposed that these managers have an empathy with formal training environments. It will be interesting to see if this possible link establishes itself in further stages of the study. The literature did not provide information on this possible connection. This question had a range of answers and to sum up, the participants were:

- Not formally trained – 3
- Partly formally trained - 2 (with lesser qualifications)
- Formally trained – 2

Not one of the participants has a formal hospitality management or business qualification. This is interesting considering that qualifications in these areas would seem to be eminently suitable for the small business environment.

4.3.3 Are Café Sector Staff Members Formally Trained?

Once again there is little academic literature covering this issue. This question is designed to ascertain the prevalence of formally trained workers in the local café sector.

The responses included the following extracts:

1. A few in the kitchen have trained at Polytechs throughout the country and uh, all of the waiting staff are part-time, so ah, they're students and they've just worked in various restaurants and cafes, hotels, gaining experience. ('A', p 1)

These comments endorse the theory that kitchen staff need some formal training and that front-of-house staff learn their skills on the job.

2. I don't think a formally trained cook is necessary in a café, but I try to find a formally trained person for front-of-house. ('C', p 3)

The view expressed by 'C' here is contradictory to those of most of the other participants. 'C' feels that the front-of-house people are valuable as they are the point of customer contact so they should be formally trained.

3. I think there is no structure that they have to be formally trained. It's not necessary, there's not so much call for formal front of house training these days anyway, you know? ('G', p 3)

'G' states that front-of-house training is not necessary.

4. ...sometimes they [food service staff] think that they know all, but they never train formally...because kitchen staff they normally well trained, and the ones who train them in the front of house and in the kitchen. ('L', p 1)

'L' (p 1) makes the important distinction that the supervisors who train the staff in his establishment are formally trained themselves so that, through training others they perpetuate the standards of the skills.

5. If I can get them I'll take qualified people, but the way it's been going lately it's becoming less and less as we all know and the café sector does tend to attract unqualified staff. ('N', p 1)

'N' would like to hire trained staff but cannot find them.

6. I think, the majority, no. ('P', p 2)

7. Um, to a certain point, I mean, they've all, the majority of them have taken a step in the door. Whether it be tertiary institute or a kitchen, I suppose. That's on the job, and most of it is on the job. But, um, unfortunately a lot of them don't see it through.('R', p 1)

Here, 'R' believes that there are considerable numbers of café staff who have started, but not completed their formal training.

Generally, there are strong themes that emerge from these responses. Firstly, there is a prevalence of untrained staff in cafes. Secondly, there is a message that formal training is deemed unnecessary in the local café sector, especially in front-of-house skills. Some training is desirable for kitchen staff, indicating that this is an area with a higher level of technical skill. Thirdly, there seems to be a disparity between different 'sides' of a café operation, front-of-house and kitchen, in the status of the work and degree of training required. A lot of front-of-house staff are relatively transient. Informal on-the-job training is the main way of dealing with skills shortfalls.

4.3.4 What Form does Training take in the Sector?

The responses from the participants to this question are mostly consistent.

1. A lot of it's on the job. ('R', p2)

2. Maybe it's that sort of on-going training for those people who haven't had that to formal contact. ('P', p2)

3. Ah, it's on-going or ah, in the kitchen we have recipes so that they, ah...following the recipes they are making sure they don't ah, cut any ingredients. Otherwise the dish will not work at all. So, training different sections and being able to ah, work as a team. Obviously timing is important and ah, I think ah different sections have different tasks to achieve, and ah, making sure they can achieve it within a certain time frame and then there's the service as well. ('A', p2)

4. They're on the job training. But not in the true sense of an apprenticeship scheme where you are always, sort of, the extra, tagged to a chef in a section, say. ('N', p2)

5. Even though people are trained by, you know, maitre'd or whatever on the job. ('L', p1)

6. ...because we are so small, we don't have time to train people. We leave that to the institutions. We've all trained personally as to where things are in our café. ('C', p4)

7. And the rest are just...they've worked here and they've worked there, you know. ('L', p3)

The themes that emerge from this question is that café staff are predominantly trained on-the-job, and that experience is an important factor.

The message conveyed here is that institutional training is largely disregarded in this sector. The quality of skills resulting from such training is not refuted by most of the participants but it is seen as being unnecessary in the informal café scene. There is a significant amount of informal on-the-job training taking place, and many industry workers gain their work experience in this way.

4.3.5 What is the Value Placed upon Training in the Café Sector?

This question usually needed explaining to the participants as it's meaning proved a little ambiguous. The question was introduced by the researcher by an explanation similar to:

"Um, OK, what is the value placed on training in the café sector? In other words, mm, I think the question asks if you get someone who is trained, qualified or very experienced, do you pay them extra or is there any extra job incentives for people like that here or do they get treated just the same as those who haven't been trained?"

(From the researcher in the interview with 'G', p4, 26 October 2005)

This is a significant question because it asks whether the material rewards will entice people to train. In other words, are the rewards sufficient to entice good people to consider the café sector as a career option? A sample of responses to this question was:

1. In theory you're supposed to, I think. I think you do. I would say yes. Maybe it is not the enormous raise you would've hoped. ('R', p3)

2. We've got guys in our kitchen, that are highly qualified that are hardly earning more than one of ours that isn't qualified... ('G', p5)

'R' believes that there should be a higher rate of pay for those who have formally trained, but he concedes that the difference in pay between qualified and unqualified staff is not great. 'G' agrees that there is not much difference in the rates of pay. These two views are hardly encouraging.

3. Yes, in the contract there is a system where...it's an outline how to increase your pay. ('N', p3)

4. We will pay them more because obviously they have been trained. They will introduce a standard into the kitchen, hopefully they will better it. ('N', p3)

5. What I say is, if you got certificate or qualifications for the start you get more than normal, yeah. ('L', p3)

In his establishment 'N' has a clause in the workers' employment contracts to allow for pay increments when qualifications are attained. He sees a value in the worker being formally trained, as he is. 'L' is unequivocal about his support for qualifications (he is fully qualified himself). It reasonable that managers who have formal qualifications should seek employees who also have similar qualifications as they seek a benchmark

of professional knowledge and skill that they can identify with, and rely upon; a known quantity.

6. They'd be paid a component of the bigger picture, in terms of how we value staff. I wouldn't say we are unique in any way but we do have, we do tend to find that there have been students who come out of Polytech who find our way of doing things quite difficult. ('P', p3)

7. But there is, you know, there is an um, intrinsic value in having people who have expanded their knowledge. You know, that sort of thing is utterly valuable, but if someone was to come to us through [?] and say "look I'm worth this." We'd actually come back and say "prove it, first", "Show me what you can do in our environment." It's not a given. ('P', p3.)

8. One of ours is qualified but it depends on how long they've been somewhere, how long they've been in the industry for. They have to prove themselves here, in some way. ('G', p5)

The views expressed by the participants above illustrate a view that formal qualifications are, to some extent, irrelevant in the café scene, and the training received must be augmented by industry experience. Certification is not necessarily the sum of the worker's worth, they must also prove themselves in the workplace. There is an inference that the readiness of the newly qualified worker for the workplace is questionable.

9. You talk around the young guys, and they're not getting paid enough and unfortunately they're the ones who aren't really doing much and that's the bottom line in this day and age you've got to get them cheap, there's no doubt about that. ('R', p3.)

10. Its, uh, from my perspective, yes I would pay somebody more if they have the right qualification. The difficulty I've got is that as a business owner and as a business manager is trying to pass that cost on. The industry is very, very competitive and for instance, if you bring somebody else on and you want to pay them more, and if you do, you are not necessarily going to get any more of a return from your customers. It's a very difficult situation. ('C', p6.)

'R' and 'C' state that they cannot afford to pay more, even if they wanted to, due to the competitive nature of the industry. 'C' says that there are not necessarily greater financial returns when employing qualified staff.

11. Some people, they got it wrong. They think that because you got qualification you going to be a Head chef straight away, or Sous chef straight away ('L', p4)

The unrealistic expectations of trainees from institutions when they enter the industry is a problem according to 'L' (p4)

12. Ah, we would think about it but once again you're drawn up on how they perform in the [?]. I know from experience we've had certain people who have spent years working in this industry and ran cafes and restaurants and when it came down to being really busy um, they, they isolated themselves into a corner. ('A', p3)

'A' is saying that every establishment operates in its unique way, and each person will handle the situation differently.

4.3.6 How does Formal Institutional Training Serve the Sector?

Initially it was thought that this question should be: 'how well does formal institutional training serve the sector?', but it is felt that this wording may limit the scope of the answer, probably eliciting responses like 'quite well' or 'not very well' which would require further explanation. The wording was decided on as above and this more open type of question gained some short replies and some descriptive answers.

1. I wouldn't rate their training very highly at all. ('C', p8)

'C's comments are strongly negative.

2. I think, ah, on the whole they are doing quite well. ('A', p3)

3. Yeah, we definitely need it. Especially now the industry people, they are using ready-made [food], you know, like from a packet. With a chef, they are using that, but they know how to make the product. ('L', p3)

'A' is positive about training. 'L' relates how training and knowledge can assist chefs in the contemporary industry situation when adapting modern practices.

4. ...we'll take it at face value but we know there's a way that we do things. So that training may, or may not be applicable to what we do. ('P', p4)

5. You know, you need to be a bit more versatile and in an institution like a classroom you wouldn't necessarily learn that, you know. ('R', p5)

The two comments above suggest once again, that a measure of disparity exists between institutional training and the industry environment.

6. It just worries me that the kids going into the training these days are going into it are going into it for the right reasons, or have they just gone up to a 'guidance day', or something and picked up a brochure? ('N', p6)

7. That's why, I think that's why there is such a shortage because they...you can go to Polytech for three months and come out thinking you're a chef and you go and expect work in the workplace and you get smacked in the head by a brick wall. ('G', p5)

'N' questions the integrity of the system that allows some trainees to make ill informed career choices. This is a notable pitfall of institutional pre-employment training, as the trainee has had little experience of the industry they are training for. Some pre-employment trainees hold unrealistic romantic notions as to the nature of the industry. 'G' reiterates the unrealistic expectations of graduates from pre-employment training programmes. It is debatable whether the students harbour an inaccurate impression and whether the impression has been promoted in the training institute.

In the comments above the participants indicated that there is an inconsistency between the perception held of formal institutional training and the reality of working in industry. There is an apparent training gap in what the café sector requires in the way of skills, and what is supplied by the training institutes. It emerges that the managers in the local café sector feel that on-the-job training is the most relevant form of learning for this industry. The requirement for individuality within the café sector means that training that is particular to the individual work situation is necessary. Many of the managers feel that institutional training provide the basic hands-on skills and

techniques of the tasks to be performed, but not the abstract skills of dealing with pressure brought on by volume of work, rigid time constraints and inhospitable working conditions.

Interestingly, there is little mention of the role of training institutes in promoting 'generic skills' or 'transferable life skills' ("The Changing Workplace – Future of Work" website 2005) which are seen to be important in helping workers adapt in the workplace. 'R', (p 5) suggests that there are some attributes necessary for cafe work other than those taught in an "institution like a classroom" ('R', p 5). His inference here is that some things are best learned on-the-job, in the arena of life itself.

4.3.7 How does Working Culture Influence the Training?

This question was perplexing for some of the participants and needed to be clarified for them. A 'culture' is explained as being a set of values, attitudes and behaviours that are common to a group of people in a common circumstance. These values, attitudes and behaviours are learned from traditions, and moulded by the influences of the people in the group and the environment in which they operate, in this case their workplace (Bodley, J.H., 1994, P 9).

Excerpts from the transcriptions follow:

1. If you want to be the best you can be, you sort of have to through with blinkers on and go [?], and forget the whole, peer-pressure, storm-dance, bullying thing going on, but... ('G', p9)

'G' expresses a 'grin and bear it' attitude to the rigours of working in the café sector, inferring that there can be negative aspects to café life. This may lead to attrition in the work force (Stowers, P., 2005, p 22). Some of 'G's sentiments infer that working life in the hospitality industry includes work pressure and some nefarious practices such as bullying which are now recognised as contravening basic human rights.

2. Have had the odd occasion where people have taken dope, party pills, that sort of thing. ('N', p4)

3. Where I used to work people party five days a week, go out and smoke, and drink. Come back high, sometimes hung over, no sleep. Yeah but they got no choice, they have to work to earn the money to party. ('L', p4)

On the party culture indulged by some café workers 'N' says that it happens occasionally. He did go further to say that "I suspect that while they were working they were under the influence" ('N', p4). This supports the literature sources on the subject (Hospitality magazine, October 2004, p 6). The party life described by 'L' (p 4) corresponds with the hospitality social scene the researcher remembers from his own experiences as a manager fifteen years ago.

4. Yeah, we get a few bangs and bashes... [?] You never see it. You might hear, you might hear it now and then but, you know it's pretty noisy out here so you can get away with it. But it's generally between each other, you know. ('R', p7,8)

5. The reason I don't believe in open kitchens is because of the way I was taught. You've got a door, and your personality, your philosophy and your attitude actually changes as soon as you hit that door, so you can swear and curse and do whatever you like. When you walk out the door you are basically acting on stage. Now, because of the fact that I think people for a long time have had that feeling of the door, what goes on behind the door is exactly that – behind closed doors. ('C', p9)

The legends told of kitchen culture, with its cursing, violence and intimidation are not without foundation as 'R' states above. There are still some kitchens where these attitudes persist but mostly such behaviour is now discouraged in New Zealand. The interesting contrast between the behaviour of workers in the kitchen and 'front-of-house' is described by ('C', p9) above. The quote implies that the service staff adopts a pleasing façade in front of the customer, which belies their demeanour behind the scenes.

6. There's a core of people of people who still...who see this as being a neat job, or a stop-gap measure or, you know working long term, who operate cafes with that mentality. They never made a success out of anything, so let's go start a café. ('P', p5)

As it is a largely unregulated sector, some people are attracted to open cafés because it seems easy to do, and there is a perception that few skills are required. Some harbour romantic notions about the associated lifestyle and some people open cafes because they do not know what else to do.

7. Um, we've gone through that cycle where we've had various ah, individuals and some have blended and some haven't and have moved on. And the ones that have blended have become...more grown up. ('A', p4)

8. There's certainly a culture there, I don't think that it is necessarily a good one a lot of the time. A lot of the culture that comes from hospitality, whether you are in hotel or a café is because of the history we have got of employing students. It's a student-sort of culture, if you like. ('C', p8)

9. We do have respect for each. I respect them, and they respect me. I mop the floor, I sweep the floor, I do everything together with them...none of them smoke and drink. ('L', p4)

This is an interesting mixture of descriptions from the group of café managers and supervisors. While these narratives are not as evocative as some of the excerpts in the literature review the themes are as consistent.
The main themes to emerge here are:

- An adverse culture exists and you have to survive it.
- Some negative practices such as workplace bullying do exist.
- Drug abuse exists, on occasion.
- There are some kitchen altercations, but they do not intrude on the public dining areas.
- Those with a hedonistic attitude who run cafes don't do well in the long run.
- Workers need to adapt to in-house conditions or move on. Those who adapt are better workers for having done it, in the eyes of the managers.
- The inherent culture comes from hiring a lot of part-time students.
- What goes on behind closed doors, stays behind closed doors, especially in the kitchen?

- Negative working cultures are not supportive of training.

4.3.8 What Skills do People Gain in the Café Sector?

This question also had to be explained to most of the participants. Many of them have the preconception that skills acquired in the hospitality industry are mostly in the psychomotor domain. While this is a natural assumption given the physical nature of the work there are significant skills in the cognitive and affective domains in the hospitality workplace also. Generally, the participants responded after some guidance from the researcher as to the intention of this question. The reason for including this question was to get a feeling as to the prevailing attitude towards the acquisition of generic life skills

Responses indicate that important skills for local cafes are in the interpersonal range and are integral to performing the physical tasks of the work. A sample of the responses from the participants shows that there is a range of priorities which include the following ideas:

Interpersonal skills and the ability to project a pleasant personality are important to many participants. These opinions emphasise the importance of good customer relations.

1. it's very important to be able to have a conversation ('C', p10)
2. ...so I think personality is important, as is experience. ('C', p11)
3. I quite agree with someone with personality. It's probably the most important thing in the end. ('P', p6)
4. I think the only adaptable skills would be personal skills. ('G', p13)

Some participants highlight the importance of communication and teamwork.

5. ...compatibility, especially working in with the rest of the staff. ('C', p11)
6. Absolutely, delegation and anticipation. ('P', p6)

One participant prefers a more 'professional', conservative approach to service. This is an attitude which is not uncommon in the hospitality industry.

7. Communication, how to do stuff, like in the formal way. ('L', p1)

Other participants acknowledge the pressures of work, and the versatility of work methods and dexterity needed.

8. Being able to multi-task is an advantage. ('A', p5)

9. And maybe like thinking on your feet and being a little bit broad minded... ('G', p13)

10. Management, uh, time management. ('R', p9)

11. It is more hands on and just basic hand-eye co-ordination. ('A', p7)

Still others mention diverse attributes such as technical knowledge and aspects of business management.

12. ...knowledge of food, handling food and small elements of the business world. ('P', p5)

13. Do they teach computer skills now in the polytechs? ('G', p13)

These thoughts generally confirm the impression that the personal qualities of the workers matter more in the sector than skills learned from institutional training. Most of the qualities mentioned are inherent individual virtues which are a matter of personal make-up, that combine with informal learning on-the-job.

Some of the participants choose to describe personal skills such as communication, ability to work in a team, anticipation, delegation, time management and problem solving as being the important attributes in this industry. The value of these skills is linked with a person's traits, and while these traits can be theorised about as factors, the café industry is interested in the ability of the individual to apply themselves through the personal attributes they possess, much in the way that Bennett, N., et al (2000, p 12) describes the 'overarching qualities' as influencing the application of skills in the job. This would seem to apply for all sections of the café organisation.

4.4 Summary of Findings

The interviews and literature review reveal the following characteristics that are common to local cafés. These qualities are endorsed in the literature review:

- Informality is a key quality
- Multifunctional operations are often necessary.
- Formal training of staff is not necessary.
- The personal attributes of the serving staff are important.
- Kitchen staff is more likely to be formally trained than front-of-house staff.
- The food is relatively cheaper than that of a restaurant

- The food is generally good value for money.
- Cafes can provide a social meeting place.

The excerpts that are expounded in this chapter are representative samples of the views of the participants in response to the research questions presented to them. This information and ideas that came from the transcriptions of the participants' interviews will provide the basis of the discussions that follow in the following chapter. The next chapter will interweave the predominant views from the literature review and the respondents in the interview process in a discussion that will reveal the training values in the local café sector.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION AND PROPOSALS

In this section of the report the findings of the research interviews disclosed in chapter four are measured against the information gathered in the literature review. This chapter discusses the themes that emerge from the research. It draws together the themes that have been discovered and provides some suggestions and proposals for the future. These may prove to be a helpful insight for local café sector management and for tertiary training institutes engaged in hospitality training who may seek to provide for the sector. During the gleaning of information the researcher includes interpretations and explanations which it is hoped will make a richer picture for the reader's experience. The important revelations of this research are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

5.1 The Café Sector Differs from the Restaurant Sector

5.1.1 The Differences

A primary task of this research is to clarify the position of the café within the local hospitality industry. It is necessary to distinguish cafes from 'the rest' to see if there is a corresponding difference in the value of training. To define what a café is will also help to set a context or a setting in which to place the findings of the research. Understanding the nature of the local café will help us to understand the nature of the training that occurs there and the value placed upon it.

The interviews indicate that, in the opinions of the participants, there is a perceived difference between the qualities and purposes of cafes and those of restaurants. While the most 'pure' examples of each genre will clearly display the respective characteristics inherent to each type, many establishments show that there can be overlaps of these qualities, with some cafes having some qualities that can be attributed to restaurants and vice versa. 'G' (p2) uses the word "blurred" in reference to the distinction between cafes and restaurants to emphasise this overlapping effect. Hospitality industry people themselves draw a distinction between a 'restaurant' and a 'café' and these are regarded as being two different entities. This is verified by the participants unconsciously contrasting of the two types of establishments by throughout the interviews. 'G' (p2) states "during the day our service is café. At night time we'll put on white tablecloths..." to infer that there is a perception of difference between the two

types. 'P' (p1) states "A café to me has always been the informality of counter service, or the type of service we give here, but without the trappings of a restaurant", also emphasising this difference. These statements illustrate that the sense of difference between the style of service of a café and that of a restaurant. These statements reiterate that the property of informality is inherent in a café operation.

5.1.2 Fine-dining Restaurants

Restaurants can be described as being formal and structured in their style of service. Restaurants of the fine-dining variety are perceived to have a superior standard of food and service, so prices will be higher to reflect this. The attention given by the staff to the customer is concentrated; hence this sector is very labour intensive. 'Luxury' restaurants target the higher expendable income section of society, which is a small percentage of New Zealand society. New Zealand statistics on this phenomenon are hard to find, but only about 2% of the total U.S. population are fine-dining customers (Powers, T., & Barrows, C., 2006, p 70) and this proportion has been declining. Such restaurants cater to a select clientele many of whom are repeat customers, with others partaking occasionally for a special celebration or the like. Powers & Barrows, (2006) draw on the connection between professionalism and the excellence of product and service required by fine-dining restaurants. They note that a "requirement of these restaurants is chefs and service personnel with highly polished skills. It is difficult to find such workers." (Powers & Barrows, 2006, p 70) Restaurants tend to limit their operations to service at specified meal times, usually lunch and dinner whereas café are open constantly. Training is almost mandatory for the style of dining in a luxury restaurant due to the quality of service and cookery required (Lillicrap, Cousins, & Smith, 2002 p 21). Many luxury restaurants, regardless of their theme, have a traditional modus operandi. In many restaurants there is a system of regimentation and uniformity in staff organisation. This is evident in the uniform attire of the waiters and chefs, and also in the traditionally hierarchical structure of the work force (Kinton, R, Ceserani, V, and Foskett, D, 2004, p 195). 'P' (p3), who runs a successful café, states in his interview: "And, the kitchen does operate with a relatively flat hierarchy. It's pretty straight forward, but there isn't that strata with sous chefs[5], commis[6], and that sort of thing, that some people come to expect". With the lack of hierarchy in a café comes a flattening of the wage levels and fewer opportunities for promotion within the establishment.

[5] A sous chef is the second in charge of the kitchen, immediately below the head chef in the hierarchy.
[6] A commis chef is a trainee chef working under guidance in a kitchen department

The consistency of traditional restaurant operational systems over numbers of establishments makes many of the skills transferable within restaurant circles. There is a prevailing sense of providing the food and service the 'correct way' (which can be taken as meaning doing it the 'standard way') among the staff and the knowledgeable customers in a traditional restaurant, which is not necessarily the case in a café. This prescribed approach in restaurants leads to identifiable standards which are included in formal training curricula. It is debatable whether the training is designed following the industry practice or whether industry practice is a follower of the training, as they are mutually enmeshed in long-held tradition. Institutionalised training therefore remains relevant in the restaurant situation because of the traditional procedures and values of service it calls upon (Lillicrap, et al, p2, 2002).

5.1.3 Utilitarian Dining

Other types of eating houses like chain restaurants and franchise restaurants embody compromises between various service styles. They are utilitarian in style, so these establishments often have a prescribed food service approach (Lundberg, G.E. & Walker, J.R. 1993, p 30). They serve food that has broad appeal, is cheap and quick to serve and they have a structured systematic approach to providing products and service in order to maintain a consistent standard across a number of outlets. Those restaurants, which specialise in fast food production commonly minimise labour costs and speed up customer turnover by implementing counter service, and disposable food containers. Some tacitly discourage the customers from lingering beyond the time taken to consume the food by having practical, but not overly comfortable furniture and an antiseptic restaurant environment giving a functional rather than a convivial atmosphere. Many of these establishments cater to large numbers of customers at once, or attempt to achieve a quick turnover of customers to make profits. Restaurants such as these are not readily identified for their individualism, 'personalities' or ambience. The description of a utilitarian eating house is largely at odds with characteristics of the local café sector which displays a great deal of individuality between establishments. These utilitarian establishments are not included in the category of 'café' for this research because of their conformity to a fixed prescriptive formula and their basis of centralised management control rather than the individualistic owner-operator ethos associated with independent cafes. Also not included in this research are establishments like *Starbucks*, which are now making a place in the local market. These are part of international café chains. It is felt that these franchise cafes, due to their corporate emphasis, are also not typical of the sector of small independent local businesses that this research is exploring.

The informality of local café establishments may not conform to the structured system of production in a franchise café, but they are certainly a prominent market force as there are many cafes in the current market (Restaurant Association NZ website, 2004). Lundberg & Walker, (1993, p 31) call the contrast between the functional food operation and the convivial food operation as "utility versus pleasure". The local distinction is not quite as clearly defined as it depends on the context of the dining occurrence as to how much of the experience is utility and how much is pleasure.

5.1.4 The Informality of Cafes

Cafes, according to the interview participants, are less formal and less structured than restaurants and operate as small independent businesses. 'Informality' is the key element in what defines a café and is essentially what differentiates cafés from other dining establishments. Celia Hay (2000) describes the development of the contemporary café:

> "In the early 20th Century the less formal corner café was established. This was open from breakfast until late at night, serving both coffee and wine as well as light meals."
>
> (Hay, Celia 2000, p 12)

This informality in cafes is characterised by a lack of embellishments such as tablecloths, table settings, or by the inclusion of a certain type of music or fittings and furniture. Cafes can hope to fill each seat more than once during a session, whereas restaurants often fill their seats only once as people are expected to linger over their meals and partake of several or more courses. This comparison is further described by Lundberg & Walker (1993, p 32) who state:

> "...eating is often accomplished in double-quick time, while the customer of a luxury restaurant who spends $75 to $100 per person for an evening out may savor (sic) every minute of the total two-hour experience, plus the pleasure of anticipating the dining experience and the pleasure of remembering it."

A café has cheaper fare than a restaurant and will focus on having a higher customer turnover than a luxury restaurant in order to make monetary profits, The staff to customer ratio of a café will typically be lower than that of a luxury restaurant of the same size (Lundberg & Walker, 1993, p32). Restaurants generally have more staff per

customer than cafes because of the personalised style of food and beverage service that is expected, and the staff will be technically skilled in the niceties of such service. Such staff members are likely to cost more in wages to attract and retain. These costs drive restaurant prices higher than those of cafes and this expense will be borne by the customers. Lundberg & Walker (1993, p 32) call the mode of production and service in a fine-dining restaurant "relatively inefficient".

The local café or restaurant often attracts people from the local area by word of mouth. There is often no great expenditure on promotions so continued patronage is reliant on giving the customers a good experience. People are attracted by the food, the atmosphere, the personalities, the reasonable prices, other satisfied customers' recommendations, the standard of service and the attention given to the customers.

Although informality is seen to be a key feature of a café, this does not mean that the enjoyment factor present when dining in a luxury restaurant as described by Lundberg & Walker (1993, p 32) is not present in café dining. This enjoyment of fine-dining is the pleasure derived from the salubrious nature of the experience and the quality, exclusivity and expense of the fare. Some people are discouraged by this ostentatious display of lavishness in fine dining restaurants. The behaviour of the staff towards the customers can be overtly pretentious and pompous. This phenomenon is highlighted in the following excerpt referring to the service industry in general, and it is pertinent in the local hospitality industry.

> "We have also noted that the relationship between employees and customers is not entirely about servitude, but that the employees can control and even intimidate customers in this relationship"
>
> Nickson, D., & Warhurst, C., p16 (2003)

Some customers find restaurant staff members unnecessarily haughty and intimidating. Dining enjoyment can be experienced at levels other than those of luxury restaurants.

In a manner that characterises most small businesses, cafes are run in a relatively unaffected way with an emphasis on maintaining and improving the basic functions of the business. There are neither the resources nor the inclination to employ the organisational systems by larger businesses. In small businesses problem-solving and decision-making processes tends to be spontaneous and autocratic by nature. There isn't the need for departmental consultation or the infrastructure that is inherent

in larger business regimes. Small businesses, including cafes, have their focus on the immediacies of day-to-day business. This is shown in the attitudes of the small business owners to employment matters. Generally, café owners can not afford to look at employment issues in an enlightened and objective way.

Cafes can be places of social connection. One of the interview participants notes the social contribution of the café experience. He states, "I think, for me personally, I think cafes are more of a meeting place", (C, p3). This observation supports the European idea of café life where people gather at the café for social intercourse. The imbibing of food and drink sometimes seems an adjunct to this activity.

5.1.5 Social Influences

From another point of view, contemporary café dining provides a service brought about by modern day changes in society. Increased migration of population, travel, changes in the demands of work, changes in the roles of men and women in family life and increased leisure time have contributed to the changes of dining habits. In the past, in New Zealand, dining out was generally regarded as a way to celebrate a special occasion, and for many people other meals were usually had at home. This situation evolved slowly as changes in society made new demands on the hospitality industry (NZ History website, 2005). With the requirement for 'utilitarian eating' came need for low prices, speed of production, replication and consistency of products. Cafes provided a lot of these aspects but unlike fast food chains and franchise outlets, cafes give the added dimensions of whimsical food and quirky atmosphere.

A few café operations have realised the commercial importance of the growing 'TV dinner' market and are devoting considerable resources to the manufacture of packaged 'ready to heat' meals to sell in stores and supermarkets (Café Rosa website, 2007). The management of this café did not participate in the research interviews. This establishment is an example of a local café that is now also manufacturing ready-made meals for sale in supermarkets. Cafes engaged in this endeavour compete with large food processing companies but they are able to capitalise on their individualism and knowledge of the local market. Surely, given the added food safety risks in transporting and storing such food, the need for staff training becomes more important in such enterprises.

Some of the participants mentioned the requirement for speed of food production and service in cafes. A couple of them said:

"People [are] looking for, like, nice simple food. Plus they like to run in, and want the food fast. In a restaurant, by example, even if they order well-done steak and there's a full house they expect to get it in 20 minutes." ('L', p1)

"A café is more designed for sort of, fast service. Still good quality food and stuff, but at a fast pace." ('R', p1)

This preference for speed of service is desired by both customer and café manager, but for different reasons. The customer requires a fast, nutritious and satisfying meal so that they can move on to other activities. The café manager requires fast production and service so that the table can be vacated with due haste and readied for the next lot of customers, thus enabling the turnover of customers and maximising profits. Inevitably, the need for speed will compromise both the standard and type of food served and the method of service.

5.1.6 Casual and versatile

A significant factor of informality in the café sector is that it is not considered necessary for the customer to make an advance booking for a table. This allows casual prospective diners to enter a café looking for a table whenever they take a fancy. Some cafes will not take bookings at all, as the managers believe that to do so will unnecessarily tie up a table when casual customers could be seated there. In fine-dining restaurants table bookings are preferred, whereas in cafes this practice is often shunned as being a hindrance to facilitating rapid customer turnover and to the spontaneity of casual dining. Many cafes, therefore operate a 'first in, first served' system.

Most of the participants did not comment specifically about their likes or dislikes regarding the food served in their cafés. Food quality is a major variable in the make-up of any café. It is commonly understood that food should be of the best quality possible in the circumstances that it is being offered. Café food tends to be simple in its make-up so that it is easy to prepare, cook, and serve and because it is often made in smaller kitchens that have less resources. Simple food often requires less skill and knowledge to make, thus enabling the hiring of less qualified or unqualified staff and resulting in a lower wage cost. It also lessens the difficulty of dealing with egotistical and opinionated chefs. It endorses the idea that café food should be served quickly, and therefore be quick to prepare for service. Moreover, the ingredients should be

relatively inexpensive and the preparation methods should be economic to lower the costs because the competitive nature of the café industry keeps financial profits on meals low (Stewart, K., 2006, p 26). However the local cafés must still retain individuality and flair, and rely on the ability of individual staff members. The formula for success in such a business is a paradoxical one as the café fare and standard of service must be the best possible and yet it must be produced as inexpensively as possible.

Some of the participants mentioned the different styles of service that were required in their cafes at different times of the day.

> "It [the café] generally focuses more on coffee and light food. We, even though we are called café, in the evening we run like a restaurant, but we still have that café element that is quite relaxed." ('A', p1)

> "A café, I guess is a price point as well, emphasis on a mixture of to-order foods, cabinet foods, coffee, cold drinks." ('P', p1)

The more different styles of service that are attempted in a café, the greater the labour input and time that is required. Given that Wellington cafes try to be individual, and in particular the food, the quotes above suggest that parts of the café sector are labour intensive and further burdened by a variety of menus that are prepared on the premises. The café sector often tries to appeal to a wide section of people, and does this by catering for a diverse range of dining functions which vary throughout the day. Due to their multifunctional nature cafes will entice some people to go for a relatively inexpensive memorable evening, others will go to dine as a matter of convenience, rather than cook at home, and still others will go for a coffee or a beer; to meet with people or to read the newspaper. Cafes therefore are multifaceted businesses whereas the traditional restaurant will offer a structured sequential meal service, executed with robotic compliance to tradition.

5.2 Training needs are often met 'in-house'.

5.2.1 Managers' Training Culture

Only one of the establishments researched had fostered an apprenticeship with one of its employees, and this was four years previously. Both the kitchen manager and owner of this establishment are fully qualified chefs. This means that they have

undergone hospitality traineeships of three or more years, attended polytechnics, and passed trade certificate examinations themselves. This manager ('N') is the participant who is most in favour of seeking and hiring formally qualified staff, especially in the kitchen. 'N' (p1) states "If I can get them I'll take qualified people". In this case 'N' will seek qualified staff because he understands the training system; he is professionally a product of the same system. For him, the qualification sets a benchmark by which he can expect a certain attitude and level of performance from his employee. It seems that the less personal association with formal qualifications the owner/manager has, the less emphasis is placed on the employment of people with formal qualifications or assistance given to employees to gain such qualifications. The two owner/managers who operate the least formal of the cafes ('C' and 'P') do not have formal qualifications but rely on their 'business sense' and their natural attributes. Both of these proprietors work front-of-house in their establishments and present themselves as 'hosts' to the customers. On the subject of employing formally trained employees 'C' (p3) states: "I own the café and I manage the café, but I employ people who have got better skills than what I have.". How does 'C' know the level of skills required, given his relative inexperience and the lack of people with formal qualifications in this sector? In the cases of 'C' and 'P', these managers have naturally adopted roles that allow them to oversee most of the operational processes that occur in their establishments. They have also placed themselves in a prominently focal position to project their personas to their customers. These managers have chosen to work in areas of responsibility which do not require much technical skill so these areas are within their capabilities, as they have less formal training themselves. These situations support the hypothesis that it is possible to run an establishment successfully without being fully formally trained in the operations carried out within the establishment. However, this reliance on employees who are apparently more skilled than you are can be fraught with problems, not the least of which can be the inversion of the power relationship between employer and employee. 'R', (p3) states "For the person you actually have to work under, you know your knowledge is greater and you can sort of bring a bit of revenue..." This reverse 'power relationship' is potentially untenable as the employee can exact pressure on the employer to gain better pay and conditions, perhaps more that is equitable. Resentment from other employees and management will result.

It is therefore useful, when considering café training issues, to take into account the formal training and qualifications of the local café managers, supervisors and proprietors that have been interviewed because it has significance for the training culture within each establishment and therefore on the sector as a whole. The training

background of the cafés' principal personnel would also have an influence on the standard of in-house training that is implemented in these establishments. All the interviewed participants are from management/ supervisory positions within the industry. Two are fully trained in a formal manner, two are partly trained (they have attained a lesser qualification) and three have received no formal training. Some of those interviewed were managers and supervisors working in the kitchen or with a kitchen background and these all had some formal qualifications. The three managers who had no formal qualifications were owners of restaurants and both work in the front-of-house areas. How much are they in the control of the trained staff?

What is the significance of this information? Our sample response shows that locally, chefs who are managers are more likely to be formally qualified in some way, than front-of–house persons who are managers. The following view emphasises this situation:

> "I think in the eight years I've been here I think I've had one waiting staff member who's had some formal training in the way you describe. In the kitchen, it's quite a different story. I would say a majority have had some time in [a training] institution."('P', p2)

The interviews indicate that it is not necessary to be qualified to an advanced stage in your craft area to be effective in a café environment. The results don't tell us if it is desirable for the employee or employer to be fully trained operatives themselves or if it is desirable for the employer to seek fully trained people as employees. As the existing situation shows that the participating managers/supervisors are operating in varying states of being formally trained (or not trained) one speculates as to the effect of this on their respective businesses. 'R' (p3) relates how his formal institutional training has helped him:

> "...you know the theory and stuff like that was a huge benefit to me. And I noticed that when I went back to work...you weren't just talking bollocks and you actually knew what you were talking about." ('R', p3)

'R' infers that the knowledge that is learned through formal training plays an important role in the self-actualisation process of the worker in the industry. While this knowledge is important in staking recognition of the trained worker as an 'authority' in

their craft, it doesn't seem to generate significant material advantages in wages, advancement or conditions.

A theme that emerges from the research is that café managers, like those of other small businesses, do not have the time or resources to train people in a formal way due to the intense nature of the work. They are mostly confined to attracting new employees who have been formally trained elsewhere or have gained experience in the industry. Even then it seems that the formal training is less important as a factor than the industry experience.

5.2.2 The Workers and Training

What of the café workers' views on training? No contact was made with the cooks, waiters, or bar staff at the cafes that were approached. There was no latitude given in the research brief for this type of contact. Although there are advantages in training by apprenticeship, these workers are apparently not motivated to engage in this type of training. This could be an indication that they prefer the informal culture of café life and have an aversion to the structure and demands of formal training. In the interviews the managers generally agree that individual workers will come to the job with only some of the skills they require and the remainder of the required skills will need to be taught on-the-job. These are issues that could become the theme of a further research project. What does seem certain is that formal qualifications are not necessary in the café sector, and that 'experience' is the preferred parameter of labour standards in employment in the local café sector. 'D' (p3) states "...the head chef's not, as such, formally trained. He's just been in the industry so long that he knew his [stuff]". In the researcher's experience, there is a genre of hospitality worker that feels comfortable in this informal environment. This sanctuary exists as an alternative to the rigid and regimented structure of formal traditional hotel and luxury restaurant working conditions.

Experience gained over the length of time working in the industry, is the main component of an employee's worth to the employer. (The experience factor in cafes is covered later in this chapter) Significantly, these skills learned are learned on-the-job from the people already working in these establishments. Ideally, those doing the training should be formally qualified in the skills, but often they are not. It is possible they are teaching their own bad habits. The trainers have also usually not been trained how to train, which affects the effectiveness of the training. If the trainer is not qualified and has not been trained to a standard themselves, then what standard is the

new employee being trained to? The training situation is also not moderated to ensure a recognised standard, nor is competency being assessed to prescribed guidelines. The outcome of the training and the 'mastery' of the skill being taught is predominantly 'ad hoc'. The authority that is vested in training institutes is not present in informal training. The trainee can learn only what the trainer can teach. The trainee may be instructed in a physical task without gaining an insight as to why it should be done that way, or how to correct any mistakes, as the trainer may not possess such knowledge or may not communicate it effectively.

'N', who is himself formally trained, sees a definite value in institutional vocational training. On the subject of hiring trained workers for his café kitchen, he says: "They will introduce a standard into the kitchen. Hopefully, they will better it" ('N', p3). His statement indicates that better quality of work practices is expected with a formal qualification, as well as the knowledge and authority mentioned previously ('R', p3). If it is accepted that the better the qualification an employee has, the greater knowledge and skill they bring to the job and so the more qualities they bring to the business. This is not an important consideration in the café sector. Employees with formal training are either preferred but not found ('N', p1), not actively sought with 'experience' being the prevalent factor in employment ('P', p3), or trained on-the-job as the needs dictate ('R', p2).

5.2.3 Part-time Workers

An important factor in the local café scene is the reliance on part-time and casual workers. 'N', (p1) states: "Part-timers....and that then tends to flow-over into the kitchen. People wanting just ten hours a week, which is quite handy in a kitchen at times." This is a particular feature of the front-of–house staff make-up, but it can also be found in the kitchen. Managers find that hiring part-timer workers is useful as their hours are flexible and can be manipulated to suit the varying customer numbers, the long hours of opening and the seasonal fluctuations. Students and the like, find this style of working suits the schedule of other activities in their lives, like study, even if the hospitality industry is not their chosen career. The interview comments indicate that students often perceive their café job as a means to an end, and will be focused on their studies, so they may not have the primary interests of the café to the fore. Part-time and casual workers may not represent the best interests of the café, as their loyalty to the business is temporary. In the case of students, the café they work in is not the focus of their long-term vocational interests. This will affect the attitude and

attention to the customer. The part-time employee factor is very important in the way that professional standards are maintained within the café sector.

When hiring casual workers the employer will hire staff when they are needed and the employer is not always required to guarantee a prescribed amount of weekly hours. Under these working conditions, the job is secondary and staff members will be unmotivated to develop themselves in the skills other than the necessary training to perform the required tasks. Training usually takes place on-the-job and in a perfunctory manner just before the work is to be undertaken. This is a utilitarian approach to the work place training situation from both the manager and the worker, although from different viewpoints. It is a training approach based on providing for the immediate requirements of the situation and it is difficult to see where the impetus exists to give added-value in the work for the worker, to encourage them to give added-value to the customer and accordingly, to enhance the profitability of the business.

Some the managers view their staff as temporary necessities; a means to end. Several of the research participants indicate that they employ students as front-of-house staff. 'N' (p4) says "...the majority are students, mainly out the front". For many of these students the jobs are seasonal and work is of a casual nature, filling in for regular staff that is on holiday or bolstering the regular staff levels in the busy spells to satisfy the seasonal highs and lows of café customer volumes. Hiring casual staff will not have the advantage of a training investment for the future.

Paradoxically, a couple of the managers participating in the research state that they have employees that have stayed in their jobs in the café for considerable time, even up to ten years (N, p4) (D, p1). This is could show the employee's satisfaction with the working conditions and culture within the café concerned. These workers are possibly content with their current positions, enjoy the lifestyle or do not have immediate aspirations to higher positions with more pay. Perhaps these workers are resigned to the finality of their situation, not having qualifications to advance themselves to higher positions or move to other establishments.

There are some skills which are obviously necessary for café work. The technical aspects of cookery and front-of house are desirable skills for a new employee to have, but not essential. Informal in-house training is a large part of preparing people to work in the local café sector. Skill deficiencies in employees are taken care of on-the-job.

Most of the informal training that takes place in the workplace deals with the immediate needs of the specific job at the time. 'R' (p2) says of his new employees: "...others know borderline Italian, so we train them up". The employee is trained in skills as and when the need for training arises. The value of formal training i.e. that which is received at a tertiary education institute is acknowledged but not especially sought for when new employees are selected 'P' states: "It doesn't necessarily indicate what they can do in our environment." Certainly, formal training is not significantly rewarded in the local café sector on its own merits.

5.2.4 Training vs. Work Experience

The issue of training shows some contradictions in the local café sector. On the one hand, participant 'R' (p2) indicates willingness to "train them up" which makes it evident that any perceived shortfall in skills will be taken care of on the job, in his case. 'C', (p4) states, "...because we are so small, we don't have time to train people. We leave that to the institutions." This contradiction suggests that café owners will need to adapt to the specific circumstances of their business situations to meet staff training needs. It seems that while trained staff members are appreciated for their skills, the cafes are not generally in a position to actively foster traditional formal training systems. The new staff members are trained in the nuances of specific jobs as they are have been performed in that café, to make up for the lack of formal training. Alternatively employers will seek to employ 'trained' staff, if they can be found, to import the skills into the establishment.

'Experience' in the industry is also the key factor in staff placement for the managers/supervisors interviewed. Most of them mentioned 'experience' as being a more important consideration than formal training. Some to the point of saying they will employ 'experienced' staff if trained staff is not readily available. "Yeah, nobody comes in here without experience – full stop." ('C', p4) There is no doubting that there is a high proportion of workplace stress in the hospitality industry. A major consideration in the selection and retention of employees is their ability to cope with such pressures, in addition to their technical skills. It is significant that employees' worth is judged on the length of time they stay with an employer. It is seen as a sign of loyalty, durability and job satisfaction.

A scan of recruitment advertisements in the daily newspapers will show that job advertisements for hospitality industry vacancies will usually seek experienced staff with little or no mention of formal qualifications (appendix 7). A reason for advertising

for 'experienced' staff rather than 'qualified' staff could be a lack of current knowledge or understanding on behalf of the hospitality industry managers of the nature of contemporary hospitality qualifications. There have been at least four different sets of successive recognised qualifications since the mid-1980s, and some of these are now being run concurrently (Hudson J. B., 2003, p 58). This is a situation which will cause some confusion. It is possible that employers would lose confidence with such an unsettled system.

There is a consensus in the participants' views that some training is necessary to work in a café and that it is a predicament for the café management if the skills are not present. It is clear that some cafes are compelled to hire untrained staff nevertheless. This is an indication, as in other skills areas, that there is a shortage of skilled operatives in the café sector. In the hospitality industry generally there is now a concerted attempt to try to reverse this trend. One of the most obvious is the effort of the Hospitality Standards Institute as the Industry Training Organisation, to develop 'modern apprenticeships' (Hospitality Standards Institute website, 2006). Interestingly, only one of the seven Wellington cafes represented in the research had taken on an apprentice, and that was some time in the past. This reluctance to join a formal training regime is because of the time-consuming responsibilities that go with such activity and the incumbent personnel are not suitably qualified themselves to undertake the task. 'D' (p3) says that his establishment cannot take on an apprentice because, "...the head chef's not, as such, formally trained." It is a requirement that the establishment and the trainer are appropriately certified to support apprentice training. 'D''s situation informs us that the lack of training apprentices in local cafes is a self-perpetuating situation. There appears to be few local café chefs currently who qualify to train an apprentice, so there are few apprentices ensuring that there will be very few suitably qualified café chefs to take on apprentices in the future.

The apprenticeships is an ideal way of training people for the hospitality industry The trainee will train in an appropriately accredited workplace, attend supplementary block courses at a training institute, and earn a wage concurrently. In this way, the trainee would develop skills within the workplace environment, practising these skills in a realistic work-related situation, and so harbour few illusions as to the nature of the job. It is ironic then that within the local café scene there are so few employers engaging apprentices.

Is there an aversion on behalf of café owners to get involved in formal on-the-job training? This question was not asked directly of the participants as this research focuses on institutional training, but arose in discussions. It is understandable that large catering companies and hotels would consider taking on apprentices for a number of reasons. They have the resources and size to support such activity and a large and diverse hospitality operation to supply a most of the training needs. They are better placed to support the cost of training and loss of manpower when an apprentice attends a technical institute. There is a lot of paperwork associated with the assessment processes. Competency-based assessment, especially when it is carried out in the workplace, requires a lot of documentation for the purpose of ensuring accountability. If the café manager decides to assess trainees personally then he/she will be required to complete assessor training courses at a tertiary institute, which could prove a discouraging prospect for a busy manager. There will be regular visits from an apprenticeship co-ordinator and perhaps a moderator (Hospitality Standards Institute website, 2006). Some of this activity is an intrusion into the core business of running a café. It is doubtful that a café would provide the complete range of skill areas that are required for a trainee to complete an apprenticeship. Some of the skills, like pâtisserie[7], are inherently specialised (WELTEC website, 2007) and beyond the capabilities of most average café operations.

5.2.5 Kitchen vs Front-of-House

Almost all of the participants made references to the difference in status and training culture between the kitchen and the front-of-house staff. A sample of excerpts from the interview transcripts follows:

- "Uh, a few do in the kitchen that we've had. The hospitality industry is quite a high turn-over." (A, p1)
- "It's not necessary, there's not so much call for formal front of house training these days anyway, you know?" (G, p3)
- "...sometimes they think that they know all, but they never train formally so not really ..." (L, p1)
- "...it's tough because they are coming from an untrained background. They're totally reliant on you training them." (N, p1)

[7] Pâtisserie is the department responsible for pastry making, sweets, baking, ice cream and confectionery work in a commercial kitchen.

Front-of-house skills are not considered as being technically as demanding as culinary skills and can be more readily learned in an informal way. Front-of-house skills are to some extent; reliant on inherent qualities like personality and spoken communication abilities, and these are supplemented by the basic café serving skills which most people are capable of executing after some on-the-job training. The participants are mostly consistent in their feelings about this issue; however a varying opinion is voiced by one participant:

> "I don't think a formally trained cook is necessary in a café, but I try to find a formally trained person for front-of-house" ('C', p4)

This sentiment emphasises the importance of customer service in his café and diminishes the value of the chef. 'C' highlights that front-of-house personnel are the point of customer contact with the staff. However, It is debatable that the products being served require less skill to make than to serve. It is unwise to diminish the importance of the food in such a competitive industry where each facet of service is very important. Given the lack of trained front-of-house staff in the café sector, finding a formally qualified waiter could be a difficult undertaking. 'C' has been a café manager for the least period of time (several months) of those interviewed and previous experience running hotels and tourism travel. His perception is different.

In the interviews the managers generally agreed that individual workers will come to the job with only some of the skills they require and the remainder of the required skills will need to be taught on-the-job. As shown in the interviews, kitchen skills are often obtained through formal institutional training, more so than is the case for front-of-house skills. 'L', (p 1) states "...because kitchen staff they normally well trained..." This indicates that kitchen skills are regarded as more sophisticated and technical than those of front-of-house operations and so require some formal training. This indicates that kitchen work is considered a better long-term career option because more people are taking the trouble of training for it. Conversely, front-of-house work attracts casual workers ('N' p1) indicating that the work is easier to adapt to.

5.2.6 Pre-employment Training

Given the expense of pre-employment training it is not difficult to identify with trainees who shun formal institutional training in an environment where qualifications have an indeterminate value. The typical cost of a local one year hospitality course is in the range of $4000 - $5000 (Whitireia Community Polytechnic website, 2006), (WELTEC

website, 2006), (sorted.org.nz website, 2006). Most institutes teach basic skills in the first year and higher-level or specialised skills in the second year of their diploma programmes. The courses of study are mostly full-time, which allows the trainees little time to engage in paying employment. The full-time nature of the programmes attracts mainly pre-employment students from secondary schools and people changing vocation. These people often have only limited knowledge of the industry they wish to enter. In many cases the students are funded by student loans administered by the New Zealand government (Ministry of Social Development Studylink website, 2006) and these must be repaid after the study is completed. The situation in local cafes shows that the commitment from the workers to attend a training institution is not there. This state of affairs indicates the paradox of the training situation in the local café sector. Many employers do not want to pay extra for the skills that a worker with a qualification may bring, but they will benefit from having these skills in their workplace. 'R', (p3) describes the situation when hiring café staff, "...in this day and age you've got to get them cheap. There's no doubt about that."

5.3 Formal Certification is not Relevant in the Café Sector

5.3.1 An Unregulated Industry

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, the standards of workmanship in the café industry in New Zealand are largely unregulated by legislation or a professionally sanctioned code of practice. There are few specified requirements to meet an established code of workplace practice other than the food safety legislation and the usual consumer guarantees and fair trading legislation that apply universally. The main requirements for product quality are those accepted by the employer and the customer. As with many small independent businesses, the influences of commercialism have a self-regulating effect on the quality of the product and subsequently, on the method of production. The many cafes of Wellington (WellingtonNZ.com website, 2005) compete for a share of the local dining market and many of them are located in the same area of the city, thus creating strong competition. In such a climate, the quality of the products and services a cafe provides will have a profound effect on how well it will prosper, other commercial factors notwithstanding.

5.3.2 Relevance of Training

The research also attempted to discover what the relevance of formal training for the local café sector was. Does the formal training meet the needs of the cafes? Are the skills taught useful for café work? The participants in the research were asked "how

does formal institutional training serve the sector?" in an attempt to gain answers to these important questions. As it is evident that formal qualifications are not strictly necessary to gain employment in the sector it is pertinent to note what the managers and owners think about hospitality tertiary training and its value. There was a variety of viewpoints in the responses.

> "Well put in this way, we, we'll take it at face value but we know there's a way that we do things. So that training may, or may not be applicable to what we do. (P, p4)

> "I think, ah, on the whole they are doing quite well. And I guess that a lot of ah...some graduates or some people that partake in the institute and sometimes they either finish or they don't finish, start somewhere like a café, and then they move and build themselves up from there. Ah, perhaps they build themselves up to working in finer establishments..." (A, p3, 4)

> "Until we change that philosophy the people who are coming from the likes of Weltec for instance some of the students aren't really very good, anyway. So I wouldn't rate their training very highly at all." (C, p8)

These comments indicate various attitudes to tertiary training. Firstly that the skills taught at formal educational institutes are sometimes seen as being irrelevant in the café sector. Secondly, that some trainees see café work as a step to greater things in the hospitality industry. Thirdly, the training institutes do not always furnish the industry with the best trained people. There is an inference that the industry does not always attract the best people. These perceptions are borne out in the literature review by Yvonne Guerrier (1999, p 58) who argues that the hospitality industry is, to some extent, the refuge of those who do not perform well in other areas. Most institutional hospitality programmes are comprehensive and teach skills that are more useful in sophisticated establishments than in cafes (Stewart, K., 2006, p 26). Perhaps the trainees who attend these courses have an expectation to work in these up-market restaurants and find café work beneath them.

5.3.3 Rewards for Training

One way of measuring the relevance of formal qualifications in the industry is in the rewards you get for attaining them. As many of us are bound by the income we receive from our vocation to determine the standard of living for ourselves and our families it is

natural to assume that many people will be attracted to train for professional or trade qualifications that will earn them higher wages or salary, conditions of work notwithstanding. The question "What is the value placed upon training in the café sector?" was commonly presented to the participants with an added explanation that having trained and gained formal qualifications may earn the worker higher rates of pay or bring promotions, etc. (This explanation process is described in Chapter 4 of this report.) It is apparent that in most cases, employers in the local café sector do not feel obliged to pay extra for the formal qualifications a person may have acquired ('R', p3). The question needs to be asked that if there is little or no reward in the café sector for being formally qualified then would the worker bother training formally? Of the participants, only 'N' (p3) states that his establishment has a built-in structure of pay increases based on the gaining of formal qualifications. 'N' endorses the value of formal institutional training and says that it adds to the value of their business. This employer states that he/she is willing to reward the attainment of formal qualifications. The rest of the managers are largely apathetic about hiring people who are formally qualified and do not necessarily pay extra for the privilege.

5.3.4 Education and Training

The literature review reveals an emphasis on training as the learning of work-related skills required to produce a product or service (Tight, M., 2002, p 21). Curzon, (2003, p 28) supports this explanation and states that "training suggests the acquisition of appropriate appraisals and habits of response in limited conventional situations [and] lacks the wider cognitive implications of "education"." These commentaries have a common theme found in the relationship between training and work, and several express the view that training is a subordinate section of education as it deals with closing "the gap between current and desired performance of individual kitchen team members" (Cullen, N. C., 2000, p 171) whereas 'education' is seen as a pervasive transformation of a person's outlook by what they know. (Curzon, L.B., 2003, p 28)

If one accepts the characterization of 'training' and the relationship between training and education as described in the texts above, it becomes clear that from the transcribed interviews that what is practiced in the local café sector is mainly 'training' as a skill-oriented and task related activity. 'Education' has been described as an empowering and enlightening force as described in the texts in the literature review (Curzon, L.B., 2003 p 28).

This type of learning does not figure prominently as a recognised factor in the café sector. Managers and supervisors are intrinsically concerned with the specified skills required for the job. In the case of the more abstract skills required in the hospitality industry such as professional attitudes, behaviours and values (Bennett, N, et al, 2000 p. 12), these are not actively taught but are inherently learned during work by observing and interacting with other workers. These less tangible skills are usually localised to the environment of the café and practiced in the manner that is typical in that establishment. There is less likelihood that the professional hospitality industry role models that are found in a formal training establishment are present in cafes.

Front-of-house skills, as inferred by the interviews, are easier to train on-the-job, and the persons performing in such jobs are valued for their personalities and their ability to communicate effectively with customers. A needs analysis was performed by the researcher for the Catering, Hospitality and Tourism Department of Wellington Polytechnic in 1999 to identify higher level skills that would be useful to teach in a proposed hospitality management degree programme. The information for that analysis was gathered by means of a focus group discussion and through a survey of the local hospitality industry, including cafes. The study found that the most important skills for such a programme are customer service skills, followed in second place by communication skills (out of 29 identified skill areas), (Lutter, F.W., 1999). These findings are reinforced by the comments of the participants in this research. At the café level of the hospitality industry the personality and appeal of an employee working front-of-house to the customer are perhaps even more important than the technical skills they possess. Intensive traditional skills in the front-of-house area are not commonly used in New Zealand. Many of these skills are associated with a standard of high class fine-dining which Hay, (2000, p 12) says in this country is probably "confined to Vice Regal banquets". There is little call for this standard of service in contemporary cafes; in fact some customers would find it pompous, intimidating and unnecessary. High class dining is generally on the decline in Western countries, with the increase in popularity of casual dining (Powers & Barrows, 2006, p 67).

Tertiary training institutions teach traditional professional skills to a level that is higher than that required for an average café. As there are considerably more café-style establishments around town than there are fine-dining restaurants it follows that some of the fully trained chefs would end up working in cafes where some of their acquired skills would be irrelevant. A few local tertiary training institutions run specifically designed programmes for chefs and waiters who work in cafes. These courses are

invariably much shorter in duration than professional chef courses reflecting the requirement for fewer skills of a more basic nature in the café sector. (Whitireia Community Polytechnic website, 2006) Ironically, these learning programmes exist to train people for an industry sector which treats formal training with some disregard, as this research has discovered. Higher level qualifications are treated with indifference in the café sector if these higher level skills are not included in café training courses The average café training course is four months in duration and typically includes food service, customer service, beverage and coffee making skills, but do not always include cookery skills. (Whitireia Community Polytechnic website, 2006). The training practices of institutions are not well aligned to the requirements of industry. At Whitireia Polytechnic café skills are taught at level 2, and other professional hospitality programmes at levels 4 and 5. The higher level hospitality programmes are one to two years in duration. Unlike café training programmes, higher level hospitality courses can link up with three year bachelor degree programmes which are usually based on the development of management skills (WELTEC website, 2006). The HSI has begun to advocate that tertiary institutes adopt shorter programmes of hospitality training to accommodate the contemporary training requirements of small businesses and the trainees (HSI website, 2007) . Suddenly 'block courses', 'apprenticeships' and 'day release' study have become training 'buzz words' again, twenty years after these concepts fell out of favour.

5.3.5 Divergence of Needs

In the introduction to this research a perception of *divergence of training and industry reality* was discussed by the researcher. This divergence is a phenomenon that institutional hospitality trainers are familiar with. It is the label that this researcher gives to the perception by trainees of the difference between the production techniques in an institutional training kitchen and those in the workplace. Many apprentices come to institutions with some experience of the hospitality industry and they are at a loss to adapt to the slower, methodical, small volume approach of institutional training. Some of these trainees feel that the training is beneath them as it lacks the speed and volume of production that is found in the industry. 'R' (p 5) explains this situation lucidly in his interview:

> "...in place of having six chefs all doing one section we've got four chefs doing a bit of everything. And you're sort of relying on each other to sort of back each other up....You know, you need to be a bit more versatile and in an institution like a classroom you wouldn't necessarily learn that, you know. I've got to be

> doing a hundred people during the weekend, and sort of sixty to eighty during the week nights. So, that sort of pace, you're going to learn that pace, you know it's quite easy just to come in and sort of cruise along. [Several I know] they just come in and they cruise and then when the shit hits the fan and they lose it. So that part of it is really quite valuable as on the job training. It's huge, its one of the biggest things, I think, that you can be taught".
>
> ('R' p 5)

One important difference in position between institutional training and training in the workplace is the difference in work pressure. Institutions have difficulty emulating the volume of production that occurs in industry. This volume with its associated deadlines and quality requirements creates pressure on the worker. 'R' (p5) indicates that learning to deal with work pressure as the most important factor in training for the hospitality industry. This disclosure further emphasises that some irrelevancy exists in the format of institutional training in the perception of some trainees.

In the researcher's experience, pre-employment trainees who study in hospitality programmes have little industry experience and some harbour impractical notions about the nature of the industry. Some students who enter the hospitality training are motivated by ideas of emulating the latest flamboyant celebrity chef like Jamie Oliver or Gordon Ramsey (G, p 5) and some are disappointed with the reality of industry when they start in employment (Bennett, N, et al, 2000 p. 18). Most training institutions train to relatively high levels of skill and accordingly the trainees' expectations of the industry become high, perhaps unrealistically so. Pre-employment trainees suffer culture shock when they graduate from the training programme and enter industry. Some of these trainees will not adapt successfully to the rigours of the industry. Their investment in training will be lost to the industry as they find an alternative occupation.

The informality that is inherent in the café sector does not encourage rigid training regimes and the pressure to survive in a competitive market means that all energy must be focused on commercial endurance. All of the cafes that were involved in the research, except one (which has only been open it is current form for a few months) are successful sustainable businesses. In this case, 'sustainable' means operating for three years or longer.

The café managers and proprietors who have been interviewed have proved to be pragmatic people in their business dealings. They are training and fostering those

skills which are basically necessary for the successful running of their business. This is probably true of most small business owners. The technical skills immediately necessary for the job are sought and fostered in employees. Other, more abstract attributes such as communication, presentation and personality are also sought and enhanced where necessary. A couple of the participants relate how much value they place on the communication skills possessed by their staff members:

> "...we had a new staff member here. I was a little bit concerned about the fact that he didn't interact very well with the customers. I said to him that everyday while he had his break he's to read the newspaper. After he's read the newspaper he is to come back to me and tell me about a story that's in the newspaper. I don't care what the story is, just tell me about it."
>
> 'C' (p11)

> "So, obviously they have to be confident at dealing with people. The ability to work in a team, to co-operate, to communicate clearly. Those sorts of skills."
>
> 'P' (p5)

5.3.6. Workplace Culture

The participants have been questioned about workplace culture. A number of commentators make reference to the lifestyle of industry workers. In the researcher's experience there is a 'subculture' in the urban hospitality industry that can be best experienced by being a hospitality industry employee. It is felt that this 'alternative' lifestyle may be a contributory factor in the make up of the training culture of the local café sector. The suggestion of an alternative hospitality existence is described dramatically by Anthony Bourdain (2000, p 22) as "a life of adventure, looting, pillaging and rock-and-rolling." In addition to this view Bourdain (1999, p 63) and Yvonne Guerrier, (1999, p 58) describe the hospitality industry as one that attracts many social refugees and people with problems; people in society who do not fit well in other occupations. The research attempts to determine if this is also true of the local café sector, which is a subset of the hospitality industry.

The concept of a workplace culture has been explained to the research participants as they found the notion academic and difficult to conceptualize. On this subject, the managers and owners who were interviewed generally did not readily admit that they employed people who were social misfits of any type. In fact when pressed, only a couple said they had encountered any of the types of people or behaviour described by the researcher and the literature review sources. This lack of admission belies the

message which is conveyed in the literature themes. These themes not only suggest that the hospitality industry is a refuge for social misfits and the scene of an alternative way of life, but other sources go so far as mention a noticeable use of illicit drugs, workplace violence and theft (Hospitality magazine, October 2004, p 6). It could be that other industries are similarly plagued with anti-productive behaviour, but due to the large size of hospitality industry and it's high profile, (Restaurant Association of New Zealand Website, 2004) these problems are exacerbated.

The hospitality industry at large has a reputation for attracting immigrants, transients, and people who live on the fringes of society such as paroled prisoners and the mentally ill. This is because hospitality work has a high staff turnover and there is always some form of work available for unqualified workers (Bourdain, (1999, p 61) and Guerrier, (1999, p 58). The researcher, in many years of hospitality experience (including cafes) has found this to be a typical situation. It is with some surprise then that the research results did not fully endorse this representation.
The café managers that were interviewed were coy about discussing these factors probably due to their loyalty to the establishment and a desire to protect the image and reputation of it, and the industry. A couple of the participants, when pressed, did admit to a small scale involvement in the type of culture described, albeit in the past ('N' p4, 'G'p10). They state that such behaviour is not a current problem in their establishment. Perhaps this subculture is well hidden in the case of small cafes and not apparent to the managers, but this is doubtful given the intimacy of working conditions in small businesses such as this.

In contradiction to the literature review findings, the researcher comes to the conclusion that many local cafes in Wellington are free of these work-related problems. Although 'G' (p10) says "...and luckily it doesn't happen here." The lack of corroboration indicates that the people working in the local café sector are work-oriented and not readily distracted by social excesses. This is an encouraging state of affairs, but is at odds with the prevailing lack of vigour for formal training among employees. It is expected that people who are sober and conscientious employees are likely to have an interest in gaining formal qualifications in their vocation, but this isn't so in the local café sector.

5.3.7 Environmental Influences

As suggested by several of the participants, operational systems in their establishment are specific to that place. As the owner of a café, 'C' (p4) says "We have changed the

philosophy here" meaning that in his café they have organised things to suit his view of how things should work there. This situation is not unusual and is partly founded in the unique physical nature of many cafes, especially those in converted premises. Often the efficient flow of work is compromised by the layout of the café. The size and layout of individual premises will have a bearing on how working systems will need to adapt to suit the physical idiosyncrasies of the business. Employees often have to learn to use skills in a different way when they move on to another café. The axiom that is often applied to this adaptation of skill is that 'this is how we do it here' as opposed to other ways of performing the skill (sometimes including the 'correct' methods taught by tertiary institutions). The message expressed by this axiom is that the employee can use other methods of performing a skill in other places but 'this' is how it will be done while they are working in this establishment. The notion of having different ways of performing a skill is at odds with the rigidity of formal training regimes which often seek to meticulously perpetuate traditional methods. These varied approaches to using skills are integral to the notion of individuality as a key commercial factor in the local café sector.

The café sector situation is often at odds with the circumstances in the local hotel restaurant sector. The hotel sector generally operates in purpose-built premises. This includes the restaurant and kitchen arrangements so operational systems in these areas can be standardised to suit the hospitality requirements. The skills learned in one hotel will be useful for an employee in another similar hotel as they often perform similar functions, and customer expectations are similar. Hotels and large caterers are more likely to foster training systems and have apprentices. As part of the hotel professional consciousness, excellence in work practises is actively promoted in various ways. One conspicuous way of promoting excellence is by way of entering employees in hospitality and culinary competitions. Some café employees also get involved with these competitions but proportionally most competitors come from hotels. Hotel staff members seem to have the resources and encouragement from their employers to perform in these competitions whereas café staff members who compete generally must rely on their own resources. Given that many hotel staff are formally trained and many café staff are not it is often not an even contest as these events are run in accordance to international standards that would require formal training (appendix 9). In workplace competitions cafés fare a little better, mainly because the sponsor is directly involved, and they are interested in the favourable promotion of their products and not primarily in professional hospitality standards. Cafes, along with restaurants. are equally capable of achieving awards sponsored by producers and

suppliers. Café Bastille was named Cuisine [Magazine's] Restaurant of the Year [for 2004]". (WellingtonNZ.com.website, 2005). This shows how well cafes can achieve. It is largely possible because the character of the establishment and the individual talents of the staff are important factors in the winning of such awards. Chain and franchise restaurants rarely enter such awards because the prescriptive manner of planning and production in these establishments creates a staff ethos that reproduces products prescriptively and does little to encourage staff expression and creativity.

5.4 Capability Skills are not fostered in the Local Café Sector

There is no indication that local café managers and owners are interested in furthering their staff education in terms of *transformational* or *capability* learning, except in one instance. One of the research participants mentions the desirability of some holistic learning for the future. 'P' (p5) says: "A lot of these people will be able to run their own businesses. I think that it is important that we nurture that as well." This sentiment is the exception rather than the rule. Even in such everyday skills like the use of a computer the consensus of the participants is that if the aptitude is not directly related to performing the job, then there are neither the resources nor the inclination to encourage the learning of it. 'P' (p5) states: "Technical skills...I don't know, they operate in the skills capacity in the kitchen", indicating that the training of kitchen skills should be a priority. Although 'G' (p13) thinks that computer training would be useful for him, as a head chef: "I think they should because...for example, whenever I'm doing a food cost I'm still writing it down." In this case, the learning of computer skills is a skill which is directly applicable in 'G's' occupation, and so perhaps not intended as a generic 'life-skill'. Educational philosophies that assist to make the learner 'a better person' are best integrated into formal learning contexts, where they are better understood and will be better facilitated. Café managers and owners are primarily concerned about training that will enable the worker 'to do a better job' and to enhance the owner's business profitability.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

This chapter contains a synopsis of the limitations and implications of this research project. It also summarises the threads and themes that emerge from this research. The concluding segment of the chapter emphasises the recommendations that have come from this research project.

6.1 Limitations and Implications

This research studies the training situation in the local café sector and attempts to appraise the value placed on training in the sector, particularly formal institutional training.

6.1.1 Sampling

The study is based on seven interviews of management personnel in the local café sector and there is a concern that this may not be a large enough sample to be representative. The method of selecting the sample for this research is not without some flaws. The 'snowball' method has been selected as a good way of gaining access to 'difficult to approach' people. As this method of sampling involves one participant referring the researcher on to the next, there is a danger that the participants may move in the same professional circles and there can be a tendency for them to be of a similar opinion about the issues. This gives rise to the uncertainty as to whether you have a sample that represents the entire sector or a sample that represents a faction of the sector.

6.1.2 Postal Survey

Given the difficulty in persuading busy café owners, managers and supervisors to give their time to participate in research studies it was decided not to attempt a large scale local postal survey questionnaire. In hindsight a survey may have provided useful for cross-referencing as another form of secondary data in addition to the literature review.

6.1.3 Time Period Constraints

As the researcher is a part-time student in the Master of Education programme, the process of this research has taken a couple of years and there is some feeling that the immediacy of the findings over such a time may have been compromised. It is

accepted that many research outcomes are a 'snapshot in time' exploring a particular situation at the time of the study only, but the more recent the research material is, the greater validity it has to others who may wish to use them.

6.1.4 Use of the Internet

The Internet is a powerful medium for the gathering of information. One problem of its use is that many Internet 'sites' are not refereed academically and so these can only be used as sources of 'soft' information in research. Internet sources that provide 'hard' information usually provide these in Portable File Format (PDF), which is a secure format in which documents cannot be altered. Such files are used by government departments among others, to store official documents for access on the Internet. The researcher has used a number of 'soft' and 'hard' information sources from the Internet in this research. The 'soft' information comes from a variety of 'website pamphlets' and it is acknowledged that the information contained in them could have been embellished and biased to suit the political or commercial motives of the organisation whose site it is. The researcher has tried to keep this material in perspective and use it to illustrate data that has been established by formal means.

A further issue of using Internet sources is that, unlike 'hard copy' sources, internet sources are periodically updated and altered. This means that they can change their content from time to time and the original reference addresses (URLs) may not lead you back to information that was previously there. The researcher has endeavoured to 're-search' the websites visited in the course of this project to ensure that references addresses are current. In some cases the websites have been irrevocably altered, and the connections are no longer there.

Internet information may also not have been updated as often as it should have, in order to keep the information current. The researcher tried to use website information that had recently been updated.

6.2 Future Studies

This research, as well as illuminating the situation being studied, answers some questions and raises further questions. These additional questions could give impetus to further research projects.

6.2.1 Trainees' Views

In particular, it would be useful to gain the perspectives of the trainees, or workers in local cafes to learn their views on the value of formal training in the sector and why they have, or have not, engaged in formal training. It is important to gain an understanding of the motivation of hospitality trainees and gauge how well their expectations are met by the industry for which they trained. The value that is placed on having the job by the worker will enlighten as to the motivation, or lack of it, to train formally. In studying the relationship of this theme to the local cafe sector, there may be some surprises. A subsequent comparison between the views divulged by managers in this study and those of the workers could be very revealing. Any variations in attitudes would be highlighted.

6.2.2 Future Training

This study was not intended to provide a 'needs analysis' for training institutes to determine how best to structure future training programmes for the local café sector however educators in this area may find the perceptions interesting and useful regardless. A further area of possible study is in determining the most appropriate formal training courses that would serve the requirements of the sector, and be accepted by it.

6.3 Consolidating the Ideas

The value placed on formal institutional training in the local café sector varies between cafes but there is a consensus that formal training, while accepted in the café sector, can be done without. Café managers recognise that much training will take place on the job, and will be relatively informal in nature. Experience, not formal qualifications, is the key factor when looking for employees. This experience is often measured by where you have worked previously and how long you have been in the industry. Experience and the ability to operate effectively in the particular environment are the main currencies by which wages and incentives are determined, and even then any extra remuneration is usually negligible. Whether the worker has formal qualifications is an incidental consideration in most cafes. The experience of this research is that only a few local cafes encourage or participate in formal training schemes. The members of staff that have formal training are often only partly qualified, or have lesser qualifications. Advanced professional qualifications are not considered necessary in cafes. These people are often in positions of responsibility. The research found that a few of the café workers are fully qualified in a formal sense and they were in

management positions indicating that formal training is valued when it is utilised but is a uncommon commodity. Some of the managers had no formal qualifications for the industry they had entered.

The nature of local cafes has a great bearing on the indifferent attitude towards formal training. Local cafes are generally small independent businesses operating in a highly competitive commercial environment. They have evolved from the small privately owned coffee shops of the 1960s and 1970s. These catering outlets use their informality as a selling point and operate in a largely unregulated industry. Holding a license to serve alcohol sometimes has more value than formal skills training. Most cafes are owner-operated and lack the size and organization to support anything other than the immediate informal training required to get the job done. Most cannot afford the luxury of having members of staff absent attending training institutions. The predominant concern of the café management is commercial longevity of the business. There is little energy or time for activities that are not strictly required for the day to day running of the business. This includes participation in formal training regimes.

The managers and supervisors were reluctant to extrapolate on the possibility of a negative staff culture being a cause of a lack of interest in formal training. They did however, surmise that some of their staff were social refugees of one kind or another, and that many, especially in the front of house area, were seasonal or part-time workers. This situation infers that some staff members have difficulty securing other jobs, or are using their time in the hospitality industry as a stepping stone to other vocations and in both cases, they are not inclined to enter into formal training. Many do not see their café job as a long-term occupation. The kitchen staff members are seen as needing more intensive training because of the specialised skills required. Front of house staff are often employed for their personal presentation, personality and communication skills. Managers and supervisors see these factors as being critical to the success of their business and in some cases they seem more important than the quality of the product being served. These factors affect the value of formal training in the local café sector, and arguably demean its standing in the sector.

It could be argued that in the sense of commercial scale, the local café sector is to the hospitality industry what the corner dairy is to the retail trading sector. The café and the dairy are small, independent, individualistic, and reliant on local customers. They build their reputations by word of mouth, operate in the face of considerable competition, and run labour intensive operations. Important decisions are made in an

impromptu fashion, usually in an autocratic manner by the owner/manager. They are the base level of commercial activity in their respective industries. You would not expect a café owner to have a commerce degree in order to run the business nor is a café owner compelled to hire staff with formal qualifications to work in their business. Labour cost is a major factor when employing staff. It is in larger organisations where the structure demands systems of formalised training and recognised qualifications to maintain standards, and often to appease systems of accountability and quality assurance.

On the issue of whether the management of local cafes accept some responsibility for facilitating training for generic life-enhancing skills not specific to the café sector, there is little argument from the researcher that they do not. The prevailing attitude in the café sector is that these skills are 'nice to have' but the employee is responsible for the acquisition of such skills in their own time if they wish to better themselves. The provision of these skills is seen as a matter of personal choice, rather than a commercial necessity. Operational life-enhancing skills like computer training, accountancy, training skills, communication skills, literacy and numeracy are inherently valuable to the individual and to the commercial activity they are employed in but they are seen by the managers as coincidental to the core operational skills required in the café sector. More abstract skills like the ability to learn, the ability to adapt to changing circumstances, and the ability to think analytically are even less recognised as being valuable by café managers. The training that is deemed necessary in the café sector is almost totally focussed on the operational aspects of production and service. The training that occurs on-the-job is driven by the needs of the moment and there is clearly little time for any other types of structured learning.

It is accurate to say that some local cafes will dismiss formal institutional training as being somewhat irrelevant to them. The researcher believes there is a place for formal training in the local café sector, and that the cafés and their workers would be the better for it, but training institutes and the ITO will need to co-ordinate carefully with the café sector to ensure that the needs of the industry are being met and that the system of training is conducive to the conditions within the café sector. Initiatives such as shorter in-house training courses, the return of block courses and day release courses are more conducive to the time and financial requirements of both the industry and the worker. These strategies are not new ones, and existed in the original apprenticeship schemes. The 'bums-on-seats' approach to education funding in the 1990s has brought us the current regimes of full time pre-employment training programmes in

tertiary institutes. The pre-employment courses are not inclined to serve the specific needs of the café sector.

The success of any formal training regime will be encouraged if the café sector finds it useful and actively endorses it. There will always be those café workers that desire the credibility that a formal qualification brings, and they will study to better themselves; to make themselves a more valuable commodity in the labour market. It is unlikely that the café sector will ever make it a requirement to have a qualification, and there will always be an element of ad hoc and informal practices in the sector. The question is; is it desirable for café workers to be formally trained? It is advantageous for the workers in the sector to have some training to a universally recognised standard than a localised, informal training that serves the purposes of the job at that moment. Currently circumstances do not encourage this. It may be that the customers and the hospitality industry will always need to accept that on the periphery of this industry (as with some other industries) there will always be that section that operates outside the conformity of the mainstream that is accepted for that industry. As the corner dairy is to the department store, the café is to the hotel kitchen. There is a commercial place and need for both, and the various levels in between. The importance of training and its degree of formality will be determined within the sector of the industry that is intended to be serviced by the training. As well as being a tool to enhance quality of hospitality products and services, training is a commodity which has a value and a cost. The costs are in the time and fees that formal training requires, and these costs are understandably often beyond the means of a small business like a café or its workers.

Postscript

Six of the seven cafes from which the managers participated in interviews continue to operate successfully today. One of the cafés has closed after two and a half years of operation and the business is currently for sale.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Human Ethics Committee: Wellington

2 September 2004

Ferdinand W Lutter
[redacted]

Dear Ferdinand

Re: MUHEC: WGTN Protocol - 04/26
Cookery Training for the Local Café Industry: Industry perceptions and expectations

Thank you for your email and attached documents in response to the concerns raised by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Wellington.

The amendments you have made now meet the requirements of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee and the ethics of your protocol are approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, a new application must be submitted at that time.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents: "This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, WGTN Protocol 04/26. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Mr Jeremy Hubbard, Acting Chair, Massey University Wellington Human Ethics Committee, telephone 04 801 2794 ext 6358, email J.J.Hubbard@massey.ac.nz.

Yours sincerely

Jeremy Hubbard (Acting Chair)
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Wellington

Cc: Assoc/Professor N Zepke, Ms M Knight, Department of Social & Policy Studies in Education

Appendix 2

Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

RESEARCH PROJECT:

Cookery Training for the Local Café Industry: Industry perceptions and expectations.

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher: Ferdi Lutter B.Ed. (Adult Education) FCFANZ, MNZCA
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Wellington
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Participants for this research will be selected as a representative sample from sectors of the Wellington regional café industry. Managers or supervisors from representative cafés have been approached and asked if they will participate. A sample of approximately twelve participants will represent, as much as possible, the different types of cafés. It is anticipated that the opinions expressed will be representative of the feelings of the local industry sector. It is the intention of the researcher that no participant will be unduly inconvenienced by the research process.

The issues that will be covered are:

1. The value of training in the café industry.
2. The different types of training for the café industry, and how they compare.
3. The encouragement of training in the café industry.
4. The relationship between training expectations and the reality of the café industry.

The information will be gained through an interview process following a series of prescribed questions. The interview will be conducted at a convenient time in an appropriate location, and should take one hour to carry out. The questions that will lead the discussions will be formulated from an intensive review of academic material to ascertain the salient issues. Information gained during the interview will be audio-taped and then transcribed by the researcher and analyzed with that of the other participants to find common themes which will form the basis of the analysis for this research. The researcher then hopes to draw conclusions that will assist in reaching the outcomes of this research. The main intention of the study is to determine the value of catering training in the local café industry.

Project Procedures

The researcher will be the only person to view the data. The data will be used only for the purposes of this research project. The data and consent forms will be stored separately in a locked filing cabinet. All computer hard drive data will be isolated by a security password known only to the researcher. To protect against unauthorized access the data and Consent Forms will be stored securely whenever the researcher is not working directly with them. All computer data will be shutdown when not in use by the researcher. Back-up disks will be secured separately in a locked file. Disposal of data and consent forms will the responsibility of the first supervisor appointed by Massey University and this will occur after the required five-year storage period. Audiotapes will be returned to the participant at the completion of this project. The participant will remain anonymous when reference to material is made in the report. A pseudonym of the participant's choosing will be used in place of your actual name if you wish to preserve privacy. The participant will be given a copy of the research report when it is completed, and audio tapes of the interview will be returned to you. The participants will be furnished with a copy of the finished research report if they wish.

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate:

- You can decline to answer questions at any stage of the interview.
- You can withdraw from the research project at any time.
- You can ask questions about the research project at any time.
- You can provide information on the understanding that your identity and any information that could cause you or your establishment to be identified will not be used without your permission.
- You have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

The participants are invited to contact the researcher and/or supervisors if they have any questions about the project.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, WGTN Application 04/26 If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Mr. Jeremy Hubbard, Acting Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Wellington, telephone 04 801 2794 x6358, email humanethicswn@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 3

Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

Consent Form

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and that 1 have the right to remain silent at any stage during the interview discussion.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name, or any material that could identify my establishment, or myself will not be used without my permission.

I understand that the information will only be used for this research, and any publications and/or conference papers that arise from this research.

I agree to the interview being audio taped. I understand that I have the right to ask for the audiotape to be turned off at any time during the interview discussion.

I understand the taped discussion will be transcribed and that the person doing the transcription understands the privacy issues and has signed a confidentiality agreement.

I understand that I have access to inspect any material arising from my interview discussion.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed:

Name:

Date:

Appendix 4

Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

The Research Issues

- What is a café?
- Are you yourself formally trained?
- Is café sector staff formally trained?
- What form does training take in the sector?
- What is the value placed upon training in the café sector?
- How does formal institutional training serve the sector?
- How does working culture influence the training?
- What skills do people gain in the café sector?

Appendix 5

Massey University

Te Kunenga ki Pürehuroa

10 November 2005

<< Name>>
<<Address 1>>
<<Address 2>>
<<Address 3>>
Wellington

Dear << Name>>,

I am writing to thank you very much for participating in my research project. Your contribution has been invaluable. I know how valuable your time is and I am grateful that you were able to spend some of it answering my questions. The project is currently progressing well as I get to work transcribing the tapes in order to analyse them. You will be able to check the transcription soon.

Feel free to contact me if you have further questions. Once again, many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

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