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Transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine : entre carrière et transcendance, le cas du restaurant-école Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai

Nathalie Louisgrand

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THÈSE

Pour obtenir le grade de

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Présentée par

Nathalie LOUISGRAND

Thèse dirigée par **Vincent MANGEMATIN** et **Charles-Clemens RÜLING**

préparée au sein du **Laboratoire IREGÉ**
dans l'**École Doctorale SISEO**

Transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine : entre carrière et transcendance, Le cas du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai

Thèse soutenue publiquement le **28 novembre 2016**,

devant le jury composé de :

Madame Isabelle BOUTY

Professeur des Universités, Université Paris Dauphine, Rapporteur

Monsieur Hervé FLEURY

Vice-Président exécutif de l'Institut Paul Bocuse, Membre du jury

Madame Caroline HUSSLER

Professeur des Universités, IAE Lyon, Université Jean Moulin, Lyon 3, Rapporteur

Monsieur Vincent MANGEMATIN

Professeur, Grenoble Ecole de Management, Directeur de thèse

Monsieur Charles-Clemens RÜLING

Professeur, Grenoble Ecole de Management,
IREGÉ, Université Grenoble Alpes, Directeur de thèse

Madame Annick VALETTE

Maître de conférences, CERAG, Université Grenoble Alpes, Présidente



*L'UNIVERSITE DE SAVOIE N'ENTEND DONNER AUCUNE APPROBATION NI IMPROBATION
AUX OPINIONS EMISES DANS CETTE THESE : CES OPINIONS DOIVENT ETRE CONSIDEREES
COMME PROPRES A LEUR AUTEUR.*

A ma fille Jade Victoria,

« La transmission reste essentielle, nous sommes des manuels, nous faisons un métier fabuleux. »

Paul Bocuse

« On pourrait monter une association Internationale de gastronomie, dont Zhu Ziyue serait le vice-président, car si la place de président devait revenir à un Français, celle de vice-président devrait être occupée par un Chinois ! »

Lu Wenfu 陆文夫

« J'aime ce qui me nourrit : le boire, le manger, les livres. »

Étienne de la Boétie

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Grenoble, le 22 septembre 2016

Résumé de la thèse

Comment transmettre un goût, un geste, un tour de main, un savoir-être ? Comment se fait cette transmission lorsque le formateur ne partage ni la même culture, ni les mêmes codes que l'apprenant ? Qu'apporte en termes de carrière une telle expérience ?

Cette thèse a pour objectif d'apporter de nouveaux éclairages théoriques et empiriques sur la transmission des compétences et des connaissances gastronomiques en contexte interculturel ainsi que son impact sur les futures carrières des chefs et maîtres d'hôtel.

La recherche étudie l'univers élitiste de la haute cuisine, plus précisément dans le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai au sein duquel une étude de cas unique et longitudinale a été menée entre juin 2013 et avril 2014.

Pour transférer un savoir-faire qui combine tradition et innovation, il faut partager « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française. Ainsi, le premier article montre que pour transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques ainsi que cet « esprit » de la gastronomie française en contexte interculturel, il est indispensable d'appartenir à une communauté, importante et variée, qui sera la garante de son authenticité. Une dimension transcendante – concept emprunté à Kant – dans laquelle la pensée précède l'existence des choses est aussi nécessaire.

Le second article s'interroge sur la façon dont sont gérées les interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des différents modes de transmission de la gastronomie. Pour ce faire, le modèle de Carlile (2004) est amendé et développé en contexte interculturel. A chaque niveau de la transmission (transfert, traduction, hybridation) une dimension d'exclusion et une autre d'inclusion régissent les rapports hiérarchiques entre les formateurs et les apprenants.

Enfin, le troisième article s'interroge sur les apports de ce stage en termes de carrière pour les jeunes chefs et maîtres d'hôtel. Le développement des modèles de « compétences de carrière » de Defillippi et Arthur (1994) puis d'Akkermans et al. (2013) permet d'ajouter une nouvelle « compétence de carrière » : la compétence internationale. Cette recherche permet aussi de révéler des signes de « carrière nomade anticipée » de la part de ces jeunes artisans du service.

Transmettre un métier, un savoir-faire, un tour de main en permettant à la fois le renouvellement et la continuité de la tradition requiert un cadre commun de goûts et de valeurs. La transcendance sert de catalyseur à cette action. La transmission nécessite aussi une prise en compte des divers modes d'interactions qui régissent les rapports quotidiens entre les formateurs et les apprenants, tout particulièrement en contexte interculturel. De plus, cette expérience permet d'acquérir des compétences spécifiques à l'international ainsi que des prédispositions pour une future carrière nomade.

Mots clés : Transmission ; Gastronomie ; Carrière ; Transcendance ; Chefs et Maîtres d'hôtel ; Chine ; *Institut Paul Bocuse*

Summary of the thesis

The Transmission of French gastronomy in China: careers and transcendence.

A case study of the *Restaurant-School Institut Paul Bocuse*, of Shanghai

How can you transmit taste, or a gesture, or know-how? How can this be taught when the trainer doesn't even share the same culture or the same codes as the learner? What might this experience add to the future career of those concerned?

The aim of this thesis is to add new theoretical and empirical light to the transmission of gastronomic competences and knowledge within an intercultural context as well as to understand its impact on the future careers of *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*.

This research explores the elitist world of *haute cuisine*, and more specifically the restaurant-school *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai, drawing upon a longitudinal case study done between June 2013 and April 2014.

Transferring know-how that combines tradition and innovation requires an understanding of the « *spirit* » of French gastronomy. Thus, the first article shows that to transmit know-how, practices and this *spirit* within an intercultural context it is vital to belong to a large and varied community that can guarantee fundamental authenticity. An element of Kant's transcendental dimension, in which thought precedes existence, is a vital part of this process.

The second article examines how interactions between the trainers and the Chinese students are managed during different modes of transmission of the gastronomy. Carlile's model (2004) is amended and developed in an intercultural context. At each level of

transmission (transfer, translation, hybridisation) a dimension of inclusion and exclusion govern the hierarchical relationship between the *intern-trainers* and the learners.

Finally, the third article explores the benefit of this internship for the careers of the future young *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*. The development of the « Career Competences Model », championed by Defillippi and Arthur (1994) and subsequently, Akkermans et al. (2013), leads to the elaboration of a new, *international*, career competence. This research also reveals signs of an « anticipated boundaryless career » by the young *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*.

Transmitting a profession, know how, or gestures whilst striking the balance between innovation and tradition requires a common framework of tastes and values. Transcendence serves as the catalyst to such action. This transmission also requires that different modes of interaction be taken into account. These govern the daily relationships between the trainers and the learners especially given the intercultural context. Furthermore, this experience enables the acquisition of specific international competences and lays the foundations for a future boundaryless career.

Key words: Transmission; Gastronomy; Careers; Transcendental; *Chefs* and *Maîtres d'hôtel*; China; *Institut Paul Bocuse*

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INTRODUCTION

« Le devoir d'un cuisinier est de transmettre à la génération qui le remplacera le fonds de son savoir-faire, mais aussi les enrichissements, les mots nouveaux, les concepts découlant d'expériences maintes fois entreprises. »

Paul Bocuse

1. L'univers de la haute cuisine

Le 16 novembre 2010, le 'repas gastronomique des français' est inscrit au patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité par l'UNESCO. Il s'agit d'un « *repas festif dont les convives pratiquent, pour cette occasion, l'art du « bien manger » et du « bien boire ».* (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>) Le repas gastronomique des français met l'accent sur l'alliance entre les mets et les vins, le dressage de la table, la place exacte des verres, l'ordre des plats, la gestuelle ainsi que tous les rituels qui y sont associés. Des gastronomes, qui connaissent parfaitement les traditions « *en préservent la mémoire, veillent à la pratique vivante des rites et contribuent ainsi à leur transmission orale et/ou écrite, aux jeunes générations en particulier* » (op. cit). Le repas gastronomique fait partie intégrante de la culture française (Chevrier, 2011).

Dans les restaurants gastronomiques ou de haute cuisine, ces traditions culinaires et des arts de la table sont scrupuleusement respectés. En effet la haute gastronomie, fierté française, se compose d'un ensemble de codes (Rao et al. 2005), de normes (Terence, 1996 ; Fauchard et Von Hippel, 2008 ; Drouard, 2004 ; Trubek, 2009) de recettes et de pratiques qui sont appliqués dans un cadre rigoureux où discipline ordre et hiérarchie règnent en maîtres (Drouard, 2004). Cette codification et cette formalisation lui ont permis de s'imposer dans de nombreux pays et de devenir une référence culinaire internationale.

La haute cuisine revêt des aspects à la fois militaire et artistique. Militaire à cause de la discipline qui règne dans une cuisine ainsi qu'au vocabulaire employé tel que 'chef', 'coup de feu', 'brigade'. La vie dans une cuisine n'est pas chose aisée : en effet cela reste une profession artisanale (Gomez et al., 2007), ardue avec de longues heures de travail, debout, au milieu de la chaleur des fours et des plaques de cuisson ainsi que des odeurs (Drouard, 2004). Il faut être capable de travailler sous pression. Un grand nombre de tâches sont répétitives (Balazs, 2002 ; Gomez et al. 2003 ; Marie, 2014) et il est nécessaire d'avoir des compétences culinaires, managériales ainsi qu'un amour du métier (Svejenova, 2005). Artistique car la haute cuisine française signifie plus que de la nourriture : il s'agit aussi un '*art culinaire*', et évoque quelque chose de raffinée (Trubek, 2009). La haute cuisine ou grande cuisine ou haute gastronomie allie des pratiques spécifiques à un sens esthétique. Tout est méticuleusement préparé et réfléchi, du choix du nom du plat à la présentation finale. Les produits et les vins sont de qualité, les arts de la tables sont importants et le service soigné. Par ailleurs, et tout comme la musique à laquelle elle est souvent comparée, il s'agit d'un art éphémère (Ferguson, 2006).

L'univers de la haute cuisine évoque aussi le luxe et un certain élitisme. Lorsque l'on évoque un restaurant gastronomique, c'est l'image du luxe qui apparaît. Or ce concept de luxe alimentaire n'est pas aussi important dans d'autres cultures surtout lorsque l'alimentation est davantage vue comme une nécessité. (Balazs, 2002). Cela veut aussi dire que ceux qui travaillent dans ces restaurants font partie d'une certaine élite culinaire qui n'a rien à voir avec les cuisiniers ou serveurs travaillant dans des restaurants moins huppés. Il y a aussi dans cette cuisine un aspect « véritable et authentique », la notion de qualité du produit que l'on ne trouve pas dans les restaurants de restauration rapide (Balazs, 2002).

1.1. La transmission de la haute cuisine française

Les grands chefs cuisiniers du XVIIème au XIXème siècle ont contribué à la transmission de la gastronomie française grâce à trois méthodes : la codification et la publication d'ouvrages de cuisine, la formation des apprentis, la propagation de la haute cuisine à l'étranger. Depuis le XVIIIème siècle, les très grands chefs utilisent souvent les trois ensembles. Alors que les deux premiers points sont développés ci-dessous, la formation des apprentis l'est en page 43.

1.2. Codification et publication d'ouvrages de cuisine

La haute cuisine française est hautement codifiée (Ferguson, 1998 ; Rao et al. 2005 ; Durand et al., 2007). C'est d'ailleurs cette rigoureuse codification qui lui a permis d'être transmise (Trubek, 2000 ; Rao et al., 2003 ; Ferguson, 2006), mais aussi parce que les techniques dominant davantage que les produits ce qui fait qu'elles ne sont pas ancrées dans un lieu particulier et qu'elles '*voyages facilement*' (Ferguson, 2006, p. 71). La publication d'ouvrages de cuisine dans lesquelles se trouvent des recettes et des techniques a permis de codifier une grande partie des travail des chefs (Terence, 1996). Petit à petit le métier s'est professionnalisé et les règles culinaires françaises ont été adoptées (Trubek, 2009).

Mais la haute gastronomie signifie davantage que des recettes et des techniques. En effet, toutes les personnes qui travaillent dans un 'grand restaurant' sont des « artisans du service » avec des conditions de travail pas toujours faciles car elles doivent satisfaire les clients et en même temps démontrer leurs talents d'artisans. (Drouard, 2004). Le domaine de la haute cuisine est un domaine de l'industrie du luxe avec beaucoup de temps d'attentes et de moments pression (Terence, 1996 ; Balazs, 2002).

Un des premiers grands chefs français est Antonin Carême (1784-1833) surnommé « l'architecte de la cuisine française » (Spang, 2000). Son *art de la cuisine française au XIXème siècle* (1833) est réputé pour sa codification de la cuisine française. Ses ouvrages de cuisine comportent des recettes mais aussi des menus, une histoire de la cuisine française,

et des croquis ainsi que des recommandations sur la façon dont faire le marché et gérer la cuisine (Balazs, 2002).

Fin XIXème, début XXème, Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) 'le roi des cuisiniers, le cuisinier des rois' simplifia, modifia et codifia davantage encore le travail de Carême. Tout ceci apparaît dans *Le guide culinaire. Aide-mémoire de cuisine pratique* (1902). Le guide culinaire Escoffier est devenu le principal manuel pour les professionnels de la haute cuisine et demeure 'La bible' à laquelle le chef se réfère en cas de besoin. Il a aussi mis en place le concept de 'brigade'. Ainsi, l'espace en cuisine a été réparti par poste de travail. Encore de nos jours, Escoffier est considéré comme le père de la haute cuisine française.

1.3. Divulcation de la haute cuisine

La transmission de la haute cuisine française à l'étranger a été possible dès la seconde moitié du XVIIème siècle grâce à des chefs qui, tels des missionnaires, se rendaient dans des cours étrangères afin de '*répandre la bonne nouvelle culinaire*' (Ferguson, 2006, p.6).

Par la suite, Antonin Carême est un des premiers chefs à avoir joui d'une renommée internationale grâce entre autre à une carrière à la cour de Russie et d'Angleterre (Trubek, 2009). De nombreux autres chefs français moins célèbres s'expatrient aussi à cette période pour transmettre la haute cuisine française principalement vers la Grande-Bretagne, les pays limitrophes de la France et les Etats-Unis. Dans la 2nde moitié du XIXème siècle, c'est l'Europe centrale et Orientale qui découvrent la gastronomie française grâce à ces chefs partis faire carrière à l'international. Le Japon lui-même est atteint par petites touches dès l'ouverture du pays en 1868 (Trubek, 2009 p.23). Les japonais sont à ce jour toujours aussi connaisseurs et amateurs de gastronomie française. La haute cuisine française a ainsi été diffusée à travers le monde dès le XIXème siècle. Tout comme Carême, Escoffier a été l'un des chefs les plus célèbres de son époque avec une renommée internationale qui lui a ainsi permis d'assoir celle de la haute cuisine française.

Aujourd'hui encore la France estime qu'elle a un rôle à jouer en ce qui concerne la divulgation de la gastronomie. Elle pense aussi qu'elle doit la diffuser à travers le monde car

il s'agit de la cuisine la plus sophistiquée, de la meilleure, et donc tout le monde devrait avoir l'opportunité d'en profiter (Balazs, 2002).

1.4. Le cas de Paul Bocuse

La France, au XXème siècle a compté plusieurs chefs talentueux. Parmi eux, un a beaucoup apporté au métier de cuisinier, il s'agit de Paul Bocuse (1926-). Ce meilleur ouvrier de France (MOF) 1961, triple étoilé depuis 1965 a été désigné en 1989 « Cuisinier du Siècle » par Gault et Millau puis « Pape de la cuisine » et même « Chef du Siècle » en 2011 par le Culinary Institute of America. Cependant sa plus grande fierté est d'avoir '*sorti les chefs de leur cuisine*' (Mesplede et Vavro, 2014, p.4), et de leur avoir rendu leur prestige (Terence, 1996). Avant lui, seul le nom du restaurant importait. Désormais, les clients vont dans un restaurant gastronomique pour la réputation du chef. Paul Bocuse a usé de son image et de son succès pour redorer celle de tous les cuisiniers.

Paul Bocuse – tout comme ses prédécesseurs – considère que la transmission de la cuisine française au niveau national et international demeure essentielle. Il a publié de nombreux livres de recettes, et est propriétaire d'un grand nombre de restaurants et brasseries dans la région lyonnaise mais aussi aux Etats-Unis et au Japon.

Pour lui un autre point demeure très important : il s'agit de l'apprentissage. En effet l'apprentissage est lié à la transmission si importante dans la haute cuisine. Hervé Fleury (2014, p.172, in Mesplede et Vavro) explique que '*Paul Bocuse a surtout su encourager les jeunes à prendre la relève, convaincu qu'il a toujours été par l'importance de la transmission*'. C'est pour cela qu'il est le co-fondateur – avec Gérard Pélisson de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* créée en 1990 à Ecully, aux portes de Lyon. Cet établissement forme des étudiants du monde entier aux métiers de l'hôtellerie et de la restauration à un niveau Bachelor et Master. L'*Institut Paul Bocuse* dispose même d'un centre de recherche depuis 2008. C'est toujours dans cet esprit de transmission de la haute cuisine française à l'étranger que le restaurant-école de Shanghai – sujet de cette thèse – a été créé.

Ainsi, pour tous ces chefs, depuis le XVIIIème siècle, la codification, le développement et la transmission de la cuisine française à l'étranger demeurent des sujets importants. Ce désir de créer des instituts où l'on transmet les règles et l'esprit de la gastronomie française ainsi que les ouvertures de restaurants à l'étranger, montrent bien que les thèmes de la transmission internationale de la haute cuisine française et la gestion des carrières dans ce milieu demeurent plus que jamais d'actualité.

C'est pour cela qu'autour de la question de recherche principale :

« Comment transmettre la gastronomie française en Chine ? »

Trois sous-questions sont émises :

- Comment transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques ainsi que « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française ?
- Quelles sont les différentes formes d'interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des diverses étapes de la transmission ?
- Comment les stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils les apports de ce stage de transmission de la gastronomie en termes de carrière ?

2. Structure de la thèse

Dans ce premier chapitre introductif, je replace d'abord dans son contexte l'objet de la recherche. Je commence par présenter dans la revue de la littérature les divers concepts théoriques qui sont ensuite mobilisés dans les articles. Je développe les concepts de connaissance, de compétences, de savoir-faire et j'explique les différences entre transfert et transmission avant d'évoquer la formation des apprentis cuisiniers. Dans un second temps, en introduction de la partie présentant le cadre méthodologique et le terrain d'étude, je commence par expliquer les différentes visions de la cuisine et du métier de cuisinier entre la France et la Chine ce qui permet au lecteur d'avoir une meilleure vision de la tâche à effectuer pour les formateurs. Après cette introduction, j'annonce ma question de recherche : comment transmettre la gastronomie française en Chine ? Et je la décline en trois grands axes de recherche : Comment transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques et « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française en Chine ? Quelles sont les différentes formes

d'interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des diverses étapes de la transmission ? Comment les stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils les apports de ce stage de transmission de la gastronomie en termes de carrière ?

Afin de répondre à ces questions, j'utilise comme méthodologie de recherche l'étude de cas unique (Yin, 2013) avec le cas du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai. Dans ce restaurant gastronomique d'application, entre le 2 mai 2013 et le 30 avril 2014, 37 étudiants chinois sont formés à la haute cuisine française et au service par 19 stagiaires-formateurs venus de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully près de Lyon. J'ai mené 48 entretiens semi-directifs, et effectué deux stages non participatifs d'une semaine – au début et à la fin de l'année de formation – au cours desquels j'ai participé à la vie du restaurant-école. Tout ceci me permet de voir comment les connaissances, les compétences, les savoir-faire et les pratiques propres à un restaurant gastronomique sont transférées en Chine. La seconde partie du premier chapitre de la thèse – dédié à la méthodologie et au design de la recherche – relate comment j'ai collecté, analysé et présenté les données de l'ensemble du document. Les chapitres 2, 3 et 4 sont composés de trois articles comportant des contributions à la fois théoriques et empiriques. Je suis le premier auteur de ces trois articles et celle qui les ai présentés lors des conférences indiquées dans les paragraphes suivants.

Dans le premier article, je me suis interrogée sur la transmission en Chine des savoir-faire, des pratiques, de « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française tel qu'il est inscrit au patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité par l'UNESCO depuis 2010. Pour ce faire trois mécanismes sont nécessaires : Tout d'abord un mécanisme « d'inscription » des gestes professionnels et des attitudes dans le corps et le quotidien des apprenants. Ensuite un mécanisme « d'appartenance » à la communauté gastronomique. Cette dernière est la garante de l'esprit de la gastronomie française. Elle se compose non seulement de cuisiniers et de maîtres d'hôtel, mais aussi de gastronomes, de critiques et de guides gastronomiques – tous ceux qui éprouvent une même passion pour la haute cuisine française. Enfin un mécanisme transcendantal qui se réfère à une dimension proche de la foi. Les stagiaires formateurs sont entièrement dévoués à leur mission qui consiste à convertir les étudiants chinois aux

pratiques et à « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française. La contribution théorique de ce premier article est double avec les concepts de communauté et de transcendance. En effet une communauté dense et diverse est une condition nécessaire pour assurer la transmission de la gastronomie tout en stimulant l'innovation. Cette communauté ne partage pas seulement des pratiques et des gestes mais aussi des goûts, un langage, des références, une passion. La transcendance emprunte à Kant le fait que la pensée précède l'existence même des choses. C'est parce qu'on peut la concevoir que la chose existe. La transmission de l'héritage mondial immatériel suppose le partage préalable d'un cadre de pensée commun, de goûts et de valeurs. C'est à l'intérieur de ce cadre que les concepts, la connaissance, les savoir-faire, les règles et les diverses communautés peuvent être façonnées.

Cet article a été présenté à deux stages de son développement à la conférence EGOS en 2015 à Athènes et en 2016 à Naples.

Transmettre des connaissances et des savoir-faire gastronomiques entre la France et la Chine signifie bien plus que d'apprendre à cuisiner un plat. Il s'agit de la rencontre entre deux groupes ne partageant pas les mêmes valeurs culturelles et culinaires.

Le second article s'interroge donc sur les modes de transmission de la gastronomie française en contexte interculturel en développant le modèle de Carlile (2004) et en lui ajoutant une nouvelle dimension exclusive/inclusive pour définir les types de relations hiérarchiques entre les formateurs et les apprenants. Ce modèle a trois niveaux : le transfert, la traduction et la transformation (remplacé dans notre cas par l'hybridation). En mode transfert, les connaissances se transmettent telles quelles. En mode traduction, les connaissances se transmettent en étant traduites. En mode hybridation quelque chose de nouveau ou de différent – issu de la rencontre entre les deux cultures – est créé (alors que chez Carlile, (2004) on assistait à une transformation). D'autre part en mode exclusif les formateurs ont tendance à glorifier leurs propres connaissances et à ne pas prendre en compte celle des apprenants alors qu'en mode inclusif, au contraire, ils reconnaissent le travail, l'implication et même la créativité des apprenants. La contribution théorique concerne les approches exclusives et inclusives. Ces dernières permettent de voir

comment les formateurs et les apprenants – en contexte interculturel – communiquent à différents niveaux du modèle, comment leurs relations évoluent. Cela permet d’être conscient des attitudes plus ou moins ouvertes sur l’autre et sur ses différences.

Ces différentes formes de transmission de la haute cuisine française en Chine et les interactions qui y sont associées permettent de contribuer à la littérature sur la transmission des compétences et des connaissances dans les industries créatives en contexte interculturel.

Cet article a été présenté en conférence à Naples pour la conférence EGOS en juillet 2016.

Ma troisième contribution théorique est double. Il s’agit tout d’abord de proposer – en s’appuyant sur les modèles de ‘compétences de carrière’ de Defillippi et Arthur, (1994) puis d’Akkermans et al., (2013) – une nouvelle compétence de carrière nécessaire en contexte interculturel : la compétence de carrière internationale. En effet lorsque les stagiaires se trouvent dans un contexte étranger, ils doivent régler un ensemble de situations plus ou moins compliquées auxquelles ils ne sont pas habitués. Cette nouvelle compétence leur permet de s’adapter et d’être opérationnels plus facilement. Ensuite, les stagiaires formateurs montrent des signes révélateurs d’une ‘carrière nomade anticipée’ dans trois éléments de réponse : dans leurs motivations, dans la catégorisation des compétences utiles à leur future carrière et dans leurs aspirations. En effet, avant même d’avoir commencé leur vie professionnelle ces jeunes pensent à ce qu’ils peuvent retirer comme compétences et expérience de leur stage. Cela laisse présager qu’ils auront une future carrière nomade, c’est-à-dire une carrière sans attache géographique ni institutionnelle, une carrière qu’ils géreront eux-mêmes. Dans les recherches sur les carrières nomades, l’attitude ou la propension des jeunes à adopter une future carrière nomade n’a pas encore été étudié.

La troisième contribution de ce troisième article est empirique. Pour la contribution empirique il s’agit d’un groupe doublement atypique de par sa jeunesse (d’habitude ce

sont des personnes plus âgées qui sont interrogées dans les recherches sur les carrières nomades) et de par sa fonction : ce sont des artisans du service dans le secteur hautement élitiste de la haute cuisine (alors que d'habitude il s'agit généralement de cols blancs). S'interroger à ces jeunes artisans permet de comprendre les comportements d'un groupe qui n'est pas habituellement étudié pour les carrières nomades. Cela permet aussi d'avoir des informations sur une catégorie socio-professionnelle peu étudié jusque-là dans ce domaine et enrichir les données empiriques.

Cet article a été présenté en conférence à deux stages de son développement à la conférence EGOS en 2014 à Rotterdam et en 2015 à Athènes.

CHAPITRE 1 :
CADRE THEORIQUE, EMPIRIQUE ET METHODOLOGIQUE DE LA THESE

Synthèse du chapitre 1

L'objectif de cette thèse est d'obtenir une meilleure compréhension des mécanismes de transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine à travers les trois questionnements suivants :

- Comment transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques ainsi que « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française ?
- Quelles sont les différentes formes d'interactions entre les stagiaires-formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des diverses étapes de la transmission ?
- Comment les stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils les apports de ce stage de transmission de la gastronomie en termes de carrière ?

Ce premier chapitre a pour but de présenter le cadre théorique, méthodologique et empirique de ma thèse.

- Je vais, dans une première partie, exposer les fondements théoriques de ma recherche en présentant l'état de l'art ainsi que tout concept n'apparaissant pas dans les chapitres suivants mais pouvant se révéler nécessaires à leur compréhension. Je vais ainsi présenter les concepts de connaissance, compétences, savoir-faire ainsi que ceux de transfert et de transmission.

- Dans un second temps, et afin de comprendre le cadre de la recherche, je définis la gastronomie chinoise avec ses saveurs et ses règles et la compare avec la gastronomie française.

- Dans un troisième temps, j'expose le design de la recherche en présentant mon étude de cas unique, celle du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai au sein duquel j'ai mené une étude qualitative et longitudinale avec des approches ethnographiques entre juin 2013 et avril 2014. Il constitue un cadre de recherche homogène et cohérent.

- Dans un quatrième et dernier temps je détaille les différentes étapes de la collecte de données ainsi que la façon dont ces dernières sont analysées dans les chapitres suivants.

A.1. Cadre théorique de la thèse

Je vais maintenant définir les concepts de connaissances, de compétences, de savoir-faire, de pratiques mais aussi de transfert et de transmission qui se trouvent au cœur de cette recherche. Comprendre leur signification permet d'aborder les chapitres 2, 3 et 4 avec plus d'aisance.

1. Connaissances, compétences, et savoir-faire au transfert et à la transmission

Le questionnement principal de cette thèse est de comprendre comment se transmettent les savoir-faire, les pratiques, les connaissances gastronomiques, plus particulièrement entre deux cultures très différentes. Si de nombreuses études ont été menées dans l'industrie (Nonaka et Takeuchi, 1997 ; Carlile, 2004) sur la gestion des connaissances ou *knowledge management* en anglais, ce n'est pas encore le cas dans les industries culturelles et de services. Il est donc intéressant de comprendre comment sont définies ces connaissances, compétences et pratiques, comment elles sont gérées et comment ensuite elles sont transmises. Dans cette partie nous verrons d'abord le concept de connaissances, compétences et savoir-faire et ensuite nous verrons comment elles sont transférées/transmises.

1.1. La connaissance

Qu'est-ce que la connaissance ? Ce concept, sujet à de nombreuses définitions, est aussi source de multiples débats (Alvesson et Kärreman, 2002 ; Tsoukas et Vladimirou, 2001). Cette complexité sémantique vient de la diversité des approches (philosophiques, sociales, etc.) dans lesquelles le concept a été traité. Cependant, comme l'ont expliqué Grant (1996) et Orlikowski (2002), deux grandes approches tentent de définir ce concept : l'approche taxonomique et l'approche par la pratique. L'approche taxonomique décrit et classifie la connaissance et la lie aux stratégies, routines, outils de management de la connaissance et aux performances particulières de l'entreprise.

L'approche par la pratique met l'accent sur la connaissance en action, sur ce que font les acteurs dans la « vraie vie ».

1.1.1. L'approche taxonomique

Le terme taxonomie vient de Tsoukas (1996, p.13) qui met l'accent sur le fait que les chercheurs développent des classifications de la connaissance. Ils examinent les diverses stratégies, routines et techniques afin de créer, codifier et convertir les différents types de connaissances (Nelson et Winter, 1982 ; Nonaka, 1994). A côté du classique clivage entre les connaissances tacites et les connaissances explicites (Nonaka et Takeuchi, 1997), les chercheurs ont élaboré d'autres dichotomies de la connaissance telles que le particulier et l'universel ; le codifié et le non codifié ; le canonique et le non canonique, le procédural et le déclaratif ; etc.

Dans cette approche, la connaissance est vue dans l'organisation comme quelque chose de facile à manipuler et à stocker (Argyris and Schön, 1996) grâce à des réservoirs de connaissances (Cohen and Bacdayan, 1994). Il s'agit cependant d'un traitement assez « matériel » de la connaissance et cette dernière se trouve réduite à des informations structurées et formatées avec des problèmes et des solutions principalement d'ordre technologiques (McDermott, 1999 ; Pfeffer et Sutton, 1999). Les entreprises se reposent avant tout sur des procédures, des règles et des savoirs incorporés dans les technologies. Cette approche – dont les savoirs sont davantage maîtrisables – correspond à la version *hard* du management de la connaissance. Or cette dernière ne laisse que peu de place à l'acteur et à son rapport à l'action. Il est en effet désincarné et sans réelle identité. Comme ce n'est pas cette approche qui est développée dans cette thèse, elle n'est pas davantage analysée.

1.1.2. L'épistémologie de la pratique

L'alternative à la rationalité technique scientifique est une sorte de rationalité pratique. Il s'agit de « l'approche par la pratique » ou « *practice-based approach/study* » en anglais (Brown et Duguid, 1991, Cook et Brown, 1999). La connaissance est ainsi le résultat de

l'interaction entre le sujet, l'objet et le contexte et non pas quelque chose de totalement extérieure à l'acteur (Gherardi, 2000).

Avec « l'approche par la pratique », la connaissance est vue comme un processus dynamique et le *knowledge* se transforme en *knowing* ou « connaissance en action ». On passe ainsi à l'étude de l'action et non pas à celle de l'objet.

Les organisations qui favorisent le *knowing* s'intéressent essentiellement aux compétences et aux savoirs incorporés dans les valeurs collectives. Il s'agit d'ailleurs de savoirs plutôt flous et imprécis, attachés à une personne. Dans ce cas, ce sont les dimensions sociales de la connaissance qui sont mises en valeur. Nous avons affaire à des acteurs qui ont des savoirs et qui interagissent en situation de travail. La connaissance est ainsi très fortement liée aux interactions sociales. D'ailleurs on a affaire à des 'communautés de pratique' qui rassemblent des individus interagissant continuellement au cours de leur pratique (Lave et Wenger, 1991 ; Brown et Duguid, 1991 ; Amin et Cohendet, 2004). Dans ces communautés, la connaissance n'est pas possédée de façon égalitaire par tous les membres. Elle n'est pas non plus vue comme un simple objet que l'on peut transférer d'une personne à une autre ou d'une organisation à une autre. Il s'agit plutôt de quelque chose qui émerge lors de la participation à une pratique (Blackler 1995 ; Orlikowski 2002; Tsoukas 2005). La connaissance devient donc une pratique située, inscrite dans des contextes historiques, sociaux et culturels (Nicolini et al., 2003). Pour Schatzki (1997) une pratique n'est jamais stable, homogène ou anhistorique car elle évolue dans des contextes historiques et sociaux.

C'est cette dernière approche que je favorise dans cette thèse. Les chapitres 2 et 3 s'inscrivent ainsi dans l'approche par la pratique car lorsque l'on veut parler de la transmission des connaissances, des compétences, des savoir-faire et des pratiques dans les services, on ne peut pas réduire la connaissance à un stock de données ou d'informations. Il s'agit au contraire d'acteurs qui font passer de la connaissance dans et par l'action. En effet, les métiers artisanaux ne peuvent pas se transmettre comme l'on transmet la notice du montage d'une machine ou un langage informatique. Apprendre et transférer un métier

artisanal suppose de l'interaction entre des humains, des explications, des démonstrations, des répétitions. La connaissance acquise ne peut donc pas être stockée et utilisée comme ressource par l'entreprise. C'est une source individuelle qui se met au service du groupe, de l'organisation. Beaucoup d'éléments sont transmis dans l'interaction, dans l'action. Tout n'est pas intellectualisé, tout n'est pas précisément défini, la pratique humaine vient compléter les codes et les recettes. Pour transmettre tout cela, il faut que cela se fasse dans et par l'action, l'interaction, l'explication, le goûter. Voilà pourquoi j'ai développé cette approche dans ma thèse.

1.2. Les compétences

Le terme de compétence fait lui aussi l'objet d'un grand nombre de définitions. En effet il se trouve dans différents courants théoriques tels que par exemple l'apprentissage organisationnel, le management stratégique, la gestion des ressources humaines et la gestion des connaissances. Tout comme dans l'article de Drucker-Godard et al., (2002, p.3), qui présente une très belle synthèse de ces différents courants autour des compétences, ma « *recherche est à l'intersection de différents courants théoriques autour du concept de compétence* ».

Les compétences englobent des *'ensembles de connaissances, de capacités d'action, et de comportements, structurés en fonction d'un but, et dans un type de situations données'* (Gilbert et Parlier, 1992, p.16). Selon Oiry (2005, p.23) la compétence est « *individuelle, hétérogène, contextualisée, dynamique et scientifique.* » Compétences et connaissances sont ainsi très fortement reliées. Cependant les compétences sont inséparables de l'action et permettent ainsi « *d'englober les différents types de connaissances, leurs dynamiques et leurs tensions* » (Cazal et Dietrich, 2003). Elles ne sont pas non plus liées à la conscience : Très souvent des professionnels ne savent pas expliquer comment ils s'y prennent pour réaliser ce qu'ils font. Ils arrivent quand même à transmettre leur savoir-faire par des gestes, des explications. La construction de la compétence passe ici de la non-conscience de ce que l'on fait à sa conscience. Il s'agit de « *compétences incorporées* » dans l'action (Leplat, 1997). Elles font partie du sujet qui agit. En cela les compétences s'opposent aux connaissances qui

elles s'accompagnent toujours de la conscience. Il est donc difficile de comprendre ce qu'est une compétence sans son rapport au corps. Après un apprentissage, les compétences deviennent automatiques ce qui permet à l'individu de se concentrer sur des niveaux plus complexes de l'activité qu'il effectue.

La mise en œuvre de la compétence suppose que l'acteur se soit approprié un certain nombre de savoirs théoriques ou techniques mais aussi de pratiques acquises par l'expérience (que l'on retrouve par exemple dans la dextérité à faire un geste). On peut donc dire que la construction d'une compétence se fait à la jonction entre les connaissances tacites et explicites (Cazal et Dietrich, 2003).

D'autre part le terme de compétence renvoie souvent à celui de 'savoir-faire' ou de *know how* en anglais que le dictionnaire *Le Petit Robert* définit comme : l'« *ensemble des connaissances, expériences et techniques accumulées par un individu ou une entreprise* ». Durand (1997) pour sa part développe un référentiel des compétences avec 3 axes : la connaissance (le savoir), la pratique (le savoir-faire) et les attitudes (le savoir-être). Déjà Aristote dans *Ethique à Nicomaque* utilisait les concepts de *epistêmê* (la connaissance), *technê* (la pratique) et *phronêsis* (les attitudes) pour parler de la relation entre la connaissance, la pratique et les "attitudes."

1.3. Les savoir-faire

Un savoir-faire est « *l'ensemble des connaissances et des savoirs humains qui permettent à la fois la mise en œuvre du couple outil-matière, le déroulement des chaînes opératoires et l'obtention d'un résultat proche de celui désiré* » Chamoux (1981, p.72). Ce savoir-faire peut-être intellectuel ou gestuel ; individuel ou collectif ; conscient ou inconscient.

Comme nous venons de le voir, les savoir-faire sont inclus dans les compétences dont ils constituent un des axes. (Durand, 1997). Mais ce n'est pas parce que l'on dispose d'un savoir-faire que ce dernier est facilement transmissible. On peut transmettre un savoir-faire en montrant, en travaillant en groupe, en pratiquant, même si « *ils peuvent ne pas nécessiter une compréhension fondamentale des raisons pour lesquelles les tours de mains et les*

techniques empiriques fonctionnent » (Durand, 2006, p.279). Un savoir-faire ne se transmet pas lors d'un enseignement théorique (Brown et Duguid, 1991), il est expérientiel, relève de l'empirique et possède une grande part de tacite (Durand, 2006).

Il existe aussi des sous-dimensions dans l'axe des savoir-faire qui comprennent « *les tours de mains, de savoir-faire individuels ou collectifs, de processus organisationnels ou de routines et de technologies* » (Durand, 2006, pp. 280-281).

Cette partie a donc permis d'affiner la conceptualisation de certains des termes centraux de cette recherche soit les mots : 'pratique', 'compétence' et 'savoir-faire' ainsi que les deux approches de la connaissance. Il est maintenant important de voir ce que signifient les concepts de transfert et de transmission et de voir s'il y a des différences de signification entre les deux.

2. Transfert et transmission

On ne transmet pas de la même façon une connaissance si elle est caractérisée que si elle est étudiée comme une pratique. Si elle est caractérisée, ce sont les résultats et le classement de cette dernière qui sont importants. On ne s'intéresse pas du tout aux acteurs, simplement à l'aboutissement de la transmission/du transfert. Lorsque la transmission est analysée comme une pratique, ce que j'ai choisi comme approche dans cette thèse, c'est le mécanisme qui est important, la façon dont les acteurs s'y prennent pour transmettre leur savoir, la nature de leurs interactions, leur façon de procéder.

L'objet de la recherche étant la compréhension des principales méthodes de transmission de connaissances, de pratiques, de l'esprit de la gastronomie française entre individus en situation de travail (chapitre 2) mais aussi des interactions entre les acteurs lors des différentes étapes du transfert de connaissances (chapitre 3) et de ce qu'apporte l'expérience de la transmission (chapitre 4), je m'interroge sur la terminologie à employer. Dois-je parler de transmission ou de transfert ? Que signifient ces deux termes ? Quelles sont

les spécificités de la transmission des compétences et du savoir-faire par rapport au transfert de connaissances ?

Selon le dictionnaire *Le Petit Robert*, le terme 'transfert' signifie : « *déplacement d'une personne ou d'un lieu à un autre* » et 'transmission' : « *fait, manière, action de transmettre* » et transmettre : « *faire passer d'une personne à une autre, d'un lieu à un autre* ». 'Transfert' et 'transmission' sont donc synonymes. Ils sont d'ailleurs généralement utilisés de façon aléatoire par les auteurs (Van de Portal, 2010 ; Barmeyer et Ivens 2007). D'une façon générale dans cette thèse je préfère employer le terme de transmission qui est celui utilisé par les artisans. Mais je peux parfois aussi utiliser le terme transfert, en particulier dans le chapitre 3, comme l'ont fait les auteurs Bouty et Gomez (2010) et Di Stefano et al. (2014) dans leurs articles sur la haute cuisine.

2.1. Le transfert de connaissances et de compétences

Depuis les années 90, les notions de transfert de connaissances sont d'actualité dans les entreprises. Il s'agit du développement du *knowledge management*. En effet de nombreux auteurs ont montré le rôle stratégique joué par la connaissance dans les organisations et l'importance de leur transfert (Drucker, 1992 ; Nonaka et Takeuchi, 1997). Cependant il est à noter que presque toutes les études faites sur le transfert de connaissances concernent les secteurs industriels et techniques mais pas les services, ni les industries créatives. Or dans une société où les services dominant, il serait intéressant de voir si le mécanisme est identique. On a beaucoup parlé du transfert de compétences en ressources humaines, en particulier à cause de départs à la retraite. En effet, de nombreux spécialistes ont souligné l'importance pour les futurs retraités de former les nouvelles générations afin que leurs compétences et savoir-faire soient conservés. Cependant il est à noter que les études existantes portent essentiellement sur le transfert intergénérationnel et une fois encore dans les domaines de l'industrie et des techniques (Le Bellu, 2011 ; Hulin, 2010).

On ne transfère cependant pas les connaissances de la même façon que l'on transfère des compétences ou des savoir-faire. Il y a une différence certaine entre transférer des connaissances entre des entreprises et transmettre des compétences, un métier avec ses savoir-faire, ses pratiques et ses tours de mains. Nous allons étudier les deux approches.

2.1.1. Transfert intra-organisationnel de connaissances

Pour Kogut et Zander (1996) le transfert intra-organisationnel de connaissances se fait en deux étapes : la première est le repérage des connaissances et la seconde le déplacement de ces connaissances. Les auteurs précisent cependant qu'il peut être plus compliqué de repérer les connaissances avec le développement de l'organisation. Pour Davenport et Prusak (1998) la meilleure façon de transférer le savoir organisationnel est d'embaucher des gens agréables et de les laisser parler ensemble. Pour Argote et al. (2003) les relations sociales constituent le cadre dans lequel les individus peuvent créer, retenir et transférer les connaissances.

Le transfert de connaissances peut se produire entre individus, d'individus à un groupe, entre groupes, à travers les groupes et d'un groupe à une organisation (Karlsen et Gottschalk, 2004). Le but du transfert de connaissances est de faciliter le flot de connaissances internes ou externes à l'organisation.

Si ces processus permettent de transférer des connaissances (tacites et explicites) d'un lieu à un autre il semble difficile de les appliquer dans le cas de la transmission d'un savoir-faire ou d'un métier artisanal.

2.1.2. Transfert de compétences et de savoir-faire

Pour la transmission d'un métier manuel ou artisanal avec ses savoir-faire spécifiques, le compagnonnage, les communautés de pratique (CoP) et l'apprentissage sont les meilleurs modes de transmission.

- Les communautés de pratique

Dans les CoP, la notion de groupe est capitale. Les CoP sont des groupes informels d'individus qui partagent des connaissances, interagissent, échangent et partagent une expertise, un répertoire commun (Wenger, 1998). Le principe se fonde sur une coparticipation et donc l'apprentissage se fait au sein de la communauté. Ce principe fonctionne car tous les acteurs ont un champ de référence commun. Selon Lave et Wenger (1991), un sujet qui se trouve en situation d'apprentissage et qui fait partie d'un groupe ou d'une équipe et tous les membres de ce groupe ou de cette équipe apprennent directement les uns des autres lors des contacts ou des échanges qu'ils peuvent avoir ensemble. Cette façon d'apprendre n'est pas décontextualisée de l'action. La position de l'individu dans le groupe ou dans l'équipe peut être soit plus ou moins centrale soit plus ou moins périphérique selon son niveau d'implication, de compétence et de motivation (Wenger, 1998). C'est aussi pour cela que ce modèle ne fonctionne pas dans cette thèse, car il n'y a pas de répertoire commun entre les formateurs et les apprenants.

- Le compagnonnage

La pratique du compagnonnage existe depuis plusieurs siècles en France – sans doute même depuis le Moyen-Age (Castéra, 2008). Elle permet à un artisan expérimenté de transmettre son savoir-faire à un novice qui sera à son tour intronisé compagnon à l'issue de son stage (Papineau, 2006). Dans le compagnonnage, il n'y a pas de domination hiérarchique du compagnon sur l'apprenant mais une relation de confiance et de respect entre deux personnes avec des niveaux d'expertises différents. Il s'agit d'un système d'observation et d'imitation, « *[le compagnonnage] permet l'échange du geste professionnel, et un apprentissage social des lieux, des acteurs, du 'jargon' propre au métier, des usages et pratiques courants liés au site, au collectif de travail ou à la culture d'entreprise* » (Hulin,

2010, p.60). On retrouve des compagnons dans différents corps de métiers comme celui de cuisinier, de boulanger mais aussi des charpentiers, menuisiers, maçons, etc. On retrouve aussi cette pratique dans un certain nombre d'entreprises industrielles. (Van de Portal, 2010). Là encore tous les acteurs partagent un cadre de valeurs communes, comme ce sera aussi le cas pour l'apprentissage.

- L'apprentissage

Lorsque l'on veut transmettre un métier avec ses compétences et ses savoir-faire spécifiques, cela implique qu'il y a beaucoup de connaissances tacites à faire passer. Or le savoir tacite se transmet et s'acquiert essentiellement par l'expérience et la pratique. La meilleure façon d'apprendre pour les novices est d'être mis en situation d'apprentissage, sur le terrain, 'in situ' (Le Boterf, 2015).

L'apprentissage est ici développé dans le paragraphe suivant à propos des cuisiniers.

3. La formation des apprentis cuisiniers

La cuisine est un métier que l'on apprend par la pratique (Gomez et al., 2003), du maître à l'élève (Slavich et Castelluci, 2016 ; Marie, 2014) d'où l'importance de l'apprentissage. C'est un passage obligé pour acquérir les compétences techniques (Fine, 2008). En effet la plupart des compétences à transmettre sont tacites, et incorporées dans la pratique (Drucker-Godard et al., 2002 ; Gomez et Bouty, 2011 ; Gomez et Bouty, 2009 ; Gomez et al., 2007). L'apprentissage est absolument indispensable pour acquérir de l'expérience (Chuang et Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010 ; Fine, 2008) mais aussi pour apprendre les compétences techniques (Drouard, 2004 ; Marie, 2014). Ainsi le choix du restaurant pour un stage ou un apprentissage n'est pas neutre. Les apprentis choisissent en règle générale un restaurant dont le chef est réputé pour bénéficier ensuite de son renom (Fine, 2008). C'est aussi un moyen pour commencer à se constituer un réseau qui pourra servir dans le futur (Brien, 2010 ; Bartholomew et Garey, 1996). Durant leur stage ou leur apprentissage, les jeunes acquièrent de l'expérience professionnelle, des savoir-faire et des compétences qui leur permettront ensuite de s'élever dans la hiérarchie (Térence, 1994 ; Drouard, 2004). La haute cuisine fait

partie du secteur artisanal qui fait appel aux cinq sens (Fine, 2008). Durant l'apprentissage les chefs transmettent non seulement des recettes et des techniques mais aussi leur savoir-faire qui est un mix d'éléments tacites et explicites, ancrés dans la pratique (Bouty et Gomez, 2010 ; Gomez et Bouty, 2009 ; Gomez et al., 2003, 2007 ; Trubek, 2000, 2009). Ils transmettent aussi leur propre savoir-faire, un vocabulaire, des gestes et des techniques spécifiques (Chevrier, 2011 ; Ferguson, 2006 ; Svejenova, 2005 ; Hache-Bissette et Saillard, 2011).

Etre chef aujourd'hui dans un restaurant gastronomique signifie encore effectuer un métier manuel, artisanal (Gomez et al., 2007) avec des conditions de travail souvent difficiles pour un métier très exigeant (Drouard, 2004). Il faut travailler de longues heures dans la chaleur des fours et des plaques de cuisson, debout, parmi les odeurs et être capable de résister à la pression (Balazs, 2002 ; Gomez et al., 2003). L'apprentissage est un processus long et intense (Bouty et Gomez, 2010 ; Fergusson, 2006 ; Gomez et al., 2003, Marie, 2014). De nombreuses tâches sont répétitives et mécaniques (Terence, 1996 ; Marie, 2014). Si très peu d'études se penchent sur le cas des maîtres d'hôtel dans les restaurants de haute gastronomie, les conditions de travail sont cependant elles aussi difficiles.

Dans cette partie, nous venons de voir les fondements théoriques de ma recherche avec tout d'abord l'étude des principaux concepts de connaissance, compétences et savoir-faire ainsi que ceux de transfert et de transmission.

Dans la prochaine partie de ce premier chapitre, je vais vous présenter le cadre méthodologique et empirique de ma thèse.

A.2. Cadre méthodologique et empirique de la thèse

Le sujet de cette thèse est la transmission de la haute cuisine française en Chine, ses différents modes de transfert ainsi que les interactions entre le groupe de formateurs et celui des étudiants chinois, et la façon dont les stagiaires-formateurs analysent les avantages de leur stage. Cependant, il me paraît difficile de comprendre les enjeux que la transmission des compétences et des savoir-faire français en Chine représente sans connaître un minimum la culture culinaire dans laquelle les jeunes chinois ont grandi et à laquelle ils ont été formés. En effet les différences entre la culture gastronomique chinoise et française sont très importantes aussi bien en terme de cuisine que de service. Le but de cette partie est donc de présenter les bases de la gastronomie et des arts de la table chinois, de montrer comment la gastronomie occidentale est représentée à Shanghai et ce que signifie de travailler dans un restaurant gastronomique pour un expatrié et pour un employé chinois.

La suite de cette partie traite de la méthodologie suivie ainsi que du cadre empirique de la recherche. Je présente tout d'abord ma grande question de recherche avec les sous-questions qui l'accompagnent, puis le design de la recherche avec le cas unique du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai, enfin la méthode de collecte et le traitement des données.

1. Présentation de la gastronomie et arts de la table chinois : principales différences avec la gastronomie française

La France et la Chine sont deux pays qui possèdent une culture culinaire étendue et raffinée dont ils sont extrêmement fiers. La subtilité des goûts, le mariage des saveurs, les divers modes de préparation ainsi que la présentation des mets tiennent une place

d'envergure dans les deux cultures (Yang, 2006 ; Sabban, 2012). Leurs valeurs et leurs codes culinaires et ne sont cependant pas du tout les mêmes.

1.1. Présentation générale de la cuisine chinoise

L'empire du milieu possède huit cuisines régionales « 八大菜系, *bādà cài xì* » qui sont : la cuisine du Shandong « 鲁菜, *lǔ cài* », du Jiangsu « 苏菜, *sū cài* », de l'Anhui « 皖菜 », du Zhejiang « 浙菜, *zhè cài* », du Fujian « 闽菜, *mǐn cài* », du Hunan « 湘菜, *xiāng cài* » ainsi que les deux dernières que nous connaissons un peu mieux en France : celle du Guangdong (de la région de Canton) « 粤菜, *yuè cài* » et la cuisine très épicée du Sichuan « 川菜, *chuān cài* ».

En Chine généralement lorsqu'un client se rend dans un restaurant chinois c'est pour goûter les plats d'une région et non pas – comme en France – pour découvrir la cuisine d'un chef même s'il existe de grands chefs chinois. D'ailleurs, comme le précise Théry (2015, p.38) le « *prestige [de la cuisine chinoise] n'est pas issu de l'apport successif d'individus talentueux mais de savoir-faire partagés et transmis au cours des siècles, aboutissant à une catégorisation en huit « cuisines régionales ».*

La cuisine chinoise est très réputée pour ses nombreuses saveurs. Certaines régions sont ainsi connues pour avoir une cuisine dans laquelle domine une des cinq saveurs, que ce soit l'acide « 酸, *suān* » ; le doux/sucré « 甘, *gān* » ; le pimenté « 辛, *xīn* » ; l'amer « 苦, *kǔ* » et le salé « 咸, *xián* » (Blanchon, 1995). D'ailleurs un dicton chinois dit : « *La cuisine de l'est est acide, celle de l'ouest est pimentée : au sud on mange sucré, au nord, salé* ». Cependant, même si la saveur sucrée est évoquée, elle n'est pas autant développée qu'en occident et les chinois ont encore du mal à manger des plats trop sucrés (Théry, 2015).

Ils n'ont pas non plus l'habitude de consommer de la viande et du poisson crus dont ils n'apprécient pas spécialement le goût et la texture. Françoise Sabban (2012, p.57) explique que « *le cru n'est pas une catégorie culinaire chinoise et tout aliment pour paraître à la table doit avoir subi une préparation conduisant à son élaboration au point juste et souhaité* ».

L'autre point important concernant la cuisine chinoise est le lien très fort qu'elle entretient avec la médecine et si « *le plaisir que procure le goût est au centre de la culture culinaire chinoise, un des objectifs reste la prévention de la santé*» (Yang, 2006, p.58). Les chinois font attention à ce qu'ils mangent et à quand ils le mangent. A certains moments de la journée ou de l'année ils doivent consommer certains plats et pas d'autres pour préserver leur santé.

1.1.1. La préparation des plats

La découpe des ingrédients en morceaux facilement attrapables par des baguettes est la première étape de la préparation. Ces petits morceaux permettent une bonne pénétration des assaisonnements. Ils doivent aussi être agréables à regarder (Sabban, 2012).

La seconde étape est la cuisson qui doit respecter des règles très strictes. Les plats sont la plupart du temps cuisinés dans un simple *wok* (une cuisine chinoise ne dispose en général pas de toute les séries d'ustensiles et de casseroles que l'on peut trouver dans une cuisine occidentale), sous un feu que le cuisinier doit être capable de régler. Il doit ainsi montrer de l'habileté dans la manipulation du *wok*, ne pas avoir peur des flammes et avoir la dextérité suffisante pour ajouter les aliments et les condiments au bon moment. Dans une cuisine domestique ou un restaurant gastronomique chinois, « *Le wok est l'objet à tout cuire de même que le fendoir est l'instrument à tout couper* » (Sabban, p.61). Le plat est ensuite immédiatement apporté sur la table où il sera partagé par les convives.

1.1.2. Les arts de la table et le service

Les arts de la table en Chine ne présentent pas vraiment de similitudes avec ceux de la France. Lors du dressage de la table, le serveur n'est pas confronté au large choix de verres, de couverts et d'assiettes que l'on trouve dans la cuisine française. Les couverts utilisés pour déguster un repas chinois même gastronomique sont les baguettes et les cuillers. Les couteaux représentent un instrument dangereux et ont par conséquent été « *bannis de la table* » (Elias, 1973, p.260). C'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison que tous les ingrédients sont coupés en morceaux, afin de pouvoir être saisis uniquement au moyen des baguettes ou de la cuiller (Sabban, 2012).

Le 'repas gastronomique des français' qui a été inscrit le 19 novembre 2010 au patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité n'a pas d'équivalent en Chine. Tout d'abord lorsque l'on va au restaurant on ne commande pas 'une entrée, un plat, un dessert' que l'on va déguster seul mais des plats dans lesquels les convives vont piocher. La personne qui invite commande en général un plat minimum par personne. Les mets arrivent ensuite dans l'ordre de leur préparation sur la table. En les attendant, les clients chinois consomment souvent un ou deux plats froids. Les tables des restaurants chinois ont un plateau tournant en leur centre et lorsque la commande arrive, les mets sont placés sur ce plateau, ce qui permet aux convives de se servir d'un peu de tout en le faisant tourner. Pour accompagner le repas, chaque invité reçoit un bol de riz, élément de base de la cuisine chinoise que l'on pourrait comparer au pain français même si cette comparaison est quelque peu grossière. Généralement la boisson qui accompagne le repas est le thé ou la bière. La culture du vin est encore très peu développée en Chine (Zhou, 2012). D'autre part, même dans les restaurants gastronomiques chinois, les serveurs sont là uniquement pour apporter les plats et pour débarrasser. On est loin du serveur de restaurant de haute cuisine française dont le rôle est non seulement de rester à proximité des clients à attendre qu'ils finissent de manger, mais aussi de remplir leur verre de vin ou d'eau, à les resservir en pain ou à changer leurs couverts. Ils doivent aussi savoir comment se comporter avec les clients – quand parler, faire de l'humour, rire –

sans les déranger ni les mettre mal à l'aise, et apprendre à trouver le moment adéquat pour intervenir et changer une assiette par exemple. La tâche est loin d'être évidente. Comme nous venons de le voir, la culture culinaire française et la chinoise, la préparation et le service des plats n'ont donc pas vraiment de points communs, d'où les difficultés de transmission.

1.2. Les restaurants gastronomiques français de Shanghai

L'ouverture de Shanghai aux modes de consommation occidentaux n'est pas nouvelle. En effet la ville s'ouvre à eux dès la fin de la guerre de l'Opium (1840-1842), tout particulièrement dans des quartiers comme la concession française. On trouve alors de nombreux restaurants occidentaux, dans lesquels les chinois et les expatriés ont l'habitude de se rendre (Swislocki, 2009). Après l'arrivée des communistes au pouvoir (1949) et la Révolution Culturelle (1966-1976) il n'est pas bien vu d'avoir des habitudes de consommation occidentales et les restaurants étrangers ferment tous les uns après les autres. Cette rupture historique ne permet donc pas, pendant des années à des chefs mais aussi à la population chinoise, de se familiariser avec la cuisine occidentale, ce qui explique la situation actuelle et la pénurie de main-d'œuvre qualifiée dans ce secteur d'activité (Farrer, 2015). Après l'ouverture de la Chine dans les années 90, les restaurants internationaux se développent de nouveau à Shanghai. Ce qui est appelé « *cuisine occidentale* » est en fait une cuisine influencée plus ou moins fortement selon les endroits par les cuisines italienne, allemande, française, américaine et russe. Cependant le domaine de la haute cuisine à Shanghai est toujours dominé par la cuisine française (Farrer, 2014) qui s'est particulièrement développée dans les années 2000 avec l'ouverture de luxueux restaurants gastronomiques – aussi appelés '*Fine-dining*' – sur le Bund, dans la concession française ainsi que dans les restaurants des hôtels de luxe (Théry, 2015). La clientèle qui fréquente ces restaurants se compose essentiellement d'expatriés, d'hommes et de femmes d'affaires chinois ainsi que de « cols blancs » (Farrer, 2010).

Il est cependant intéressant de constater que la plupart des Chinois qui se rendent dans ces restaurants gastronomiques occidentaux le font non pas par goût – nombre d’entre eux pensent toujours que la cuisine chinoise est largement supérieure voire même que la nourriture occidentale n’est pas bonne (Swislocki, 2009) – ni pour vivre une expérience culturelle, mais pour montrer qu’ils ont réussi socialement. Si l’on suit l’idée de ‘capital culturel’ de Bourdieu (1979), la consommation de produits de luxe occidentaux est un moyen de gravir les marches de l’échelle sociale (Hsu, 2005), une façon de s’approprier une certaine « *modernité occidentale* » (Cwierka, 2006). Selon Farrer (2010, p.9), *“a culinary nationalism persists in Chinese response to Western culinary culture (...) [and] it seems likely that food nationalism retards the spread of a cosmopolitan gourmet culture based on taste.”* S’ils ne se rendent pas dans ces restaurants de haute cuisine essentiellement par amour du goût, les clients chinois apprécient par contre beaucoup l’aspect esthétique de la cuisine française avec l’importance qui est accordée au dressage des plats (Théry, 2015) mais aussi l’ambiance, le décor et l’atmosphère qui se dégagent de ces lieux (Swislocki, 2009).

1.3. Travailler dans un restaurant gastronomique à Shanghai

Dans les restaurants de haute cuisine de Shanghai - mais aussi dans les autres grandes villes du pays – coexistent deux types de personnel. Tout d’abord les chefs – pratiquement tous des expatriés – qui viennent d’Europe ou des Etats-Unis et qui jouissent d’un statut privilégié (Farrer, 2015). En effet la Chine manque de chefs et de maîtres d’hôtels qualifiés. Ce sont les expatriés étrangers qui ont ces savoir-faire spécifiques, l’expérience et l’expertise dans un secteur à la fois privilégié et élitiste. Comme l’explique Théry (2015 :39), *« les chefs occidentaux se positionnent en Chine dans une niche à double facette. Ils exercent une cuisine inconnue des consommateurs pour laquelle ces derniers ne disposent pas de référence culturelle ou d’élément de comparaison ; ils jouissent en cela d’un statut privilégié d’expert. »* Ce sont des professionnels qui en général aiment leur métier. Ils jouissent d’ailleurs d’un certain prestige et d’une certaine renommée car l’image de la cuisine française dans l’Empire du milieu est très positive (Théry, 2015).

A côté de ces chefs étrangers se trouvent des serveurs et des cuisiniers avec une toute autre vision du métier. En effet la plupart des employés des restaurants gastronomiques de Shanghai viennent de provinces reculées de la Chine. Ils n'ont quasiment pas de qualifications et font ces métiers car ils ont besoin de gagner leur vie et non pas par choix. Ils ne sont pour la plupart ni heureux ni fiers d'exercer ces professions. D'autre part ces employés chinois n'ont souvent jamais mangé de nourriture occidentale avant leur arrivée à Shanghai. Les goûts, la composition des repas, le service, tout leur est inconnu et ils doivent s'adapter à un univers culinaire totalement étranger. Même en travaillant dans des restaurants gastronomiques, ils ne consomment que très peu de nourriture occidentale qu'ils n'apprécient généralement pas de toute façon (Théry, 2015).

L'autre difficulté qui rend les apprentissages plus compliqués est la communication. En effet ils ne parlent souvent qu'un tout petit peu d'anglais ce qui rend les échanges avec le personnel occidental limités. Comme le résume si bien Farrer (2015, p.106) *«Differences in language and culinary preferences where salient aspects of the cultural and social gap that characterizes the social world of the Western restaurant in Shanghai, both in the front of the house (the serving and dining area) and in the back (the kitchen)»*. Le transfert de compétences et de savoir-faire à des personnes qui ne partagent pas le même univers culinaire, la même approche du service ni une langue commune n'est donc pas une chose aisée. Pour Farrer d'ailleurs (2015, p.107) : *« It is generally easier (...) to train kitchen staff in the ways of cooking than to train wait staff in the delicate balance of affect and deference required in contemporary Western fine-dining service »* car cela suppose un bon sens de l'observation et une certaine empathie qui ne sont pas toujours simples à acquérir (Yang, 2006).

Cependant le tableau n'est pas totalement sombre. En effet si ces employés chinois travaillent dans ces restaurants occidentaux c'est parce que cela leur permet d'acquérir une discipline de travail, de nouvelles techniques et des compétences qui leur permettent ensuite, dans ce milieu avec un très fort turn-over, d'aller se proposer à plus

offrant (Hsu, 2005). C'est aussi un moyen d'apprendre l'anglais et ainsi d'acquérir de nouvelles compétences importantes dans une ville internationale (Théry, 2015).

Former ces employés représente donc bien plus que de partager des recettes et des techniques culinaires. Cela veut dire être capable d'inculquer les goûts et les textures basiques de la nourriture occidentale ainsi que les règles du service et des arts de la table. Il s'agit d'un challenge à la fois linguistique, culturel et gustatif (Farrer, 2015).

Dans ces restaurant gastronomiques il y a donc les chefs étrangers, le personnel non qualifié et entre ces deux catégories une troisième, sorte de « médiateurs ». Il s'agit de chefs chinois (souvent 'sous-chef') ou maîtres d'hôtel qui sont capables de s'exprimer en anglais et qui ont été formés en Chine par des chefs occidentaux aux techniques culinaires et aux recettes occidentales ainsi qu'aux arts de la table et du service (Farrer, 2015).

C'est cette catégorie d'employés qui se développe aujourd'hui en Chine. En effet de plus en plus d'écoles de cuisine forment ces jeunes chinois à la culture culinaire occidentale afin de combler le manque de main-d'œuvre (Théry, 2015).

Nous venons donc de voir comment se définissait la gastronomie chinoise par rapport à la française aussi bien en terme d'approche culinaire que pour les arts de la table ou les services. Nous avons ensuite vu comment la haute cuisine française était perçue à Shanghai, et quelles étaient les différentes sortes de serveurs et de maîtres d'hôtel que l'on trouvait dans les '*fine-dining*' de Shanghai.

2. Design de la recherche

Le design de la recherche développé dans ce travail est une étude de cas unique, le cas du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai*. De nombreux débats ont eu lieu entre les chercheurs qui pensent qu'il faut étudier un seul cas et ceux qui pensent qu'il est préférable d'en avoir plusieurs (Eisenhardt, 1989). En fait, le nombre de cas dépend des objectifs de la recherche. L'étude de cas unique permet une analyse en profondeur. Yin (2013) justifie son usage dans des situations présentant les critères suivants : le caractère « unique » ou « extrême » du cas, le test d'une théorie à infirmer, confirmer ou compléter, et dans le cadre de recherches portant sur des processus peu ou pas étudiés.

En Chine, le seul restaurant-école français qui forme les étudiants chinois à la haute gastronomie est le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai. J'ai ainsi eu accès à un terrain au caractère « unique », c'est pour cela que j'ai décidé de l'étudier en profondeur et que j'ai choisi l'étude de cas unique.

Le tableau 1, « La configuration de l'étude de cas choisie », page 54, détaille les raisons de ce choix.

Tableau 1

La configuration de l'étude de cas choisie

Etude de cas	<p>La formulation de la question de départ ainsi que la question définitive commencent par « comment ».</p> <p>La problématique demande de réunir une grande variété de données.</p>
Exploratoire	<p>Quasi vide théorique de la problématique de départ et de la problématique définitive.</p>
Cas unique	<p>La nécessité de comprendre en profondeur la spécificité du contexte organisationnel et environnemental pour saisir les logiques d'acteurs d'une part et le champ conceptuel d'autre part justifie que les travaux sur la transmission et l'interprétation de compétences et de savoir-faire français en Chine ne retiennent qu'un petit nombre de cas plutôt que des échantillons importants.</p> <p>L'étude du restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> s'est inscrite dans la volonté d'ouvrir de nouvelles perspectives dans la recherche sur la transmission de compétences et de savoir-faire et savoir-être en contexte interculturel qui est assez peu exploitée en sciences de gestion.</p> <p>Le restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> de Shanghai est une organisation sinon unique en son genre (on peut trouver des écoles de cuisines française à l'étranger alliée avec des établissements culinaires locaux comme c'est le cas du programme Alliance de l'<i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i>) mais un restaurant-école français qui forme des étudiants chinois et qui est ouvert au public est excessivement rare, voire unique. Ce restaurant-école permet de voir comment le savoir-faire français, les connaissances et les compétences sont transférés dans une culture totalement différente. Autant d'éléments qui font de lui un véritable laboratoire « <i>in vivo</i> ». Il constitue un terrain de recherche riche surtout au regard de la mondialisation.</p> <p>Le choix unique permet une investigation en profondeur.</p>
A la fois instrumentale et intrinsèque	<p>L'étude du restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> de Shanghai se propose de de s'intéresser à la théorie de la transmission des connaissances, des pratiques et des compétences en contexte interculturel. Le cas a pour rôle de faciliter la compréhension de la transmission de savoir-faire et de compétences et de son impact à la fois sur ceux qui transfèrent et ceux qui ont transférés.</p> <p>Le cas du restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> de Shanghai constitue un intérêt en soi parce qu'il est spécifique. De plus, ce n'est pas un cas classique en sciences de gestion où l'on s'intéresse plutôt aux entreprises privées ou aux écoles avec des orientations beaucoup plus généralistes et souvent dans un contexte national.</p>

D'après le tableau d'Anne Gombault (2005) p.43

2.1. Cadre de la recherche : Le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai

Dans cette section je présente tout d'abord l'historique du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai puis j'explique en quoi il s'agit d'une plateforme d'apprentissage unique en son genre.

2.1.1. La préparation des plats

Le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai ouvre ses portes dans le Pavillon Rhône-Alpes lors de l'Exposition Universelle de 2010. Le projet a été lancé avec le soutien de la Région Rhône Alpes et de l'Erai (Entreprise Rhône Alpes International, une structure d'aide à l'International des entreprises de la Région Rhône-Alpes). Il s'agit de faire du restaurant-école un lieu d'exposition du savoir-faire français en Chine, mais aussi de répondre au besoin croissant de professionnels chinois qualifiés dans le secteur du tourisme, de l'hôtellerie et de la restauration dans un pays en fort développement économique. L'*Institut Paul Bocuse* s'est donc allié à cette occasion au Shanghai Institut of Tourism (SIT) afin de partager une expérience pédagogique originale.

Le restaurant-école, situé au dernier étage du pavillon Rhône-Alpes, a une superficie de 400 m². Il se compose d'une cuisine ouverte sur la salle principale du restaurant, de quatre salons 'lounge' et d'une terrasse. Il dispose de 80 places assises (200 en cocktail) et est ouvert midi et soir six jours sur sept. Pendant les six mois de l'Exposition Universelle, 120 étudiants du SIT sont formés et peuvent se familiariser avec la gastronomie et le service à la française. Ils découvrent des saveurs et des goûts nouveaux ainsi que des standards de service qu'ils ne connaissent pas. Au cours de la période de l'Exposition Universelle, ce sont plus de 20 000 clients (dont 70% de chinois) qui expérimentent la cuisine française (voire lyonnaise) ainsi qu'une carte des vins Rhônealpine.

Suite à ce succès, l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* et le SIT décident de poursuivre, tout en la développant, l'expérience de cette plateforme pédagogique inédite. En avril 2011, le

restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai rouvre ses portes. D'anciens diplômés de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully viennent former une quarantaine d'étudiant du SIT à la gastronomie et au service français sur une année. En 2013 le restaurant-école s'allie avec un nouveau partenaire académique : le Jiangxu Food Science College pour former de nouveau les jeunes chinois à la gastronomie et au service à la française.

Cette aventure se poursuit jusqu'au 31 octobre 2015. En effet, suite à la liquidation judiciaire de l'ERAI, le restaurant-école ferme ses portes. Selon la presse régionale (*Le Progrès* du 29-09-15), la Région Rhône Alpes qui loue son emplacement au restaurant-école n'a pas souhaité faire de commentaires sur cette décision. Les responsables de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* ont quant à eux expliqué qu'ils avaient un ambitieux projet de développement qui les contraignait à revoir leurs priorités en matière de développement à l'international.

Cependant il est important de noter que d'avril 2010 à octobre 2015, le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai a formé près de 500 étudiants chinois aux métiers de la restauration et du service haut de gamme 'à la française'.

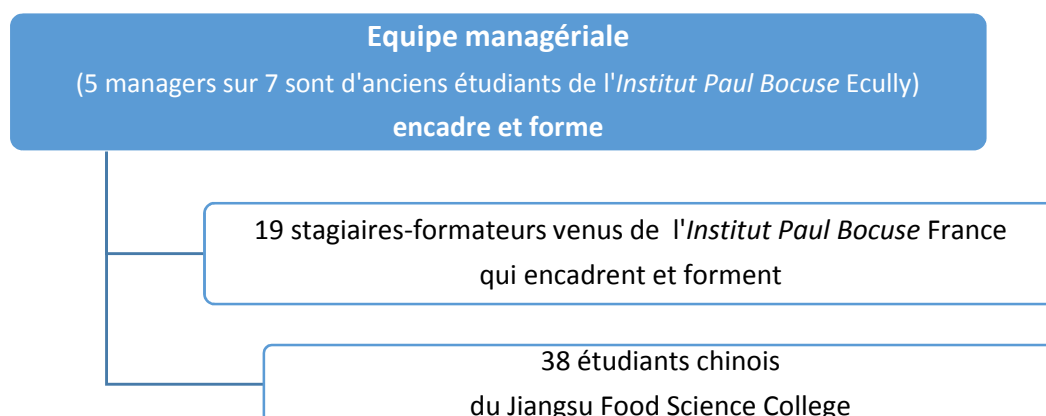
2.1.2. Une plateforme unique d'apprentissage

Le restaurant-école est une plateforme d'apprentissage unique en son genre où les étudiants chinois et les stagiaires-formateurs venus de France ont l'opportunité de développer leurs compétences personnelles et professionnelles dans le domaine des arts culinaires, du service et de la gestion d'un restaurant français 'haut de gamme'. L'objectif de cette structure est aussi de promouvoir le 'savoir-faire' français à l'international.

Le système d'apprentissage du restaurant-école est assez particulier. Il s'agit en effet d'un système de management et de formation 'en poupées russes' : l'équipe managériale – constituée en grande partie d'anciens diplômés de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully – forme les stagiaires-formateurs qui eux-mêmes forment les étudiants chinois

(cf. Tableau 2 ci-dessous). L'autre particularité de cette équipe est sa très grande jeunesse puisque le plus âgé a uniquement 31 ans.

Tableau 2
Système de management 'en poupées russes'



2.1.3. Les stagiaires-formateurs de l'Institut Paul Bocuse France et les étudiants chinois

Les stagiaires-formateurs de l'Institut Paul Bocuse, France

A l'issue de leur seconde année d'études, les étudiants du Bachelor en Management International de l'Hôtellerie et de la Restauration ainsi que ceux en Arts Culinaires et Management de la Restauration de l'Institut Paul Bocuse d'Ecully doivent réaliser un stage de six mois. La plupart des étudiants le font dans des restaurants étoilés ou dans l'hôtellerie de luxe. Or le restaurant-école de Shanghai leur offre une double opportunité : être sensibilisé à la gestion exigeante d'un restaurant gastronomique français et former des étudiants chinois à la gastronomie et au service d'un restaurant 'haut de gamme'. Il s'agit d'un stage difficile mais très formateur dans lequel ils ont des responsabilités qu'ils n'auraient pas eues lors d'un stage 'classique'. Tout au long de cette thèse ils sont appelés 'stagiaires-formateurs' afin de les différencier de l'équipe managériale.

Les étudiants chinois

Les étudiants chinois ont quant à eux effectué leurs trois années de Bachelor au Jiangsu Food Science College. Leur 4^{ème} année est une année de stage. Ils vont ainsi passer 51 semaines (du 1^{er} mai au 30 avril de l'année suivante) au restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai pour apprendre les bases de la haute cuisine ou du service à la française. Or ils n'ont pas ou peu de connaissances de l'univers gastronomique français lorsqu'ils arrivent. C'est une découverte totale d'un nouveau monde culinaire. Ils doivent s'adapter et être formés à des goûts, des habitudes alimentaires, des comportements en service qu'ils ne connaissent pas du tout. Pour eux l'objectif est double aussi : apprendre les bases de la cuisine et du service à la française afin de pouvoir ensuite travailler dans un restaurant ou un hôtel de luxe si possible occidental mais aussi travailler dans un univers où l'on parle anglais, ce qui aide énormément pour trouver un emploi dans une ville cosmopolite telle que Shanghai.

Cette partie nous a donc permis d'avoir une présentation du terrain d'étude, le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai, de connaître son histoire et son fonctionnement.

Nous allons maintenant voir quels types de données ont été collectés, les différentes étapes de cette collecte ainsi que la façon dont elles ont été analysées.

3. Collecte des données

L'objectif de cette partie est tout d'abord de présenter les modes de collectes de données ainsi que les différentes étapes de cette collecte. J'expliquerai ensuite le processus d'analyse des données et je terminerai sur la validité de la recherche.

3.1. Les collectes de données qualitatives de l'étude de cas

Les données qualitatives saisissent, décrivent et révèlent les expériences personnelles d'individus au moyen de leurs propres mots (Patton, 2005). Elles analysent des données qui viennent d'observations faites sur le terrain de recherche (Patton, 2005). Pour Dumez (2011, p.49) « *la recherche qualitative se caractérise par une visée compréhensive, qui se donne pour objectif de comprendre l'action dans un contexte ou en situation* ». Son aspect objectif se révèle selon Yin (2013, p.105) au moyens de six « *sources of Evidence* » : l'observation non participante, les entretiens, la documentation, les notes de terrain, l'observation participante, les artéfacts physiques. Lorsque l'étude qualitative est une étude de cas, cela permet de disposer d'une grande diversité de méthodes de collecte des données. Il est très important de recueillir des données diversifiées qui seront ensuite utiles pour la triangulation (Yin, 2013).

3.2. Les étapes de la collecte de données

3.2.1. Etape antérieure à la collecte de données : Octobre 2011 – Juillet 2012

Je m'intéresse à mon terrain de recherche 18 mois avant le commencement officiel de ma thèse. Je contacte donc l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* et présente mon projet de recherche en avril 2011 à Hervé Fleury (alors Directeur de l'Institut) ainsi qu'à Eléonore Vial, directrice de la formation et du développement académique. Tous deux m'ont ensuite donné leur accord pour que j'accède au terrain du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai, que je participe à la vie du restaurant et que j'interroge ses acteurs. L'ensemble des événements et des phases de collecte de données est résumé dans le tableau n°3 page 68 intitulé « chronologie de la thèse ».

3.2.1.1 : 1^{ère} phase préparatoire : Octobre-Novembre 2011

Visite au restaurant-école de Shanghai et huit entretiens semi-directifs

Je me rends une première fois à Shanghai en octobre 2011 et je passe une journée de 'découverte' dans le restaurant-école. J'interview le directeur et la responsable de la formation. De retour en France j'interview en octobre/novembre 2011, 8 étudiants qui viennent de passer six mois en stage au restaurant-école. Mes questions portent sur ce qu'ils retirent de cette expérience et comment s'est passé la transmission des compétences avec les étudiants chinois. J'obtiens ainsi 10 entretiens qui me permettent d'avoir une première vision de la vie du restaurant-école de Shanghai et qui m'aident dans le travail d'élaboration des guides d'entretiens 18 mois plus tard. Tous les entretiens sont retranscrits et analysés sur NVivo10.

Le résultat de cette première étude est rédigé sous forme d'article et présenté en février 2012 à l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* dans le cadre d'un « European PhD workshop » intitulé « Intercultural comparisons of eating habits and food preferences ».

L'article: *"What is the impact of cultural values on the technical and practical training of Chinese teams in hospitality management? The case of the Institut Paul Bocuse restaurant-school in Shanghai"* s'interroge sur l'impact des valeurs culturelles chinoises (confucianisme et taoïsme) sur le mode d'apprentissage des étudiants chinois lors de stages pratiques dispensés par les stagiaires-formateurs.

3.2.1.2 : 2^{ème} phase préparatoire : Mai-Juin 2012

Observation non participante de cours de cuisine française à l'Institut Paul Bocuse d'Ecully

Je sais que je souhaite étudier la transmission des compétences culinaires et de service entre la France et la Chine mais je ne connais pas du tout cet univers. J'obtiens donc l'autorisation d'aller pendant deux mois suivre les cours de cuisine française dispensés à

des étudiants étrangers au sein de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully. Ces étudiants ont déjà suivi une formation en cuisine dans leur pays d'origine et ils viennent en France pour apprendre la gastronomie et le service 'à la française'. Je suis ainsi sur 6 semaines des cours de cuisine avec des semaines à thème comme la viande, le poisson, les soupes, les sauces etc., mais aussi la pâtisserie, la boulangerie, le dressage des plats etc. Je suis ensuite les étudiants lors de leurs cours théoriques, de leurs examens pratiques et lors de leur mise en application au restaurant-école *Saisons* d'Ecully.

Au cours de cette période d'observation, je prends des notes de terrain et j'interroge les chefs quand j'ai des questions. J'apprends ainsi beaucoup sur la gastronomie et le service à la française, ainsi que sur la façon dont ils sont enseignés à l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully. Cette étape m'aide aussi à me familiariser avec cet univers de la haute cuisine et à m'intégrer plus facilement lors de mes phases de terrain en 2013 et 2014.

3.2.2. Collecte de données officielles : Juin 2013 – Octobre 2014

Par la suite, la collecte officielle de données pour la thèse se déroule de **juin 2013 à octobre 2014** avec **4 temps forts** :

- **Juin 2013** : Première semaine de terrain au restaurant-école de Shanghai.
- **Janvier 2014** : Entretiens semi-directifs avec trois mois après le retour en France des stagiaires-formateurs.
- **Avril 2014** : Seconde semaine de terrain au restaurant-école de Shanghai
- **Juillet 2014** : Entretiens semi-directifs avec trois mois après le retour en France du second groupe des stagiaires-formateurs.

La date d'octobre 2014 correspond à celle de mon dernier entretien semi-dirigé et à la date de la remise des diplômes des étudiants de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse*, à Ecully, que j'avais suivis durant leur stage en Chine.

Je suis la formation des 37 étudiants chinois (19 en cuisine et 18 en salle) qui se déroule du 2 mai 2013 au 30 avril 2014. En annexe 2 nous pouvons voir que le restaurant-école

Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai a 7 membres de l'équipe de direction présents sur l'année ainsi que deux vagues de stagiaires-formateurs envoyés par *l'Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully : Un premier groupe de 7 chefs-stagiaires-formateurs et de 7 maîtres d'hôtel stagiaires-formateurs qui sont là du 2 mai au 31 octobre et 5 chefs stagiaires-formateurs qui sont là du 1^{er} novembre au 30 avril de l'année suivante.

3.2.2.1 : 1er temps : Juin 2013

Une semaine au restaurant-école Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai

Cette semaine-là correspond à la 5^{ème} semaine de stage pour les jeunes en Bachelor de *l'Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully ou de formation pour les étudiants chinois. J'arrive le matin, tout comme les étudiants, entre 8h30 et 9h et je repars le soir à la fin du service aux environs de minuit, ce qui représente environ une quinzaine d'heures quotidiennes. J'ai le droit de circuler librement dans le restaurant, aussi bien en cuisine qu'en salle ou dans les bureaux. J'assiste aux diverses réunions, aux briefings et débriefings, aux cours théoriques. Je prends mes repas avec les employés du restaurant et je peux poser des questions à ma guise. Durant cette semaine j'effectue une observation non participante de la vie du restaurant-école et de ses acteurs. Je regarde comment la transmission de compétences s'effectue entre les stagiaires-formateurs et les étudiants chinois, comment ils communiquent, comment les deux groupes s'adaptent aussi bien en cuisine qu'en salle. J'ai durant cette période beaucoup de discussions informelles aussi bien avec les membres de l'équipe dirigeante qu'avec les stagiaires-formateurs ou les étudiants chinois. Il leur arrive aussi de venir me parler spontanément. Je prends régulièrement des notes sur un carnet et le soir en rentrant à l'hôtel je les reprends et les synthétise. (Bernard, 2011).

Je réalise aussi 12 entretiens semi directifs

- 4 avec des membres de l'équipe dirigeante (le directeur, la responsable de la formation, le chef et le maître d'hôtel). Les entretiens menés dans le cadre de cette recherche sont conduits selon une méthode semi-directive (Beaud et Weber, 2010). Le guide d'entretien (cf. Annexe 4, page 237) porte sur l'adaptation en Chine et au

restaurant-école des membres de l'équipe encadrante, ainsi que sur leurs relations avec les stagiaires-formateurs d'Ecully et avec les étudiants chinois.

- 8 autres entretiens (4 avec des chefs stagiaires-formateurs et 4 avec des maîtres d'hôtel stagiaires-formateurs) ont aussi porté sur l'adaptation en Chine des stagiaires-formateurs, sur les raisons de leur choix pour ce stage, sur leur rôle de formateurs et sur leurs relations avec l'équipe dirigeante. 8 stagiaires-formateurs sur 14 sont interviewés. Les 6 autres n'ont soit pas souhaité être interviewés au début de leur formation, soit pas eu l'occasion de le faire par manque de temps, où parce qu'ils étaient absents le jour de l'interview.

- Je désire aussi interviewer des étudiants chinois. Je le fais avec 4 d'entre eux mais les résultats ne sont pas concluants. En effet non seulement ils ne parlent presque pas mais quand ils s'expriment aucune critique ni aucun commentaire n'est formulé. Pensant qu'il s'agit peut-être d'un problème de langue j'effectue les entretiens en chinois mais cela ne change rien du tout à leur comportement. Je ne peux donc pas utiliser les entretiens et je préfère leur poser directement des questions quand une situation se présente : ce peut être en cuisine lorsqu'ils préparent un plat ou en salle lors d'un service. J'obtiens alors des réponses que je note dans mon carnet.

- Je prends aussi de nombreuses photos et vidéos de qualité inégale avec mon téléphone ou mon iPad. Je les prends essentiellement lors d'interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors de situations de transmission de compétences. L'équipe managériale m'en a aussi fourni d'autres pour mes recherches. En effet les méthodes de recherche visuelles sont aussi utilisées dans les recherche en management en complément de l'observation (Bell and Davison, 2013; Warren, 2005). Ces photos m'ont servi pour la rédaction du chapitre 3 lorsque j'évoque l'hybridation des deux cuisines.

- L'équipe dirigeante me fournit aussi de nombreuses sources secondaires comme des modèles de cours théoriques, le guide « *Le Restaurant-Ecole : an innovative cross-cultural learning platform : Handbook for academic operations* »: qui recense toutes les compétences que les étudiants chinois comme les stagiaires-formateurs d'Ecully doivent obtenir au restaurant-école, des PowerPoint de présentation du restaurant-école et 37 questionnaires remplis par les étudiants chinois en service comme en salle et portant sur leur adaptation au restaurant-école, le bilan prévisionnel de 2013 et de nombreux documents portant sur les objectifs pédagogiques de la plateforme, un organigramme, des rapports, etc.

- Lors des phases d'observation non participantes, j'ai l'habitude de prendre des notes sur un carnet.

3.2.2.2. 2nd temps : Janvier 2014

Je recontacte et obtiens un entretien téléphonique avec les 14 stagiaires-formateurs (7 chefs stagiaires-formateurs et 7 maîtres d'hôtel stagiaires-formateurs) présents au restaurant-école. Ils ont tous eu le même guide d'entretien dans lequel je leur demande ce qu'ils retirent de cette expérience trois mois après leur retour (cf. annexe 6, page 239). Cette seconde série d'entretiens permet d'offrir une dimension longitudinale très présente dans le quatrième chapitre.

3.2.2.3. 3^{ème} temps : Fin mars – début avril 2014

Seconde semaine d'observation au restaurant-école de Shanghai :

Les étudiants chinois sont à un mois de la fin de leur programme. Je les ai quittés 9 mois auparavant, après un mois de formation et je les retrouve à la fin de leur période d'apprentissage ce qui me permet de constater l'évolution de leurs compétences, de leur savoir-faire et de leur savoir-être. Forte de mon expérience, je continue de leur poser directement des questions quand j'ai besoin d'information. Je réalise aussi un

questionnaire anonyme me permettant de synthétiser ce qu'ils ont appris pendant l'année et ce que cette formation leur a apporté (cf. annexes 10 et 11, pages 243-252). Deux questionnaires distincts sont rédigés pour les étudiants en salle et ceux en cuisine. Ils doivent s'exprimer sur ce qu'ils ont appris au cours de l'année et comment ils souhaitent valoriser leur expérience. Les questionnaires sont rédigés en anglais mais les étudiants peuvent aussi répondre en chinois. Ils se sentent libres de répondre et donnent leur avis, même s'il est assez succinct.

Au sein de l'équipe de direction, la responsable de la formation et le chef pâtissier (tous deux anciens diplômés de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully) ont quitté le restaurant-école et pour la 1^{ère} fois sont remplacés par des professionnels non diplômés de l'IPB Ecully.

Durant cette seconde semaine d'observation non participante je bénéficie exactement la même liberté de déplacement et de parole que durant la première semaine. J'effectue ainsi :

- 15 entretiens semi-directifs. 7 avec les membres de l'équipe de direction : avec le directeur adjoint aux opérations, la nouvelle responsable de la formation, le chef que j'ai déjà interviewé en juin 2013, deux avec les maîtres d'hôtel dont un pour la seconde fois, un avec le chef pâtissier, un avec la responsable des ventes. Le guide d'entretien (cf. annexe 7, page 240) porte sur le bilan de l'année de formation écoulée. Il s'intéresse au bilan que fait l'équipe dirigeante sur le travail des stagiaires-formateurs de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully et sur le travail effectué par les étudiants chinois, le bilan qu'ils retirent de cette année de formation.

- 5 autres entretiens sont faits avec le nouveau groupe de chefs stagiaires-formateurs de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully. Le guide d'entretien porte sur leurs relations avec les étudiants chinois et l'équipe dirigeante et sur la façon dont ils vivent leur expérience de stagiaires-formateurs (cf. annexe 8, page 241).

- Les 3 derniers entretiens sont réalisés avec d'anciens étudiants chinois du restaurant-école. Le guide d'entretien porte sur le bilan qu'ils font de cette formation en termes de carrières, ce que cela leur a apporté, s'ils mixent les techniques des deux pays, comment ils voient leur avenir professionnel.

- Au cours de cette seconde semaine d'observation, tout comme au long de la première, j'assiste à des réunions et j'ai une nouvelle fois pris de nombreuses photos et vidéos pour voir l'évolution de la transmission des compétences. J'obtiens aussi de nouvelles sources secondaires. Lors des phases d'observation non participantes, je prends des notes sur un carnet.

3.2.2.4. 4^{ème} temps : Juillet 2014

Je souhaite interviewer les stagiaires-formateurs, tout comme je l'ai fait pour leurs camarades trois mois après leur retour. Je ne réussis cependant à en contacter que deux sur les cinq initialement interrogés. Les guides d'entretien sont semblables à ceux utilisés en janvier 2014. Ces entretiens ont pour sujet l'apport global de ce stage de formateur.

Je réalise aussi un dernier entretien avec le directeur du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai. Cet entretien permet de faire le point sur l'année écoulée aussi bien du point de vue des étudiants chinois que des stagiaires-formateurs.

Je revois tous les stagiaires-formateurs et effectue une dernière interview avec un des co-fondateurs de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* le 30 octobre 2014 lors de la remise des diplômes des étudiants Bachelor.

4. Analyse des données et utilisation dans les trois articles

Grâce à cet ensemble de données, les 3 articles ont une méthodologie et un contexte empirique communs. Pour chacun d'entre eux le niveau d'analyse est le niveau individuel.

Les 48 entretiens sont ensuite intégralement retranscrits. Puis, tout comme les autres sources secondaires, ils sont codés à l'aide du logiciel NVivo10 afin d'assurer une approche méthodologique sérieuse (Sinkovics et Ghauri, 2008). Le logiciel est utilisé pour catégoriser les données et gérer les codes émergents puisque les résultats sont gérés de manière itérative. Nous voyageons entre les datas et la structure émergente des arguments théoriques durant l'analyse des données (Strauss et Corbin, 1998 ; Huberman et Miles, 2002). Nous adoptons ensuite la méthodologie de Gioia et ses quatre étapes (Corley et Gioia, 2004 ; Gioia et al., 2013), que nous développerons en détail dans les chapitres 2, 3 et 4. La méthodologie de Gioia est choisie car « *cette approche est très structurante tout au long de la démarche de recherche, du questionnement initial au schéma de restitution en passant par la collecte et l'analyse des données, ce qui explique en partie son succès* » (Thiétard, 2014, p.348).

Tableau 3 : Chronologie de la thèse

Date	Événements (histoire)	Données recueillies
2008 à 2010	Désir de la mairie de Shanghai de collaborer avec la région Rhône-Alpes en ouvrant un restaurant-école gastronomique Durant l'Exposition Universelle de Shanghai	
Mai 2010 à Octobre 2010	Lors de l'Exposition Universelle, les étudiants venus de France forment et supervisent les étudiants chinois du « Shanghai Institute of Tourism »	
November 2010	Désir des deux parties de maintenir le restaurant-école ouvert après l'Exposition Universelle et de développer les relations entre les deux écoles	
Mai 2011 à Avril 2012	Réouverture du restaurant-école et 1 ^{ère} promotion du nouveau programme de formation 20 stagiaires formateurs venus de France forment 40 étudiants chinois à la gastronomie et au service sur un an	
Novembre 2011	Le restaurant école obtient sa licence officielle	Etude pilote au restaurant-école de Shanghai 10 entretiens semi-directifs : 2 membres de l'équipe exécutive et 8 stagiaires-formateurs
De Mai 2012 à Avril 2013	2 nd promotion du programme de formation	En mai et juin observation non participante lors d'un programme de formation culinaire à l' <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> d'Ecully
De Mai 2013 à Avril 2014	3 ^{ème} promotion du programme de formation Collaboration entre l' <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> et une nouvelle école culinaire chinoise	1 carnet de notes de terrain 12 entretiens semi-directifs en juin en Chine : 4 stagiaires-formateurs en cuisine et 4 en salle et 4 membres de l'équipe exécutive

		<p>14 entretiens semi-directifs en janvier en France avec tous les anciens stagiaires-formateurs 3 mois après leur retour en France</p> <p>1 entretien semi-directif avec un membre de l'équipe exécutive</p> <p>14 entretiens semi-directifs en avril en Chine avec 5 chefs stagiaires-formateurs, 6 membres exécutifs et 3 anciens étudiants chinois</p> <p>Questionnaires (avec des questions ouvertes et fermées) des 37 étudiants chinois</p> <p>Photos, Vidéos</p> <p>Observation non-participante</p> <p>1 cahier de notes de terrain</p> <p>Données secondaires</p>
Juillet 2014		<p>3 entretiens semi-directifs avec 2 chefs stagiaires-formateurs trois mois après leur retour en France et un membre de l'équipe exécutive du restaurant-école de Shanghai (par Skype)</p>
30 Octobre 2014	Remise des diplômes des 19 stagiaires-formateurs	<p>1 entretien semi-directif avec un membre de l'équipe exécutive</p> <p>Discussions informelles avec des anciens stagiaires-formateurs lors de la soirée de remise des diplômes</p>

Une « triangulation » des données (Eisenhardt, 1989) des diverses sources est effectuée afin de diminuer le risque de biais et de donner la vision la plus objective possible de la façon dont la gastronomie française a été transférée en Chine entre l'équipe dirigeante, les stagiaires-formateurs et les étudiants chinois, la nature de leurs interactions suivant le niveau de transmission, ainsi que la manière dont les stagiaires-formateurs ont vécu et s'expriment sur cette expérience.

Etant donné que dans les chapitres 2 et 3 la connaissance est vue comme « knowing », c'est-à-dire qu'elle s'exprime dans l'action (Gherardi, 2000), qu'elle est intégrée dans le corps et les gestes de ceux qui la possède, qu'elle se transmet par les gestes, le fait d'avoir passé du temps à les regarder travailler, transmettre les compétences, d'avoir vu les diverses réactions des étudiants chinois est un élément important pour l'analyse de ces données.

Le tableau suivant « Structure générale des 3 chapitres de la thèse » présente l'articulation des chapitres 2, 3 et 4 couvrant les trois questions de recherche de la thèse (voir pages 71 à 74).

Tableau 4 : Structure générale des trois chapitres de la thèse

Théorie(s) mobilisée(s) et question(s) de recherche associée(s)	Méthodologie et utilisation des données	Résultats
Chapitre 2 : La transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine		
<p>Pratiques et connaissances (knowing ou connaissance par la pratique)</p> <p>Question de recherche : Comment transmet-on les savoir-faire, les pratiques ainsi que 'l'esprit' de la gastronomie française ?</p>	<p>Etude de cas unique, qualitative et longitudinale, le restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai</i></p> <p>Etude avec des éléments ethnographiques</p> <p>Méthodologie de Gioia pour analyse des données qualitatives</p> <p>Codage des données avec NVivo 10</p> <p>Niveau d'analyse individuel</p> <p>Utilisation de toutes les données recueillies sauf les photos et les vidéos</p>	<p>(1) Mécanisme d'inscription des gestes professionnels et des attitudes dans le corps et le quotidien des apprenants</p> <p>(2) Mécanisme d'appartenance à une plus large communauté, celle de la <i>haute cuisine française</i> constituée de diverses professions (critiques gastronomiques, connaisseurs, guides...) pour partager des goûts, un langage, une passion</p> <p>(3) Mécanisme transcendantal qui se réfère à une dimension supérieure proche de la foi. Les stagiaires-formateurs sont dévoués à leur tâche consistant à convertir les étudiants chinois aux pratiques et à l'esprit de la 'gastronomie française'</p>

Chapitre 3 : Quelles formes de transmission de la gastronomie française pour quels styles de relations ?

<p>Transfert de connaissances, Connaissances en pratique (Practice-based studies)</p> <p>Question de recherche : Quelles sont les différentes formes de transmission des connaissances et des compétences en contexte interculturel ?</p>	<p>Etude de cas unique, qualitative et longitudinale, le restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai</i></p> <p>Enquête en partie ethnographique</p> <p>Méthodologie de Gioia pour analyse des données qualitatives</p> <p>Codage des données avec NVivo 10</p> <p>Niveau d'analyse individuel</p> <p>Utilisation de toutes les données recueillies</p>	<p>(1) Le transfert: Les connaissances se transmettent telles quelles.</p> <p><u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Les étudiants chinois ne connaissent rien à cet univers culinaire, sentiment de supériorité de la part des formateurs</p> <p><u>Inclusif IPB</u> : Reconnaissance de la volonté d'appropriation des étudiants chinois</p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : Nous manquons de connaissances, les formateurs sont les experts.</p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : Eux comme nous sommes à la recherche de nouvelles pratiques rentables.</p> <p>(2) La traduction : Les connaissances se transmettent en étant traduites.</p> <p><u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Transmission de l'histoire et des valeurs de la haute cuisine et du service français</p>
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		<p><u>Inclusif IPB</u> : Importance de comprendre les codes des étudiants chinois pour transmettre le système français.</p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : Ce qui est étranger est vu comme une connaissance mystérieuse</p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : La gastronomie française comme source de nouvelles pratiques</p> <p>(3) L'hybridation : Quelque chose de différent ou de nouveau est créé.</p> <p><u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Il ne s'agit pas d'une création mais de quelque chose d'approximatif</p> <p><u>Inclusif IPB</u>: Reconnaissance de la créativité des étudiants chinois.</p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : Il s'agit de bricolage</p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : L'hybridation comme choix stratégique</p>
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Chapitre 4 : Transmission de compétences et résultats obtenus

<p>Compétences de carrière, carrières nomades</p> <p>Question de recherche: Comment les jeunes stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils l'impact potentiel de leur stage en termes de carrière?</p>	<p>Etude de cas unique, qualitative et longitudinale, le restaurant-école <i>Institut Paul Bocuse de Shanghai</i></p> <p>Etude avec des éléments ethnographiques</p> <p>Codage des données avec NVivo 10</p> <p>Méthodologie de Gioia pour analyse des données qualitatives</p> <p>Niveau d'analyse individuel</p> <p>Analyse de toutes les données recueillies sauf les questionnaires pour les étudiants chinois et les photos et vidéos</p>	<p>(1) Motivation pour la future carrière : La motivation vient de l'expérience à la fois professionnelle, personnelle, et internationale</p> <p>(2) Développement de carrière : Acquisition de nouvelles compétences lors de la formation et de la transmission de savoir-faire français aux étudiants chinois.</p> <p>(3) Potentiels impacts sur la carrière : Importance du réseau, de la crédibilité et opportunités de carrière, nécessité de développer des compétences de carrière internationales.</p>
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Ce premier chapitre avait pour but de présenter le cadre théorique, méthodologique et empirique de ma thèse et d'expliquer comment les données étaient utilisées dans les chapitres.

Les trois prochains chapitres de cette thèse présentent les recherches menées pour répondre aux trois sous-questionnements de ma recherche.

CHAPITRE 2 : BEYOND KNOWLEDGE: THE TRANSCENDENTAL DIMENSION OF SHARING FRENCH GASTRONOMY IN CHINA

Résumé du chapitre 2

Ce chapitre analyse quels sont les mécanismes nécessaires à la transmission en Chine de la gastronomie française – inscrite au patrimoine immatériel de l’humanité par l’UNESCO depuis 2010 – avec ses savoir-faire, ses pratiques et son « esprit ». Nous verrons comment les stagiaires-formateurs s’y prennent pour transmettre leurs connaissances de la gastronomie française à des jeunes étudiants chinois avec lesquels ils ne partagent pas le même champ de références culinaires. Dans ce cas-là, la transmission uniquement par la participation ne fonctionne pas à cause justement de ce manque de valeurs culturelles communes. L’article s’interroge sur la façon de transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques, un « esprit » quand les goûts, les références et les habitudes alimentaires diffèrent.

La question de recherche est donc : Comment transmet-on les savoir-faire, les pratiques ainsi que « l’esprit » de la gastronomie française ?

Pour répondre à ce questionnement une étude de cas unique du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai dans lequel de jeunes stagiaires-formateurs sont venus de l’*Institut Paul Bocuse* d’Ecully pour former de jeunes étudiants chinois à la gastronomie et aux services ‘à la française’ est menée. Après l’analyse des données, cette étude propose trois mécanismes nécessaires à la transmission des savoir-faire, des pratiques et de « l’esprit » de la gastronomie française :

1. Le **mécanisme d’inscription** des gestes professionnels et des attitudes dans le corps et le quotidien des apprenants.
2. Le **mécanisme d’appartenance** à une plus large communauté, composé non seulement de chefs et de maîtres d’hôtel mais aussi de gastronomes, de critiques et guides gastronomiques (tous ceux qui éprouvent la même passion pour la gastronomie française).
3. Le **mécanisme transcendantal** qui se réfère à une dimension supérieure proche de la foi. Les stagiaires-formateurs sont dévoués à leur tâche qui consiste à convertir les étudiants chinois aux pratiques et à l’esprit de la ‘gastronomie française’.

Dans ce premier article ma contribution théorique est double : Tout d'abord une communauté dense et diverse est une condition nécessaire pour assurer la transmission de la gastronomie tout en stimulant l'innovation. La communauté est la garante de « l'esprit » de la gastronomie. Cette communauté, en plus de partager des pratiques et des gestes, partage aussi des références, des goûts, une passion. Ensuite, la transcendance emprunte à Kant le fait que la pensée précède l'existence même des choses. C'est parce qu'on peut la concevoir que la chose existe. La transmission de l'héritage mondial immatériel suppose le partage préalable d'un cadre de pensées commun, de goûts et de valeurs. C'est à l'intérieur de ce cadre que les concepts, les connaissances, les savoir-faire, les règles et les diverses communautés peuvent être façonnés.

Cet article a été rédigé en collaboration avec Vincent Mangematin (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand en est le premier auteur. Il a été présenté à la conférence EGOS à Athènes en 2015 et à Naples en 2016.

Cet article est en cours de relecture dans *Organization Science*.

Mots clés : Savoir-faire ; transmission ; haute cuisine ; chef ; maître d'hôtel ; Chine ; transcendance ; gastronomie française.

Summary of Chapter 2

French gastronomy was inscribed on UNESCO's "Intangible Cultural Heritage" list in 2010. Self-guarding without freezing arises questions of the transmission of knowledge, know-how, and "spirit". The restaurant-school *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai is a unique setting in which to examine questions regarding knowledge and its transmission. Through an in-depth, longitudinal, and qualitative study of the life of the restaurant-school, we explore how chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel* (interns) from France transmit French gastronomy to Chinese students. Our analysis suggests that three mechanisms come into play: First, there is *inscription* of professional behaviors, both bodily and in specific routines. Second, there is *belonging* to a large community. The community around haute cuisine shares not only practices and gestures, but also tastes, languages, passions, and references. It involves not only professionals (chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel*) but also gastronomic critics (e.g., Michelin), connoisseurs, amateurs, and guides – i.e., actors who have the same passion. Third, *transcendental* mechanisms refer to a superior dimension, close to faith. The interns are devoted to their mission of evangelizing the Chinese students and converting them to French gastronomy. Inscription is a necessary condition for the transmission of know-how, but renewing the latter requires a large community of involved actors, as well as transcendence to share the spirit of French gastronomy. Beyond knowledge and know-how, transcendence is a necessary condition to the existence of knowledge.

Keywords: Know-how, transmission, *haute cuisine*, chefs, *maître d'hôtel*, China, transcendence, French gastronomy

This article has been written in collaboration with Vincent Mangematin (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand is the first author. This article was presented at the EGOS conference of Athens in 2015 and Naples in 2016.

'I think I am a good chef and I know how to run restaurants. (...) I don't know what other job I could have done. Oh yes, I could have been a missionary.'

Pierre Gagnaire, *Un principe d'émotions*, 2011, p. 49

Introduction

French gastronomy – listed by UNESCO as “*the gastronomic meal of the French*” and defined as “*the festive meal bringing people together for an occasion to enjoy the art of good eating and drinking*” (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>) – was inscribed on its “Intangible Cultural Heritage” list in 2010. The term describes the pairing of wine and dishes; the dressing of a beautiful table; the exact placing of glasses, for water, and for red and white wine; knife blades pointing in and fork tines down; and the rituals associated with each meal. French gastronomy is a part of the French culture (Ferguson, 1998). High-quality restaurants (Michelin three-star etc.) and the related training institutions for French haute cuisine are the key representatives of French gastronomy, as they maintain and renew this tradition.

In order to self-guard without freezing (UNESCO wording) all the elements that constitute French gastronomy, it is necessary that new chefs and maîtres d'hôtel assimilate knowledge, know-how, and this spirit of French haute cuisine. This article aims to bring about a better understanding of the transmission of know-how and practices. In recent decades, research on knowledge transmission has gone beyond the taxonomic perspective, which characterizes knowledge. It now emphasizes a processual approach, which focuses on knowing – i.e., how individuals and organizations know, and how knowledge is mobilized in action. Researchers focus on organizational learning and the link between “knowing” and “doing” (Cook and Brown, 1999; Gherardi, 2000). Knowledge is seen not as something possessed (Miettinen et al., 2009), but as a practical achievement in understanding how organizational knowledge is created, developed, and transferred individually or collectively. Knowledge is analyzed through its embeddedness in practice (Sandberg and Dall'Alba, 2009), which is situated (Orlikowski, 2002) learned through participation (Cook and Brown, 1999), and created and

recreated continuously (Gherardi, 2009). The aim in transmitting an intangible cultural heritage is to conserve and renew all these practices and embedded knowledge.

The case of the restaurant-school of *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai is well placed to enhance understanding of what is involved when French gastronomy is transmitted. This case is unique as it is based on a flipped-classroom principle, i.e., the interns from France teach their Chinese counterparts, in a form of apprenticeship. At the end of the second year of their bachelor's degree, students from *Institut Paul Bocuse* (in Lyon, France) have to do a six-month internship. 19 students are selected to teach and supervise their Chinese counterparts in Shanghai. During this time, they become interns and participate in the mission of the restaurant-school to transmit know-how of French gastronomy into the Chinese context; this has been happening since the opening of the restaurant-school in 2011. For one year, Chinese students are trained to be chefs or maîtres d'hôtel in luxury hotels and restaurants. While some actions or recipes may be quite easy to reproduce, the transmission of the behaviors and tastes that refine French haute cuisine is a challenge.

The *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai is an original setting in which to revisit questions about knowledge. Most previous works have been conducted in the high-tech environment, where knowledge is scientific or technological. In craft and service organizations, the knowledge involved (organizational, professional, etc.) and the ways it is mobilized may be different. In addition, as pointed out by Bouty and Gomez (2010), the haute-cuisine restaurant is a good place in which to analyze the interactions between individual and organizational cognition. How can this intangible cultural heritage be transmitted? How can knowledge, know-how, and an intangible cultural heritage be passed on from one generation to another, and from one country to another?

This paper argues that know-how and know-how to renew are transmitted through three mechanisms between interns from France and Chinese students: The first is *inscription*. Based on the repetition of movements and gestures, this mechanism inscribes the professional gestures both bodily and in the routines of newcomers in order to shape practices. However, to make sense of professional practices, it is necessary to have a community of experts who

have the same practices, tastes, and values. The second mechanism is *belonging* to the haute-cuisine community in order to share practices, gestures, tastes, and references. A community exists when its members are able to make sense of what they are doing and to share their passion. The community involves not only professionals in French gastronomy but also critics, connoisseurs, and amateurs. The third mechanism, *transcendence*, describes the devotion of the interns from France to French gastronomy and their evangelizing mission toward Chinese students. When the three mechanisms are combined to transmit practices (as the repository of know-how), it mobilizes not only knowledge or even tacit knowledge. It involves a transcendental dimension, which is related to faith-sharing.

The paper presents two interrelated conceptual arguments. First, knowing relates to communities that give a sense of the interplay among the three mechanisms. Communities are larger than professional communities, as they involve chefs and maîtres d'hôtel, which are two different professions. They encompass the organizational boundaries since the apprentices – whether French or Chinese – are trained to work in different organizations but with the same spirit. The communities also involve all the actors who share a passion for French gastronomy: clients, connoisseurs, amateurs, wine-makers, etc. The second argument is that the community is sustained by transcendental knowledge, which represents the frame in which concept, knowledge, know-how, rules, and communities can be shaped. It constitutes a possibility condition for the existence of knowledge and know-how to be built, transmitted, and renewed (Kant, 2002).

The paper is divided into five parts. The next section discusses the concepts of knowledge, and explores its transmission. It focuses on knowledge as a process to complete the taxonomic view. The third section discusses the research context, research design, and methods used to collect the empirical data. The fourth section presents the data analysis and results from 48 qualitative interviews, and from a non-participant observation of the life of the restaurant-school in Shanghai, using a framework of the three mechanisms of know-how transmission: corporeal *inscription*, as the Chinese apprentices repeat the same gesture until they can execute it perfectly; *belonging* to a community; and *transcendence*. The fifth section discusses the conditions required to transmit French gastronomy as an intangible cultural heritage. The

reproduction of gestures is not enough. Renewal requires both a large, strong community and the transcendental dimension (which makes sense of actions). Finally, we draw our conclusions.

1. Theoretical background

What is knowledge? Philosophers, exegetes of the Bible, social scientists, and management scholars have been intrigued by the concept of knowledge without agreeing clearly on its definition. Following Grant (1996), we consider that in recent decades, two different streams of research have been developed. The first proposes a taxonomic approach (Tsoukas, 1996) to describing and characterizing knowledge – i.e., objective versus subjective, implicit/tacit versus explicit, personal versus propositional, and procedural versus declarative knowledge (Grant, 1996, p. 111). This stream relates knowledge to strategies, routines, knowledge-management tools, and firm-specific performance (Nonaka, 1994). The second stream of research emphasizes the process of knowing – i.e., how individuals and organizations know, and how the mobilization of knowledge enables them to perform tasks and actions. We focus on this research stream to understand the transmission of knowing, when knowledge is an ability rather than a thing.

1.1. Practices and knowing

Cook and Brown (1999) challenge the epistemology of possession using that of practices. The practice perspective focuses on what individuals and groups are doing in their “real work.” By “practice,” they “refer to action informed by meaning drawn from a particular group context” (p. 387). Practice refers to knowledge in action – i.e., how knowledge is mobilized to solve problems. Practice has been translated into two research programs. The first focuses on *communities of practice* (CoPs) and beyond, while the second emphasizes the process of knowing. CoPs are loci of organizational knowledge. They originate in group-based learning in workplaces, such as insurance-claims processing, photocopy-machine repair, and corporate research (Brown and Duguid, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Amin and Roberts

(2008, p. 353) point out that “*the original emphasis on context, process, social interaction, material practices, ambiguity, disagreement – in short the frequently idiosyncratic and always performative nature of learning – is being lost to formulaic distillations of the workings of CoPs and instrumentalist applications seeking to maximize learning and knowing though CoPs.*” Communities in the workplace have been “reified” to become part of the organization, leading to possession logics. They propose going back to the original approach of CoPs and building a typology of knowing, emphasizing organizational dynamics. However, the organization itself remains fuzzy: It could be part of the company, the whole company, the workshop, one service, or a group of people. However, when referring to activity, Amin and Roberts (2008) illustrate activities by referring to communities – i.e., task-based, professional, epistemic, and virtual. The notion of communities is key, as it covers not only the knowledge dimension but also what community members are sharing.

The second approach refers to *knowing* – i.e., knowledge in action. Cook and Brown (1999) emphasize that “knowing” is a part of action (both individual and group), and is involved in practices. Knowing is conceived as the dynamic creation, mobilization, and permanent structuring of knowledge for and in practice. Knowledge and know-how are not reified but they are constantly being renewed. Knowing is the interaction of perceivers’ minds (schemas) and environments (contexts). Knowledge is embedded in the context in which it occurs. Organizations are composed of “bundles of practices” for Schatzki (2006), of a “mangle of practices” for Pickering and Flanagan (1995), and of a “texture of practices” for Gherardi (2009). In recent years, the concept of practice in organizational life has interested many researchers (Bouty and Gomez, 2010).

Practice and knowledge are both essential; they cannot be treated separately, and knowledge/know-how are embedded in people’s practices. It is a standpoint that emphasizes the “*knowledgeability of action that is (...) knowing (a verb connoting action, doing, practice) rather than knowledge (a noun connoting things, elements, facts, processes, dispositions)*” (Orlikowski, 2002, pp. 250–251). Gherardi et al. (2014) highlights three kinds of relationships between knowing and practicing: *containment* (i.e., knowledge is considered as situated in the relationships among people who contribute to CoPs); *mutual constitution*

(i.e., knowing and practicing act together and produce each other); and *equivalence*, which “denies any ontological priority to knowledge that exists prior to its performance” (p. 135). Practice and knowledge are composed of explicit and tacit elements. The explicit part can be clearly explained and easily transmitted in words, actions, and explanations. The tacit part – partly hidden and constructed– is invisible, subjective, and not explainable. It is made of immaterial elements embedded in personal experiences, values, or beliefs (McIver et al., 2012). This tacit part is essentially “*learned by observation, imitative application, participating in routines, and personal experience*” (p. 92). Moreover, if authors such as Cook and Brown (1999) take the concept of knowing while keeping the distinction between tacit and explicit knowledge, Orlikowski (2002, p. 251) thinks that “*tacit knowledge is a form of ‘knowing’ and thus inseparable from action because it is constituted through such action.*” Tacit and explicit elements are thus closely intertwined. Tacit knowledge may not be converted into explicit one, but rather to find a way of making tacit knowledge comprehensible. Strati (2007, p. 62) emphasizes the linkages between practices and physical experience. He talks about “sensible knowledge” and says that it “*concerns what is perceived through the senses, judged through the senses, and produced and reproduced through the senses. It resides in the visual, the auditory, the olfactory, the gustatory, the touchable and in the sensitive-aesthetic judgment and aesthetic knowledge.*” Tacit knowledge is embodied not only in gestures and attitudes, but also in tastes. He takes the sensorial dimensions to express judgments on aesthetics and to give importance to what is tacit and hidden. Sensible knowledge is something that cannot be explained by words because it is not “verbal in itself”. Recent literature also highlights the “elusive” nature of articulating tacit knowledge (Toraldo et al., 2016), as a theoretical and methodological challenge in organizational leadership.

Practice is also inseparable from the know-how that creates it (Orlikowski, 2002). Know-how contains an element of “*empiricism and tacitness*” (Durand, 1998. p. 21), and can be learned only through innate talent or personal experience (Polanyi and Sen, 1967). It includes all the skills and capabilities that are required to complete a task, and it is a cognitive ability. It is possible to acquire this know-how through learning by doing or through a relationship between master and apprentice (Slavich and Castellucci, 2016).

Know-how can be shared by working together, where both actions and gestures may be learned. On-the-job training, through observation and imitation, is usually the way to transmit craft knowledge. However, the French haute cuisine is more than craft knowledge. It includes codes and explicit knowledge, close interactions among different professions to create the French gastronomic atmosphere, and references to the history and traditions of gastronomy (i.e., to what makes it an intangible cultural heritage). The paper uncovers the mechanisms of know-how transfer by studying practices and on-the-job training and interactions. It focuses on the transmission of French gastronomy in the restaurant-school of *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai.

1.2. Transmission of French *haute cuisine*

Around the mid-17th century, French chefs – as culinary missionaries – traveled to foreign courts “to spread the culinary good news” (Ferguson, 2006, p. 7). Nowadays, the idea that French chefs have a role to play in diffusing French haute cuisine worldwide is still very much alive, and gastronomy is considered in France as a cultural identity. French gastronomy is much more than food, recipes, and techniques. It relates to its being an intangible cultural heritage (i.e., cultural values interlinked with its practice), to possessing “a ‘social life’” and to being “as well a panoply of narratives that sustains praxis” (Ferguson, 2006, p. 8).

However, haute cuisine remains a craft industry that “appeals to our five senses and is a ‘learning by doing’ profession” (Gomez and Bouty 2007). During the long and intensive process of apprenticeship, chefs transmit not only recipes and techniques, but also know-how, which is a mix of explicit, tacit, and embodied practices. It is the transmission of culinary arts, with their specific vocabulary and attitudes, and of the cultural identity and personal know-how of the chefs (Svejenova, 2005). Apprentices base their behavior on that of their masters and peers by imitating attitudes and actions. It is the essential passage to acquiring the skills, to “capture the essence of things,” as Guy Savoie (Chef) said. “Cooking knowing is highly tacit, embedded in physical activities, and actually bridges theory and practice, subjective and objective knowing, technical skills and rules enforcement, knowing both in body and mind” (Gomez et al., 2003, p. 123). The French haute cuisine gathers not only chefs but also *maîtres d’hôtel* to provide its unique experience. Despite the knowledge being

highly codified, it is impossible for *maîtres d'hôtel* and chefs to characterize all they know and wish to transmit, and not all knowledge can be made clear and codified.

French gastronomy is an interesting context in which to study the transmission of know-how and practices, as it involves more than one profession: chefs, *maîtres d'hôtel*, *sommeliers*, and pastry chefs, all of whom must work together to provide clients with a unique experience. *Maîtres d'hôtel* and chefs work within high-end restaurants, belong to different professional communities, and serve the same intangible cultural heritage. Indeed, we know that apprentices learn by doing, and that chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel* transmit their professional skills as well as their know-how at the workplace. We also know that knowledge is partly codified in order to better understand chemical reactions, formation of taste, and etiquette. However, behind knowledge, know-how, and practices, it is necessary to share and assimilate the “spirit” of French gastronomy.

2. Methodology

2.1. Research design and setting

Our empirical research setting is the French gastronomic restaurant-school of *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai, which provides an interesting practical vantage point from which to examine how to transmit French gastronomy – with its rites and presentation – in China. Choosing a restaurant-school outside France highlights the traits of – and the cultural distance between – the interns from France and the Chinese students. It allows us to identify what is transmitted not only in terms of gestures and methods, but also in terms of taste, visualization, and culture. In French gastronomy, the roles of the chefs and of the *maîtres d'hôtel* in fine-dining restaurants are central. While the task of the chef is to provide an amazing culinary experience, the function of the *maître d'hôtel* is to ensure good communication between the kitchen and the restaurant so as to provide clients with a unique experience.

The restaurant-school in Shanghai is run by intern chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel* from the school in France. They train their Chinese counterparts in French haute cuisine. They are proud to

have been chosen to transmit French gastronomy, and its practices and rites, to Chinese students. Tasked with running the restaurant-school and managing the Chinese team, they have a level of responsibility that they would never have had at their age in France. It is an apprenticeship of six months. They accomplish their mission under the supervision of the executive team, which comprises seven young and motivated members: the director, an associate director, a sous-chef, a pastry chef, a training manager, and two maîtres d'hôtel. They are all – apart from the second training manager (who joined the team in 2013) – former students of the *Institut Paul Bocuse* in France; this means they share a very strong corporate culture.

To study the transmission of know-how, we examined how interns shared their practices, using an inductive research design that allowed contextualization and rich descriptions (Lee, 1999). The study uses a single case-study research design, which is well suited to its exploratory nature. We sought to gain a rich understanding of the case from the French perspective, and to observe the interactions between the Chinese and French subjects over a long period of time; this allowed us to triangulate our sources.

2.2. Data collection

We collected data in the *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai. A total of 37 Chinese third-year bachelor's degree students took part in the internship from the beginning of May 2013 to the end of April 2014 in order to learn French gastronomy. They were trained during the first six months by 14 French second-year bachelor's degree students (seven young chefs and seven maîtres d'hôtel) in culinary arts. After the interns left China, another team (consisting of five other chefs – also interns) came to the restaurant-school to complete the program. We obtained the agreement of the director of the restaurant-school in Shanghai to participate in its daily life; we had access to all the data available and we were invited to meetings. The rich data that we collected came from interviews, reports, documents, informal discussions, photos, videos, non-participant observation, field notes, and a survey of Chinese students. We triangulated these data sources.

[Please insert Table 1 around here.]

Interviews and informal discussions. A total of 48 semi-structured interviews was conducted between March 2013 and October 2014 in China and in France. We focused on the representatives from France, as we wanted to understand how know-how was transmitted to the Chinese students. Three members of the executive team in Shanghai agreed to be interviewed twice and the director three times, while ten interns agreed to have a second interview three months after their return to France (see Table 2). The interviews ranged from 20 to 148 minutes in length. In the findings section, we specify (for each quotation) the number of the interview; and the position, gender, and age of the interviewee. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed. The first interview protocol for the interns (chefs and maîtres d'hôtel) comprised questions regarding their motivation for becoming involved in the mission and how they transmit their know-how. During the second set of interviews, we asked the interns to feed back on the mission and on whether they felt they had succeeded in transmitting their know-how. For the executive team, the first set of interviews was about their experience as managers, and about how the training program was applied by the students from France and China. The second set looked more at an overall view of the training year. We then relied on other sources beyond our interviews in our analysis of what happened; these sources are discussed below.

[Please insert Table 2 around here.]

Site visits. To study practices, “it is crucial to be able to observe what people do, what their work is like and what efforts it takes” (Carlile 2002, p. 447). Observation plays a central role, as we develop our understanding of the tacit and explicit transmission of know-how from the interns from France to the Chinese students. We conducted two weeks of non-participant observation of daily activities within the restaurant and kitchen, one in June 2013 and the other in March 2014. During that time – on average 15 hours per day – we had the opportunity to observe different aspects of the restaurant and of kitchen life at various times of day. During the observations, notes were taken and a more detailed commentary post-observation was written on the day of the visit.

2.3. Data analysis

To explain how know-how was transmitted, we used NVivo 10 to code and analyze our recordings and our various documents. This software is suitable for dividing data, as well as for dealing with emerging codes so that the results can be generated in an iterative manner. We analyzed the qualitative data by traveling back and forth between the data and the emerging structure of theoretical arguments. Our data analysis consisted of a series of four major steps, following internal-audit methodology (Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton, 2013).

Step 1: Creating provisional categories and first-order codes. We used our data to understand the way know-how was transmitted from the interns from France to the Chinese students. We started by undertaking an initial coding of the data. These data included phrases, terms, or descriptions given by participants, and seen and noted during the non-participant observation; they concern the transmission of know-how as well as the involvement of the interns in their tasks. We obtained 59 nodes and created our first-order codes. During this step, NVivo 10 facilitated the organization of all the codes that emerged from the data.

Step 2: Integrating first-order codes and creating theoretical categories. The second step of the analysis involved looking for codes across interviews, and nodes that could be grouped into higher-level nodes. For example, comments on the importance of the profession, and on the joy of exercising the skills, were grouped into a node labeled “love of the job.” The higher-level or “tree” nodes were then developed through triangulation of sources (interviews, non-participant observations, documents, etc.) whenever possible, to produce a set of first-order categories. As we consolidated categories, they became more theoretical and more abstract. It was at that stage that we moved from open to axial coding.

Step 3: Creating second-order themes with first-order concepts. This step involved looking for links among first-order categories so that we could transform them into theoretical groups or second-order themes. We moved iteratively between our first-order categories and the emerging outline (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007), and found seven theoretical groups. For instance, categories including quotes in which interns talked about their hopes for a great future, or for professional recognition, were grouped into a topic called “promise/delayed

reward.” The six other second-order themes were “passion,” “mission,” “inscription,” “transmission,” “reinforcement of the belonging to the profession” (for the group from France), and “welcoming/inclusion within the community” (for the Chinese students). Table 3 contains first-order data from which we then developed second-order themes.

[Please insert Table 3 around here.]

Step 4: Establishing theory by aggregating theoretical dimensions. Once theoretical categories had been created, we considered dimensions underlying these groups in an attempt to understand how different categories could link together to form a coherent picture. Three dimensions appear here. The first dimension is the inscription mechanism. The interns from France established behaviors and attitudes of high-end professions in the bodies and routines of Chinese students through the processes of inscription and transmission. The second dimension is the belonging mechanism, which refers to professional membership. When the French know-how was transmitted to the Chinese students, the interns felt very strongly about their belonging to the community of French gastronomy, and referred to this; the executive team shared this feeling. So the French workers’ sense of belonging to the community was reinforced; at the same time, they felt a desire to welcome the Chinese students into the French gastronomic community. The third dimension emphasizes the “transcendental mechanism” that took hold of the interns when they went to China to transmit their passion, containing a delayed reward. Table 4 displays our final data structure, showing the aggregate categories and second-order themes and the relationships among them (verbatim in table 5).

[Please insert Table 4 around here.]

3. Findings

When we combined the analysis of the interviews with our own observations of life in the restaurant-school, three main findings became apparent in relation to the transmission of know-how and practices. The first finding is the *inscription mechanism*. Indeed, in order to transmit their know-how, the interns from France engaged an inscription mechanism in the bodies and routines of the Chinese students. This mechanism was the result of two processes – habituating and tasting. Inscription is a physical process of learning, reproducing, and inscribing through actions such as “doing together” and “relishing,” commenting on and repeating actions within a strict “discipline.” Second, we realized that the interns asserted their belonging to the world of French haute cuisine, with its codes, rules, and hierarchy; we refer to this as the *belonging mechanism*. This was the result of three effects on the interns. The first effect was the reinforcement of their feeling of being part of the French haute-cuisine community once they realized that the Chinese students had neither a real knowledge of French cuisine nor the same tastes. The distance between them and the Chinese apprentices stressed the commonalities among the interns and the executives. The second effect was the welcoming of the Chinese students to – or their inclusion within – the community. The third element was passion: The interns had gone to China in order to share the French passion for gastronomy, and they were ready to include the Chinese students in their culinary world. However, the transmission of French gastronomy could not be effective without the *transcendental mechanism*. This mechanism was based on the quasi-spiritual dimension of the mission for the interns from France. They were proselytes, sharing the French gastronomy that was embodied within them. During the analysis of the first series of data, the concept of transcendence emerged and became increasingly strong.

3.1. Inscription mechanism

The inscription mechanism – or the fact of “inscribing” behaviors and attitudes in the bodies and routines of the Chinese students – occurred through two processes: habituating and tasting.

Habituating. This was the basis of learning to execute gestures perfectly. It was the process of engraving something more deeply. The repetition of gestures, postures, and movements occurred through theoretical and practical courses. The Chinese students participated in lessons and workshops where they were invited by the interns from France to learn new skills, preparing and tasting meals and wines. All these new things, as new tastes and codes, were inscribed in both the bodies and the routines of the Chinese students through habituation – i.e., repetition of practices, often jointly with the interns. Chinese students were expected to perform gestures and actions perfectly, and to be able to repeat movements exactly. Habituation made gestures and movements an automation of the actions, revealing the assimilation of the professional behavior and know-how, and inscribing these in the routines and practices of the Chinese students. Gestures and attitudes were inscribed within the bodies of the learners. They needed to make precise and controlled movements: *“It was very important to teach them basic actions: how to polish, iron, set a table, and change flowers”* (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female - 20). After a while, their actions become integrated, in that they were done automatically and reproduced without thinking by the Chinese students: *“I think I have learned to do a lot of things in the French style. For instance, I learned how to turn mushrooms the French way”* (#46 – former Chinese student – male – 21 years old).

During classes, knowledge was learned and shared. Chinese students took classes in French gastronomy, wine, cocktails, etc. They learned the basis of French gastronomy: *“They learned how to do sauces, they learned to make veal stock, and they learned the basis of French haute cuisine, so now they are able to work in a French restaurant”* (#18 – intern chef – Female – 19 years old).

Practices, situated cognition, and attitudes were shared during workshops. For the chefs, it was quite hard to explain tastes and seasoning; and for the maîtres d’hôtel, it was difficult to describe the behaviors and attitudes to adopt in front of the customers in the restaurant. Indeed, these elements were hard to verbalize, since the cultural, behavioral, and gastronomic references were not the same: *“I learned to communicate with the customers, how to use the correct words to talk to them, how to behave with them. (...) I also learned to explain the*

composition of the menu and which dishes were 'compatible' with each other" (#7 – training manager and former Chinese student – female – 24 years old).

It was complicated for the intern chefs to explain to Chinese students who were unfamiliar with the products and flavors how to cook some ingredients: *"We don't have the same palate; [the Chinese students] do not have the same approach to the tastes, the flavors, the blends. They do not understand yet – they are a little bit lost; they don't understand why we put in so much butter, so much oil, and so much cream"* (#19 – intern chef – female – 20 years old).

Habituating was a mechanism by which Chinese students were able to reproduce actions or behaviors automatically, without thinking about them. To achieve this, they worked side-by-side with interns from France and sometimes with members of the executive team, to learn the etiquette in a disciplined setting. The organization of high-end restaurants is extremely hierarchical. Discipline is very important, because it constitutes the foundation of the apprenticeship, to inscribe gestures and attitudes in body and in behavior. Actions, repetition, notes, images, and photos are necessary to consolidate and integrate the whole process. In order to have the capacity to reproduce some actions perfectly, it is necessary to repeat them several times: *"We had to repeat things all the time for the Chinese students; yes, we had to repeat, always repeat and repeat and repeat"* (#14 – intern maître d'hôtel – male – 31 years old). It was only with a lot of practice that the actions became automatic.

Tasting. Tasting meant that Chinese students experimented not only with the preparation process but also with tasting the food, experiencing what it was like to be customers – and so eventually learning how to appreciate French gastronomy. The interns from France encouraged the Chinese students to develop their tastes. Most of the Chinese maîtres d'hôtel did not appreciate wine, because they were not used to it. They could serve a glass of wine, but found it much more difficult to describe the kind of wine it was, especially when they did not like the taste. So in order to facilitate their task, the training manager told them stories about the wines. The Chinese students loved that, and were then able to talk about the different wines to customers.

Seasoning dishes was also extremely difficult for Chinese students. For instance, they were unaccustomed to the French use of salt, mustard, and pepper in the same way as the French, and so it was complicated for them to evaluate whether or not a dish tasted good. What was particularly challenging for them was to know how much salt they needed to add. They reproduced exactly what they had seen during the intern chefs' demonstration, but it was not always enough. So, in order to accustom the Chinese students' palates to new tastes and flavors, the intern chefs asked them to taste the dishes. It was the only way to inscribe in them – little by little – what was expected by both chefs and customers: *“At the beginning, some had a little bit of a problem [with seasoning]. We told them ‘Taste, taste! Because it is how we learn, it is how you will be able to recognize the good flavors, the ones that we want.’”* (#22 – intern chef – female – 27 years old).

The transmission of French gastronomy was said to have been effective when Chinese student chefs were able to cook a piece of meat or fish correctly, to appreciate raw meat and *foie gras*, and to season a dish correctly; and when Chinese student *maîtres d'hôtel* could explain the menu, recommend a wine that paired well with the food, set a beautiful table, and provide great service. The Chinese students had to learn and apply all the etiquette of the French gastronomic meal, with its rites and presentation. This etiquette is subject to very strict, codified rules that do not exist in Chinese culture: *“When the customers arrive, we have to take their coats, accompany them to their table, and pull out their chairs. Then we have to propose such or such service; then serve the water and the wine, which means opening the bottle; serve the bread with the tongs; bring out a serving platter; remove it; change the flatware after each meal”* (#34 – intern chef – male – 21 years old). All these steps involve codified actions that are important to reproduce exactly. Another important aspect was to do things together, as a team: This collective culture was necessary in order to transfer know-how and behaviors: *“I wanted to teach you how to make bread, and we did it together”* (#37 – intern *maître d'hôtel* – male – 20 years old).

In order to be able to master the precise actions and etiquette that are necessary in a gastronomic restaurant, Chinese students needed to find some tools to help them to integrate – then to “inscribe” them – in their bodies. This was facilitated by notes, images, and photos.

In the restaurant-school, all the Chinese students had little notebooks in which they took notes or made drawings. At the beginning of their training period, they used these notebooks all the time. But by the end, this had changed markedly, in that the students more often used them for reference, to find a specific piece of information. Sometimes, they also took photos. When two people do not speak the same native language, and it is difficult to use a common language, images and photos can prove very helpful: *“I think it is very important to show them photos, images, to show them concrete elements”* (#23 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old). With a picture, it is possible to avoid confusing descriptions and to convey ideas clearly way. It is also a quick method of transferring information. Some interns encouraged the Chinese students to take notes in order to remember what they had learned: *“When I make a sauce, I explain to them and then they take notes”* (#20 – intern chef – female – 20 years old).

The Chinese students were also invited by the interns from France to discover and understand French haute cuisine and hospitality in Shanghai through concrete experiences – for instance, a meal in a French fine-dining restaurant or a visit to a French luxury hotel with working specialists: *“We made them eat several times in the restaurant-school, and we made visits to several French hotels and restaurants in Shanghai, which made them understand a bit about the culinary and hospitality world. They had also the opportunity to have a meal at Mr. & Mrs. Bund, a French fine-dining restaurant owned by Paul Pairet, a French chef who has settled in China”* (#26 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 23 years old).

Transmitting know-how and practices is based on the ability to reproduce actions, attitudes, and capabilities without thinking. Habituation and discipline lead to inscription in the body, so that the student can reproduce an exact gesture after training. Tasting inscribes the tastes of French haute cuisine in the bodies of Chinese students, as they have to taste the dishes and recommend wines to accompany these.

3.2. Belonging mechanism

The belonging mechanism refers to the community of French gastronomy, which groups chefs, maîtres d'hôtel, sommeliers, pastry chefs, critics, and all the other professions related to French gastronomy. It is more than a professional community or a CoP: It is the entire community of actors in French gastronomy. The belonging mechanism is based on three sub-mechanisms: exposure to alterity, inclusion in a large community, and passion.

Exposure to alterity. The interns from France rapidly realized that the Chinese students had almost no knowledge of what French gastronomy was. Their first reaction was to reaffirm their membership to their community, beyond their professional community, whether they were chefs or maîtres d'hôtel. They were part of the French gastronomic universe, and they invited the Chinese students to join this community. Indeed, some days after their arrival, the interns from France realized that they had to train people who shared neither the same culinary codes nor the same tastes: *"The flavors are not at all the same; the customs are not at all the same"* (#37 – intern maître d'hôtel – female – 23 years old).

At the beginning of their training, Chinese students did not understand French gastronomy in the restaurant-school with its specific codes, the rituals associated with each meal, the setting of a lovely table, and the complementarity of different flavors. Understanding had to be developed in the broadest sense – i.e., to discover the universe of French gastronomy: *"At the beginning, [the Chinese students] didn't know that they had to position a plate with the knife on the right and the fork on the left. They didn't understand why they had to put several glasses on the table, because in Chinese restaurants everything is placed in the middle of the table – so for them, the service is totally different"* (#36 – intern maître d'hôtel – female – 20 years old).

The other aspect that surprised the interns from France was the reaction of some Chinese students to food. In France, when people eat in a gastronomic restaurant, it is in order to have a "cultural experience." Chinese people, on the other hand, pay much more attention to what and when they eat. For instance, they think that it is not healthy to consume rare prime rib in the evening, because it is too heavy to digest. Also, Chinese people do not like eating raw meat and fish and so the students had difficulties with steak tartare and smoked salmon (two

products regularly offered in the restaurant-school). A former Chinese student remarked: *“A lot of Chinese people cannot eat too much fat, because they are sick afterwards. Another thing that they do not like is uncooked beef”* (#47 – former Chinese student – female – 22 years old).

In the face of these behaviors by the Chinese students, the interns from France – in order to fulfill their mission to transmit their know-how more effectively – reacted by reinforcing their own belonging to the French culinary culture. To do this, they made references to the specificities of French cooking: *“Here, the interest is in transmitting techniques and tastes, and also a whole perception, a whole way of perceiving the cooking, if you like; it’s a whole heritage that is to be transmitted”* (#5 – training manager – female – 30 years old). The cultural distance (in terms of knowledge of French haute cuisine) between the interns from France and the Chinese students reinforced the former’s feeling of belonging to the world of French gastronomy and its professional community.

Inclusion in a large and diverse community. As mentioned earlier, the whole cultural heritage is not only a set of professional behaviors, attitudes, and skills; it is also a complete world that includes restaurants, critics, books, professions, national and international competitions, hospitality rules, languages, codes, and traditions. The sense of belonging to a community occurred when the interns realized that they had to transmit to the Chinese students how to cook, serve, and behave in a French fine-dining environment. This raised their awareness of their own culinary culture and its characteristics. The sense of belonging to their school in France, and to the famous chefs who created it, is reinforced: *“It is an experience to be able to train them in our French know-how and in what we have been taught at Institut Paul Bocuse”* (#30 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 21 years old).

They became even more proud of their own culinary culture, and claimed their membership to its community: *“French cooking is a very fastidious style of cooking, with an extraordinary level of detail in places, and a presentation that is just magnificent”* (#9 – intern chef – male – 21 years old). They felt proud of their knowledge and honored to transmit it to the Chinese students. The French culinary culture and its know-how are so unique that sometimes it is impossible to translate its meanings. As a member of the executive team said: *“We do French*

cuisine, we do French service, and anyway some words simply do not exist in other languages” (#2 – director – male – 25 years old).

Once the interns had reaffirmed their membership to their profession and to the field of French haute cuisine, they then wanted to share this culinary world with the Chinese students. The latter were invited to become part of the French haute-cuisine community through apprenticeship in the historical elements and in more tacit know-how, such as the meaning of wine: *“We taught them the history of French catering, its evolution, the different kinds of services that exist, the meaning of wine, everything about culinary arts, in fact”* (#28 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old). The interns were like a family for the Chinese students. They were in the restaurant-school to accompany them, and to give them their time and advice. Another former Chinese student – who is today a member of the executive team – explained: *“They are like family. I have learned so much about the wine, the French food, and the service. Today, I can talk about French food; I can recommend a wine to accompany a dish. I am also able to work with foreigners”* (#7 – training manager and former Chinese student – female – 24 years old).

The French gastronomic community is more than a purely professional one, including a range of different professions as well as clients and suppliers. But it goes further still, referring to the spirit of French gastronomy, which is shared by chefs, maîtres d’hôtel, sommeliers, pastry chefs, organizations (e.g., restaurants and suppliers), critics (who can test the different restaurants and menus), rankings and competitions (to inform the public), and the public (connoisseurs and gastronomes). The latter has a crucial role to play as it justifies the involvement of other members, such as critics and peer-to-peer platforms of recommendation.

To share a spirit, a diversified community is required, with actors who are involved in different ways, to different levels of intensity. For instance, Florent Boivin, a famous chef from the school in France was involved in order to highlight the restaurant-school of Shanghai. This chef, who won the prestigious *Meilleur Ouvrier de France* (MOF) award, stayed several days in Shanghai to cook gastronomic meals for customers and to teach French gastronomy to the

Chinese students. It was also an opportunity to connect with other members of the community (e.g., journalists, and platforms of recommendation) to recognize the work of the MOF winner, and to promote the quality of the restaurant-school. One of the interns explained: *“I was in charge of the communication department when the chef, Florent Boivin, arrived. He is from Institut Paul Bocuse in France. He is also quite a famous MOF. He came to prepare gastronomic meals for three days, and I alerted the journalists and websites, organized interviews, etc.”* (#26 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 23 years old).

There is also a feeling within the French gastronomic community that all its members need each other in order to succeed: You cannot succeed if you are alone, and if you do not have good suppliers, good products, and good critics. Communication is important too. A restaurant cannot run itself. All members of the community play an important part in the story of French gastronomy. A chef explained: *“We have quite a lot of Chinese clients and it is easier when we can communicate. It is the same thing with the technicians, with the suppliers. Indeed, if I am not with someone who speaks Chinese and who can translate messages or call the suppliers of fruit and vegetables ... well, we do not have fruit or vegetables”* (#9 – chef – male – 28 years old). There is also the fact that all members of the community are interconnected and need each other to progress: *“In this profession [culinary and hospitality jobs], we learn from the customer, we learn from our colleagues, we learn about the product, about human relations, with the suppliers (...) we are constantly learning a lot of things”* (#13 – maître d’hôtel – male – 24 years old).

Passion. The community is lively because of its members’ passion for French haute cuisine. The interns from France were part of this community: They were its junior representatives and were led by their passion and by the fact that transferring it reinforced their feeling of belonging to a specific community. They had chosen their career and they lived it intensely: *“It really has to be a passion”* (#37 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 23 years old). Being a chef or a maître d’hôtel was something of which they were proud: *“I want them [the Chinese students] to understand that our job is the best job in the world”* (#41 – intern chef – male – 26 years old). They did not have to be encouraged to work – *“I love what I do so much that I do not need to be [externally] motivated”* (#45 – intern chef – male – 23 years old) – and

their passion could overcome tiredness: *“When you do something you like, it is impossible to get tired”* (#39 – intern chef – male – 27 years old). Their job was part of their life; we could even say that it was their life: *“Our whole life is in the restaurant in China”* (#33 – intern chef – male – 22 years old). French gastronomy was their passion, and it was transcendental. To them, it was the most beautiful thing ever: *“We did what we loved to do: French gastronomy. It was just perfect!”* (#45 – intern chef – male). This passion for French haute cuisine meant that they viewed their internship as a mission.

The interns from France felt they had made a “conversion” when they had Chinese students who came to believe in the superiority of French haute cuisine: *“I think that French food is more beautiful than Chinese food”* (#48 – former Chinese student – female – 24 years old). This type of comment also appeared several times in the survey of Chinese students.

The belonging mechanism refers to community identity. For the interns from France, their time in China reinforced first the feeling of belonging to the French haute-cuisine community, and then the desire to invite the Chinese students to share this.

3.3. Transcendental mechanism

The last mechanism is the transcendental mechanism. Their role as trainers of the Chinese students developed the interns from France’ attachment to the French gastronomic community, and included a proselyte dimension, sharing French haute cuisine worldwide. To be able to transmit not only gestures and tastes, but also a true understanding of French gastronomy, it was necessary to refer to a superior dimension, which we term the “transcendental mechanism.” This included two concepts: evangelizing the Chinese apprentices as a mission; and demonstrating devotion, as the interns from France renounced any immediate reward. Being paid during the internship was not what motivated them.

Evangelizing. Interns considered they had a mission. They had to share their passion and love for French gastronomy with their Chinese counterparts, and to serve the entire community. They did this in the restaurant-school of *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai, a

place where the Chinese students felt comfortable: *“When they arrived in the restaurant-school, they really felt at home”* (#4 – deputy manager – male – 31 years old). This was important for a good apprenticeship. The interns knew that they were in China to explain and develop the appetite of the Chinese students (who had had a very different culinary experience) for French haute cuisine. The interns from France were in the restaurant-school to share their knowledge with the Chinese students. For this reason, they spent a lot of time together, listening and establishing a relationship of trust: *“It is always necessary to be close to them, in order to explain when things go wrong or to tell them when it is done well”* (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old).

However, the task was not easy, and the interns from France encountered some complications, which sometimes made them doubt the majesty of French haute cuisine. The first complication was the non-recognition of – and lack of respect for – the job of chef or maître d’hôtel in China: *“In China, nobody wants to be a chef; it is not popular and it is not well paid”* (#45 – intern chef – male – 23 years old). Indeed, no service-related jobs are well-recognized or prestigious. Most of the Chinese students were working in the hospitality industry because they could not do anything else: *“It is manual work that people do because they have to”* (#4 – deputy manager – male – 31 years old). This poor recognition represented a challenge for the interns from France, in terms of transferring their own pride in the job: *“It is a noble [job] and I want them to understand that. What they are doing is not rubbish”* (#41 – intern chef – male – 26 years old).

If a Chinese student left the restaurant-school to work outside the world of French gastronomy, the interns from France considered themselves to have failed. *“I immediately began to question myself. I wasn’t happy; I thought it was my fault. (...) Unfortunately, we have lost a very good student, and I think it is our punishment”* (#20 – intern chef – female – 20 years old). Their sense of guilt was very strong, as in the Catholic religion. The members of the executive team shared the disappointment every time a Chinese student left the restaurant-school – especially, as happened once, to work in a famous German car dealership: *“We have had students who – after eight or nine months – told us that they were leaving us to sell cars at the end of the internship, and we asked ourselves, “Why am I here, why am I*

investing so much energy in this if, in the end, they are going to do another job?” (#13 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 24 years old). Nevertheless, despite these moments of doubt, the faith of the French team remained strong. They had to convert the Chinese students to French gastronomy: “We had a responsibility – in fact, we could not give up. (...) We had 17 students who were our responsibility” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 25 years old).

Devotion. The interns from France were devoted to French gastronomy. During their internship, they worked long hours in the restaurant-school, they were not paid, and they represented French gastronomy. They ran the restaurant-school as part of their own training and experience, reaffirming their belonging to the community, and sharing their faith. The rewards were mostly symbolic, and based on the promise of a brighter future. For the intern chefs and maîtres d’hôtel, these took the forms of the hope of forthcoming recognition, and the promise of future greatness. It was for these reasons that they agreed to work for free during their internship, despite the very heavy workload: “When we did our internship, we did not have a salary; we just received the training allowance, and we did a huge amount of work. However, it was what we wanted” (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old). It was for this reason that they accepted the difficulties and disappointments they had to face in China: “Sometimes we were frustrated; sometimes we were demotivated. It was not easy every day. However, the whole package was really worth it and I think this is why we all stayed motivated” (#35 – intern chef – female – 25 years old).

With this experience, the interns from France expected to obtain good jobs in famous restaurants. They expected that sooner or later, once they were working with famous chefs in famous places, they would obtain something different – something special – through having lived this experience: “After all that we have experienced in France and particularly here, in China, after all that, we do not want to be ordinary chefs” (#41 – intern chef – male – 26 years old). They hoped that they would be recognized in the profession and by famous chefs; for this reason, they were willing to bide their time waiting for their reward.

French gastronomy is more than a set of practices. It includes faith in its greatness, and in its universality. It is a complete world in itself, encompassing different organizations, various

quality assessors, and a large community of workers serving connoisseurs and gastronomes. The transcendental mechanism provides a superior dimension to create the feeling of belonging to the culinary community.

4. Discussion

Sharing French gastronomy as an intangible cultural heritage involves more than simply learning or transmitting knowledge. First, it relates to three interconnected mechanisms (inscription, belonging, and transcendence) to create the capability of offering a unique gastronomic experience. Gastronomic communities lend meaning to what has been learned: to gestures and attitudes, and to atmospheres and tastes. Communities are larger than professional communities as they involve different professions (chefs, maîtres d'hôtel, sommeliers, and pastry chefs, as a minimum), organizations (such as restaurants), and also critics, guides, peer-to-peer websites, and suppliers. They encompass organizational boundaries, as the trainees (whether from France or from China) were prepared to work in different organizations but in the same spirit. Second, the community is sustained by a transcendental (almost religious) knowledge that describes how knowledge exists. Transcendental knowledge is different from knowledge; it is an essential part of the knowing process.

4.1. Communities: The cornerstone of transmission mechanisms

Being able to follow recipes does not make someone a good chef. There is much more to French gastronomy than a set of recipes; showing apprentices how to cook is not enough to transmit the spirit of French haute cuisine. The transmission of practices of French haute cuisine is not a question of knowledge or tacitness (McIver et al., 2012). Cooking and serving are professions learned mainly by imitation and repetition: The transmission of know-how and practices involves inscription of know-how in body and routines. Knowing (as knowledge in action) is not limited to repetition; it also involves renewal, creativity, and originality. Inscription of French gastronomy as an intangible cultural heritage presupposes that it has a

vibrant history going back decades or even centuries. It requires a community to make sense of what is done, why it is done, and how to develop it while safeguarding its established spirit. The community is the locus in which the spirit of French gastronomy is shared, developed, and renewed.

This study identifies three mechanisms in the transmission of an intangible cultural heritage. Inscription in body and in routine – in order to embed knowing and acting (Orlikowski, 2002; Sandberg and Dall’Alba, 2009) – is a necessary condition. It enables newcomers to learn practices and to acquire state-of-the-art techniques. Chefs and maîtres d’hôtel are craft workers, in that they provide a unique experience, advice on pairing food and wine, and the appropriate atmosphere. They must not only perform their art, but also nourish it, to renew practices and experiences. When inscription alone is used to transmit know-how, apprentices may be able to perform gestures, but their movements are disconnected from the reason why they are doing so. Repeating something parrot-fashion, without understanding what it means or what can be created through mobilizing this know-how, is tantamount to mumbling. To transmit know-how and the spirit of French haute cuisine, this “doing” (Nicolini 2012) needs to be completed by the belonging mechanism – and by the transcendental mechanism, which involves faith and a superior dimension.

Community and transcendental knowledge are necessary conditions for the transmission and renewal of French gastronomy. Chefs and maîtres d’hôtel serve a large community that simultaneously values traditions (as an intangible cultural heritage listed by UNESCO) and desires creation (as newness within that tradition is welcomed). The aim of critics and guides is to shepherd amateurs and connoisseurs, and to support them in their discoveries.

Within the community, all actors have the same references, models, and ideas of what represents achievement. They share values, and this allows them to learn to enjoy new tastes, as has been the case with French nouvelle cuisine (Rao et al., 2005). Experience in restaurants is only part of what the community shares; also included are websites, TV shows (such as Top Chef), books, rankings in newspapers, and even catering. But – to use another religious analogy – Holy Communion as the celebration of French gastronomy takes place in haute-cuisine restaurants where the servants of the community officiate. Gestures, atmosphere, and

settings are ritualized and codified. Gestures must be perfectly executed so as not to risk changing the taste of a sauce. Tables must be perfectly dressed so as to ensure the experience is “just so.” The various elements of French gastronomy together represent a combination of tradition and renewal, and the community justifies the spirit of tradition being respected, even if practices are changing.

The transcendental and belonging mechanisms go together hand-in-hand. The belonging mechanism calls for a community in which practices, experiences, languages, and transcendence are shared. Transcendence takes different forms. First, it is the feeling of being part of an exclusive/superior community. Chefs, *maîtres d’hôtel*, interns, and apprentices demonstrated their passion for top-end gastronomy and saw the apprenticeship of foreign (Chinese) students as a mission they had to fulfill. They were representing the French haute-cuisine tradition abroad, and their task was to transmit this. Second, the community at large involves connoisseurs all around the world who share a superior value – that is, a superior vision of what French gastronomy is. They are able to appreciate the refinement, time, and cost of the French gastronomic meal. That is why French gastronomy has been inscribed by UNESCO as an intangible cultural heritage. The community is exclusive, with a connotation of luxury and uniqueness. Finally, intermediaries (Boutinot, 2016) – e.g., journalists and critics – point out the newness and originality, which may or may not be valued by connoisseurs and the wider public.

French gastronomy is different from the scientific and technological fields, which have been under scrutiny (Argote et al., 2011). Scientific and technological knowledge is presented as a mix of codified and tacit knowledge (Nonaka et al., 2000), while French gastronomy is highly anchored in materiality and spirituality. Cultural and artistic goods navigate across the senses and material modalities (Toraldò et al., 2016), requiring theories that can describe these forms of knowledge and practice. Materiality as gestures must be inscribed in bodies, since food is served to consumers who are seated in a specific environment, and since all material dimensions must match (food, wine, and service). Spirituality in terms of sharing French gastronomy is seen as a mission, since – for connoisseurs – gastronomic restaurants offer a unique experience with a transcendental dimension, engendering faith and belief.

Categorizing knowledge is insufficient to understand how the elements of the gastronomic meal of the French are shared. Our analysis reveals that the three mechanisms (inscription, belonging, and transcendence) are necessary and sufficient conditions for transmitting knowledge, know-how, and practices, simultaneously involving both materiality and spirituality.

4.2. Is transcendence knowledge?

What is knowledge? The notion of transcendence sheds new light on the initial question. Philosophers have long debated the relationship between transcendence and knowledge. Is transcendence knowledge?

Here, we apply the traditional definition of transcendence – i.e., the condition or quality of going beyond physical human experience. In his theory of knowledge, Kant introduces the term “transcendental” to define the knowledge of our cognitive faculty that relates to how objects are possible (conditions of possibility): *“I call all knowledge transcendental if it is occupied, not with objects, but with the way that we can possibly know objects even before we experience them”* (Kant, 2002, p. A12).

Kant’s transcendental method is based on the acknowledgment of a priori (transcendental) mental functions that determine the way in which people process any information (http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Transcendental_idealism). At the same time, this method stresses the reliability of science and the inability to know what transcends observable phenomena, stating that it is possible simultaneously both to affirm the existence of an independent reality and to state that nothing can be said about it.

The discussion about whether transcendence is knowledge partly answers the question of what knowledge is. Knowledge is thought within an accepted framework. French gastronomy exists before we are able to experience it. As Kant emphasizes, the idea exists before the reality. This is a framework with which to define the concepts – and to describe these, the language, and even the taste of the meals. Agreement on the framework is not a rational process: It comes from common beliefs, values, and attitudes to life. It is just like a religious

belief or agreement to work within a given paradigm (Kuhn, 1962). Kuhn analyses the move from one paradigm to another as a religion conversion.

The transmission of French gastronomy as an intangible cultural heritage assumes that a community simultaneously shares materiality and transcendence, both in what is done and in finding meaning in this for the whole community. The dimension of transcendence is consistent with the vision of representatives of French gastronomy, who see their work as quasi-religious. Like the Jesuits who evangelized China during the 17th century, sharing the Catholic faith and its practices – i.e., gestures to communicate with God, community (the church and communion), and faith – as the engine of the community, the chefs and *maîtres d’hôtel* in our case study shared their faith and practices. Writers and essayists have long drawn a comparison between haute-cuisine chefs and missionaries. The mission of chefs is “*to spread the culinary good news*” (Ferguson, 2006, p. 7) of French cooking around the world. Religion is not a matter of knowledge; it is a matter of belief. The same applies for transcendental knowledge – i.e., the framework in which French gastronomy is shaped. You can learn the history of – and experiment with – French gastronomy. However, the decision to consider it a relevant framework is not knowledge; it is more akin to a religious belief. This belief must be shared with the community. The religiousness of French gastronomy extends also to the promise of future reward, rather than the existence of an actual reward in the present. Catholics do not expect an immediate reward for good behavior; rather, their reward lies in the promise of eternal life and/or forgiveness. For the young chefs and *maîtres d’hôtel* in our study, it was the hope of future recognition by peers, the profession, or famous chefs. Because they believed in this promise, they were willing to accept a delayed reward.

As soon as you decide to join the community of French gastronomy, you can assimilate its codes, values, practices, and knowledge. The paper insists on the “possibility condition” (Kant), a condition required before any knowledge or know-how is shared. Transmitting an intangible cultural heritage – or sharing know-how and practices – requires the acceptance of a specific knowledge framework, which Kant (2002) defines as “transcendental” (i.e., as making the a priori knowledge possible). We argue that the community is where this a priori knowledge takes place.

5. Conclusion

To be transferred, the world intangible heritage as self-guarding without freezing heritage requires repetition (to inscribe the knowledge in body and routine), community (to share the passion), and transcendence (to share the cognitive frame). The transmission of knowledge and know-how – defined using the taxonomic approach – reifies it, while knowing emphasizes the constant recreation of knowledge and know-how. To transmit ability, it is necessary to combine inscription and the ability to understand, question, and reframe knowledge and know-how within the same spirit. Community and transcendence are necessary conditions for understanding the transmission of knowing. The question about the nature of transcendental knowledge remains open: Is it knowledge – or is it a possibility condition for the existence of knowledge, as pointed out by Kant?

Table 1: Timeline of the case-study organisation and data produced

Time	Event history	Data collected
2008 to 2010	Desire of the Mayor of Shanghai to collaborate with the Rhône-Alpes area by opening a gastronomic restaurant-school for the Shanghai World Fair	
May 2010 to October 2010	During the world fair, the students from the French school train Chinese students from a Shanghainese tourism school	
November 2010	Desire of both parties to keep the restaurant-school open after the world fair, and to develop the relationship between the two schools	
<i>The researchers entered the organisation at this point</i>		
May 2011 to April 2012	Opening of the restaurant-school, and 1 st promotion of the training programme (20 interns from France train 40 Chinese students through the year)	
November 2011	The restaurant-school obtains its official 'licence'	Pilot study: 10 interviews: 2 executive team members in China and 8 interns from the French school
May 2012 to April 2013	2 nd promotion of the training programme	In May and June, non-participant observation during a culinary training programme in the school in France 1 set of researcher field notes
May 2013 to April 2014	3 rd promotion of the training programme Collaboration between the culinary school in France and a new Chinese culinary institute	12 interviews in June in China: 4 intern chefs, 4 trainee maîtres d'hôtel and 4 executive members 14 interviews in January in France: 7 intern chefs and 7 maîtres d'hôtel 3 months after their return

		<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>14 interviews in March in China: 5 intern chefs, 6 executive members and 3 former students</p> <p>Survey (with opened and closed questions) of 37 of the Chinese chefs and <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i></p> <p>Photos. Videos</p> <p>Non-participant observation</p> <p>1 set of researcher field notes</p> <p>Secondary data</p>
July 2014		<p>3 semi-directive interviews: 1 executive-team member in Shanghai and 2 intern chefs 3 months after their return (by Skype)^o</p>
30 October 2014	<p>Graduation of the 19 young chefs and <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i> from the French school</p>	<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>Informal discussions with former intern chefs and intern <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i></p>

Table 2: Interviews

Function	Interview	Dates	Length	Age	Gender
Executive team Shanghai					
Director and executive <i>chef</i>	#1	October 2011	55 mns	25	Male
	#2	June 2013	46 mns		
	#3	July 2014	53 mns		
Deputy manager of operation/ <i>chef</i>	#4	March 2014	1h51	31	Male
1 st training manager (2010-2013)	#5	September 2011	1h13	30	Female
	#6	June 2013	1h08		
2 nd training manager (2013-onwards)	#7	March 2014	1h12	24	Female
Sales manager-former Chinese student	#8	March 2014	36 mns	24	Female
2 nd <i>chef</i>	#9	June 2013	59 mns	28	Male
	#10	March 2014	1h35		
Pastry <i>chef</i>	#11	March 2014	26 mns	29	Male
Maître d'hôtel	#12	June 2013	39 mns	24	Male
	#13	March 2014	2h28		
Maître d'hôtel	#14	March 2014	1h	31	Male
Executive team – France					
Executive team	#15	February 2014	58 mns	> 60	Male
Executive team	#16	October 2014	1h05	> 60	Male
Training team Shanghai					
Intern <i>chef</i>	#17	June 2013	44 mns	19	Female
	#18	March 2014	1h13		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#19	June 2013	35 mns	20	Female
	#20	March 2014	46 mns		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#21	June 2013	45 mns	27	Female
	#22	March 2014	1h19		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#23	June 2013	34 mns	20	Male
	#24	March 2014	50 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#25	June 2013	41 mns	23	Male
	#26	March 2014	54 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#27	June 2013	30 mns	20	Female

	#28	March 2014	1h03		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#29	June 2013	31 mns	21	Male
	#30	March 2014	55 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#31	June 2013	46 mns	20	Female
	#32	March 2014	1h39		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#33	January 2014	1h07	22	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#34	January 2014	1h03	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#35	January 2014	1h07	25	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#36	January 2014	1h21	20	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#37	January 2014	1h04	23	Male
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#38	January 2014	58 mns	20	Female
Intern <i>chef</i>	#39	March 2014	2h01	27	Male
	#40	July 2014	1h00		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#41	March 2014	1h23	26	Male
	#42	July 2014	1h28		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#43	March 2014	1h32	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#44	March 2014	1h29	24	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#45	March 2014	1h12	23	Male
Former Chinese students at IPBS					
Chinese cook	#46	March 2014	22 mns	21	Male
Chinese cook	#47	March 2014	20 mns	22	Female
Chinese cook	#48	March 2014	24 mns	24	Female

Table 3: Progression of theme-building

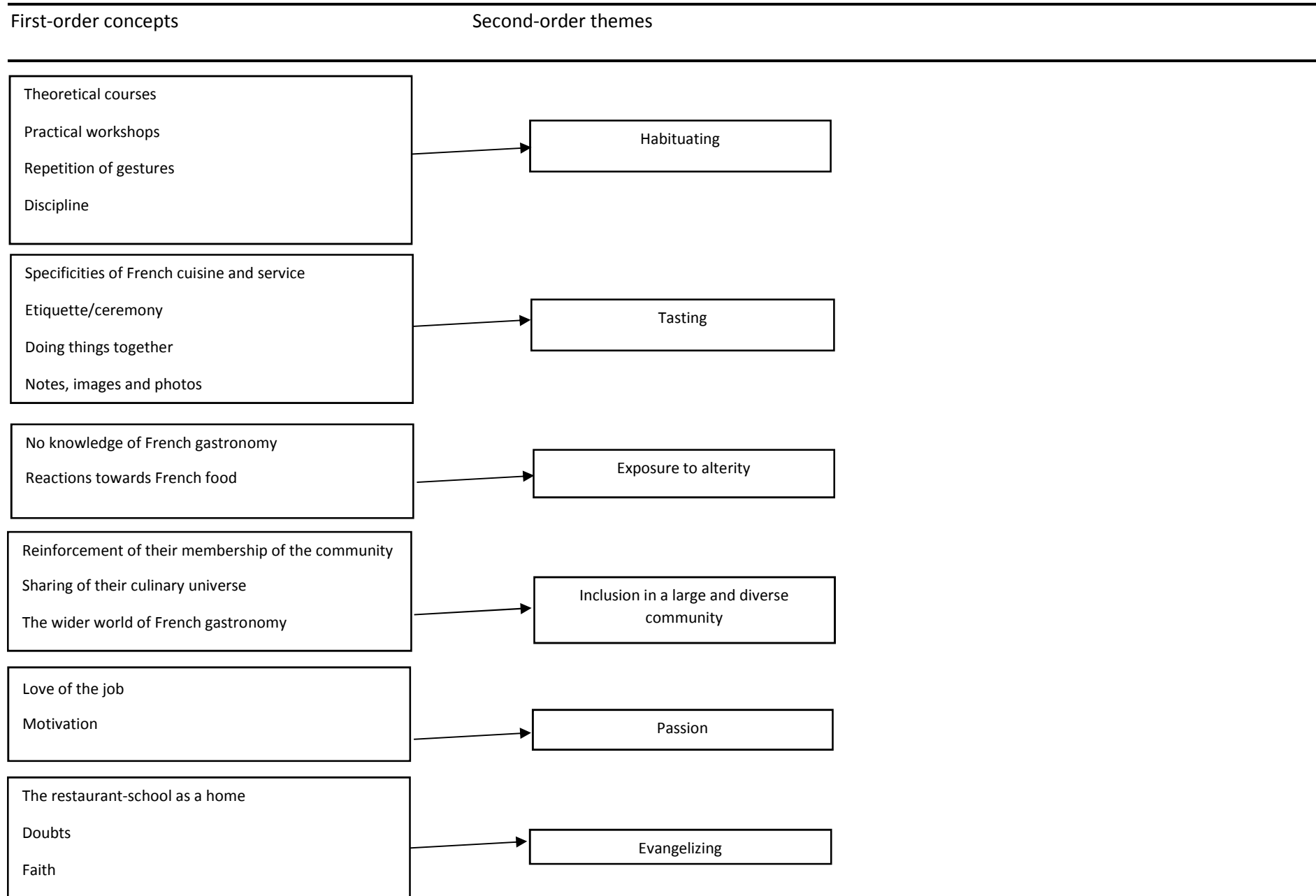


Table 4: Data structure

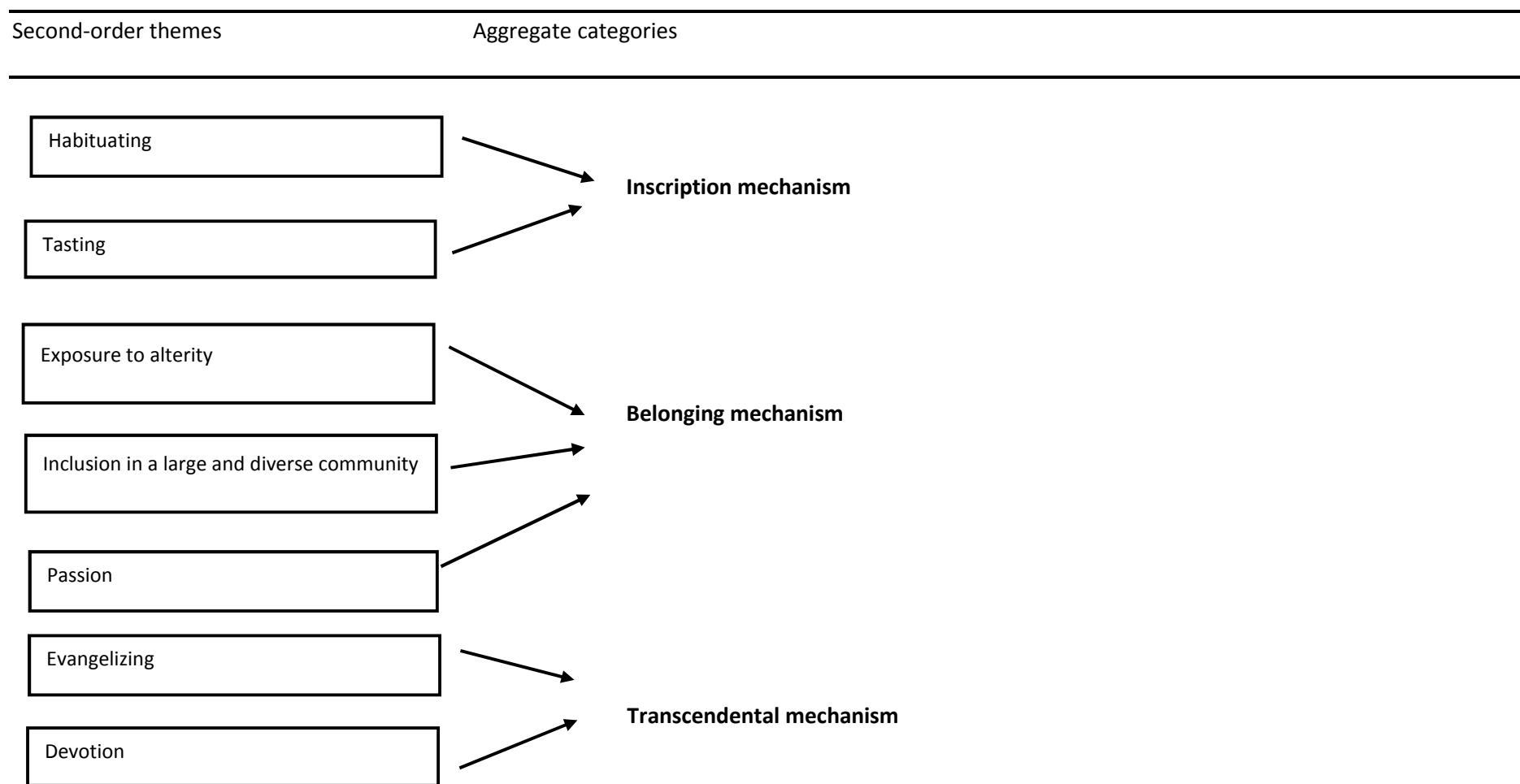


Table 5: Quotes

Theoretical concept	Conceptual division	Examples from data and observation
Inscription mechanism	Habituating	<p>“You can explain recipes to the Chinese students; they will learn them by heart and will be able to reproduce them. Their capacity to reproduce the gesture will be perfect!” (#1 – executive-team member – male – 25 years old)</p> <p>“The most difficult part is really to make them autonomous, and able to reproduce the gestures that we have taught them – all the automatic actions.” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“It is necessary to make them repeat, repeat, repeat, until they can do it – and even when they can do it, it is necessary to continue to watch them, because generally when your back is turned, they do not necessarily do well, but repetition generally enables them to get there.” (#30 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 21 years old)</p> <p>“Jobs in service are technical jobs, and it is the same thing when you work in a kitchen: It is a matter of gestures that must simply be reproduced.” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“I think that jobs in the hospitality industry are comparable to those in the army. From a point of view of rigor and discipline, we are completely excessive with that, but it is also what makes the reputation of the ‘big houses’.” (#13 – executive-team member – male – 24 years old)</p> <p>“That is the way it is, in the kitchen. It cannot work differently: When the chef tells you something, it is, ‘Yes, chef.’ There is no discussion.” (#23 – intern chef – male – 20 years old)</p> <p>“We were their immediate superiors, we were their trainers (...) We had to give them orders and teach them new things all day long.” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p>

	Tasting	<p>“French people often like it when, with the waiter, there is a special touch, a special thing, two or three words of humor, and this is really very hard to transmit; it is like the tastes – things that we cannot learn that easily.” (#7 – executive-team member/former Chinese student – female – 24 years old)</p> <p>“We want the students to understand the place of bread in a meal. We can say, ‘The bread represents conviviality; it represents the union of the family,’ but what can we do to make them understand that it is not only that? We want them to understand the meaning.” (#2 – executive-team member – male – 25 years old)</p> <p>“They cannot judge if a taste is good or not. For instance, they always asked me: ‘What is good?’ ‘Is my chicken well done?’ In fact, these are judgments that you have to teach them – esthetic judgments, gustative judgments – which are not at all natural to them, not in their conception of the cuisine.” (#7 – executive-team member/former Chinese student – female – 24 years old)</p> <p>“There is something that is very abstract and very difficult: It is the meaning of Western cooking. It can be its associations of flavors, dressings – ultimately all the things that are a little bit more subtle, things that are learned with experience.” (#4 – executive-team member – male – 31 years old)</p> <p>“On the salt, I force them: I force them to season and to try everything, but I think that for now they are using salt but not because they love it. They do not even choose to taste. Instead, they like to season by memory, because I made them taste by telling them how I want it to be. So we memorize this taste of salt, but at the moment it is not there yet.” (#21 – intern chef – female – 27 years old)</p> <p>“We taught them the history of French gastronomy, its evolution, the different types of service, the meaning of the wine – ultimately, everything to do with the arts of the table and gastronomy, in fact.” (#38 – intern chef – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“I look for recipes that they have never made and I tell them. ‘OK, we are going to make that together.’” (#44 – intern chef – male – 24 years old)</p> <p>“I did it several times with them in order to give them confidence, and when I felt they were ready to do it by themselves, I did not hesitate to let them have a go, to come back myself with some corrections, and to help them if they had questions and doubts.” (#29 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 21 years old)</p> <p>“When I launch a sauce, I first explain to them how to do it and afterwards they take notes.” (#17 – intern chef – female – 19 years old)</p> <p>“I wrote ‘appetizers’ and put 15 photos of appetizers, ‘main courses’ and 15 photos of main courses. I then wrote, ‘Appetizers are cold dishes, and main courses are hot dishes.’” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p>
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		<p>“There is an important self-development job to be done on attitude, behavior, the way we walk, the way we serve a person. For a customer, being able to hold a plate is not enough: There is a whole environment all around. This is the most important thing to learn; it’s all the values that surround the job, and it is an important job that we have to do in the long term.” (#12 – executive-team member – male – 24 years old)</p> <p>“Well, we came into contact with a culture that really did not know anything about French gastronomic culture. So we were able to make it a discovery abroad; over the course of six months, we made them discover French gastronomy, we made them taste.” (#29 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 21 years old)</p>
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Belonging mechanism	Exposure to alterity	<p>“We had to teach them everything: what a fork was, what a knife was, how service is provided. Because, for them, the concept of ‘appetizer, main dish, and dessert’ does not exist: Everything is served at the same time. So it was necessary to teach them another type of meal.” (#30 – intern maître d’hôtel – male – 21 years old)</p> <p>“They arrived without having any technical knowledge of French cooking, even of a béchamel sauce or something very basic.” (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old).</p> <p>“And also, we are a gastronomic restaurant there. Gastronomic culture is something they just don’t have. In fact, they do have it in China – with rice and all that – but they don’t have the same gastronomic culture that we have. In fact, we were working at a level of excellence that was very high indeed. It is true that they don’t have the same customs and ways of eating, such as with a knife and fork. We explained to them what to do, but there was an enormous gap in their understanding and in the gestures they used in different protocols.” (#30 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 21 years old)</p> <p>“They did not see any problem in cooking vegetables without washing them, without peeling them (...) It was just not possible for us! We then forced them to understand, because it was not acceptable for us!” (#33 – intern chef – male – 22 years old)</p>
	Inclusion in a large and diverse community	<p>“During the day, we worked at the restaurant; and during the night, we prepared Shanghai, we looked for suppliers.” (#4 – executive-team member – male – 31 years old)</p> <p>“When I was at the store, I made animal noises because the suppliers did not speak English. In order to understand what meat it was, I made the noises of every farm animal. It was great fun!” (#21 – intern chef – female – 21 years old).</p> <p>“Rougié is one of the partners of the restaurant-school, Rougié who produces foie gras.” (#4 – executive-team member – male – 31 years old)</p> <p>“In French cuisine, you always have respect for things. In the French menu, it is always written ‘Cheese from ...,’ ‘Wine from ...,’ ‘Meat from ...’ In fact, it is the producer who is important; it is thanks to the producer that you can make good dishes. If you are a starred restaurant, it is thanks to the producer. It is not thanks to you; you just cook.” (#37 – intern chef – male – 23 years old)</p> <p>“It is me who manages reservations, by telephone, and also communication about the restaurant on social networks. I also manage individual or group requests for events or private catering.” (#38 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“This capacity for sharing is very important to team-working, and especially to evolving in our job.” (#3 – executive-team member – male – 25 years old)</p>

	Passion	<p>“The fact of transmitting my passion: I loved that! (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old)</p> <p>“I want them to understand that our job is the most beautiful in the world.” (#41 – intern chef – male – 26 years old)</p> <p>“I really came to transmit ‘know-how’ and because I am passionate about this job.” (#43 – intern chef – male – 21 years old)</p> <p>“Generally, we managed to transmit to them what we knew, our passion, and our know-how.” (#22 – intern chef – female – 27 years old)</p> <p>“The fact that I had an experience like that, with students, encouraging them to value this cooking – French cuisine – and to transfer my passion, to prove that I am passionate.” (#35 – intern chef – female – 25 years old)</p>
Transcendental mechanism	Evangelizing	<p>“If half [of the Chinese students] had told me, ‘I don’t want to do that job anymore,’ it would have meant that somewhere we missed something.” (#38 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“At the beginning, we thought to ourselves, ‘Anyway, they don’t understand anything; we’re not getting there.’ At the beginning, there really were several reasons to lose heart.” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old).</p> <p>“At no time did I say to myself, ‘I’m fed up, I’m stopping, I want to stop.’ That was just unthinkable.” (#38 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“I could not abandon the students; it was out of the question to stop – we were there and it was hard, yes. But we had to finish, finish in style, and that was what happened.” (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old)</p>
	Devotion	<p>“When we did our internship, we did not receive any money. We were just rewarded as trainees, and we did a huge amount of work. But it was what we wanted too.” (#22 – intern chef – female – 27 years old)</p> <p>“Afterwards, I will send my CV and application letters to Michelin-starred restaurants.” (#18 – intern chef – female – 19 years old)</p> <p>“It was a rather heavy workload. Well, it was gratifying, but it was heavy to take on.” (#36 – intern maître d’hôtel – Female – 20 years old)</p> <p>“The mission here is a great asset on a CV (...) I think that the experience in China will be a good asset.” (#4 – executive-team member – male – 31 years old)</p> <p>“I think that it is an asset for me in the eyes of future employers if I decide to work abroad. I think that this very enriching experience could help me a bit.” (#28 – intern maître d’hôtel – female – 20 years old)</p>

CHAPITRE 3: CROSSED IN TRANSLATION: KNOWLEDGE DYNAMICS, LOCAL APPROPRIATION, AND FRENCH HAUTE CUISINE IN SHANGHAI

Résumé du chapitre 3

Diffuser la gastronomie française en Chine implique plus que d'apprendre à cuisiner un plat ou à dresser une table correctement. Sous quelles formes ces connaissances tacites et explicites passent-elles d'une culture à une autre ? Comment se déroulent les interactions entre les formateurs et les apprenants ? Ce chapitre analyse d'une part comment les connaissances et les compétences évoluent lorsqu'elles sont transmises d'une culture à une autre et d'autre part quels sont les différents modes d'interaction entre les formateurs et les apprenants.

Cette étude complète le modèle Carlile (2004) qui comporte trois niveaux :

- Le transfert lorsque la connaissance se transfère parfaitement d'un contexte à un autre.
- La traduction lorsque la connaissance est traduite d'un contexte à un autre.
- La transformation lorsque la connaissance est transformée en quelque chose de nouveau lorsqu'elle passe d'un contexte à un autre.

Nous avons ensuite étendu son modèle en contexte interculturel tout en intégrant à chacun des trois niveaux une dimension exclusive/inclusive qui reflète la nature des relations hiérarchique entre les formateurs et les apprenants.

La question de recherche est : Quelles sont les différentes formes d'interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des diverses étapes de la transmission ?

Pour répondre à ces questionnements, nous avons pris comme design de la recherche une étude de cas unique, le restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai, dans lequel de jeunes stagiaires-formateurs sont venus de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully pour former de jeunes étudiants chinois à la gastronomie et au service 'à la française'.

Après analyse des données, cette étude propose trois niveaux d'interprétation de la transmission des connaissances entre la France et la Chine, d'après le modèle de Carlile (2004). Dans chacun des niveaux, il y a un mode exclusif et un mode inclusif de relations entre

les stagiaires-formateurs et les étudiants chinois. Le tableau ci-dessous résume les différents types d'interaction et la nature de l'échange.

	Transfer		Traduction		Hybridation	
	Posture exclusive	Posture inclusive	Posture exclusive	Posture inclusive	Posture exclusive	Posture inclusive
Les chefs et serveurs de l'IPB	Nous sommes les experts, ils sont les novices. L'échange est basé sur une 'extension du marché' en 'zone en développement'	Nous avons de l'expérience, ce sont des entrepreneurs. Nous sommes ici pour leur apprendre à utiliser les meilleures techniques. L'échange est basé sur le marché entre les partenaires	Nous comprenons « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française et tentons de traduire sa signification et ses valeurs dans une culture étrangère	Nous sommes les membres d'une culture culinaire globale. Nous nous engageons dans un discours pour développer les innovations culturelles et acquérir de l'expérience des deux côtés	L'hybridation résulte du « bruit » que les étudiants chinois ne comprennent pas bien et ne peuvent donc pas traduire les pratiques de façon adéquate. L'hybridation est vue comme le signe que les étudiants n'ont pas appris comment cuisiner 'à la française.'	L'hybridation est vue comme un signe de créativité. C'est la source d'innovations, que nous pouvons utiliser pour améliorer notre propre travail.
Les chefs et serveurs chinois	Ce sont les experts, nous sommes les novices, Nous sommes ici pour apprendre d'eux. L'échange est basé sur les statuts et la hiérarchie	Nous sommes à la recherche de nouvelles pratiques rentables. Ils sont ici pour nous en apprendre. L'échange est davantage dominé par le marché que par la culture	Ce qui est étranger est vu comme une connaissance mystérieuse et la culture et les goûts comme quelque chose d'exotique. Tentative de reproduire et même d'exagérer les habitudes françaises.	La culture française comme source alternative de compréhension de la cuisine, source de pratiques mais aussi de nouvelles façons de voir les pratiques culturelles.	L'hybridation se produit quand les artefacts sont implémentés ad hoc. Une sorte de bricolage est utilisé et il semble y avoir un manque de cohérence générale	L'hybridation se produit comme un choix stratégique de mélanger les artefacts culturels avec cohérence, ironie ou humour.

Cet article comporte une contribution théorique que l'on ne trouve pas dans le modèle de Carlile (2004) : les approches 'exclusives et inclusives' du transfert, de la transmission et de l'hybridation qui sont le résultat des différents styles d'interactions entre les formateurs de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* et les apprenants chinois. En approche exclusive les formateurs ont tendance à magnifier la culture culinaire française et à dénigrer la culture chinoise. Dans cette même approche les étudiants chinois se sous-estiment ou même rejettent la culture française. Dans l'approche inclusive les stagiaires-formateurs prennent en compte la culture culinaire chinoise, et reconnaissent le travail, l'implication et même la créativité des étudiants chinois. Dans ce cas les étudiants chinois ont davantage confiance en eux et sont ouverts sur la nouveauté.

Le grand apport par rapport à Carlile (2004) est que nous pouvons prévoir les styles d'interaction qu'il y aura entre deux cultures et donc d'éviter certaines situations négatives, en particulier les attitudes exclusives.

Cet article a été rédigé en collaboration avec Gazi Islam (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand en est le premier auteur. Il a été présenté à la conférence EGOS à Naples en 2016.

Mots clé : Transfert de connaissances, Transmission, Traduction, Hybridation, *Haute Cuisine*, Chefs, Chine, Industries culturelles.

Summary of Chapter 3

This study focuses on the transmission of tacit and explicit knowledge in the field of *Haute cuisine*. We follow a group of French *haute cuisine chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* from the *Institut Paul Bocuse*, as they engage in intensive training sessions for Chinese *chefs* in the restaurant-school of Shanghai. We examine how the French and Chinese *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* form visions of what constitutes a proper cultural practice.

Our preliminary findings identified three broad ways in which knowledge was exchanged between the groups, based on the extent to which exchange was seen as a direct transfer from the French *chefs* to the Chinese, a translation between two broad meaning systems or cultural systems, or a process of mutual hybridization in which meaning and codes could migrate and remix across the groups. For each of these exchange types, we identified both “exclusive” tendencies, where groups tended to reinforce mutually exclusive boundaries, and “inclusive” tendencies, where integration was positively regarded. Through this study, we aim to contribute to the literature on knowledge dynamics in organizations, particularly in the cultural industries, where embedded meanings and traditions are a key component of cultural production. By both stressing the multiple dynamics possible within such a space, and the implications for power dynamics by framing relations of inclusivity and exclusivity among actors, we examine how knowledge and group boundaries impinge upon each other in cultural production.

Keywords: Keywords: Knowledge transfer, Transmission, Translation, Hybridisation, French *Haute Cuisine, Chefs*, China, Cultural industries

This article has been written in collaboration with Gazi Islam (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand is the first author. This article was presented at the EGOS conference of Naples in 2016.

1. Introduction

In 2013, a group of 14 *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* from the renowned *Institut Paul Bocuse* arrived in Shanghai, with the mission of training local recruits in the knowledge and practices of French *haute cuisine*. Embedded in a field deeply influenced by dynamic and complex historical and cultural categories (Durand et al., 2007; Rao, et al., 2003), tacit and embodied practices (Gomez and Bouty, 2011) and symbolic status and authority (Ustuner and Holt, 2010; Gomez and Bouty, 2009), such training involves more than simply preparing a dish. Rather it involves a tacit, aesthetic and cultural passage that ultimately leads the local chef to act consistently with a wider view of *haute cuisine* as a way of life (Passard, 2013). Armed with a culturally complex and specific knowledge and values, how do these French *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*, and their Chinese counterparts, relate their knowledges and their mutual relations as they struggle to understand each other?

Transferring knowledge and practices within and between organizations implies transformation in passages across boundaries (Carlile, 2004). Particularly when transferring knowledge across geographic boundaries, processes of translation (Nicolini, 2010), mimicry (Frenkel, 2008; Ribeiro and Collins, 2007) and hybridization (Yousfi, 2013; Islam, 2012) occur as ideas migrate across physical, linguistic and cultural boundaries. At the same time, recent literature notes how cross-national knowledge transfers inscribe historical relations of power, development and international influence (e.g. Boussebaa et al., 2014; Mir and Mir, 2009; Frenkel, 2008). However, despite the existence of multi-level frameworks describing the varieties of knowledge transformation across boundaries (Carlile, 2004), how such transformations interact with transnational relations of power and cultural influence remains largely understudied in organizational scholarship.

The relation between geographical influence and knowledge transfer is particularly salient in the cultural and creative industries, where the transfer, appropriation, and borrowing of cultural practices and artefacts is a key aspect of cultural relations (Steinmetz, 2014; Appadurai, 1990). Organizational borrowing in the cultural industries tends to follow lines of cultural dominance (McCormack, 2012; Fish and Jameson, 1998), and does not necessarily

align with economic or political dominance. Rather, practices and artefacts associated with “culture”, “civilization” or “sophistication” are passed across geographies whose local interpretations of these are radically different from those of the home country (e.g. Appadurai, 1990). Because knowledge transfer in the culture industries is associated with tacit, taken for granted meanings (e.g. Styhre, 2008) and is linked to symbolic capital (Gomez and Bouty, 2009), transfer is particularly complex in such sectors. How knowledge in the culture industries is thus transferred to, taken up, and reconfigured across borders is thus an area with rich possibilities for understanding international aspects of knowledge management?

On the one hand, cultural practices draw upon cognitive frames and normative rules by which individuals coordinate actions and meanings with others (Srivastava and Banaji, 2011; Brinkman, 2007). On the other hand, cultural practices and production invoke implicit know-how, where individuals enact tacit knowledge structures based on embodied, aesthetic sensibilities developed over time (Pettinger, 2015; Rennstam and Ashcraft, 2014). Transferring cultural knowledge, therefore, involves shifting practices across cognitive, aesthetic and relational boundaries. Such transfers which are likely to be fraught with interruptions, inconsistencies and ellipses, and are thus likely to result in new configurations of thought and action that depart from older practices. Cultural transfers, in short, often involve shifts arising from translation, and often result in hybrids (Islam, 2012; Shimoni and Bergman, 2006).

The transformation of cultural knowledge and practice as it shifts across boundaries may be treated as “distortion” by the actors involved, or rather as cultural novelty or “innovation”. On the one hand, actors construct cultural products as authentic to place or founder, and seeks to construct cultural products as authentic and avoid loss in translation (Carroll and Wheaton, 2009; Jones et al., 2005; Moeran, 2005). On the other hand, mixture may be seen as productive of new cultural forms, embracing transfer as a generator of novelty (Yazicioglu and Firat, 2007; Shimoni and Bergman, 2006; Winter, 2003). How cultural producers enact their views of whether mixture comprises distortion versus innovation, framing knowledge transfer in terms of conserving purity versus cultural experimentation, has received little scholarly attention. These underlying views, further, are likely to affect how they relate to one

another, particularly in terms of authority relations, cultural positioning, and openness to dialogue (cf. Hinds et al., 2011; Frenkel, 2006). Thus, knowledge transfer in the culture industries is likely to encode both epistemic assumptions around the nature and validity of transferred knowledge and hierarchical assumptions about the authority of the groups taking part in the process.

The current study uses a paradigmatic case of cultural knowledge transmission, exploring how transmission enacts underlying views of practices and groups and how these views influence new knowledge forms. We follow a group of French *haute cuisine* chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel* from the *Institut Paul Bocuse*, as they engage in intensive training sessions for Chinese cooks in the restaurant-school of Shanghai. We examine how the French and Chinese *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* form visions of what constitutes a proper cultural practice, and how the French *haute cuisine* is transferred to, translated by, and hybridized among the Chinese students. By selecting a typically 'high culture' form of practice, we are able to highlight the relations between practices and symbolic capital, showing how the knowledge-related aspects of such practices are used as objects in the evolving group identities of both groups.

The rest of this study will unfold as follows. First, we theoretically frame our research question as arising from concerns around knowledge transmission across cultures, discussing how the mutual regards of cultural groups influence how transmission is understood and practiced. Next, we describe the results of a twelve-months, multi-methods qualitative study examining the transmission of knowledge and practices among *haute cuisine chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*. Finally, we draw out the theoretical implications for the cross-cultural transfer of knowledge and practices in organizations and the related effects on cross-cultural relations.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Knowledge and knowledge transfer in practice-based studies

“Knowledge transfer” describes the passage of knowledge across boundaries (Winter 1998, Szulanski 1996), focusing on *“the process through which one unit (e.g. group, department or division is affected by the experience of another.”* (Argote and Ingram, 2000:151). Recent scholarship, however, has contested the idea of organizational knowledge as either a ‘thing’ that can be passed between actors, or a purely psychological or mental object, in favor of the idea that knowledge emerges through participation in practices (Orlikowski, 2002, Tsoukas, 2004, Gherardi, 2012). Knowledge is seen as a situated activity within an organizational context, a “knowing-in-practice” that people acquire through participation (Nicolini et al., 2003), and through their bodies (Gherardi, 2009). *‘It is in practice that knowledge is enacted and reproduced (together with the power relations that it carries) or is transgressed, translated and betrayed, generating in the process new institutions and patterns of forms’* (Nicolini et al., 2003:26). Involving both humans and objects (Gherardi, 2012), artifacts and tools embody knowledge *‘anchor[ing] practices in their materiality; they interrogate humans and are extensions of their memory’* (Gherardi, 2009:354).

We follow a practice-based approach in analyzing how knowledge practices are negotiated across boundaries and situated in the everyday activities of organizing, as a basis for learning, working and organizing (Brown and Duguid 1991; Gherardi, 2012). Practices travel across material and social networks, (Nicolini et al., 2003), problematizing notions of boundaries. Connecting practices across boundaries gives rise to innovation as practices are constantly refined (Gherardi, 2012), while actors search for vocabularies of practice that can cross cultural boundaries (Orlikowski, 2002). A practice-based approach therefore furnishes a specific point of view on innovation and changes across boundaries because it shows how the subjective relationship between practitioners and the object of practice comprises a distinctive dynamic of innovation based on continuous refinement of that practice (Gherardi, 2012).

However, while a rich literature in cross-border knowledge adaptation exists (e.g. Jensen and Szulanski, 2004; Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1989), there is a lack of practice-based studies exploring the process of knowledge transfer across cultural borders (e.g. Lucas, 2006). Further, while knowledge transfer studies focus almost exclusively on MNC's (Hinds et al., 2011), knowledge transfer in the culture industries is particularly fraught, existing within complex landscapes of cultural and historical meanings (e.g. Appadurai, 1990). As Yanow (2004:10) explains, it is difficult for knowledge made within a group *'to be transmitted and shared beyond its boundaries precisely because that knowledge is specific to the context of production and the group of people who have produced it by acting together in that context and at that time.'* In "classical" knowledge transfer theories, cultural and geographical differences have been seen as obstacles to knowledge transfer (Bresman et al., 1999), and adaptation has been a key aspect of that literature (cf. Hinds et al., 2011). Knowledge, embodied in organizational routines (Nelson and Winter, 1982), is transferable to the extent that it is codifiable (Zander and Kogut, 1995). With the tacit aspect of cultural production, however, numerous problems of interpretation arise, both at the technical and managerial level and at the level of national culture and institutions (Macotte and Niosi, 2000).

Cultural differences directly impact on behavioral management practices in the process of knowledge transfer (Inkpen, 1995; Tung, 1994), and transferring knowledge involves extensive cross-cultural adaptation (Fabry and Zeghni, 2003). It is more complex across cultural contexts because knowledge creation and application rest encoded in the minds of actors who have particular cultural backgrounds (Davenport and Prusak, 1998). Complexity also arises from different communication styles, a lack of cultural sensitivity and ethnocentrism, when actors are poorly or not prepared for international missions (Clark and Geppert, 2002) and may exhibit cultural blindness or culture shock (e.g. Dunbar and Ehrlich, 1993). Communication is key to transferring knowledge (Ordonez de Pablos, 2004), and Kogut and Zander (1992) argue that a shared language enhances communication and exchanges in general. If knowledge can't be easily separated from its social and organizational context, it becomes 'sticky' and difficult for transfer purposes (Jensen and Szulanski, 2004; Kogut and Zander, 1992; Inkpen and Tsang, 2005). From a practice perspective, knowledge transfer requires some sort of articulation, making the knowledge explicit (Welsh and Welsh, 2008) in practices or artefacts. The lack of personal relationships, the absence of trust and 'cultural

distance' all conspire to create resistance, frictions and misunderstandings (Holden and Von Kortsfleisch, 2004) that may affect such articulation.

While cultural boundaries are important, a practice perspective would see these as mediated by a network of practices, and given to a degree of fluidity (and resistance). As, Østerlund and Carlile (2005:95) write: *'The boundaries of the community are not given by the definition of the term itself but by the community participants' empirical practices'.* So these boundaries themselves are mediated by exchanges between members and are permeable. Gherardi (2012:223) adds that *"the expression 'network of practices' has been mainly employed in relation to the transfer and sharing of knowledge across boundaries of various kinds."* Thus, rather than treat "culture" in a reified or essentialist sense (cf. Lamont and Thevenot, 2000), we focus on the web of practices that create knowledge cross-culturally.

2.2. Carlile's model (2004)

We draw on Carlile (2004), who examined knowledge transfer across boundaries, specifying three types of boundaries that affect knowledge: Syntactic, Semantic and Pragmatic. Each of these aspects of boundaries is likely to pertain to the transfer of cultural production across national boundaries. At the syntactic level, knowledge is quite familiar to all the actors and the collective language is largely shared. So the knowledge is easily transferable. The move from the syntactic to the semantic boundary happens when newness creates some modifications whose meaning remains imprecise. A process of translation happens when the degree of newness is augmented and creates confusion. At this level, there is a need to develop shared meanings to identify novelties which operate in the translation of specific language. At the last level, pragmatic boundaries arise when the interests or relevance for practice becomes an issue for knowledge transfer. Acknowledging pragmatic boundaries requires working across forms of practice to allow practical interests and behavioral scripts to be integrated in a way that is admissible to the different actors. Particularly at this last level, but across the other as well, knowledge is subject to revision and adaptation as it moves across boundaries. The kinds of knowledge transmission and possibilities for adaptation differ across

syntactic (knowledge transfer), semantic (knowledge translation) and pragmatic (knowledge transformation) boundaries.

While Carlile (2004) focused on innovative products in a Motor company, the varieties of boundary and their relative form of knowledge adaptation provide a template for studying cultural production. In fact, the tacit nature of cultural knowledge (e.g. Gomez et al., 2007) suggests that knowledge transformation and adaptation would be particularly important in this sector (Appadurai, 1990). Further, while Carlile did not focus on national cultures, the focus on pragmatic boundaries provides an important way to relocate culture as a practice-based set of routines a repertoires, rather than essential categories, a long-standing goal of cultural sociology (e.g. Lamont and Thevenot, 2000). Finally, the focus on pragmatic boundaries as an interest-driven, and not simply an epistemic, driver of knowledge adaptation opens the door to studying questions of relative influence, inclusion/exclusion, and status relationships across cultures, an important concern for cross-national organization studies (e.g. Yousfi, 2013; Islam, 2012).

As such, we adopt and adapt this model to our current setting of *haute cuisine*, drawing out and expanding those aspects according to their centrality to our empirical data. Our research question interrogates the modes in which knowledge of cultural production in *haute cuisine* transfers across contexts, and how these different modes encapsulate and reflect evolving status relations between different cultural actors. Ultimately, we are interested in the ways that these relations and their relations to knowledge transfer influence the outcomes of cultural production.

2.3. The influence of Western culinary culture in Shanghai

The influence of Western culinary culture in Shanghai is not new; the city first opened to foreign food under the effect of colonization around 1840. At that time, the consumption of Western food was a sign of modernity and a symbol of power. Under Mao, (1949-1976), Western culture in general was rejected, but emerged again after 1978, when it became a way of affirming modern identity. Recently in Shanghai, there has been a proliferation of

international restaurants in general (Farrer, 2010). What is called “Western cuisine” in Shanghai is influenced by – according to places – originals from Italy, Germany, France, America and Russia, and even if the *haute cuisine* field is still dominated by France, it is increasingly heterogeneous in its tastes (Farrer, 2014). French *haute cuisine* is still made by *chefs* in luxury hotels and restaurants all over the city and these have the appellation *French Fine dining*. People appreciate the aesthetic of the French *haute cuisine*, the “art of plating a dish” (Théry, 2015).

In Shanghai fine dining, there is a prevalence of expatriates, as well as Chinese businessmen and white collar employees and groups frequenting these venues tend to have a high cultural capital (Farrer 2009). As some argue, it is not because Chinese customers are particularly attracted by Western tastes that they go to *haute cuisine* restaurants – most of them still think that Chinese food is superior to all others or even that Western food is unpleasant (Hsu, 2005). Indeed, following Bourdieu’s ideas of cultural capital (1979), they see the consumption of Western food as a way of appropriating Western modernity and power (Farrer, 2010). Hsu (2005) explains that through culinary consumption, Chinese consumers show their expectations of climbing to a higher social class.

However, Western and Chinese restaurants already had a mutual impact on the way they cook or they serve. Indeed, *haute cuisine* Western restaurants have influenced the styles of service and presentation at expensive Chinese restaurants (Farrer, 2014) but also they had to adjust to Chinese style, for example, sharing dishes at the table (Farrer, 2015). This is also true that in some high-end restaurants Western *chefs* have learned from Chinese *chefs* and vice-versa: (Farrer, 2015:122 takes the example of *the use of superb, fat-layered Chinese pork* served by a Western fine dining and of a Chinese High-end restaurants which propose *seared foie gras*).

2.3.1. Chinese and foreign employees in Western haute cuisine restaurants in Shanghai

In *fine dining* restaurants in Shanghai, expatriate *chefs* from Europe and North America dominate professionally the culinary world and they have a privileged status (Farrer, 2015). There is actually a real need for their specific culinary know-how, experience, skills and they

are seen as culinary experts (Théry, 2015). It is also due to the fact that there is not real exposure of Chinese *chefs* to the Western cuisine. Indeed, today most of middle-aged Chinese *chefs* have not studied culinary culture in a western country. They started being trained in China by expatriate *chefs* to western cooking techniques and recipes in the late 1980 (Farrer, 2010, 2015).

In the kitchens of these *haute cuisine* restaurants, Chinese cooks and waiters are generally working-class migrants who come from places in China where it is very difficult or even impossible to find western food. These employees are not really kin on Western cuisine as they have not been used to eating it in their childhood. In fact, some of them do not develop curiosity for this kind of food and taste, even after years of practice in Western restaurants. It is often due the lack of cultural and even economical capital. Moreover, the profession of cook in China has not a real consideration. (Farrer, 2015). It can also be linked to the fact that there is a kind of segregation because of the low level of foreign language – usually English – which can be an obstacle to the apprenticeship of new tastes. However, Chinese cooks and waiters work in these luxury restaurants because they can learn “*work discipline and styles of service that seemingly integrated them into a modern market economy*”. It also makes them understand work “*through the concept of development*” (Hsu, 2005:547). Indeed, they obtain new skills and experience and after, once they have acquired - by force of circumstance - a culinary capital, they try to find a well-paid job in another restaurant (Hsu, 2005; Farrer, 2015). It is quite a challenge for the foreign *chefs* to train the Chinese workers. Indeed, for them it is about much more than transferring skills. They also have to transmit Western tastes, behaviors and service standards (Louisgrand and Mangematin, 2016). It is a real “*linguistic, cultural and palatale challenge*” (Farrer: 2015:121).

However, this kind of Western cultural “advantage” may change with the new generations of Chinese cooks, there are some who are very talented and who can be future great Chinese *chefs*. Farrer (2015) explains that Chef Pairet has trained on of his talented cooks to the French *haute cuisine* and that he even sent him to France in order to improve his professional skills. With the development of Western culinary schools in China but also with the fact that more young Chinese cooks decide (when they can afford it) to study abroad in culinary schools,

within few years China should have famous and talented Chinese *chefs* in Western fine dining restaurants (Théry, 2015).

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

The *Institut Paul Bocuse* was created in 1990 in Ecully, a city close to Lyon. Its main goal is to train students in culinary arts and international hospitality. The students in both sections have a six months internship per year during their bachelor programme. In 2010, for the international fair (exposition universelle) of Shanghai, a restaurant-school has been created in the Rhône-Alps pavilion under the supervision of the Institute Paul Bocuse which was associated with the Shanghai institute of tourism. Second year students from France were sent for six months to China in order to coordinate the restaurant and to teach to the Chinese students how to cook and to serve the customers. Between May 1st 2010 and October 30th, more than 23000 meals have been served. After the exhibition, the *Institut Paul Bocuse* France and Shanghai Institute of Tourism decided to concretize this experience and a restaurant-school was opened. Since May 2011 the Chinese students spend their third year of bachelor in internship in the restaurant-school where they are trained by students from France. They learn how to be future *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel*. They learn the basics of Chinese cooking and service during their two-year formation in their Chinese culinary institute and they spend their 3rd year in the restaurant-school of Shanghai in order to learn the French *haute cuisine* and service that most of them do not know at all when they arrive in the restaurant-school. The lessons are given in English. This one-year training allows them to have better jobs and have higher wages than their Chinese colleagues who did not do their training in an international structure. The students “*maître d'hôtel*” also learn how to run a restaurant. After that they improved their technical skills as well as their language skills and can work in an international structures in Shanghai or elsewhere in China as a cook or *maître d'hôtel*. The students in cuisine teach all the basics of the French *haute cuisine* and the one in the restaurant of the French service. At the end of their internship, they have the knowledge of the Chinese and the French cuisine and service and they are able to express themselves in English. For the French

internship, during their six-month training they have a very heavy workload, they must train the Chinese students and also run the restaurant and make it profitable.

3.2. *Data collection*

The data were collected several times over the year on this single organisation. From the beginning of May 2013 to the end of April 2014 thirty-seven Chinese 3rd year bachelor students were on internship. During their first six months, seven young *chefs* and seven *maîtres d'hôtel* from France trained them. After their departure, five other *chefs* came to the last part of the training but no new *maître d'hôtel*. An executive team of seven members supervised the restaurant-school. It is constituted of the director, his associate, a training manager, a *sous-chef*, a *pastry chef*, and two *maîtres d'hôtel*. We had access to all the data available and we were invited to meetings. We collected different kind of interesting data as interviews, non-participative observation, informal discussions, surveys of Chinese students, photos, reports and field notes. These data sources were triangulated.

[Please insert Table 1 around here]

Interviews and informal discussions. 48 semi-structured interviews (members of the training team, of the executive team, the directors of the school in France and 5 former Chinese students) were conducted between March 2013 and October 2014 in China and in France. The interviews lasted from 20 minutes to 2h12. The interview protocol for the interns contained questions concerning the transmission of “know-how.”

[Please insert Table 2 around here]

Surveys. As it was quite difficult to make the Chinese students talk, we decided to prepare anonymous surveys (for 17 cooks and 18 waiters) that they filled with no pressure. In these

surveys, the items concerned their feed-back of the training, what they found easy and difficult to acquire and how they saw the transmission of the French *haute cuisine*.

Site visits, photos and videos. Observation played a fundamental part as we settled our understanding of the transmission between the training team and the Chinese students. We conducted two weeks of non-participating observations of daily activities within the restaurant and in the kitchen, one in June 2013 and the other one in March 2014. We also had the authorisation to take pictures or to do videos. Indeed, visual research methods are also used in organisation and management studies and complementary to the observation by itself (Warren, 2005; Bell and Davison, 2013). During the observations, notes were taken and a more detailed notes post-observation were written on the day of the appointment (Bernard, 2011).

3.3. Data analysis

The goal of the study was to explain inductively how the different kinds of transmission of French knowledge and practices between the young *chefs* and *maître d'hôtel* happened and were developed. The analysis of our various documents was piloted using NVivo10® in order to guarantee a methodically steady approach, (Sinkovics and Ghauri, 2008). The software was used to classify the data and deal with the emergent codes as the results were produced in an iterative way. During the examination of the data, we moved back and forth between the data and the emergent structure of theoretical arguments (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Huberman and Miles, 2002; Locke, 2001.) The Gioia methodology was used with its four key steps (Corley and Gioia, 2004; Gioia, Corley and Hamilton, 2013). We first produced provisional groups as well as first order codes. These included sentences, words and descriptions of the different forms of transmission of knowledge and practices that occurred between the French and the Chinese participants regarding the different forms of transmission of know-how. Secondly we fashioned theoretical groups and assembled the codes into higher-level nodes. We then created a set of first order groups thanks to the triangulation of our diverse sources such as interviews, surveys or observations. The third

step was to produce second order themes within first order notions and progress iteratively between or first-order sets and the emergent framework (Eisenhardt and Grabner, 2007).

[Please insert Table 3 around here]

Finally, once theoretical categories were created, we considered dimensions underlying these in order to understand how different categories could be linked together as part of a coherent picture. Three dimensions appeared here: the process of transfer or the one of translation or of hybridisation of the “know-how” of the French *haute cuisine* by the Chinese students. The aggregate classifications and second order themes which were the basis. Table demonstrates the overall structure and shows the aggregate classifications and second order themes from which we developed our outcomes and the relationships between them.

[Please insert Table 4 around here]

4. Findings

Our preliminary findings identified three broad ways in which knowledge was exchanged between the groups, based on the extent to which exchange was seen as a direct transfer from the French *chefs* to the Chinese, a translation between two broad meaning systems or cultural systems, or a process of mutual hybridization in which meaning and codes could migrate and remix across the groups. For each of these exchange types, we identified both “exclusive” tendencies, where groups tended to reinforce mutually exclusive boundaries, and “inclusive” tendencies, where integration was positively regarded.

4.1. Transfer

By knowledge transfer, we refer to the view that the French *chefs* were there to directly pass on knowledge in the most literal way possible. In this mode, boundary crossings are presumed to be one-way, with French cuisine as the practical knowledge that is to be passed to the Chinese students. In its “exclusive” form, the Chinese students were seen as lacking knowledge or know-how, and needed to be corrected in their practices. When the French interns took an exclusive transfer approach, they criticized the lack of knowledge, whereas then the Chinese students took on this attitude, they saw themselves as lacking knowledge and seeking insight from the interns. In its “inclusive” form, the students were seen as active learners who sought out knowledge in a more entrepreneurial way. When the interns took this attitude, they noted the eagerness and abilities of the Chinese students to acquire and participate in their new knowledge acquisition. The students, in an inclusive posture, saw themselves as entrepreneurially seeking insights from the interns, and selectively using the most valuable insights.

For instance, as a Trainee-Maître d’hôtel (#38 - Intern *maître d’hôtel* – Female - 20 years old) put it in an interview, demonstrating an exclusive, top-down attitude:

“They had no idea about what was an occidental (never mind French) restaurant. We really had to start with basics, integrate them into service processes, client communication, language skills, it was a lot to learn all at once.”

These statements from the interviews were often stated with a presumption of superiority and a discounting of the ability of Chinese students, given their difference from occidental practices:

*“We’re in a gastronomic restaurant, so first of all they don’t understand gastronomic culture. They have some, you know, rice and all that, but they don’t have our gastronomic culture and since we’re at a level of excellence which is very high, it’s true that this is not in their customs, like only eating with a fork and knife. We told them how to lay these things out, but with them, it’s like there’s a huge gap in their understanding, of the gestures and the protocols” (#26 – Intern *maître d’hôtel* - Male – 23 years old).*

From the perspective of the Chinese students, the exclusive transfer mode involves the « acknowledging » of the superiority of French cuisine, and an attempt to adapt one's own style to the imposed practices.

“In my school I just learnt a little bit, but here I can learn more French cooking, so it's kind of given me some bases. I have learnt how to work, how to cook, how to do good service, all the standards and what goes around (#48 - Former Chinese student – Female – 24 years old).

The exclusiveness here was often viewed as the gaining of a valuable career skill, and seen as a form of aesthetic or cultural acquisition.

“I learnt how to cook French food and it is was a good opportunity. I also learnt how to cook French food with the technique of low temperature and how to make beautiful dressing” (Survey Chinese Cook n°7).

Further, an attitude of gratefulness and deference to cultural authority marked the relation to the French chefs, *“As far as I know, she speaks softly most of the time and she has the patience to teach me things. She is very enthusiastic, thank you very much (Survey Chinese cook n°8).*

Yet, the exclusive approach to transfer also created backlash among some students, who took the imposition of style as an affront, and while maintaining the group boundary, challenged the relative value of the transfer. Thus, while several of the Chinese students embraced the transfer view of learning, stressing their desire to acquire the chef's knowledge, the exclusive nature of some of this learning drew a backlash from some students, who challenged the top-down attitude:

“Listen, you're annoying me with your occidental cuisine, I'd really like to just do things in my own way” (#46 – Former Chinese student – Male – 21 years old).

On the other hand, a more inclusive view still saw the French chefs as experts, but did not stress the transfer as a source of cultural status differences:

« Is my chicken done? » - this kind of judgment is what you must teach them, aesthetic judgments, taste judgements” (#7 - Executive team – Female - 25 years old).

The inclusive view was often associated with learning techniques emphasizing participative learning, including experiential trials that put the students on the stage in real situations:

“We taught them to welcome clients by themselves, to manage their own table – they had their own and sometimes several tables – and to take the orders”. (#36 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Female - 20 years old).

In such situations, the students were framed as active learners, and were encouraged to participate in (although not adapt or change) the learning process.

“They’ve successfully interacted with the patrons, and it was very important for us that they can recount their client experiences that they explain why they are there, it was really our own image of us they reflected back to us. So for that reason it is very important for us to give a good impression” (#39 - Intern chef – Male – 27 years old).

We can see from the above that the ‘reflection of us’ implies an exchange within the learning process, and does not show the misidentification of the « our culture-their culture » exclusion. On the other hand, the ultimate criterion is still the high-fidelity replication of a model created elsewhere, and the localization of the practice is not seen as a source of cultural innovation. From the perspective of the Chinese students, an inclusive transfer mode retained the emphasis on learning the French style as well as possible, but saw this an opportunity to take initiative and identify with the chef role as an active agent:

I learnt to be professional, to take care of the quality, and show my competences to the guests. When I have a problem I am always looking for a solution now (Survey Chinese waiter n°4).

In the inclusive mode, further, the French-Chinese cultural differences were not highlighted, but rather the challenges of working across cultures were generally more acknowledged. Thus, both French and Chinese *chefs* remained faced with a similar task in working cross-culturally:

“Maybe they taught me to work with foreigners. Because it’s different to work with Chinese and the foreigners” (#9 – Executive team – Male – 28 years old).

4.2. Translation

By translation, we refer to the idea that knowledge cannot simply be “passed” from one actor to another, but that such passage requires its transformation across a larger code or system of meanings. Such a system could be a language, or other set of cultural codes. Respondents who took a translational view acknowledge that teaching cuisine was not simply a set of unitary practices, but a transfer of meanings that required wider cultural understandings and dialogue. However, both exclusive and inclusive variants of the translation view existed, where exclusive statements assumed the lack of wider knowledges (or “culture”) on the part of the other, while inclusive views noted the presence of different and legitimate cultures, across which dialogue was necessary to create learning.

As a member of the executive team put it, learning the French style of cooking is more than a simple transfer of recipes:

“It’s not only techniques, it’s an entire savoir-faire in fact, a knowledge of culinary life but also a “savoir-faire” in the kitchen, and they don’t always have the same codes” (#7 - Executive team - Female - 25 years old).

Yet, as several of the French interns noted, the Chinese cooks and waiters were not at all without cultural knowledge of cuisine, but brought existing Chinese culinary knowledge in an array of artistic and traditional practices that invoked alternate meanings. During a farewell banquet that the Chinese cooks had prepared, the French *chefs* and maître d’hôtel noted this parallel system which was juxtaposed with the Bocuse training:

“It was their own style of food, but they could really do gastronomy, it was really well placed on the dishes, beautiful, while we were thinking of desserts, they were thinking of decoration, they had made decorations out of vegetables.” (#35 – Intern chef - Female - 25 years old).

While these forms do not yet mix with or change the codes of the other, their acknowledgement is a first step toward such mixture, which we describe below.

“They question about certain flavors, notably cheese, also salt, of which they use very little, the spices that we use in France, the balance between flavors, voila, but even by the end of the training, there are certain products that they... That they do not like” (#33 - Intern chef - Male – 22 years old).

This recognition of difference went along with the idea that it was not only a set of practices and knowledge, but rather an interconnected cultural network that was being transferred. In its exclusive mode, this recognition took the form of passing on a way of life, an interconnected aesthetic and cultural horizon of meanings:

“We teach them the history of French cuisine, the evolution of the different types of service that exist, the signification of the wines, in short, everything. All that is around the arts of the table and the restaurant, in the end” (#38 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Female - 20 years old).

In the inclusive mode, differences between cultures appeared not as a difficulty in passing along an authentic culture, but in understanding the underlying lifeworld within which this knowledge made sense, and translating between systems of meaning. From the perspective of the trainers, it was this network of “common sense” that was the element that set the cultures apart and the ability to translate that brought them together:

“For my students who were, who are passionate about French cuisine, I use the example of a “côte de bœuf”. For a chef it is a sacrilege to serve a côte de bœuf well done. I ask them “what do you do if a patron order not only a côte de bœuf that is well done, but in addition he would like it served with chocolate. At the beginning many said “oh no, I don’t serve that, chef, imagine a côte de bœuf, one does not do that to a côte de bœuf. But eventually they understand that working internationally is to make concessions to the rules and the habits that are ours, because we must understand those in front of us, in a business you never succeed if you don’t adapt. I am happy to have passed on this message.” (#2 – Executive team – Male – 25 years old).

This principle of translation also meant that, in its inclusive mode, there was a two-way learning between cultures, rather than simply transmission across cultures:

“We teach them the French savoir-faire, and they, somehow, transmit to us a bit of their own Chinese savoir-faire. Their fashion of working their way of doing the Chinese service” (#7 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Female – 20 years old.)

As one of the Chinese cook put it: *“I believe we will make progress together”* (Chinese Cook Survey n°1).

4.3. Hybridization

By hybridization, we refer to the moments where the systems of cultural meanings and codes described above mingled, changing traditional knowledge into something different than previously in either tradition. When “exclusive”, such hybridization is seen as error, confusion or noise. Yet more inclusive attitudes toward hybridization viewed it in its creative aspect as a generator of innovation.

Table 6 exhibits several examples of hybridization in the Chinese *chefs’* gastronomic practices. In the first photo, the food is cut in small pieces as in Chinese cuisine, and instead of an individual plate, it is presented as a meal that people can share, as is common in Chinese tradition. In the second and in the third examples, the plates are dressed individually but with a sauce similar to a Chinese sweet sauce, while in the second and third examples, the meal looks like nems with carved flowers. In these three cases, we can see that it is a hybridization between the French and the Chinese cuisine.

[Please insert Table 5 ground here]

One of the French *chefs*, noted that improvisation was the ultimate goal for teaching, and was sought after by the students. Rather than rote learning, the mark of mastery was the ability to deviate:

“We’re out of vinegar – so what, now, who knows, we put honey, we put mustard, we put a bit of oil, we put dill, and voila! Them, they don’t know how to do that, and that’s what they want to learn I believe.” (#37- Intern chef – Male – 23 years old).

Sometimes, however, improvisation or deviation was seen simply as an aspect of necessity, a survival technique of bringing one’s own experience to a problem:

“When cooking vegetables with oil, we shake the pot in the Chinese way because we need to cook it in a short time.” (Chinese cook – Survey n°10).

Yet, sometimes a real mixture of preferences was created and acknowledged. For instance, a new or unknown ingredient (e.g. *foie gras*) provided a “blank slate” where embedded cultural knowledge could create creative assemblages that did not always follow French tradition:

“We’re doing a foie gras with a red wine reduction, maybe something they’re not really familiar with but they like the product – they prefer if it’s cooked with spices or an apple” (#7 – Executive team – Male – 31 years old).

Ultimately, while the Chinese styles were usually not acknowledged as the ultimate learning goals of the course, such hybridizations crept into practices, and led to innovations that both mimicked French styles while reinforcing previous ways of experiencing cuisine:

“The tastes and textures, they adapt ‘à la chinoise’, so it’s pretty funny to see in the school the adaptations of the French techniques that they do to produce Chinese tastes” (#7 – Executive team – Female – 25 years old).

In its exclusive mode, the hybridizations were seen as a kind of culinary « bricolage » resulting from a haphazard and uninformed use. The resulting mixtures were novel but were not necessarily seen as innovative or creative:

“I told them « design me a plate » At the time it was funny, they made all sorts of things...a duck plate in the shape of a duck, because they are very figurative in Chinese cuisine, or a duck with breadcrumbs or carrots shaped like flowers, lilies placed all around the duck because to them, the décor must be figurative” (#7 – Executive team – Female – 25 years old).

Similarly, the hybridizations were seen as attempts to render the food more Chinese, and reflected a distortion or lack of understanding of the plate:

“Sometimes, it’s true, they have a tendency to add sugar and they like to caramelize things like in the sauces. They put sugar to make it a little bit sweeter, or honey, or that kind of thing” (#20 – Intern chef – Female – 20 years old).

The more inclusive vision of hybridization, however, viewed the mixture as a positive and double-sided movement:

“Above all, it’s the French who have evolved, who have learned to propose more Chinese style food, there is much more...more... More mix or fusion in the food” (#35 – Intern chef – Female – 25 years old).

Sometimes, pedagogical exercises led to new innovation on the part of the Chinese students, who invented new recipes integrating a mix of Western and Chinese elements:

“It was like an ice cream cone. They put the shrimp in the cone and a mango moose on top of it so it was like an Italianized cream with mango’s and shrimp. It was something that really wasn’t traditional to France or to China. Even if it was a little bit sweetened sour which is more common in Chinese cooking than it is in French cooking. It was fun, it was like an ice cream cone, and it was nice. He then went to see the clients if they had liked it and he came back with huge smile on his face because the client said that the association of different flavors was excellent, was well balanced, and the textures were really interesting” (#4 – Executive team – Male – 31 years old).

From the perspective of the Chinese students, there was a recognition of the potential for hybridization, both for personal satisfaction and for the largely Chinese clientele, who wanted to frequent French restaurants but had a taste for Chinese food. As one chef put it,

“I would like to do a Chinese sauce but I would change it a little bit because some people do not like the real Chinese sauce so we need to do something different.” (#46 – Former student – Male – 21 years old).

The need for hybridization was seen as linked to the international opening and its requirement of cultural versatility:

“Today in Shanghai there are a lot of foreign people and a lot of food styles in restaurants. We can’t just make Chinese food for the Chinese people. We need to take other styles; I think it is important. And if you know more things, you can change the dish, you are not obliged to cook them traditionally” (#47 – Former Chinese student – Female – 22 years old).

Beyond business, however, there was a desire to express one’s creativity through hybridization, formulating a creative mixture of traditions:

“I want to learn more about French food, because when I worked there I thought the food was beautiful and not just about eating. It was like a picture. I think it would be interesting if I could mix the Chinese food and French food” (#47 – Former Chinese student – Female – 22 years old).

5. Discussion and contributions

Our findings reveal a diversity of on the ground relations between the French and Chinese groups, relations which are embedded in tacit attitudes about how cultural practices and knowledge are composed and transmitted, and how these reflected implicit group relations. In some cases, French *haute cuisine* and service were described through the rote transfer of specific knowledge, framing the Chinese learner as either lacking knowledge, or as proactive and entrepreneurial knowledge-seekers, but in either case as recipients of cultural transfers. To the extent, however, that the two groups were seen as embedded within two

distinct cultural systems, each with its own codes and embedded practices, the training was no longer a straightforward cultural transfer. In these circumstances, exclusivity/inclusivity took the form of whether, on the one hand, the codes of the other were seen as wrong or “getting in the way”, or, on the other hand, the other was seen as a legitimate partner in dialogue. In both conditions, however, difference is maintained and the focus is put on translation between cultural systems of meaning and practice. In a third modality, however, these cultural systems were themselves reconfigures, leading to hybrid gastronomic creations and unexpected outcomes. In these situations, cultural mixture could be viewed as a “mess”, compromising the efficacy of the training, or alternatively, as an innovation and a complement to existing traditions of *haute cuisine*. Thus, in its exclusive form, remixes of gastronomic elements were considered as interferences, confusing the correct way of doing things by interposing distracting elements from another tradition. Inclusivity involved viewing such intercultural improvisations as productive, innovative and creative.

Through examining the processes of cultural practice transfer in the Institut Bocuse, we make several interrelated contributions to organizational scholarship. First, by adapting Carlile’s (2004) model of knowledge transfer to the cultural industries, and in a cross-cultural setting, we were able to complement the original model. As cultural knowledge transfer is not simply one direction but involves the cross-talk between different cultural systems, hybridization is a probable outcomes, whereas more traditional knowledge transfer (e.g. scientific, technical) is likely to undergo transformation, the category proposed by Carlile (2004). With the latter, knowledge may experience change in its implementation in practice, whereas with cultural knowledge it is directed towards and enters in dialogue with an “other” culture, that has the ability to respond, resignify, and reconfigure this knowledge. The result is likely to be a hybridization, and not simply a transformation. By bringing this model into a cross-cultural setting, therefore, we both complement the model and adjust it for a specific kind of knowledge.

Second, we add a relational element to the knowledge-based model with which we began, arguing that cultural knowledge transfer involves relational negotiation over group status and

power dynamics. In all three modes of transmission, relational dynamics of both inclusion and exclusion were found; each mode involved power dynamics in which the groups negotiated their relative status. It was the case that the hybridization mode seemed to involve more of a sense of mutual recognition and dialogue than the transfer mode; some hierarchy between these modes in terms of status contests was thus seen. However, the ways in which these dynamics played out were different across the modes of transmission, such that how inclusive and exclusive dynamics were realized in practice depended on the implicit theory of what constituted proper cultural knowledge and practice.

Specifically, for the transfer mode, exclusive dynamics were seen in the French chef's lack of recognition of valid knowledge of cuisine, while its inclusive counterpart involved recognizing the eagerness to learn and the motivation, career driven, and engagement of the Chinese students. In the translation mode, the exclusive reaction involved recognizing that an entire French cultural system, with history, art, and other values and behaviors, was involved in the cuisine code, and trying to pass this system on to the Chinese. By contrast, the inclusive mode involved "speaking the 'others' language", understanding Chinese cultural and culinary norms in order to translate French norms into a form that was understandable by the students. In the hybridization mode, where culinary traditions mixed to a greater extent, the exclusive mode involved seeing such mixtures as corruption or lack of real creativity; mixtures were seen as a mess, or as not attaining the desired goals. On the other hand, in the inclusive mode, the hybridized result was seen as a cultural innovation, a creative construction of a new gastronomic product that was an achievement of cultural mixture rather than domination.

More generally, the current study contributes to understanding the dynamics cultural knowledge and practice transfers in organizations, particularly in the cultural industries, where embedded meanings and traditions are a key component of cultural production. By both stressing the multiple dynamics possible within such a space, and the implications for relational and power dynamics between groups, we contribute to understanding how knowledge and group boundaries impinge upon each other in cultural production. How such relations are configured may determine whether inter-cultural dynamics result in cultural

transfer, dialogue, or hybridization, with implications for the production and diffusion of forms of cultural knowledge.

Finally, it is worth noting that our study is a rare case of a cross-cultural study adopting a practice-based view, an intuitive but largely absent synthesis in organizational scholarship. The schema of knowledge transfer used by Carlile (2004) has not been applied to intercultural settings, which mainly continue to examine intercultural relations largely from a trait-based perspective (e.g. Hofstede and Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner, 2011). The latter views have drawn criticism as reductionist (MacSweeney, 2002), and cross-cultural research may benefit from approaches that avoid the black box of cultural traits to track cultural practices and knowledge in situ. Recently, some scholars have suggested using practice perspectives to better understand cultural and cross-cultural knowledge (Biggs and Buchler, 2008). Our study contributes to this small but promising literature by noting the processes by which cultural knowledge is negotiated on the ground, through both declarative and tacit knowledge practices.

6. Limitations and future directions

Despite the above contributions, several issues remain for development in future research. First of all, we chose an extreme case of cultural difference – as we took the example of France and China – in order to highlight the process of cultural transmission over a significant gap in meanings and cultural experience. In this case, French and Chinese culinary traditions are radically separated, and few cross-overs or hybrids exist between the two, which makes the comparison relatively “clean” as a theoretical illustration. In many cases, however (e.g. France-Spain), a history of interchange and commerce makes the traditions not entirely dissimilar, but different in degree, adding nuance to the cultural transmission process. Future research, therefore, should take into account the various ways in which proximal or distal boundaries can affect the process of cultural transfer.

Relatedly, because we are dealing with *haute cuisine*, a relatively rarified and selective cultural practice, there may be a control and gatekeeping of codes and practices that is not as present in popular culture or other modes of cultural transfer. Future research, therefore, should examine not only the modes of transmission, but also how these modes are affected by the cultural status of the set of practices or codes themselves.

Secondly, as mentioned above, we collected longitudinal data, which allows us to track changes along time in the relational and knowledge transmission modalities of the *chefs*. However our coding categories, as they emerged, did not show a clear time-related element, which both surprised us and demands further treatment. Anecdotally, many interviewees mentioned changes in the relational dynamics over time, and as an observer, it seemed as if the process was not static; however, further research is necessary to establish whether a dynamic element can be found in the processes describe above.

Table 1: Timeline of the case-study organisation and data produced

Time	Event history	Data collected
2008 to 2010	Desire of the Mayor of Shanghai to collaborate with the Rhône-Alpes area by opening a gastronomic restaurant-school for the Shanghai World Fair	
May 2010 to October 2010	During the world fair, the students from the French school train Chinese students from a Shanghainese tourism school	
November 2010	Desire of both parties to keep the restaurant-school open after the world fair, and to develop the relationship between the two schools	
The researchers entered the organisation at this point		
May 2011 to April 2012	Opening of the restaurant-school, and 1 st promotion of the training programme (20 interns from France train 40 Chinese students through the year)	
November 2011	The restaurant-school obtains its official 'licence'	Pilot study: 10 interviews: 2 executive team members in China and 8 interns from the French school
May 2012 to April 2013	2 nd promotion of the training programme	In May and June, non-participant observation during a culinary training programme in the school in France 1 set of researcher field notes
May 2013 to April 2014	3 rd promotion of the training programme Collaboration between the culinary school in France and a new Chinese culinary institute	12 interviews in June in China: 4 intern <i>chefs</i> , 4 trainee <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i> and 4 executive members 14 interviews in January in France: 7 intern <i>chefs</i> and 7 <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i> 3 months after their return

		<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>14 interviews in March in China: 5 intern <i>chefs</i>, 6 executive members and 3 former students</p> <p>Survey (with opened and closed questions) of 37 of the Chinese <i>chefs</i> and <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i></p> <p>Photos. Videos</p> <p>Non-participant observation</p> <p>1 set of researcher field notes</p> <p>Secondary data</p>
July 2014		<p>3 semi-directive interviews: 1 executive-team member in Shanghai and 2 intern <i>chefs</i> 3 months after their return (by Skype)^o</p>
30 October 2014	<p>Graduation of the 19 young <i>chefs</i> and <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i> from the French school</p>	<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>Informal discussions with former intern <i>chefs</i> and intern <i>maîtres d'hôtel</i></p>

Table 2: Interviews

Function	Interview	Dates	Length	Age	Gender
Executive team Shanghai					
Director and executive <i>chef</i>	#1	October 2011	55 mns	25	Male
	#2	June 2013	46 mns		
	#3	July 2014	53 mns		
Deputy manager of operation/ <i>chef</i>	#4	March 2014	1h51	31	Male
1 st training manager (2010-2013)	#5	September 2011	1h13	30	Female
	#6	June 2013	1h08		
2 nd training manager (2013-onwards)	#7	March 2014	1h12	24	Female
Sales manager-former Chinese student	#8	March 2014	36 mns	24	Female
2 nd <i>chef</i>	#9	June 2013	59 mns	28	Male
	#10	March 2014	1h35		
Pastry <i>chef</i>	#11	March 2014	26 mns	29	Male
Maître d'hôtel	#12	June 2013	39 mns	24	Male
	#13	March 2014	2h28		
Maître d'hôtel	#14	March 2014	1h	31	Male
Executive team – France					
Executive team	#15	February 2014	58 mns	> 60	Male
Executive team	#16	October 2014	1h05	> 60	Male
Training team Shanghai					
Intern <i>chef</i>	#17	June 2013	44 mns	19	Female
	#18	March 2014	1h13		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#19	June 2013	35 mns	20	Female
	#20	March 2014	46 mns		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#21	June 2013	45 mns	27	Female
	#22	March 2014	1h19		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#23	June 2013	34 mns	20	Male
	#24	March 2014	50 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#25	June 2013	41 mns	23	Male
	#26	March 2014	54 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#27	June 2013	30 mns	20	Female
	#28	March 2014	1h03		

Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#29	June 2013	31 mns	21	Male
	#30	March 2014	55 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#31	June 2013	46 mns	20	Female
	#32	March 2014	1h39		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#33	January 2014	1h07	22	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#34	January 2014	1h03	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#35	January 2014	1h07	25	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#36	January 2014	1h21	20	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#37	January 2014	1h04	23	Male
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#38	January 2014	58 mns	20	Female
Intern <i>chef</i>	#39	March 2014	2h01	27	Male
	#40	July 2014	1h00		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#41	March 2014	1h23	26	Male
	#42	July 2014	1h28		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#43	March 2014	1h32	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#44	March 2014	1h29	24	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#45	March 2014	1h12	23	Male
Former Chinese students at IPBS					
Chinese cook	#46	March 2014	22 mns	21	Male
Chinese cook	#47	March 2014	20 mns	22	Female
Chinese cook	#48	March 2014	24 mns	24	Female

<p>Translation</p>	<p>Exclusive</p>	<p>To question them on certain flavours, in particular the cheese, the salt that they don't use much, spices that we use in France, how to balance the flavours, voilà, but even at the end of the internship, they still did not like some product (#42 – Intern chef – Male – 26 years old).</p> <p>Concerning cocktails(cocktail parties), they try things that they would never have dared to try previously, so they often create however it is unfortunate but often it is not very good but, at least there is an initiative to create and to make something new, their creations are naturally limited by their technical experience (#2 – Executive – Male – 25 years old).</p> <p>I believe we will make progress together. (Survey Chinese cook, n° 1).</p>
<p>Hybridisation</p>	<p>Inclusive</p>	<p>We bought the same thing, I made the French way, he made the Chinese one. We bought potatoes, we bought eggplants, everything the same thing and we did the same menu twice, but in Chinese and in French, then we shared. Sometimes his sauce was hyper top, mine it was just a simple sauce, thus we tried to do things Chinese-French or French-Chinese with the same technique (#45 – Intern chef – Male – 23 years old).</p> <p>Yes, I progressed with him. In order to ensure fast, we discuss a lot about methods. Each other opinions are put forward (Survey Chinese cook, n°14).</p>
	<p>Exclusive</p>	<p>They like all which is 'in the Cantonese way', the pastries 'in the Cantonese way' which are very fat, very soft, not crunchy, they do not like the crunchy texture that we have in France, especially the tastes, the textures etc., in fact they adapt the pastry to the Chinese-style, thus it is rather funny to see exactly in this kind of school the adaptations of the French techniques which they can make for the Chinese tastes and also to the techniques that they know ... (#7 – Executive – Female – 24 years old).</p> <p>It is one of better students of his Chinese cooking school. He has a good level, he wants to continue in a Chinese restaurant later, but he came to the restaurant-school to study the techniques of the Western food, and to try to readjust these techniques to the Chinese cook ... actually, I think that there are many things to do. Then, the Chinese food is really a very immediate cook with the wok, it is not the kind of cook under vacuum. This type of cook does not lend himself to the changes a lot, you change seasonings or you change ingredients but after that remains something which is fried (sauté) very quickly (#4 – Executive – Male – 31 years old).</p>
	<p>Inclusive</p>	<p>He is very good, for example, to make the cutting of vegetables the Chinese-style (#7 – Executive – Female – 24 years old).</p> <p>I would like to do a Chinese sauce but I would change it a little bit because some people do not like the real Chinese sauce so we need to do something different. ((#47 – Former Chinese student – Female – 20 years old).</p> <p>I like using the Chinese sauce when I cook Western food (Survey Chinese cook, n°4).</p> <p>The practical activities in class are very cool because we can drink, eat, we can taste and create new style for everything (Survey Chinese waiter, n°16).</p>

Table 4: Types of Cultural Cross over

Type of Cultural crossover	Level of Cultural crossover	Form of reflexivity reflected in crossover	Examples of Practices	Illustrative examples from case
Transfer	Practices, recipes, standard knowledges	Recognition of difference, gap-spotting	Standardized handbooks and training materials, workshops and coursework	A trainer presumes lack of knowledge of students, and pass on practices based on traditional methods, assessing students on their motivation and ability to learn content
Translation	meanings, symbols	Sensitivity to underlying networks of meanings, “deep” culture.	Elaborate symbols and artefacts, recreation of restaurant in French styles	<i>Chefs</i> argue that cuisine is more than food, but a “way of life”, and thus begin to negotiate broad cultural meanings and values with the students
Hybridity	complex outputs, multilayered meanings	Mutual recognition, awareness of both own and other culture as autonomous yet interdependent	Complex multilayered plates, dishes, open activities leading to unpredictable results	<i>Chefs</i> from both countries, working alone or together, create new plates that draw upon pre-established content while experimenting with new forms that integrate local knowledge

Table 5: Actor Type and Enactment of Cultural mixture

Form of Cultural Crossover		Transfer		Translation		Hybridization	
		Exclusive Posture	Inclusive Posture	Exclusive Posture	Inclusive Posture	Exclusive Posture	Inclusive Posture
Origin of Actor	Culture of Exportation (French <i>chefs</i>)	We are experts, they are novices. We are here to pass our knowledge to them. Exchange is based on market expansion to 'underdeveloped' regions.	We are experience, they are entrepreneurs. We are here to help them find best practices. Exchange is market based among partners.	We understand <i>haute cuisine</i> culture, and attempt to translate the meanings and values of <i>haute cuisine</i> to a foreign culture	We are members of a globalizing cuisine culture. We engage in dialogue to develop cultural innovations and gain experience on both sides.	Hybridization results from "noise", where students do not fully understand, and cannot translate practices adequately. Hybridization is a sign that students have not learned how to cook French cuisine.	Hybridization is a sign of creative appropriate. It is a source of new innovations that we can take back with us to improve our own work.
	Culture of Importation (Chinese <i>chefs</i>)	They are experts, we are novices. We are here to learn from them. Exchange is status based and hierarchical	We are looking for new marketable practices; they are here to provide us with resources. Exchange is market driven rather than cultural.	Foreignness as a sign of arcane knowledge and culture, taste for the exotic. Attempt to reproduce or even exaggerate habitus of Frenchness. Symbols adopted regardless of coherence with local understandings.	French culture as offering alternative understandings of cuisine, source not only of practices but of new ways of viewing cultural practices. Aspects are adopted to the extent that they are comprehensible	Hybridization occurs when artifacts are implemented ad hoc. Bricolage-style use of materials and seeming lack of underlying coherence.	Hybridization occurs as a strategic choice to mix cultural artefacts, lending a sense of coherence, irony or humor to the use of artefacts.

Table 6: Hybridization of Gastronomic Practices



Hybridisation n°1 Pineapple and Foie Gras



Hybridisation n°2: Asparagus and Foie Gras



Hybridisation n°3: Nems and Foie Gras

**CHAPITRE 4: GASTRONOMIC ADVENTURERS: CAREER
COMPETENCIES AND 'ANTICIPATED BOUNDARYLESSNESS AMONG
YOUNG *CHEFS* AND *MAÎTRES D'HÔTEL* IN *HAUTE CUISINE***

Résumé du chapitre 4

Ce chapitre analyse comment les stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent les apports potentiels de leur expérience en Chine et montrent des signes révélateurs d'une 'carrière nomade anticipée'. Ces jeunes n'ont pas encore débuté leur carrière qu'ils se mettent déjà à gérer leurs compétences de carrière. Les compétences de carrière sont des compétences individuelles. Il s'agit de l'accumulation de savoirs, savoir-faire et expériences nécessaires au bon déroulement d'une carrière (DeFillippi et Arthur, 1994). Pour DeFillippi et Arthur (1994), ces compétences reflètent trois 'knowing' : le 'knowing-why', le 'knowing-how' et le 'knowing-whom'. Le 'knowing why' ou compétence identitaire (Bender et al., 2009) répond à la question 'pourquoi est-ce que l'on travaille ?' Elle est liée à la motivation et est proche du capital culturel (Bourdieu, 1979). Le 'knowing-how' ou 'compétence d'apprentissage' (Bender et al. 2009), répond à la question : 'comment est-ce que l'on travaille ?' Il s'agit du savoir professionnel et du savoir-faire et est proche de la notion de capital humain (Culié, 2012). Le 'knowing-whom' ou 'compétence relationnelle' (Bender et al., 2009) répond à la question 'avec qui est-ce que l'on travaille' Il s'agit de la capacité, primordiale aujourd'hui, à développer et maintenir des réseaux de relations et des sources d'informations. Ce concept est proche de la notion de 'capital social' (Culié, 2012). Ces trois compétences de carrière fonctionnent en interaction (Inkson et Arthur, 2001). Elles sont nécessaires pour des carrières plus chaotiques, imprévisibles, moins traditionnelles et plus nomades (DeFillippi et Arthur, 1994 ; Arthur et al., 1999). En effet, depuis le début des années 90 de nombreux changements radicaux dans la société, l'économie et les organisations ont complètement transformé la façon dont les gens gèrent leur carrière. Aujourd'hui l'individu est responsable de la gestion de sa carrière et il doit donc gérer un portfolio de compétences acquises au gré des expériences professionnelles et des formations (Segers et Inceoglu, 2012). C'est ce que font déjà les jeunes formateurs du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai lorsqu'ils décident de faire ce stage.

La question de recherche est donc : Comment les jeunes stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils les apports de leur stage en termes de carrière ?

Pour répondre à ce questionnaire, nous avons mené une étude de cas unique et longitudinale (entre juin 2013 et avril 2014) au restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai dans lequel des jeunes stagiaires formateurs sont venus de l'*Institut Paul Bocuse* d'Ecully afin de former de jeunes étudiants chinois à la gastronomie et aux services 'à la française'.

Après l'analyse des données, cette étude montre que les stagiaires-formateurs découvrent les signes d'une 'carrière nomade anticipée' dans trois éléments de réponse : dans leurs motivations, dans la catégorisation des compétences utiles à leur future carrière et dans leurs aspirations.

(1) Motivation pour la future carrière : Les stagiaires-formateurs ont indiqué que leur motivation venait du fait qu'il s'agissait d'une expérience à la fois professionnelle et personnelle.

(2) Développement de carrière : Les stagiaires-formateurs ont acquis de nouvelles compétences lors de la formation et de la transmission de savoir-faire français aux étudiants chinois qui leur seront utiles pour leur carrière.

(3) Potentiel impact sur la carrière : Les stagiaires-formateurs ont évoqué l'importance du réseau, la façon dont ils envisagent les futures retombées de ce stage et les opportunités de carrière, et parlé de l'importance des compétences de carrière internationale.

Nous avons aussi développé les modèles de compétence de carrière de Defillippi et Arthur (1994) et Akkermans et al. (2013) en ajoutant une nouvelle dimension indispensable en contexte interculturel : la dimension de carrière internationale.

Cet article comporte une contribution théorique et une contribution empirique :

La contribution théorique est la notion de '**carrière nomade anticipée**'. En effet avant même le commencement de leur carrière, ces jeunes stagiaires-formateurs s'investissent professionnellement de telle façon qu'ils laissent présager une future carrière nomade (avec en particulier la gestion des compétences de carrière). Ce concept est nouveau dans la littérature sur les carrières nomades qui ne s'était pas encore intéressée à ces signes avant-coureurs.

La contribution empirique provient du fait qu'il s'agit d'un groupe atypique. Cette étude s'intéresse non seulement aux jeunes mais aussi à des artisans du service, deux groupes qui ne sont normalement pas étudiés en recherche sur les carrières nomades. En effet ce sont d'habitude des sujets plus âgés et en général des « cols blancs ». Cette étude apporte donc une vision empirique nouvelle sur les « carrières nomades ».

Mots clés : compétences de carrière ; carrières nomades ; artisans ; haute cuisine ; jeunesse ; Chine ; étude longitudinale

Cet article a été rédigé en collaboration avec Mark Smith (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand en est le premier auteur. Il a été présenté à différents stades de son évolution à la conférence EGOS de Rotterdam en 2014 et d'Athènes en 2015.

Summary of Chapter 5

Abstract: People who manage their professional development are more likely to be the ones who are able to develop their career competencies. Moreover these competences can be usefully coupled to the concept of boundaryless careers. In this article we first define what career competencies are and we extend the concept of boundarylessness by incorporating a temporal and prospective dimension to the field. Previous empirical work on boundarylessness has tended to focus on a narrow range of occupational and demographic characteristics and thus limited the extension and application of the concept to a wider group of workers. Using in-depth longitudinal and qualitative analysis of six-month overseas internship in the restaurant-school *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai we capture the perceptions and interpretations of career competences and boundarylessness among early-career service artisans at the top end of the *haute cuisine* sector. We identify the importance of an international career competency and evidence of ‘anticipated boundarylessness’ of individuals concerning their future career motivation, development and benefits.

Keywords: International career competencies; Boundaryless careers; artisans; *haute cuisine*; youth; China; longitudinal study.

This article has been written in collaboration with Mark Smith (Grenoble Ecole de Management). Nathalie Louisgrand is the first author. This article was presented – under two different versions – at the EGOS conference of Rotterdam in 2014 and Athens in 2015.

" All these young cooks, excited at the prospect of being promoted to the level of chef, commit themselves to short-term expatriation (...) A young chef of high standing in 2010 is often someone who is geographically mobile.."

Pierre Gagnaire, *A Principle of Emotion* 2011:190.

1. Introduction

Since the 1990's a number of radical changes to society, economy and organisations have completely transformed the way people have to manage their careers. Traditional careers have been replaced by relatively unpredictable and much more confused ones (Arthur et al., 1999; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). In this circumstance, people who actively manage their professional development are likely to be the ones able to develop their career competencies. Moreover, this competency-based approach can be usefully coupled to boundaryless careers (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994). Indeed much has been written about the concept of boundarylessness in careers (Inkson et al., 2012) and it has become one of the dominant discourses for analysis of careers research. Yet debates about the relevance and applicability of the concept remain. Some critiques suggest that the notion is unclear, tricky and complex to set up (Rodrigues and Guest, 2010; Sommerlund and Boutaiba, 2007; Inkson, 2006; Inkson et al., 2012; Feldman and Ng, 2007; Sullivan and Arthur, 2006). Others argue that research on boundaryless careers is too theoretical and lacks empirical analyses (Eby et al., 2003; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Dowd and Kaplan, 2005; Inkson et al., 2008; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010). However, at its heart Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) concept that careers are increasingly non-linear and that individuals are required to be more responsible and less dependent on a single employer, occupations and pre-planned trajectories remains useful. These changes reflect a breakdown of internal labour markets and new opportunities provided by geographical, technological and organisational mobility.

The lack of empirical application has led authors such as Briscoe and Hall (2006) to suggest that boundarylessness may lose its efficacy and relevance if it cannot be effectively and precisely applied to the reality of today's careers and organisational lives. Moreover, numerous research articles focus on professional elites like the career of 'cadres' in France (Dany,

2003), research scientists (Sommerlund and Boutaiba, 2007; Valette and Culié, 2015), academics (Dowd and Caplan, 2005; Dany et al., 2011) to the exclusion of younger workers and those in services, where the majority of people now work. Thus it is important to consider, how early-career service artisans perceive the benefits of their internship in relation to developing international career competences and future boundarylessness.

Thus the aim of this paper is first to develop the theoretical approach of career competencies and explain the concept of international career competence – and then to extend the concept of boundarylessness in a prospective sense in order to expand on the static nature of boundarylessness in relation to the analysis of early-career workers. We explore the perceptions of the benefits of an overseas internship on the future career of service artisans in relation to their motivation, development and potential impacts. We first identify an additional career competency to those already identified in the literature - that of the international career competency – and then we recognise anticipated boundarylessness as a way to capture the investment of young service artisans in their early careers permitting them to adopt boundaryless trajectories at a later stage.

Anticipated boundarylessness arises from the combination of geographical mobility, perceived future benefits and perceived value of the experience for high-end, early-career service artisans. This represents an important contribution through the application and development of the boundarylessness concept to a young group of service artisans and addresses a gap in the literature that has been overlooked.

This paper is divided into five sections. After this introduction, the second section debates theoretical approaches to career competencies and boundaryless careers. We then consider the relevance of international career competencies and boundarylessness for the careers of high-end service artisans. The third section discusses the research context and the methods used for the collection of empirical data. The fourth section presents the results from forty-five qualitative interviews with young *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* plus an ethnographic element in this longitudinal study. The final discussion pulls together the results and implications of the research for research and theory on career competencies and boundaryless careers.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Careers, Career competencies and boundaryless careers

Arthur and Rousseau (1996:4) describes careers as *the unfolding sequence of a person's work experience over time* which are no longer controlled by organisational boundaries (Arthur et al., 1999; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Gunz et al., 2000). People are faced with new models of organisations and new models of careers (Inkson et al., 2012), and are required to be able to develop self-knowledge and flexibility, and to transfer their competencies between companies (Gunz et al., 2000), and they are less dependent on a single employer (Baruch, 2003). In this new kind of careers, the person attaches much more importance to job-satisfaction than to promotion (Hall and Chandler, 2005). The breakdown of the linear career model and perspective underlines that individuals can only know where they come from since the future is inevitably uncertain. Thus individuals can only prepare for what might be a variety of career outcomes.

In this context individuals who succeed to navigate their career are the ones who are able to develop their career competencies (DeFillippi and Arthur, 1994; Eby et al., 2003). Career competencies are personal competencies and consist on an accumulation of knowledge, skills and experiences which will help a good career management (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1994).

Authors like DeFillippi and Arthur (1994); Kuijpers and Scheerens, (2006); Akkermans et al., (2013) have studied the kind of career competencies that employees need to possess and then they have developed dimensions of career competencies (Kong, 2010).

For DeFillippi and Arthur (1994), career competencies reflect three different ways of knowing: 'knowing why', 'knowing whom' and 'knowing how'. The 'knowing-why' competency answers the question 'why'. It relates to career motivation (why we do a job), personal meaning and identification (Arthur et al., 1999). The 'knowing-how' competency concerns skills that are relevant for the career and job-related knowledge (Arthur et al., 1999). This refers to the level to which one cultivate a portfolio of transferable work-related skills and knowledge. It is also expertise and abilities that a person brings to an organization's know-how. Individuals who have a strong career identity tend to spend energy developing career-related skills and competencies. The 'knowing-whom' competency concerns career relevant networks and how

people participate to inter-firm communication. An extensive network of relationships can offer influence, support and information. It defines relationships and attachments that are settled within and outside the organization (Inkson and Arthur, 2001). The above definitions have been echoed by and developed by detecting relevant variables to each competency (Eby et al., 2003).

More recently, Akkermans et al., (2013: 357) define career competencies as *“knowledge, skills, and abilities central to career development, which can be influenced by the individual”*. They elaborate a model of career competencies and a measurement instrument to evaluate them. Their model consists of three dimensions and each dimension contains two career competencies: reflective (reflection of motivation, reflection on qualities), communicative (networking and self-profiling), and behavioral competencies (work exploration and career control). In table 1 we integrate these perspectives on career competencies by integrating the vision of motivation, career skills and communication from DeFillippi and Arthur’s (1994) early work with the perspectives of Akkermans et al (2013) on career competences. We also add our own contribution which focuses on the international dimension.

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Developing career competencies is believed to help people to take advantages of their boundaryless career. DeFillipi and Arthur (1994: 308) explained that *“competency accumulation at the level of the person is better served by boundaryless career principles.”* Indeed competencies provide the tools by which careers can become boundaryless so help us develop a useful temporal perspective on the evolution of boundarylessness for early-career workers. Furthermore as careers evolve, and become more international for example, such an approach allows us to identify new competencies required to develop of maintain boundarylessness.

While competencies may allow us to shed light on the processes involved in boundaryless careers there is still some ambiguity around boundaryless careers as a concept. Rodrigues and Guest (2010) suggest that nobody knows exactly when a career becomes boundaryless. The concept – created by Michael Arthur and Robert DeFillippi in 1993 – appeared at a time of

important economic and organisational changes including globalisation, outsourcing, organisational restructuring (op. cit.), a world with significant influences on the technical, social and economic context for careers (Mayrhofer et al., 2007; Gunz et al., 2011). What is clear is that individuals are required to be proactive in the management of their careers and need to tools to do so.

With boundaryless careers there is mobility not only across organisations but also across occupations, industries, geographic locations and employment forms in a non-linear and unpredictable manner (Arthur et al., 1999). Such careers provide opportunities for individuals to develop the three competencies: It offers more possibilities to people to become aware of their self-identity; It simplifies the accumulation of different skills and experience that could not happen in traditional organizational careers and allows the growth and addition of flexible skills and knowledge that are without difficulty transferable to other employment settings (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1994; DeFillippi and Arthur, 1996). Colakoglu (2011) shows that it is especially important to develop 'know-why' and 'know-how' competencies for improving career autonomy. Indeed with boundaryless career it is the individual who has the responsibility of its own career, not the organization. The career actor is expected to have a proactive approach to develop and maintain these competencies. Yet few studies have empirically considered the importance of career competencies, more specifically even fewer in an international context.

Moreover, although the concept of boundaryless career has been used for almost two decades in many published articles, studies of boundaryless careers suffer from a lack of precision in their concepts (Briscoe and Hall, 2006; Inkson et al., 2012). Authors have overemphasized the transformations that have occurred in careers (Tulgan, 2001), or have offered only a limited vision of what careers really are (Valette and Culié, 2015), or have been used in too many ways and contexts (Feldman and Ng, 2007). The complexity of the actual career sphere, combined with the widespread uneven use of the term boundarylessness has led to multiple understandings and a lack of clarity (Inkson et al., 2012).

Furthermore the extent to which the boundaryless characterises many of today's employees has been questioned (Smith and Sheridan, 2006; Walton and Mallon, 2004). There has been an empirical focus on a small range of niche white-collar jobs illustrates this point, for

example: high technology industries and skilled employees (Van Buren, 2003; Inkson et al., 2008), electronic engineers (Gunz et al. 2000), French “cadres” (Dany, 2003), scientific careers (Gleadle et al., 2007; Valette and Culié, 2015).

The focus on populations with significant previous investment in human capital not only underlines the somewhat elite focus of previous work on boundarylessness but also a focus on particular phase of the life course (Anxo et al., 2007). Individuals with the career capital to adopt boundaryless careers are, by definition, at a certain stage of their life course, normally established families, where they have not only completed their investment in formal education but have also obtained significant professional experience. These factors impact upon the lens through which boundarylessness has been viewed and also avoided a focus on groups early in their career and the impact of family formation (Valcour and Tolbert, 2003). The former means that it is important to take into account a forward-looking perspective on boundarylessness while the latter means that consideration of the impact of boundarylessness on workers with few family or couple ties is required. Thus a wider lens is required to explore how boundarylessness applies to, for example, younger workers.

Given these critiques of the concept of boundarylessness, early-stage careers of young service artisans provides an interesting domain of analysis. In the context of *haute cuisine*, *chefs* and *mâîtres d'hôtel* are ‘service artisans’ as they have to satisfy challenging clients and at the same time demonstrate their craftsmen’s talents (Drouard, 2004; Gomez et al., 2003) *haute cuisine* is a luxury industry with high demands on the people working in the sector (Terence, 1996; Balazs, 2002; Gomez et al., 2003).

Skilled artisans in *haute cuisine* have to combine a high demand with codes, (Ferguson, 2006; Trubek, 2000; Rao et al., 2003) norms (Terence, 1996; Fauchard and Von Hippel, 2008; Drouard, 2004; Trubek, 2009 Marie, 2014), language (Terence, 1996). These competences which are very hard to transfer because tacit (Nonaka and Takeuchi, 1997) and embodied in practices (Drucker-Godard et al., 2002; Marie, 2014; Gomez and Bouty, 2011; Gomez and Bouty, 2009; Gomez et al., 2007). In addition, employees in the sector adopt a number of behaviours that might be regarded as characteristic of certain aspects of boundarylessness. Indeed there is an emphasis on self-directed career (Finegold et al., 2000; McCabe, 2008; Fine, 2008) but also on the importance of professional experience (Chuang and Dellmann-Jenkins,

2010; McMahon and Quinn, 1995; Ferguson, 2006). Apprenticeship is absolutely necessary to acquire technical skills (Drouard, 2004; Marie, 2014; Fine, 2008). Thus the choice of the restaurant and internship is not neutral (Slavich, and Castellucci, 2016). Apprentices have to select, if possible, someone famous to take advantage of his/her know-how and its fame (Fine, 2008; Marie, 2014). It is also an opportunity to develop a useful network for the future (Brien, 2010; Bartholomew and Garey, 1996; Fine, 2008). During their internship, and then by working in a restaurant, the young apprentices accumulate professional experience, know-how and skills which help them to climb the steps of the hierarchy (Terence, 1996; Balazs, 2002).

Employees also adopt strategies based around mobility to further their career, in some hospitality professions (Wang, 2013). For them, boundarylessness of organisational settings is overlaid with boundarylessness in a geographical sense. This is typically the case of top-end chefs and *maîtres d'hôtel*. Since the French Revolution, French high-end chefs have been required to travel all around the world in order to transfer French *haute cuisine* and know-how (Trubek, 2000, 2009; Ferguson, 2006; Louisgrand and Mangematin, 2016).

Thus in this study our focus on young *service artisans* at the highest level of *haute cuisine* provides an insightful window on the concept of boundarylessness to a new group of workers. These young people are at the start of their professional lives yet they already have some boundaryless characteristics and, importantly, seems to aspire to boundarylessness. The international aspect of the work provides an additional dimension, emphasising the role of current investment and career competences acquisition that mark individuals out for top positions (Brien, 2010). Our focus here further underlines the need to expand the application of boundarylessness to a wider more diverse group of occupations. Furthermore the application to boundarylessness to future career plans of young people highlights a lack of research on how people perceive the benefits of current competence acquisition for their future career aspirations and show signs of 'anticipated boundarylessness'.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

Our empirical research site is the restaurant-school *Institut Paul Bocuse* of Shanghai. Interns from the Hotel and Restaurant management programmes of the French school are sent to the restaurant-school in Shanghai in order to train Chinese students in hospitality management and culinary arts of French gastronomy. The school first opens in May 2011 and we have followed the third promotion of the program, between May 2013 and the end of April 2014. In total 37 Chinese students are on internship in the restaurant-school in order to learn French gastronomy and service. They are trained during the six first months by 14 French interns (seven young *chefs* and seven *maîtres d'hôtel*). A rotation system of the French interns means that another team – consisting of five chefs – follows and completes the training at the restaurant-school (see table 1). The restaurant-school is managed by the executive team composed of seven members: the chef and director, an associate director, a sous-chef, a pastry chef, a training manager and two *maîtres d'hôtel*. The main tasks of the young interns from France are to train the Chinese students, to run the restaurant-school and to make it profitable simultaneously. All these demands lead to a heavy workload they have to manage. The priority of the young people is to initiate the Chinese cooks into French gastronomy and the Chinese waiters into French service culture, to give them theoretical lessons and managerial tasks. Another part of their work consist of responding to offers for lunch, diner, private catering and private lessons and to promote the external image of the restaurant.

This research site allows us to see the importance of career competencies in an international context and capture the perceptions and interpretations of the early-career young *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* in terms of future boundarylessness'. Our qualitative approach to boundaryless careers responds to the demands of other authors (for example Gunz et al. 2000). We adopt a longitudinal case study design (Pettigrew, 1985; 1990; Siggelkov, 2007; Yin, 2013) which is suited to the exploratory nature of this study. Indeed, we interview the French interns at the beginning of their internship (in China) and three months after their return (in

France) in order to have a complete vision of their perspectives on the internship at different moments.

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

3.2. Data collection

Over a period of 18 months, between March 2013 and October 2014, data were collected via 45 semi-structured interviews with a variety of participants – members of the training team, of the executive team and the directors of the school. For the longitudinal dimension to the study ten interns are interviewed at the beginning of the internship and three months after their return and four members of the executive team are interviewed twice during the year. The interviews were all recorded and transcribe and vary in duration from 20 minutes to 2h12. The interview protocol for the interns *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* consists of a number of questions relating to the professional experience, motivation and transfer of know-how. During the second set of interviews, respondents are asked in detail about their experiences and perspectives on the future. For the executive team the first set of interviews explores their experience as managers and the application of the training programme to the interns and the Chinese students. The second set is more focused on the training delivered and their reflections on the process. We also obtained the agreement to participate to the life of the organisation and have access to a range of additional data with which to triangulate our interviews (Yin, 2013). The rich data collected includes interviews, reports, documents, secondary data, informal discussions, photos, videos and non-participative observation.

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

3.3. Data analysis

The aim of the analysis is to explain inductively how the young *service artisans* interpret their experiences and the accumulation of career competencies in an international context in relation to their future career. The analysis of our transcripts and our different documents was conducted using NVivo10© in order to ensure a methodically consistent approach (Sinkovics and Ghauri, 2008). The software is used to categorise the data and deal with the emerging codes as the results are generated in an iterative manner. We travel back and forth between the data and the emerging structure of theoretical arguments during the analysis of the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Huberman and Miles, 2002; Locke, 2001). We adopt the Gioia methodology using four key steps (Corley and Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al. 2013). First we created provisional categories and first order codes. These contain phrases, terms or description given by participants concerning their future career motivation, development and potential impacts.

Second, we create theoretical categories and group the codes into higher-level nodes. For instance comments about how participants develop self-confidence or patience are grouped in a nodes labelled 'development of new career skills.' The higher-level or tree-nodes are then developed through triangulation of sources (interviews, observations...) to produce a set of first order categories. Thirdly, we created second order themes within first order concepts (see Table 3) and move iteratively between or first-order categories and the emerging outline (Eisenhardt and Grabner, 2007). Finally once theoretical categories are created, we considered dimensions underlying these in order to understand how different categories can be linked together as part of a coherent picture. Three dimensions appear here which were inspired from the theoretical work on career competencies of both Defilippi and Arthur (1994) and Akkermans et al. (2013): Future career motivation (synthesis of knowing why and reflective career competencies), future career development (synthesis of knowing how and behavioural career competencies) and future career benefits (synthesis of knowing whom and communicative career competencies to which is added the notion of "international career competence"). Table 4 demonstrates the overall

structure and shows the aggregate categories and second order themes from which we develop our outcomes and the relationships between them.

[TABLES 4-5 ABOUT HERE]

4. Findings

Here we discuss the empirical findings around the three broad longitudinal themes identified above and relate these to career competencies. Throughout the interns demonstrate their reflective competence in identifying relevant aspects of the current and recent experiences for their future careers. We first discuss the interns' future career motivation, then the vision they have about its development and finally the perception of its benefits on their future career.

4.1. Future career motivation

We find that the young interns place a strong emphasis on the future benefits of the assignment when explaining their motivation for accepting. We are able to identify two main motivations among the respondents discourse – the attraction for new experiences and the international dimension of the internship.

New experiences: The acquisition of new experiences is the first reason in the choice of the assignment. All the interns are conscious of the fact that this internship allows them to do things that they cannot do during a classic internship of the program. Indeed, their classmates tend to have experiences as a second in domain (commis) for young *chefs* and basic operational tasks for *maîtres d'hôtel* (generally one main task). By contrast, those young people taking the assignment have the possibility to be domain chef (in meat, fish, vegetables, pastry and bread, garde-manger, staff-food, etc.) and also to work as purchase manager. As one young chef pointed out: *"The deal was not bad, to arrive in a restaurant where you are*

‘domain-chef/trainer, it is very interesting and you can only evolve’ (n°17 – Intern chef – Female – 19 years old).

Meanwhile *maîtres d’hôtel* make operational tasks in service as *maître d’hôtel*, *sommelier*, barman and managerial tasks such as human resource manager, cost-control manager, marketing and communication manager. During these six months they alternate between professional and technical aspects of their jobs. Thus, at the end of their internship, they are aware of the full range of activities required to run a restaurant, and which skills constitute important acquisitions for their future careers. Many are clear that they are in China to learn competences useful for their future. As one young *chef* said:

“Why did I choose to go to Shanghai? It was the right way to see how a restaurant worked because, well..., we were really at the heart of the restaurant, we saw all the aspects, we even looked at the financial goals of production, learning, then we tried all positions (...), this could only be enriching and in addition, going abroad enabled me to widen my perspectives and to know new products” (n°17 – Intern chef – Female – 19 years old).

4.2. Future career development

After the future career motivation, the second theme identified is the future career development. The young interns first develop very new career skills (personal and professional) when they train the Chinese students, run the restaurant and make it profitable. Secondly they also have to learn to transmit know-how and know-how-to-be abroad, which is particularly difficult, especially when the two cultures are radically different.

Acquisition of new career skills: The assignment allows the interns to adopt new behaviours and to develop new personal and professional skills. They learn to gain self-assurance, to be more patient, to delegate and to have confidence in their students. One intern noted:

“I learnt to be very patient, because we needed a lot of patience. I have learnt a lot about patience, about myself and my way of thinking, the way I see things. Being in a

different world make you think, isn't it?" (#38 – Intern maître d'hôtel – Female – 20 years old).

They also realise that during this internship they can learn about themselves, about the abilities that they have already acquire, to gain self-confidence. In one case it is an occasion for the respondent to discover his roots. Another intern adds that he has accepted his assignment in China because he wants a personal challenge. They can also acquire the capacity to live by themselves far away from their family in a foreign country over a six month period.

"[What attracted me] in this internship is to recognise the abilities and the know-how that we had and also to make a point on myself" (#27 – Intern maître d'hôtel – Female – 20 years old).

They also develop their professional skills as leadership or realise the importance of the team building.

"I progressed because I am much more organised, I improve my leadership with the others in the kitchen, and I feel capable to work with people under my responsibility in a team" (n ° 33 – Intern chef – Male – 22 years old).

All these abilities, the development of personal and professional skills, are central for a future career as a *chef* or *maître d'hôtel* in top-end restaurants and they are already aware of that:

"It is really a very nice experience for people who want to work in or have a restaurant later" (#26 – Intern maître d'hôtel – Male – 23 years old).

The interns also learn to transmit their know-how, explain the specificities of the French *haute cuisine* and service to the Chinese students. The fact that they have to do it in an intercultural context, with people who do not share the same culinary universe means the task is particularly hard.

The future perspective on boundaries even crossed sectors and their vision of their future career spanned countries and organisations. Around half of them has ambitions to carry on their studies by doing a Master degree (a rare and very high level in the hospitality management and especially in the culinary industry).

The transmission of know-how and know-how-to-be: The interns acquire skills in transmitting the know-how they had learnt in France to students particularly especially because the two parts do not share the same tastes and habits. That's the reason why the interns have to reflect a lot about how to transmit their knowledge.

“We can't imagine how difficult it is to transfer know-how. I must think about how I will explain how I lay the table as to ensure everyone can do it. I always have to think about how to show things” (#41 – Intern Chef – Male – 26 years old).

Moreover in the *haute cuisine*, the relationship with the customer is very important and it is necessary to understand how to behave. However all these behaviours are not easy to explain as they are part of the French culture.

“There is a great amount of work to do on attitude, behaviour, the way we walk, the way we serve a person. This is the most important thing to learn: the values which concerning the job, and it is an important job that we have to do on the long term...” (#12 – Exec – Male – 24 years old).

The notion of time is also different from one country to another. In *haute cuisine* restaurants people take their time to eat which is not the case in the Chinese culinary culture. All the cultural values upon which the service is built are also very important and difficult to transfer. One young *maître d'hôtel* says:

“In French haute cuisine restaurants, you have to wait a lot, especially between the moment where you serve the first meal and the one where the customer finishes

eating. Some Chinese students finds that too long and do not appreciate that” (#30 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Male – 21 years old).

In the kitchen the young interns have to learn to explain specific tastes, how to season, and the order of the meal. They are required to explain how to cook dishes, the ingredients which are used in French meals, and which not necessary exist in the Chinese culture.

“Why do we put this ingredient in the dish? They do not have ideas of what a French menu, French products are. They do not understand why French people eat the cheese before the dessert. It is very hard for them to understand which ingredients they have to put in a dish and it is very hard for us to explain them” (#45 – Intern chef – Male – 23 years old).

These findings are also triangulated by the non-participant observation. For example, in relation to delegating: during the first period of non-participating observation in the kitchen when it is a little bit busy it is the interns who do everything, and the Chinese students watch them. The situation is similar in the restaurant across services. During the second period of non-participating observation, the first author notice that the Chinese students do everything during services in the restaurant and in the kitchen. At that time they are able to manage by themselves their daily tasks and they only need advice from the young *chefs*, the *Chef* and the two *maîtres d’hôtel*. That means that the young interns have to learn to delegate and to have confidence in the Chinese students.

All these skills and behaviours are very hard to transmit, especially in a foreign country with people who do not share the same culture. After their internship the young interns realise that being able to do it will be very useful in a variety of future professional contexts, in France or abroad.

The young *chefs* and *maîtres d'hôtel* identify and develop new career competencies helpful for their future career. They also learn to transmit their know-how in an intercultural context. These young people value their experiences as an overview on how to run a restaurant in a foreign country from a theoretical to a practical point of view. They understand – in the kitchen as well as in the restaurant – the link between the managerial and the operational tasks beyond experiences normally associated with early career internships. We suggest that these elements show the anticipation of future boundarylessness.

4.3. Future career potential impact

The young interns start to develop their future network, one essential element to find a job afterwards, especially in the case of a future boundaryless career. They also reflect further on the value of their experiences, where they surpass themselves and are able to find the abilities to adjust in difficult situations abroad. Finally they are more convinced that their internship will have a potentially good impact on their future career through their networks and their competency to operate in haut cuisine. The respondents began to form a clearer idea of their future plans and how the assignment shaped these.

Creation of a network: During this internship, interns start to self-profile and create their network (see Akkermans *et al.*, 2013), which will be very useful for their future boundaryless career. Indeed in artistic and crafts careers, skills and experiences are important but not enough. The reputation and the people you know are also essential. Thanks to this internship, these young interns are in China for six months, they work and live together and they start establishing very strong bonds that they should keep in the future.

“I created friendships I never thought would have been possible with two of them and I get along very well with the others” (#43 – Intern chef – Male – 21 years old).

In a culinary professions, the name of the *chef* of the restaurant for which the interns works and his/her reputation are very useful when looking for a job. High-end chefs are also very often mobile and they do not hesitate to work abroad or to go from one stated-restaurant to another in other in order to develop their skills and techniques. Thus the creation of the early-career network is identified as important for their future mobile career.

“It was important for me to learn to know new products, new people and to form – little by little – my network” (#18 – Intern chef – Female – 19 years old).

These relationships are very strong. Once they are back to France, they continue to spend time together. Several interns explain that they consider some of their colleagues from Shanghai like someone from their family.

“He and I became like brothers” (#42 – Intern chef – Male – 26 years old).

Working at restaurant-school *Institut Paul Bocuse* offers also the best value for money because the name of Paul Bocuse is worldwide known and this experience can help the interns to find a job later. The creation of a professional networks is also important for careers spanning organisations and geographies.

“The name of Institut Paul Bocuse is worldwide known, being domain-chef/trainer is not very common in restaurants. I was able to manage a team and to train them at the same time, I have been domain chef so I ran a post, yes I ran a post and so all this elements can only be rewarding” (#18 – Intern chef – Female – 19 years old).

There was also a new identity among the interns: they feel that they are different from their peers who do a more ‘classical’ internship and that their network prepared them for the best jobs. These benefits are in addition to the name of their *chef* - Paul Bocuse – which is helpful in finding a job and attractive to a potential employer.

Credibility: Among the respondents there is a strong emphasis on the fact that they accomplish something unusual which is very useful as they profile themselves for their future career in top-end restaurants. They also think that the new skills and career competencies they gain during their internship and the knowledge of the Chinese culture will be very valuable for a future employer.

After their return in France, when they look for a job, they have a lot of propositions or they are accepted in very famous restaurants they want to work in whereas it is in Copenhagen or in New York. They think it is due to the impact of their internship which give them credibility.

“He has been accepted in all the restaurants he applied. The fact that we have been domain-chef and trainer when we send an application letter and we explain what we have done during our internship, it gives a feeling of security to the employer” (#42 – Intern chef – Male – 26 years old).

Some interns estimated that they now have new career competencies, an international experience, and the ability to adjust quite easily abroad and to overcome difficulties in a new country. Under these conditions, a potential employer should see the value in all the things they have learnt during six months.

“It is an advantage for me regarding my future employers if I ever decide to work abroad... I’m already starting with a very interesting experience... It is not common to go to China to train people who do not speak the same language and whom at the end have almost the same service techniques that you transmit them. It was a great challenge to do this experience (...) to manage a team of young people who are my age and who did not know anything or almost nothing of this gastronomic culture (...) and to have been able to adjust to a country which is very different” (#20 – Intern chef – Female – 20 years old).

International career competency: It is interesting to note that if some of them are fascinated by China, others are not particularly attracted by the Chinese culture but by the fact that they

can have an international opportunity and the future career payback of this. As one young chef said:

“For me, it is more about the discovery and the exchange with a new culture, than China itself” (#21 – Intern chef – Female – 27 years old).

Most of the young *chefs* and *maître d’hôtel* are attracted by the fact that they can learn how to work in an Asian country. A couple of young people explain that they want to learn about Chinese customers. Indeed, they are aware to the fact that these customers are becoming more important in France, and that being able to understand their culture and behaviour would be a bonus for a job later:

“In hospitality management, Asia represents the customers of tomorrow, so I wanted to know a little bit....I wanted to know more about this culture” (#26 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Male – 23 years old).

International career competences: As the interns have to train the Chinese students and transmit their know-how abroad, they are out of their comfort zone and have to adjust to a lot of situations. This is why they have the feeling that they live something exceptional and that they learn a lot.

“I think that it is totally different because it is true that it has been a very special internship. I am very happy that I did it because I think it is a unique experience in a career (...) It is not that common to let interns build a team especially a team of students from a different nationality” (#36 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Female – 20 years old).

This experience also allows them to go beyond their initial abilities and to be able to adjust to a lot of situations abroad. Indeed, despite the fact that they are young, with little experience, in a country with different cultural and culinary values and out of their comfort zone, they are able to overcome the difficulties they meet. They work very hard, and they reach the high level of requirement; they give a lot about themselves, their time, and their energy to fulfil their mission. Indeed it is particularly difficult for them to manage a Chinese team, transmit

the French culinary culture without speaking Chinese and knowing the Chinese culture. In order to face the situation, they develop their proper abilities, they are flexible, and they adjust themselves to situations abroad which allow them to mature. They change through this internship, they feel much more responsible.

“I have acquire self-confidence, how to manage a team, how to share know-how, how to overtake language barriers, how to feel responsible from a professional point of view. Before the internship I was just a student, after it I have the feeling that I am a professional in fact...” (#35 – Intern chef – Female – 25 years old).

In fact, the respondents present the advantages of this experience for their future career and feel that they are subsequently able to train and to work with almost everybody worldwide.

“OK, if I was able to do it in China, I can do it everywhere in the world.... It was my professional goal... I wanted to think “OK now if I succeed in China, I can go wherever I want” (#44 – Intern chef – Male – 24 years old).

The young people identify that their new abilities to cope with the challenges of an international environment and the knowledge of the Chinese culture is particularly interesting for a potential employer. They are able to judge the value of their experience in China to find a job for posts with multinationals in the Asian hospitality sector. Their new awareness equips them to understand the Chinese and Asian customers.

“When we meet Chinese customers in a restaurant in France, we can understand their desire, like when they ask us to put all the plates in the middle of the table for instance” (#37 – Intern maître d’hôtel – Male – 23 years old).

They identified an added value for their future professional career both in Asia and other parts of the world where there are strong Chinese markets (for example Vancouver) through the acquisition of international competence. The impact of this cultural dimension is stronger once the interns return home and this international assignment is regarded as very special

and different from a “traditional” one since they have discovered a new culture and have trained foreign students.

Thanks to this internship the interns create their own network, a real credibility and get a new career competency. Around half wanted to work in a foreign country or they want to build their career in starred-restaurants in France and/or abroad.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Through the examination of early career service artisans this study provides a novel and concrete position from which to analyse the perceived future benefits of a high-value internship for a future boundaryless careers of early career workers in services. Using the lens of career competences, early career workers allow us to identify the evolution of career competences for future or anticipated boundarylessness. The Chinese context of the study underlines the importance of the international career competencies for workers in this sectors that is also relevant for other “international” careers.

The analysis of the young *chefs* and *maîtres d’hôtel* capture the perceptions and interpretations of the future value of their early-career experience, and provide a rare in depth qualitative study of boundaryless careers (see Gunz et al. 2000). In doing this we respond to the demand of researchers who have found that research on boundarylessness was too theoretical and needed stronger empirical grounding (Eby et al., 2003; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Dowd and Kaplan, 2005; Briscoe et al., 2006; Inkson et al., 2008; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010). The careers of young people in the gastronomic sector represent a group beyond those normally studied in relation to boundaryless careers and boundarylessness (Inkson et al 2012). Thus the study of young service artisans also gives another perspective to research on boundarylessness by expanding the range of researched occupations and demographic groups and answering critics who says that the concept of boundaryless career is not necessarily applicable of many of today’s employees (Smith and Sheridan, 2006; Walton and Mallon, 2004). Indeed through this study of young service artisans in top-end restaurants

we observe how envisaged their future careers and how they perceived potential impacts of present day experiences on their careers competencies, potential and plans.

Furthermore to study a group of young people, with limited professional experience and in the service industry gives a new approach to the study of boundaryless career as we identify the evolution of career competences relevant for boundarylessness. We identify evidence of a number of career competences as “international transmission of know-how and how-to-be” or “credibility”.

Indeed it is interesting to note that in top-end career in *haute cuisine*, students already have the vision of what they have to do in their future career to succeed and they reflect on what they need – a key career competence. This internship serves to shape their current and anticipated future identity in the gastronomic sector. Indeed this lead them to define themselves as a something of a special group, among a network of elite workers at the top end of the gastronomic sector. They are well aware that the internship and related professional challenges have enhanced their networks in the sector. To have accomplished a challenging internship was regarded as very useful for their future career including the knowledge of a new culture and a full range of hospitality-related skills.

This notion of international career competencies adds a new dimension to the career competencies models of Defillippi and Arthur (1994) and of Akkermans et al. (2013). We suggest that people do not need the same career competencies when they stay, or anticipate staying, in their home country or when they work abroad. The interns give a lot of themselves emotionally and physically but benefits from access to international experiences not normally associated with early-career internships: responsibilities to train students in a cross-cultural context, opportunities to be head waiter instructor or domain chef trainer and possibilities to be take on tasks associated with higher levels in the culinary hierarchy including cook a full range of dishes and manage people and to act as if they anticipated a boundaryless career. The young interns were aware of the importance of the international dimension of the career competencies. For many it is a global market; at their level in the *haute cuisine*, they probably will have to open or work in restaurants or hotel all around the world. Being in a new country

where one does not know the codes and the rules is challenging. With this internship they learn to adjust to a lot of situations in China, they learn to find the solution, to cope with uncertainty and this is an important career skill for a boundaryless career. When you are not attached to a country or to a company that means that you must be able to adjust regularly to a lot of different situations. It is a sign of 'anticipated boundarylessness'. Moreover nowadays the international experience is very important, especially for the people who work in to-end jobs. The national market is not enough anymore and the competition is more and more global. This is why it is important to be aware of that and to be able to adjust to various situations.

The concept of 'anticipated boundarylessness' captures the investment of young people in their careers preparing them for possible boundaryless careers at a later stage. For the respondents the anticipation of future boundarylessness is articulated through the perceived value in both the overall challenges and the sector-specific skills they had obtained. Indeed these young people demonstrate their agency in their preparations for anticipated boundarylessness as they acquire key career competences and high-value experiences in order to equip themselves in a competitive job market. Their ambitions are subsequently expanded and aligned with an elite trajectory of the privileged normally associated with boundarylessness – in this case working in top-end *haute Cuisine* restaurants in France or elsewhere. The young people recognise that the personal and professional skills that they have acquired would be a bonus for the kind of mobile career they aspired to.

The notion of career, of international career competencies and what is expected of individuals to succeed is highly linked to the sector and occupation-specific characteristics and demands of work. In top restaurants, young people are required to demonstrate early in their careers a considerable dedication for delivering service of the highest quality and gastronomic excellence. Just as elite white-collar workers, these young *chefs* and *maître d'hôtel* see their future careers as not bounded by a single organisation but rather enhanced by having been 'chosen' and also subsequently succeeding in the challenge. The value of their experiences is interpreted in relation to the anticipated future paybacks spanning organisational,

occupational and geographical boundaries. As such the anticipation of future boundarylessness offers an alternative temporal dimension to boundarylessness. Rather than a career that unfolds across organisations, occupations and geographies anticipation of mobility and a prospective dimension, so far not present, to the debates on boundarylessness careers.

This study is limited by several factors due to its exploratory nature. Firstly the sample focuses only on a select group of young service artisans in order to provide rich data and insight in order to develop deeper understanding of the applicability of boundarylessness to young 'service artisans'. Future studies could take a further step to investigate the relevance of anticipated boundarylessness to other groups of young people from other sectors. A focus on gender differences could also be very interesting given the male-dominated nature of top-end gastronomy (Marie, 2014). Since this study is based on qualitative data further research could use develop a quantitative dimension in order to provide further insights on the vision of the future boundaryless career. Finally the longitudinal study covered a period of one year and it would be interesting to see the evolution of these young service artisans over a longer period of time and to explore the match between anticipated and actual boundarylessness. Nevertheless the richness of the data here demonstrate the rewards of studying atypical group of workers with the boundarylessness lens and the added value of integrating career competences into the work on boundaryless careers....

Table 1: Perspectives on career competencies

	The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective Defillippi and Arthur, 1994	The role of career competencies in the Job Demands – Resources model Akkermans et al., 2013	Gastronomic Adventurers Louisgrand and Smith, 2016
Motivation	Know-why - Career motivation - Personal meaning and Identification	Reflexive - Reflection on motivation - Reflection on qualities	Future career motivation - New experiences
Career skills	Know-how - Skills that are relevant - Cultivation of transferable skills and knowledge - Expertise and abilities	Behavioral - Work exploration - Career control	Future career development - Acquisition of new career skills - Transmission of know-how and how-to-be
Communication	Know-whom - Career relevant network - Communication	Communicative - Networking - Self-profiling	Future career benefits - Creation of a network - Credibility - International career competency

Table 2: Interviews

Function	Interview	Dates	Length	Age	
Executive team Shanghai					
Director and executive <i>chef</i>	#1	October 2011	55 mns	25	Male
	#2	June 2013	46 mns		
	#3	July 2014	53 mns		
Deputy manager of operation/ <i>chef</i>	#4	March 2014	1h51	31	Male
1 st training manager (2010-2013)	#5	September 2011	1h13	30	Female
	#6	June 2013	1h08		
2 nd training manager (2013-onwards)	#7	March 2014	1h12	24	Female
Sales manager-former Chinese student	#8	March 2014	36 mns	24	Female
2 nd <i>chef</i>	#9	June 2013	59 mns	28	Male
	#10	March 2014	1h35		
Pastry <i>chef</i>	#11	March 2014	26 mns	29	Male
Maître d'hôtel	#12	June 2013	39 mns	24	Male
	#13	March 2014	2h28		
Maître d'hôtel	#14	March 2014	1h	31	Male
Executive team – France					
Executive team	#15	February 2014	58 mns	> 60	Male
Executive team	#16	October 2014	1h05	> 60	Male
Training team Shanghai					
Intern <i>chef</i>	#17	June 2013	44 mns	19	Female
	#18	March 2014	1h13		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#19	June 2013	35 mns	20	Female
	#20	March 2014	46 mns		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#21	June 2013	45 mns	27	Female
	#22	March 2014	1h19		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#23	June 2013	34 mns	20	Male
	#24	March 2014	50 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#25	June 2013	41 mns	23	Male
	#26	March 2014	54 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#27	June 2013	30 mns	20	Female
	#28	March 2014	1h03		

Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#29	June 2013	31 mns	21	Male
	#30	March 2014	55 mns		
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#31	June 2013	46 mns	20	Female
	#32	March 2014	1h39		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#33	January 2014	1h07	22	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#34	January 2014	1h03	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#35	January 2014	1h07	25	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#36	January 2014	1h21	20	Female
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#37	January 2014	1h04	23	Male
Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>	#38	January 2014	58 mns	20	Female
Intern <i>chef</i>	#39	March 2014	2h01	27	Male
	#40	July 2014	1h00		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#41	March 2014	1h23	26	Male
	#42	July 2014	1h28		
Intern <i>chef</i>	#43	March 2014	1h32	21	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#44	March 2014	1h29	24	Male
Intern <i>chef</i>	#45	March 2014	1h12	23	Male
Former Chinese students at IPBS					
Chinese cook	#46	March 2014	22 mns	21	Male
Chinese cook	#47	March 2014	20 mns	22	Female
Chinese cook	#48	March 2014	24 mns	24	Female

Table 3: Timeline of the case-study organisation and data produced

Time	Event history	Data collected
2008 to 2010	Desire of the Mayor of Shanghai to collaborate with the Rhône-Alpes area by opening a gastronomic restaurant-school for the Shanghai World Fair	
May 2010 to October 2010	During the world fair, the students from the French school train Chinese students from a Shanghainese tourism school	
November 2010	Desire of both parties to keep the restaurant-school open after the world fair, and to develop the relationship between the two schools	
<i>The researchers entered the organisation at this point</i>		
May 2011 to April 2012	Opening of the restaurant-school, and 1 st promotion of the training programme (20 interns from France train 40 Chinese students through the year)	
November 2011	The restaurant-school obtains its official 'licence'	Pilot study: 10 interviews: 2 executive team members in China and 8 interns from the French school
May 2012 to April 2013	2 nd promotion of the training programme	In May and June, non-participant observation during a culinary training programme in the school in France 1 set of researcher field notes
May 2013 to April 2014	3 rd promotion of the training programme Collaboration between the culinary school in France and a new Chinese culinary institute	12 interviews in June in China: 4 intern chefs, 4 trainee maîtres d'hôtel and 4 executive members 14 interviews in January in France: 7 intern chefs and 7 maîtres d'hôtel 3 months after their return

		<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>14 interviews in March in China: 5 intern chefs, 6 executive members and 3 former students</p> <p>Survey (with opened and closed questions) of 37 of the Chinese chefs and maîtres d'hôtel</p> <p>Photos. Videos</p> <p>Non-participant observation</p> <p>1 set of researcher field notes</p> <p>Secondary data</p>
July 2014		<p>3 semi-directive interviews: 1 executive-team member in Shanghai and 2 intern chefs 3 months after their return (by Skype)^o</p>
30 October 2014	<p>Graduation of the 19 young chefs and maîtres d'hôtel from the French school</p>	<p>1 interview with executive-team member</p> <p>Informal discussions with former intern chefs and intern maîtres d'hôtel</p>

Table 4: Progression of theme building

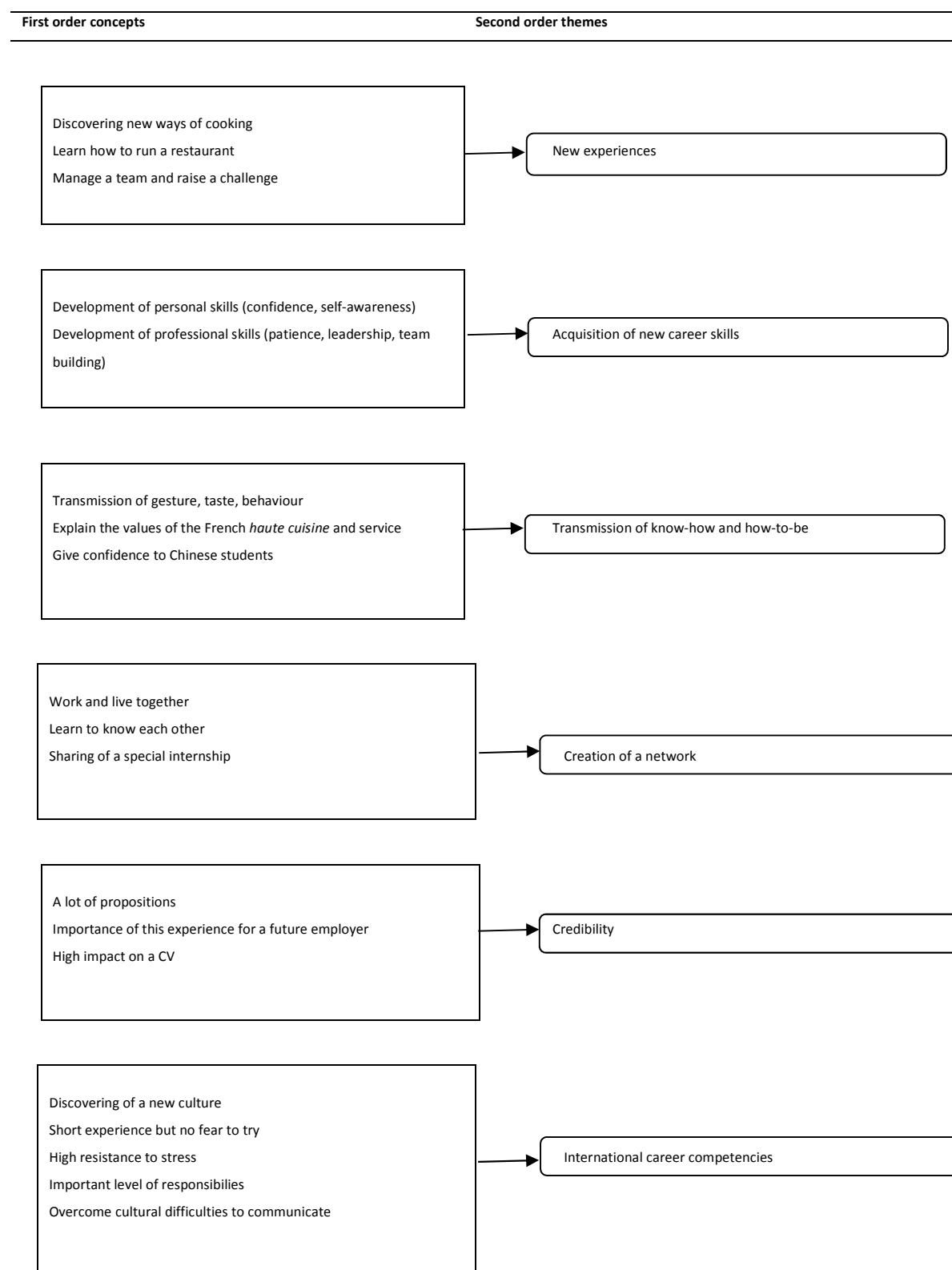


Table 5: Data structure

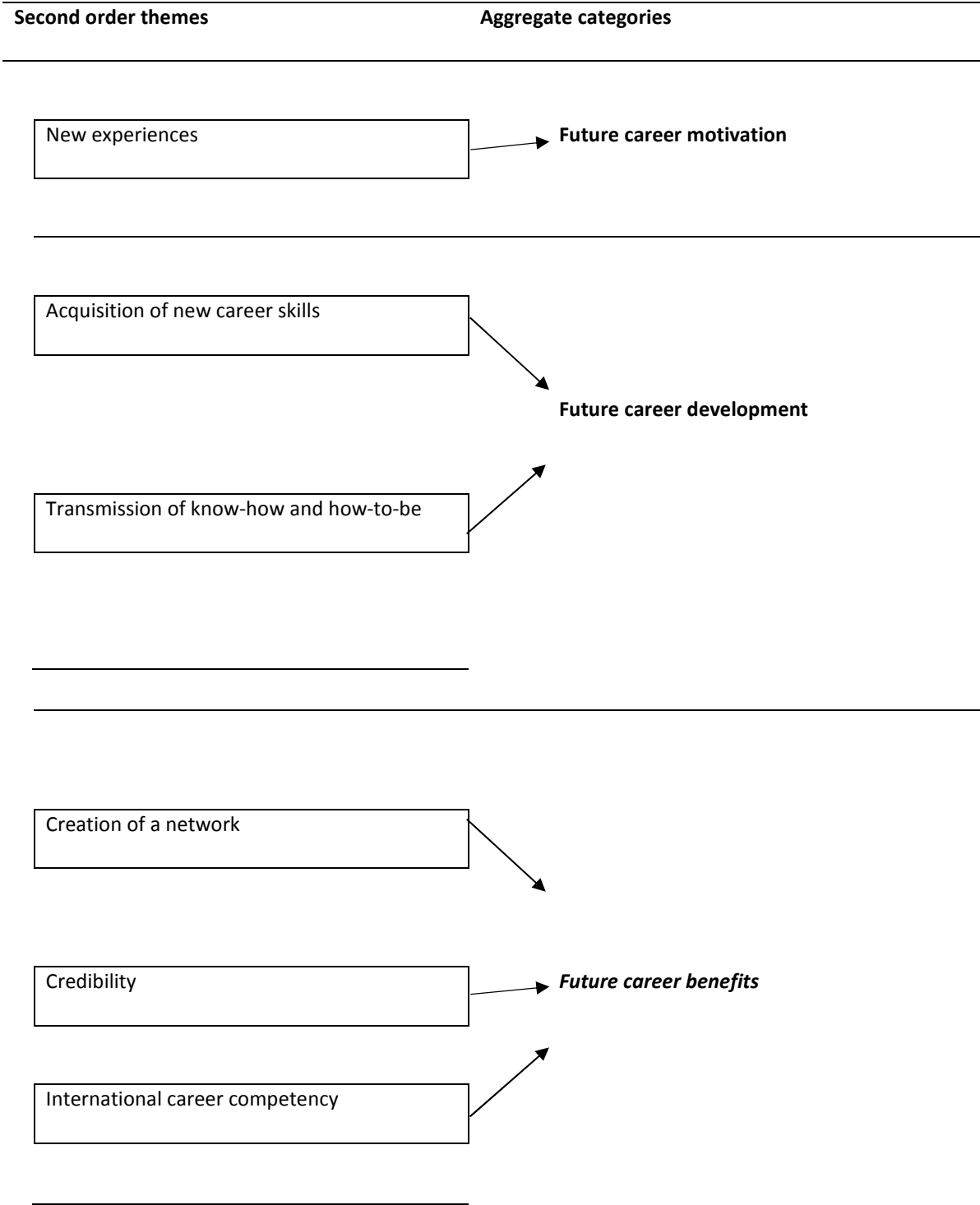


Table 6: Conceptual categories and Illustrative data

Theoretical concept	Conceptual division	Examples from data and observation
Future career motivation	New experiences	<p>It is the opportunity to work as a domain-chef/trainer in a restaurant (#33-Intern <i>Chef</i>-Male-22 years old).</p> <p>I though this experience would teach me a lot about cooking. The program in itself with Chinese students; I thought it would allow me to exchange a lot, to discover new cooking, new techniques, ways of cooking, meet interesting people as well (#21-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-21 years old).</p> <p>It was an opportunity to see how to run a restaurant. We saw all the aspects –financial objectives, production objectives, learning objectives and we switched from one workstation to another in the restaurant or in the kitchen. (#18-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-19 years old).</p> <p>By accepting to come to China to train the Chinese students, it is a challenge that we have accepted (#39-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-27 years old).</p> <p>We learnt to manage people, we learnt to run a restaurant, and we learnt to do all the important tasks in the kitchen and in the restaurant (#37- Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Male-23 years old).</p> <p>It was an experience to be able to train people to French know-how and to what we learnt at the <i>Institut</i> (#38-Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-23 years old).</p> <p>I wanted to transmit all the things I learnt at the <i>Institut</i>. It was an operational internship, an internship where I was completely in managerial mission (#30- Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-21 years old.)</p>
Future career development	Acquisition of new career skills	<p>I learnt to train people, I learnt to supervise a team of service, so I learnt professionally as well as personally (#36-Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>I learnt a lot about myself I think. I learnt a lot about myself (#17-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-19 years old).</p> <p>We were able to realise our capacities and our own knowledge, we also did a point on ourselves (#31-Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>I really loved this internship. It was magic. It was at the same time a human and professional experience (#32-Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>I think this experience will be important later if I want to work and manage a team, especially if I want to work abroad with a team from a different nationality because I already learnt to manage a team (#36-Intern <i>maître d’hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p>

		<p>I would say that it has been a very rewarding professional and personal experience. I have learnt a lot of new techniques, it trained me a lot, so I inscribe it as an important step in my life (#23-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-20 years old).</p>
	<p>Transmission of know-how and how-to-be</p>	<p>At the beginning [the Chinese students] did not understand why they could not talk in the restaurant when we had customers, so I think that it has been quite tricky for them to learn the French service (#31-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>Being able to cook is one thing, being able to understand what we do in a kitchen is different. It is the first step, to explain them: 'how do you this, how do you that?' but understand why the texture of the product changes, why you have to add that, understand the interest of the product, this is much more important (#43-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-21 years old).</p> <p>Make them understand all the process of service, the communication with the client, English as common language for service, all that was a little bit too much for them in fact. They did not have any basic techniques of service thus as for the interpersonal skills with the customer, it has been another complicated step (#36-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>As we are in a gastronomic restaurant, the customer takes its time, especially in the evening so the waiter has to wait a lot... they hated waiting (#32-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>We can always learn to open a bottle by doing the good gestures, we can always learn to serve a plate correctly but after a while it is necessary to anticipate the desires of the customer (#6-Executive-Female-30 years old).</p> <p>We were behind them every day, to explain them, to show them, to repeat. It was really hard-working at the beginning the know-how transmission, then little by little they obtain vocabulary. Afterwards, it was difficult to make them autonomous (#36-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20years old).</p>
<p>Future career potential impact</p>	<p>Creation of a network</p>	<p>It was important to know new products, new people and to create little by little our own network (#18-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-19 years old).</p> <p>Here we start creating our personal network, we start slowly (#6-Executive-Female-30 years old).</p> <p>The professional relation between us is really good and then afterwards it creates a kind of friendship (#39-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-27 years old).</p> <p>The French students learnt to know each other at the <i>Institut</i> in Lyon and after, as we lived together, we also got closer team (#30-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Male-21 years old).</p> <p>I created friendships which I shall never have thought I can connect with two of them and I really have good relationships with the others friendship (#43-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-21 years old).</p> <p>They are in a total collectivism because they live together, they work together, they spent two years at the <i>Institut Paul Bocuse</i> together (#6-Executive-Female-30 years old).</p>

	Credibility	<p>I was immediately accepted in a restaurant in Copenhagen. It is the restaurant where I wanted to work. It is a really very good restaurant. One of the 50 best in the world. I also had a proposition to work in a gastronomic restaurant in New-York (#42-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-20 years old).</p> <p>Ms x told us that if we want to work in groups like Shangri-La and Mandarin Oriental it will be easy because we have already worked six month in China (#32-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>Maybe my future recruiters will be less reluctant to hire me if, for instance I have to manage a team of French people. They will think that as I have already managed Chinese people I am now able to manage French people. (#32-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p>
	International career competency	<p>I am know able to work anywhere in the world, whatever! (#13-Executive-Male-24 years old).</p> <p>OK if I can do that in China I can do it everywhere! It was my professional goal, it was really 'Ok now I have trusted in China, I can do it everywhere' (#44-Intern <i>chef</i>-Male-24 years old).</p> <p>Today we feel increased by this experience, we know what we have to do in management, we know exactly how to manage, how to react in from of a team (#19-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>It is a big challenge to have been able to do this experience, to have managed a team, to have joined another team in a foreign country, to have manage a team of young people who are my age and who do not know anything about my gastronomic culture... and also to have been able to adjust in a country which is really very different (#32-Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Female-20 years old).</p> <p>I think I learn a lot. It brings me something else, open-mindedness because we were in China, halfway around the world, so in a culture so different that I learnt a lot of new things (#18-Intern <i>chef</i>-Female-19 years old).</p> <p>It was the opportunity to discover a new country because I did not know Asia and I did not know China (#33-Intern <i>Chef</i>-Male-22 years old)</p> <p>It was really a discovery of a new culture and of new people (...) After all everywhere in the world there are people who also work in the hospitality industry, maybe differently and it was nice to see haw the Chinese experienced it (#33-Intern <i>Chef</i>-Male-22 years old).</p> <p>There are a lot of opportunities abroad and in Asia most particularly. I think that the experience in China can be a great asset (#4-Executive-Male-31 years old).</p> <p>Asia in term of hospitality is important. This is where the consumers of tomorrow leave so I wanted to know a bit more about this culture... It is true that this chance we got from the restaurant-school, in Shanghai, which allowed us to really take over a restaurant while still being managed and being able to teach Chinese students (#37- Intern <i>maître d'hôtel</i>-Male-23 years old).</p>

CHAPITRE 5 : CONCLUSION DE LA THESE

Cette dernière partie présente les conclusions de ma thèse sur la question de la transmission des connaissances et des compétences gastronomiques françaises en Chine, ainsi que l'impact d'une telle expérience en termes de carrière.

Dans un premier temps je présente les résultats des trois études de cette thèse, puis je détaille les contributions théoriques et empiriques. Enfin je montre les limites théoriques et méthodologiques de ce travail avant d'envisager des pistes pour de futures recherches.

1. Résumés des trois études de la thèse

1.1. La transmission des connaissances, des compétences et de « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française en Chine

La première étude s'interroge sur la façon de transmettre des connaissances, des compétences ainsi que « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française en Chine.

Cette étude, nous apprend que trois mécanismes sont nécessaires pour cette transmission : Il s'agit des mécanismes 'd'inscription', 'd'appartenance' à une communauté large et variée ainsi que de 'transcendance'.

Grâce à l'étude de cas réalisée au restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai entre des formateurs venus de France pour transmettre leurs connaissances et savoir-faire à des étudiants chinois, ce deuxième chapitre de la thèse nous permet de comprendre l'importance des concepts de communauté et de transcendance. Pour transmettre des savoir-faire, des pratiques ainsi que cet « esprit » de la gastronomie française en contexte interculturel, il est indispensable d'appartenir à une communauté, importante et variée, qui sera la garante de son authenticité. Une dimension transcendantale – concept emprunté à Kant – dans laquelle la pensée précède l'existence des choses est aussi nécessaire.

1.2. Les différentes formes d'interaction entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des diverses étapes de la transmission :

La deuxième étude s'interroge sur la façon dont sont gérées les interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois lors des différents modes de transmission de la haute cuisine française en Chine. En effet, il s'agit ici de la rencontre entre deux groupes ne partageant pas les mêmes valeurs culturelles et culinaires.

Cette étude complète le modèle Carlile (2004) en le développant en contexte interculturel. Ainsi, à chaque niveau de la transmission (le transfert, la traduction et l'hybridation) une

dimension d'exclusion et une autre d'inclusion régissent les rapports entre les formateurs et les apprenants.

Grâce à l'étude de cas réalisée au restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai, ce troisième chapitre de la thèse nous permet de mettre en avant deux contributions théoriques. Tout d'abord le concept d'approches 'exclusives/inclusives' lors des différentes étapes de la transmission des connaissances entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois. En approche exclusive les formateurs ont tendance à magnifier la culture culinaire française et à dénigrer la culture chinoise. Dans cette même approche les étudiants chinois se sous-estiment ou même rejettent la culture française. Dans l'approche inclusive les stagiaires-formateurs prennent en compte la culture culinaire chinoise, et reconnaissent le travail, l'implication et même la créativité des étudiants chinois. Dans ce cas les étudiants chinois ont davantage confiance en eux et sont ouverts sur la nouveauté.

Ces différentes formes d'interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois permettent de contribuer à la littérature sur la transmission des connaissances et des compétences dans les industries créatives et en contexte interculturel. Cela permet aussi de comprendre comment les deux groupes se voient et s'analysent mutuellement, ce qui n'est pas encore étudié dans la littérature sur le transfert de connaissances.

La seconde contribution, beaucoup plus mineure, est le concept d'hybridation. C'est ce qu'il se produit lorsque quelque chose de nouveau est créé à la suite de la rencontre de deux cultures. Ce concept remplace celui de 'transformation' utilisé par Carlile (2004) dans l'ingénierie.

1.3. Bénéfices de la transmission de la haute gastronomie en termes de carrière :

La troisième étude se questionne sur les apports de ce stage en termes de carrière pour les jeunes chefs et maîtres d'hôtel. Dans cette étude, le développement des modèles de compétences de carrière de Defillippi et Arthur, (1994) et d'Akkermans et al., (2013), permet d'ajouter une nouvelle « compétence de carrière », la compétence internationale. Cette

recherche permet aussi de révéler des signes de ‘carrière nomade anticipée’ de la part des stagiaires-formateurs.

Grâce à l’étude de cas réalisée au restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai entre des stagiaires-formateurs venus de France pour transmettre leur savoir-faire à des étudiants chinois, ce quatrième chapitre de la thèse nous permet d’analyser comment dans la description des apports de leurs stages, les jeunes stagiaires-formateurs signalent l’importance des compétences interculturelles et montrent dans leurs aspirations les éléments d’une ‘carrière nomade anticipée’.

Je viens de résumer les chapitres 2, 3 et 4 de cette thèse. Ils nous permettent de comprendre comment, chacun à leur façon, ils contribuent à répondre à une des sous-questions de la grande question de recherche sur la transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine et les apports en termes de carrière de cette expérience. Dans le chapitre suivant, nous allons voir comment ces trois articles, en s’articulant, répondent à la question principale de cette thèse.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS DE LA THESE

Cette thèse s'interroge principalement sur la transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine. L'analyse des trois axes de recherche m'a permis d'arriver à la conclusion suivante : Pour transmettre un métier, un savoir-faire, un tour de main tout en renouvelant et en perpétuant la tradition, il est nécessaire d'avoir un cadre commun de goûts et de valeurs qui est transmis grâce à la transcendance. D'autre part, la transmission nécessite aussi une prise en compte des divers modes d'interactions qui régissent les rapports quotidiens entre les formateurs et les apprenants, surtout en contexte interculturel. Enfin, cette expérience permet d'acquérir des compétences spécifiques à l'international ainsi que des prédispositions pour une future carrière nomade.

2.1. Contributions théoriques

Cette thèse qui s'interroge sur la transmission des connaissances et des compétences dans la haute gastronomie a permis de montrer que l'on ne transmet pas un savoir-faire dans l'artisanat et les services haut de gamme de la même façon que l'on transfère des connaissances dans l'industrie ou les technologies. Et ce n'est pas uniquement dû au fait qu'elles contiennent une grande part de connaissances tacites (Polanyi, 1967).

Transmettre un métier, un geste, une attitude suppose des interactions entre plusieurs personnes. C'est le tour de main, la pratique qui permettent cette différence. C'est en répétant un geste mais aussi en partageant des idées, en donnant des conseils que l'on peut transférer ce savoir-faire. L'approche taxonomique n'est pas ici envisageable. En effet, comment pourrait-on 'classifier' ces connaissances-là ? Dans le cas de la transmission de la haute gastronomie, les connaissances et les compétences se transmettent dans et par l'action. Elles font partie des êtres humains qui souhaitent les partager, elles ne sont pas indépendantes de lui. La transmission se fait donc grâce à la pratique.

D'autre part dans un contexte national, la transmission d'un métier, d'un geste, d'un savoir-faire se fait au moyen de l'apprentissage, des Cop, ou du compagnonnage. Mais cela

suppose un cadre de référence commun entre les formateurs et les apprenants. Or ce n'est pas le cas dans cette thèse. Les formateurs ne connaissent pas grand-chose au monde culinaire chinois et les étudiants chinois à l'univers gastronomie français. Comment dès lors transmettre lorsqu'il n'y a pas de points communs ?

Le premier grand apport théorique est la place de la communauté et de la transcendance dans la transmission de la gastronomie en contexte interculturel. En effet, **transmettre la gastronomie française en Chine c'est admettre l'importance de l'identification à une large communauté et sa dimension transcendantale.**

2.1.1. Communauté et transcendance

Si la haute gastronomie française est inscrite au patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité, c'est parce que pendant des siècles elle a su se transmettre tout en conservant ses traditions et en laissant de la place à l'innovation. L'appartenance à une communauté large et variée (avec entre autre des connaisseurs, des gastronomes, des guides) est la pierre angulaire du mécanisme de transmission. En effet la communauté permet à « l'esprit » de la gastronomie française d'être partagé, développé et renouvelé. En son sein, les acteurs partagent les mêmes références, les mêmes modèles. Mais ce mécanisme d'appartenance fonctionne de pair avec le mécanisme transcendantal.

C'est tout d'abord le sentiment d'appartenir à une communauté à la fois supérieure et exclusive. Les chefs, maîtres d'hôtels, stagiaires et managers partagent tous la même passion pour la haute cuisine française. Ils voient la formation des étudiants chinois comme une mission à accomplir, d'autant plus s'ils se trouvent à l'étranger. Ensuite, la communauté au sens large inclus des connaisseurs qui, mondialement, partagent une vision supérieure de ce qu'est la haute gastronomie française avec ses connotations de luxe et son caractère unique. Enfin des intermédiaires (Boutinot et al., 2016) comme les journalistes et les critiques qui indiquent les nouveautés qui n'auraient peut-être pas été remarqués par le public au sens large.

Transférer la gastronomie n'est pas la même chose que de transférer des technologies. En effet si le transfert de technologie comporte des connaissances tacites et explicites (Nonaka et al., 2000 ; Polanyi, 1967), la gastronomie française est ancrée à la fois dans le matériel et le spirituel. Le côté matériel s'exprime par la répétition, les arts de la table, l'alliance entre les mets et les vins. La spiritualité s'exprime dans ce désir de transmettre cet « esprit » de la gastronomie. La part de spiritualité se trouve aussi dans la dimension transcendante, concept emprunté à Kant, dans laquelle la pensée précède l'existence des choses. Ainsi la gastronomie française existe avant même d'être pratiquée. Il s'agit d'un cadre au sein duquel les concepts, les repas, les goûts sont définis et adoptés pas toujours de façon très rationnelle. Kuhn (1962) compare cela à la croyance en une religion. Transmettre le patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité, des savoir-faire et des pratiques veut dire que l'on accepte de rentrer dans un cadre de connaissances spécifiques, ce que Kant (2002) appelle 'transcendantal' et qui rend la connaissance *a-priori* possible. La communauté est l'endroit où cette « connaissance *a-priori* » prend place.

Transmettre la gastronomie française en Chine c'est aussi gérer les interactions entre les formateurs et les apprenants. Elles s'expriment lors des différentes phases de la transmission (transfert, traduction, hybridation) et montrent à chaque fois une dimension exclusive et une autre inclusive aussi bien du point de vue des formateurs que des apprenants. Chacun des groupes a une vision personnelle de la façon dont il aborde la culture de l'autre lors du transfert de connaissances.

2.1.2. Les modes « exclusifs et inclusifs » lors des différentes phases de la transmission

La littérature sur le transfert de connaissances s'est intéressée jusqu'à présent aux transformations (Carlile, 2004), hybridations (Islam, 2012 ; Yousfi, 2013), aux influences internationales (Boussebaa et al., 2014 ; Mir and Mir, 2009) mais pas à la façon dont les interactions entre les formateurs et les apprenants sont gérées lors des différentes étapes du transfert.

Lors de la transmission des connaissances et des savoir-faire, les modes exclusifs et inclusifs permettent de comprendre comment la connaissance passe entre les formateurs et les apprenants et comment chaque groupe voit la culture de l'autre.

Le mode exclusif exprime une attitude fermée sur la culture de l'autre aussi bien de la part du formateur que de l'apprenant. En effet en mode exclusif les formateurs estiment que leur culture est la meilleure et qu'ils sont les experts. Leur souhait est de faire passer 'telle quelle' leur culture qu'ils idéalisent tant. L'apprenant n'a pour eux pas vraiment de connaissances et n'est pas capable de faire preuve de créativité. Dans ce même mode les apprenants estiment qu'ils savent beaucoup moins que les formateurs, ou alors ils se sous-estiment, où ils rejettent carrément la culture du formateur.

Le mode inclusif est un mode ouvert sur la culture de l'autre, aussi bien de la part du formateur que de l'apprenant. En effet en mode inclusif les formateurs estiment que les apprenants sont tout à fait à même d'apprendre, même de créer, et que leur rôle est d'adapter leurs enseignements afin de faciliter la transmission des connaissances à l'apprenant. Quant à l'apprenant en mode inclusif il voit la culture du formateur comme quelque chose dont il peut s'inspirer, qu'il peut adapter intentionnellement avec ses propres connaissances. Pour lui le formateur est là pour l'aider à acquérir de nouvelles connaissances, la relation est basée sur l'échange, pas sur la domination.

Ces différentes formes de transmission de la haute cuisine française en Chine ainsi que l'étude des interactions entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois permettent de contribuer à la littérature sur la transmission des connaissances et des compétences dans les industries créatives et en contexte interculturel. En effet lorsque l'on comprend les différentes attitudes possibles lors de la transmission des connaissances, il est plus facile de s'adapter et d'essayer d'avoir un comportement inclusif.

Transmettre la gastronomie française en Chine c'est aussi avoir besoin de compétences spécifiques, différentes de celles que l'on aurait habituellement en contexte national. Ces compétences-là sont d'ailleurs celles nécessaires pour une carrière nomade.

2.1.3. Compétences de carrière internationales et carrières nomades

Jusqu'à présent les modèles de compétences de carrière (Defillippi et Arthur, 1994 ; Akkermans et al., 2013), s'intéressent uniquement aux compétences de carrière nécessaires en contexte national. La nouvelle contribution théorique concerne la dimension internationale de ces compétences. En effet, lorsque l'on envisage une carrière à l'étranger, de nouvelles compétences de carrière sont nécessaires. Travailler à l'étranger suppose une capacité à s'adapter, une ouverture d'esprit, une bonne résistance au stress. C'est ce que cette nouvelle « compétence de carrière internationale » propose. Elle permettra ainsi de former les personnes qui envisagent un stage ou une carrière à l'étranger, leur permettre de voir si ils ont les qualités requises.

La dernière contribution concerne la littérature sur les carrières nomades. Depuis les années 90 les carrières traditionnelles ont laissé place à des carrières où l'individu est responsable de la gestion de sa carrière et de ses compétences. C'est ce que l'on appelle les carrières nomades. Pour bien mener sa carrière nomade il faut être capable de gérer ses compétences, comprendre ce que l'on fait, voir ce que l'on acquiert comme expérience et en quoi cela peut servir dans le futur. Dans les études qui ont été faites jusqu'à ce jour ce sont des individus déjà dans la vie active qui mènent une carrière nomade. Dans cette recherche on a le concept de 'carrière nomade anticipée' car ces jeunes n'ont même pas commencé leur vie professionnelle qu'ils gèrent déjà leur future carrière en s'interrogeant sur le choix de leur stage, en expliquant quelles qualités ils comptent acquérir et comment cette expérience peut leur être utile pour leur future carrière professionnelle au top niveau de la gastronomie française. Ce qui est nouveau c'est de voir ces préoccupations se poser si tôt, et de voir comment la future carrière est déjà vue sans frontière, avec des compétences internationales à acquérir.

3. Contribution empirique : un groupe atypique

La contribution empirique de cette thèse est qu'elle porte sur les jeunes, de surcroît 'artisans du service', deux groupes qui ne sont en général pas étudiés dans la recherche sur les carrières nomades. Il est intéressant d'analyser une nouvelle tranche d'âge afin de la comparer avec

l'autre et de voir quelles sont les envies et visions professionnelles de ces jeunes. Ensuite les personnes sont la plupart du temps des « cols blancs » (ingénieurs, chercheurs...) et non pas des artisans comme ici. Je tiens cependant à préciser que ces jeunes 'artisans du service' font partie de l'élite de leur profession et connaissent certainement une carrière plus internationale, variée et avec de l'expérience dans de grandes maisons que la plupart de leurs collègues qui travaillent dans des restaurants 'normaux'.

4. Contributions managériales

Cette thèse peut apporter des conseils aux managers des industries culturelles qui sont de plus en plus globalisées et qui ne réalisent peut-être pas comment les connaissances, compétences et savoir-faire sont transmis, ni les différentes formes de transmission. Une de nos contributions est de montrer que dispenser des cours de management interculturel pour comprendre les différences entre les cultures ne suffit pas. Il est aussi nécessaire de comprendre et de gérer les différentes façons dont apprenants et formateurs voient la culture de l'autre et d'essayer le plus souvent possible d'avoir une attitude inclusive puisque cela a un impact sur les projets culturels. En effet les différents modes de transmissions non seulement établissent différentes relations entre les formateurs et les apprenants mais, dans le cas de la gastronomie, a aussi un impact sur la nourriture, son apparence et ses goûts.

5. Limites et futures directions

5.1. Cas extrême de transmission

La première limite réside dans le fait qu'il s'agit d'un cas extrême de transmission de la gastronomie. En effet j'ai choisi la France et la Chine afin de mettre en lumière le processus de transmission culturelle. Or, les traditions culinaires françaises et chinoises sont totalement opposées, et très peu de points communs existent entre les deux. Dans ce cas, l'illustration théorique est très 'claire'. Dans d'autres cas cependant (par exemple France-Espagne), les

échanges économiques et la proximité géographique des deux pays font que les traditions ne sont pas entièrement différentes. Etudier ce cas permettrait d'ajouter des nuances au processus de transmission culturelle.

5.2. De jeunes stagiaires versus des professionnels

Mon échantillon est uniquement composé de jeunes professionnels, engagés eux-mêmes dans un processus d'apprentissage, même s'ils ont le rôle de professeur. Etant donné que dans les industries culturelles les professionnels doivent apprendre à collaborer et à coordonner leurs capacités, il est possible que des chefs et des maitres d'hôtel avec plus d'expérience aient développé des pratiques collaboratives différentes ou plus élaborées que je n'ai pas pu remarquer dans cette étude. D'autres recherches devraient examiner les professionnels des industries culturelles à différents niveaux de leur carrière pour comprendre comment le niveau de carrière peut affecter les dynamiques relationnelles.

5.3. Le cas particulier de la haute cuisine

Le troisième élément est que la transmission des compétences, des savoir-faire et des pratiques est étudié uniquement dans le cas de la haute cuisine, qui est quand même un univers très restreint. Ce serait bien de pouvoir étendre l'analyse à d'autres professions culturelles telles que les danseurs, les musiciens ou les chanteurs d'opéra car dans ces professions les transferts de savoir-faire et de compétences est très important. Il serait aussi intéressant d'étudier la transmission des savoir-faire et des pratiques dans le domaine médical et en particulier chez les chirurgiens et les infirmières.

5.4. Le temps

La dernière limite est la limite temporelle. Nous avons suivi ces jeunes sur une année et avons vu qu'ils avaient un comportement qui laissait présager qu'ils auraient une future carrière nomade. Ce serait intéressant de les interviewer de nouveau dans quelques années pour voir la correspondance entre la carrière nomade anticipée et leur réelle carrière.

Tableau 15 : Cadre récapitulatif de la thèse : La transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine

	Chapitre 2	Chapitre 3	Chapitre 4
Thème	Transmission de la gastronomie française – pratiques et savoir-faire – en Chine (de la part des formateurs)	Les divers modes de transmission en contexte interculturel et les interactions qui sont liées	Apports de la transmission de la gastronomie française en Chine en termes de carrière (de la part des formateurs)
Question de recherche associée	Comment transmet-on les savoir-faire, les pratiques ainsi que 'l'esprit' de la gastronomie française ?	Quelles sont les différentes formes de transmission des connaissances et des compétences en contexte interculturel ?	Comment les jeunes stagiaires-formateurs perçoivent-ils l'impact potentiel de leur stage sur leur future carrière ?
Titre	Chapitre 2 : Beyond knowledge: the transcendental dimension of sharing French gastronomy in China	Chapitre 3: Crossed in translation: Knowledge dynamics, local appropriation, and French <i>haute cuisine</i> in Shanghai	Chapitre 4: Gastronomic adventurers : international career competencies and signs of 'anticipated boundarylessness' among young <i>chefs et maîtres d'hôtel</i> in <i>haute cuisine</i>
Méthodologie	Exploratoire – Etude de cas simple	Exploratoire – Etude de cas simple	Exploratoire – Etude de cas simple

Résultats	<p>(1) Mécanisme d'inscription des gestes professionnels et des attitudes dans le corps et le quotidien des apprenants</p> <p>(2) Mécanisme d'appartenance à une plus large communauté, celle de la haute cuisine française constituée</p>	<p>(1) Le transfert: Les connaissances se transmettent telles quelles. <u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Les étudiants chinois ne connaissent rien à cet univers culinaire, sentiment de supériorité de la part des formateurs <u>Inclusif IPB</u> : Reconnaissance de la</p>	<p>(4) Motivation pour la future carrière : La motivation vient de l'expérience à la fois professionnelle, personnelle, et internationale</p> <p>(5) Développement de carrière : Acquisition de nouvelles compétences lors de la formation et de la</p>
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<p>de diverses professions (critiques gastronomiques, connaisseurs, guides...) pour partager des goûts, un langage, une passion.</p> <p>(3) Mécanisme transcendantal qui se réfère à une dimension supérieure proche de la foi. Les stagiaires-formateurs sont dévoués à leur tâche consistant à convertir les étudiants chinois aux pratiques et à l'esprit de la 'gastronomie française'</p>	<p>volonté d'appropriation des étudiants chinois</p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : Nous manquons de connaissances, les formateurs sont les experts.</p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : Eux comme nous sommes à la recherche de nouvelles pratiques rentables.</p> <p>(2) La traduction : Les connaissances se transmettent en étant traduites.</p> <p><u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Transmission de l'histoire et des valeurs de la haute cuisine et du service français</p> <p><u>Inclusif IPB</u> : Importance de comprendre les codes des étudiants chinois pour transmettre le système français.</p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : Ce qui est étranger est vu comme une connaissance mystérieuse</p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : La gastronomie française comme source de nouvelles pratiques</p> <p>(3) L'hybridation : Quelque chose de différent ou de nouveau est créé.</p> <p><u>Exclusif IPB</u> : Il ne s'agit pas d'une création mais de quelque chose d'approximatif</p>	<p>transmission de savoir-faire français aux étudiants chinois.</p> <p>(6) Potentiels impacts sur la carrière : Importance du réseau, de la crédibilité et opportunités de carrière, nécessité de développer des compétences de carrière internationales.</p>
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		<p><u>Inclusif IPB</u>: <i>Reconnaissance de la créativité des étudiants chinois.</i></p> <p><u>Exclusif Chinois</u> : <i>Il s'agit de bricolage</i></p> <p><u>Inclusif chinois</u> : <i>L'hybridation comme choix stratégique</i></p>	
Contributions	<p>Contribution théorique :</p> <p>Le concept de 'communauté' (au sens large) Cette communauté, qui englobe de nombreuses professions, permet non seulement de donner du sens à l'interaction entre les 3 mécanismes (inscription, appartenance et transcendantal) mais aussi de donner du sens à ce qu'est 'la gastronomie française'.</p> <p>Le concept de transcendance La connaissance transcendantale représente le cadre dans lequel les différents concepts, savoir-faire, règles et communautés peuvent être façonnés et élaborés.</p>	<p>Contributions théoriques :</p> <p>Les deux approches « exclusive/inclusive » du transfert, de la transmission et de l'hybridation sont le résultat des interactions et des dynamiques de pouvoir entre les formateurs et les étudiants chinois.</p> <p>L'approche exclusive : Les formateurs tendent à rejeter la culture des apprenants étrangers pour glorifier la leur.</p> <p>L'approche inclusive : Les formateurs tendent à reconnaître le travail, l'implication, voire même la part de créativité des apprenants étrangers.</p> <p>Le concept d'hybridation dans les industries créatives et en contexte interculturel (quelque chose de nouveau est créé suite à la rencontre de deux cultures). Ce concept</p>	<p>Contribution théorique</p> <p>Concept de "carrière nomade anticipée" Avant même le commencement de leur carrière, les jeunes stagiaires s'investissent professionnellement de telle façon qu'ils montrent des signes avant-coureur d'une future carrière nomade.</p> <p>Concept de compétences de carrières internationales Ce nouveau concept complète les compétences de carrière développées par DeFillippi et Arthur (1994) et par Akkermans et al (2013) en leur donnant une dimension internationale.</p> <p>Contribution empirique : Un groupe atypique</p>

		remplace celui de transformation utilisé par Carlile (2004) dans l'industrie.	Cette étude s'intéresse non seulement aux jeunes mais aussi à des artisans du service, deux groupes qui ne sont normalement pas étudiés en recherche sur les carrières nomades. En effet ce sont d'habitude des sujets plus âgés et en général des « cols blancs ».
Limites	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Est-ce aussi valable dans d'autres cas de figure comme les autres métiers artisanaux tels que les verriers, etc. -Comment est-ce que cela se passe dans d'autres métiers des industries culturelles tels que les danseurs, chanteur d'opéra ? -Et dans les métiers médicaux comme les infirmières ou les chirurgiens ? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cas extrême de différences culturelles -Se passe dans le champ de la haute cuisine dans lequel toutes les pratiques sont très codifiées et sélectives. Le faire dans d'autres sortes de cuisine moins codifiées. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Nature exploratoire -L'étude ne se porte que sur les 'artisans du service'. Ce serait bien aussi d'étudier d'autres groupes de jeunes d'autres secteurs d'activité. -Ce serait bien aussi de faire un focus sur les femmes en haute cuisine -Compléter par une étude quantitative -Suivre les jeunes sur une plus longue période et voir les correspondances entre la carrière nomade anticipée et la réelle.

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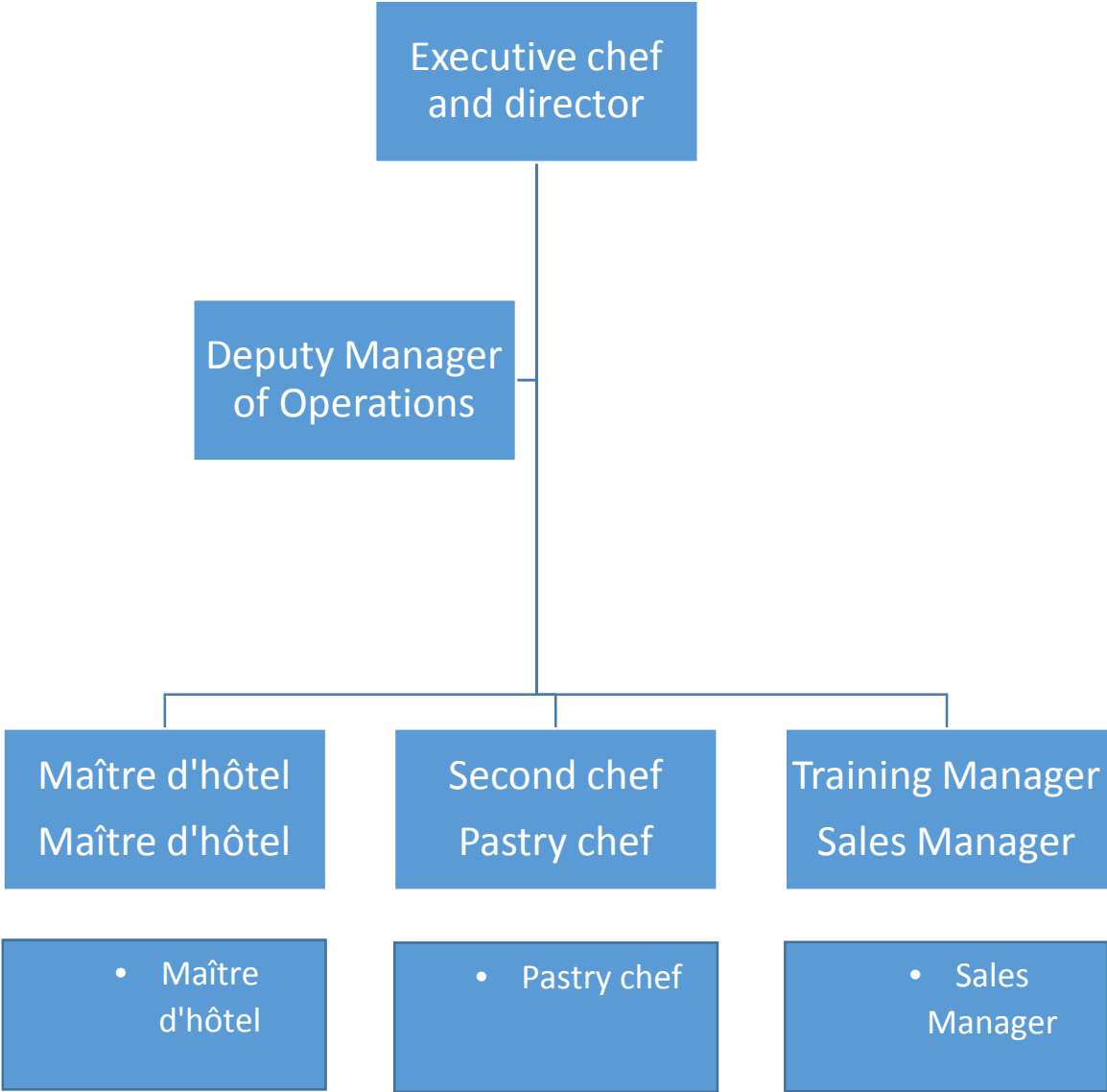
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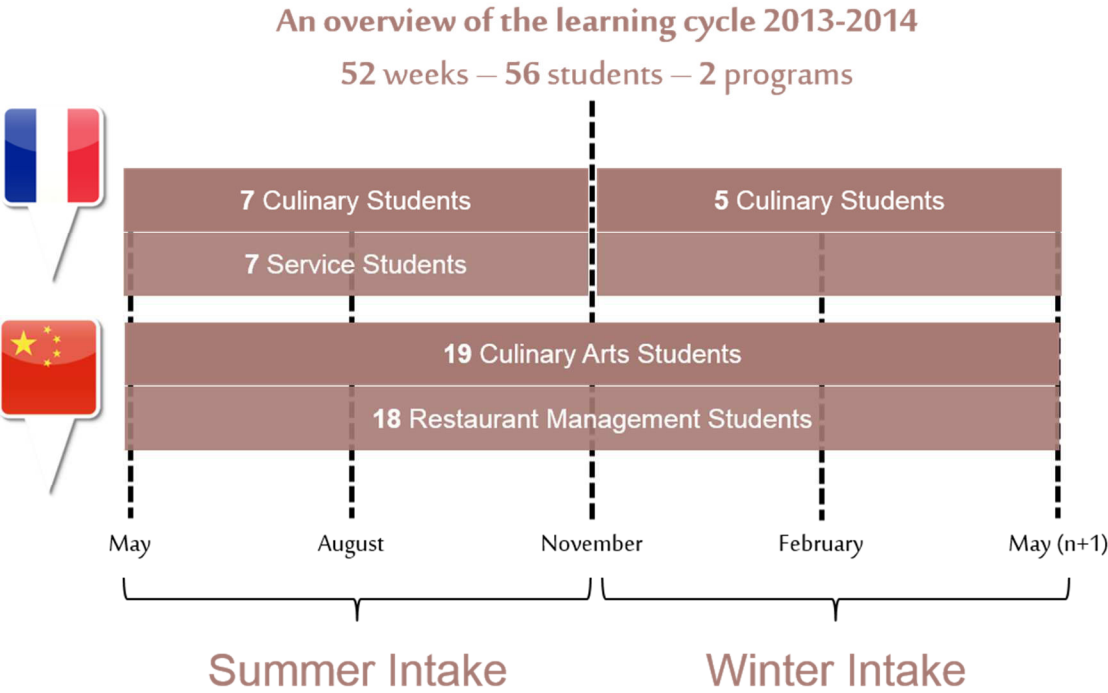
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Annexe 1 : Organigramme du restaurant-école



Annexe 2 : Une année d'études au restaurant-école



Annexe 3 : Présentation des différentes parties du restaurant-école

 <p>RESTAURANT</p> <p>70 SEATS AVAILABLE ON SQUARE OR ROUND TABLES.</p> <p>BIGGEST TABLE 34 SEATS</p> <p>3 AREA : MAIN ROOM / PRIVATE LOUNGE / TERRACE</p> <p>300 sq</p> <p>1 BAR & 1 CELLAR EQUIPPED WITH WINE FRIDGE COFFEE MATERIAL IMPORTED FROM FRANCE</p>	 <p>KITCHEN</p> <p>THE KITCHEN AREA IS OVER 300sq METERS.</p> <p>ALL THE COOKING APPLIANCES WERE IMPORTED FROM EUROPE IN A GLOBAL INVESTMENT OF OVER 1.4M EURO</p> <p>KITCHEN OPEN ON THE RESTAURANT MAIN ROOM</p>	 <p>BACK OFFICE</p> <p>OPEN SPACE WITH 7 POSITIONS +MEETING TABLE</p> <p>CLASS ROOM</p> <p>EVERY THING YOU NEED ON DAILY LIFE, CANTEEN, PRIVATE LOCKERS, REST AREA</p>
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Annexe 4 : Guide d'entretien des stagiaires-formateurs – Juin 2013

1) Pouvez-vous me parler de votre adaptation en Chine ?

- Avez-vous été formé avant votre départ ?
- Comment avez-vous l'impression de vous adapter à Shanghai ?
- Comment avez-vous l'impression de vous adapter au restaurant ?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous a aidé à vous adapter ?
- En quoi l'IPB vous a-t-il aidé dans cette adaptation ?
- Quelles sont les principales difficultés rencontrées ?
- Pourquoi avoir accepté une expatriation ?

2) Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous ressentez votre expérience de formateur ?

- Avez-vous reçu une formation avant votre départ ?
- Comment se passent vos cours théoriques ? Et vos cours pratiques ?
- Comment est-ce de former des gens qui ont le même âge que vous ?
- Quelles sont les principales difficultés interculturelles rencontrées ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous apprenez ?
- Le rôle de formateur est-il similaire à celui que vous imaginiez ?

3) Pouvez-vous me parler de l'équipe dirigeante ?

- Avez-vous été formé à votre arrivé à Shanghai ?
- Quel type de relations professionnelles avez-vous ?
- Que trouvez-vous difficile/facile ?
- Qu'attendez-vous de cette équipe ?

Annexe 5 : Guide d'entretien de l'équipe d'encadrement – Juin 2013

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre adaptation en Chine ?

- Avez-vous été formé avant votre départ ?
- Comment avez-vous l'impression de vous adapter à Shanghai ?
- Comment avez-vous l'impression de vous adapter au restaurant ?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous a aidé à vous adapter ?
- En quoi l'IPB vous a-t-il aidé dans cette adaptation ?
- Quelles sont les principales difficultés rencontrées ?
- Pourquoi avoir accepté une expatriation ?

2. Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous ressentez votre expérience de membre de l'équipe d'encadrement ?

- Avez-vous reçu une formation avant votre départ ?
- Quelles sont vos relations avec les formateurs ?
- Comment les aidez-vous dans leur intégration en Chine et au restaurant ?
- Que trouvez-vous difficile/facile dans votre relation professionnelle ?
- Qu'attendez-vous de cette équipe ?
- Quelles sont vos relations avec les étudiants chinois ?
- Quelles sont les principales difficultés interculturelles rencontrées ?

Annexe 6 : Guide d'entretien des stagiaires-formateurs – Janvier 2014

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre réadaptation à la France ?

- Quand êtes-vous rentré en France ?
- Avez-vous ressenti un choc culturel ?
- Si oui au bout de combien de temps et comment s'est-il manifesté ?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous a semblé le plus difficile dans la période de réadaptation ?
- Qu'est-ce qui vous manque de la Chine (s'il vous manque quelque chose)

2. Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous avez vécu votre expérience de formateur en Chine ?

- Comment étaient vos relations avec les étudiants chinois ?
- Vos relations ont-elles évolué au cours des mois ?
- Comment s'est déroulé le transfert de compétences ?
- Quelles ont été les principales difficultés rencontrées ?
- Qu'est-ce qui a été plus simple que vous l'imaginiez ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous avez appris de cette expérience ?
- Le rôle de formateur a-t-il été similaire à celui que vous imaginiez ?
- Pensez-vous avoir rempli votre mission ?

3. Pouvez-vous me parler de l'équipe dirigeante ?

- Quel type de relations professionnelles avez-vous eues ?
- Cette relation a-t-elle évolué au cours des mois ?

4. Comment s'inscrit cette expérience dans votre carrière professionnelle ?

- Pourquoi avoir choisi ce stage ?
- Quel est le bilan de ce stage ?
- Pensez-vous avoir eu un stage différent de la plupart de ceux des autres étudiants de votre classe ?
- Qu'espérez-vous en retirer au niveau professionnel ?
- Qu'en avez-vous retiré à un niveau plus personnel ?

Annexe 7 : Guide d'entretien de l'équipe d'encadrement – Mars 2014

1. Quel bilan faites-vous de l'année écoulée ?

- Par rapport à vos propres objectifs
- Par rapport aux objectifs du restaurant
- Par rapport à votre rôle d'organisme formateur
- Comment voyez-vous le futur du restaurant-école ?
- Avez-vous dû vous adapter (en terme de contenu de formation, attitude à avoir, façon de cuisiner) par rapport au niveau ou à certains comportements des chinois ?

2. Quel bilan faites-vous de la mission des stagiaires-formateurs français ?

- Ont-ils atteint leurs objectifs ?
- Comment ont-ils rempli leur rôle de formateur (points forts/faibles) ?
- Sont-ils autonomes ?
- Qu'est-ce que cette expérience peut leur apporter pour leur future carrière professionnelle ?
- Comment est-ce que le savoir-faire a-t-il été transmis ?
- Pensez-vous que les deux groupes de formateurs sont vus de la même façon par les étudiants chinois ?

3. Quel bilan faites-vous du travail effectué par les étudiants chinois ?

- Ont-ils atteint les objectifs fixés ?
- Quels étaient leurs points forts et leurs points faibles ?
- Qu'est-ce que cette expérience peut leur apporter pour leur future carrière professionnelle ?
- Savez-vous déjà ce qu'ils vont faire à l'issue de la formation ?
- Sont-ils autonomes ? Créatifs ?
- Se sont-ils habitués à évoluer dans un environnement occidental ? à la gastronomie ou à l'art de vivre français ?
- Y a-t-il des techniques ou des savoir-faire français qu'ils ont adaptés ?

Annexe 8 : Guide d'entretien des cuisiniers stagiaires-formateurs – Mars 2014

1. Pouvez-vous me parler de votre adaptation en Chine ?

- Avez-vous été formé avant votre départ ?
- Comment vous êtes-vous adapté à Shanghai ? Au restaurant ?
- Qu'elles sont les principales difficultés interculturelles rencontrées ?
- Pourquoi avoir choisi ce stage ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous en retirez jusqu'à présent ?

2. Pouvez-vous me dire comment vous ressentez votre expérience de stagiaire-formateur ?

- Avez-vous reçu une formation avant votre départ ?
- Quelles sont les principales difficultés interculturelles rencontrées ?
- Comment s'effectue le transfert de compétences ?
- Avez-vous dû vous adapter (en terme de contenu de formation, attitude à avoir, façon de cuisiner) par rapport au niveau ou à certains comportements des chinois ?
- Ont-ils atteint les objectifs fixés ?
- Se sont-ils habitués à évoluer dans un environnement occidental ? A la gastronomie ou à l'art de vivre français ?
- Y a-t-il des techniques ou des savoir-faire français qu'ils ont adaptés ?
- Le rôle de formateur est-il similaire à celui que vous imaginiez ? (Points faciles ? Points difficiles ? Quantité de travail ? Quelles techniques marchent et ne marchent pas ?)
- Pensez-vous que cette expérience sera profitable pour le futur ? Comment ?

3. Pouvez-vous me parler de l'équipe dirigeante ?

- Comment se passe vos relations professionnelles ?
- Qu'avez-vous appris d'eux en termes de comportement ?

Annexe 9: Interview of former Chinese students – March 2014

General information:

- Gender: M / F?
- Where do you come from and how old are you?
- Which program have you done: Cook/Waiter? When did you do it?
- Why did you choose to do your internship at IPBS?

Career:

- What is your job now?
- What are the main tasks you have to do?
- Do you like your job?
- Which are the things that you have learnt during your internship and which are very useful in your everyday job?
- What are the main things that you have learnt at the *Institut Paul Bocuse* Restaurant-School for your future career?
- How was it working alongside the French trainers and what did you learn?
- What would you like to do in the future?

Professional behaviour (cooks):

- What is different between working in IPB and your job now?
- Is there a dish that you carry on cooking the Chinese school way? Which one and why? How has it changed?
- Or is there a behaviour/know how that you carry on doing the Chinese school way? Which one and why? How has it changed?
- Is there some techniques that you carry on using the Chinese school way? Which one and why? How has it changed?
- Is there some techniques that you carry on using the IPB way? Which one and why? How has it changed?
- Do you think that you have mixed some French techniques with the Chinese school ones?

1) General information:

- Are you male or female?
- Where do you come from? (Province or city)
- How old are you?

2) IPB and Next Job:

a. Why did you chose to do your internship at IPB Shanghai?

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b. What are the main things that you have learnt at the Institut Paul Bocuse Restaurant-School for your future career?

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c. How do you valorise what have learnt at IPB when looking for a job?

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d. What will you say about IPB When you are looking for work?

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e. When you are looking for work what do you say about what you have learnt about western culture?

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f. Would you be proud of your next job? Why?

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g. How much would you like to earn?

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h. What job would you like to do in one year?

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i. What job would you like to do in 10 years?

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3) Knowledge of French service/know-how:

How confident are you in:	Not at all				Very
Talking to clients about French wines	1	2	3	4	5
Talking to clients about French cheese	1	2	3	4	5
Proposing a desert to a client	1	2	3	4	5
Explaining what an “amuse-bouche” is	1	2	3	4	5
Talking to clients about cocktails	1	2	3	4	5
Waiting while the customer is eating	1	2	3	4	5
Filling glasses with water	1	2	3	4	5
Filling glasses with wine	1	2	3	4	5
Dressing the table	1	2	3	4	5
Welcoming the customer	1	2	3	4	5

a. Have you tried some French wines? Yes – no
- If yes, do you like them? 1 – 2- 3 – 4 – 5

b. Have you tried some Chinese wines? Yes – no
- If yes, do you like them? 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 5?

c. Which one do you prefer and why?

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d. Have you tried some cocktails? Yes – no
- If yes, do you like them? 1 – 2- 3 – 4 – 5

e. Which one do you prefer and why?

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4) Professional behaviour:

a. Is the service taught at IPB similar to what you expected from French service?
Please explain

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b. According to you, which are the similarities between French and Chinese service?

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c. Can you describe Institut Paul Bocuse type of service? Is it typically French?
Why?

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d. What are the most important aspects of Chinese service? Why?

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e. What are the most important aspects of French service? Why?

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f. Which part of the behaviour learnt in the IPB is most difficult? Why?

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f. Which techniques are most difficult to implement? Why?

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g. Which techniques are easiest to implement? Why?

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h. What do you find surprising about the practices in the school? Why?

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- i. Do you think that you have mixed some French techniques with the Chinese ones? If yes, which one?

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- j. Mr. and Mrs. Brown order lamb and turbot. What do you suggest to them?

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- k. Miss Harris is taking seabass for lunch. She would like to drink a glass of wine but she doesn't like white wine. Which wine do you suggest to her?

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- l. There is a table of two people. They order a beef rib-eye but Mr White wants it rare and Mrs White wants it well cook. What do you do?

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1) General information:

- Are you male or female?
- Where do you come from? (Province or city)
- How old are you?

2) IPB and Next Job:

a. Why did you chose to do your internship at IPB Shanghai?

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k. How do you valorise what have learnt at IPB when looking for a job?

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m. When you are looking for work what do you say about what you have learnt about western culture?

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n. Would you be proud of your next job? Why?

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o. How much would you like to earn?

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Welcoming the customer	1	2	3	4	5

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b. Have you tried some Chinese wines? Yes – no
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Annexe 12: Logo du restaurant-école *Institut Paul Bocuse* de Shanghai

