Where "rules don't apply": Organizational isolation and misbehaviour in elite kitchens

ABSTRACT

In this article we elaborate on the connection between organizational isolation and misbehaviour. Drawing on 47 interviews with elite chefs we make a twofold contribution to the misbehaviour literature. **First**, we conceptualize misbehaviour amongst chefs as a potentiality engrained into the geography of the kitchens they work in. Drawing on Smith (1987), we call this a *geography of deviance*. Through this concept we show that misbehaviour can be inscribed into a place, through structures that create feelings of invisibility, alienation and detachment. **Second**, we make sense of chefs' misbehaviour by using Turner's theory of *normative communitas*. Via this framing misbehaviour is cast as a ritualized component of an anti-structural way of being, where the kitchen is simultaneously apprehended as an instrument of social withdrawal and a symbol of deviance around which the community pivots. Through these contributions we help to crystalise the relationship between organizational isolation and misbehaviour, particularly in the context of chefs and kitchens.

Keywords: Misbehaviour, isolation, space, communitas, normative communitas, chefs, kitchens

> *Kitchens have to be isolated so people within this world and this environment can act in a different way … The isolation of the kitchen means it runs very much on its own terms- chefs don't abide by conventional laws.* (Hugo, Chef Patron)

The scenario described by Hugo *above*, labelled 'misbehaviour' by Vardi and Wiener (1996), is a well-documented phenomenon (e.g. Griffin, O'Leary-Kelly, & Collins, 1998; Kotter, 1973; Rousseau, 1989). It is particularly common in relation to elite haute cuisine chefs, amongst whom

misbehaviour in the form of bullying, violence and aggression is reported to be widespread (Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Meloury & Signal, 2014).

Research into the drivers of misbehaviour amongst chefs highlights the role of militaristic cultures, hypermasculine values, extreme ideologies and the natural brutality of physical, stressful, fast-paced work (Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Cooper, Giousmpasoglou, & Marinakou, 2017; Giousmpasoglou, Marinakou, & Cooper, 2017; Meloury & Signal, 2014; Nilsson, 2013; Palmer, Cooper, & Burns, 2010). Research in this field also signals the importance of structures and processes that create interrelated feelings of separation, marginalization and isolation. However, they do so primarily in the context of employee turnover and burnout – the isolated 'quit' and move on to jobs in other, less demanding fields. Hugo's suggestion that isolation is somehow fundamental to chefs' misbehaviour has not been specifically addressed. Therefore in this article we ask the question: How does the geographical component of a working location – specifically, being isolated in space – influence the generation and reproduction of misbehaviour?

To address this question we draw on 47 interviews collected as part of a broader study of elite chefs' working lives. From these interviews we reveal how feelings of isolation permeated kitchen brigades. Chefs' described how kitchens separated, alienated and detached them from mainstream society. While many chefs lamented feeling this way, most recognised that the kitchen was a kind of hub with their community. It was *their* space. Bound up with this recognition was the perception that their isolation in space afforded certain freedoms. With isolation came concealment and the opportunity to behave as Hugo describes, in ways that would not be possible elsewhere.

Through these findings we make two main contributions to research into misbehaviour in organizations. **First**, we conceptualize misbehaviour amongst chefs as a potentiality arising from

the spatial configuration of kitchens, which we label a *geography of deviance.* We draw the idea of geography of deviance from Smith (1987), and the field of criminology, where it informs our understanding of how the fear of crime is constructed within neighbourhood communities. For Smith (1987) the concept of a geography of deviance helps to explain 'how the quality of individual and social life revolves around the symbolic importance of territory … and the meaning of the home' (Smith 1987: 4). It offers a way to understand deviance based on the properties of specific small areas, something that Smith calls 'neighbourhood effects'. We draw on and refine this concept to show that misbehaviour can be subtly but literally inscribed into the physical geography of a place, the kitchen, through structures that create feelings of invisibility, alienation and detachment.

We make our **second** contribution by invoking Turner's (1969) theory of *communitas* – specifically, the concept of normative communitas – and casting chefs' misbehaviour as a fundamentally communitarian phenomenon. We show that misbehaviour can be understood as a ritualized component of an anti-structural way of being, where the kitchen is simultaneously apprehended as an instrument of social withdrawal and a symbol of detachment and deviance around which the community pivots. The potentialities of the kitchen are, we argue, made available to chefs via exclusionary structures that create both freedom from external scrutiny and the freedom to step outside of mainstream structural roles and obligations.

This article consists of four sections. The first section establishes the theoretical context for this study, which is studies of misbehaviour amongst chefs, normalized deviance and spatial isolation in organizations. The second section describes the research methods used, and how misbehaviour and its connection to isolation was analysed in the context of our data. In the third section the findings are presented in two parts. These expound on the different ways that our chefs

experienced isolation, and how these experiences are connected with misbehaviour. The fourth section discusses the findings in the context of misbehaviour as a potentiality arising from being isolated in space (the *geography of deviance* in kitchens), and Turner's (1969) concept of *communitas*.

THEORY

Misbehaviour in kitchens

Drawing on Vardi and Wiener (1996: 151) we define misbehaviour as 'any intentional action by members of organizations that violates core organizational and/or societal norms' (see also Robinson & Bennett, 1995). This definition incorporates two principle forms of misbehaviour. First, 'non-complaint behaviour' (Ackroyd, 2007), such as resistive acts of deviance that target the organization (Alcadipani, Hassard, & Islam, 2018; Ezzamel, Willmott, & Worthington, 2001). Examples include workers' restricting output (e.g. Gouldner, 1954) and pilferage (e.g. Ditton, 1977). The second form of misbehaviour centres on what Andersson and Pearson (1999) call 'incivility'. Examples include bullying, violence and aggression (Giacalone & Greenberg, 1997). It is this latter dimension that is especially prevalent in commercial kitchens, which are widely recognised as what Atkinson (2008) calls a 'violent community'. Thus what we are concerned with here are forms of misbehaviour ranging from verbal assault to highly physical attacks (see also Alexander, MacLaren, O'Gorman, & Taheri, 2012; Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Burrow, Smith, & Yakinthou, 2015; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017; Johns & Menzel, 1999).

While society has become increasingly hostile to bullying, violence and aggressive forms of misbehaviour (Walby, 2013: 98), it has remained widespread in elite kitchens (Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017). Currently there are four competing explanations for this. First, in elite kitchens, bullying, violence and aggression have been mythologised as powerful tools that can be used to

exert control, maintain quality, discipline and standards (Gill & Burrow, 2018). Echoing military hazing rituals (see Barrett, 1996; Haritos-Fatouros, 1988), bulling, violent and aggressive practices have been adopted by chefs as a way of conditioning obedience and respect for authority (Burrow et al., 2015). While such acts constitute misbehaviour in a broader social sense, in haute cuisine kitchens they are generally regarded as little more than part of the culture (Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017) and an enduring legacy of early ideologues (James, 2006).

Second, it has been suggested that misbehaviour amongst chefs can, paradoxically, support intragroup relations by providing a mechanism for fostering social cohesion between members of the team (see Alexander et al., 2012; Cooper et al., 2017; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017). Central to the cohesiveness of the 'tribe' (Bourdain, 2001: 124), 'aggression, violence and humiliation facilitate the banter that allows chefs to bond and be sure that everyone is capable of dealing with the pressure of service' (Alexander et al., 2012: 1253). Thus while morally dubious and in some cases patently illegal, abusive forms of misbehaviour are often part of kitchen-culture. Tacitly sanctioned and even openly embraced, misbehaviour matters to chefs and entire brigades who derive identity and 'stoical pride' from the 'school of hard knocks, branding burns, blistered feet and cirrhosed livers' (Gill, 1997: 96).

A third theory explaining the persistence of misbehaviour in kitchens centres on the nature of the work chefs perform. Hoel and Einarsen (2003: 12) report that hospitality is a 'high-risk sector' with respect to bullying and victimisation. They suggest the work chefs undertake, which is highly physical and performed in an extremely stressful environment (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007), leaves them prone to what Ek (2006) calls 'anomic explosions'. That is, to conflict and violent outbursts triggered by the 'measure of brutality' their day to day work contains (Taylor,

1977). Through this lens misbehaviour is as much the product of a distinct corporeal experience of work, as it is social deviance.

Fourth, misbehaviour by chefs is curiously celebrated as a perverse form of entertainment on reality television shows and other media where it is used to foster excitement and intrigue (Nilsson, 2013). Through violent imagery and narration interest is conjured by 'lifting the lid' on a dark, secretive 'culinary underbelly' (see Bourdain, 2001; Hennessy, 2011; Ramsay, 2006). This depiction of chefs' misbehaviour casts it as an idiosyncratic but ostensibly normal phenomenon. The suggestion is that in choosing this line of work, chefs tacitly buy into an understanding that misbehaviour is both part of kitchen culture, and a fundamental aspect of culinary identity (Hermelin, Hinchcliffe, & Stenbacka, 2017; Meloury & Signal, 2014; Nilsson, 2013).

While there are suggestions that misbehaviour amongst chefs is becoming less common (e.g. Graham, Ali, & Tajeddini, 2020; Leer, 2016), this 'dark side' to the industry is remarkably enduring (Linstead, Maréchal, & Griffin, 2014). Particularly in elite, haute cuisine kitchens misbehaviour remains highly institutionalized and continues to attract research attention (see Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Gill & Burrow, 2018). Yet, despite it being generally acknowledged that kitchens' function as a 'back stage' (Goffman, 1959), 'private space' (Weber, 1978) where brigades enact a kind of 'legal lawlessness' (Gregory, 2006), the interplay between misbehaviour and the kitchen environment has not yet been considered. We have yet to study misbehaviour as a phenomenon connected to organizational isolation.

Space, isolation and normalized misbehaviour

In management and organization studies the origins and effects of organizational isolation (defined as a literal or perceived sense of separation from valued social groups – OED, 2020) are primarily understood through the lens of negative affect. Organizational isolation is shown to trigger self-

diminishing and counter-productive feelings of loneliness, despair, depression and anxiety amongst workers in contexts as diverse as remote, lone and virtual office work as well as submarines, arctic bases and space stations (Davis & Cates, 2013; Mulki, Locander, Marshall, Harris, & Hensel, 2008; Palinkas, 2003; Shankar, McMunn, Banks, & Steptoe, 2011; Suedfeld, 1998).

The negative effects of organizational isolation arise as a consequence of negated sociality, but also because isolation erodes workers' perceptions of how well respected they are within the organization (Bartel, Wrzesniewski, & Wiesenfeld, 2012). Isolation implies detachment from the organization, and is the literal embodiment of being out of sight, out of mind (McCloskey & Igbaria, 2003). The more isolated an individual feels, the less likely they are to see themself as a valued member of that organizational community (Bartel et al., 2012). Individuals need to feel like they 'belong' (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and in cases where they don't, their attachment to the organization is likely to be weak.

It is through the creation of detachment that a connection between spatial isolation and divergent modalities of behaviour can be traced. For example, Zietsma and Lawrence (2010) show that boundaries that create detachment can shield an 'experimental space' from an established institutional regime (see also Andersen & Kragh, 2015; Islam, 2010; Kolb & Kolb, 2010; Perkmann, McKelvey, & Phillips, 2018). A link between 'isolation in space' (Weinfurtner & Seidl, 2018) and Ek's (2006) anomic explosions can also be traced (see also Clegg, e Cunha, & Rego, 2012; Clegg, Pina e Cunha, Rego, & Dias, 2013). For example, in relation to spontaneous acts of workplace deviance, Sheahan & Smith (2003) connect taxi drivers' misbehaviour with their sense of alienation. This alienation arising as a consequence of lone working. Much the same as other professionals, such as chefs, the isolation Sheahan & Smith's (2003) taxi drivers' felt was

exacerbated by long working hours, low pay, threatening circumstances and minimal recognition. It was thus a product of the interplay between social practices and spatial geographies, which mattered because they underscored misbehaviours such as speeding, fraud and drug taking. These misbehaviours were normalized by taxi drivers who interpreted their actions not as deviance, but as 'creative and adaptive response[s] that enables them to perform their job better [and] cope with stress' (Sheahan & Smith, 2003: 446). In other words, misbehaviour, whilst deviant, can be coherent with certain occupational cultures where people depart from established rules and norms to compensate for lower respect, recognition or poor working conditions. It is in this way that isolation can be apprehended as conducive to the blurring of what is right and what is wrong.

The blurring of right and wrong as a particular performative effect of isolation also underscores Vaughan's analysis of the Challenger space shuttle disaster, which examines how routine rules' violations are normalized and become accepted organizational practices (1999: 271). A crucial component of Vaughan's analysis is a shift away from understanding misbehaviour as an 'accidental disorder and anomie, a symptom of internal breakdown' (Erikson, 1961: 307). Instead, Vaughan shows how misbehaviour can be understood in what is essentially Durkheimian terms: as something fundamental to organizations (see Durkheim, 1885/2014). Through this lens misbehaviour is cast not as something spontaneous, unpredictable and preventable, but as a normal product of stable institutions and social relationships. Thus, as Vaughan appears to show, despite the consequences of misbehaviour being potentially catastrophic, it can be seen as a 'vital resource' that keeps the social order intact and preserves group stability (see also Bauman, 1989; Levy, 2001).

Therefore emerging from Vaughan's analysis is an understanding of the influence of social and community-driven conditions on the normalization of misbehaviour. Specifically, her analysis

shows that misbehaviour is socially organized through structures that create pockets of competing meaning systems, cloak activities, obscure actions and prevent people from seeing what others are doing. For Vaughan, distance – both literal and perceived (e.g. physical and social) – interferes with intra-organizational attempts to ''know' the behaviour of others in the organization'. The result is omnipresent and impenetrable secrecy. The effect of this is to foster highly localized knowledge, but also create physical and mental silos where rule violations can occur unchallenged and their effects accumulate.

Isolation as a missing piece in the misbehaviour puzzle

Collectively, studies of misbehaviour in organizations help to explain the factors that compel it and the processes through which it becomes justifiable, excusable and ultimately normalized. Yet, extant research does not specifically consider how the place in which someone works facilitates or enables them to flout conventional laws and misbehave (Vardi & Wiener, 1996). The potential utility of being isolated in space is signalled by studies that highlight the importance of self-sealing belief systems and the processes by which close-knit groups – what Greil and Rudy (1984) call 'social cocoons' – insulate themselves from external scrutiny and influences (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1994). Having a bulwark against outsiders' judgment often being hinted at, as a critical enabler of misbehaviour. However the specific socio-spatial interplay at the heart of the misbehaviour nexus has not yet been examined. Therefore to address this gap and progress our understanding of misbehaviour we ask the question: How does the geographical component of a working location – specifically, being isolated in space – influence the generation and reproduction of deviant behaviours?

CONTEXT, DATA AND ANALYSIS

Empirical Context: The elite haute cuisine kitchen

The empirical context for this study is elite kitchens and the brigades of chefs that inhabit them. We define 'elite' in this context as meaning restaurants that feature in the Michelin Guide and/or on the website 'The World's Best 50 Restaurants'. In practice the latter rating system actually ranks the worlds 'Top 100 restaurant' and is supplemented by regional league tables, such as 'Asia's 50 best restaurants'. The former produces country and city specific guides to restaurants using a three-star rating system. One star signifies 'a very good restaurant'. Two stars signifies 'excellent cooking that is worth a detour'. Three stars signifies 'exceptional cuisine that is worth a special journey'.

We use these two rating systems for three specific reasons. First, because both rating systems are established, well-recognised arbiters of elitism within the fine dining subsection of the food and beverage industry. Second, because they incorporate a subsection of restaurants where acute expressions of misbehaviour, but specifically Vardi and Wiener's (1996) 'incivility' (inc. bullying, aggression and violence), are most readily visible and well documented (see Alexander et al., 2012; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017).

Third, because kitchens within this category are typically places that espouse the very essence of Orwellian (1933) design philosophy. That is, kitchens in fine dining restaurants are most commonly located in the *least* desirable spaces in buildings, this being a purposeful design philosophy to keep costs down and the dank, dirt and chaos of the kitchen well away from paying customers (Palmer et al., 2010; Simpson, Hughes, Slutskaya, & Balta, 2014). Belying the contemporary trend towards 'open' kitchens showcasing the aesthetics of food production (e.g. Leschziner, 2015; Pearlman, 2013), most elite chefs work in these classically 'back-stage' environs (Goffman, 1959). Thus whilst recognising the variablity in kitchen design and organization, elite

kitchens are places where the interplay between misbehaviour and organizational isolaiton is most readily visible.

Data collection

The data that underpins this study is comprised of 47 semi-structured interviews with chefs employed in elite kitchens around the world, spanning a broad professional and social demographic. Summarized in Table 1, the research participants that took part in this study were selected on the basis of their working (or having worked) in highly elite restaurants. Table 1 is supported by a Glossary of Positions (Appendix 1) which describes the main roles in the kitchen.

Interviewees were recruited using a range of different strategies. These included contacting them directly on social media and indirectly via gatekeepers such as restaurant managers, food critics and publicity agents. In addition, at the end of every interview interviewees were asked if they could recommend colleagues who may be willing to be interviewed. To maintain confidentiality, when referred individuals were approached, we did not disclose who had made the initial referral. The exception to this rule were scenarios in which Executive/Head Chef and Chef Patrons granted access to colleagues who worked with/for them in the same kitchen. On these occasions we protected confidentiality by ensuring that interviews were conducted in private locations and were suitably anonymised.

Sampling broadly reflected the gender distribution we found in kitchens. Thus, in our data, 10 of the interviewees were women (of which 3 were Chef Patrons) while 37 of the interviewees were men. Sampling was primarily concentrated in European countries (e.g., France, Italy, and the UK) where the strong presence of the Michelin Guide made it possible to easily identify elite restaurants. However, the later inclusion of countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia

and the USA was in response to a growing community of chefs who were able and willing to be interviewed in these areas.

INSERT TABLE I ABOUT HERE

Reflecting Adler and Adler's (2002) point that 'the subject of the interview should be the determining factor in deciding interview location', the interviewees were asked to select the interview location. Most chose to be interviewed at their place of work. On a very few occasions chefs were interviewed while they were working (e.g., during the 'prep' sessions) which preceded service. Given that the interviews often covered emotional, sensitive or private issues preference was given (where possible) for interviews to be carried out in neutral locations (e.g., coffee shops, private meeting rooms). The use of neutral locations for interviews was to enable participants to talk as freely as possible about their experiences. The interviews were conducted in English and all interviews began with permission being asked to record the discussion. All consented to this. To protect confidentiality and enable chefs to speak openly about their experiences all names, places of employment and other identifying details have been anonymized. Pseudonyms are used throughout this article.

The interviews were conducted by the first and second authors. They ranged in length from around 15 to 140 minutes. In several cases we interviewed chefs multiple times. This typically happened when interviews overran the allotted time, when subsequent analysis revealed gaps in interviewees' elucidation of particular issues, or when further discussions were required to explore particular issues. For example, at the point at which the relational significance of open/closed

kitchens started to emerge, we revisited chefs we knew to have specific experience in open kitchens to probe this theme with them in more detail and develop our understanding.

We conduced our interviews following a semi-structured format. Central to this was a simple questionnaire proforma that was guided by three principle aims: (1) to capture in as much detail as possible the nature of their professional experiences; (2) to record how they made sense of and rationalized their experiences; (3) to understand what impact these experiences had on them as a person, how they related to their work, each other and wider society.

Our approach was therefore to treat chefs' contributions as 'oral history' testimony (Shopes, 2011), and chefs themselves as 'knowledgeable informants' (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). Thus we asked them to talk us through their employment history and elucidate on any and all experiences that stood out for them. We specifically probed the 'highs' and 'lows' of their careers, adjusting our questioning strategies to facilitate the elucidation of salient experiences.

Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and then subject to a four stage process of analysis.

Stage 1. Guided by established conventions for analysing qualitative data (e.g. Gioia et al., 2013), the first stage in the analysis process involved the first and second authors open coding all of the data. This work was undertaken independently – each person reviewed the same material and periodical meetings were held to review the emerging themes, codes in use, definitions and emerging interpretations.

This initial stage of analysis revealed a corpus of narratives variously linked with the kitchen as a distinctive place of work. Within this corpus the theme of 'isolation' featured prominently. Chefs reported *being* and *feeling* isolated. This initially struck us as paradoxical

because kitchen brigades are social structures typically comprising around 15-20 people (but sometimes as many as 50 or 60). They were places where a heavy emphasis was placed on comradery (Bourdain, 2001), and most were physically located in busy towns and cities. It seemed surprising to us that chefs would feel this way.

Stage 2. To systematize our analysis of the theme of isolation we referenced the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and developed a working definition of isolation that incorporated both its' Euclidian and social dimensions. Thus we defined isolation as being *distant* from others, but also as being product of *social circumstances*. We conceptualized it as something that can be both literal or perceived, with the unifying theme being an individualised sense of separation from valued social groups. Using this definition we revisited all of our transcripts and developed a more detailed picture that helped us to comprehensively understand why and how chefs felt isolated.

We approached this work by focusing on phenomenology of isolation – what Gernot Böhme (1993) termed 'how I feel here' and what Tuan (1977) calls the 'experience of space and place'. This afforded us a more granular understanding of chefs' experience of isolation in the kitchen. It revealed, for example, that chefs' felt isolated from family and friends because anti-social shift patterns and long working hours maintained kept them out of synch with mainstream society. We also found that while the kitchen was often experienced as a vibrant, exciting place to work its physical geography combined with the amount of time chefs spent at work induced feelings of segregation, separation and containment. Thus chefs described how they experienced and related to the tangible structures and physical boundaries of the kitchen as partitioned enclosures that created (enforced) their separation and isolation from the outside world.

Stage 3. Having probed how and why chefs' felt isolated we then proceeded to examine what effect this had. At this point we oscillated between the extant literature on organizational

studies of isolation and our data. Our aim at this stage what to understand whether chefs' isolation mattered in ways beyond the significant, but well-documented, effect of triggering counter-productive feelings of loneliness, despair, depression, anxiety and stress (Davis & Cates, 2013; Mulki et al., 2008; Palinkas, 2003; Shankar et al., 2011; Suedfeld, 1998).

What we discovered was that much like other people who are isolated, the chefs who participated in our study also experienced a degree of 'affective suffering' connected with their isolation (Dashtipour & Vidaillet, 2017). In the most extreme cases this compelled chefs to quit their jobs and in some cases leave the profession altogether. Yet, what we also revealed was that chefs sometimes related to their isolation in terms of opportunity and freedom. The kitchen appeared to represent a kind of 'free space' (Polletta, 1999) to many of them. It was a place where isolation was apprehended as an enabler of divergent modalities of behaviour. Many chefs connected the idea of them being isolated to concomitant beliefs in the idea of rule suspension. It is this connection that is illustrated in Hugo's opening vignette in which he talks of isolation affording chefs' the opportunity to act in a "different way", not abide by "conventional laws" and allow kitchens to run on their "own terms".

Stage 4. During the fourth stage of analysis we probed the idea of misbehaviour as a possibility that was in some way connected with the isolation chefs experienced when at work. We were intrigued by the notion that misbehaviour within this community may be in some way linked to the place in which they worked and how they felt about it. The importance of this notion was underscored by the variously articulated belief that within the kitchen misbehaviour was in some way, and for some reason, very often considered acceptable. Yet, would become unacceptable once outside of the kitchen. One chef in particular recounted his horror at the abuse directed at a

junior chef by his senior colleagues in the pub after work, only to regard broadly similar abuses as acceptable and relatively normal within the confines of the kitchen environment.

To elucidate this point further we moved iteratively between the literature on organizational misbehaviour and the data, focusing specifically on references and inferences to the spatiality of deviance. We did this as part of a broader process of theoretical sampling. Our aim at this point was to enhance the analytical sensitivity of what we were discovering and ensure the arrival at a point of 'theoretical saturation' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967b, 1967a). This theoretical sampling involved re-interviewing chefs to collect further data to strengthen emerging insights, clarify links and enhance the evidential foundations for what we were discovering – that space mattered in the context of chefs' misbehaviour in ways and for reasons that were not already documented in the extant literature. Data collection continued until a state of empirical and theoretical saturation had been achieved. In total 13 follow-up interviews were conducted, and these are marked with an asterisk in Table 1.

FINDINGS

Our findings revealed a multifaceted sense of isolation amongst chefs. They felt physically enclosed and contained within the separated space of the kitchen in which they were compelled to stay because of the demands of their work. As a result, they often felt detached, invisible to and disconnected from wider society. These feelings of isolation mattered because they underscored a perception amongst chefs that the kitchen was a distinct social space. In this isolated, enclosed, back-stage environment chefs felt they were in a place where they could act up and misbehave without any real consequences.

Kitchens as isolated places

Kitchens were experienced by chefs as isolated places in two different ways. These experiences were interlinked and mutually reinforcing, but are outlined below separately for analytical purposes.

Isolation arising from separation and containment. The first way that chefs experienced kitchens as isolated places was in the form of feeling physically separated from the outside world. Although there is a growing trend in contemporary restaurants towards what is known as 'open' kitchens, in which chefs and their work are visible to diners, a great many chefs (including the majority of the participants in this study) still worked in traditional 'closed' kitchens. Typically located in back-stage areas, such as the rear, middle or the basement of buildings, closed kitchens trigger a sense of separation:

> Kitchens are down below [ground] and round the back of buildings and that leads to a feeling of separation [because] you're separated from the rest of the people in the business. (Charles)

The sense of separation described by Charles is detailed in the Figures and Plates provided by Hugo *below*. Figure 1 is a plan of a typical closed kitchen and is similar to the ones described by Charles. Figure 1 shows the walls and doors that make the kitchen an enclosed separate space, and is supported by Figures 2 and 3. These illustrate what a typical kitchen looks like (Figure 2) and the doors that purposefully separate kitchens from the public dining areas (Figure 3) creating what Hugo called "two very different worlds":

> Generally there's two doors, so one closes one opens, so there's never a direct link from restaurant space to kitchen … It's just two very different worlds, they don't want that tranquil restaurant, calm luxurious experience touching the course, pretty raw, aggressive atmosphere of the kitchen. (Hugo)

Figure 4 is a plan that shows where kitchens are typically located in relation to public dining and reception areas, and how kitchen staff and diners are contained in distinctly separate spaces away from one another. All the figures are of a place Hugo has actually worked and that he considers to be representative of the wider industry.

INSERT FIGURES 1, 2, 3 & 4 ABOUT HERE

As is visible in Figure 2, because of where kitchens were located in buildings many chefs had little or no access to natural light. This contributed to a sense of isolation because in many cases chefs literally couldn't see anything beyond the kitchen in which they worked. Combined with the amount of time chefs spent at work (typically reported to be in the region of 12-20 hours per day), chefs felt contained and isolated:

> [The kitchen] was just like being locked up in a white box all day. I mean, that's exactly why I don't want to move back to [name] because it's like, fuck, waking up at 6am and going to work in the dark and the cold and then… you know, and then coming home at 11pm at night or midnight and it's dark and cold again… You know, and never going outside. (Keith)

> You'd be at work for 16-18 hour stretches and you wouldn't see natural light for the whole day, which leads to feelings of isolation. (Charles)

Building on the quotes from Keith and Charles above, Jen described how she worked in a kitchen that was located on a service floor within a large building. In this particular building the service floor had been split horizontally to make two separate floors in a space that would normally contain just one. The kitchen was in the centre of the building, meaning that not only was it half the usual height but it was also devoid of windows. In this particular environment, chefs had to

negotiate cramped conditions such as narrow corridors and rooms where the ceilings were so low they couldn't stand up:

> The kitchen was sort of a second floor. It's kind of like that movie 'Being John Malkovich' where they had an elevator - they get off at the funny floor. Being in that kitchen space was a bit like being in a submarine. (Jen)

Isolated from friends, family and wider society. The second way that chefs experienced kitchens as isolated places pertained to the different ways that kitchens, and kitchen work, prevented or impeded wider social contacts. Central to this theme was the common practice of working extremely long hours, which meant that chefs often struggled to maintain relationships with people outside the kitchen environment. The compulsion to remain in the kitchen diminished chefs' social networks leaving them feeling isolated and alone:

> There is an incredible amount of isolation, from the moment you step foot into that space. It's like you leave the outside. It's a constant feeling be being 'separate', of being 'other' of trying to reconnect. … There's disconnect because you're not- you don't see each other. I would leave for work during the late morning to midday. My family was already at their eight until five job, and I would get home at midnight or one to two o'clock in the morning when they're fast asleep. We're ships passing in the night, we never see each other. (Jen)

Jen was not alone as many chefs experienced a similar sense of social isolation. A common sentiment was that in choosing a life in the kitchen, a chef lost a life outside of it. For example, Kate described how her work in the kitchen meant that "you instantly have no time for family". Susanna described how "you give your life to the kitchen ... you live in the kitchen … there's not really time for a life outside". Yoko echoed these feelings, stating that "you have to be prepared to have no life, outside of work, your life and your relationships is your job, is your kitchen". As did Jessica, stating that "everything was just inside … I didn't have a life, you don't have a life". For Eric, feelings of social isolation were particularly acute because he worked long hours and also

lived in the staff accommodation directly above the restaurant he worked in. He stated that "you just don't talk to anybody. You're just working, you go home, sleep, keep working. That's it".

Therefore as well as intensifying the experience of the physical kitchen environment, one of the effects of working long hours in the kitchen was a sense of loss. That is, of "not having a normal social life or a normal life in any way" (Charles). This sense of loss went beyond valued relationships with people other than chefs and included feelings of wider societal alienation. For example, Susanna described how working long hours in the kitchen meant that she lost contact with the "outside" world but also with what she described as her "humanity": "you don't [really see] what's happen[ing] outside … you lose your humanity".

Isolation and Misbehaviour

Chefs' linked feelings of isolation with episodes of misbehaviour, variously described as "playing up" (Jen), "being physical" (Morten) and "shouting, punching and throwing things" (Anton). These links are detailed across two subsections.

Isolation, boundary distortion and rule suspension. There was a widely held perception amongst chefs that kitchens were "different to normal places" (Nick). At the root of this difference was the extant belief that the isolation of the kitchen environment rendered it a distinct social space where different rules applied. Chefs variously described how boundaries were different in the kitchen, and how they could behave differently in the kitchen, compared to outside of it:

> The boundaries within kitchens are totally different to those of other working environments … [in the kitchen] there's no kind of boundaries. (Pete)

Chefs' linked the idea that different rules apply in the kitchen to the nature of the space in which they worked. They described how they believed that, because the kitchen was an isolated environment, established laws, rights and protections could be effectively suspended:

> [Kitchens] have to be isolated so people within this world and this environment can act in a different way ... so even though chefs aren't human resource experts you are aware loosely of employment law and the rights and protection that we have. But that is completely suspended in the kitchen. The isolation of the kitchen means it runs very much on its own terms - chefs don't abide by conventional laws. (Hugo)

Isolation, invisibility and misbehaviour. Across the corpus boundary distortion and rule suspension in kitchens was variously linked with the invisibility afforded by the isolation of the kitchen environment. It was found that being and feeling isolated set the scene for chefs to "play up" (Jen) because it led chefs to feel out of sight. Keith and Jen were particularly instructive in this regard. Both described how isolation created a closed back-stage space where misbehaviour could happen. They explicitly described how feelings of isolation combined with the invisibility afforded by the kitchen environment effectively delimited behavioural constraints within that environment:

> Being isolated, being away from, you know, other people's eyes and other people's opinions, there is an element of kind of getting away with stuff, right, a bit of abuse or, I guess kind of physical abuse, you know. (Keith)

> The isolation and feeling separate and feeling out of view of any sort of rule system means that we are no longer required to conform to certain behaviours … The isolation creates a backdrop, a stage where one can play up. So, there's a really strong correlation between bad behaviour and isolation. When you're out of view you're very different from when you're on the public stage. With an open kitchen you often have different behaviours, but within that penned in space I think it's always going to be present, the misbehaviour. (Jen)

The link between isolation and misbehaviour described by Keith and Jen was highly visible in the comparisons chefs drew between open and closed kitchens. Gideon in particular described

how closed kitchens breed a "different culture". Isolation and the relative invisibility it affords from what Keith calls "other people's eyes… and opinions" was at the root of this different culture. Thus, both Keith and Gideon described how the same spatial structures that trigger feelings of separation and containment also take chefs out of sight of customers with important consequences for how they can subsequently behave. For of them, being hidden from view mattered:

> In an open kitchen the chefs are on show. They have to behave in a certain way. Closed kitchens breed a different culture within the kitchen because you're off limits. Nobody can see you. … [so] if you were to drop or spill something, or if the chef was to shout at you, the way you handle it and compose yourself in a closed kitchen, there's basically no rules. It's all up to how the Head Chef wants to run that kitchen. (Gideon)

> Being out of sight definitely allows abuse to happen and you do get away without any real consequences. (Keith)

Anton, who described the different behaviours he observed and perceived to be permissible in open and closed kitchen environments, is similarly instructive. He described how practices that would take place in the closed kitchen "downstairs", such as "shouting", "punching" and "throwing things", would not happen in the open show kitchen that was above it. In the open kitchen, where people can literally see directly in, chefs have to be more restrained in what they do and how they do it. They have to put on a show of civility that only ends when they step out of that open space, into a closed, back stage area where more normal modes of behaviour can resume:

> Because it's an open kitchen, so like the people actually see inside, what is going on, the chefs need to be a little calmer … upstairs in the show kitchen, they put on a show, they [inaudible] they cannot throw stuff. (Anton)

Hugo adds further depth to this narrative explaining how, in open kitchens, behaviours likely to breach social norms in the dining room were specifically and purposefully taken out of sight. The point want to avoid the coarse, aggressive behaviour of chefs intruding on the more relaxed atmosphere of the dining room. In doing he shows both an extant awareness of the constraints of

open kitchens (these being public and visible to all) and the opportunities afforded by back stage spaces (these being private and hidden from view). This same point is also echoed by Jen:

> I've worked in open plan kitchens and everything's a lot more calm and quieter and controlled and if there is an issue you're taken out the back to the alleyway outside away from customers. (Hugo)

> Quite often in the open kitchen some of the interaction was explicitly taken away from view. So with the knowledge completely that this is not okay, so take it out of view, so it can continue to happen in whatever capacity. (Jen)

Thus it was found that for chefs the invisibility afforded by kitchen environments mattered in the context of misbehaviour – misbehaviour that is "not okay". For Nick, placing kitchens "behind closed doors" mattered in the context of cultures he described as "no holds barred". Similarly, Morten invoked a closed door metaphor when he described his experience of "being physical with people" during the early years of his career: "It's like the Army, I mean what goes on behind those doors, behind those gates is what goes on". Morten develops this narrative in his account of his assault on a colleague. To address consistent lateness, Morten followed a junior chef he was managing into a room away from the main kitchen and "beat the crap out of him".

DISCUSSION

Interest in the phenomenon of misbehaviour in organizations is enduring, including within this journal (e.g. Alcadipani et al., 2018; Delbridge, 1995; Ezzamel et al., 2001). Studies in this area tell an increasingly nuanced story about why misbehaviour occurs and how it is normalized. As a general phenomenon it is argued that people misbehave because they are frustrated by the work they have to do and the conditions they have to do it in (Alcadipani et al., 2018). Their misbehaviour is a way of compensating for a lack of respect, limited recognition and poor working conditions (Sheahan & Smith, 2003).

Not all misbehaviour is anomic in nature. Workers may entertain the very real desire to strike against the overbearing organizational structures that dominate and degrade them (Ditton, 1977; Gouldner, 1954). Yet, misbehaviour also emerges when organizational structures and social circumstances contrive to cocoon like-minded members together in silos and other self-sealing belief systems (Dobers & Strannegård, 2004). In these 'free spaces' (Polletta, 1999) misbehaviour is less about deviance and more about divergence facilitated by the shroud of secrecy and the efficacy of being hidden away (Vaughan, 1999). It happens because people feel out of sight and able to act differently without fear of judgement or rebuke (Levy, 2001).

Research into misbehaviour specifically amongst chefs treats it as a component of the industry's cultural, ideological and gendered history (Cooper et al., 2017; Meloury & Signal, 2014; Nilsson, 2013) but also as an unintended consequence of the natural brutality of kitchen work (Matsuzuki, Ito, Ayabe, Haruyama, Tomita, Katamoto et al., 2011; Taylor, 1977). In this context chefs' misbehaviour is cast as a roguish, but heroic, practice (see Bourdain, 2001). It is a way of building cohesive brigades and maintaining high standards (Gill & Burrow, 2018; Johns & Menzel, 1999).

These perceptions are also played out in wider society. While increasingly problematic, the image of an obsessive, impassioned, abusive gastronome continues to symbolize quality and commitment (Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017). More often than not their misbehaviour is treated as a symptom of excessive but ultimately laudable dedication. It is intriguing and entertaining, and the unfortunate by-product of the otherwise admirable pursuit of excellence.

In this article we progress our understanding of misbehaviour by considering the way that the geographical component of a working location influences its generation and reproduction. We focus specifically on the connection between organizational isolation and incivility (bullying,

violence and aggression) as a particular modality of misbehaviour. The central idea that we progress is that isolated space matters in ways and for reasons that have yet to be fully acknowledged either by studies of misbehaviour in organizations generally, or by studies of misbehaviour amongst chefs specifically. What we reveal is the importance attached by chefs to the kitchen(s) they work in as a spatial enabler of the misbehaviour they both perpetrated and endured.

Empirically, the point that we draw out from our interviews with chefs is that they would neither engage in misbehaviour, nor were they willing endure misbehaviour directed at them, in a place outside of the kitchen. Yet, they could normalize both within the kitchen itself, this being a place where misbehaviour was acceptable and normal. Thus what we uncover is a basic belief that in passing through the kitchen doors chefs' perceived themselves to be entering not only a distinctive place of work, but a figuratively different world. What Schwartz (2007) calls an alternative 'moral universe'. When in the kitchen, mainstream rules seemed not to matter, could be suspended, revised and generally overlayed by alternative value systems and modes of being built from within the community itself. The kitchen was not just the place in which they produced food, it was the fulcrum around which their collective identity pivoted. It facilitated their approach to work and was central to their sense of *communitas* (Turner, 1969) – of feeling bound together 'by threads of common experience' (Beaumont & Brown, 2018: 60). Through these insights we make two principle contributions to research into misbehaviour in organizations, and amongst chefs in particular. These are articulated across the following two subsections.

Kitchens as a geography of deviance

We make our **first** contribution to research into misbehaviour in organizations by progressing the idea that misbehaviour can be connected to the place in which someone works. We argue that misbehaviour (as a potentiality) can be coded into the very fabric of a place.

At present it is well recognised that buildings have generative effects (Kornberger & Clegg, 2004). Indeed, there is a considerable body of literature within management and organization studies specifically concerned with this possibility. That is, with what Bitner (1992) calls 'spatial effects' (see Dale & Burrell, 2008; Stephenson, Kuismin, Putnam, & Sivunen, 2020; Weinfurtner & Seidl, 2018). However, despite the vibrancy of the 'spatial turn' in management and organization studies (Kornberger & Clegg, 2004; Tally, 2013; Wilton & Cranford, 2002), scholars have not yet considered the phenomenon of misbehaviour either in the context of chefs and kitchens, or more in organizations generally. This is surprising because the workplace clearly matters in the context of misbehaviour. For example, implicit in Ezzamel et al's (2001) analysis of workers' resistance to oppressive regimes of control is the material and social/symbolic significance of the factory itself (see also Courpasson, Dany, & Delbridge, 2017). Similarly, in Sheahan and Smith's (2003) analysis, misbehaviour amongst lone-working taxi drivers is implicitly connected to the relative isolation of their workplace. Vaughan (1999) also (albeit it loosely) connects organizational structures that isolate people in closed silos with profligate rule violation (see also Dobers & Strannegård, 2004; Levy, 2001).

What this article therefore contributes is a deeper our understanding of the connection between the workplace and misbehaviour. Our point is that the two are intricately linked, that workplaces that are isolating can actually function as kind of enabler of misbehaviour. Moreover, that in many cases, misbehaviour actually depends on this kind of spatial configuration, which we call a *geography of deviance* (Smith, 1987).

As a concept, we draw the idea of a geography of deviance from the field of criminology (see Smith, 1987) where it primarily informs understanding of where deviance occurs in cities, on streets, and in neighbourhoods and communities (see also Coleman, 1985; Cross & Hernández, 2011; Gifford, 2007; Lees & Baxter, 2011). It is a cartographically orientated concept with two main foci. These being: first, the associations between particular places and criminality (e.g. Gifford, 2007); and, second, how these associations are forged and trigger emotions that shape social relations (see also Haney, 2003; Pernau, 2014; Radzik, 2009).

Conceptually, then, the geography of deviance is grounded in the capacity of places to drive particular feeling states (e.g. deprived neighbourhoods and the fear of crime). What it reveals is how these feeling states arise, the effects they have, and how particular geographies become culturally imbibed with them. Thus, through it we see how fear-invoking notions of criminality can be attached to particular neighbourhoods, streets and even individual buildings via, for example, practices such as the sensationalist reporting of crime by the mass media. The pertinent point being that when forged, these connections matter because they influence how people perceive a particular place, how they interact with that place, and with one another within it (Henig & Maxfield, 2017).

In context of this article we draw on and develop this theorizing in the context of organizational studies of misbehaviour in two main way. First, we mobilize the concept of a geography of deviance to make sense of the interplay our chefs described, between their misbehaviour and the kitchen environment. We argue that isolating structures (such as half-height, basement workspaces and windowless rooms) can be seen as 'environmental incivilities' that generate distinct, localized, 'neighbourhood effects' (Smith, 1987: 6). These being, in the case of kitchens, a sense of alienation, but also of freedom from cultural and even legal constraints, along

with the perceived ability to act in a generally disinhibited way (see also Agamben, 2005; Ek, 2006; Gregory, 2006).

So where the phenomenon of chefs' misbehaviour is presently primarily understood through the lens of culture, institutional ideology and gender (e.g. Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Cooper et al., 2017; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2017; Meloury & Signal, 2014; Nilsson, 2013; Palmer et al., 2010), what we suggest is that misbehaviour can also be understood as enabled by particular structures and the effect(s) they have. Via this casting chefs' misbehaviour can be seen as an effect of organizational space. It is a potentiality that arises when people are 'isolated in space' (Weinfurtner & Seidl, 2018). That is, when they feel detached, invisible, marginalized and alienated from wider society.

One implication of this theorization is that misbehaviour can be conceptualized as something that is, in a way, cued on by the isolating effects of the place in which someone works. This represents a departure from extant studies of organizational isolation that primarily emphasize its capacity to trigger counter-productive, debilitating feelings of loneliness, despair, depression and anxiety (e.g. Davis & Cates, 2013; Mulki et al., 2008; Palinkas, 2003; Shankar et al., 2011; Suedfeld, 1998). By contrast, what we show in this study is that isolating workplaces also drive misbehaviour by cocooning like-minded people together, impeding [public] line of sight, limiting critical scrutiny and obscuring accountability.

Building on the above, the second way that we draw on and adapt the concept of a geography of deviance is in relation to the idea that kitchens also have symbolic significance (see Ulus, 2015). Because space and deviance can become interlinked (e.g. Smith, 1987), and misbehaviour coded into the very fabric of a place, kitchens can thus come to symbolize deviance. Therefore in much the same way that the neighbourhoods described by Smith (1987) symbolized

crime and criminality, so, we argue, kitchens can (and are) seen by people (both within and without the culinary community) as places where misbehaviour can (and does) occur.

With this argument we reach the theoretical limitations of our data. However we conjecture (and suggest that this avenue might be probed by future research), that the enduring, deeply encultured association between chefs and violence in kitchens has a wider performative effect. Building on Smith's (1987) point – that the sensationalist reporting of crime can construct geographies of deviance in peoples' minds that shape social relations by framing their understanding of where crime occurs (and thus how to perceive and relate to particular spaces and the people within them) – we argue that contemporary discourses of kitchen violence can in fact contribute to its occurrence.

This is one way of understanding how the opportunity to misbehave that is coded into the physical structures of kitchens (our primary argument) can translate into *actual* episodes misbehaviour. Our suggestion is that chefs' not only come to realize opportunities for misbehaviour via kitchens' immediate spatial effects (e.g. their feeling isolated, etc.), but also enter kitchens with an encultured understanding of misbehaviour as a potentiality linked to the kitchen itself. What we therefore suggest is that chefs can arrive *primed* to misbehave because cultural discourses (see, for example, Nilsson, 2013) have established a generalized understanding that kitchens are places where deviance and misbehaviour occurs.

There are important caveats to note in relation to these arguments. Principally, while we argue that misbehaviour can be inscribed into the physicality of a place, we temper this claim by arguing that the inscription creates nothing more than what Lefebvre (1991) calls a 'spatial *potentiality*'. That is, the impression of what is possible. So, in the same way that prisons do not always trigger alienation amongst the incarcerated (Crewe, Warr, Bennett, & Smith, 2014;

Dirsuweit, 1999; Laws & Crewe, 2016), so kitchens only foster the *possibility* of misbehaviour amongst chefs. As such we are consistent with Lefebvre's point (1991) that spaces are lived in dynamic and unpredictable ways (see also Dale, 2005; Ford & Harding, 2004). In particular, with the thesis that a space may be designed ('conceived') with particular modalities of behaviour in mind, but these may not necessarily materialize in a 'lived' sense (Lefebvre, 1991).

Our argument, then, is that misbehaviour only emerges as an expression of the sense made of the potentialities of a place. It reflects what is perceived to be possible, but not what has to be. In doing so it draws our attention to the communal processes through which sense is made and, also, through which spaces are actively inhabited as geographies of deviance. We develop these further in our second contribution.

Kitchen communities and normative communitas

We make our second contribution in relation to our understanding of how misbehaviour is normalized amongst chefs, not just as a theoretical possibility but as an actual mode of practice. In management studies, answers to the question of how malevolent organizational practices cease to be considered aberrant and even come to be regarded as 'the right and only course to take' (Ashforth & Anand, 2003: 15) focus on discourses, subcultural constructs, ideological neutralization and cognitive defence mechanisms (Earle, Spicer, & Peter, 2010; Erikson, 1961; Pinto, 2014; Vaughan, 2004). We deepen this understanding by drawing on Victor Turner's (1969) concept of *communitas*. Specifically, we invoke Turner's theory of *normative* communitas to help explain the fundamentally communitarian nature of misbehaviour and its paradoxical durability as a manifestation of anti-structure engrained into the social fabric of kitchen communities.

For Turner, communitas is a form of social anti-structure that arises out of liminality and has the effect of dissolving antecedent social ties (Turner, 1969). It emerges when people step out of their structural roles and obligations, and plunge into a life that is decidedly anti-structural (*ibid*). It is the feeling that an individual and their fellow workers have when they 'temporarily transcend the hierarchical social roles that often serve to divide them in everyday life (…) and experience a sense of oneness with each other' (Di Giovine, 2011: 250).

The significance of this concept here is that in anti-structural space people are between the categories of ordinary social life (Turner, 1969). They are in a liminal place where the rules of everyday life can be 'altered, inverted, and made topsy-turvy' (Turner, 1974: 273). For Turner communitas has an almost magical element to it. Those who experience communitas feel 'endless power' (Turner, 1969: 139), of being 'totally absorbed into a single synchronized, fluid event' (Turner, 1982: 48) and a world of 'ambiguity and possibility' (Sharpe, 2005: 256).

For Turner there are three main forms ('modalities') of communitas (see Turner, 1969: 131-132), two of which have particular relevance here. First, 'spontaneous' or 'existential' communitas, that is conceptualized as the very antithesis of structure. It is the momentary expression of behaviour that is '… essentially opposed to structure' (Turner, 1974/2018: 234). For Turner it is the 'direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities which, when it happens, tends to make those experiencing it think of mankind as a homogenous, unstructured, and free community' (Turner, 1973: 193).

Turner's second form of communitas is 'normative' communitas. This he conceptualizes as essentially anti-structure *preserved*. It is structures imbued with 'anti-structural values' (Alexander, 1991: 31). Normative communitas is thus spontaneous communitas 'perverted' (Turner, 1974/2018: 111), 'thoroughly domesticated' (Turner, 1974/2018: 254) and 'corralled'

(Alexander, 1991: 30-31). Crucially, though, it is normative communitas *organized* into a lasting social system (Killinger, 2010). Turner's thesis is that normative communitas is to be expected. Spontaneous communitas naturally 'declines and falls into structure and law' because the 'anarchy' and 'immediacy' of spontaneous communitas can 'seldom be maintained for very long' (Turner, 1974/2018: 132).

Considering our data through the lens of communitas makes it possible to see chefs' misbehaviour as a ritualized component of a community withdrawn from the social mainstream. We show that the kitchen itself is apprehended as an instrument of this withdrawal, its structures functioning as a kind of exclusionary boundary that separates chefs from the world outside. It is in essence a form of liminal space (Laura Toraldo, Islam, & Mangia, 2019; Shortt, 2015), with a kind of territory effect (Raffestin, 2012), where for the time it is inhabited chefs' experience a sense of normalized anti-structure. A manifestation of this is the extant belief that we reveal in our study, that the isolation of the kitchen was entwined with the idea that society's rules no longer applied. The feeling that chefs felt when they were in the kitchen, that they were in a place fundamentally removed from society.

Thus what we argue is that in entering the kitchen chefs' experience what Turner calls the 'glow of communitas' (Turner, 1977: 47). By this we mean that they feel a sense of separation, but also of belonging to a kind of anti-structural community with whom they share an identity. In their retreat from society and their enactment of misbehaviour chefs' frame and consolidate their identity. They feel a sense of belonging amongst like-minded others in a space of fundamental significance.

What we therefore propose is that isolated kitchens facilitate the routinization of the spontaneous dimension of communitas – a process which, for Turner, 'tends to be localized'

(Turner, 1969: 202). We suggest that what we see in our data is kitchen brigades unified by a shared, quasi-spiritual but essentially violent understanding of what it means to be a member of a community that exists in a particular place. A community where to belong is to be spatially absorbed, and to subscribe to the idea that traversing into the kitchen involves stepping into a space that is collectively conceptualized as a different kind of world. We argue that being a chef is about joining a distinct place where rules are adjusted and evolve according to the specific needs of the community.

Through this lens misbehaviour is seen as enabled by the kitchen, but also as a phenomenon grounded in something more complex, intimate and communal. In contrast with extant studies of misbehaviour in management and organizations studies, misbehaviour in our study slides into view as a kind of ritualistic practice that is ultimately connected to a community's sense of a space, of being in *their* place. Thus *where* chefs' work becomes as important as *who* they are in defining their propensity to and tolerance for misbehaviour. The latter being a distinct cultural code for the expression of their normative communitas.

In this way, misbehaviour can be seen as fundamental to the functioning of the brigade as a distinct social unit (as in Durkheim, 1885/2014). By dint of this interplay between spatial isolation and communitas, forms of relationships and place-based belonging reinforce each other to generate a subcultural pattern where violence becomes an accepted ritualistic practice. In Turner's terms, because 'structureless communitas can bind … people together only momentarily' (Turner 1969: 153), the kitchen becomes a place where structures are co-opted to 'capture and preserve spontaneous communitas in a system of ethical precepts and legal rules' (Turner and Turner 1978: 252). It therefore follows that misbehaviour is part and parcel of an enduring social group within which it is not experienced as a pathological manifestation (as it is presently

conceptualized), but as a normal feature of the common experience. It is, what Alexander (1991) calls an 'institutionalized expression of communitas' (Turner, 1974/2018: 242-243) which serves the survival needs of the community and plays an important role in preserving it as a distinct group in its own right.

CONCLUSION

In this article we set out to address the question of how the geographical component of a working location – specifically, being isolated in space – influences the generation and reproduction of misbehaviour. This question was inspired and framed by our opening vignette in which Chef Patron Hugo argued that "kitchens have to be isolated" so rules can be "suspended" and chefs enabled "act in a different way". Theoretically, it was grounded in an understanding that research into misbehaviour in the context of chefs, but also in organizations more generally, has not yet specifically considered its spatial dimension.

The findings we presented reveal how feelings of isolation permeated kitchens, these being experienced as separated, detached, alienating places. Yet, a point that arose was that while such feelings were lamented, most chefs recognised that the kitchen was a place where their isolation afforded certain freedoms. With isolation came concealment, freedom from external scrutiny and the opportunity to act as Hugo described: "in a different way".

Thus in answer to our question we propose that our understanding of misbehaviour is progressed by theorizing kitchens as a kind of geography of deviance. Central to this concept is the idea that misbehaviour can be subtly but literally inscribed into the physicality of a place, in the form of structures that create feelings of invisibility, alienation and detachment. Moreover, we extend this notion by considering chefs' misbehaviour through the lens of Turner's theory of

communitas. Via this theoretical device we cast misbehaviour as a fundamentally communitarian phenomenon – as a ritualized component of a normative communitas – where the kitchen is simultaneously apprehended as an instrument of social withdrawal and a symbol of deviance around which the community pivots. The spatial potentialities of the kitchen, we argue, are made available to chefs discursively, but also sensorially in the form of exclusionary structures that create both freedom from external scrutiny and the freedom to step outside of mainstream structural roles and obligations.

Through these contributions we provide a spatially grounded explanation of misbehaviour amongst chefs, and help to crystalise the relationship between organizational isolation and divergent modalities of behaviour more generally. In doing so we show the potential for managers of workplaces based simultaneously on isolation and communitas, to exert normative pressures without necessarily provoking a sense of alienation (Laura Toraldo et al., 2019: 642). The paradox being that for all the brutality, the chefs in our study were, in most cases, a highly productive and committed workforce. These individuals lived and worked in tight, closed communities defined by enduring, sometimes peculiar ideas and understandings about their work. These were remarkable not just because of their extremity in the context of modern work, but because they persisted against the backdrop of a (neoliberal) trend towards flexible, clean, accessible and open workplaces. We therefore bring to the attention of organizational scholars the significance of these physical elements. We do this in the wider context of managerial reforms that rest upon the material cleansing of the workplace (Bean & Hamilton, 2006) and the abolition of the variety of experiences of spatial inhabiting.

Further research on misbehaviour should disentangle the complexities of what could be called a 'territory effect' (Raffestin, 2012). That is to say, they should focus on the dynamic power-

laden interactions where certain practices can contradict normative expectations produced either from above (Sisson, 2020) or from other organizational places. Our study permits us to think of territoriality as a major ingredient of the organizational and physical design of the workplace. Territoriality is both 'a system of relations with material and immaterial realities and (…) a system of the representation of these realities' (Raffestin, 2012: 121). In this vein, organization and management studies could consider the spatial dimension of organizing as based on territories such as kitchens, seen as 'a spatial strategy to affect, influence or control resources and people, by controlling area' (Sack, 1986: 1-2). In this effort, capturing misbehaviour as the locus of active social relationships through which workers can shape their material and symbolic ownership of their space (Zibechi, 2012: 19) is of utmost importance in more and more flexible and spatially distant forms of work.

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Table 1: Outline of participants				
Number	Pseudonym	Experience	Position at time of interview	Interview quantity and duration
1	Graham	Europe & Australia	Senior Sous Chef	I1: 52 minutes I2: 49 minutes
2	Morten	Europe & North America	Head Chef	I1: 84 minutes I2: 34 minutes I3: 33 minutes
3	Robert	Europe	Junior Sous Chef	95 minutes
4	Mario	Europe	Chef de Partie	119 minutes
5	Nicholas	Europe & Asia	Head Chef	I1: 79 minutes I2: 62 minutes
6	Marcello	Europe	Executive Chef	45 minutes
7	Susanna	Europe	Chef de Partie	51 minutes
8	Mick	Europe	Executive Chef	98 minutes
9	Anton	Europe	Commis Chef	65 minutes
10	Keith	Europe & Asia	Sous Chef	I1: 82 minutes I2: 78 minutes I3: 84 minutes
11	Max	Asia	Executive Chef	69 minutes
12	Miles	Europe	Chef de Partie	55 minutes
13	Davide	Europe	Sous Chef	75 minutes
14	Vito	Europe	Chef de Partie	53 minutes
15	Lucile	Europe	Commis Chef	100 minutes
16	Rocco	Europe	Chef de Partie	120 minutes
17	Yoko	North America & Europe	Stagiaire	30 minutes

| 18	Dimitri	Europe	Sous Chef	51 minutes
19	Murray	Europe & Asia	Executive Chef	57 minutes
20	Pierce	Europe, Asia & Australia	Executive Chef	94 minutes
21	Kate	North America, Asia & Europe	Head Chef	95 minutes
22	Pierre	Europe & Asia	Executive Chef	I1: 31 minutes I2: 62 minutes
23	Edgardo	Europe & Asia	Executive Chef	43 minutes
24	Mayra	North America	Chef Patron	25 minutes
25	Jessica	North America & Asia	Chef Patron	I1: 37 minutes I2: 35 minutes
26	Sarah	North America & Asia	Sous Chef	I1: 30 minutes I2: 30 minutes
27	Ruth	North America	Chef Patron	41 minutes
28	Gideon	Asia & Europe	Head Chef	I1: 55 minutes I2: 20 minutes I3: 46 minutes
29	Steven	Asia & Europe	Executive Chef	73 minutes
30	Eric	Asia, Europe & Australia	Senior Sous Chef	52 minutes
31	Charlotte	Europe	Chef Patron	49 minutes
32	Hugo	Europe & Australia	Chef Patron	I1: 101 minutes I2: 87 minutes I3: 15 minutes I4: 17 minutes
33	Charles	Europe	Head Chef	82 minutes
34	Adam	Europe	Executive Chef	120 minutes
35	Nick	Europe & Asia	Chef Patron	108 minutes
36	Felipe	Europe	Executive Chef	79 minutes
37	Taylor	Europe	Head Chef	60 minutes
38	Andy	Europe	Executive Chef	I1: 58 minutes I2: 69 minutes
39	Pete	Europe	Executive Chef	128 minutes
40	William	Europe	Head Chef	73 minutes
41	Theo	Europe	Head Chef	26 minutes
42	Zander	Europe	Head Chef	23 minutes
43	Juan	North America	Chef Patron	60 minutes
44	Patrik	Europe	Senior Sous Chef	I1: 90 minutes I2: 53 minutes
45	Simon	Europe	Head Chef	104 minutes
46	Mark	Australia	Head Chef	66 minutes
47	Jen	North America	Sous Chef	I1: 114 minutes I2: 20 minutes I3: 140 minutes

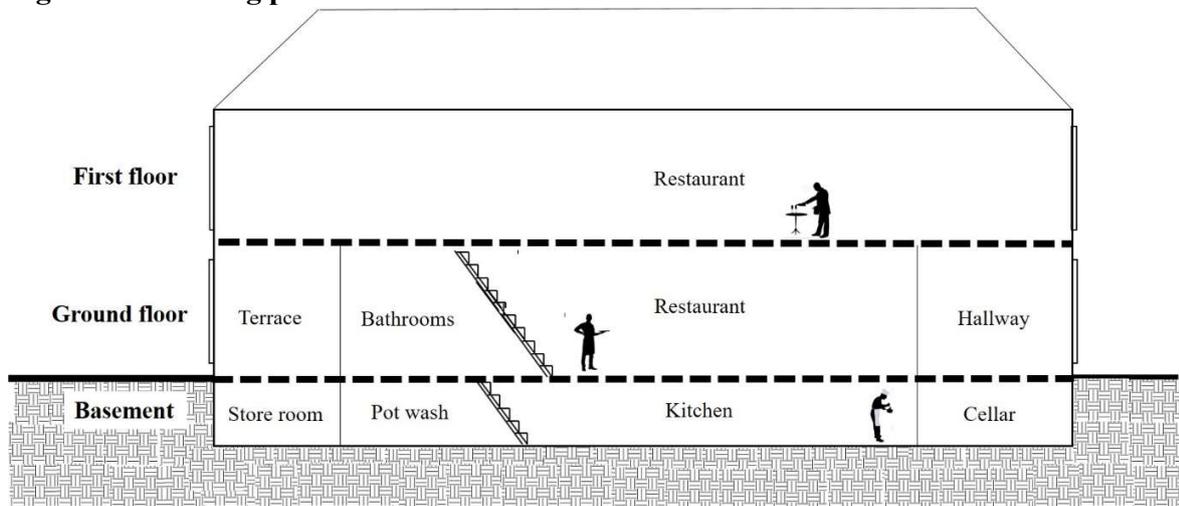**Figure 1: Kitchen plan drawn by Hugo**
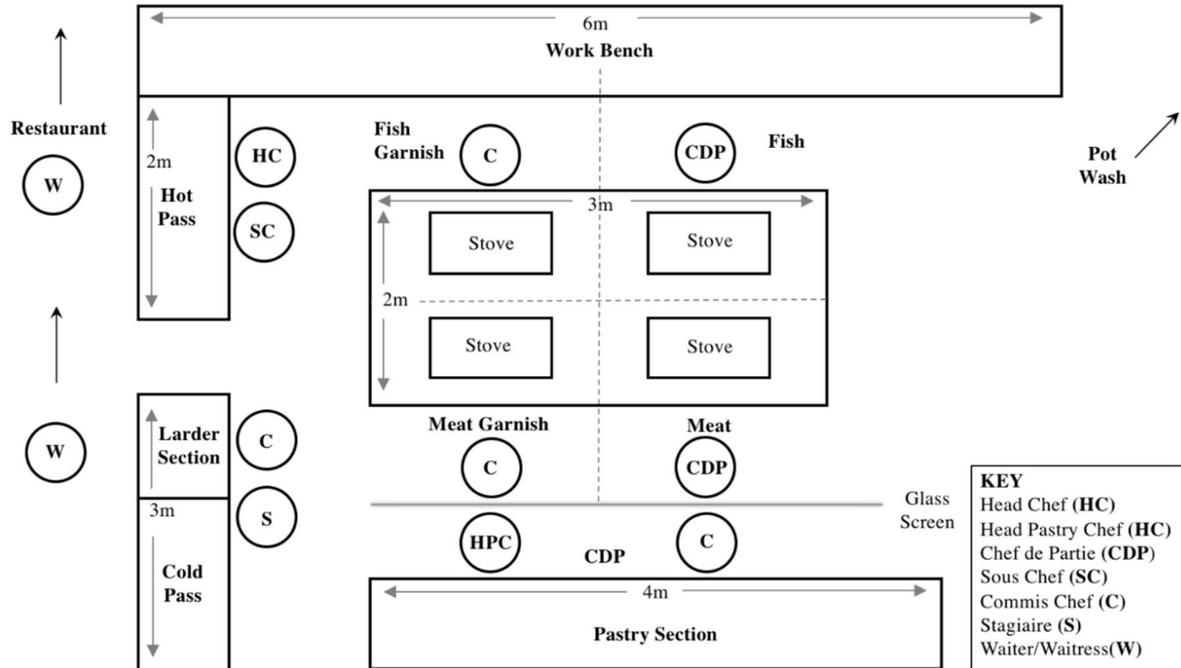
Figure 2 - A typical windowless kitchen

Figure 3 - A typical example of stairs separating a kitchen from a dining space
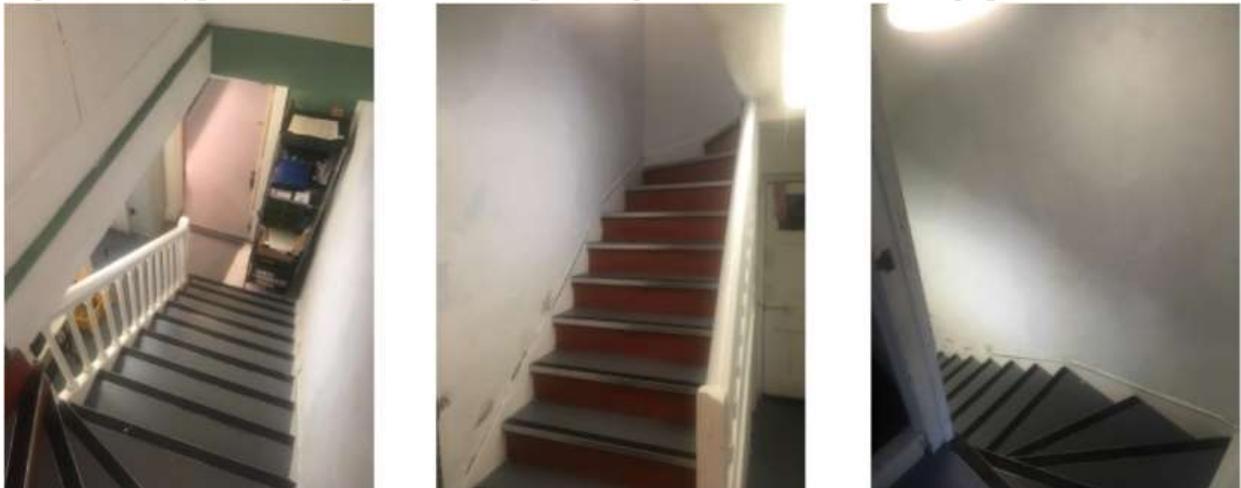
Figure 4 - Building plan

Appendix 1: Glossary of positions	
Position	**Meaning**
Stagiaire	Trainee or apprentice chef (typically someone on work experience)
Commis Chef	Junior kitchen chef
Sous Chef	'Under' (deputy) kitchen chef
Chef de Partie	Senior chef, station chef or line cook. A chef who is in charge of a section
Head Chef	Person in charge of a kitchen, generally reporting to an executive chef
Executive Chef	Chef with executive responsibilities often running several kitchens
Chef Patron	Chef/owner