

1-1-2014

Recipe For Disaster? An Exploration Of Work-Family Spillover Conversations In Food Memoirs

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**RECIPE FOR DISASTER?
AN EXPLORATION OF WORK-FAMILY SPILLOVER CONVERSATIONS IN FOOD
MEMOIRS**

by

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THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School

of Wayne State University,

Detroit, Michigan

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

2014

MAJOR: SOCIOLOGY

Approved By:

Advisor

Date

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Theoretical Framework.....	3
Role Theory.....	3
Role Conflict Theory.....	5
Work-Family Spillover.....	6
Consequences of Work-Family Spillover.....	9
Occupations and Work-Family Spillover.....	11
Chefs and Work-Family Spillover.....	15
What is a Chef.....	18
Methods.....	21
Sample.....	24
Results.....	32
Summary of Autobiographies.....	33
Occupation Dominating Chef's Time.....	36
Negative Effects of Physical Environment.....	36
Negative Effects of Work Day.....	39
Negative Effects of Hours Worked.....	42
A Chef's Job Dictates, Work Over Family.....	45
Consequences of Negative Work-Family Spillover.....	49
Intrusion of Work into Family.....	49
Relationship Dissolution.....	52
Discussion and Conclusions.....	56
References.....	61
Abstract.....	65

Autobiographical Statement.....67

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Food Memoirs.....	26
Table 2: Keywords.....	30
Table 3: Coding Example.....	31

Introduction

Who we are amongst family members is reflective of experiences we have at work. The roles we are expected to occupy while at work and with family do not always correspond with one another, thus leading to work-family role conflict. In contemporary literature this role conflict is often exemplified by work-family spillover, a term defined by Andrew Cherlin as “the transfer of mood or behavior between work and home” (Cherlin, 2010, p.260). Research shows that psychological and structural conditions we are exposed to while at work can both negatively and positively influence our ability to be effective family members.

Scholars focusing on the negative impacts of work-family spillover have explored both physical and mental side-effects of this role conflict. Bolger et al (1989) finds, for instance, that “spouse arguments lead to work arguments” as well as “arguments with children...lead both to work overloads and work arguments” (Bolger et al, 1989, p.179). Rogers and May (2003) argue that “experiences in one role...[can] leave that individual feeling frustrated, depressed, or ineffective...contributing to withdrawal or hostility in interaction, dissatisfaction with the role, or lowered role performance” in other roles (Rogers & May, 2003, p. 482). Schieman et al’s research (2003) focuses on the very serious and detrimental emotional impact work-family spillover has on the individuals involved and those surrounding them. Positive side-effects have also been noted alongside negative effects in sociological research, often within the same articles. Bolger et al (1989) shows “the spouses of people who had a hectic day at work increase their involvement at home in response to the decreased involvement of their spouses” (Bolger, 1989, p.181). This is only understood as a positive side-effect when the reader considers that alongside Bolger, research shows a decrease in active expressions of anger at home and diminishing marital withdrawal in families with increased spousal support. This tends to lessen

the negative impact of spillover (Repetti, 1989, p.657). Even studies like Rogers and May (2003) demonstrate positive experiences in one role leads to “greater warmth and involvement in interaction, role satisfaction, or improved role performance” in another role (Rogers & May, 2003, p.483). These researchers show that where there is negative side-effects there can also be positive.

Understanding the negative and positive side-effects of work-family spillover is important. Future research, however, needs to focus on how individuals in specific occupations experience, conceptualize, and manage their encounters with work-family spillover. Four studies in the past twenty five years attempt to answer this call and each presents a job with characteristics which impact how each occupation experiences work-family spillover. Specifically, scholars have studied air traffic controllers (Repetti 1989), teleworkers (Hill 1996), lawyers (Wallace 1999), and police officers (Johnson et al 2005). Patterns between these studies show jobs characterized by “high pressure for output and low supervisor support”, “excessive work hours”, and “over work, schedule inflexibility, and unsupportive work environment” experience higher levels of work-family spillover (Hughes, Galinsky, & Morris, 1992, p.48, Glass & Estes, 1997, p.295). Because we do not know enough about work-family spillover in a full range of occupations, however, research in this area must continue

The characteristics of the occupations explored by previous research are very similar to the profile of chefs as a job. Beyond just that though, researching chefs also highlights job traits yet explored by contemporary research. Couple this with the increased popularity of chefs in the last decade and this occupation rapidly moves up the list of jobs which need to be examined. Despite all this interest very little is known about how chefs experience work family spillover. I use this thesis to conduct a qualitative content analysis using a sample of food memoirs, written

by chefs in this millennium, to identify how these individuals discuss their experiences with work-family spillover.

Food memoirs selected for this study have been published since and including the 2000 release of Anthony Bourdain's *Kitchen Confidential*, and I use these memoirs to explore how chefs encounter, think about, and deal with work-family spillover. Specifically this study examines five food memoirs by five well-known contemporary chefs: Anthony Bourdain, Gordon Ramsay, Marco Pierre White, Grant Achatz, and Jason Sheehan. In the sections that follow I walk the reader through the theoretical literature on work-family spillover, the evolution of the term itself, how other authors have connected it to specific occupations, and what this all means for chefs.

Theoretical Framework

Role Theory

Understanding that self image is a construct of meaningful interactions between members of society individuals consciously attempt to engage in certain roles to manipulate these interactions. George H. Mead (1981) supports this process of creating self, socially, because "role taking is the basic process and the genesis of self as one kind of unity of the social experience of the individual" (Martindale, 1981, p.333). To gain a complete understanding of how an individual creates self, Mead argues research must explain the roles individuals in society occupy. This leads Mead to develop two stages through which individuals pass to master roles. The preliminary phase Mead presents is the "play stage" (Ritzer, 2008, p.92). Mead states this stage occurs early in an individual's life, primarily during infancy. At this stage the infant does not understand what their own role is and seeks to interact "with different individual reference persons and [adopt] the other's perspective" in order to identify their role (Ritzer,

2008, p.92). Having gained an understanding of how one or two individuals surrounding them perceives them; the infant will broaden their range and attempt to understand the perspectives of entire groups. This marks entry into the “game stage” at which point “an individual’s partner’s behavior is no longer enough and action must be guided by conduct of all other participants” (Ritzer, 2008, p.92). The argument here is that the infant must find and occupy a role, or roles, which are socially acceptable and adhere to the expectations society has of that role. This is the final stage Mead outlines; though he admits that the roles infants enter the game stage with rarely stay the same. Mead does not discuss roles beyond this, however, and thus falls just short of explaining the connection between roles and self.

Using roles outlined by Mead, many researchers continue to expand the scope and depth of the concept’s definition. Peter L. Callero (1994) “aid[s] in developing an approach to role theory that is more versatile and more capable of addressing the agency-structure duality” (Callero, 1994, p.228). Callero (1994) argues that Mead’s understanding of roles is incomplete and needs to be expanded beyond the idea of “powerful, determining structures” (Callero, 1994, p.228). Beyond governing how we act Callero (1994) says roles should be “used to define self and other” (Callero, 1994, p.238). Thus Callero (1994) expands the understanding of roles to include origin of self an idea Mead only touches on. Roles before Callero (1994) are only somewhat affected by society, but Callero (1994) shows “roles vary in terms of cultural endorsement” and “cultural evaluation” (Callero, 1994, p.235-7). This is an extension of the control that society has over roles because it grants the public the ability to endorse or alienate certain roles based on social perspective. Culture is not the only thing which guards access to certain roles as most “vary in terms of social accessibility” and “in terms of situational contingency” (Callero, 1994, p.237-8). Callero’s expansion of the definition of roles also

includes specific examples of how his new understanding of roles should be used; for example “to achieve political ends” (Callero, 1994, p.238-40). Callero’s expansion of the definition for roles allows researchers to continually explore how roles affect our daily lives.

Seeing the importance of roles in society, researchers from all areas use them to help understand social phenomenon. The phenomenon of work-family spillover is not excluded from this discussion. Nadia Steibler (2009) shows that traditional gender role exposure effects individual perceptions of work-to-family spillover. Maria Del Carmen Triana (2010) takes this research a step further and shows how husbands and wives experience work-family spillover when these traditional gender roles are reversed. These two researchers demonstrate the continued use of role theory in modern work-family spillover.

Role Conflict Theory

Part of role theory understands that individuals cannot occupy only one role in their lifetime. Research shows that individuals will often attempt to occupy multiple roles at any given moment. Unfortunately this leads the demands of multiple roles to disagree with one another because “the human mind cannot handle an excess of information” “which makes them subject to information overload” (Smith, 1987, p.352). Known as role conflict, if left unexamined, Smith (1987) argues “the end result ... is an individual’s inability to live up to roles’ demands” (Smith, 1987, p.352). Today researchers seek to expand their understanding of role conflict using Andrew Cherlin’s definition of the concept. Cherlin (2010) simply sees role conflict as “the state of having too many roles with conflicting demands” (Cherlin, 2010, p.258).

Before Smith (1987) and Cherlin (2010) define this topic, social psychological researchers were using role conflict to understand the link between conflicting roles and personality development. Stouffer and Toby (1951) ask respondents to complete a survey

containing questions testing the strength of the respondents' obligation to their role as a friend versus as a member of society. Through their research these theorists categorize personality types based on "a predisposition to select one or the other horn of a dilemma in the role conflict" demonstrating early research in role conflict (Stouffer & Toby, 1951, p.404). Niall Bolger et al (1989) uses daily dairies asking respondents to "record role-related stress and mood...everyday for a period of six weeks" to examine whether or not stress experienced during one role increases stressful experiences during another (Bolger et al, 1989, p.176). These studies demonstrate the use of role conflict as a tool to conceptualize social experiences. They also show researchers' different understandings of how to study role conflict differences which Ashmore highlights in his work. First, quantitative research "requires the investigator to measure characteristics of each role and then search statistically for relationships between a characteristic of one role and a characteristic of another role" (Ashmore, 1986, p.230). Ashmore compares this to qualitative research which, in his opinion, involves "assessing how roles affect each other [and] calls for respondents to report on the relationships they perceive among roles" (Ashmore, 1986, p.231). Attention to the effects on one role on another and the perceptions of one's roles highlights the value of sociological analyses of role conflict theory.

Work-Family Spillover

Understanding that roles will inevitably conflict with one another, theorists start to examine how specific roles interact. In this line of research certain roles are examined more than others. Work and family roles dominate the majority of an individual's mental and physical energy and so find their way into this researchable group. Research on the conflict between work and family roles begins with the hope that having a better understanding of how these roles interact may allow society to mediate this role conflict when it occurs.

In the early days of work-family spillover research, theorists attempt to understand how these roles could actually conflict with one another. The supposedly clear division of work and family is questioned by those researchers who argue “work is, at least in part, a family role, and that family roles involve certain work-like activities” (Ashmore, 1986, p.217). The understanding of this conflict continues to expand as research continues to show that “work and family boundaries [are] ... asymmetrically permeable” meaning both equally impact one another (Eagle et al, 1997, p.169).

Moving forward researchers have explored what might cause the discordance between these two roles. Robert Kelly and Patricia Voydanoff (1985) begin researching sources of work/family role strain at a time when research in this area was quite limited (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985, p.367). These authors identify several work and family characteristics which lead these roles to conflict. Work characteristics such as, “number of hours worked, work schedule, job involvement and satisfaction, and aspects of job duties such as pressure, ambiguity, and autonomy” led work to conflict with family (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985, p.368). On the other hand family traits like “presence of children, spouse employment, and wife support” make family conflict with work (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985, p.368). As time passes the nature of America’s work force changes until it “consists largely of employees with high family demands [which] has called attention to the ways in which combining occupational and family roles is a source of tension for workers and their families” (Hughes et al, 1992, p.31). Hughes et al (1992) finds some of the reasons for this tension include “workers in jobs with high pressure for output and low supervisor support” as well as “excessive work hours” (Hughes et al, 1992, p.40). Research into causes of work-family spillover continue with Grzywacz et al (2002) who sought “to describe the work-family experiences of the adult labor force, both generally and within

specific demographic subgroups, and to examine the sociodemographic predictors of work-family spillover” (Grzywacz et al, 2002, p.28). Grzywacz continues the search for specific variables that predict work-family spillover using the National Survey of Midlife Development and finds a “pattern of associations between advancing age and higher levels of positive spillover from work to family”. In addition “blacks were found to have lower, rather than higher, levels of both types of negative spillover between work and family and higher levels of positive spillover from work to family” (Grzywacz et al, 2002, p. 34).

Once researchers established the existence and possible causes of work-family spillover they move to examine ways to prevent it. Margret Elman and Lucia Gilbert (1985) identify “ways young career women deal with possible conflicts between their parental and professional roles” (Elman & Gilbert, 1985, p.317). Using survey methods to gather information regarding how women manage their role conflict, Elman and Gilbert show the ability of women to use various coping methods effectively when attempting to combat the effect of this conflict. In their results Elman and Gilbert find that there are five strategies that most women commonly use to combat the role conflict they are experiencing. Of these “increased role behavior was the most highly endorsed coping strategy” (Elman & Gilbert, 1985, p.324). Jennifer Warren and Phyllis Johnson (1995) also evaluate the effectiveness of workplace-based attempts to combat work-family spillover. Warren and Johnson (1995) “hypothesized that a lower level of strain is associated with (a) having a family supportive organization culture, (b) having a sensitive and flexible supervisor, and (c) using family-oriented benefits” (Warren & Johnson, 1995, p.165). Through quantitative analysis of questionnaires results show the amount of role strain, i.e. extent to which one role impacts the other, in either direction, decreases as efforts to combat role conflict increase. Efforts to combat role conflict could be anything as far as Warren and Johnson

are concerned. Their results simply support the use of any prevention techniques compared to none. Though not an exhaustive list of all the research examining prevention of work-family spillover, these examples show how there are research-related steps that can be taken to combat this issue.

Consequences of Work-Family Spillover

There are two reasons why work-family spillover continually appears in sociological literature. First, research shows that the effects of work-family spillover are felt as long as an individual is a member of the paid labor force, and perhaps even longer (Rogers & May, 2003). Thus, work-family spillover is recognized as a longstanding issue in a variety of individuals' lives, meaning that it has continued relevance in sociology and related disciplines. Second, not only does spillover affect the individual involved in work and family roles, but also it impacts those surrounding them (and the family as a primary group) as well. Many researchers suggest that these effects are both positive and negative in nature. Sociological analyses often make connections between private experience and public or group-based issues: thus, work-family spillover becomes a sociological issue. In the next paragraph I examine further both the positive and negative consequences of work-family spillover.

As far back as twenty years ago researchers find that work-family spillover is not as bad as previous imagined. Rena Repetti (1989) shows positive effects by reporting "high workload is associated with subsequent decrease in active expressions of anger at home" (Repetti, 1989, p.657). Rogers and May (2003) show that even though popular opinion argues for the prevalence of negative over positive side-effects, things are rather balanced. These researchers argue broadly that "changes in job satisfaction ... contribute to changes in marital quality" (Rogers & May, 2003, p.484). The assumption here is that positive and negative effects can flow freely through

this interaction at equal rates. To strengthen the positive argument Rogers and May find that from 1980 to 1983 increased job satisfaction led to increased marital quality. Rogers and May close their argument by saying “it is important to gain a more thorough understanding of the spillover processes between marital quality and job satisfaction” (Rogers & May, 2003, p. 494). The following authors discuss negative side-effects of work-family spillover to contribute towards this goal.

Nonetheless, negative spillover resides alongside the positive. For example “spouse arguments lead to work arguments” and at the same time “arguments with children...lead both to work overloads and work arguments” (Bolger et al, 1989, p. 179). Negative effects such as “higher levels[s] of workload” are also often “followed by an increase in social withdrawal” (Repetti, 1989, p.657). Anne-Marie Ambert (1989) takes negative consequences of work-family spillover further by stating those who experience work-family spillover have varying levels of marital happiness, which eventually increases odds of divorce. Diane Hughes et al (1992) shows “work in jobs with high pressure for output and low supervisor support may report more frequent marital arguments” (Hughes et al, 1992, p.40). Hughes et al (1992) also shows the harmful effects of the structural aspects of work on family life. For example, when and for how long an individual works impacts whether or not “increased family role difficulty is experienced” (Hughes et al, 1992, p.40). Bruce Eagle et al (1997) pursues the idea of structural aspects of work interfering with family further by showing both that “incompatible schedules and fatigue and irritability” are consequences of being a member of the paid labor force and that “people allow work to consume disproportionate amounts of their energies and attention” (Eagle et al, 1997, p.169 &180). Eagle et al (1997) also shows that an “employer’s unrealistic expectation that employees would make familial sacrifices [can lead] to career changes with expectations of

an enhanced quality of life” (Eagle et al, 1997, p.180). Showing again how work-family spillover affects an individual’s behavior, Joseph Grzywacz and Nadine Marks (2000) show “more negative spillover from work to family was associated with greater odds of reporting problem drinking” and other unhealthy behaviors (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000, p.344). Expanding on this Rogers and May (2003) show, when looking at work and family “experiences in one role ... [can] leave that individual feeling frustrated, depressed, or ineffective ... contributing to withdrawal or hostility in interaction, dissatisfaction with role, or lowered role performance” (Rogers & May, 2003, p.48). Combining all of these negative effects David Demo and Mark Fine (2010) show how spillover can lead to divorce. Demo and Fine (2010) argue “most marriages endure prolonged periods of unhappiness, growing apart, poor communication, tension, and conflict prior to any discussion of divorce” (Demo & Fine, 2010, p.75). Each of these is shown in previous research to be a side-effect of work-family spillover. Given the seriousness of the negative effects of work-family spillover it should come as no surprise this topic is still studied today. Research in this area can be found as far back as 1989, but researchers are continuing to attempt to understand this topic more fully. Most authors in this area end their publications by encouraging future research in this field. It is the purpose of this study to attempt to answer this call and provide insight regarding work-family spillover that is previously unexplored.

Occupations and Work-Family Spillover

Having explored what work-family spillover is, what may possibly cause it, and what effect it has on people, research shifts to examining how individuals in specific occupations experience this role conflict and spillover. Looking across five research studies which examine specific jobs and their characteristics, I find overlap with regard to which job traits are associated

with increased work-family spillover. Analyzing the overlap in findings about these traits makes it possible for future researchers to more effectively identify occupations that are characterized by elevated levels of work-family spillover.

Rena Repetti (1989, p.652) decides to study air traffic controllers because “increased load for an ATC does not necessarily mean more time at work”. This allows Repetti (1989) to separate a person’s workload from the number of hours a person spends at work. Repetti (1989) also acknowledges that the decision to use air traffic controllers is based on the varying amount of job stress related to this occupation. Those jobs which experience the same amount of job stress every day may not experience changes in their daily levels of work-family spillover. Studying a job with varying amounts of daily job stress allows Repetti (1989) to avoid this trap and explore what effect increased or decreased amounts of job stress have on work-family spillover. In her results Repetti (1989) reports that increased amounts of job stress and workload relate to increased levels of work-family spillover. Repetti (1989) also acknowledges there is a relationship between number of hours an individual works and work-family spillover, but she does not reveal the nature of this relationship. Workload, hours worked, and job stress are all useful variable in an analysis of spillover in occupations.

Diane Hughes et al (1992) does not study a specific occupation; instead she studies job characteristics and divides them into two categories. Hughes et al (1992, p.32) distinguishes between “structural job characteristics,” including “aspects of work which organize the worker’s time, or determine when and where one works”, and “psychosocial job characteristics” which are “those that determine the context and process of a worker’s job”. Of the psychosocial job characteristic Hughes et al (1992) studies, three are significantly related with how likely an individual is to experience work-family spillover. For Hughes et al (1992, p.37) “workers who

reported less enrichment, more pressure without support, and more insecurity were likely to report more tension". The lone structural job characteristic Hughes et al (1992, p.40) presents is "excessive work hours result[ing] in difficulties meeting family role demands". This research continues to push us towards specific occupational characteristics which relate to work-family spillover.

Jeffery Hill et al (1996) returns to Repetti's model of examining a single occupation in this case teleworkers to show job traits associated with spillover. Hill et al (1996) justifies his selection of teleworkers by arguing their occupation possesses job traits which are unique. The first of these traits being "employees may choose to work whenever and from whatever venue might best meet business, personal, and/or family needs" which changes how many hours teleworkers work on a given day (Hill et al, 1996, p.294). The popularity of teleworkers at the time of Hill et al's study (1996) is also important to note. Had Hill et al (1996) attempted to study teleworkers in 1980 or 2010 his study would have been ignored because society does not care about an occupation which is not popular at the time. Jobs which no longer exist, or are less popular should not draw a researcher's attention. Hill et al (1996) therefore encourages future researchers to examine occupations which are currently in the social spotlight as well as those with varying amounts of work hours.

Jean Wallace (1999) studied a previously unexplored occupation, lawyers, in continued efforts to identify work factors contributing to stress experienced when in nonwork roles. Wallace (1999) discovers "three sets of work related factors" which impact the amount of work-family spillover lawyers experience. These factors are "work involvement, work role stressors, and work context" (Wallace, 1999, p.798). For Wallace "work involvement" is "work motivation and work hours", "work role stressors" are "work overload and profit driven focus", and "work

context” is simply the environment an individual works in (Wallace, 1999, p. 800-1). Results in Wallace’s study support the connection of each of these factors to work-family spillover. As such each should be considered when attempting to find occupations which may be at increased risk for work-family spillover.

Leonor Johnson et al (2005) offers the most recent study connecting a specific occupation, in this case law enforcement, to work-family spillover. Johnson et al’s (2005, p.6) research attempts to find if “burnout, authoritarianism, alcohol use, and job withdrawal” mediate the relationship between exposure of law enforcement agents to violence at work and violence these agents use at home. Results also show that “through external burnout and authoritarian spillover”, exposure to violence at work promotes use of violence at home (Johnson et al, 2005, p.10). Job fatigue and being in a position of power at work are also added to the ever expanding list of job traits known to relate to work-family spillover. In the end researchers are continually arguing that “future research should examine the determinants of work-to-nonwork conflict with samples of workers from other occupations” a plea which has gone unanswered (Wallace, 1999, p.813).

Taking into consideration the research of Repetti (1989), Hughes et al (1992), Hill et al (1996), Wallace (1999), and Johnson (2005), sixteen different job traits are related to work-family spillover. To aid in finding jobs which may be at elevated risk for work-family spillover this list must be condensed. Excessive work hours are one trait that more than one researcher discusses (Hughes et al 1992; Wallace 1999). Heavy workload as introduced by Repetti (1989) also gains support from other researchers (Hughes et al 1992; Wallace 1999). Separate from workload, the idea of job stress appears in several articles as well (Repetti 1989; Hughes et al 1992; Wallace 1999; Johnson 2005). The final job trait that may help identify occupations of

research interest is popularity (Hill et al 1992). By grouping certain job traits together the list of sixteen traits becomes five, which allows future research to narrow the scope of occupations which they examine.

Chefs and Work-Family Spillover

One occupation which has previously been unexamined and possesses unique experiences not shared with all the above job traits is chefs. Justification for the decision to study chefs begins with a discussion of chefs' experiences with each of the job traits highlighted in the previous section. First, Wallace (1999) and Hill et al (1992) explore work context as simply the environment in which an individual works. When looking at the context in which chefs work, one of the most stunning characteristic of a kitchen is the heat. Stepping into the kitchen of any restaurant is described by some as comparable to stepping on the sun. Jason Sheehan describes this experience, "...in two minutes I'd sweated through my pretty blue shirt. After three, I was ready to pass out" (Sheehan 2009, p.15). From the stove, to the open flame of the range, or the steam table, and the flat top everything in a kitchen produces heat. Anthony Bourdain found that "chefs would regularly pass out and have to be dragged off to recuperate" when he was in the kitchen (Bourdain, 2000, p.106). Heat is not the only thing that makes a professional kitchen a unique environment. Though most kitchens will attempt to avoid this, "a kitchen is a hot, dirty, close place" which over time...affects cooks" (Fine, 2009, p.41). Kitchens are certainly not the biggest of spaces. Bourdain describes a professional kitchen describes as an "uncomfortably confined, submarine-like space" (Bourdain, 200, p.61). Alone each of these physical characteristics may be used to describe various work environments, but the unity of all three in a professional kitchen makes it worth studying. Unhealthy physical work conditions define a chef's occupation.

Moving next to job stress, as discussed by most of the previous authors we again find chefs' experiences are unique. Most occupations allow employees a reasonable amount of time to complete their tasks. Chefs, however, work in a profession which demands almost instantaneous results with no prior knowledge of what they will be exporting; this means that chefs' workload is not only high, but also unpredictable. This puts an incredible amount of mental stress on those who choose this occupation. It isn't hard to imagine individuals in this profession being expected to perform a thousand squat thrusts, run the equivalent of twenty miles, and dead lift hundreds of pounds of food all in one night. As Gordon Ramsay says, in order to be a chef you must "push yourself to the limit every day and every night" (Ramsay, 2006, p.77). After how chefs are asked to complete job tasks in their kitchens, discussion can shift to what these tasks are. Before the first order is even placed "chefs must ready the kitchen [for] several hours" (Fine, 2009, p.19). This includes a laundry list of tasks such as preparing stock, making soups, cleaning fish, creating sauces, cooking pasta, chopping potatoes, and on and on. Having done all this, a chef's workload really picks up when service begins. Fine (2009) warns chefs they must "be ready to cook numerous dishes, simultaneously and without warning, with sufficient speed that those with whom they must deal...do not become frustrated" (Fine, 2009, p.19). During an average dinner service chefs must keep an enormous amount of information organized in their heads. Sheehan offers a view into a chef's mind through this typical call to action in a kitchen,

"Firing tables fifty-five, thirty, sixty-eight, thank you. Going on eight fillet. Four well, three middy, one rare. Working fourteen all day, hold six. Five strip up and down. Temps rare, rare, midly waiting on po fries, two well going baker, thank you. Wheel, new fires please. We've got space" (Sheehan, 2000, p.6).

Sheehan's description of the kitchen above contains twenty-seven individual pieces of information; it is the chef's job to process them all and keep them organized in his or her head.

Multiply this by the hundreds over one night and it is easy to see that chefs are often asked to do a tremendous amount of mental and physical work. The combination of unnerving mental stress and the extreme physical demands of this job adds additional support to the claim that this occupation needs to be examined for its likelihood of work-family spillover.

Another possible source of work-family spillover which previous research focused on is extreme or unordinary work hours. Both Hughes et al (1992) and Wallace (1999) discuss this in their work and agree that when an individual is asked to work and how long they work helps determine the amount of work-family spillover employees will experience. Working in a restaurant kitchen requires chefs “having to be here when you’d like a little time off to do some of your own things, [like] take time to be with your family” (Fine, 2009, p.40). Many other chefs share experiences similar to this in which they are asked to work more than just forty hours a week. Beyond just the number of hours chefs must work, researchers find when chefs actually work these hours is also very unique. In the words of Anthony Bourdain (2000) “never having had a Friday or Saturday night off, always working holidays, being busiest when the rest of the world is just getting out of work, makes for a sometimes peculiar worldview” (Bourdain, 2000, p.4). Other chefs also share their experiences with “long hours, weekends, holidays... everybody else is out having fun, and you have to work” (Fine, 2009, p.40). Holidays are not days off for chefs, in fact holidays are often a chef’s worst nightmare. Not only do they not get to spend time with their families, but holidays are often their busiest work days. Looking at both how many hours chefs work and when they have to work them researchers should note both are unique to this occupation.

The final support for the decision to study chefs is a result of the popularity discussion at which Hill et al (1992) hints. In the past decade the occupation of chef has attracted more

employees and become more visible in the public than most. As an occupation largely unaffected by the recent economic downturn, the world of the kitchen has become a magnet for employees. As Fine (2009) says “a cook, once an occupational failure, is today a professional, businessman, or artist” (Fine, 2009, p. XI). People with more experience assembling engine blocks for cars are being drawn to peeling potatoes and dicing onions in order to make ends meet as other industries waver. This is due largely to the fact that regardless the political or economic climate people will always need to eat. More than just the increase in the number of people working in the food service industry, chefs have stepped into the spotlight of pop culture. Today research shows “chefs have become cultural icons” (Fine, 2009, p. X). For example, in the year 2000, Food Network was still trying to get itself organized a decade later it has “a current average prime-time audience of 750,000 viewers” (Fine, 2009, p. XII). In the new millennium chefs are experiencing “heightened visibility ... [and] the status of the chef has risen” (Fine, 2009, p. XI). The popularity of chefs in today’s culture makes them an excellent subject for research, because it increases both interest in the study and access to its members. A chef’s occupation has contemporary cultural relevance.

What is a Chef?

Stepping back before moving on, I take space here to define the Chef’s occupation. The first step in defining a chef is identifying who chooses this occupation. Unfortunately, before they are chefs, these individuals do not often share one common trait. Looking at the stories from different celebrity chefs, I find there is no pattern in reasons why people choose this career. Anthony Bourdain says his friends pushed him in the food industry because “they were sick of me freeloading” (Hamilton & Kuh, 2007, p.65). Bobby Flay got into cooking for the opposite reason, saying “cooking allowed me to do something else other than just sit around with my

friends” (Hamilton & Kuh, 2007, p.125). Cat Cora owes her success to growing up around the restaurants owned by her family (Hamilton & Kuh, 2007, p.87-88). The fact of the matter is that the occupation is open to individuals from all walks of life, thus making it hard to label a singular type of person who is predetermined to become a chef.

Though it is hard to identify specific traits which led individuals into the kitchen some research suggests there are circumstances which encourage this career choice. Dornenburg and Page (1995) identify three different encounters which most chefs seem to share. The theme of these experiences is childhood exposure to food, differentiated only by the nature of the exposure. In the first case children experience the above average cooking abilities of their parents. The child’s parents do not have to be chefs themselves, but their ability to create a better than average meal increases the children’s appreciation for food. Children who grow up on farms also have an increased understanding of the work necessary to process food and create a meal which elevates their appreciation of food in general and may lead them to pursue food production as a career. The final encounter is unique to those who grow up in or around the restaurant industry itself. This group of people understands what it means to be a chef from a very young age making their transition to this occupation completely natural. At the end of the day no two chefs will have the exact same reasoning for their career choice; these three experiences are presented only to show possible explanations for why “something about the idea of cooking strikes a chord within [chefs]” (Dornenburg & Page, 1995, p.30).

The decision to become a chef is just as complicated as the path to becoming one. Dornenburg and Page (1995) show in their research “there is no, single, straight, and narrow path to becoming a chef” (Dornenburg & Page, 1995, p.31). Some routes begin with culinary school where “students learned basic cooking techniques, quantity cooking, restaurant cooking (line

cooking) and service” (Fine, 2009, p.51). Having a degree in culinary arts is not a prerequisite to becoming a chef; in fact some employers feel these students “graduate ignorant of the culinary real world” (Fine, 2009, p.51). This leaves chefs who complete culinary school to become unpaid apprentices, hoping to work their way up in kitchens. Those who have the resources may attempt to open restaurants of their own with varying degrees of success. School can be expensive however and the end result may not appeal to those who desire to become chefs. Therefore most individuals skip culinary school and go right to the lower ranks of kitchens looking to move up as time passes. Starting in high school or younger, future chefs may seek employment as a dishwasher, or porter, in a restaurant to make some money. As summers pass dishwashers become prep cooks, who become line cooks, which turn into sous chefs, and so on. Of the two trails to the title of chef, the latter is the more desired because kitchens are close knit environments which prefer to promote from within and train their own future chefs as opposed to hiring chefs fresh from culinary school. No two chefs use the same trajectory, however; these pathways are given only as examples.

The inability of researchers to create a short list of who becomes a chef or how they go about doing so makes defining a chef for examination rather difficult. Therefore this study uses a definition of chef which will differ from most. First to be considered a chef in this study an individual must have spent a minimum of five years in a restaurant kitchen. This requirement allows for the separation of casual employees of kitchens, such as summer help, from more serious kitchen employees. Next their kitchen time must include authority over food production. Chefs differ from other kitchen employees, such as line cooks, in that they personally prepare most of the food that goes out of the kitchen. In an industry where reputation is extremely important chefs trust only themselves to create a finished product; therefore they tend to control

the majority of food production. In the same regard, chefs tend to control items on the menu at the restaurant they work. As such this study only considered those individuals who have contributed items to a restaurant's menu, as a chef. The final distinguishing trait this study uses to identify chefs is the number of hours they work a week. Compared to all other kitchen employees, chefs are most often those who report to the restaurant the highest number of hours in each week. Using this combination of characteristics this study creates a definition of who is and is not a chef. One trait, which does not define a chef but restricts which chefs are included in this study, is family. Due to the fact that this is a study in work-family spillover for an individual to be considered for inclusion in this sample they must meet all the requirements which define a chef, as well as be a member of a family at some point during their career. Marriage and/or the presence of an intimate partnership will be used as a marker of family in this study because it is an easily measured marker of a family role and it allows for more chefs to be included in the sample (compared to other family roles, such as parent). Had the presence of children been a requirement of family, far fewer chefs could be included in this sample, due to the fact that many do not have children.

Methods

Previous research shows that work-family spillover is experienced either positively or negatively. Without denying the merit of a polar division between these experiences this research looked beyond just positive or negative and explores how a specific occupation, chef, talks about work-family spillover. This is done to show, that in keeping with previous research exploring specific occupations, chefs have encounters with work-family spillover which are unique to their profession. To date there are no studies which examine work-family spillover in this occupation and so the door is open to whatever conclusions this research draws. In order to insure equal

consideration for both positive and negative effects of spillover this study chose only to identified how chefs discuss work-family spillover in their own words. Without making assumptions, previous research shows that occupations which share characteristics with chefs have increased negative experiences with work-family spillover. As stated, however, no research confirms if this is true of chefs. Therefore this research looked for chefs to share both positive and negative experiences with work-family spillover. With this is mind this study performed a qualitative content analysis of chef's food memoirs. Though contemporary sociological literature is dominated by equations, tables, and numbers, the reliability of statistical analysis cannot replace the depth of understanding of how chefs encounter, think about, and deal with work-family spillover qualitative techniques must be used.

Content analysis is “a technique for examining the content, or information and symbols, contained in written documents or other communication medium” (Neuman, 2006, p.44). This technique has the ability to be either quantitative or qualitative in nature. On the quantitative side, more common today, researchers examine documents and literally count the number of times a keyword or phrase appears. This technique is extremely useful when researchers are mining through enormous amounts of media looking for patterns. For example this technique can be used to identify if women appear in more television commercials than men. Qualitative content analysis, on the other hand, “consider[s] document and statistical reports to be cultural objects, or media, that communicate social meaning” (Neuman, 2006, p.323). Though researchers using this approach also canvas documents looking for specific words of phrases they will often consider what's going on in the text surrounding these words rather than just adding another tally mark to a spreadsheet. Researchers using qualitative content analysis are

also looking for meaning and tones behind the words and phrases used. Expanding the scope of data they examine provides enriched results.

Like any research technique, qualitative content analysis is governed by procedures. To begin researchers must identify a “body of material to analyze” followed by identifying how the researcher plans on studying this material (Neuman, 2006, p.44). Coding begins when the researcher identifies which themes or key words they are looking for in their sample. Most often researchers will begin with an “open coding” exercise (Neuman, 2006, p.326). At this junction researchers simply take their first pass through their material to find which words, phrases, and ideas are most common. Though researchers may enter this phase looking for specific things the goal of “open coding” is to find new ideas. Once “open coding” is complete authors move to more purposeful coding or “semantic analysis” (Neuman, 2006, p.326). At this stage the researcher has identified exactly which words and phrases they are going to recognize and how they will record them. Identifying terms can be as simple as using multi-colored highlighters to draw attention to keywords, or as complicated as pages of notes mapping every theme’s appearance. During this phase the author is looking at both their keywords and the context surrounding each term hoping to discover the underlying meaning in any patterns which may appear. This stage consists of multiple passes through the subject to insure no information is lost. Having completed this phase researchers will draw tentative conclusions from their data, and perform a final pass through the material to insure these conclusions are supported. Conclusions which have support are then reported and those which do not are discarded. In the end the researcher presents their findings knowing they are supported by repeated examination of the researcher’s sample.

Sample

Using the definition of chef outlined above this study created a sample of individuals who shared their experiences with work-family spillover. The first step towards creating a manageable sample was to include only chefs who have written autobiographies, or food memoirs, in the pool of candidates for this study. Given the tremendous number of individuals currently employed as chefs limiting the sample to only those who have published a food memoir instantly cuts this sample into a more manageable number.

Research shows that the use of autobiographies as a source of data has both positive and negative impacts on a study's results. In 2005 and 2009 Monica White shows the effectiveness of autobiographies as a data source when attempting to examine the development of racial and activist identities. White (2009, p. 187) argues that her use of autobiographies "shows both the influences of the stages of individual psychological development and ideological frame works that provide the structural influences that contribute to the creation of their racial identities". Through her use of autobiographies White (2009) was able to gather personal information from her subjects over an extended period of time and contextualize their experiences within a social timeline. Autobiographies allow researchers to look at an individual's entire lifetime instead of just a cross-sectional snapshot. Nick Howe et al (2010) also use autobiographies as a source of data in their research because autobiographies allow the addition of "historical context" to his research. Autobiographies also "present a valuable vantage point from which to explore" (White, 2005, p. 30). Instead of a researcher using equations to interpret thousands of responses to surveys that may be disconnected from individual realities, autobiographies give researchers access to information directly from their subjects in the subject's words. White (2005) quotes A. Strauss (1995) as emphasizing the importance of "links between historical events, personal

constructions of these events” (White, 2005, p.30). Autobiographies allow researchers to access this unique point of view. Suniti Sharma (2010, p. 334) also uses autobiographies in her research because they give her “a partial understanding of the lived histories of young women in detention in ways that did not fit into any academic framework I knew”. Sharma’s research shows that when the autobiographies of the inmates are compared to the stories the prison authorities told the inmates, there are significant differences and that the autobiographies tend to adhere closer to the inmates’ truths.

The use of autobiographies as data is not without criticism. Given autobiographies cover such a long period of time authors may gloss over certain details from their lives, emphasizing some experiences over others, which may lead to misrepresentation of the facts. White (2009, p. 188) also admits “autobiographies often have their own agendas” acknowledging the self preservation which most authors engage in. Used cautiously, however, autobiographies are extremely useful and give researchers information they would not find elsewhere.

From this point this study was tasked with creating a sample of similar individuals to insure that the experiences these chefs outline with work-family spillover are a result of their occupation and not surrounding circumstances. As a result only publications released after 2000 were considered by this study. This insured that the subjects will have encountered similar social conditions while writing their memoirs. Limiting this sample to only this millennium also kept the language the chefs use approximately the same as well. Past that, this condition also allows for the inclusion of Anthony Bourdain’s *Kitchen Confidential* in this study’s sample. This book is the beginning of the “food memoir” trend and to not include it in this study would be to ignore a very important resource. Using this book as an exemplar for the “memoirs”, or autobiographies, that study identified three more shared characteristics for these texts. To begin

with, I decided that the five books in this sample would be written only by male chefs. This selection criterion is representative of the male-dominance in professional restaurant kitchens. This denies this study's ability to infer upon how female chefs experience work-family spillover however. The final two traits which members of this sample must share with Bourdain are numbers of years in the restaurant business and number of years as a family member. At the time *Kitchen Confidential* was published, Bourdain had been cooking for around twenty years and was married for just as long. In order to construct a sample of individuals who can be defined by both their work and family lives. I built this study so that I would examine only people with similar amounts of experience in the kitchen and in family life. Thus, I used Bourdain's food memoir to help me construct the final selection criteria for the other memoirs I would analyze. Below is a table that describes the inclusion criteria for my study as well as descriptions of how each of the five chefs meet those criteria (see Table One).

Table One: Food Memoirs

Title of Food Memoir	Male Author?	Published Since 2000?	Years in Kitchen	Years Married
<i>Kitchen Confidential: Adventures in the Culinary Underbelly</i>	YES Anthony Bourdain	YES 2000	22 Years	20 Years
<i>Roasting in Hell's Kitchen: Temper Tantrums, F Words, and the Pursuit of Perfection</i>	YES Gordon Ramsay	YES 2006	20 Years	10 Years
<i>The Devil in the Kitchen: Sex, Pain, Madness, and the Making of a Great Chef</i>	YES Marco Pierre White	YES 2007	20 Years	10 Years
<i>Cooking Dirty: A Story of Life, Sex, Love, and Death in the Kitchen</i>	YES Jason Sheehan	YES 2009	30 Years	8 Years

<i>Life on the Line: A Chef's Story of Chasing Greatness, Facing Death, and Redefining the way we eat</i>	YES Grant Achatz	YES 2011	25 Years	< 1 Year
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As the tables above alludes to, each of these chefs were having different experiences within their families when their memoirs were published. I offer a brief exploration of each family here to allow for a more complete understanding of what family means in this study. To begin with, when Anthony Bourdain wrote *Kitchen Confidential* he was married to Nancy Putkoski. In fact, Bourdain dedicates his memoir to Nancy. The two were high school sweethearts and married in the 1980's. Therefore they had been married approximately twenty years when Bourdain's book was released. Of Nancy, Bourdain (2000, p.301) says "my wife, blessedly, has stayed with me through all of it...". Though they have been together twenty years, Bourdain and Putkoski have no children together. This gives this study a family which may not fit traditional definitions, but is a family none the less.

Gordan Ramsay was married to his wife, Tana, for ten years when his memoir was released. Ramsay met Tana in December of 1996. Shortly after, in 1997, Tana would give birth to the first of four children she and Ramsay have together. Despite having issues conceiving, all four children were born prior to the 2006 publication of Ramsay's memoir. Within his book Ramsay admits to having never changed a diaper nor being present for the birth of any of his children. In spite of this confession Ramsay was actually given the "Father of the Year" award from *Glamour* magazine. When asked what has his marriage to Tana a success Ramsay (2006, p.141) says his wife "knew what it meant to be driven, to be obsessed with work...". Regardless

of how Ramsay and his wife stay happy, the two of them, and their children, give us another example of family.

Of the chefs in this study Marco Pierre White offers, arguably, the most irregular example of family. White met his first wife, Alex, in the summer of 1987. The two were together for about a year, which White says was “long enough for me to propose” (White, 2007, p.121). Shortly after that they got married and Alex gave birth to their only child in 1989. Looking back, White (2007, p.133) admits “it was never going to last with Alex and a couple of years after marrying, we were divorced”. Only two years after the birth of his first child White would meet his second wife, Lisa. After being together only three weeks White proposed and the two were married. As early as the night of the wedding White knew his second marriage would not last. Only fifteen weeks after tying the knot, their marriage ended. Keeping with his trend of rebounding quickly White met his third wife, Mati, in 1993. Though the two had three children together they were not wed until 2000, still seven years before his book was released. Beyond that, in his memoir, White speaks at great length about how important it has been to him to maintain what he sees as a strong bond with his children. In a very unique way White brings to this study yet another example of family.

Due to the fact that Jason Sheehan is not in the public eye as much as the other chefs in this study, slightly less is known about his family. That said, he does give us some insight on this topic in his memoir. At the time his book was published, 2009, Sheehan was married to an old friend, Laura. The two met while they were still young, but did not become romantically involved until around 2000. Shortly after moving in together the couple got engaged. This was followed by a cross country move, as well as a series of shorter relocations. Sheehan says he and his wife argued a lot, but only in a playful way. Laura would frequently threaten divorce, but

never seriously. The two would eventually make wedding plans for late 2001. The only other detail about his family that Sheehan offers is that he and Laura welcomed their daughter, Parker Finn, into the world in 2003. Though he may not have the colorful past of some of the others in this study, Sheehan none the less gives us another type of family to consider.

The final chef in this study, Grant Achatz, offers a completely different view of family than the previous four. In 1999 Achatz moved in with a friend of his, Angela. It wasn't long after moving into together that the two became romantically involved. Two years later Achatz saw their relationship deteriorating until Angela found out she was pregnant with the couple's first child. During Angela's pregnancy Achatz moved the couple across the country to take a new job. Shortly after the move, their son was born. This did not persuade Achatz to marry Angela though. Having witnessed the side effects of his parents' divorce, Achatz was opposed to the idea of marriage. The couple remained together until a few years later when, after having their second child, Angela gave Achatz an ultimatum, marry me or get out. Wanting to do what he thought was best for his children Achatz married Angela. From the beginning Achatz was unhappy with his decision. After only three weeks of marriage Achatz moved out and six months later his divorce from Angela was official. Shortly after this, and in the later pages of his memoir, Achatz became romantically involved with his future wife, Heather. Though there is no mention of the two being married in his book, Achatz details how in love with Heather he has become and how involved she was with his children and his cancer treatment. Achatz and Heather may not have wed until after his book was released, but at the time it came out they were a family.

As is common in this type of research this study performed multiple passes through the food memoirs selected for inclusion. The first pass was a basic open coding exercise to bring to

the surface keywords, themes, and possible patterns in the text. In keeping with the protocol associated with qualitative content analysis this study then performed at least an additional three passes through each member of the sample. To determine how chefs discuss work-family spillover there are three categories of words which this study will look for. These categories are “work”, “family”, and “spillover”. For each of these categories there are many individual words, shown in previous research, to be associated with the concepts of “work”, “family”, and “spillover”. These terms include action words, such as cooking or cutting, associated with work, or more emotionally charged words, such as anger and fatigue, which is associated with spillover. Below is a table consisting of the three categories of words this study found in each autobiography (see Table Two).

Table Two: Keywords

Work		Family		Spillover	
Schedule	Co-Workers	Schedule	Daughter	Stress	Struggle
Hours	Responsibilities	Family Time	Kids	Abuse	Sad
Work Time	Work	Life	Children	Fatigue	Upset
Workplace	Job	Home	Parent	Conflict	Stress
Overtime	Tasks	Personal	Mother	Anger	Overworked
Demands	Pressure	Husband	Father	Intersection	Unhappy
Workload	Stress	Wife	Chores	Domestic Violence	Upset
Professional	Kitchen	Spouse	Responsibilities	Depression	Enjoyment
Environment	Cooking	Household	Caregiving	Expectation	Balance
Chef	Demands	Work	Sister	Interaction	Imbalance
Line	Holidays	Divorce	Brother	Cope	
Fired	Weekends	Children	Relationship	Anxiety	
Obligation	Employer	Son	Engaged	Guilt	
Employee	Income	Partner	Involvement	Tension	
		Housework	Toddler	Discord	
		Holidays	Domestic	Dissatisfaction	
		Weekends	Demands	Disagreement	
		Love	Married	Instability	
		Baby	Teen	Argument	
		Adolescent	School-age	Supportiveness	
		Childhood	Bedroom	Feelings	
		Recreation	Tasks	Mood	
		Social Life	Leisure	Joy	

	Obligation	Sleep	Satisfaction
	Romance	Patriarch	Discourse
	Companionship	Matriarch	Fighting
	Childcare	Birth	Despair
	Socializing		Hopeless

It is important to note that some words appear in multiple categories, i.e. “time”; therefore this study relied on surrounding words to separate things like “work time” from “family time”. Each book was then given its own coding sheet with keywords to look for in the first row and space for the quote containing the keyword as well as the page number in the second and third rows. Each of the keywords this study planned on searching for appeared at least once. This made tracking authors and page numbers very important. An abbreviated example of the sheet for Gordon Ramsay’s text is below (see Table Three).

Table Three: Coding Example
Gordon Ramsay, *Roasting in Hell’s Kitchen*

Key Word	Quote	Page
Children	“This has always been a male dominated profession, and the hours don’t exactly fit in with having children ”	193
Daughter	“So that’s why I do one school run a term, and only one, no matter how much Megan likes it when I show up”	243
Work Time	“I’d created this phenomenal restaurant, and I’d nearly killed myself doing it, worked at the stove for sixteen hours a day minimum ”	151
Birth / Children	“I’ve never been present at the births of any of my children and, as just about everyone in Britain now knows, neither have I ever changed a nappy”	247

Before the next stage of coding these sheets were examined to identify any patterns in specific keywords to support the inclusion or exclusion of certain terms. The second pass then focused on the themes surrounding each keyword in order to identify how chefs are talking about work-family spillover. During this phase, passages containing specific keywords were

highlighted in the text itself with various colors. The second stages of coding involved more than one pass through the books. This will help to insure each theme is properly identified. The intention is that these themes would start to overlap with one another by the end of this stage. This process led to the development of tentative conclusions regarding how each chef as an individual, and how the memoirs, as a group, discussed work-family spillover. These conclusions were then supported or denied based on a final pass through each memoir looking specifically for information dealing with these conclusions. In the end this research attempted to demonstrate how the chefs in this sample talk about work-family spillover.

Results

The following section will offer a brief summary of each memoir in this study and then discuss the types of data found following an in-depth analysis of each. After numerous passes through each memoir, research began to show the repetition of certain themes. Specifically I found twenty-six themes appearing at least once in each memoir; these were narrowed down to the most prominent themes in later rounds of analysis. Of the themes occurring most in the chefs' writings one was particularly salient; authors sharing their experiences with negative work-family spillover. Therefore, I use the rest of this thesis to concentrate on this multifaceted theme. Similar to the way patterns emerged across the memoirs in general, patterns also emerged in the way these authors discuss negative work-family spillover. The six themes I found are categorized in two ways. The first category contains examples of each author making the argument that their occupation does not allow them time for their families. Of the six themes found, four of them fit this categorization. The first of these themes discusses the effects of the kitchens themselves, two relate to the time chefs spend at work, and the fourth demonstrates this occupation being placed ahead of family. The second category established the actual

consequences negative work-family spillover has on chefs' families. This category includes themes such as the intrusion of work in family and relationship dissolution. Once introduced, each of the themes in each of these categories will be accompanied by an example from each author, as well as, an in-depth discussion of each excerpt. These passages will be presented in order of their publication to demonstrate the persistence of these themes.

Summary of Autobiographies

Looking at the food memoirs individually, each brings unique information to this study. Anthony Bourdain's text is one of the first food memoirs published. Most credit the success of *Kitchen Confidential* to its writing style. Bourdain uses a very matter-of-fact tone which captures the spirit of a restaurant kitchen perfectly. This writing style is important because in it helps convey meaning very well. This autobiography starts at the beginning of Bourdain's life, with his own family. From his early years Bourdain discusses how he made his way down the path to becoming a chef. At times months or years pass in only pages, but for the most part Bourdain gives exhaustive accounts of his day-to-day as a chef working his way up the latter. Bourdain discusses, in great detail, the physical and mental toll this occupation has on a person through long hours and back breaking labor. Many believe another reason this text became so popular is how accurately many chefs feel Bourdain's descriptions are. This book also explores how Bourdain deals with his work when it started to interfere with his personal life. For these reasons, popularity and depth of content, this food memoir serves as an excellent subject for this study.

In 2006 Gordon Ramsay published his tenth book and first autobiography. *Roasting in Hell's Kitchen* gives readers an inside look at Ramsay's personal life from an early age. Ramsay discusses in great detail, what his childhood was like growing up with an abusive father. As Ramsay discusses his family life growing up, he connects his experiences to how he handles his

own responsibilities as a parent. The book continues to talk about Ramsay's experiences with soccer and how he ultimately became a chef. Throughout Ramsay does an excellent job describing his experiences training in various kitchens as he rose to prominence. Many of the descriptions Ramsay shares of his experiences in the kitchen reflect the job characteristics linked to work-family spillover. Ramsay's autobiography even intersects another chosen for this project when he details his time spent with Marco Pierre White. A thorough analysis of Ramsay's text provides a wealth of information regarding the intersection of a chef's personal and professional world thus making it an excellent addition to this sample

Marco Pierre White teams up with James Steen in 2007 to put his life onto the pages of *The Devil in the Kitchen*. White starts his journey towards becoming a chef around the same time as Bourdain and Ramsay though his biography is published later than theirs. White's memoir outlines the story of his family growing up and how he got into cooking in the first place. Unique to White's story this chef had to deal with the death of his mother at an early age which he discusses in great detail. Beyond his family growing up, White spends a great deal of time discussing experiences in his kitchen. White details long hours, hard labor, and elevated levels of stress at work, all job traits linked to work-family spillover. As a result of his mother's death, White's personal and professional worlds become entangled with one another, this makes using his text in this sample an easy decision.

Jason Sheehan's food memoir, published in 2009, is one of the more recent included in this study. *Cooking Dirty* offers readers a look at a chef's experiences which is different from the other memoirs in this study. Unlike Ramsay, Bourdain, White, and Achatz, Sheehan is not, nor was he ever, a famous chef. The restaurants in which Sheehan spends his culinary career are a far cry from the two and three star establishments that most of the other chefs in this study work.

This makes the experiences Sheehan shares with his readers different from the other authors. When we first meet Sheehan he is already working in a kitchen, which leaves little room for discussion of how he got there, i.e. his family growing up. This does, however, increase the number of pages this text spends talking about the author's experiences in the kitchen. One thing this food memoir does share with the other authors is its use of strong language, similar to Bourdain's. In the end, Sheehan provides this study with another unique understanding of chefs.

The most recently published autobiography in this sample is Grant Achatz's *Life on the Line*. Published in 2011 the memoir is was only a few months old at the time of sample selection. Achatz's memoir starts at a young age, like Ramsay's, and in a kitchen like, Sheehan. During his childhood Achatz's family owned a series restaurants; thus he was exposed to, and excited by, cooking at a very early age. Like the other memoirs in this sample, Achatz discusses his experiences with job traits known to relate to work-family spillover as the book progresses. Achatz's autobiography also details his battles with cancer; which caused him to lose a great deal of his tongue and all of his taste sensation. Despite this Achatz continued his raise in the ranks of the kitchen world and today still owns one the top restaurants in the U.S. The style in which this memoir is written differs from some of the rest in that it is more professional. Unlike Bourdain and Sheehan before him Achatz does not rely on strong language to convey the tone in his voice, rather he writes with a more advanced diction. Through his work, Achatz gives this sample with another chef who deals with great personal tragedy in their lifetime – therefore adding more depth to the understanding of the concept of work-family spillover.

Occupation Dominating Chef's Time

Negative Effects of Physical Work Environment

In the first category of themes relating to negative work-family spillover I found examples of the authors arguing this occupation does not allow them the proper amount of time to spend with their families. The first theme to fit this categorization deals with the physical space chefs work in. Each author presents multiple examples of the extreme conditions in which they work for their readers. These extreme conditions take away from the amount of time a chef can spend with his or her family in a unique way. For example, Early in his career Bourdain worked in one, particularly harsh kitchen

What the cooks had to contend with, then, was a long, uninterrupted slot, with no air circulation, with nearly unbearable dry, radiant heat on one side and clouds of wet steam heat on the other...cooks would regularly pass out on the line and have to be dragged off to recuperate, a commis taking over the station until the stricken chef de partie recovered (p.106)

This passage demonstrates how kitchens can actually cause physical harm to the individuals who work in them. This physical harm, in turn, keeps these chefs away from their families for possibly extended periods of time. Though Bourdain is only describing one kitchen, he paints the picture of an “unbearable dry, radiant heat” which leads to employees “regularly pass[ing] out on the line” (Bourdain, 2000, p.106). Once injured the employee in this example is “dragged off to recuperate” at work, not sent home, thus increasing the amount of time spent at work, not with family. Ramsay also describes work conditions in his text.

The kitchen was in a kind of corridor. Once you were installed there, you simply didn't move for the next five hours, and it was like the fucking SAS. (p.104)

Ramsay's description of his kitchen is very similar to the “long uninterrupted slot” Bourdain just mentioned. In the case of Ramsay, however, instead of passing out the employees where he

worked simply “didn’t move for...five hours” (Ramsay, 2006, p.104). This immobilization is later used in Ramsay’s memoir to explain physical injuries for which he required medical assistance. Similar to the passed out employee in Bourdain’s kitchen this injury kept Ramsay from family while being treated. White says almost the same thing as Ramsay when he writes in his memoir.

The kitchen was cramped and our work surface was a big table in the middle. Like sardines in a tin, we had to fight for space (p.70)

Once again I found another chef complaining about his work environment and once again he would later attribute physical injury to these conditions. As I continued analyzing these memoirs it became clear the kitchens in which these authors work are dangerous and often cause them physical harm. These then in turn kept them from their families.

Physical injuries are not the only harm a restaurant kitchen can cause employees. Jason Sheehan speaks more toward the way that a chef’s work environment can alter their mental well-being in his text.

We’d seen promising careers end, known guys who’d just flat lost their shit one night and never recovered. It was the pressure that did it. The grind: same menu, night after night after night. It was the proximity - four or six or ten men jammed into a space often not much larger than a prison cell, baking in the heat, listening to the incessant clacking of the ticket printer. It was the difficult conditions, the crazy requests from owners, from customers, from your absentee, cokehead exec phoning it into the kitchen from the golf course, changing the menu at four forty-five on a Friday night, and the hundred small frustrations a day (p.160)

Sheehan does not put things delicately when he tells his readers that he has “known guys who’d just flat lost their shit” (Sheehan, 2009, p.160). To put it a little more gently Sheehan is implying he has witnessed chefs simply collapse mentally or experienced some sort of break from reality. Though Sheehan does admit some of the blame for this rests with the pressure and repetition

associated with this occupation, he also claims a chef's work environment shares that blame. Sheehan says the cramped quarters, the extreme heat, and the constant racket of any kitchen is enough to make anyone mentally unstable. The mental collapse these chefs experience then keeps these chefs away from their families in a different way than physical injuries. Though chefs experiencing mental instability may be able to return to their families, they are not actually with them as they are no longer fully productive family members. Grant Achatz continues to discuss how the environment in which chefs spend their day can affect their mental well-being.

...you have to understand; the kitchen is where I live. I spend sixteen hours a day there, sometimes more. I want it to be spacious and to be well lit, ideally with daylight. It has to be well cooled, too. Commercial kitchens are too hot and people and the food will suffer because of it. I want this kitchen to be cool. Our cooks will be happier. I will be happier. No basement kitchen (p.201)

By describing what he feels is an ideal kitchen; spacious, well-lit, etc..., Achatz is implying that the kitchens he has worked in are the opposite. Achatz addresses this by saying things like "commercial kitchens are too hot" (Achatz, 2011, p.201). These are conditions which Achatz says negatively impact a chef's mental state thus making him or her unhappy. Just like Sheehan, Achatz does not continue on to explicitly state that unhappy chefs lose time with their families, but previous research (Bolger et al, 1989; Ambert, 1989; Hughes et al, 1992) shows spouses who are unhappy at work are often withdrawn and unhappy at home. Therefore, even though the unhappy employee might physically be in the same room as their family, they are not necessarily mentally with them. Just like the physical injuries discussed previously, continued analysis of these memoirs yielded additional examples of how the space in which chef's work can cause employees mental harm. Though they are not always easy to see, these mental injuries keep chefs from being with their families. Regardless the nature of the injury, mental or physical,

these memoirs demonstrated the harm caused by the chefs' work environment kept them away from their families.

Negative Effects of Work Day

Though not unique to this particular occupation, a chef is often expected to work during parts of the day, and week, which are considered non-work hours. Being asked to work during this time of day creates an imbalance in the amount of time a chef can actually spend with his or her family. In an attempt to open the kitchen doors and allow the general public to gain a more complete understanding of the details of working as a chef Bourdain explains what time of day most people in this occupation work.

Never having had a Friday or Saturday night off, always working holidays, being busiest when the rest of the world is just getting out of work, makes for a sometimes peculiar worldview, which I hope my fellow chefs and cooks will recognize (p.4)

If a traditional work schedule is loosely defined as working from 9:00 AM until 5:00 PM, Monday through Friday, then what Bourdain describes here is very untraditional. For Bourdain part of working as a chef is understanding you will never have a Friday or Saturday night away from work as well as being expected to work holidays. Both of these expectations already place a chef's hours outside the realm of traditional employment, but Bourdain goes on to say that chefs are often most busy when the average employee "is just getting out of work" (Bourdain, 2000, p.4). Working such abnormal shifts leaves chefs with little, or no, actual time to spend with their families. Beyond that though, Bourdain says that working these hours gives a chef a "particular world view", something that clashes with family members who do not share or understand it (Bourdain, 2000, p.4). So even if a chef is at home with his family, he or she may not be able to communicate effectively with their family.

Unlike Bourdain, who paints in broad strokes, Ramsay gives his readers far more detail going so far as to tell them exactly when he clocks in for work and when he clocks out.

Problem solved. I did the early shift at Braganza from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m., and then got the tube to Victoria, and the train from there to Wandsworth Common, where I'd work at Harvey's until about two o'clock the following morning. I kept this up for the whole month. I had no choice (p.75-6)

This passage comes from a point in Ramsay's life when he is transitioning from one restaurant to another. As a result Ramsay is asked to work a rather extreme split shift. Ramsay must work from 7:00 AM until 4:00 PM at location one and then after a train ride he is expected to work until 2:00 AM at location number two. That means that the only time of day which Ramsay is not expected to be at work is from 2:00 AM until 7:00 AM. Ramsay admits to spending most of these five hours sleeping, therefore it is impossible to visualize him being able to spend any sort of quality time with family on days he has to work. Ramsay does end this passage by saying he was only asked to work these hours for a month. In his memoir White shares a story, with his readers, which is almost identical to that of Ramsay's.

That pace continued throughout the day. I was in the restaurant from nine in the morning until two the following morning, and then back home for three or four hours sleep. It was absolutely relentless. Rumors circulated that I was a coke fiend - understandable, I suppose, when you consider the whirlwind that engulfed me (p.149)

There are two differences between what White says here and what Ramsay said previously. The first is that White's day starts at 9:00 AM, whereas Ramsay's started at 7:00 AM. This is only a small difference in the time these two chefs spend at work because they both report leaving work at 2:00 AM. Ultimately, White has only seven hours outside of work to take care of all non-work related activities. Therefore, White is forced to prioritize what he is able to do with his limited time. Unfortunately for White's family, the chef chooses to take care of some very basic human needs instead of spending time with them. As shown in the above passage, as well as the

surrounding text, White decides to go “back home for three or four hours sleep” (White, 2007, p.149). If White is sleeping it is safe to assume he isn’t spending time with his family. This clearly demonstrates White being unable to spend time with his family because of the time he is expected to be at work. This also shows a chef moving his family even farther down their list of priorities, behind their job and even sleep. It is also worth noting that Ramsay admits he only works extreme hours for a month. White worked them on a more permanent basis. By asserting that he was actually expected to work this specific shift regularly White is demonstrating odd hours may be an industrial standard. Sheehan shows support for this argument when he demonstrates his experiences with the industrial expectations of working unconventional hours.

Since restaurant people work while the rest of the world relaxes, cooks tend to invent their own holidays, generally focused around any time or place where two or more have gathered with a bottle between them (p.227)

This excerpt demonstrates that chefs are forced to “invent...holidays” as a result of when they work (Sheehan, 2009, p.227). As a result of being expected to work “while the rest of the world relaxes” Sheehan is asserting that chefs have to redefine what they understand a holiday to be (Sheehan, 2009, p.227). Traditionally understood as time to spend with family, these particular holidays involve co-workers, not family members, and some kind of alcohol. This is clearly a demonstration of a chef’s occupation keeping him or her from their family. Another interesting thing to note from both the Bourdain passage and this Sheehan excerpt is that they both separate chefs from “the rest of the world” (Sheehan, 2009, p.227). Finally, in his text, Achatz follows the pattern of Ramsay and White, discussing the exact hours of the day chefs are asked to work.

The team worked six days a week from ten in the morning until midnight. I was the first one in and the last one to leave every day (p.141)

Achatz has a slightly different situation than Ramsay and White. Instead of 7:00 AM or 9:00 AM in the morning, Achatz doesn't clock-in until 10:00 AM and he can go home at midnight. This gives Achatz slightly more time to spend with his family. Another difference between Achatz and the previous excerpts is that he lumps all of his co-workers in his same situation. Achatz refers to an entire team who is working with him. Bourdain and Sheehan had inferred other chefs may be asked to work these hours, but Achatz is the first to provide a firsthand account of this fact. By including his "team" in his discussion Achatz is showing that the head chefs are not the only ones expected to work traditionally nonwork hours which keep them from their family (Achatz, 2011, p.141). Given the limited sample size of this study it is hard to say that all chefs work strange hours, but at the very least, it seems to be a common expectation for the chefs in this study. Working these hours meaning these chefs have very little quality time to spend with their families.

Negative Effects of Hours Worked

Flowing from the expectation previously discussed that chefs work odd hours comes the industrial standard that chef works a tremendous amount of hours every week as well. In this section we will explore how the sheer number of hours keeps these authors from interacting with their families. In a warning to individuals hoping to become chefs some day, Bourdain details how they should expect their lives to change.

If you've been working in another line of business, have been accustomed to working eight- to nine-hour days, weekends and evenings off, holidays with the family, regular sex with your significant other; if you are used to being treated with some modicum of dignity, spoken to and interacted with as a human being, seen as an equal - a sensitive, multidimensional entity with hopes, dreams, aspirations and opinions, the sort of qualities you'd expect of most working persons - then maybe you should reconsider what you'll be facing when you graduate from whatever six-month course put this nonsense in your head to start with (p.288-9)

In the first few lines we find Bourdain talking about what is traditionally understood as a normal occupational schedule. He only does this, however, to illustrate for future chefs that they should expect the opposite. Focusing exclusively on the parts of this passage which reference how long chefs actually work Bourdain says most chefs will be working evenings, weekends, and holidays. Bourdain chooses to emphasize these are times other employees may expect to have “off” or spend “with the family” (Bourdain, 2000, p.288). Working as a chef, however, will take these times away from you according to Bourdain. Bourdain presents two examples of times when chefs are kept family in this passage alone. He argues chefs miss out on holidays with family and have to terminate “regular sex with your significant other” (Bourdain, 2000, p.288). These are very different and somewhat extreme examples but both are a result of the number of hours Bourdain is asked to be at work.

While discussing the number of hours he is often asked to work in a day, or over the course of a week, Ramsay states.

You could be working twenty hours on the trot. So what? That's the way it goes. I remember when we were at Harvey's. Sunday nights, having worked a seventy-, eighty-, ninety-hour week, we'd go to the Rock Garden in Covent Garden, see a band, have a burger. We'd leave at one or two in the morning, and we'd get a cab straight to Wandsworth, where we'd sleep on the restaurant banquettes and use a tablecloth as a sheet knowing full well that there was no way any of us was going to be late Monday morning (p.186)

In the first sentence alone we see Ramsay confessing to working a twenty hour long shift in a restaurant. A shift this long leaves Ramsay four hours to engage in nonwork related activities on that day. Even if every one of those hours was spent being a productive family member, there is a clear imbalance between work time and family time in Ramsay's life. Considering this is only one day, though, it is possible to label this as an extreme outlier. The remainder of the passage serves as a demonstration that twenty hour shifts are actually fairly common for Ramsay. Instead

of being upset with so many work hours in one day Ramsay (2006, p. 186) says “So what? That’s the way it goes” as if to imply these long days happen all the time. In fact, Ramsay demonstrates just how often these twenty hour days happen in the very next line, when he acknowledges having “worked a seventy-, eighty-, ninety-hour week” (Ramsay, 2006, p. 186). Operating under the assumption an average employee might be expected to work forty hours a week, Ramsay arguing he often works twice that much. Just as a twenty hour day leaves this chef with no time for his family, so too does an eighty hour week keep him from doing the same. Though his hours may not be as numerous as Ramsay’s, White also spends more time at work than at home.

Even after a seventeen-hour day at Harveys, I didn't particularly want to go home and sleep, I was both an early bird and night owl (p.152)

This is a very short excerpt from White but it provides a wealth of information. First, this quote introduces the idea of a “seventeen-hour day” (White, 2007, p.152). Working all these hours has led White to develop a preference for staying up late and waking up early, a side effect of the amount and type of hours that chefs work. White admits that he is so used to working all these hours that he simply doesn’t “...want to go home...” (White, 2007, p.152). This once again shows a chef unable to spend time with his family as a result of the hours they have to work.

Sheehan also shares how many hours his employer often asked him to spend in the kitchen.

I worked eighteen-hour days and hundred-hour weeks; slept on the flour sacks in restaurant basements when I slept at all; got stoned with my crews on the dock when the shift was done, drank like a fish, blew needle-thin rails of cheap (read someone else's) coke off the stainless steel prep tables in the baker's station, and generally behaved like some kind of two-bit, small-town rock star with powerful delusions of grandeur...(p.156)

Continuing the trend of chefs who spend more time at work than with their family, Sheehan admits to working eighteen hour days and one hundred hour weeks. This only leaves Sheehan six hours a day, or forty hours a week, to spend with his family. This demonstrates a clear imbalance in the amount of time Sheehan is involved with each of these roles. After detailing the number of hours he spends at work Sheehan also details what he does with the time he is not at work. Instead of spending quality time with his family, Sheehan engages in any number of illegal activities when his shift ends. This behavior causes Sheehan to do things like sleep “on the flour sacks in the restaurant basement” instead of at home. Even though Sheehan is free to make this decision of his own accord, the amount of time he has already spent at work leaves him limited options. Achatz reinforces the amount of strain that comes from the number of hours worked:

Three hours later, alone in the downstairs dining room, I put my head down on the table for a second to rest. I was beat. I was already almost seventeen hours into that day and more than seventy hours into the week. And it was only day four (p.292)

Just like all the subjects discussed previously, this chef’s comments demonstrates the imbalance between the amount of time a chef spends at work and the potential amount of time they can spend at home. In addition, the way in which these chefs talk about their hours and their choices for behavior in non-work hours also demonstrates the physical and mental exhaustion that working all these hours can create. As Achatz sits alone, almost in surrender, with his head down he becomes a symbol of all the chefs in this study who dedicate more of their lives to their jobs than to their families or their personal wellbeing.

A Chef’s Job Dictates Work Over Family

The choice between work and home is never easy, but it’s a decision employees confront daily. When it comes to restaurant work employees choose to put their occupation first.

Throughout this study the authors involved share multiple stories of times they themselves made this decision. In fact, this happens so frequently that some chefs admit that anyone who chooses family before work cannot be successful in this field. Bourdain is the first of the chefs to provide an example of work topping his list of priorities. Expanding on the passage from another section, Bourdain had this to say when his boss refused to allow him to leave work. “I worked the double, figuring maybe this was required: total dedication. Forget loved ones” (Bourdain, 2000, p.117). This serves not only as a demonstration of a chef choosing his occupation over his family, but also as an example of this decision becoming an expectation associated with this type of employment. In terms of an individual chef putting work first, Bourdain clearly states that he “worked the double” (Bourdain, 2000, p.117). This keeps him from spending time with his family because he made the decision to stay at work rather than return home. Expanding this to an expectation of this occupation Bourdain also admits he assumes this choice is what the job required, “total dedication, forget loved ones” (Bourdain, 2000, p.117). It is important to note that though it is not seen in this quote, this was one of the first kitchens Bourdain ever worked in. If Bourdain is already admitting he assumes kitchens require total dedication then it’s possible he will forever put his job ahead of his family as long as he is in this field.

Much like Bourdain, Ramsay also provides us with an example which not only shows an individual choosing work over family, but also demonstrates how employees expecting success in the kitchen should not expect success at home. One success comes at the cost of another.

That night, after service, I went home determined to get it over with straight away. I told her that I was under pressure, more hard up than ever, and that the whole idea of marriage was a bad one...the truth was I was finding it impossible to cook at the highest level and have a relationship (p.136)

As mentioned, Ramsay’s decision to put work first is shown in this passage in two ways. First, when Ramsay calls the idea of marriage a bad one. The reason Ramsay has this opinion is the

great deal of “pressure” he feels at work (Ramsay, 2006, p.136). By allowing stress that he is feeling at work lead him to the discussion that marriage is a bad idea Ramsay is allowing his occupation to keep him from his family. Expanding on that I found Ramsay admitting to the fact he found it “impossible to cook at the highest level and have a relationship” (Ramsay, 2006, p.136). Though this is only one chef making this statement, it hints at the same broader industrial expectation that Bourdain highlights. Those who are employed as chefs, in this study, must continually put their jobs ahead of their family. In his memoir, White reflects upon the very beginnings of his own family and discovers that he too prioritized his occupation ahead of his family, with detrimental consequences.

We hadn't had the time to build a proper foundation to our life and relationship. Before we knew what we were doing - less than two and a half years in the relationship - we were two young people with two kids. We didn't go off partying and having fun like most young people do. I just worked and worked and worked, and then slept when I had a day off. And Mati would pop into the restaurants. That was our existence. I didn't question it. I was so obsessed with my work, so tunnel-visioned, that nothing else played a part... (p.214-5)

Again this author is showing how they placed more importance on being a chef than on being a family member thus supporting the argument this is an industry standard. White admits that he and his partner had no time “to build a proper foundation to our life and relationship” (White, 2007, p.214). This is a negative consequence of White choosing to work instead of prioritizing his family. This is more than just one individual putting work first though. When White tells his readers that he “didn't question it” and that he was “tunnel-visioned”, in reference to his decision to put work first, he is showing how much a part of the industry that choice is (White, 2007, p.214). To say he chooses work over family, without questioning the decision, echoes the total dedication to the job that Bourdain mentioned previously. Sheehan bolsters this argument by foregoing his own prioritization of work over family and jumping right to how occupation

demands such a decision. These authors ultimately suggest that prioritizing and “rejecting straight and normal life” is part of their job description.

...it is also isolating, insulating, an outright and considered rejection of straight and normal life in favor of a few loud, uncertain hours of action: playing with knives and fire, shouting, hitting people, staying up late, reaching for excess and doing everything a proper grown-up isn't supposed to do (p.258)

In Sheehan's opinion, there are several things that define what it is to be a chef; here he chooses to focus on the fact that the job will always come first. Digging deeper into the surrounding text we find that the “straight and normal life” he refers to is just another way of saying settling down and building a family (Sheehan, 2009, p.258). By arguing that this industry expects its participants to reject this life Sheehan clearly shows another way this job keeps chefs from their families. Almost as if to really drive home his assertion that this industry requires chefs to choose work over family, Sheehan concludes this passage by saying chefs are often “doing everything a proper grown-up isn't supposed to do” (Sheehan, 2009, p.258). Even though he may not be giving examples of how the decision to place work ahead of family negatively impacted his own home, Sheehan is certainly helping support the argument that it is an industry standard to put work first.

Moving to the present, Achatz shows that even eleven years after Bourdain first implied it chefs must still put work first. Nothing has changed.

My whole life has been chasing this one goal. I have to invest everything I have into it. I have into it. I have dismissed relationships for it. I have sacrificed many aspects of what other people consider a normal life. I can't let that go. It's who I am. That is my identity, and if the surgeons rip that from me, then my spirit is done and I'm no good to anyone (p.331)

This passage is represents one chef's confession to a lifetime of sacrificing family for work. First, Achatz admits he has spent his entire life in the pursuit of only one goal, not successfully building a family, but becoming a successful chef. Continuing, he goes on to say he has given

everything he can to this dream, including relationships and a “normal life” (Sheehan, 2009, p.258). Here we see Achatz’s devotion to his occupation keeping Achatz his family by stopping him from even creating one in the first place. Finally in the ultimate show of work coming before family, Achatz admits that being a chef is what defines him, it is his identity. By identifying himself as a chef, and not a husband or father or anything related to family Achatz is putting to bed the idea that work-family role conflict could be resolved any different. From Bourdain to Achatz, through each of the above themes all the authors in this study have demonstrated that their occupation leaves chefs very little time to spend with their families.

Consequences of Negative Work-Family Spillover

Intrusion of Work into Family

Once these authors established that their occupation keeps them from their family, their focus shifts to the ways this job actually intrudes into their homes. The examples in this section are characterized by some aspect of the author’s work environment physically or mentally encroaching on a chef’s family. For the purposes of this study any mention of the author’s occupation being present in their home will be considered a data example. Bourdain gives us our first glimpse of how his job can show up at home, with negative consequences.

My wife, blessedly, has stayed with me through all of it, the late nights, the coming home drunk, my less than charming tendency not to pay any attention at all to her when mulling over prep lists and labor deployment and daily specials and food costs (p.301)

Bourdain is describing a time when he is home though failing to “pay attention” to his wife (Bourdain, 2000, p.301). His reasoning is he is too distracted “mulling over prep lists and labor deployment and daily specials and food costs” (Bourdain, 2000, p.301). Each of these distractions are associated with Bourdain’s career. This is a demonstration of Bourdain’s job

negatively occupying his attention during a time he should instead be paying attention to his wife. Thus the job has mentally encroached on Bourdain's family. Looking next at Ramsay, we find a rather serious example of work entering a chef's home. While trying to conceive their first child, Ramsay and his wife are blindsided by the following.

Tana had suffered from polycystic ovary syndrome, which can have an effect on fertility, and I had a low sperm count, the result of my balls being in front of all those hot ovens. That's a common problem for chefs, who endure all that heat seven days a week. The industry needs to develop some clever cool aprons to keep all those bollocks chilled during service. Seriously (p.245)

The focus of the first part of this passage is upsetting, but it is the second half which demonstrates Ramsay's occupation spilling into his family life. Here Ramsay becomes the only author, in this study, to explore the possibility of this occupation actually negatively impacting an individual's ability to reproduce. Ramsay discusses how the heat of the kitchen in which he works actually decreased his sperm count and made it more difficult to even create a family in the first place. Ramsay doesn't stop at saying he is the only chef to have this experience. In fact, he claims that this is a "common problem for chefs" (Ramsay, 2006, p.245). Almost all of the other authors in this study do make some reference to how hot kitchens can be, but Ramsay is the only one to demonstrate how this heat spills into his family life in a negative way. After Ramsay, White demonstrates a different way this occupation negatively injects itself into a chef's family life.

When the meal was finished, I had my own speech to deliver, which went, quite simply, "I've got to get back to work." I have no recollection of the bride being bothered about her groom vanishing, but that is precisely what I did. Bugged off, back to my kitchen. A honeymoon? What do you think? (p.122)

To provide the reader with some context this is a story describing White's first wedding ceremony. It was not a very large affair; in fact it was only attended by four people, including him and his wife. After the ceremony was complete the couple took their friends out for a simply

celebratory meal. This is where White's occupation negatively inserted itself into his family life. Here is a chef, newly married, and all he is thinking about is returning to work for fear of what might happen if he doesn't. White was not allowed to spend time with his new wife or go on a honeymoon; he was expected to return to work. This closely resembles the distraction that Bourdain discussed earlier. Continuing the mental invasion of the job into family life Jason Sheehan shares with his readers his experiences demonstrating this spillover.

For the past couple weeks, I'd been dreaming about work every day while I slept. Nothing weird, just work. I would do my time on the line, come home, crawl into bed, close my eyes, then do another full dream-shift in my sleep, waking tired and sore a few hours later to go and do it again for real (p.132)

Similar to the "mulling over" that Bourdain detailed earlier the key difference here is that Sheehan is dreaming, not actively ignoring his wife to focus on work (Bourdain, 2000, p.301). Sheehan argues that this "dream shift" leaves him feeling both "tired and sore" (Sheehan, 2009, p.132). Other authors in this study share similar experiences, but the excerpt from Sheehan best demonstrated how this occupation can both mentally and physically exhaust a person. It is this exhaustion which then follows the employee home and impacts their family in a negative way. In the penultimate example of work intruding into a chef's family life Grant Achatz shares the following story;

We looked for a professional kitchen that we could rent three or four days a week to serve as a place to test ideas and dishes, but were unable to find anything suitable. We ended up using Nick's home kitchen. This was not an ideal situation for me or for his family, but it was all we could find (p.232)

While attempting to create a menu for his new restaurant Achatz needed a kitchen to test his recipes in. After failing to find any sort of professional kitchen he decided to set up shop in a co-workers home. This created a situation, in which the chef's occupation, literally every aspect of it, brought itself into his home. By changing a co-worker's home kitchen into a professional

space Achatz has created a situation which he describes as "...not ideal...for me or for his family..." (Achatz, 2011, p.232). Unlike some of the previous examples, Achatz's experiences are unique to only his memoir and not found within any of the other texts in this study. As presented above the intrusion of work into a chef's family life can take many forms. Specifically, ruined honeymoons, infertility, or literally taking over employee's homes. These intrusions are all extremely tangible within these chef's families and therefore should not be ignored.

Relationship Dissolution

In the second and final show of this occupation entering into chefs' family life, these chefs talk about how this job causes relationship dissolution. For the purposes of this study relationship dissolution is defined as the termination of any intimate relationship. Each of the memoirs is full of stories about relationships ending. The reason these stories have become a theme in this study is that in every one the author's occupation is the catalyst for relationship dissolution. Bourdain first mentions this topic in a unique way. Instead of talking about his own break-up he tells the story of how his boss's marriage came to an end.

"Look at me," said my boss, as if the nice suit and the haircut and the desk explained everything." I am married ten years to my wife." He smiled. "I work all the time. I never see her...she never sees me." He paused now to show me some teeth, his eyes growing more penetrating and a little scary. "We are very happy."... Years later, I got another perspective on things. I opened the Post to see a photo of my boss's wife, draped over the awning of a Chinese restaurant on the Upper East Side. She'd apparently performed a double-gainer from the window of her high-rise apartment and not quite made it to the pavement. So I guess she wasn't that happy after all (p.117-8)

This excerpt ends with Bourdain's idea of relationship dissolution, his boss's wife "draped over the awning of a Chinese restaurant" (Bourdain, 2000, p.118). Of course this is an extreme example, but it is an example nonetheless. Though the dissolution may be easy to spot, the blame being placed on the boss's occupation is not. In fact the only mention of his job comes when he says he "work[s] all the time" (Bourdain, 2000, p.117). This is where the context of the quote is

important. Bourdain begins this story recalling a time he pleaded with his boss for some time away from the kitchen. He claimed that being over worked was prohibiting him from having a healthy relationship with his girlfriend. Bourdain's boss scoffs at this request and counters by saying he and his wife are still happily married after enduring the same conditions for the past ten years. Therefore, this story basically consists of two co-workers arguing whether or not their occupation is negatively spilling into their relationships. In the end, what happens to the boss's wife serves as proof that the job is in fact negatively spilling into his family.

Unlike Bourdain, the rest of the chefs in this study share with their readers tales of their own relationships ending. Six years after Bourdain made this argument, Gordon Ramsay explains how his occupation ended his first engagement.

Our 'engagement' lasted all of six months. The pressure I was under at the time was fucking extraordinary. Madness at work, and then a date set for a wedding. It was so claustrophobic. I was working myself half to death during the week and then, on Sunday, I'd be practically comatose. I didn't want to get up and go shopping and this, that and the other. Was I selfish? Yes, I was fucking selfish (p.135)

From the beginning of this quote Ramsay is blaming things like "madness at work" and pressure from his job for ending his engagement (Ramsay, 2006, p.135). Similar to Bourdain's passage, he even says being overworked has led him to withdraw from certain family associated activities. A prime example of this is the "shopping and this, that, and the other" that Ramsay makes reference to at the end of this excerpt (Ramsay, 2006, p.135). To be more specific Ramsay is talking about not having enough energy to help plan his own wedding. The passage included here may only detail the actual end of Ramsay's engagement but, throughout the surrounding text, Ramsay provides his readers with other examples of how his occupation ended his relationship. One year later, White is putting his life into words when he shares the story of what brought his first marriage to an end.

It was never going to last with Alex, and a couple of years after marrying, we were divorced. Two people need to have the same dream. Mine was winning three Michelin stars, and that ambition came before everything else in my life. Alex's dream...well, I don't quite know what her dream was (p.133)

White's relationship actually progressed beyond an engagement, but the end result is the same as the chefs before him. For White, relationship dissolution comes in the form of a divorce after two years of marriage. Looking back on this White realizes his marriage was destined to fail because he and his wife never shared a common goal. In White's eyes nothing was more important than winning three Michelin stars, not even having a successful marriage. This shows yet another situation in which a chef is admitting his occupation is more important than his family life. This is a decision which leads to his marriage ending. Sheehan also shows chefs still blaming their occupation for destroying their relationships. In fact, if Sheehan is to be believed, the divorce White explored earlier has become even more common place as time passed.

I was a chef. I'd learned from chefs. I was awful. I get that. You know what was the final thing I now had in common with all the rest of them? A divorce. Or at least as near to one as mattered (p.219)

After spending years with a fairly serious girlfriend, Sheehan admits to his readers that the grind of his occupation has finally pushed his relationship to the breaking point. Though Sheehan is not ending a marriage or engagement he does admit this particular break up felt just as serious as a divorce. Sheehan does blame the fact that "I was a chef" for ending his relationship, but he also makes a far more serious assertion regarding his job (Sheehan, 2009, p.219). This author actually implies that one of the shared experiences of being a chef is divorce. In three lines, Sheehan not only adds support to the argument that this occupation is to blame for relationship dissolution,

but he also infers that all chefs can expect the same. Two years later Achatz does little to dispute this claim.

Three weeks after returning from Napa, while monotonously trimming a hundred branches of rosemary for a version of the center-piece that would adorn the table and ultimately become an aromatic component to lamb course, my mind began to wander. It became very clear that in order to have the best possible relationship with my two sons I would need to leave the very house they lived in. It seemed counterintuitive, but right in that moment it was undeniably clear. Two days later I moved out, and six months later, we were officially divorced (p.279)

This passage begins with Achatz describing just another day at work; it ends, however, with him getting a divorce. Without examining the text surrounding this excerpt it is a little difficult to see Achatz blaming this divorce on his occupation. Prior to this passage Achatz shares with his readers a revelation he came to during his bachelor party the day before his wedding.

My working time and my dreams were of restaurants and food and my career. And now I was getting married to someone I did not know well enough and who I did not honestly know (p.278)

This is similar to the passage explored from Sheehan where he demonstrated his occupation ending his relationship. Here Achatz is doing more than just showing his job is to blame for his marriage ending, he is saying it is the reason he entered into and ultimately ended a marriage with someone he didn't know in the first place. Side by side with the text surrounding it, the previous passage from Achatz becomes a clear demonstration of this author blaming his occupation with his divorce. From Bourdain to Achatz, all of the authors in this study share stories of heartbreak and relationship dissolution. Though each goes about it in their own way they all use this experience to show how this occupation can negatively spill into their family life.

After examining the food memoirs within this study I have identified six major themes which these authors use to discuss negative work-family spillover. These six themes can be divided into two different categories. The first category deals with chefs talking about how their occupation keeps them from spending time with their families. Within this category I found examples from chefs which showed how the physical environment in which they worked kept them from being with their families. I also discovered that the sheer number of hours these chefs work, as well as, when they work keeps these employees away from home. In a final example of this category, I found as well that this occupation demands that those it employees continually place their families lower in their line of priorities than work. After demonstrating how this job keeps chefs away from their families my research switched its focus to how this job actually shows up in the author's family life. Inside this category I unearthed two themes. The first talked about how this job literally shows up at these chefs' homes uninvited. While the second theme demonstrated how working as a chef may ultimately led to relationship dissolution. Through these six themes, organized into two groups, the authors in this study have demonstrated, with surprising frequently, that they are experiencing increased amounts of negative work-family spillover in unique ways.

Discussion and Conclusions

The study of work family spillover is an ever-expanding body of knowledge; therefore researchers must continue to examine this topic from new angles. Building on concepts from role theory and role conflict theory this thesis has identified and explored such an angle. To date researchers, who have discussed work-family spillover, have chosen to explore only a few occupations interact with this social phenomenon however. In order to expand the discipline's understanding of work-family spillover I have studied the complex world of chefs to determine

how they encounter these conflicting roles. At the same time this study explores the realm of chefs it also encourages future research on the topic.

After I found the chefs in this study drawing meaning from the world around them I realized they were participating in common social roles. Repeatedly these authors acknowledged identifying themselves as a family member, friend, or employee. By establishing the subjects in this study freely admit to being involved with various roles I was able to explore how these roles interact with one another. Similar to the rest of society, these authors often attempt to occupy too many roles at once. This leads to the role conflict at the center of this thesis, work-family spillover.

Having established the chefs in this study were in fact encountering work-family spillover I set about discovering how they discussed it. Using the definition of positive and negative work-family spillover developed at the beginning of this thesis, I have shown that chefs encounter the former far more frequently than the latter. The feelings of being “frustrated, depressed, or ineffective” which Rodgers and May (2003, p.482) discussed in their research as side-effects of negative work-family spillover are repeated numerous times in the food memoirs in this study. In the discussion of negative work-family spillover within this study there are two categories of excerpts I found in this data. The first grouping shows how chefs feel that this occupation does not allow them to spend time with their families. The excerpts in this category use the physical space chefs work in, the time involved with the job, and the fact that chefs are expected to always put their job ahead of their families to show the limited time they have at home. After demonstrating this, the second grouping shows this occupation intrudes into chefs’ family lives. Within this category the authors demonstrated how on occasion this job literally shows up at their homes, as well as, how it can cause relationship dissolution.

Work-family spillover does not always have to be negative though. Several researchers in the past have shown how an individual's occupation can actually spill into their family life in a positive way. After a thorough examination of the food memoirs in this text, I have not found a single example of chefs experiencing positive work-family spillover. This is the reason that this study does not address positive work-family spillover among chefs. This could be a result of the nature of this employment (i.e. the number of hours spent at work). That, however, is beyond the scope of this study and therefore future research will be necessary to determine if chefs experience positive work-family spillover and if not why chefs experience negative work-family spillover at such a higher rate.

At the same time this study makes contributions to the discussion of negative work-family spillover it also demonstrated that even though autobiographies (or what I call "memoirs" at times) are a neglected source of data in sociological research today they have been proven useful for the study of this topic. Autobiographies add a depth and temporal understanding to work-family spillover previously obtained only through repetition of surveys and in-depth interviews over time. By demonstrating the usefulness of autobiographies the hope is that future researchers will be encouraged to use them as data sources as well. More than just autobiographies, which have been used before, this study pioneers the use of food memoirs as a primary source of data. Given the increased number of food memoirs published in the last fourteen years, researchers have neglected their sociological usefulness long enough. Therefore this study hopes to encourage future research to use food (and other) memoirs as a new data source. In the end how an individual experiences a social phenomenon such as work-family spillover is a result of many variables. The most important contribution this study makes is the

exploration of how one more of these variables, employment as a chef, impacts the experiences members of society have with work-family spillover.

The limitations of this study are not as numerous as the contributions, but certainly require mention here. The size of the sample as well as the methods used to create it denies any generalizations that may be made to the population of chefs by this study. Five popular, wealthy chefs cannot speak for eleven million chefs and this study would not have them attempt to do so. In the future researchers should expand the amount of subjects within their sample in order to have truly representative results. Along the same line of sample size is the actual subjects within the sample. As mentioned these are five well known, seemingly wealthy chefs. Therefore they can be considered extreme examples of employees in this field. Next the use of autobiographies as a source of data has been heavily scrutinized in the past. Understanding that the information pulled from the pages of these autobiographies may not always be one hundred percent historically accurate this study justifies the use of autobiographies on the basis of the increased amount of usable data within their pages versus a few untruths. Finally the use of content analysis as a research technique presents its own limitations. Any attempts to replicate this study by another researcher may not yield similar result due largely to codes and themes being interpreted differently by outside researchers. Therefore a high degree of validity is hard to achieve. Another limitation of this technique is that no matter how extensive the efforts of the researcher to remain neutral during research there is always a small degree of bias built into content analysis. Researchers using this technique often find more supportive data than unsupportive. This bias is combated by numerous passes through the texts and careful recording of data in several forms. These limitations may seem to be reason alone to discontinue this research, but the potential benefits of this study certainly outweigh the potential faults.

Acknowledging that this study has shortcomings opens the door for future research on this subject. To combat some of the limitations listed above future research should, first, involve a larger sample size. Involving more subjects would allow future researchers to generalize their findings to a larger population and generate more valid results. Second, the use of additional research methods may help researchers gain a more complete understanding of what negative work-family spillover looks like among chefs. In-depth interviews and surveys are excellent ways to reach a large number of people and the study of this subject matter would benefit greatly from the contributions of research techniques. Finally, operating under the assumption that future research will support the conclusions in this study; some attention should be given to ways to combat negative work-family spillover among chefs.

In the end this study set out to identify how chefs discussed their experiences with work family spillover. With that in mind I found that overwhelmingly the subjects in this sample felt they were experiencing negative work-family spillover in a variety of ways. The discussion of these encounters focused on two different categorizations of experts from the food memoirs. The first demonstrates how the structure of this occupation does not allow for employees to spend time with their families, while at the same time the second grouping demonstrates how this job intrudes into these chefs' families.

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ABSTRACT**RECIPE FOR DISASTER?
AN EXPLORATION OF WORK-FAMILY SPILLOVER CONVERSATIONS IN FOOD
MEMIORS**

by

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When our work identity changes our interactions within our family we experience work-family spillover. Recently sociologists have become increasingly intrigued by this role conflict and how it affects individuals. This spillover can affect individuals in either a negative or a positive way. Though this research shows the potential impact of work-family spillover there is very little discussing how specific occupations understand this conflict. My research focused on the occupation of chefs and explores their experiences with work-family spillover. After completing a qualitative content analysis of the autobiographies of five different chefs, this research has shed light on how these individuals discuss their experiences with work-family spillover. After identifying twenty-six individual themes, repeated in each memoir, I have found negative work-family spillover is the manner in which these chefs most commonly discuss this social phenomenon. Within this theme there are six different ways the subjects explained their encounters. In the first category of excerpts I found four unique ways that chefs showed their occupation does not allow them time to engage with their families. The second category of passages shows how this occupation intrudes into the employees' family. In the end, this study

improves researchers' comprehension of work-family spillover within the world of chefs while also giving support to future research on specific occupations and their experiences with work-family spillover.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

Richard Blair was born in Dallas, TX before moving to Rochester, NY in 1988. He grew up in Spencerport, NY eventually graduating from E.J Wilson High School in 2004. During his time in Spencerport, Richard was employed by a family owned restaurant. It was here he developed an appreciation for kitchen work. After completing high school Richard moved to Buffalo, NY to study architecture at the University of Buffalo. At the same time he sought employment at another family owned restaurant and his admiration of culinary arts flourished. During his second semester, while taking an urban planning class, Richard discovered sociology. Realizing this was his true calling he switched majors his sophomore year and began studying the subject in earnest. In the spring of 2008 Richard graduated cum laude with a bachelor's degree in sociology. Later that year Richard moved to Detroit, MI with his future wife and took a year to work in the kitchens at Wayne State University before entering the sociological graduate program at the same school. Years of studying sociology combined with his appreciation for the culinary arts means the subject matter of this thesis is near to Richard's heart. After completing this program Richard hopes use what he has learned to combat the side effects of negative work-family spillover.