

A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry

By

Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Masters in Education

Department of Secondary Education
University of Alberta

© Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese, 2021

Abstract

While the graduation rate of individuals identifying as female continues to rise dramatically in the culinary world, the top restaurants and hotels are still predominately run by men. Due to this imbalance, this study explores the role of hierarchal and organizations structures in the curation of career identities of which stratify the population by upholding and reifying detrimental working conditions, limiting occupational mobility, and at times, foster environments conducive to abuse and harassment. This research focuses on the top Edmonton, Alberta, Canada based restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops and the Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies at the Northern Alberta Institution of Technology. The disconnect between the enrolment and graduation rates of female identifying chefs and their procurement of gainful and sustainable employment begs the question, what are the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the professional kitchen? By borrowing from the work done by social order theorist, this research aims to extract commonalities in way of personal attributes, beliefs and strategies from five case studies of prominent female chefs who have climbed the ranks, become agents of change and who have made the professional kitchen a little bit healthier for everyone to work in.

Keywords: Chef, Women, Female, Change, Abuse, Bullying, Hierarchy, Diversity, Inclusion, Professional Kitchen, Hospitality

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received research ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name: A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry, Pro# 00081091, December 10th, 2019 and from the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Research Ethics Board, #2019-19.

Further, this thesis pertains to the constructs of gender. Every attempt has been made to accurately represent an individual's gender however this body of work is confined by the limits of binary language. Thus, in order to engage in the research, preliminary clarification of terminology is required, particularly in the construction of the dichotomous determination of the "male" and "female" concept, and by extension, the perception of masculine and feminine attributes and ultimately the associated terms of "sex" and "gender".

Within the biologically deterministic lens, there are indicatory biological components of which correspond to maleness and femaleness. Generally, these concepts are characterized by physical traits, "bearer of young" and "fertilizer" (Merriam-Webster, 2018). Clearly, there is issue to be taken with this simplistic definition as it fails to acknowledge any individuals who may not have the ability to do either of these tasks.

In contrast, the term gender has been defined as a social construct wherein the psychological rather the physical attributes of "maleness" or "femaleness" are the drivers of identification (; Halimi, Consuegra, Struyven & Engels, 2016; Kessler & McKenna, 1978) . In this, it is important to acknowledge the limits of binary language; excluding those who may not strictly identify with the exclusivity that the language has determined, that is, male OR female, masculine OR feminine, man OR woman. Therefore, the term "gender" and "female-identifying" will be used throughout the study in an effort to emphasize the seniority of the social construction of gender identity over one's biological attributes (Kessler & McKenna, 1978). The

intent is to highlight gender as an underlying element of social relationships founded on perceived differences of sex to which expresses relationships of power (Scott, 1986). Further, these terms will be used in order to be as clear, inclusive and respectful as the language allows us to be.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the wonderful people who have supported this writing. I am so very grateful for the chefs who participated in this research. To Anthony Bruzzese, thank you for listening to me. Your ears have helped me unpack my thoughts, my frustrations and all of my hopes. To Dustin Bajer, thank you for believing in me and for the hours and hours of passionate conversation. And to Bonita Watt, you have supported my academic journey from my first year as an education student. You have led me to accomplish what my early school experiences have taught me I could not. Your skillful guidance and compassion are my constant inspiration. I have learned to do things that I'm scared to do. Also, thank you for finding the invisible characters in my document. I was losing my mind.

Table of Contents

Preface	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Chapter 1	1
How I have Arrived at this Research: An Introduction to the Industry	1
Where We are Going - Road Map of the Research	7
Research Problem	8
Chapter 2	10
Literature Review	10
School and Cooking and Cooking School: An Overview	10
A Brief Overview of Social Order Theory	19
Gender Theory	27
The Potential of Schools Through the Lens of Critical Theory	34
Final Thoughts	37
Chapter 3	40
Methodology	40
Research Design	40
Data Collection and Analysis	41
Personal Connection and Threats to Validity	42
Ethical Considerations	43
Chef Participant Overview	45
Data Collection Overview	46
Edmonton Restaurants, Bakery and Pastry Data Collection	47
NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Gender Breakdown	54
NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Enrolment and Graduation	57
Chapter 4	61
Organizational Structure of the Kitchen	61

Chapter 5	66
Findings and Discussions	66
Gendered Positions and Tasks	67
Promotions and Leadership	71
Hours and Expectations	74
Alberta Wage and Statistics	77
Harassment, Bullying and Banter and the Onboarding Process	83
The Kitchen: A Place for Lost Souls	92
The Female Chef and her Kitchen: Disrupting the Norm	96
Diversifying the Kitchen	103
Agents of Change – Participant Summaries	106
Chapter 6	109
Organizational Structure Recommendations	109
Hierarchal Structure Recommendations	115
Chapter 7	117
Conclusions	117
Limitations and Further Research	122
References	124
Appendix A: University of Alberta Notification of Ethics Approval	144
Appendix B: The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Ethics Approval	145
Appendix C: Initial Contact Letter	146
Appendix D: Letter of Information and Statement of Consent	147
Appendix E: Initial Interview Script	150
Appendix F: Final Interview Script	151

List of Tables

Table 1: Overall Total Votes and Ranking of Restaurants 2015- 2019	56
Table 2: Notable and/or Emerging Restaurants 2015- 2019	58
Table 3: Bakeries, Pastry Shops and Coffee Shops 2015- 2019	59
Table 4: NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Instructional and Non-Instructional Staff	63
Table 5: Enrolment Rate from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021	66
Table 6: Graduation Rate from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021	66

Chapter 1

How I have Arrived at this Research: An Introduction to the Industry

I spend my day working in two very different spaces within a post-secondary institution. In my baking and pastry lab, I am surrounded by my students (mostly women) measuring exact proportions like a chemist, applying physics to determine the correct specific gravity for our altitude, growing cultures and cultivating acidity in pre-ferments, dusting showpieces of sugar and chocolate with paint brushes and wiring little gum paste flowers into gathered bouquets on delicate wedding cakes. Then, I leave my lab and walk into my shared office block and suddenly I am plunged into the reality of my industry, one that I have spent most of my life in one way or the other. My office block is comprised of predominately male chefs, the complete opposite of my classroom, so much so that one day I overheard a few of my colleagues counting the number of full-time permanent female instructors who have worked in the department over the years. I was number three. Number three. This lack of female representation is not unusual.

In 2019, Dominique Crenn became the first woman in America to ever be awarded three Michelin stars (Bryant, 2019). And in 2007, French chef Anne-Sophie Pic became the fourth woman in France's history to be awarded three Michelin stars (Druckman, 2010). These numbers are important because it is 2020. If you are unfamiliar with the beginnings of the Michelin guide, it was first published in 1900 for the 3,000 motorists in France. Andre and Edouard Michelin, the Michelin brothers, began awarding their first stars in 1926, and so "stars" really became the first rating system used for the French and now the world's fine dining establishments (Feloni, 2014; Isalska, 2018). Various Michelin "inspectors" dine anonymously at establishments over the course of the year and then award "stars" based on the establishment's performance. Still, with the awarding of each "star" comes a major boost in business, rumoured at 20% profit

increase per star. Alongside this profit increase comes international recognition and prestige ... and bucket loads of pressure (Heighton-Ginns, 2018).

Now many chefs belong to one of two camps in terms of their feelings towards the Michelin guide; some deeply want to attain the prestige that comes with being awarded one to three Michelin stars, or they want nothing to do with the guide. Chefs have even given back this award. In 2017, French chef Sebastien Bras of Le Suquet, tired of the expectations and the pressure (Burton, 2018) requested his restaurant, which had been awarded the very highest three Michelin stars, to be omitted from the prestigious guidebook (Brincat, 2018). Though, I wish I could tell you that the lack of female representation in the guidebook is due to all of the great women chefs giving their stars back but is it not and unfortunately, the Michelin guide is not the only organization which demonstrates this pattern.

The James Beard Foundation (2020), a foundation whose mission is to “build a platform for chefs and assert the power of gastronomy to drive behaviour, culture and policy around food” may also be missing the mark. In 2009, when the James Beard Foundation announced the theme for their awards gala, it seemed that change was in the air. The theme of the celebratory party held after the awards ceremony in which the year’s contenders, paying-ticket foodies and food journalist celebrate the achievements of the year's nominees was “Women in Food” (Druckman, 2010; Forbes, 2009). Surely a theme celebrating “Women in Food” would amount to award nominations, yet this was hardly the case. Out of five nominees for outstanding chef, one was female; the same percentage as the category Rising Chef. Out of the five individuals nominated for Outstanding Restaurateur, Best Restaurant, Outstanding Wine Service, Outstanding Service, not a single woman was nominated. There was only one category out of nineteen that saw majority female nominations and that was “surprise, surprise –

Outstanding Pasty Chef, a.k.a. ‘the Ladies category’” (Forbes, 2009). In fact, out of the 96 nominees, a total of 16 were female and only two of those 16 went home victorious (James Beard Foundation, 2020). This seems like an awfully cruel joke considering the year’s theme.

Since this time, the James Beard Foundation has launched the two part “Women’s Leadership Programs” consisting of Owing It and Women’s Entrepreneurial Leadership; the first being a series of webinars and the later, a bi-monthly newsletter, both “aimed at addressing the gender imbalance in the culinary industry” (James Beard Foundation, 2020). Of course, there is so much more work to be done.

In November 2013, the TIME magazine’s cover featured the Gods of Food. The focus was on introducing the people who have inspired food trends; the “thought leaders and advocates” that have shaped the industry. Out of the 13 Gods of Food, not one female chef was listed (Chua-Eoan, 2013). In fact, the magazine went further in an article which featured “The Dudes of Food” borrowing the cover photo of the three male chefs: Alex Atala of São Paulo, René Redzepi of Copenhagen and David Chang of New York (Chua-Eoan, 2013). Of course, this is not to say these three chefs are undeserving of the attention and praise, they are accomplished and important contributing chefs. The curiosity lies in that TIME ran with such a male-centric issue, perhaps highlighting media’s gender bias against female chefs? I guess, at least in this instance, god is a man. Fine Dining Lovers, a popular publication highlighting top luxury destinations, food trends and worldwide culinary events published a list of the top 100 chefs in 2020 (Pelligrino & Panna, 2019). Four of the 100 chefs are female.

Then there is the World’s 50 Best. In 2002 a panel of more than 1,000 culinary experts created the voting procedure to create an annual list of the world’s finest dining experiences and destinations “in addition to being a barometer for global and gastronomic trends” (The World’s

50 Best Restaurants, 2019). From what I surmise, the global trend is to neglect the accomplishments of female chefs and those of colour (Yagoda, 2018). A celebration of systemic discrimination and segregation made glaring with the “existence of a separate Best Female Chef award, as though women chefs could not possibly compete with their male counterparts, as though they are not simply ‘chefs’, plain and simple” (Yagoda, 2018). As well intentioned as this award might be, it is also deeply insulting – I mean, will there be a “chefs of colour” award soon? Time will tell.

This mentality is pervasive in industry. Vice magazine epitomized the male-centric ethos of the kitchen when in 2017, the magazine published the article “We asked male chefs why there are so few women in professional kitchens” which was later updated to reflect the geographical location of the article (Holland). All the usual reasons were given with addition of some fairly offensive ones. Most noted was the perceived lack of physical strength of women which at least in these chef’s eyes, was a major culprit (Beertsen, 2017).

Dennis Trappenburg (2017), chief cook at GYS in Rotterdam asserted that “it’s still more of a male thing to have the strength to work long hours”, while Daniel Lansbergen, cook at Kafé Belgiëën Utrecht seconded this assumption and then doubled down:

working in the kitchen remains physical work: you have to stand and work hard for long periods. It might sound jerky, but this is easier for men. Standing for 12 hours straight is more difficult for a woman, because women are just built differently. Really, don't get me wrong; it's also because of the hard culture in the kitchen. You don't ask nicely if you may pass, but you shout: 'MOVE!' Women find it harder to cope with that. I think these two reasons are the explanation. (Beertsen, 2017)

Clearly Chef Trappenburg's communication skills leave much to be desired by all genders. Never mind that women are already doing this work in their households throughout the world. Regardless of how household work is measured, women continue to spend significantly more time doing unpaid household related work than their male counterparts regardless of whether they are employed or not (Berardo, Shehan, Leslie, 1987; Marini & Sheiton, 1993; Presser, 1994). Many women are the last to go to sleep and the first to get up in the morning. Their kitchen is open and running 24 hours a day and often they are the only employee. In short, women are already working these physically demanding long hours in environments where there is little recognition. The difference is, they aren't being paid for it.

Renee Heijnen from the at Restaurant Muziekcafé 't Oude Pothuys in Utrecht, Netherlands noted that "it's physically still quite difficult for a woman to reach the top ... you start as a dishwasher, and that means doing the dirty job first. Girls don't want that" (Beertsen, 2017). Assuming that by "girls" Chef Heijnen meant adult women, it is ridiculous to assert that men over women are more willing to do a dirty job first, particularly when much of the unpaid work that takes place in the household has been considered a women's work. Perhaps what Chef Heijnen really meant was that women shouldn't get paid to do the work that they already are doing for free.

When Lucas Jeffries, Executive Chef at Instock Nederland was asked why he thinks there are so few women in the professional kitchen, his response ranged from condescending to outright offensive.

I want more women in the kitchen. They don't necessarily all have to be beautiful, though that would be a bonus, of course -- It's hard to find female cooks, and I think this is because women like to do something more valuable. It's also because women are more intelligent, I

think. They need more stimuli to be encouraged. Men want to create something nice and don't care about repetitive work as much as women do. (Beertsen, 2017)

The progression of offensive responses continued. Jason Blanckaert's, chief cook and owner of J.E.F. in Ghent, answer was just slightly more outrageous:

I think that women often give up the job because of their social life—in my experience at least. Good female cooks often quit their work because the boyfriend, for example, finds it hard to be in second place; his girl is often away from home and that means he has to cook his own food -- The women that continue to work in the kitchen are often lesbians. (Beertsen, 2017)

I suppose lesbians are free of the shackles that bind straight women into servitude. Lucky them? I'm speechless ... actually, I'm not.

Of course, these interviews represent just a small number of male chefs in a very large industry and so their comments are at best anecdotal. However, they do bring up some fairly common themes noted by the female-chef participants of this study not to mention countless of my male colleagues; women are not strong enough, they cannot work for as long, they cannot take jokes (a.k.a harassment) and so on. The kitchen is a difficult place regardless of gender; however, it happens to be harder for women (Agg, 2017). From my personal experience, I know I am strong, that I can and have worked long hours and have certainly sucked up my fair share of "jokes" so I decided to interview five accomplished female-identifying chefs and find out what they think. I mean really, women are cooking everywhere, they make up a large proportion of graduates from culinary institutions, so where are they in industry? Why are they not equally represented in the positions of executive chef or as culinary instructors? It can't just be that men

are “better” suited for the work. Clearly there is something else is going on, in so the essence of my research.

Where We are Going - Road Map of the Research

The aim of this research is to first develop an understanding of the structural dynamics at play that impede gender equity in the professional kitchen. This means that by exploring social order theory and the prominent social hierarchy within kitchens, we can begin to garner an understanding of the process of reification and perpetuation of the dominant ideology in our professional kitchens, educational institutions and greater society. By establishing the factions of the research problem, the collected data of top restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops, then by superimposing these data against the enrolment, graduation and gender breakdown of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) Culinary and Professional Food Studies instructors statistics, we can establish that there is a disconnect between the rate of which we graduate female chefs and their ability to find gainful and sustainable employment within the industry. From this information, we can begin to understand that there are two structures working in unison that impede gender equity in the professional kitchen; the organizational structure and the social hierarchy. These structures often are mistaken as being synonymous. The data gathered from the five female chefs indicate that in order for there to be meaningful change for women in the professional kitchen, both the organizational and hierarchal systemic issues that impede equity must be addressed together. These chefs not only shifted their thinking and in doing so disrupted the male centric hierarchal structure, they have employed functional changes to the organization structure which has enabled them to build diversity and equity in the professional kitchen and the industry. From this, we explore comprehensive recommendations for the post-secondary institution. These recommendations are simple and practical though could

have profound impacts for stratified individuals. In so, education can be the tool addressing the many challenges female-identifying chefs face from the organizational and hierarchal structure, of which could spur diversification and innovation within the greater industry.

Research Problem

Biologists often talk about the “ecology” of an organism: the tallest oak in the forest is the tallest not just because it grew from the hardiest acorn; it is the tallest also because no other trees blocked its sunlight, the soil around it was deep and rich, no rabbit chewed through its bark as a sapling, and no lumberjack cut it down before it matured. We all know that successful people come from hardy seeds. But do we know enough about the sunlight that warmed them, the soil in which they put down the roots, and the rabbits and lumberjacks they were lucky enough to avoid. (Gladwell, 2013)

While the graduation rate of individuals identifying as female continues to rise dramatically in the culinary world, the top restaurants and hotels in Edmonton, Alberta are still predominately run by men. This study aims to begin to identify common attributes, skills and/or strategies in which have enabled female-identifying chefs to climb the ranks in the culinary world.

Research Question

The hospitality industry is rife with gender-related inequitable opportunities. Although the female graduation rates at The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology continue to rise, the hospitality industry continues to struggle in the hiring and promoting of female chefs at the same rate as male chefs. In so, my research question is as follows:

What are the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the professional kitchen?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

School and Cooking and Cooking School: An Overview

Imagine if you could go to school for what you are passionate about and then working reasonable hours while earning a living wage and doing the job you were trained to do. Imagine if school was responsible for changing the outer world and not training people to *fit* into it; producing students ready and/or unwittingly to reproduce a hierarchal structure that hurts them. Imagine if school taught us to recognize privilege. Imagine if all students left school with equal opportunities and inspired spirits rather than worn down hearts. Imagine if these students were welcomed into their careers and valued for bringing about social change.

In my post-secondary job, which is as an instructor for a technical institution, I hear the same phrase daily. At the very least, I hear “in industry” once a day. This means “in the real world or the professional kitchen”, which we have substantial experiences, albeit some of our experience may be a little fresher than others. Regardless, “in industry” is the mantra and above all, it’s the excuse to not do better. Industry is the justifier in any scenario. I have listened to instructors use industry as a justification for their assessment practices and for downplaying students who suffer from test anxiety “industry is stressful so if you can’t handle writing a multiple-choice test then you aren’t going to be successful (never mind that in the professional kitchen, multiple choice exams are not a common occurrence)¹”. I hear it when students are late or miss a class, when students are sick or need to leave early for an appointment, or they just don’t move as fast as the instructor would like. I hear the antiquated comment “in industry (student name) isn’t going to make it”. I have even heard it applied to a student because she was wearing lipstick.

So, my question is, if our job, as educators, is to help our students be successful, why are we upholding the industry hierarchy that only the few will be “successful”? Where does our responsibility lay? Is it up to “industry” and how industry traditionally defines success? Is it to the students who seek out, pay for and receive culinary training and education? Is it to the students who have little chances of being successful in terms of procuring gainful employment and climb the ranks of the professional kitchen? And how are we defining what being “successful” is? Because this term seems to live in this weird world in which it is both completely personal and totally ubiquitous.

It is important to shed light on my own personal experiences with success, with school and how I found a home in the professional kitchen. In the spirit of openness and vulnerability, I would like to share a bit of my epistemology with hopes to disclose the lens with which my research is filtered.

I remember lying in bed, awake at 3:00 am. I was 7 years old and contemplating all the ways I could get out of disappointing everyone. Maybe I would fall down the stairs in the morning and break my leg, maybe I would get hit by a car on the way... anything that would keep me from failing and expose me as being at best, mediocre. As a child, I understood that if I did not capitalize on my athleticism, everything I wasn't good at would suddenly be visible and relevant and that seemed to be the single worst thing that could happen to me. I would just be another mediocre kid. A kid that was terrible in school and destined to a career flipping burgers or frying doughnuts, which as it turns out, wasn't too far off.

I have always been a competitive and kinesthetic person and so not being able to keep up to my classmates academically was both confusing and terrifying. If I really think about it, I began to equate success with being better than others when I started gymnastics at the age of 6 years

old. At age 9, I added competitive cross country running and the 1500 meter and shortly thereafter, ballet (which initially was taken to support gymnastics but became a monster all of its own). Competition was the foundation for every single activity in my life; it was how I gauged success and how I hid my shortfalls. Even an everyday walk became a competition with anyone around me. When my brother began to refuse to walk to school or engage with me (it's no fun winning if your competitor isn't trying), I would compete against myself. Armed with a stopwatch, I would time myself every day. Eventually, I was the weirdo kid sprinting to and from school, regardless of the weather conditions. If I didn't beat or at least match my previous time, my entire day would be ruined and I would quietly sit through school mentally abusing myself for doing poorly. This was just the beginning of a pattern that went wildly unchecked and as a result, came to drive the majority of my life, my career and now, my research.

As I entered my adult life, I continued to flee my fear of mediocrity; what if I was a dummy like I had learned in school? I continued filling my need of validation with chocolate and pastry competitions. Not much changed, I still spent every evening either practicing in the bakeshop or at home, visualizing every single movement my body would make (a technique I used in gymnastics, ballet and even running) so that when it came time to compete, my body could go into auto pilot while my brain nervously freaked out. Again, when I was not perfect or at least improving, my self-abuse continued. My social life and relationships disintegrated as I gave everything up in order to train. It was at this point (2007), with the help of a professional, I realized how unhealthy it was for me to compete and so I quit. I proudly quit all my competitive activities; however, I certainly did not quit my way of validating myself. No, no... I fiercely held on to my modus operandi and continued to determine to measure my self-value by way of comparisons.

I now see that I was still that grade school kid, terrified that someone would discover how “dumb” I was but now I was an adult. To fill the vacuum, I began to buy plane tickets and became really good at travelling (I essentially just ran away) ... problem solved right? Not quite. Throughout this messy and sometimes ridiculous running, I funded my travels by working in kitchens. The professional kitchen was and is the one constant in my life. I knew I belonged even when I didn't. Confusing, I know.

School work has never come easily to me; most of my academic career has been like pulling a legless donkey through the mud. In this metaphor I am the donkey. I did not learn to read until grade 4, my mathematics level is embarrassing and without a computer, spell check and a thesaurus, I would never had pursued post-secondary education. Through these experiences, I learned I wasn't “school smart” but I sure as heck am “kitchen-smart”. Whether it be society, my parents or what-have you, I learned a very narrowly defined of success, that is, post-secondary education, and then grade school taught me that I didn't fit into it. What I am trying to say is that it's not “competition” that I take issue with, but the nature of comparatives. You see, I wasn't happy unless I could compare myself to someone else, that's the crux of the issue; I wasn't happy unless I won and someone else lost and if I am being honest, I think that it continues to drive a lot of my actions to this day. I mean, just because you are aware of something doesn't mean you aren't susceptible to it, right? It's just that things have changed now. It's not just about me anymore. I now feel a responsibility towards the physical and mental well-being of my students. I worry that because I am directly involved in teaching and creating programming and assessments for a post-secondary institution, I am contributing to a narrow version of success and a social hierarchy that perpetuates classification and stigmatization. And, to be honest, I am really worried that there is a student lying in bed somewhere, praying that they will get hit by a

car instead of having to compete ... instead of becoming compared. A kid lying in bed equating their success to the failures of others. To be honest, what I believe with my rose-coloured goggles firmly affixed to my noggin, is that our social hierarchy and definition of success is hurting a lot of human beings and it doesn't need to.

The term "success" is omnipresent and we as social beings attempt to accept success as something that is objectively measurable. Though we must understand that while success may be a universal term, it is impossible to define exclusively; nor does the notion of success exist isolated from personal beliefs and values and our social dominant ideology. Even though one can be successful at anything, from becoming a doctor to toasting the perfect marshmallow, society values particular successes over others particularly within education and the careers we choose to pursue. I can't help but to picture two dating profiles: one with "doctor" listed and the other with "marshmallow toaster". Success becomes further constricted as you enter your career. Herein lies the issue: within education and industry, we seem to treat a concept which is naturally subjective and individually determined, as one that is objective and easily measurable. The matrix we use as a measurement has been largely determined before we even have a chance to understand what success might mean for ourselves. Measuring the subjective as if it is objective, often disenfranchises those who haven't fit snugly into the prevailing definition of success. This does not bode well for anyone and in the words of Malcolm Gladwell (2013), there is "something profoundly wrong with the way we make sense of success" (p. 17).

The prevailing definition of success imposes a social hierarchy in every facet of education and our industry. Schools sort individuals based on everything from position (support, teaching, administrative staff, etc.), the type of teaching contract you hold (temp/probe/continuous etc.),

the grades or subjects you teach (academic/vocational/ elementary/high school etc.), to the schools you work at (location/demographic). The professional kitchen does the same, what position you hold, what tasks you are assigned, the physical location you are in all determine your position along the hierarchy. Of course, these hierarchies absolutely serve an organizational purpose, schools and the professional kitchen would be a crazy mess without some organizational structure in place. But we must make a clear distinction between an organizational structure and a hierarchy. Organizational structures coordinate functional ability, and hierarchies work to stratify and marginalize. Now, these two “entities” often do not exist in isolation. Within our education system and in the professional kitchen, we have both systemically intertwined. In so, sometimes, it is easy to confuse a system that is integral to functionality with one that is broken. One that damages the majority of its participants.

On its own, the hierarchal structure acts akin to a sort of social calibrating mechanism. As the participants, from those in the upper echelon of management to the custodial staff and everyone in between, superimpose themselves against this hierarchy, we begin to appraise ourselves by means of comparisons. Measuring and ranking according to an outside force rather than from our inner voice and while this ranking system may not be blatantly forthright, it is exceptionally strong. It quietly informs students of the social and educational hierarchy that will eventually, if not already, sort and classify them as well. This practice of comparing ourselves against each other leads to a subtle and unsanctioned culture of competition first in our school systems then into whichever career path taken. These actions perpetuate a hierarchy that benefits the few instead of the many.

The problem with the iteration of success within the professional kitchen is exactly this. Cooks and chefs are in fierce competition over almost everything from the best ingredients, the

top stages and the most Michelin stars and although not every cook or chef is like this, very many are. It is bred into us and is on proud display; a whole section of entertainment highlighting the competitive nature of chefs and of kitchen culture has cropped up: MasterChef, Chopped, The Great British Bake Off, Hell's Kitchen, Iron Chef, Cutthroat Kitchen, Cake Wars, The Final Table, Beat Bobby Flay, Guy's Grocery Games and so on and so on. Then, disturbingly we project this competitive culture on to children and I fear to a greater extent, exploit children for entertainment purposes, in MasterChef Junior, Kids Baking Championship and Chopped Junior.

For those professional competitors who may not be interested in starring in a prime-time television show, some of the oldest competitions in culinary history become the place to assert professional competency and social status. There is the prestigious International Kochkunst Ausstellung Culinary Olympics dating back to the year 1900 (Internationale Kochkunst Ausstellung, 2020). For the bakers, the invitational Masters de la Boulangerie and the Coupe du Monde de la Patisserie, are highly coveted competitions and all require between 500 to 1,000 hours of practice after formula development. Formula is a fancy way us bakers and pastry chefs say "recipe" (Fitz-Gerald, 2018). And if, for example, your talents are with working with chocolate, you could choose from the World Final (2018) in Florence, Italy, Cegunda Competencia de Chocolates de Centro América (2018) in Guatemala City or the Italian/Mediterranean Chocolatier and the Eastern European Chocolatier Competition (2020) both held in Florence, Italy. There is the French Chocolatier Competition (2020) and the Benelux Chocolatier Competition (2020) in Paris, the Scandinavian Chocolatier Competition (2019) and the European, Middle Eastern and African Bean-to-bar Competition (2019), which both take place in Copenhagen, Denmark. The DACH – Deutschland / Österreich / Schweiz Wettbewerb Chocolatier Competition (2019) in Hannover, Germany, Americas – Bean-to-bar and Chocolatier

Competition (2019) New York, the Asia-Pacific Bean-to-bar and Chocolatier Competition (2019) Ping-Tung, Taiwan, the British Chocolatier Competition (2019) in York, and so on and so on and so on. Each facet of cooking and baking have their own series of exclusive competitions and the list above is just the tip of the competition iceberg.

For Edmonton students, there is the World Skills Competitions (2020) which host culinary and baking completions for students in grade 9 through to post-secondary with an age cap of 22, and also the Canadian Culinary Federation's Edmonton High School Culinary (2016). There is no real escape from competition, and I have to be honest, I have both competed in pastry and chocolate competitions and coached teenage students for both Skills and the High School Challenge competitions. Without boasting, I have a very good record and had the opportunity to become one of the five coaches and only female coach for the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Culinary Team who competed in the International Kochkunst Ausstellung Culinary Olympics (2020) in Stuttgart Germany winning a bronze medal. Competition is a glaring reality in this iteration of success.

Competition can be healthy and advantageous. Within my study, of the five female-identifying chefs interviewed, three of them participated in International and/or Food Network competitions. By participating and triumphing in these competitions, the female-identifying chefs were able to established and re-established themselves, particularly after maternity leave, as professionals on par with their male colleagues. But like the entwined hierarchal and organizational structures, competition has a sinister side and often obtaining "success" in the professional kitchen come at a cost many are just unable to pay.

From the perspective as a chef, what does "success" look like in the professional kitchen? It appears that what "success" looks like in our current iteration of industry is working all the time.

Success appears to mean being the first to arrive in the kitchen and the last to leave. Like honing many skills, success means doing the same task over and over till perfection, but in our industry, this means working for minimal monetary returns, for free or actually paying for the privilege through *stages* and the like. Success seems to mean experiencing bullying and, in some cases, overt harassment. Success comes with a price tag in our industry, it costs relationships, it costs personal opportunities and if you are one of the lucky few to have the opportunity to have a family and a career, it often costs you every holiday and most birthdays. As a parent, it costs reading bedtime stories, meet-the-teacher nights, soccer games and dance recitals. It costs you the chance to actively be with your loved ones, whomever they may be. I firmly believe that being successful in any career you chose should not come at the cost of everything else in your life, man or woman. I do not think it should be unreasonable to not only want but to expect to have both a career and a life. Currently, our iteration of “industry” has a very hard time recognizing that balance is needed. I think our occupational identity is a little messed up so here is what I propose.

I propose that we shift our thoughts and beliefs about what makes someone “successful”. That we must recognize how out of reach and damaging the practice of being “successful” may be to most people in the culinary industry. That antiquated adage “you won’t make it in industry” is a synonymous with “you’re not tough enough” and “you don’t work hard enough”; a by-product of a hierarchy that encourages arbitrary stratification (i.e., based on gender), demands complete devotion and of which is a mechanism facilitating and perpetuating a competitive and comparative culture. Talent, education, and willingness mean little to the professional kitchen if not coupled with sacrificing your monetary gains and most of your personal life and often personal boundaries. The professional kitchen rarely recognizes personal commitments. This

competitive and comparative culture that serves the hierarchal structure culture divides and unifies people. It alienates and fosters belonging, it normalizes healthy and abusive environments, but in all cases, this hierarchal structure standardizes occupational identities and practices that benefit the few instead of the many.

In so, it is of importance to explore the foundation and progression of social order theory to understand the responsibility of the post-secondary technical institution in reifying the occupational identity of those employed within the professional kitchen. In the following sections, a brief overview is given on the extensive work by social order theorists. We will explore the implications of economic conditions on class affiliation as well as the circumstances which aid and abide the continuance of a dominant ideology. Further attention will be drawn to the way in which society perpetuates a culture of comparisons, from the reproduction of common life experiences, to how we signal our social status. Considerations will be given to the form of personal capital, primarily the cultural artefacts individuals possess as well as the types of knowledge they have access to and/or possess contributing to stratification which in turn creates a sense of belonging. This process highlights that the reproductions of dominant ideology and common life experiences abides and reifies occupational identities regardless of how beneficial or hurtful they might be. Furthermore, I propose the use of critical theory as a lens with which to explore the huge potential schools have for being the primary site for social reform; a place to develop a just and equitable society, a site where critical thought acts as the foundation for emancipation (Giroux, 1983).

A Brief Overview of Social Order Theory

To understand the social hierarchy at play in our schools, workplaces and greater society, we must have a foundational understanding of what constitutes social order and how that came to be.

Beginning with Karl Marx (1848), it is essential to be familiar with the connection between economic structure and social order. The backbone of Marx's social hierarchy rested on the relationship between the bourgeoisie who own the means of production and the proletariat who sell their labour. Capitalists would claim that this system has the potential to be a source of freedom from bondage (McNally, 2007). When social stratification is driven primarily by economics, one must recognize that financial mobility provides enhanced life changing opportunities. It would seem that as individuals have the "opportunity" to "sell" their labour, capitalism is actually a source of liberation (McNally, 2007). However, those who are not the "owners of production" run the risk of starvation if they cannot sell or find buyers for their labour, so "this freedom is (more accurately) often a form of deprivation" (McNally, 2007, p.113).

Further, class lines are not simply drawn between those wealthy enough to be "owners" and the "non owners". As the proletariat class struggles to sell their labour, subcategories begin to emerge, divided by type of ownership or service provided (Giddens & Held, 1982; Marx, 1848; Weber, 1978). As social stratification takes place, relationships surface; unifying those who not only share common economics but who also share the friction of class division (Gingrich, 1999; Marx, 1848).

Class is not solely defined in terms of common economics but is also dependent on class opposition; a comparative relationship between classes results in competitive environment which eventually establishes rank in society (Gingrich, 1999; Marx, 1848). For example, while the bourgeois class is characterized by owning the means of production, it is not the means of production which alone constitutes social rank. Without the proletariat class in opposition, comparisons would not be possible, and the bourgeois would cease to exist because they would

be the norm. Even though the convention of ownership linking the bourgeois as a class has its merits, particularly when their economic dominance is challenged, they will unite; however, it is the hostility and competition between the bourgeois and the proletariat classes which truly enacts social stratification (Giddens & Held, 1982; Gingrich, 1999; Marx, 1848). Weber (1978) further argues the establishment of class lines are not only dependent on members recognizing their collective interests but are also due in part to the friction of interactions with different social classes (Bielby & Baron, 1987; Strober, Myra & Arnold, 1987). Again, we see that stratification does not exist without class interactions; one dictates the other (Weber, 1978). This relationship mirrors the dichotomy which transpires in competition, a winner is only designated a “winner” if they have triumphed over other “losers”; three Michelin Stars mean nothing if there is not a chef with no Michelin Stars.

Max Weber (1978) argued that first and foremost, social order is predicated by social power. He further classifies the source of social power into two groupings: economic (gleaned from Karl Marx), and honour/life style power in which an actor or actors has the ability to assert his or her will in a social action, even against the will of other actors. Although the classification of economic power and honour are understood as separate entities which contribute to social power, Weber (1978) contends that it is the interrelation that prompts social stratification.

Economic power is valuable in its own right, yet many do not strive for power for the sole purpose of financial enrichment (Weber, 1978). Striving for power is more often for the purposes of gaining social honour/status (Weber, 1978). Simply “having a lot of money” does not necessarily translate to social status. For example, Old Money and New Money families may share a comparable economic status, though the same may not be true about social status as Old Money is often about prestige rather than actual wealth (Sanders, 2017). Social order is similarly

related to economic order; just as the distribution of economic goods are used to establish economic order, “classes” and “status groups” are phenomena, which distribute power within a community.

Status and economics to a degree are mostly determined initially by specific and often uncontrollable life circumstances (Weber, 1978). Being born into a certain family may come with its privileges; those of a high status monopolize the status system, which perpetuates the sense of nobility and purity at the top (Weber, 1978). So, it would seem that status is predetermined by birth right and has little to do with economic fluidity; however, we cannot ignore the relationship. High status groups share a distain for social mobility based on economic means. Further, high status groups often are privileged economically and so are able to control mobility between social classes (Weber, 1978).

Much of the work in theory of class borrows and expands on both Marx and Weber, it is Anthony Giddens (1982) who explores the transition and translation between economic relationship and non-economic social structure. Stressing that the stratification of class structure is fundamentally governed by the distribution of class mobility. Limited intergenerational and career mobility facilitates the creation and perpetuation of class identity and occupational identities (Giddens & Held, 1982). Depending on one’s “property in the means *of* production; possession *of* educational or technical qualifications; and possession *of* manual labour-power”, a common life experience and occupational identity is reproduced (Giddens & Held, 1982, p. 159). Importantly, social mobility affects high and low status groups in much the same way; there are as many barriers for the labourer’s child who wants to be a doctor as is for the doctor’s child who wants to be a labourer.

As the interdependency of economy and society is one which is dynamic, humanity is constantly forced to engage in identity and social hierarchal construction (Giddens, 1999). It stands that although economic conditions are the crucial kindling in determining social order, it is the comparative culture with which ignites competition and social division (Bottero, 2007; Roberts, 2001; Acher, 1990; Bielby & Baron, 1987; Strober, Myra & Arnold, 1987). This, in turn, is perpetuated by the reproduction of common life experiences, common occupational identities and expectations and the ability to limit or control social mobility.

Status Consumption

We have established that an individual's economic conditions impact their position along the social hierarchy. We have also established that social hierarchy is dependent on class friction; employing class comparisons as a mechanism for stratification. As individuals evaluate each other, social identity and distinction are at least in part perpetuated based on their cultural capital; in other terms, the products they own and consume (Bourdieu, 1984; Eastman, 2015). Cultural capital and participation in cultural capital activities range from one's choice of clothing, food and lifestyle to one's knowledge and preferences of art and education referred to as cultural capital and cultural participation. In terms of the professional kitchen, cultural capital is similar, the type of uniform, variety and level of menu within an establishment and one's lifestyle facilitates differing degrees of mobility along the hierarchy. In both scenarios, these "products" act like a currency transmitted inter-generationally within communities be it family, friends or work communities, representing social status and an aptitude or inaptitude for competent consumption behaviours, all which play an integral role in stratification.

As Pierre Bourdieu (1984) stresses at great length, individuals tailor their expectations and ultimately how they view themselves in terms of status, employing curated cultural capital to suit

and contest their position along the social hierarchy (Wright, 2007). The hospitality industry is certainly not brimming with affluent labours; nonetheless, tattoos have begun to shape the visual landscape of the kitchen. Whereas before, inclusion came in the form of conscription; the army of indistinguishable figures in whites and toques, the uniform traditionally and proudly worn in the kitchen are now accented with tattoos and signify “a symbolic battleground; asserting autonomy over the authority figures trying to enforce standard codes of appearance” relative to their occupational identity (Fitzgerald & MacNaughton, 2016, p.43; Kang & Jones, 2007).

Tattoos naturally lend themselves to the military-esque-ness of the commercial kitchen. Accuracy, discipline, rigor, and bellicose nature are signified by the permanency of the artwork and often by the artwork itself. And while getting a knife tattooed on your forearm does not solely dictate inclusion, it is one form of the new object symbolism working to signify occupational identity and work as visual indicators “signify[ing] and solidify[ing] group memberships” (Fitzgerald & MacNaughton, 2016, p.43; Kang & Jones, 2007).

As individuals incorporate cultural capital as object symbolisms (i.e., tattoos, uniforms, clothing, cars, cell phones and even education, etc.) into their own self-identity, their cultural capital acts as visible declarations of class based on consumption affiliations (Eastman, 2015; Richins, 1994). Interestingly, the value of status goods has little to do with economics and the procurement of goods are far from dependent on income level (Eastman, 2015; Shukla, 2008). Individuals may purchase artefacts considered to be above their social status, signaling the potential for social mobility and social inclusion. However, while the purchasing of the “right” capital is a wee bit of freedom to maneuver socially, those consumptive behaviours artificially confine the individuals to the contracts of the dominant ideology even though the definitions and labels placed on themselves are by themselves. If the correct status image can bring about an

increase in value to the consumer, not to mention revenue for the owner, in terms of potential social rank, social inclusion and mobility, the consumption of object symbolisms and/or artifacts (i.e., cultural capital) is not only a visible reminder but a mechanism constructing and reifying social status (Eastman, 2015; Vigneron & Johnson, 1999). Cultural capital, like economics, is a mechanism related to the establishment of social order; however, it is important that we do not oversimplify the equation.

Aschaffenburg and Maas' (1997) quantitative study found that within the relationship of consumption, cultural capital, and educational careers, cultural capital plays a meaningful part in an individual's schooling. Drawing from data taken from the 1982, 1985 and 1992 Surveys of Public Participation in the Arts (Williams & Keen, 2009) and framed within Bourdieu's (1984) ideas of cultural capital and reproduction, empirical research suggests that even though the social reproduction model is significant in a child's educational achievements, it fails to conclude when and for how long cultural capital and cultural participation are important (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997). The crux of the issue is that the social reproduction model ceases to acknowledge subjectivity; one must take into account the characteristics of the child and parent(s) in relation to cultural capital and the participation in cultural capital activities (e.g., visiting the museum or monster truck show, eating at Noma or McDonalds) (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997). Regardless of this discrepancy, it is clear that there is more to the paradigm than simply possessing high status capital. Further, findings suggest that the real provocation in stratification is the reproduction of social mobility enacted through the acquisition or perpetuations of cultural capital and the participation in cultural activities (DiMaggio, 1982). Overly simplified, you are not a chef just because you have a knife tattoo and wear whites when you host a dinner party at home. You will have to participate in the cultural activities of the industry by jumping in the

trenches, doing your time in the professional kitchen and having a beer with the boys afterwards if you want to begin to be taken seriously.

If we look at kitchens as teaching grounds, which certainly they are, we can surmise that participating in the cultural activities in a professional kitchen creates a sense of belonging, but it is the type of kitchen and chef leading the establishment that have a greater ability to campaign for their employee's occupational mobility and have the allowance to shift occupational identity. In terms of education, Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) acknowledge the cyclical nature of inherited social status as an alternative explanation. It is not the cultural capital/participation in cultural activities which is the indicator of social status or social mobility but more so about the correlation between those of high-status and the general investment of time/ability to advocate in favour of a child's education which produces more effective results (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997). In the professional kitchen, a chef running a high-status fine dining establishment generally invests more time and has the ability to promote their cooks resulting in upward social mobility than let's say the shift leader at MacDonalDs. However, stratification begins long before a cook enters the professional kitchen and it might even be the reason for entering.

Malcolm Gladwell (2013) provides a similar explanation of social stratification by comparing the lives of low, middle and high-status families. Although the data collected in this study are inefficient to support this theory concretely, Gladwell (2013) draws from a study of third graders done by sociologist Annette Lareau (2011) that highlights parental involvement as a key indicator of social capital. Comparing parenting styles, Lareau (2011) found that middle- and upper-class families actively foster and cultivate their child's talents, options, and skills while those families from low status groups understand their responsibility to care for their children but

play passive roles, allowing for their child to develop and grow on their own (Gladwell, 2013; Lareau, 2011). Gladwell concedes that even though wealth provides undeniable advantages, what is critical to the perpetuation of social order, a child's cultivated sense of entitlement, "an attitude perfectly suited to succeeding in the modern world" (Gladwell, 2013, p. 108; Lareau, 2011).

Wealth and cultural capital are mechanisms determining social statuses; however, they are not acting in isolation. For example, children from identical income distributions will experience unique challenges dependent multiple uncontrollable factors; race, age, neurodiversity, sexual identity and gender. The list is not exhaustive, but because the nature of this research involves the experiences of female-identifying chefs, we must acknowledge the intersectionality of stratification, the overlapping of interdependent systems further discriminating those already marginalized.

Gender Theory

Prior to the feminist revolution, sociological and human capital theories predominantly blamed women for their lower status and wages (Schilt, 2010; Williams, 1995). Gender inequality in the workplace hinged on personal investment in one's career according to human capital theory (Blau, Ferber, & Winkler, 2005; Padavic & Reskin, 2002; Polachek, 1981). This theory argues that accolades are distributed based on inherent responsibilities of men and women. For example, traditionally men have been the providers for the family, in so, men invested in training, higher education and generally spent more time at work due to their familial responsibilities. Conversely, this theory argues that women invested less in their careers and more in the responsibilities of managing a household. The problem with this theory is that it assumes a traditional heterosexual family with children is the norm, which, is clearly not the case (Coontz, 1997). Considering that females are obtaining certificates, diplomas and degrees at a

higher rate than men in Canada, we can surmise that the perspective of human capital theory has serious pitfalls (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Socialization theory proposes that gender inequities in the organizational environment are a byproduct of the reproduction of common life experiences. Our career choices predominantly rest on the definition of masculinity and femininity within the dominant ideology (Williams & Dellinger, 2010). In short, social stratification occurs to account for the differences in gender qualities and argues that social stratification ensures functionality and our larger social stability (Parsons, 2012). This again is problematic in that it assumes that gender and the presumptive qualities are fixed and static rather than fluid and constructed.

Kanter (1993) maintains that sex segregation and tokenism are the main culprits in the facilitation of gender inequity in the workplace. In this theory, Kanter posies that men and women develop masculine and feminine qualities because of their positions within the workplace rather than as a result of early socialization; simply put, the job develops the qualities conducive to the position. Further, tokenism in which a single minority is put into a majority (a single woman in an office full of men), run the risk of greater curiosity and often intense scrutiny. And as the token person contests the unwanted attention, they either reify their minority status or refuse to recognize themselves as a member of the minority from which they come from in an attempt to navigate their surroundings (Kanter, 1993).

Acher (1990) unposed these two theories on the bases that they assumed that the workplace was both gender neutral and that there is a sound and rationally organization within the labour market and that positions are awarded and held by the most qualified people. Clearly this is not the case as the Human Capital theory and Socialization theory ignore the implications of outside responsibilities and unpaid work such as childcare, which often fall on women and paint the high

paying and high-power positions gendered as male. Acker's (1992) theory of gendered organizations further demands the acknowledgement that gender is present in all "processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life" (p. 567). In so, gendered hiring and gendered positions are inherent to organizations and institutions.

Men's power in society cannot be ignored and many theories prior to the 1900s feminist revolution ascribed power to the patriarchy on the basis that men were inherently driven to oppress women (MacKinnon, 1987; Rich, 1980). Though in most organizations and institutions, the patriarchal power structure is driven primarily by consent through the defending and contesting of their position along the social hierarchy. The power structure is then reified through active compliance instead of coercion.

The mechanisms of consent were uncovered by Connell's (1995) theory of Hegemonic Masculinity, which aims to address the clearly evident construct wherein men predominately hold higher level and higher paying positions than women (c.f., Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell (1995) argues that hegemonic masculinity is not an illustration of the characteristics of real men but more so an ideology that justifies their dominance of power. However, while this ideology may not represent "real men", it is evident that many men benefit from this configuration of practice there are men who do not and are often marginalized by sexuality and/or race. Stratification and marginalization are enacted through hegemonic masculine complicity and must be addressed and dismantled socially and institutionally in order to begin to build equity (Williams & Dellinger, 2010).

Working in tandem with hegemonic masculinity in our organization and institutions, it is clear that every group encounter gender stereotypes to some extent (Ridgeway, 2009). Although

Intersectionality theory argues the opposite, that only certain groups experience stereotyping, this is not the case. For example, stereotypical thinking associate characteristics to women such as patient, emotional and nurturing. Men are believed to possess qualities such as rationality and an authoritative command (Williams, 1995). All groups encounter stereotypes based on a plethora of non-job-related characteristics such as race, gender, sexuality, and/or social economic status and, in turn, individuals use these categories to define themselves including the workplace (Ridgeway, 2009).

What role do gender stereotypes play in relegating women to lower positions within the workforce? Harris and Giuffre (2010) argue that the act of embracing and redefining femininity from a perceived weakness to a quality which enables effective leadership will eventually undermine privilege and create diversity within the professional kitchen. Further, they argue the need for more women in positions of leadership will facilitate the transformation of relationships that respect equity.

Of course, not all women leaders embody the stereotypical feminine characteristics. Penner and Toro-Tulla (2010) demonstrate that some women do not challenge organizational and/or institutional gender inequity. Their study examines the pay structure in place in male and female owned small businesses, discovering that regardless of ownership, men workers more often receive higher pay than women in similar positions (Penner & Toro-Tulla, 2010). The authors do take into account that the majority of small business owners are male; however, the findings that women working in male as well as female owned small businesses face similar wage inequities is certainly disheartening. We must acknowledge that gender is merely one article in a collection of attributes and that simply achieving critical mass is not the only answer in the genre inequity conundrum.

Further, the conceptualization of gender within the interlocking systems of our social and organizations structures create advantages and disadvantages in complex ways. Rather than framing our paradigm as binary in which women and men sit opposed on the spectrum, it is crucial that the plethora of factors directly influencing stratification and ultimately marginalization are articulated and addressed.

Education and eventually career choices are additional forms of capital, which act as mechanisms promoting and upholding social stratification. In the 19th century, the study of classics became essential to demonstrate high-status knowledge and if a boy (schooling was primarily for males) could avoid labour for long enough to receive this training, he then could linguistically demonstrate to others that he was of high status (Goodson, 1993). Further, this classical liberal education would point to professions only suitable for an upper-class gentleman, which is a phenomenon alive and well today (Goodson, 1993). Here we begin to see education being used as a stratification mechanism.

If we apply this theory to the professional kitchen; we might glean some understanding of the workings of stratification in the workplace. If the occupational identity of high status members require at least some time that is unpaid, whether it be an hour or two before and/or after a shift or as a stagiaire, the practice affords one to potentially gain social status and career mobility. However, it stands that only a certain section of the population may weather the fiscal responsibilities that go hand in hand for unpaid hours of work. Those with financial obligations, families to take care of, rent to cover or simply not buying into this unpaid work practice are penalized while those who actively participate are rewarded. Rewarded with high status positions, these folks gain access to further cultural capital and are invited to participate in appropriate cultural activities and so on and so forth and up, up, up they go! I do not want to

minimize the tremendous amount of work and dedication of these chefs in high status position, as surely, they put the time in. The point I want to make is that not all cooks have the same shot at climbing the ranks and generally, this is dictated through the perpetuation of a common life experience. This is an interesting observation seeing as the kitchen is a hotbed for misfits so you would think that it would support its misfits. Just like the military, many in the ranks have come to find a home when they were lacking one themselves. They came for a sense of belonging, order and camaraderie.

Ball's (1983) study of Beachside Comprehensive School provides evidence that an existing hierarchy ranks subjects based on high and low status knowledge groups. The traditional subjects like math, sciences, history, geography and the study of English and other languages rank as high-status knowledge on the hierarchy due to their academic and theoretic orientation. Below the academic subjects are practical and technical Career and Technical Education (CTE) subjects and what would be considered Career and Technology Studies (CTS) in Alberta. The study clearly demonstrated that there was a high level of concentration of working-class students within the technical and practical subjects (CTE/CTS) and that the students' ability to access high status knowledge was without question, directly linked to socio-economic status (Ball, 1983; Caldwell & Ginther, 1996; Halimi, Consuegra, Struyven, & Engels, 2016; Hobbs, 1991). Ball (1983) confirms that a student's education firmly set their career choice of options in motions; influenced, in part, by a subject's social status reputation and in conjunction with a student's life experiences.

Further research suggests that socioeconomic status is a predictor of academic attainment (Ball, 1983; Caldwell & Ginther, 1996; Halimi, Consuegra, Struyven, & Engels, 2016; Hobbs, 1991). The National Centre for Educational Statistics (NCES) estimated only 7% of low socio-

economic students, 24% students considered in the middle range and 51% of high-level socio-economic students would complete a bachelor's degree by the year 2000 (Lee, Daniels, Puig, Newgent, & Kyung Nam, 2008). ANCES report from 2006 highlights the correlation between income distribution and post-secondary education enrolment noting that 91.3% of students from an income distribution greater than \$100,000 enrolled in postsecondary education. In contrast, only 53.7% of students coming from an income distribution below \$20,000 enrolled in postsecondary education (Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 Second Follow-up, 2006).

Many factors play a role in post-secondary enrolment levels. Statistics Canada documents that the increases of university tuition fails to keep up with our current rate of inflation (Frenette, 2017). There are many federal government programs aimed at supporting students from low-income families such as the Canada Learning Bond and the Additional Canada Education Savings Grant of 2004, the Millennium Access Bursury (2005) as well as the Canada Access Grant for Students from Low-income Families (2009), which was then replaced by the still available Canada Student Grant for Students from Low-Income Families (Frenette, 2017). While post-secondary enrolments of 19-year old individuals increased across all income distributions, the increases in tuition amongst other factors has seen a steady increase in enrolment by students in the low income distribution (Frenette, 2017). Those gains are predominately in the eastern provinces with more moderate gains the western provinces (Frenette, 2017). Interestingly, despite the federal targeted programs, Saskatchewan experienced no increases largely due to the decrease in enrolment of students in the lower income distribution group (Frenette, 2017).

Importantly, we cannot expect to capture all factors determining post-secondary enrolments; however, we can utilize the data to generate and consider educational and occupational trends in relation to socioeconomics and other external factors. In fact, findings suggest that any social or

cultural education which takes place outside of the school has a much greater effect on a students' educational and career outcomes than current in-school cultural education (Aschaffenburg & Maas, 1997). The structure of the outer occupational macrocosm is reflected and is dominate within the stratification of our schools (Goodson, 1993).

Finally, not only is cultural capital culturally specific, its "power" or "resources" are effective only in particular social situations (Wright, 2007). Although the procurement of the "right" type of knowledge and cultural capital works to signify social status, it too may work to counter the dominant ideology (Bourdieu, 1984; Wright, 2007). Race, gender, cultural capital, economics, sexuality, social class, education, family backgrounds, personal characteristics among many other contributing factors act as genes in our DNA, turning off and on, quietly informing and guides one's journey. We must continue to examine our experiences as they shape and reshape ideology and ask how can we resist and hopefully come to change these systems of privilege and inequity. Given the right circumstance, the right education and some blind luck, the few who successfully negotiate the rough terrain may undermine the stagnation of social mobility.

The Potential of Schools Through the Lens of Critical Theory

There is an infinite amount of fixed and explicit social rules which tell us how to behave in social situations (Durkheim, 1973). From the relationships between parents and children, romantic partnerships, to how to treat another's property and how to act at work, there are a set of social principles that are either governed by law or authorized by public conscience (Durkheim, 1973). This social "code of conduct" is constructed, communicated and enforced through our dominate ideology and social order. While these rules that dictate what is acceptable behaviour and have traditionally fallen under the family's responsibly to be taught (Durkheim, 1973), this approach is problematic. The family has traditionally played the primary role in delivering a

moral foundation, and like any social grouping, they are subject to the mechanisms of the hierarchy and, as noted above, reproduce common life experiences. This is also evident in the creation and reification of occupational identities that uphold a series of beliefs and expectations. Of course, this becomes troublesome if those life experiences and occupational identities are determined within the vacuum of social order that perpetuates marginalization. Critical theory in education may be a rebuttal and a necessity to expose the inequities within our social constructs.

Durkheim (1973) argues that moral education belongs in the school. Because morality was created and perpetuated by society, it stands that a moral education should be the foundation for social reform; that a child would be lost if they progressed beyond school age without the basis of morality (Durkheim, 1973). Stressing that without implementing moral sensitivity in education previously addressed through religious means, the inequitable allocation of rights and obligations would carry on uninterrupted (Durkheim, 1973). Insisting morality to be segmented into three elements; discipline, attachment and autonomy, Durkheim (1973) asserts that the education system would be most equipped to teach students to be self-disciplined, have a desire to be committed to social groups and to assert responsibility over one's actions and that only then would students have the ability to function in greater society. From this perspective, the school may have the ability to cast out its bias and begin to function as the hotbed of social reform; providing all students and staff with an equitable education and equitable access to careers, allowing for and supporting social mobility, and operating as a capital building institution. Unfortunately, it seems we are not there yet.

There are many silent markers in a school's structure which work to sort and classify all those in attendance (i.e., students, staff and even parents) and from a traditional theorist perspective, it

would seem that the school system is simply designed to maintain the world as it presently exists (Bohman, 2005; Lindolf & Taylor, 2011). This perspective certainly has some merits, perhaps it is my experiences or my rose-coloured glasses I am often accused of wearing, but I want to believe schools have the potential to go beyond replication of the status quo (Bohman, 2005; Lindolf & Taylor, 2011). Distinguished by its' practical purpose, Critical theory is the lens that filters my research. I have chosen Critical theory largely because Critical theory seeks "emancipation from slavery" and positions itself as a "liberating ... influence" working "to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers" for all human beings (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 246). I firmly believe schools should be the most forwarding thinking cutting edge hotbeds of social equity rather than an institution that upholds the status quo (Bohman, 2005; Horkheimer, 1972). It is undeniable that the status quo is not cutting it for our graduates.

The Frankfurt School neo-Marxists, Max Horkheimer, Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and, in later years, Jürgen Habermas, developed Critical theory. It is a theory that focuses on the inequity that accompanied industrial and corporate capitalism (Wiggershaus & Robertson, 1995). As a response to the successful adoption of capitalism and supported by commercialized mass media, this theory hinged on the belief that human beings are passively indoctrinated to accept the constructs of the dominant ideology as both objective and inescapable truths (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002; Lindolf & Taylor, 2011). The scrutiny then rests on cultural institutions, which was understood to distort peoples understanding of their existence to favour the ideology of the elite, regardless of the very real political and economic conditions/hardships they face (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002; Lindolf & Taylor, 2011). Further theorizing this then becomes part of the public lexicon; "a productive force of 'reason 'and 'common sense' that constitutes knowledge" (Lindolf & Taylor, 2011, p. 49). This circulating narrative has prompted many

scholars to identify the communicative practices used to normalize arbitrary social status and limit identity mobility (Lindolf & Taylor, 2011). I hear daily in my school “in industry ... blah blah ... normalizes unhealthy workplace expectations ... blah blah”; a practice which reifies stratification.

Antonio Gramsci (1999) expands on the circulating narrative, arguing that while cultural members negotiate their identity with the dominant ideology, they are, in actuality, consenting to the conditions of domination (Ramos, 1982). Gramsci’s (1999) concept of power relations is dependent on the balance between “Dominio (or coercion) and Direzione (or consensus)” (p. 19). The recognition of social status reaffirms the hierarchy (Gramsci, 1999; Ramos, 1982). In this “leader-led” scenario, the existence of one is dependent on the existence of the other. As the masses bend to an imposed ideological life direction, social identity and/or occupational identity, their consent is the recognition of the prestige and consequent confidence. This is the domain that the dominant group is privileged to, which is a by-product of their position and function in the world of production (Gramsci, 1999). In this construct, individuals are a sort of active victims who are complicit in the reproduction of the very hierarchal constructs which counters social mobility and normalizes, without discrimination, healthy and abusive environments (Lindolf & Taylor, 2011; Ramos, 1982).

Final Thoughts

In summation, the claims made from the research literature documented above are as follows. Economic condition, while not solely responsible for determining social order, is fundamental and often an indirect actor in social stratification. Economic differences incite a comparative class relationship. This, in turn, leads to the creation of a culture of competition by its very nature is to divide and classify. Further, economic capital generates the capacity to control or limit

social mobility. This is due to the reproduction of common life experiences, occupational identity and the inherited cultural and/or economic capital. Those who are economically wealthy have greater access to cultural capital. Economic and cultural capital are tools which support and perpetuate the pursuit of higher education. Furthering one's education results in higher income and often results in influential career positions, which leads to the accumulation of cultural capital. This interconnected economic-cultural capital-education relationship upholds the dominant ideology and is passed inter-generationally through a multitude of communities.

It is clear that high and low status groups limit social mobility and reify dominant ideology through the perpetuation of common life experiences and occupational identity. Even with efforts to democratize education, the social capital inherited by way of common life experience renders one's social standing from birth almost inescapable (The Economist, 2014). As status groups contest and reify the dominant ideology by engaging in status consumption behaviours, the procurement of the "right" cultural capital signals and establishes social order. The procurement of cultural capital improves the chances of social mobility; however, the act of procurement is a form of consent to the construct (i.e., a damned if you do and damned if you don't scenario). In addition, not only is cultural capital culturally specific, its "power" or "resources" are effective only in particular social situations (Wright, 2005). Being that cultural capital is thus a culturally-specific competence, in conjunction with the cyclical dynamics of *the community* which one belongs to, the role of educational institutions must take responsibility. They must venture beyond the replication the dominant ideology, beyond replicating industry, beyond the status quo, and fight for emancipation and equitable conditions outside of the institution regardless of social status (Horkheimer, 1972).

Chapter 3

Methodology

The influences of Social Order theory that determines stratification is based on the dominate ideology and the role of Critical theory in education to spark social and capital equity. I use a qualitative approach in this study so that we may begin to understand the personal attributes and strategies of which have afforded these participants to navigate the male dominated professional kitchens of the systemic common attributes, skills and/or culinary world.

Research Design

Due to the narrative nature of my research, I have concluded that quantitative research would not adequately address my research question. At first glance, quantitative research, which seeks to identify the relationship among variables and constructs hypotheses regarding the relationship among said variables appears to fit the need of this study (Creswell, 2013). However, trouble arise when those independent and dependent variables, which influence the outcome, are measured objectively (Creswell, 2013). Consequently, by using quantitative research I would need to extract measurable objectives and, for this reason, fails to suit this study's purpose.

This qualitative study featured a lightly structured set of questions that were broad and demonstrated the central concept of the study (Creswell, 2013). Using this method allowed for organic conversation, which naturally flowed into sub-questions (Creswell, 2013). I then had the opportunity to direct and redirect my interview questions to unpack experiences, which the participants indicated perpetuated the stratification. It was through the progressive extraction, identification and integration of categories of meaning from data that I have identified key themes, which have enabled the participants to pursue a career of their interest and passion despite stratification and marginalization (Creswell, 2013; Willig, 2013).

Data Collection and Analysis

Each female-identifying chef participated in a one- to two-hour semi-structured interview, which allowed for reflection between questions and the natural progression through topics. This approach afforded the participant with the ability to drive the conversation and so highlighted the themes of personal importance while allowing me to listen, question, clarify and explore the meaning of the experiences spoken by the participants. The content divulged from the interviews were stories, experiences and opinions of my participants (Creswell, 2013). These semi-structured interviews were collected and recorded by way of Zoom due to the current pandemic. These interviews took place over the course of two months. The participants were selected based on female-identifying chefs who are gainfully employed and have attended high level positions in the hospitality industry. The inclusion of gender was critical to the study. Female-identifying participants are central to the research question in which we explore the dynamics between the post-secondary institution and the procurement of gainful employment. Initial contact was made through formal email. Upon receipt of interest from the potential participant, I replied with an emailed, including the information and consent letter and interview guide (Appendices C, D, E and F).

I used a qualitative interpretative approach to focus on the relationships between ideas and categorize them in terms of the contexts that the data occurred (Creswell, 2013). The interpretive nature of this inquiry embraces the social, political and cultural contexts of the participants and myself (Creswell, 2013). Center to my inquiry was how participants attached meaning to their experiences. Further questioning was aimed to make visible the social, political, historical and cultural forces at play (Creswell, 2015). Through inductive data analysis, I first organized my data into a plethora of categories and as I negotiated between themes and discovered their

interconnectedness, I was able to condense and establish a comprehensive set of themes (Creswell, 2013). I worked with the participants to establish themes because it is important to acknowledge the co-construction of our new shared reality. Even though our values and value systems were made evident in advance, we continued to inform and shape the analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 2013). Finally, I have tried to effectively use negative case analysis to keep my theory continually dynamic throughout the process. By actively looking for data that conflicted with the patterns and themes uncovered, the analysis became a reflection of the reifying and contesting social status paradigm established within Social Order theory (Bourdieu, 1984; Wright, 2005).

Personal Connection and Threats to Validity

As this work is narrative in nature, the interview questions focused on the chronological details of the participants' life experiences to which I then employed qualitative comparative analysis using the NVivo software (Byrne, 2009; Creswell, 2013). Concurrent with qualitative research, NVivo made it possible for me to uncover categories and themes buried within the dialogue to which I then reexamined the set of transcribed interviews. I coded blocks of text to corresponding 'nodes' or 'subnodes' to identify and represent themes as they emerged (Byrne, 2009). I identified and categorize common features uniting instances of the phenomenon and turned my attention to the differences within said category. From this information, I identified emerging subcategories. I used the material I have collected to construct a visual representation of the themes, which helped inform my conclusions and recommendations. These data have been filtered through my understanding and through the experiences that have built my story. I have a strong personal connection to this research because I am a female-identifying chef. I absolutely acknowledge that my personal experiences influence the trajectory of my research and its findings.

I recognize that my experiences position me to approach this research from a place of empathy and compassion. I believe that my background in competition, education and vocational training has given me the opportunity to explore the creation of our career identity and collective concept of success. However, I know that empathy and compassion are not traditionally appreciated research skills. Emotions rarely seem welcome in research though I believe that there is a place to recognize them as positive contributing factors. Reflecting on my research and having tough, honest and frequent conversations with two male colleagues who do not agree with my perspective, has helped me identify and confront many of my biases. I have worked to continuously acknowledge and document my story and my truth as my own in this research. I have been cautious to not project my experience onto the stories of others. I have been diligently cognizant of the role my experiences play in filtering my perception of truth; however, I recognize that my ontology and epistemology will unintentionally influence the interpretation and analysis of research data. My connection to the hospitality industry and my personal familiarity with the relationship dynamics that occur within the professional kitchen has shaped my questioning and methodology. The intent is to ask of the data: “which is the most valuable, which is the most truthful, which is the most beautiful, which is the most life-enhancing” (Lincoln & Guba, 2013, p. 37)? This phase has guided my intentions and my research endeavours.

Ethical Considerations

Although it is important to identify the beliefs that have influenced the focus and trajectory of this research, I feel that as a researcher and human being, it is dangerous to believe one can conduct research without biases. Addressing marginalization and structural violence within the social hierarchy means that while I may be aware of the factors which colour my perception, it

does not mean I am free from its influence. It is my ethical responsibility to constantly reexamine the influence my epistemology and worldview has on my research.

Just as my epistemology informs my worldview and consequently my research, it has also informed the beliefs, attributes and experiences of my research participants. Thus, it has been of great importance to understand and respect the autonomy of the participants by recognizing the factors that potentially influence a person's judgement; ones' family, community (professional and otherwise), social, cultural, and/or religious affiliations impact autonomy (Government of Canada, 2018).

It is with this in mind that I chose to interview adult female-identifying chefs within my trade/field of expertise; cooks and bakers with Red and/or Blue seals, Certified Chef de Cuisines, Journeymen and/or Apprentices, who to my knowledge, are sound of mind (Government of Canada, 2018). It was my intent that this study actively and continuously uphold the Tri-Council core principles. I am confident that consent was informed and ongoing and that each participant was afforded dignity and respect (Government of Canada, 2018).

Central to the interview process is the social interaction between interviewer and interviewee. I understand that meaning is created through social interaction and that meaning is subjective; thus, I acknowledge that each person interprets interactions in their own way which uniquely augments reality for everyone. The very nature of the interview process is one which the participant and myself interacted and drew from each other, which ultimately shifted and shaped each other's reality (Creswell, 2013). This interactive process has intentional and unintentional effects on the collection of data (Creswell, 2013).

Chef Participant Overview

In this study, I interviewed five well established and accomplished female-identifying chefs who have made rich and insightful contributions to the culinary industry. These individuals continue to relentlessly pave the way for in-coming female-identifying chefs. Briefly outlined below is an overview of the participant's education, career and competition experience including locations and other notable accomplishments.

Chef P: Alberta, Europe. Executive Culinary Chef, International Competitor, Entrepreneur.

Chef P began her culinary journey in 2004 in Europe where after spending time in university, shifted her focus to culinary arts. Chef P's apprenticeship took place in the prestigious First Floor Michelin Star restaurant. She then continued her career working in international hotels and fine dining restaurants. Chef P is a successful competitor in the Canadian Food Championships and on the Food Network's Fire Masters and Chopped Canada. Her culinary ventures continue as the executive chef of an Edmonton Fine Dining Establishment and as a noted Food Columnist.

Chef S: Alberta, Culinary and Executive Pastry Chef, Entrepreneur, International Competitor.

Chef S began her journey studying science at the University of Alberta, pursuing a career in medicine. She completed her culinary education at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology in 2008. In 2012, Chef S became the first ever female pastry chef on Culinary Team Canada. The team won a gold and silver medal and finished fourth place overall. Now a business owner and executive pastry chef, Chef S continues to contribute to the culinary and pastry industry in Edmonton, Alberta.

Chef R: Alberta. Culinary Chef, Educator.

Chef R is a woman who has grown up in a robust Italian family. After completing a degree in Sociology, she began her career in social work and eventually pursued further education in

Culinary Arts at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology. Chef R has worked in multiple settings from fine dining to farmers markets and food trucks and is now employed as an instructor of Culinary Arts.

Chef K: British Columbia, Europe. Culinary Chef, Entrepreneur.

Chef K was born to be a chef. She was born on the floor of the kitchen in her family's restaurant in the Philippines. After attending culinary school, Chef K's career path took her through fine dining hotel chains in Canada and in Europe. After a number of years at multiple Four Seasons Hotels, Chef K further diversified her career by learning the workings and moving up through the ranks of the Cactus Club chain. Chef K now owns and is the head chef of a new restaurant/cafe.

Chef SR: Alberta, British Columbia. Executive Culinary Chef, Entrepreneur, International Competitor.

After graduating from a private culinary school, Chef SR went on to cook in prestigious hotel chains, fine dining restaurants and has owned and ran two restaurants, a cafe and an artisanal grocery store. Chef SR also successfully competed in the Food Networks Top Chef Canada and Chopped Canada, has co-authored four cookbooks and is now the executive chef for a large institution wherein she has between 80 to 100 cooks reporting to her.

Data Collection Overview

The data collected and documented in the following sections are to provide a foundation for the research question. The data collection outlines a list of the top Edmonton restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops and their respective chefs, the gender breakdown of instructional and non-instructional staff as well as the enrolment and graduation rates from the programs within

the Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT).

Edmonton Restaurants, Bakery and Pastry Data Collection

The data collected of the list of top restaurants and bakeries/locations serving baked goods are factual information obtained through public documents. The aim with these data is to provide a context for the argument that the majority of top Edmonton restaurants employ male executive chefs. It must be clear that this snapshot of the professional kitchen in Edmonton is absolutely not intended to be a critique of these restaurants, their owners, the chefs, the employees or their patrons. The information I have gathered is intended to simply illustrate the current gender dynamics of Edmonton's top restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops.

The list of restaurants has been compiled using a variety of web-based ratings including Canada's 100 Best Restaurants, Avenue magazine, Yelp, Open Table, Zomato, Where Magazine, Trivago Magazine, Edmonton's Best Hotels, Foursquare City Guide and Gold Metal Plates. Canada's 100 Best and Avenue Magazine are extensively used for this web-based search because they have presented the most consistent awards categories from 2015 to 2019.

Avenue Magazine data are obtained from 2016 to 2019. Prior to 2016, restaurants were rated into different categories thus only data are used from that time frame to provide continuity. Data were collected from Canada's 100 Best from 2015 to 2019 inclusively. Only Edmonton based restaurants have been represented in these data.

The method of identifying the executive chefs included web searches, restaurant websites, newspaper and magazine articles as well as contacting restaurants via email and by telephone. It is important to note that many chefs move from kitchen to kitchen. Every effort has been made to represent the most recent chef though changes may have occurred at the completion of the

research. This is true for all data with exception of the Gold Medal Plates contenders from 2016.

Data from the 2016 Gold Medal Plates were initially used in this study because the event was held in Edmonton and was accessible to multiple Edmonton Chefs. However, because Gold Medal Plates events are terminated indefinitely, and because the competition moved from city to city, with a variety of Canadian chefs representing, I opted not include these data because it did not pertain exclusively to Edmonton.

The list of bakeries and venues, which supply baked goods, are assembled from Avenue Magazines “Best Bakeries/Baked Goods/Item” from 2017 to 2019 and in combination with Yelp from 2015 to 2019 inclusively. In many bakeries and venues such as coffee shops, the owners are often the head bakers or there is no head baker. Every attempt has been made to report the name of the head baker in this study; however, in cases in which no data were available, the owner is the named representative. A number of bakeries and cafes did not respond to emails and phone calls. This lack of response is indicated in Table 1 below with a N/A (not applicable).

This analysis quantifies the top restaurants, bakeries and patisseries within Edmonton using the above criteria. The key purpose is to illustrate the gender imbalance in the professional kitchen (see Table 1 below). Table 2 (see below) lists the top professional kitchens, their respective executive chef and the chef’s presumed gender. Even though the chefs have not overtly been asked to disclose their gender, through the analysis of pronouns and images and guided by gendered characteristics, gender is indicated in Table 1 below.

Out of 68 restaurant professional kitchens, I was unable to identify four of the chef/chefs. Of the 64 restaurants in which the chef has been identified, a total of 60 (95.23%) chefs are male with four (6.25%) of those 60 male chefs in a partnership with a female chef. In other words, out

of the 64 restaurants in which the chef has been identified, a total of 10 (14.28%) are female chefs. Of those 10 (15.62%) female chefs, a total of six (10.66%) are independently run while four (6.25%) are shared with a male partner (Tables 2 and 3, see below).

Of the 44 Edmonton bakeries and patisseries, I could not identify seven of the executive chef/baker. Of the 37 identified bakeries and patisseries, a total of 20 (51.28%) of the chefs/bakers are men with seven of those 37 male chefs sharing the responsibility with a female chef. Out of the 37 identified chefs/bakers, 13 (35.13%) are women and six (16.21%) are independently run and seven are shared with a male partner (Table 4, see below).

Table 1: Overall Total Votes and Ranking of Restaurants 2015- 2019

Total Votes 2015-2019		Executive Chef	Male	Female
Corso 32	7	Daniel Costa	X	
Uccellino	6	Daniel Costa	X	
Hardware	5	Larry Stewart	X	
Rng Rd	5	Blair Lebsack	X	
Biera	4	Christine Sandford		X
Cibo	4	Rosario Caputo	X	
Rostizado	4	Edgar Gutierrez	X	
Bar Bricco	3	Daniel Costa	X	
Bündok	3	Ryan Hotchkiss	X	
Harvest Room	3	Mridul Bhatt	X	
Red Ox Inn	3	Dylan Prins	X	
Clementine Restaurants	2	Roger Letourneau	X	
Halo	2	Ihab Rafeh	X	
Huma Mexican Comfort	2	Mariel Montero Sena and Humberto Hernandez Cordova	X	X
Madison's Grill	2	Daniel Mongeon	X	

North 53	2	Cory Rakowski	X	
Sabor Restaurant	2	Adelino Oliveira	X	
The Marc	2	Spencer Thompson	X	
Wild Flower Grill	2	J.P. Dublado	X	
Ampersand 27	1	Fan Zhang	X	
An Chay	1	Thao Lam and Calvin Do	X	X
Black Pearl Seafood Bar	1	Nick Crudo	X	
Braven	1	N/A	-	-
Buco Pizzeria + Vino	1	Carmelo Rago	X	
Butternut Tree	1	Scott Downey	X	
Chartier	1	Tamara Solon		X
El Cortez Mexican Kitchen	1	Nate Henry	X	
Cosmos Greek Kitchen	1	N/A	-	-
Ernest's at NAIT	1	Rylan Krause	X	
Halley's West Edmonton Mall	1	N/A	-	-
Ikki Izakaya	1	Takako Ishikawa	X	
Japonais Bistro	1	Harry Yoon	X	
Kanto 98st Eatery	1	Edgar Gutierrez	X	
L1 Lounge, L2Grill, Café Levi	1	Rodney Khoo	X	
La Ronde	1	Joe Srahulek	X	
Local Omnivore	1	Ryan Brodziak / Mark Bellows	X	
London Local	1	Lindsay Porter		X
Mahogany Room/ Johnson's Café	1	Joakim Gomes	X	
Meat	1	Nathan McLaughlin	X	
XIX Nineteen	1	Andrew Fung	X	

NongBu Korean Eatery	1	Tamara Solon		X
Ono Poke Co.	1	Lawrence Hui	X	
Otto	1	Ed Donszelmann (Owner)	X	
Pip	1	Nate McLauhlin	X	
Riverbank Bistro	1	Daniel Ducharme	X	
Riverside Bistro	1	Pawanjit Singh	X	
Sage	1	Shane Chartrand	X	
Seoul Fried Chicken	1	Jake Lee	X	
Solstice Seasonal Cuisine	1	Jan Trittenbach	X	
The Westin	1	Geoffrey Caswell-Murphy	X	
Tokiwa Ramen	1	Lawrence Hui	X	
Tres Carnales Taqueria	1	Edgar Gutierrez	X	
Tzin Wine & Tapas	1	Corey McGuire	X	
Woodwork	1	David Leeder	X	
Workshop Eatery	1	Paul Shufelt	X	
Violino Gastronomia Italiana	1	N/A	-	-

Source: 100 Best restaurants in Canada 2019, 2019; Best baked good 2018, 2018; Best bakery 2017, 2017; Best new 2016, 2016; Best new 2017, 2017; Best new 2018, 2018; Best new 2019, 2019; Best overall 2016, 2016; Best overall 2017, 2017; Best Overall 2018, 2018; Best Overall 2019, 2019; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2015, 2015; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2016, 2016; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2017, 2017; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2018, 2018; Open table diners choice: Best overall restaurant, 2018; The world's 50 best restaurants, 2019; Where: 5 most luxurious hotels in Edmonton, 2019; Yelp the best 10 restaurants, 2018]

Note: All attempts have been made to represent the most current chef.

Table 2: Notable and/or Emerging Restaurants 2015- 2019

Restaurant	Executive Chef	Male	Female
Café Linnea	Kelsey Johnson		X
Zinc	Doreen Prei		X
Wishbone	Brayden Kozak	X	
Three Boars	Brayden Kozak	X	

Pampa Brizilain Steak House	Oscar Lopez and Joao Dachery	X	X
The Common	Jesse Morrison-Gauthier	X	
Canteen	Ryan O'Connor	X	
Mercer Tavern	Redgie Salinana	X	
Central Social Hall	Roberto Bulatao	X	
Under the High Wheel	Richard Toll	X	
Rosso	Dave Manna	X	
Lans	Tom and Monika Lim	X	X

Source: 100 Best restaurants in Canada 2019, 2019; Best baked good 2018, 2018; Best bakery 2017, 2017; Best new 2016, 2016; Best new 2017, 2017; Best new 2018, 2018; Best new 2019, 2019; Best overall 2016, 2016; Best overall 2017, 2017; Best Overall 2018, 2018; Best Overall 2019, 2019; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2015, 2015; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2016, 2016; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2017, 2017; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2018, 2018; Open table diners choice: Best overall restaurant, 2018; The world's 50 best restaurants, 2019; Where: 5 most luxurious hotels in Edmonton, 2019; Yelp the best 10 restaurants, 2018.

Note: All attempts have been made to represent the most current chef.

Table 3: Bakeries, Pastry Shops and Coffee Shops 2015- 2019

Bakery	Executive Chef	Male	Female
Duchess Bake Shop	Giselle Courteau and Jake Pelletier	X	X
District Café & Bakery	Nate Box	X	
Reinette Café and Patisserie	Jinnee Lu		X
La Boule	Jennifer Stang		X
Macarons and Goodies	Akram Hasni and Fadoua Derbel	X	X
Farrow	Laine Cherkewich and Max Poulter	X	
Boulangerie Bonjour	Yvan Chartrand	X	
Chocorant	Kai Wong		X
Italian Bakery	Antonio, Aurora, Renato Frattin	X	X
Lock Stock Coffee	Jesse Gado	X	
Vienna Bakery	Brian Jaeger	X	

Hazeldean Bakery	N/A	-	-
The Art of Cake	Gloria Bednarz/Guenter Hess	X	X
Sugared & Spiced Baked Goods	Amy Nachtigall		X
Bon Ton Bakery	Gabor Dobos	X	
Artistic Bake Shop	Perry Schwabenbauer	X	
Bliss Baked Goods	Lawrence Bliss	X	
FanFan Patisserie	Franck Bouilhol	X	
Doughnut Party	Simon Underwood and Matthew Garrett	X	
Italian Centre Shop	Angelo Antonucci	X	
Vi's for Pies	Eugene Fedorkiw		X
Dutch Delicious Bakery	Siebe Koopman	X	
Credo Coffee	Geoff and Joanne Linden	X	X
Meat Street Pies	Thea and Jonathan Avis	X	X
Artisan Flatbread	N/A	-	-
Freson Bros	N/A	-	-
Leva	N/A	-	-
Cookie Crumbs	N/A	-	-
Hong Kong Bakery	Chip Tang	X	
Cinnaholic	N/A	-	-
Cookie Love	Mike and Iva Stone	X	X
Food in the Nud	Chrysta Morkeberg		X
Handy Bakery	N/A	-	-

Source: 100 Best restaurants in Canada 2019, 2019; Best baked good 2018, 2018; Best bakery 2017, 2017; Best new 2016, 2016; Best new 2017, 2017; Best new 2018, 2018; Best new 2019, 2019; Best overall 2016, 2016; Best overall 2017, 2017; Best Overall 2018, 2018; Best Overall 2019, 2019; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2015, 2015; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2016, 2016; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2017, 2017; Canada's 100 best restaurants 2018, 2018; Open table diners choice: Best overall restaurant, 2018; The world's 50 best restaurants, 2019; Where: 5 most luxurious hotels in Edmonton, 2019; Yelp the best 10 restaurants, 2018.

Note: All attempts have been made to represent the most current chef.

NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Gender Breakdown

The following information is collected from The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) and can be accessed by emailing NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies. This information was obtained in 2019 thus is not reflective of the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic.

The gender breakdown is as follows within NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies. Out of the 44 staff that are critically involved with students and are part of the Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies, six individuals are in leadership positions, 30 individuals are instructional staff and there are 23 non-instructional support staff. The non-instructional staff are divided into three categories; 13 in-class supports, four administrative supports and 40 individuals in the Ernest's dining room.

Importantly, both the Ernest's staff and the instructional staff are further categorized into front of house and back of house. This categorization is congruent with practices in the hospitality industry. Back of house refers to individuals working in areas of hospitality in which contact with guests is rare. These positions are, but not limited to, kitchen manager, executive chef/ pastry chef, sous chef, line cook/ baker, expeditor and dishwasher. Front of house refers to individuals working in direct contact areas such as servers and service workers, hosts, bartenders, bussers, barbacks, Maitre'D, dining room managers and administrative assistants.

In-Class Support Staff

In-class support staff are comprised of lab technicians, food procurement coordinators and service workers. These positions directly support the students and instructional staff in the department through the procurements of ingredients, scaling of formulas, packaging and final

sale of student finished products. There are 13 in-class support staff; two of which are male (15.38%) and 11 of which are female (84.61%).

Administrative Support

Administrators facilitate and connect instructor, leaders and students; they filter information and resources and direct it to the appropriate people. All four (100%) of the administrative support team within the department are female.

Ernest's Dining Room

Ernest's Dining Room statistics are included in this study because many of the programs within NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food studies are connected to the facilities. Both second year Culinary Arts students and second year Baking and Pastry Arts students prepare the menu and menu items during their coursework. The non-instructional Ernest staff play a vital role in running a functional dining room.

The Ernest's staff are further categorized into front of house staff and back of house staff. The front of house staff is made up of the dining room supervisor, two maître D 'and an administrative assistant. Out of these positions, two (50%) are female and two (50%) are male. The administrative assistant as well a Maitre'D are female and the other Maitre'D and the dining room supervisor are male. It is important to include the other employees in non-leadership positions employed in Ernest's dining room. There are 35 service workers, 23 (65.71%) of those workers are female while 12 (34.28%) are male.

The two leadership positions in the back of house are that of the executive chef and sous chef. These positions belong to men. Of the 12 cooks working under their leadership, five (41.66%) are male and seven (58.33%) are female.

Instructional Staff

There are two front of house instructional staff who are female. There are 28 chef instructors in which 26 (92.85%) are male and two (7.14%) are female.

Instructional Leadership

The leadership team is made up of Program Chairs for Culinary Arts, Culinary Apprenticeship, Professional Meat Cutting and Baking and Pastry Arts for a total of four. Directing the Program Chairs is one Department Head and one Manager of Operations. Six of the six of these leadership positions are occupied by men.

Table 4: NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Instructional and Non-Instructional Staff

Position	Total Employees	Male		Female	
		Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Administrative Support	4	0	-	4	100%
Ernest's Front of House Leadership	4	2	50%	2	50%
Ernest's Front of House Service Staff	35	12	34.28	23	65.71%
Ernest's Front of House Leadership	2	2	100%	-	-
Ernest's Front of House Cooking Staff	12	5	41.66%	7	58.33%
In-Class Instructional Support Staff	13	2	15.38%	11	84.61%
Instructional Staff Front of House	2	-	-	2	100%

Position	Total Employees	Male		Female	
		Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
Instructional Leadership	6	6	100%	-	-
Instructional Chefs	28	26	92.85%	2	7.14%

Source: Employee Directory NAIT, 2019

Note: Data represent staffing levels as of January 2020.

NAIT's Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies Enrolment and Graduation

The following are the NAIT Culinary and Professional Food Studies enrolment and graduation rates based on gender for the years 2015 to 2020. These statistics were obtained through the Department of Institutional Research at NAIT (2020).

Enrolment Rate from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021

The total enrolment rate for the Culinary Arts Diploma Program from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021 is 474 students. There is a total of 246 students who identify as female and 226 students who identify as male and two non-identifying students. This means that out of a total of 474 Culinary students, 51.89% identify as female, 47.67% identify as male and 0.42% are non-identifying (X) (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020).

Within the Baking Certificate Program, a one-year program that has now been modified to the two-year Baking and Pastry Arts Diploma Program, 84 students identified as female and 24 students identified as male. In so, out of a total of 108 students, 77.77% identify as female and 22.22% identify as male (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020).

The Baking and Pastry Arts Diploma's first intake was in September 2018/2019 and so the data are not as rich; however, we can definitely begin to see a pattern. Out of the 89 students

enrolled in the program, 77 students (86.51%) identify as female and 12 students (13.48%) identify as male (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020).

Between the three programs from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021, the enrollment for these programs was 671 students with 262 students (39.04%) identifying as male, 407 students (60.65%) identifying as female and two students (0.29%) are non-identifying (X) (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020).

Graduation Rates from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021

Culinary Arts

The rate of graduation by gender is next summarized. Out of the 390 students graduating, 206 enrolled female identifying students make up 52.82% of the total graduates. One hundred and eighty-three (46.92%) were male identifying students (46.92%) and 0.25% graduates classified themselves as non-identifying (X) (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020). See Table 5 below.

Baking Certificate and Baking and Pastry Arts Programs

Within the Baking Certificate Program, the graduation rate over 2015/2016 to 2017/2018 were comprised of the 90 graduates. The 78 female identifying students account for 86.66% of total graduates and the 12 male identifying students account for 13.33% (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020). The total number of Baking and Pastry Arts Diploma graduates from 2018 and 2019 were 27 students. There were 23 (85.18%) students identify as female and four male identifying students (14.81%) in this graduation class (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020). See Table 5 below.

Table 5: Enrolment Rate from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021

Program	Enrolment	Male		Female		X	
Culinary Arts Diploma	474	226	47.67 %	246	51.89%	2	0.42%
Baking Certificate	108	24	22.22 %	84	77.77%	-	-
Baking & Pastry Arts Diploma	89	77	86.51 %	12	13.48%	-	-
Total Enrolment	671	407	60.65 %	262	39.04%	2	0.29%

Source: Olmsted, (2019) NAIT Department of Institutional Research

Total Graduation Rates

Between the Culinary Arts Diploma, Baking Certificate and the Baking and Pastry Arts Diploma from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021, 507 students graduated. Of those 507 graduates, 199 (39.25%) students identified as male, 307 students (60.55%) identified as female and one student (0.197%) as non-identifying (X) (Department of Institutional Research at NAIT, 2020). See Table 6 below.

Table 6: Graduation Rate from 2015/2016 to 2020/2021

Program	Graduates	Male		Female		X	
Culinary Arts Diploma	390	183	46.92%	206	52.82%	1	0.25%
Baking Certificate	90	12	13.33%	78	86.66%	-	-
Baking & Pastry Arts Diploma	27	4	14.81%	23	85.18%	-	-
Total Graduates	507	199	39.25%	307	60.55%	1	0.197%

Source: Olmsted (2019) NAIT Department of Institutional Research

Interestingly, while the enrolment rates indicate that males enroll at a rate of three to every two females identifying student, the graduation rate is reversed. We see that for every two male identifying graduates, there are three female identifying students graduating from their program of studies. This begs the question: if female identifying students are enrolling at a lower rate though account for 60% of the total graduates from our professional food studies programs, why is there such a gender imbalance in professional kitchens? We see that women represent 7.14% of the chef instructional staff within the institution with no female representation in leadership and in industry. Independent female executive chefs account for 10.66% of the total chefs who run Edmonton's top restaurants with 16.21% independent female bakers and pastry chefs. Clearly, there is a disconnect. In order to have an informed discussion regarding gender dynamics in relationship to the professional kitchen, we must briefly overview the brigade system, an institutional structure present in almost every restaurant and certainly in every hotel. This structure is fundamental to the organization and flow of an efficiently operating kitchen, though has its own biases and agenda.

Chapter 4

Organizational Structure of the Kitchen

The kitchen brigade, born of the *partie* system, devised by the late Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) is fundamental to the structure, organization and creation of current day kitchen culture (Gisslen, 2018; Gillespie, 2010). The brigade system has been noted to be modelled after the battlefields of 14th-century Europe where thousands of soldiers were fed daily (Jensen, 2018; Heighton & Giuffre, 2010; Gillespie, 2010). In fact, many establishments, such as hotels, work camps, convention centres or hospitals serve upwards of 1,000 people per day (McInnis, 2017). Ex-Royal Canadian Navy chef Bill Pratt boasts a record of serving 3,000 to 4,000 people per meal in the mess halls of the 5th Canadian Division Support Base (5 CDSB) Camp Gagetown in southwestern New Brunswick (McInnis, 2017).

Accuracy, discipline, rigour, organization and commitment to excellence are traits honed in every kitchen establishment from the military mess hall to the five-table tapas bar down the street. Disciplined, clear, concise communication from the traditional hierarchical structure is fundamental to military and civilian kitchens' operational success. In both, the success of the establishment is dependent on the head chef's knowledge, application of knowledge, ability to make decisions under pressure, organization, and their leadership.

Depending on the establishment, a head chef may be responsible for anywhere from two to 100 staff (Taylor & Taylor, 1991). The larger the establishment, the more people to feed, the more staff required. The larger the staff, the larger the hierarchy embedded and necessary to operate a successful service; one which promptly delivers delicious quality food, safe for consumption while making a profit. This is no easy task and the brigade structure is fundamental to the order and organization of a successful kitchen.

Under the brigade structure, the head chef is assisted by any number of sous chefs and chef de partie, each responsible for their own section of production under which a number of commis chefs or apprentices would be training. The traditional brigade system is most often found in large scale hotels. I itemized the hierarchical order and the cascading line of responsibility in the following list.

1. Head chef/Executive Chef/Chef de Cuisine is responsible for the entire kitchen and prepares menus and directs purchasing.
2. Sous Chef de Cuisine works directly under the Head chef/Executive Chef/Chef de Cuisine. Key responsibilities include supporting and executing orders.
3. Chef de Partie is responsible for one particular station in the kitchen. There are often multiple Chef de Parties.
4. Cuisiniers are the cooks responsible for producing certain items at a specific station. Usually, 2nd or 3rd year apprentices.
5. Commis or junior cooks are responsible for food preparation. Most often 1st year apprentices (Gisslen, 2018; Taylor & Taylor, 1991).

I further describe the role of the Chef de Parties documented in Item 3 above. They are responsible for a particular section of the kitchen and have apprentices, cuisiniers and commis working in their area. The traditional positions of the professional kitchen and patisserie are as follows (Gisslen, 2018; Taylor & Taylor, 1991).

Positions in the Professional Kitchen

1. Saucier is responsible for the sauces and some sautéed items.
2. Rotisseur is the chef who prepares roasts. In the time of Escoffier, this position was responsible for the grillardin and the friturier.
3. Grillardin is responsible for the grilling of meats.
4. Friturier is the fry cook is responsible for any items that are deep fried.
5. Poissonier is in charge of all the fish and seafood preparations and subsequent cooking
6. Entremetier is responsible for the starter or “entrance” to the meal. This position was traditionally responsible for the potager and the legumier.
7. Potager oversees making of soups and utilizes all of the leftover scraps in the kitchen thus potentially saving the establishment in food costs.
8. Legumier is responsible for gratins, pilafs and hot vegetable sides.
9. Garde Manger is in charge of the cold food preparation, vegetables, charcuterie, salads to pates.

Positions in the Patisserie

1. Pâtissier is the pastry chef responsible for the creation on the dessert menu and all dessert items.
2. Glacier is responsible for production of all ice cream, sorbets, gelatos and iced items.
3. Confiseur is responsible for the production of confections.
4. Decorateur is responsible for the creation and execution of large showpieces, specialty cakes and intricate decorations
5. Boulanger is the baker and is in charge of preparing breads and some pastry items including viennoiseries.

As mentioned previously, many chefs proudly liken the highly disciplined and structured work to that of military professions. Anthony Bourdain (2005) noted the hierarchal structure when he wrote of the life of a line cook:

What most people don't get about professional-level cooking is that it is not at all about the best recipe, the most innovative presentation, the most creative marriage of ingredients, flavors and textures; that, presumably, was all arranged long before you sat down to dinner. Line cooking-the real business of preparing the food you eat-is more about consistency, about mindless, unvarying repetition, the same series of tasks performed over and over and over again in exactly the same way. The last thing a chef wants in a line cook is an innovator, somebody with ideas of his own who is going to mess around with the chef's recipes and presentations. Chefs require blind, near-fanatical loyalty, a strong back and an automaton-like consistency of execution under battlefield conditions.

Further, Bourdain's (2005) description touches on a number of interesting points. First, the perception of the commercial kitchen is highly misunderstood. Understanding the kitchen hierarchy demands participation. Much of the work is mindless and repetitive rather than creative. As a line cook, you will count the cherry tomatoes that go into a salad and each salad will have the same amount. You will peel and cut carrots for days, pipe rosettes and make thousands of tuille. These tasks are not exciting and demand careful attention, a sense of servitude and self-sacrifice; these characteristics are cultivated institutionally through the hierarchal structure and through the nature of the work. The carrot at the end of the proverbial drudgery stick is simply this, spend the hours proving yourself worthy and be gifted the opportunity to grow/learn/advance. Now, I am a proponent of practice. Honing and perfecting skills is essential in any career, though the above formula does not apply to all in the

same manner. Opportunity is not always equally distributed, nor is it always distributed based on merit.

The professional kitchen and the military have such a similar structure that when I was in my very young twenties, long before any on my technical training, I took the British Columbia Government career compass test which in that time was delivered by paper and pen. The results indicated I would be best suited for joining the military or becoming a chef. As most twenty-year old's do, I ignored both these options and continued to flounder through many careers. Though I never forgot the results and I often wonder why those two career options had been presented together. I suppose now I know.

The connection between the military and the kitchen careers are beyond anecdotal. These careers have a particular “onboarding” of their new members, one which indoctrinates the newest member into the behaviour patterns conforming to those required by the hierarchy (Salin & Hoel 2011). Once the members have been through the initiation process, they can be trusted to support and perform the appropriate actions to a higher degree in contrast to an individual who has not gone through the process. Importantly, in many ways, the concept of fear and servitude is employed as a key tool in the initiation process and the culture of the military and the professional kitchen (Cooper, Giousmpasoglou, & Marinakou, 2018).

And the carrot at the end of the proverbial drudgery stick is simply this, spend the hours proving yourself worthy and be gifted the opportunity to grow/learn/advance. Now, I am a proponent of practice. Honing and perfecting skills is essential in any career, though the above formula does not apply to all in the same manner. Opportunity is not always equally distributed, nor is it always distributed based on merit.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussions

The five Chefs who I interviewed for this study indicated almost identical themes in terms of navigating the patriarchal structure of the culinary industry. All overtly expressed that kitchen tasks were most often assigned based on gender rather than skills. All noted the “boy’s club” mentality and the cyclical promotions of male chefs (Cooper, 1998). Further, each identified the cryptic and, at times, patent declarations that women are incapable, a nuisance and are guilty of trespassing into a man’s world and that these feelings are often internalized by women, becoming the narrative of their careers.

The male centric hierarchal structure of the culinary industry rests firmly on gender segregation which occurs through multiple means. In its simplest form, segregation occurs horizontally wherein “men are most commonly working in higher grade occupations and women are most commonly working in lower grade occupations” (Hakim, 1979). However, the stratification further intensifies once this hierarchal structure is acknowledged. Segregation and stratification of employees intensifies with the division of labour and tasks within the same occupation (Walby & Bagguley, 1990). This, in turn, leads to a homogenous culture that has the propensity for harassment and bullying of those who do not snugly fit within the status quo.

This homogenous culture is a byproduct of a hierarchal structure that rewards conformity, limits diversity and stifles creativity. Even though the professional kitchen’s organizational structure has its functional merits, the hierarchal structure intentionally and unwittingly stratifies its participants based on arbitrary, superficial, or otherwise, non-task related qualifiers that have nothing to do with one’s ability to do the job. The research uncovered themes of positions and tasks relegated based on gender which directly limit promotional opportunities and

advancement in leadership. Further discussions highlight the current demands of the culinary industry including hours and expectations, wages, and mental health issues of which affect employment longevity and retainment female-identifying chefs.

Gendered Positions and Tasks

When women go into kitchens, generally what I've seen especially from the get-go is they are put in garde manger and pastry, this is where they live. You will make salads you will put desserts on plates. The pastry program at this hotel I was working at was more elevated. They were much more involved desserts and I was responsible for making them but still I helped in garde manger if they needed. But I wanted to learn sauté [station], I wanted to go work [in] saucier and I wanted to work the grill. And I said this. I voiced this interest to my sous chef and said, "I'd really like to learn saucier, you know, when there's time or if you need help", and he looked at me, looked me up and down and said, "I don't see your penis". This is legit what he said to me and I was like, okay... and for some people, that would be a deterrent. And for me, I was just like, well, I'm going to show you that I can 100% do this penis or no. (Chef S, June 2020)

One could assume that within the commercial kitchen, women would be well represented in all positions and at every level, after all, traditionally “women’s work” has been to be a provider of food and to take charge of the household; however, this is simply not the case (Novarra, 2010). Most often, women are sent to work in one of two stations, in particular, garde manger and pastry. These stations are often on the side lines of the kitchen due to the nature of the work, play a supporting role, with marginal chances of upward mobility due to minimal visibility and the importance of the position. For example, in a restaurant there might be one pastry chef and a pastry cook or a small team in a hotel or conference centre. The opportunities to advance are

limited because of the specific knowledge related to pastry and baking as well as finite leadership opportunities depending on the size of the team. The physical location and the physical needs (i.e., refrigerated rooms/ pastry coolers/ areas with controlled humidity levels) of garde manger and pastry also plays a role in the segregation from the kitchen team. By the nature of the work, these stations are functionally separated from the core of the kitchen. The question is not the why the physical location of these stations but rather why women find themselves relegated to these stations consistently and indefinitely. This is a complicated question.

It is not that women are physically or mentally incapable of working any other station, and that is not to say that some men do not experience being pigeonholed into sections, but more so that certain positions demand people to behave in certain ways. This behaviour often reinforces and perpetuates the dominant hegemony, which, in the case of commercial kitchens, translates to “male dominance” (Kanter, 1993). Segregation and genderization of tasks are not predetermined by genetic make-up. Positions that are limited in terms of upward mobility are often accompanied by a clear message “you do not mean much to your company unless you get the chance to move on” (Novarra, 2010). If working in a position to which there is no mobility, one can surmise that this begins to shape behaviour. The cyclical cycle further marginalizes those tucked away in stations with limited or no mobility. It is not that the (mostly) women in these positions are incapable of greatness – they are. Yet, they are stuck in these lower-level positions and will either quietly stay in these positions or leave the industry all together (Halford, & Leonard, 2001). This sentiment was shared by each of the five study participants who all, at one point or another, hit a low point in the realization of their limited career mobility. They took a step back or a stepped out of the industry and reevaluated their career choices.

This industry can crush you; it can crush your spirit and can crush your passion. And mine was [crushed] a couple of times has been like there was a time period after that whole being yelled at and the cooler and oh my god I am so the wrong gender for this position. After that... I need to leave this industry for a little bit because I need to figure out if this is how I want to continue or if I need to maybe go do something else... that is going to [not] be so... it's almost abusive. Quite honestly, this industry can be a little abusive. (Chef S, June 2020)

Chef SR responds to why it seems that there are gendered tasks in the kitchen highlights the entrenched misogyny with these words.

I've been given so many excuses. Most French chefs say women can't make sauces and they can't cook meat, you know, because of their periodicals [menstruation] that somehow affects their ability to accomplish these tasks. I just think that it's kind of a threat. It's that, at that time, men didn't want to be challenged by females. They didn't want to experience females were equal to them. Side by side, elbow to elbow. So, it was better to just put them away in a safe place, where it was reliable, you know, they knew that the job would be done and it would be done in a reliable manner. It would be done in meticulous manner. In my time in kitchens [I] learned that there's a language and there's a cudgel cajoling and a certain, you know, kind of tempo that goes on the line. And I think, it's just an inability to want to share that experience with females. (Chef SR, 2020)

It is not necessarily the genetic make-up that predetermines one's position or tasks in the kitchen even though it is certainly communicated and interpreted this way. What this means is that positions and tasks shape an individual's mentality and subsequently their work identities. Certain tasks and positions cultivate certain attitudes and behaviours because of their relative

opportunities for advancement. Conversely, positions in which there is little to no mobility also fosters particular attitudes and behaviours. In so, on the surface level, what can be understood as “gendered tasks” and “gendered positions” within the professional kitchen are in fact not necessarily related to gender but this is just surface level. We can understand that it is the “work” of which triggers the behaviours in accordance to the position within the organizational structure. Based simply on the organizational structure, we may refute the presumptions that gendered kitchen tasks are the result of entrenched sexist assumptions held about women and men (Kanter 1993; Halford, & Leonard, 2001). However, that is not to say that misogyny is nonexistent as there is clear evidence that sexist assumptions are a reality in the professional kitchen. Although, the organizational structure is not the sole factor in the distribution of gendered tasks, the structure is constructed based societal norms and long-held practices around gendered occupations. We know that one’s penis has no bearing on one’s ability to grill a steak just as a woman’s menstrual flow has no influence on a sauce. In a side note, perhaps that’s where the term mother sauces came from. An observation that I will leave for another study.

Women are sequestered to these two stations not simply because they have vaginas or identify as female but because society replicates patterns. If the entrenched culture is male dominated, the hierarchal structure operating in unison with the organizational structure reifies the beliefs, values and identities in accordance with who they serve best, specifically, the dominant ideology. When leadership (male or female) replicate the patterns that have served them best, those leaders, with or without intent, indoctrinate these beliefs, behaviours and values on their team and future leaders. Because women traditionally are delegated to accessory roles, they themselves become accessories due to occupying positions in which opportunity to advance are meagre and so, many female-identifying cooks and chefs internalize then reify the

characteristics and behaviour patterns of the given role, leave the industry all together, or for the few with enough grit and support will remain. These participants of this study exemplify the determination needed to stay and are working to “eighty-six” the dichotomy and pave the way for others. They will change the industry.

Promotions and Leadership

It is evident that gender segregation is an especially persistent pattern; a pattern that replicates and reifies career identities and life trajectories by those upholding and conversely contesting their position on the organizational and hierarchal structure (Acher, 1990; Bielby & Baron 1987; Strober, Myra & Arnold 1987). Even though these structures might not be inherently gendered, gender is a constitutive element indicating social relationships and relations of power (Scott, 1986). It is also clear, even to the most casual of observers, that the division of gender is almost always one in which men hold the highest positions with the most organizational power (Acher, 1990).

In hotels and restaurants, as demonstrated through the review of Edmonton hotels and restaurants documented previously, the top management positions within the professional kitchen are predominately male. One conclusion is that the patrons of these establishments feel a greater sense of comfort with middle-aged men being in the positions of authority (Guerrier, 1986). This clearly was the sentiments of Chef SR’s experience as conveyed during our interview:

I was the regional executive chef for that hotel, my regional manager was a female, my manager was a female, our controller was a female, we had a fantastic senior leadership team that was all female ... we all were fired on the same day. The company was for sale and when it sold, [the optics were], we don't want a female team, we don't value females.

We don't care how well they've done. We don't care how much significant gains they've [made for] the company ... that's not who we are [female]. So, we were all fired on the same day, five ... the five of us. (June 2020)

While we know that it is solely the physicality of the body that perpetuates the hierarchal structure, we can surmise that men's career opportunities are dependent on the barriers that deny those opportunities to those who are female-identifying and/or those who do not fit the status quo (Acher 1990; Crompton & Jones 1984). The inequity is perpetuated resulting in the continuum of an obvious patriarchal hierarchy.

I feel that I can say this with full knowledge of the industry as well as I was an instructor at a college in the Culinary department, which I did not stay because of the misogyny and the deep-rooted old boys club that exists there. That's exactly what it is. It is men protecting men, hanging on to positions that are coveted and that is exactly what's going on. I'm sorry. There's no other word for it. (Chef SR, June 2020)

If those relegated to the sidelines were able to compete for promotions, the coveted “boys club” could be drastically reduced (Acher, 1990). But how exactly does gender and, to an extent, one's sexuality play an active role in the perpetuation of occupational stratification?

From the experiences of the participants as well as my own personal experience in the professional kitchen, women's bodies are sexualized and objectified, while men's bodies are not (Acher, 1990). Leaning on Objectification theory for enlightenment, Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) articulate that many women are systematically treated as a commodity; valued for use through sexual objectification. Of course, there is a clear connection between objectification and mental health and it is important to note that although women do face objectification in the workplace, the expression of male sexuality may be used as a means of control over not only

women but men too (Acher, 1990; Collinson, 1988; Hearn & Parkin 1987). Chef S discussed one of her experiences relating to the expression of male sexuality:

He was constantly in the dish pit looking at porn on his phone and so I would walk in the dish pit to get some dish and I'm like ... really? He's allowed to work sauté (station) though. That was his station. Like, maybe if I watch porn in the dish pit, I'll get to work sauté ... Is this what it takes? I don't know. (Chef S, June 2020)

This experience highlights the passive management approval of pornographic material supported in generally an all-male environment. This unspoken acceptance is evident in the casual conversations regarding the objectification of women or sexual exploits that further dominates and acts as a control over female-identifying chefs. In the organization, female-identifying chefs have two choices, join them in the practice or be excluded from the informal bonding that takes place when men share sexual exploits (Acher, 1990).

Interestingly, “social invisibility” has been documented as a strategy women employ to survive in a male dominated organization (Acher, 1990; Guerrier, 1986). The participants in this study identified that women often did not “step up to the plate” in terms of applying for promotions. The participants assumed their female colleagues dismissed their potential citing discomfort with stress and fears of failure which in retrospect, may be a woman’s “fear of visibility” co-opting their confidence and greatly limiting their opportunity for advancement (Kanter, 1993).

Further, the chefs noted that the persistent experiences of inequity in terms of work load, types of tasks assigned coupled with deep-rooted misogyny eventually led to feelings of frustration, desperation and rejection. Chef S declared that:

I have to be twice as good and doubly prove myself on top of everything else and it is somewhat disheartening to see and I have seen it. You know, my male counterparts just standing around lazing and doing whatnot, getting away with it and then they receive more accolades and more and better promotions ... more raises than I do and I'm doing the dishes and I'm doing this station, I'm doing that station and I get no rest and it's just like, [management's message is] 'yeah, you're good there ... [you're not moving up regardless of what you do]'. And there's only so much of that people are willing to put up with before they're like, 'you know what, clearly I'm not wanted here'. (June 2020)

Depending on one's gender, there appears to be a select set of rules pertaining to career mobility (Cooper, 1998, p. 86). However, regardless of gender, one thing is for sure, for the majority of a woman's career, she will work very long and hard hours and many of these hours will not be monetarily compensated.

Hours and Expectations

You have to be mentally prepared ... it's still a stressful environment. It's fast pace. It's, it's hot, it's sweaty, it's not glamorous at all. And, and you do have to put in your time, you do have to put in work. There're no eight-hour chefs. There's no 'oh, I'll just do it tomorrow' [and] you do have to do a lot of learning on your own and you do have to do it on your own time. (Chef K, June 2020)

It is no secret that chefs, cooks, bakers, and pastry chefs work long hours. It is also not a secret that many of their shifts start long before the paid shifts begin. Each of the study participants highlighted that the paid hours and unpaid hours they have worked in the beginning of their careers often collectively exceeded 10 to 18 hours day. Three of the interviewees commented specifically on this theme:

You know, we spent 12 to 14 hours a day, sometimes six, I've done seven days a week, three days straight, no going home. (Chef K, June 2020)

Well, you know, during my apprenticeship, I was working between 12 to 18 hours a day.
(Chef P, June 2020)

I worked at least six days a week, at least 10 to 12 hours a day for my entire career. (Chef SR, June 2020)

It is obvious, even to an outsider, that working these hours is excessive and certainly not sustainable. What might not be as apparent is that many professional kitchens would not survive if they had to pay their employees a living wage and/or a wage for the hours they worked. Unpaid work is particularly fundamental to high-end and fine dining establishments as many burgeoning chefs clamour and compete to work a stagiaire, or an unpaid internship that ranges from a week to six months (Fox, 2015). Technical institutes often have an unpaid practicum or an unpaid internship as part of their course work. This unpaid labour is the backbone to industry and is expected and, at times, explicitly demanded (Sagan, 2019).

Embarking on this rite of passage has advantages for aspiring cooks whom may procure advanced knowledge, practical skills and enhanced prospects of gaining a paid position. When the stagiaire is in a healthy environment, strong relationships are formed, invaluable learning takes place, and the experiences can be truly transformative. For the employer, these short contracts and *stages* are used as an unpaid practical interview, and if the candidate has been successful in procurement of a paid position, the employer has the benefit of an employee's onboarding and training being unpaid.

Many fine dining and elite restaurants cannot function without the unpaid labor of their stages (Mintz, 2017). Ferran Adrià of the now closed El Bulli in Roses, Catalonia revealed that their paid workforce is outnumbered by their unpaid stagiaires (Mintz, 2017). Noma in Copenhagen is reported to have 30 unpaid stagiaires in contrast to 25 paid cooks (Fox, 2015). Reportedly, the fine dining establishment Osteria Francescana in Modena Italy receive 1,900 stagierie applications per year (Bowling, 2016)! The practice is a fundamental component to the industry, enabling cooks to connect with, work for and learn alongside top chefs from around the world. Though, these opportunities are definitely not accessible to everyone.

The practice of stages gives preferential opportunity to those who come from a background and/or a family with enough capital to afford for the stagiaires to work for free. This practice limits the occupational and social mobility of those students who might come from a less lucrative background or whom have additional responsibilities in life in which not allow for them to jet off to another country and work for free while still paying to live. In this, we see again the unintentional opportunities, further education, industry connections, strong relationships, upward mobility and eventual promotions belong to those who not only sacrifice but who can afford the sacrifice.

I can attest that being in the kitchen is not as glamorous as portrayed by the Food Network. A wonderful world it would be if the life of a chef was nothing but secret ingredients in baskets, shopping missions, truffles and frilly aproned women baking cupcakes. The truth is, the industry is grueling and repetitive, physically demanding, emotionally trying and stressful to say the least. Chefs work when the rest of the world is celebrating and having fun and they do it for very little financial gain.

Alberta Wage and Statistics

There are the days, the hours, the conditions, the environment, you have to love what you're doing in order for that to be compensated for ... and then the money, the money is terrible. (Chef S, June 2020)

Each of the participants made it clear that one does not become a chef to become rich. So, what do most chefs actually make and what are some of the potential reasons for the wages? According to the Alberta Trades and Occupations Board, data collected between 2017 to 2019 indicate the average salary of a cook is \$28,465 (Government of Alberta, 2019). The starting wage is \$14.78 topping at \$18.89 with an average wage of \$16.37 per hour (Government of Alberta, 2019). While the trade is provincially regulated and is a Red Seal trade, these are not required and compulsory accreditations for employment and thus have little impact on pay structures (Government of Alberta, 2019).

Edmonton Chefs

A chef working in the Health Care and Social Assistance sector of industry has an average salary of \$60,045 per year with an average wage of \$28.70 per hour (Government of Alberta, 2018). Chefs working in the Accommodation and Food Service sector (i.e., restaurants and hotels) have an average wage of \$42,935 per year and average \$20.51 per hour (Government of Alberta, 2018). The average chef's salary in Alberta is \$44,286 per year with an average of \$21.07 per hour; whereas, a baker in Alberta can expect an average salary of \$33,187 per year or \$17.65 per hour (Government of Alberta, 2018). The baker trade is also provincially regulated but not categorized as compulsory and is identified as a Red Seal Trade (Government of Alberta, 2018). Red Seal Trades are considered a national accreditation (Red Seal Program, 2018).

Importantly, both the cooks' trade and the bakers' trade employees are not regulated by government policy to obtain a journey certification, nor are either of these trades considered compulsory trades (Government of Alberta, 2019). The worker is not required to have any accreditation or education to work in the industry. Although culinary and baking programs in high school and post-secondary institutions are often in such high demand that students often find themselves on waitlists, there is no government-mandated certification to support the trade and formal training is not compulsory.

Compulsory certification trades predominantly involve work in which the public and worker safety must be closely monitored (Government of Alberta, 2019). Those employing workers in a compulsory trade must only hire certified journey persons or a registered apprentice who will work under the supervision of the certified journey-person (Crocker, 2018). Examples of certificate regulated trades are electricians, steamfitter-pipefitter, welder, and hairstylist. Cooks, chefs, and bakers do not fall under the compulsory certification trade despite their responsibility to prepare food that could adversely affect hundreds of people at a time (e.g., wedding banquets, hospitals, seniors' facilities, work camps). Alberta Apprenticeship and Industry Training categorize these trades as "voluntary" (Government of Alberta, 2019).

Consequentially, the absence of compulsory certification by Alberta Apprenticeship and Industry Training, is that "anyone is free to label themselves as a trades person" (Crocker, 2018). This lack of compulsory credentialing makes it difficult to distinguish the individuals functioning at a "fully qualified" level, which is vitally important when charged with the responsibility of providing nutrition to the general public let alone critically ill patients in a hospital (Crocker, 2018).

The growth of post-secondary institutions catering to vocational education has led to a more direct school-based route into the occupation. Technical training is even offered in Alberta high schools. Alberta students may earn Career and Technology Studies (CTS) credits during their in-class high school courses as well as earn credits while working on the job towards their journeymen ticket through the Registered Apprentice Program (RAP) (Alberta Education, 2021). Another route to credentials is the Career and Technology Studies (CTS) Apprenticeship Programs which are taught in an Alberta Education approved facility by an educator who not only has a degree in education but a journey-person ticket as well (Alberta Education, 2021). The training that takes place within the high school setting is publicly funded. In so, the Government of Alberta must see the value in providing vocational training to Alberta students (Alberta Education, 2021). Nonetheless, it begs the question, with such support for trades-based curriculum, why not mandate the certification which potentially may impact the livelihoods of the content-based experts training in part under their tutelage? The answer may reside with the industry and is a topic for a future study.

This lack of compulsory trade designation impacts the average wage of bakers and cooks. When no formal education is required nor any certification, employers have little reason to pay competitive wages. Data obtained from a 2015 Statistics Canada study highlights the correlation between educational accreditation and earning level. The study took the average salaries of men and women, ages 25-64 working as full-time paid employees according to their education level. The resulting data are significant.

Men in Canada who completed an apprenticeship program and obtained journey certification earned 7% more than those with college diplomas, 31% more than high school diploma graduates and 11% less than men with bachelor's degrees. In comparison, Canadian women with a

Bachelor's degree earned about 40% more than college graduates, 60% more than those with high school diplomas, and 80% more than those with journey certifications (Statistics Canada, 2017).

In Alberta, men holding a journey certification average \$69,777 annually with a high school diploma, \$92,580 annually with a journey certification, \$87,983 annually with a college diploma and \$97,733 annually when holding a Bachelor's degree. Alberta men with journey certifications earn 5.28% less than those holding a Bachelor's degree, 24.64% more than those with a high school diploma and 4.97% more than those with a college diploma (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Alberta women in employed in trades-related occupations have far grimmer earning prospects with journey certifications. They earn only \$49,305 annually; yet, those with a high school diploma earned \$51,169 annually. Those with a collage diploma earned \$57,580 annually and women who held Bachelor's degrees earned \$80,054 annually. Therefore, women with journey certifications earned 3.65% less than those with their high school diploma, 14.38% less than those holding a college diploma and 38.42% less than women who earned a Bachelor's degree.

In 2015, Alberta women with a high school diploma made 73.33% of the earnings made by men annually (Statistics Canada, 2017). Women with college degrees made 65.44% of men's earning and those with Bachelor's degrees were closest to closing the gap with earnings of 81.91% of those of their male counterparts. Further highlighting the earning disparity, men with journey certifications made 46.75% more than women with these same credentials (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Notably, only 7.1% of employees in the trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations were recorded as women in 2017. Women make up 45.2% of the labour force in Alberta, and 40.1% of that labour is full time and 69% is part-time. Men are employed full time

at 59.5% in Alberta and only 31% are part-time. The employment rate for women in Alberta was 61.4% in 2017, which was the highest in the ten provinces. In other words, Alberta women work more part-time hours than men and if they hold a trade certification, they can expect to make 53% of men's earnings with the same education level (Government of Alberta, 2018).

It is important to consider that these statistics do not reflect the potential fluctuations in wages resulting from the 2019 United Conservative Party minimum wage roll back for minors in Alberta or the economic catastrophe of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Traditionally, minors do not hold the position of chef in the industry. However, it is conceivable that there will be some impact on the industry wages in general as the Bank of Canada notes "increases in the minimum wage lead to higher real wages" (Brouillette, Cheung, Gao, & Gervais, 2017). Following this logic, a decrease in the wages of youth may adversely affect the wages of those in higher waged positions. Additionally, with the sudden and devastating pandemic lockdowns, the culinary industry has taken an unprecedented hit with many hotels, conference centres and restaurants facing mass lay-offs, permanent closures and/or bankruptcies.

The average hourly wages of cooks, bakers, chefs and pastry chefs are hovering within what would be considered a living wage. Living Wage Canada (2018) has calculated the living wage of individuals residing in Edmonton, Alberta at \$16.31 per hour. A living wage is the required hourly rate of two adults working full time supporting two dependents to maintain a modest standard of living set forth by the Canadian Living Wage Framework (Kolkman, 2017; Living Wage Canada, 2018). A \$16.31 hourly rate represents the ability of a household to afford basic necessities, to avoid financial stress, to encourage healthy child development and to fully participate in their communities after government transfers and income deductions (Kolkman, 2017; Living Wage Canada, 2018).

Though when factoring the hours of unpaid work that many cooks, bakers, chefs and pastry chefs put in before and after work, and working late nights, early mornings and every holiday, the living wage hardly holds meaning. These passionate people report working between 48-60 hours a week (Rayner, 2017) and the practice of paying a “daily wage” or “weekly salary” instead of an hourly wage paves the way for exploitation (Mintz, 2015). Even the idea of asking for monetary compensation is treacherous. A passionate employee would not dream of asking for money; as Chef SR said, “*if you don't work nine or 10 hours a day, you're, you're not doing your job*” (June 2020).

This is a culture that is bred in restaurants and culinary schools; the message being that passionate cooks, chefs, bakers and pastry chefs must sacrifice to demonstrate their love and prove their devotion by having their breaks (if taken) cut short amongst the rushes of customers, working split shifts and having their days off split up in the week and working 10 to 18 hours a day. This sacrifice will cost them healthy relationships with anyone outside of the industry and will deeply affects their ability to start a family and be a present parental figure. As noted, “*the reason why we are working so many hours or jobs, [and typically its jobs] is because our wages so low, so having a higher wage would be a first step. Having a livable wage could change so much*” (Chef R, June 2020). But with few opportunities for unionization across the industry, little will change for these dedicated and skilled individuals. We know “[i]t’s not a lucrative field, [p]eople go into this because they're passionate about it” (Mintz, 2015). From my view, it is really too bad one can’t pay rent in *passion bucks*.

Some will leave the industry in its entirety and others will get swept into the depths of this darkness, where drug and alcohol abuse are rampant, mental and emotional abuse accepted and

sexual harassment and gendered biases the norm (Bourdain, 2000). Yet, there will be a few who will climb the mountain and set a new path.

Harassment, Bullying and Banter and the Onboarding Process

“What are you?” Gordon Ramsay asks as he holds a piece of bread to either side of a cook's head. “An idiot sandwich”, the cook replies. I must admit, I laughed, though funny as it may be, this narrative is a staple in kitchen culture where harassment, bullying and banter has long been a keystone of the hierarchal structure.

I want to share a personal story with you. As a young pastry chef, I recall making a respectful suggestion to one of my male chefs regarding the presentation of a dish. I made the unfortunate mistake of initiating this suggestion in front of my colleagues. My chef responded swiftly and loudly, “If I wanted any lip from you, I would pull down your panties”. In my present day, a comment like this would certainly elicit some sort of measured response, though, at the time, being young and the only female on the male kitchen team, I quietly internalized the message. The message was this: If you want to make it in the kitchen, you can either do it by acting like these guys and throwing it back as hard as you can take it or, just really hope that eventually, someone somewhere will recognize you for the work you do and promote based on merit and not who you drink with. I went with the latter option. Had I complained about the comment at the time, I probably would have been told to stop being so “sensitive”.

Why is harassment such an integral part of the socialization of cooks into kitchen culture? In part, kitchen culture and a chef's occupational identity is locked in the *partie* system that was introduced by Francois Vatel of 18th century pre-revolutionary France, which later shifted into Escoffier's brigade system (Balazs 2001). These systems continue to serve as the foundation of our current day occupational identity by perpetuating a hierarchy rooted in the pre-industrial

revolution (Cooper, Giousmpasoglou, & Marinakou 2017). That is not to say that social hierarchy is not as pervasive in modern day. One could argue that bullying and harassment is just one of the many implications generated from the use of a traditional work organization to create and reify occupational identity, especially one in which females do not have any place in.

Bullying is the systematic and repeated exposure to psychologically abusive, negative and/or aggressive behaviours (Leymann, 1996). Importantly, the repercussions of this abuse have been shown to be devastating physically and psychologically devastating for victims (Bjorkqvist et al., 1994). The types of bullying cited by the participants range from exposure to verbal abuse, offensive language, insults and micro aggressions (Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Burrow et al., 2015). In a few cases, participants described the escalation of bullying with threats of physical violence, throwing pots and pans, food and threatening physical violence in the cooler (Cooper, 2012; Johns & Menzel, 1999). Chef P recalled that:

Our head chef at that time, he, he was very aggressive, he was an alcoholic, he would bring prostitutes in, they would drink champagne, he would throw pans around and he would completely lose it on a Friday night and then he would disappear and everybody would be scared. (June 2020)

Borrowing on the work of Einarse (1999), the study participants organically discussed the concepts of dispute-related and predatory bullying. The participants gave many examples of predatory bullying in which the target (sometimes themselves) had found themselves accidentally in the abuser's physical realm. At this point, the predator used the opportunity to express power. It has been noted that the reasons for bullying and harassment often arise from feelings of jealousy and competition over jobs and statues (Björkqvist, Österman, & Hjelt-Bäck, 1994). Further research suggests that victim selection and resulting interactions are generally

random and arbitrary and have little to do with the abused (Ashford, 1994); however, the participants hardly seemed to share these sentiments. They noted that they felt targeted primarily because of their gender identity and have even launched successful human rights complaints.

Predatory bullying not only rests on an individual's predisposition but also flourishes in situational factors. Institutionalized beliefs and values, power structures and the pressures of the environment may trigger the cyclical culture of abuse while attracting those with the predispositions of this type of bullying (Ashforth, 1994). This type of behaviour is not only endured but is celebrated! Our beloved celebrity chefs are examples of boastful predatory bullying! An episode of Hell's Kitchen's with Gordon Ramsay is a visible example. Watch him yell, insult and belittle his cooks who he should be mentoring or Mario Batali who has faced a battery of sexual assault allegations and criminal assault charges (Fortin & Zraick, 2019). These are our celebrity chefs; they are everyday names in the media, they write the cookbooks people have in their kitchens and they mentor up and coming chefs. Consider the apprentice model, in which the chef is supposed to be the mentor, and the learning is by doing. It is no wonder this behaviour is celebrated, but with long lasting and damaging effects on a victim's psychological processes. Chef S discussed her experience as a young apprentice.

I was mind blown, that you as a chef, would see somebody eager and young and wanting to ... to ... to learn and to grow in this profession ... and you are supposed to be their leader, their mentor, and that you would so succinctly try and shut them down. (June 2020)

Interestingly, female-identifying chefs appear to have an understanding of the environmental conditions conducive to a culture of abuse. However, they also recognized predatory bullying behaviour of and the perception this of behaviour generally differs between genders.

I've seen chefs, they get short, they get angry, you know, it's intense, they're stressed, and they just, "this is how I want it. This is how we're doing it". And they get away with it and it's fine. I mean, Gordon Ramsay is a great example of this where he got a TV show because of this behaviour! And if I was to act the same way, nobody would want to work for me. They would think that I'm a bitch and that I'm insensitive. And I'm hysterical and demanding. (Chef S, June 2020)

Bullying does not always flow in a downward direction according to the hierarchical organizational structure. Research shows that although bullying occurs from the top down (i.e., management to subordinate), it also happens from the bottom up (i.e., subordinates to managers) and horizontally (i.e., colleague to colleague) (Zapf, 1999). Chef S discussed the intimidation and bullying she experienced by a male subordinate.

And he came right in my face and yelled at me, and I was a bit scared. I'm not going to lie, it was one of the few times where I'm like, is this is this man going to hit me? Is this going to end up in some kind of physical altercation? This is why I needed to leave that job. It [the violence] was inappropriate. They did not respect me. They never would respect me and I feared for myself. For my safety. (Chef S, June 2020)

Further, studies demonstrate that interpersonal conflict bullying eventually apexes with one of the parties feeling overwhelmed and helpless from the aggressive behaviour (Einarsen et al., 2011). As mentioned above, Chef S experienced this form of intensifying bullying, which eventually escalated to the threat of physical violence. It is important to note that even though this participant was not physically harmed, the threats were so dire that she resigned from her position out of fear for her physical safety. Chef S acknowledged that these situations happen even despite company led training.

The first day, when you work for this company, is spent doing harassment [training] online. It's a whole course! That's the whole first day, you watch these videos and do this course ... every single person, this is what you do. (June 2020)

The hierarchy of the kitchen has unintended consequences. The hierarchy enables a kitchen to run smoothly and is fundamental to the organization and, in turn, success of the establishment. It is also an environment conducive to bullying and harassment, particularly for young cooks who may not be able to differentiate between the necessary hierarchical work structure and an abusive environment (Agg, 2017). Employees might not even recognize that they are compliantly supporting a broken system. The blurred lines within a hierarchy mean that when it starts to fall off the rails and young cooks are leaving work in a Stockholmed state, these employees often don't realize how cutting the abuse is, especially when it is mollified at the end of service with a few cold beers and a hearty 'attaboy' (Agg, 2017).

Everyone has the potential to become angry at some point, particularly in stressful environments. These conditions coupled with institutionalized values conducive to aggression and a kitchen that is fast, hot, competitive and very militaristic, it is expected that as one rises through the ranks that a quintessential volatile culinary "genius" emerges. Further, we all are supposed to, with a lot of help from the media, celebrate this genius (Wood, 2000). Because of the apprentice model in which knowledge and information are transferred through mentorship, this behaviour and abuse becomes cyclical.

So, all the customer sees is the great food, they don't see what's going on behind the [kitchen] doors. So, when we talk about students and apprentices wanting to be part of that team, sometimes they put up with that [abuse and bullying] to be part of the team. The students put up with whatever is going on in behind the doors, because they

want to be part of that greatness. So, they sell themselves short ... [especially] women and those in the LGBTQ [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer] community, they say, 'wow, I'm in this great famous restaurant, where everyone loves us. We're one of the top restaurants in the city or in the country. I want to be here, and I want to produce this food and be part of this. So, I'm just gonna shut up and I'm just going to put up with it' (Chef R, June 2020)

In this way, aggressive behaviour is institutionalized, and fear is a tool used to intimidate, motivate, and indoctrinate cooks into the occupational culture (Meloury & Signal, 2014). When subordinates resist the cultural conditioning, the price is steep. Intense bullying, social exclusion, limits on promotions and, for some, job losses. All the study participants shared a variation of this pattern although Chef SR articulated her experiences most succinctly.

Now I've worked for a lot of alcoholics and drug addicts and misogynist men who were very abusive to women. And so, it's, you know, it's like being in a kind of a family, right, it just sort of filters down and some people just think that [the culture of abuse] is the coolest thing and they stay. I mean, for me, I moved around a lot in kitchens, I didn't stay in any place for a long period of time. For that reason [the abusive culture], I just I didn't stick around for it. So, you know, I did my bit, I learned what I could learn and then I moved on, whereas a lot of the men didn't, you know, they stayed and they move their way up the ranks, they got their sous chef position, they got, you know, their accolades and that kind of thing. And, and I didn't. I quit a lot of jobs. ... I quit a lot of people you know, I quit a lot of bosses who were jerks. It wasn't necessarily the job. And so yeah, after a period of time, I just got, you know, got old enough and cranky enough just to start fighting back. (June 2020)

Many young and old cooks alike reify dominant ideology, the kitchen culture, through the perpetuation of common work experiences, one which is damaging to all those around them, not just women. Often, abuse begets abuse and as the victims of abuse climb the ranks, they are at a greater risk of replicating the environment they experienced firsthand (Smith, Davis, & Fricker-Elhai, 2014). I am no exception. I have been guilty of calling my male sous chef by names like Tiffany, Bridgette, Rhonda and Kristy. I internalized the misogyny that blankets the many kitchens I worked in and I played along to survive. I played along to belong and I am not proud of this. No matter who you are, this career is not for the faint of heart ... it is “a difficult industry for men, but it’s worse for women” (Agg, 2017).

Mental Health

It does take a lot of your mental health but nobody, there's no chef out there that I know that has raised her hand and said, I need a break from this. I don't know anyone in the industry that's kind of said, 'that's it, I've had enough'. And if they do, they turn to alcohol or drugs, or, you know, some I don't know if you know, a lot of different chefs that lose their star, they commit suicide. It's insane. (Chef K, June 2020)

Some people commit suicide because they're so upset about being judged so harshly or trying to achieve like the next star or something like that. You know, it's ... sometimes I can't sleep, because I think I made somebody upset about what they ate. (Chef P, June 2020)

What makes this industry so prone to alcohol and drug use? Each of the participants cited that the context of work including the harsh conditions, the hours and stress are the keystone to the alcohol and drug abuse phenomenon. These working conditions provide fertile

grounds for the normalization of self-medication and is part of everyday kitchen culture, particularly in high end kitchens (Giousmpasoglou, Brown, & Cooper, 2018). Each of the five chefs in this study spoke to the rush of being part of a functioning team during high volume service and the stresses: the heat and the hours and the close relationships with peers. Bourdain (2000) was correct when he wrote that line cooking done properly is like watching a ballet, a collective of clean and efficient cooks with technique and speed. This job “requires character-and endurance. A good line cook never shows up late, never calls in sick, and works through pain and injury” (Bourdain, 2000, p. 55). Chef P depicted the typical level of stress experienced in a professional kitchen during high volume service.

You have almost a little bit too much of each other and because it's such a crazy environment and everybody is in tune with each other ... if somebody breaks down or, or slows things down, [they] make the other person aggravated. Right, so you have to really be patient. And this also depends on also who leads you through this. You know, it's like [leading] an orchestra, you are orchestrating the pace of the kitchen. So now think ... you're cooking, you have all these tickets coming in. Everybody needs to leave at a certain time and then God forbid the server forgot an allergy ... and they come in and say table 23 has an allergy and they already started cooking [the dish] with let's say soy, and they have a gluten allergy and then the chef who is there and is under so much stress already seeing all these tickets coming in and that's when it totally crumbles. If you let one [person] crumble, the whole kitchen is on fire. Then everybody gets super frustrated and flustered. It's almost like parenting. This is worse than parenting! You think you are handling a temper tantrum? And then the server comes in and says, 'oh, the bride wants her food now 'but [the kitchen] thought service was in half an hour. You're not even ready yet. So

then that starts going down the tube. You start getting in the oven, but this guy had something else in the oven, then the bread baker had the bread in the oven, then everything gets pulled out and the bread is now for the garbage. (June 2020)

In addition to the emotionally, physically demanding and high adrenaline aspects of working in a commercial kitchen, participants addressed the traditional unsociable working hours as another source of stress on relationships. These working hours almost force those in the professional kitchen to socialize solely with the people they work with. Chef K vocalized this construct.

I've worked like 48 hours straight ... so we really spent every single minute together. And even when work was done, we still hung out with each other. It was insane. Like I, I had no other friends! (June 2020)

The participants described their experiences on the service line with the same sentiments. Because of the high stress, challenging working hours and a restricted circle of social contacts, the participants further acknowledged that an observable practice, in terms of recovering the emotional and physical equilibrium after the buzz of service, is to use alcohol and/or drugs as a means of self-medication (Giousmpasoglou, Brown, & Cooper, 2018).

Even though none of the Chefs I spoke with in this study, stated that they used alcohol or drugs to self-medicate, there was a consensus that this was a common industry practice with which they had witnessed.

So, you can imagine all this craziness. And then the servers come in to ask all these questions “where's my table this” and “these people need to go now” and “this has no this” and “the allergy is there” and ... and you can imagine right? So now after that is all over. What do you do on a busy day? You want to sit down and drink a glass of wine ... this

glass of wine ends and multiple ones ... you might have had a fight with your buddy. Then you go out, you have a couple of shots and you're completely wasted. Right? It goes super quick and you're surrounded with all that design ... you do a little wine tasting in the afternoon ... this ends up in cocktails later on. And what happens if colleagues drink, then one thing leads to the next ... you maybe said something that upsets that person. Maybe you did something sexually that this person didn't want. Maybe you had sex and then you hated yourself the next morning when you see this person again. It's all a disaster and all these personalities coming along. So, it's open for all these, mental health issues. You know, mostly people who don't know what to do, they come into kitchens. They hang out there because it's a place for lost souls. (Chef P, June 2020)

How do you convince smart and hardworking people to work in an industry that harbours none of the traditional markers of success? How are droves of students convinced that this is the industry for them? More clearly, an industry that does not hide its abusers, but celebrates them? An industry that pays minimum wage, works its' employees to the bone and robs these folks of any sort of work/life balance? Beyond the passion for food, I think the answer lies within the words of Chef P in that the kitchen, "*is a place for lost souls.*" What a beautiful way to understand complexities.

The Kitchen: A Place for Lost Souls

Food is a family when no other family exists. A meal is a respite from the world, a moment of peace and contemplation. Food is an expression of joy, excitement and the deepest sadness. Cooking is the intergeneration line connecting those without strings to their homeland, wherever and to whomever they may belong. The skills and dynamics in a kitchen are the heartbeat of

belonging. The rules are clear, the expectations high and the praise little. The kitchen is a home and the cooks and bakers working alongside each other are family.

There is a camaraderie in every functional kitchen. Those who are beside you for 12 hours a day become your tribe. They are the people who you depend on, who you laugh with and fight with. The kitchen is a place of refuge for some, a source of solidarity and identity for those on the fringes (Kim, 2009). Perhaps it is because the kitchen is a place where there is constant communication, even if it's not healthy, any communication is at least something to someone who is alone. The kitchen is a place for the heartbroken and a place for the wandering. As a wanderer myself, I felt like the participant Chefs were describing so much of what I know as my home. I listened to their unique voices describing experiences and I heard the life pulse of every kitchen, a heartbeat exclusive to the soul of each venue yet almost pedestrian in commonality.

The confluence of the kitchen is a melting pot of souls. People running away from failure, rejection, family history, trouble with the law and running from places and countries with no opportunity, or all of the above. Chef R recounts her experiences and reflection on kitchen compositions.

My girlfriend works for corrections. And she's a parole officer. A lot of these kitchen jobs are getting filled with the castaways. The ones that need to be reintegrated back into society. The ones that need to stay out of trouble get a job and move on with their life.

(Chef R, June 2020)

So, you're working as a team, you're working as a family, and you get to know one another so well, because you're working those holidays, you're working those long hours. You're

not with your own family. You're with your work family and sometimes our own family rejects us. (Chef R, June 2020)

These kitchen souls might just be people in love with food, kinesthetic learners or those looking for the type of acceptance and belonging that a professional or familial kitchen provides. I think the case could be made that we are all, in some way, a collection of these circumstances. Maybe it is as simple as just having a place *to be*. As Chef SF asserted, the kitchen “*it's your family, it's the place that you go every day ... and it may be the best place you go all day*” (June 2020). Sometimes, it is the only place of acceptance in a person’s life.

The kitchen is like a gated community. There is a line between the food preparation area and the food service area, which is essentially the rest of the kitchen and restaurant. Sometimes that line is literally painted on the floor and sometimes it is an invisible line. The only people allowed behind that line are the people in uniform. Even the head chef dare not walk across that line and into the kitchen out of uniform. The Chef’s whites, the uniform of most professional kitchens, are the credentials insuring at least somewhat safe travels across this line. Even if it is ill fitting and made for a man’s body, this costume is permission to walk behind the line where others cannot. A passport to a place *others* do not dare to trespass. These simple institutional structures conjure some form of belonging. For some, that is enough to stay.

For a lot of people, I think that means so much ... I think we all want to be part of something, we are social beings, you just want to be part of something. And I think it means a lot to those outcasts, to the lost souls, whatever you want to call them, it means a lot to knowing that they're part of something. So, it's really appealing, being part of a team, [part] of family and getting shit done. (Chef R, June 2020)

Perhaps it is the power of food or rather the smell of it that triggers such a strong emotional connection. Researchers have discovered that the olfactory bulb directly connects one's nose to the amygdala and the hippocampus parts of the brain, which have been understood to function as centers for emotion and memory (White, 2014). It is notable that sight, touch, hearing do not connect to these areas.

Because, you know, every memory we have, that brings us back to our roots to, our feeling of comfort and family is in food. Like everybody who asked what is your favourite childhood memory and most people will tell you, you know, I remember this gathering we had always at Thanksgiving and the moment my mother opened like the door and you know, all this beautiful aroma came out of sage and it transfers you back to this incredibly deep-rooted memory of your own like, like comfort and you feel this kind of longing to bring this back, you know, and food brings people together. (Chef P, June 2020)

Perhaps the answer lives somewhere in the middle. Those who are running, those who are recreating, and those in-between, come together as a momentary functional family and provide their family members with something, be it comfort, belonging, respite even if it is for a moment. No matter the reason, it appears to be enough for many. For the most seasoned chef, there is a constant negotiation between belonging and being lost and sometimes both simultaneously.

I'm lost, like, I'm so lost. And I'm glad that this gives me perspective, this cooking thing ... [it] took me a long time to find it. But I still think I'm super lost. (Chef P, June 2020)

Whether it is somehow within our biological nature or is a product of our conditions, those who find a home in the professional kitchen are a resilient lot. I know this because one thing is for certain, there is vulnerability in being a lost soul. Vulnerability can be the scariest feeling in

the world and instead of crumbling and falling along the side, these people work their butts off to belong.

The Female Chef and her Kitchen: Disrupting the Norm

It's funny because a couple years ago, I was in an interview for a [piece about] women in leadership. One of the questions was, what vegetable do you see yourself as? I thought, this is a weird question ... I don't know! So, I asked my team, and they said, "you're a mushroom". I was like, "why?" And pardon my French, they said "you thrive in shit".

(Chef K, June 2020)

Chefs share some common characteristics, of course there is the manual dexterity, fine motor skills coupled with the ability to work quickly and with efficiency (Lee-Ross, 1999). A chef must have the drive, passion, creativity, attention to detail and most certainly a thick skin. A willingness to work and learn are especially important in the early years of one's career. But what about vulnerability? Each Chef spoke freely of their relationship with vulnerability. Vulnerability disrupts the male-centric hierarchal structure. Most notably, how they have come to understand the relationship between confidence and vulnerability as the essence to their style of leadership.

You have to be open, confident, but also vulnerable in a way. [If] I don't know the answer ... [I say] let's figure it out together. I think when your staff sees that [the chef is] competent with what she does, but when she doesn't know something, she asks for our guidance and we do it together. Then [the staff] really start respecting you and believing in you. And that's when you build that relationship. Building the relationships is how I will build my brand. (Chef K, June 2020)

The five Chefs stressed that healthy and supportive relationships were the keystone to their leadership style. Everyone expressed that they believed their power or efficiency as a manager is because they approach situations from a place of caring and not from the classic hierarchy of the kitchen. The stratification of tasks within the organization they ran was not static and that there was no task below them as a leader or chef.

I want to make sure [my staff see] that I am not just your boss or your chef, that I am here with you, cooking beside you, building that relationship. I'm very transparent, I showed them our numbers, I showed them the cost, I showed them everything that I'm going through so there's nothing hidden. Be vulnerable, I'm a chef, [but it] doesn't matter how old you are, there's always something to learn. There's always a new ingredient, a new method of cooking, there's always growth within you. And you always need to be open to learning, even from a 17-year-old. And I think that's why a lot of women now are successful because they're open minded in that. (Chef K, June 2020)

The Chef participants repeatedly emphasized that their primary role as a leader was to develop and support their team for the benefit of the individual. Their role was not directly or exclusively for the benefit of the business. Nonetheless, they acknowledged that this method of leadership resulted in loyal, diligent and conscientious team members, which contributed to their businesses. Lastly, the Chef participants celebrated the team through engagement in the creative processes and made visible those who are often invisible.

Do not call me chef. I want you to call me by my name. I'm exactly like you. I'm exactly like the dishwasher. And there is no difference between us. I am not looking at you as the sous chef and I'm not looking at you as my student. I'm not looking at you as you. I want [your] footprints on the menu. So, we are writing the menus together, especially for

banquets. [The team] needs to be proud. And sometimes in big functions, the [guests] want to applaud the chef. And I say, I'm not coming out there by myself, I'm coming out with my team. And I put my dishwasher right in the front row. And I say, if you want to applaud, applaud this guy, because he's washing your dirty dishes. (Chef P, June 2020)

Interestingly, I believe that much of the participants' conversations unwittingly, unknowingly and organically mirrored the work of Brené Brown (2019), a research professor at the University of Houston. Brown has written extensively on the interconnectedness of courage, vulnerability, shame and empathy. This author asserts that innovation and creativity are dependent on one's ability to sit with vulnerability and vulnerability means being truly empathetic. Essentially, by surrendering the ego to the discomfort of learning is when transformational change occurs (Brown, 2019).

Chef S's recollections are demonstrative of Brown's (2019) research, highlighting the collaborative relationship between vulnerability and ingenuity.

I only have one exception where my chef wasn't a man [out] of all the places I ever worked [but I have worked alongside female chefs]. And she was very encouraging, very mentoring and I don't know if it's a mother thing or if it's just that women are so used to not having anybody show faith in them, that they just automatically will go and do this ... they say "let's all learn together. And I'm going to show you. Let's do this." And we just got into this groove, amp ourselves, and it just became this creative whirlwind. And it was amazing what could be accomplished! When two people work like that together? And instead of just getting shut down. We did some amazing things [together] and those were the times when I felt I did the most and was at my best. In those instances, when there was

somebody actively encouraging this [culture], it only ever happened with those female chefs. Maybe it was just them. Maybe they're awesome. (Chef S, June 2020)

There are certain chefs that just that don't allow for any input. And I don't know if it's the women chefs that I've worked with, but I think men might see [vulnerability] as a weakness ... like that needing somebody else's input is weak. Whereas, women view it as “we can be more, come up with more and do better if we work as a collective”. I get outside input constantly in my kitchen. I am always asking “what do you guys think about this?” [Instead of] “this is my idea, just execute it”. I also think it's more enjoyable for the people working there to feel like they have a part in this creative process as opposed to just saying “here's your tasks, carry them out, then go home”. (Chef S, June 2020)

Innovation and creativity are purportedly highly praised skills in which individuals apply a unique perspective in order to developing original ideas and processes. These skills drive positive change (George, 2007), scientific discovery (Hennessey & Amabile, 2010), and are often identified as markers of intelligence (Niu & Sternberg, 2006; Sternberg, 1985). Innovation and creativity are frightening concepts, concepts that are from a place and create a space of uncertainty which is often met with rejection and ridicule. Because of the place of uncertainty, and the rejection and ridicule lavished upon the creator, creation and innovation requires the individual to be vulnerable. Uncertainty is the catalyst of creativity and innovation (Audia & Goncalo, 2007; Tiedens & Linton, 2001) yet the discomfort of uncertainly limits our ability to recognize and support creative ideas and creative people (Mueller, Melwani & Goncalo, 2010). We can understand that “without vulnerability there is no creativity or innovation” (Brown, 2019, p. 43).

Chef K discussed her journey as she came to understand and develop her own personal leadership style yet she commented that she is continually reflecting and renewing her process. Central to the practice of honest reflection in one's leadership is empathy and vulnerability. Asking tough questions, and having honest conversations is the impetus in the development and maintenance of personal connection (Brown, 2019).

I have a little bit of my Europe training in me, I have a little bit of Hampshire, and I had a little bit of all these different chefs that I work with and I kind of just sat down and reflected "like, okay, so I'm working with a 20-year-old, which is my sister's age." I have a sister who is 22. I needed to figure out how to relate to them, and how to best find a way for them to listen and learn without me being super aggressive in the way that I have been taught. So, and that was a turning point for me. That was a huge turning point. (Chef K, June 2020)

Learning is uncomfortable. Being in a place of learning means being a place of vulnerability. We acknowledge learning as an act of intellect; behavioural or methodological but forget that learning is an experience and fundamentally an emotional process (Bregman, 2019). To learn and to teach means putting oneself into place where uncertainty is in plain view to the public. This uncertainty often keeps people from even attempting to learn (Bregman, 2019). Each of the participants recounted events in their careers in which they had to open themselves to the discomfort of learning. They had to relinquish their ego and, in doing so, gained invaluable and career changing knowledge (Brown, 2019).

After that interview, I went in my car and I cried, and I never cry. I never cried, and I just was so disappointed in myself. I didn't get the sous chef job, so they hired me on as a line cook. Here I am, I have 12 years of experience from all over Europe and I'm starting as a

line cook in Cactus Club. And I said fine, I'll do it. I will learn how to cook Cactus Club food. At 30 years old, I was the oldest in the kitchen. So, I started in salads and it was hard ... you know? I have 17-year olds telling me what to do, telling me this is wrong ... and that's not how we do it here. I thought to myself "I'm moving backwards, you know ... like what is happening? Why am I doing this? Why am I working salads at 30 years old?" So anyway, I stuck with it because I had a mentor who I trusted and I'm a loyal person. And the whole concept of Cactus Club didn't really make sense to me until after a year of working there and after meeting the sous chefs and after getting to know the systems. After that all made sense to me, that's when I really enjoyed it. Once I understood that it's not just about the cooking, that's when I learned how to run a business. I give Cactus all the credit. I would not be as confident as I am right now opening this cafe in the middle of a pandemic. (Chef K, June 2020)

Through the discussions of leadership styles with the five female chefs, it was clear that each placed tremendous value and emphasized their sense of personal responsibility to being an empath and an agent of change rather than replicating the working conditions and experiences of their past. While much of this work, the work of leaning into vulnerability involves emotional intelligence and interpersonal connections, the chefs made structural changes to the work environment that reflected their leadership philosophies.

As has been previously discussed in great length, the lack of diversity, hours and expectation, wages and mental health as well as an overall complete disregard for work-life balance are major concerns for all of those working in the professional kitchen and the overall health of the industry. Alongside these issues, individuals also must contend with the classic male-centric structure of the kitchen, which perpetuates the stratification of women in terms of gendered tasks

and promotional opportunities. Interestingly, the female chef participants managed these concerns simply through their hiring practices, leadership philosophies and their scheduling processes. Chef SR spoke directly to the need to diversify the kitchen environment for the health of the team.

I think, just more diversity (is needed) and less hyper misogyny or hyper anything, you know, [any environment that is hyper-homogeneous] it's just not good. With more diversity you have the opportunity to talk to other people, hear about what they're experiencing, and then you sort of feel like, you know, as a group, you have some balance. And that's what I tried to do now. (Chef SR, June 2020)

A homogeneous environment is hardly sustainable let alone inclusive. A lack of diversity means a limited knowledge and experienced base to draw from, which results in less creativity and innovation. Additionally, it gives authority and absolute value to an ideology that benefits only those within the group. It is clear in the Facebook day and age, there is the need to diversify the feedback loop.

The biggest thing for me was to be able to develop diversity within my kitchen. That's always been a goal of mine, to ensure that there's a really great balance of gender, backgrounds and cultures to ensure that we are all growing from each other. It just brings a lot more positivity to the working environment. I talk to everybody, every day, and I treat everybody like a normal person because that's what they are, a normal person. So, and there isn't that sort of, you know, "oh my god, here comes the chef. Oh, we better stop talking or better run and hide in the broom closet. You know?" I say good morning to people, and they say good morning to me. ... they show me pictures of their dogs and I

show them pictures of my dogs. We're all just regular people doing a job. (Chef SR, June 2020)

So that's something that [I actively changed] because I always felt like I was on edge when I was coming to work or that I wasn't quite good enough, or, I wasn't working hard enough. I try and let people know that they are doing a good job and that there's opportunity for them to grow. It is just more of a nurturing mentoring kind of environment, not to say that I don't get pissed off because I do and we have, you know, pretty open discussions about that, as well. So, you know, I try and [maintain] the right amount of nurturing but also still, still maintaining my standards and the standards and the goals of our team. (Chef SR, June 2020)

Importantly, Chef SR highlights the constant negotiation between diversification, personal relationships and organizational standards. This is not an easy process but arguably is what sets a “leader” apart from a “boss”. These women are certainly leaders.

Diversifying the Kitchen

Diversifying the professional kitchen requires a shift in thinking. It is not simply the act of hiring a diverse group of individuals. There is a philosophical shift that must take place and that is hard work. Research indicates that the deep-rooted and complex obstacles faced by women entering male-dominated professions requires action on multiple levels. Confronting gender stereotypes early in life and presenting career options in educational settings foster recruiting are two examples. However, if these efforts are not accompanied with ongoing efforts to make working conditions more attractive to diverse applicants, there will be no real diversification (Wright, 2016). Institutional provisions such as parental leave, scheduling

flexibility while ensuring suitable facilities and clothing, along with improving workplace cultures and providing progression opportunities must be present to retain a diverse work force (Wright, 2016). As noted in earlier writing, the hours and expectation of the professional kitchen can be overwhelming and simply unattainable for many people. Even for the most passionate cooks, regardless of gender, the challenges are insurmountable. Shift work that is contingent upon trends, holidays and weather for minimal monetary gains, do not correspond with the responsibilities of parenthood, caring for any sort of dependent not to mention maintaining personal relationships outside of the work cohort. Diversifying the professional kitchen cannot happen without a corresponding shift in thinking from being organization centric (i.e., what is best for the organization) to people centric (i.e., wherein it is about giving people the opportunity to do their best work).

Research shows increased stress leads to reduced productivity (Halkos & Bousinakis, 2010). Employees feel stress for a plethora of reasons. They may be stressed about their personal relationships, feel the guilt of not being there to care for a dependent or missing special events like their child's birthday. It becomes not what is best for the organization, but about giving those people the opportunity, space and time to be their best selves. The study participants have navigated these stressors through a combination of respectful conversations, an empathic mindset and the openness to adjust their kitchens from organization centric to people centric.

Practically speaking, it is easy to build a schedule that primarily serves the organization. What is not easy is to build a schedule that supports and allows for the tumultuous nature of the hospitality industry. It is even more difficult for scheduling to facilitate diversity and promote a healthy work-life balance. Each of the participants noted that scheduling is one of the most powerful tools which they employ to serve their business and their employees.

So, this is this is what I learned over the years and how I wanted to run a kitchen because I don't want anybody to feel the way I felt. So I made sure I hired enough woman and I hired mothers, because I want to empower them and make sure that is a place for them and I can work around their schedule, you know, so if they can't work on certain days, I make sure I put this somewhere in the schedule. I make sure I write the schedule that works for everybody. I cannot do this all the time, but I would say 95% of the time I'm able to do what they need. (Chef P, June 2020)

I do what I can for my staff, because I understand. I know what it's like so for my staff, I ensure that they have two days off in a row. Everybody gets two days off. I try and keep them only the eight hours, 40 hours a week, reasonable times of days. I take on the really early shifts or if there's a holiday, then I will come in and work [so that my staff] can take the holiday. I take that onto myself so that they can have that opportunity to live a more balanced life because I realized how fantastic they are. And I want to keep them [working with me] and I don't want to his industry to crush [them]. (Chef S, June 2020)

My cooks work seven and a half hours a day. They have two days off, where they could make plans to spend time with people or do activities, develop themselves or whatever. (Chef SR, June 2020)

I'm paying them well. And giving them [opportunities to grow]. I want to send one of my line cooks to pastry (school) because she really wants to learn pastry. I said, look, as

soon as I get enough money, I will pay for half of your pastry schooling and I will completely support you. I think supporting my staff ... to me, that's number one. Because when Cactus Club supported me with further education, I really appreciated it and I feel that I gave so much more to [my work] when they invested in me. (Chef K, June 2020)

Our employees get paid sick days. They have benefits, they have pensions. They are treated like real human beings. And, and they are real humans and I know they that they have a life and I think they're better at work because they do. (Chef SR, June, 2020)

Clearly, it's not as easy as flicking on the "diversity switch" and off one goes. There are systemic and institutional barriers to be recognized, unpacked and broken down. It is a big job. It was clear from the interviews that these women actively chose to engage in this work with all their hearts. Every day, these women chose to expose and reject the toxic leadership styles that had defined much of their education and training. These women not only successfully climbed the ranks in our currently male dominated professional kitchens but did so with the intent to change the culture. To the chefs and organizations that passively or actively restrict diversity, limit career mobility and suppress autonomy and innovation, the collective message was clear: Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon.

Agents of Change – Participant Summaries

These five participants, as different as they may be, share common personal attributes and strategies. These personal attributes and strategies allow them to navigate the terrain of the professional kitchen, recognize and building upon the work of those before them and to engage in the continuous and arduous work of building equity in the industry.

Personal Attributes

Each of these women demonstrated astounding and continuous resiliency in their career journey. They each battle or have battled with some form of self-doubt and have and continue to confront those thoughts and feelings every day. These participants have not let their self-doubt, which often was reaffirmed by their surroundings, take up their energy and consume them.

They have quietly and passively devoured the learning that every experience has had to offer. These women are like water, finding their way through a massive rock wall, percipiently flowing and reaching for the cracks and cervices in the structure. They then slowly erode the seemingly impenetrable.

For these women, being humble is far from being self-critical. Being humble means that they acknowledge what they *know*, how much more there is to *know* and the multiple ways of *knowing*. They are empathetic to others and to themselves. This grace enables freedom in vulnerability, freedom to have honest reflections and dialog, in turn, this openness and ability to empathize facilitates sustainable and respectful relationships.

In their own way, each of these women understand that for many, controlling food or the situation in which dispersing food takes place is controlling a form of power over another. But, for them, power is not a finite resource to be fought over and neither should food be. Both are to be shared and celebrated. These women are morally and ethically driven by their personal philosophies garnered by self-reflection.

There is no doubt about it, the five women shared a doggedly persistent work ethic. Each chef has spoken to having a work ethic that sees them working twice as hard as their male colleagues.

There is no doubt that to climb the ranks in the professional kitchen one must be a hard worker, it's just that women must work harder.

Strategies

These five women discovered their voice and learned to lean into and confidently stand with their voice. This means that they came to recognize and believe in the value of themselves. Their thoughts and beliefs are as valuable as their male counterparts and that they can use their voice to build equity.

The participants actively chose to not replicate patterns that they see are abusive and that have largely defined their career journey. They are willing and proficient at negotiating vulnerability. Their comfort with vulnerability enabled them to be constantly engaging in tough discussions about misogyny, which led them to foster diversity within their own professional kitchens.

Further, these women chose to support rather than be in competition with each other. This freed their ego, promoted creativity and innovation and provided safe place for others. They believe in investing in their staff with the intention of raising them above themselves. And, because of their tumultuous journey, they humbly accept that they still have so much to learn.

Chapter 6

Organizational Structure Recommendations

As one of two female instructor chefs in the Department of Culinary Arts and Professional Food Studies at NAIT, my experiences have been unique to those of my male colleagues. Perhaps because my gender and perhaps because of my nature, my female identifying students are often open and frank about their experiences and their needs and, in many ways, I feel morally bound to champion their voices. Voices that traditionally have sat silently at the table or have not been invited to the table at all. In the spirit of the unheard voices, coupled with my research, the following recommendations are being made.

Diversification

First and foremost, students need to be able to see themselves in their mentors and instructors be it in the professional kitchen or in our cooking schools. As noted by Chef SR:

If it is led by the same group of men that lead all the other culinary pursuits and training that goes on then no, [there will not be change]. Having one female instructor is not a diverse faculty. I'm sorry. It's just not. It's nothing. There's so much learning and so much great teaching that is going on out there. I mean, I just did a five-week course and it was so rich in diversity and I learned so much. My eyes felt so wide open just because I was listening to all kinds of people talk, not just the same dude, you know. (June 2020)

One or two female instructors in a program is not diversity. If people are choosing to avoid conversations that challenge the status quo, avoiding vital conversations about diversity and inclusivity because those conversations are hard and uncomfortable then that truly is the epitome

of privilege. Trust withers and meaningful and lasting change becomes unattainable (Brown, 2019).

Changes need to be addressed through the organizational structure. Hiring happens often through the hierarchal structure, hiring within the community and if the community is predominately male (as is our industry), the stratifying system is replicated. Female-identifying chefs need to be attracted to positions and encouraged to apply. Small structural changes can help support female identifying chefs in male dominated careers. These organizational recommendations have the ability to change the course of female-identifying chefs with minimal financial requirements and without the brazen disruption of the male experience. With the recommendations that the organization supplies female uniforms and access to menstrual products alongside small actions, we can begin to build equity.

Female Uniforms

Female uniforms must be provided as an option in culinary schools and professional kitchens. Female uniforms are not about fashion but about efficiency and safety. It should not surprise anyone that, in general, the male and female form are different. The “unisex” uniform is based on the male figure and does not adequately fit women. That is not to say that women should exclusively wear women’s uniforms and men should exclusively wear men's uniforms and to stay in our respective boxes. What there needs to be is an option to wear a uniform that is comfortable, professional and safe. Currently, the “unisex” uniform is neither comfortable, professional looking or safe for most individuals.

Although there is no literature specific to female culinary uniforms, that does not negate the recommendation. *The Importance of Female-fit Workwear & PPE* (WISE Work Safe, 2019) acknowledges that providing women with men’s garments in a smaller size does not equate to a

uniform that is professional. Looking and feeling confident in their work uniform should be a basic expectation for any staff member. We know one size does not fit all. As more women enter into culinary careers, it is time to provide properly fitting uniforms at the same cost as the currently available “unisex” uniform.

The following notes are from a tailor/seamstress who has performed the extensive and expensive alternations required to modify “unisex” uniforms to fit the female form.

Jacket, from the top down assuming the chest/bust fits:

- *Reduce neck & collar circumference*
- *Narrow the shoulders*
- *Raise under arm point, reduce sleeve circumference and shorten sleeves*
- *Create a waist at generally 20cm smaller circumference than chest/bust, *a slightly short back waist length will fit a wider range of women's heights and body types.*
- *Hips generally at least five centimeters greater circumference than chest/bust.*
- *Adjust overall length proportions to suit most women's shorter than male stature including armseye (arm hole), sleeve length, back waist length (*see note in 4.)*
- *Adding logos with a sewn-on patch rather than embroidered directly on the garment makes for easier alterations if required*

Trousers:

- *Generally, the front crotch depth is too long and the back too short for women.*
- *Hip and waste ratio adjusted.*

Notes: in men's pants, the larger the hip circumference the larger the waist. This is problematic for women as generally women have a greater size difference between

waist and hips. This leads to a snug fit around the hips and gapping around the waist.

C. Millang (personal communication, November 27, 2019)

Female uniforms are critical for building equity. Alterations of a uniform are costly and time consuming. Considering women are already charged more for many commodities and services from haircuts, dry cleaning, to deodorant (a side note: Dove Women's deodorant is \$6.58/ whereas Men's for 100g is \$5.27 and at Superstore on August 1, 2020 in case you are wondering), slapped with addition of the wage disparity gap which sees "female employees aged 25 to 54 earn[ing] \$4.13 (or 13.3%) less per hour, on average, than their male counterparts (women earned \$0.87 for every dollar earned by men)" (Pelletier, Patterson, & Moyser, 2019). Something as simple as providing uniforms that fit at the same cost is a small step, but one with profound impacts.

These impacts include ensuring the safety of female chefs. Wearing an ill-fitting uniform is dangerous in the professional kitchen and any number of work-related accidents could easily be avoided. Further, there are subtle implications for women entering and working in the professional kitchen. An ill-fitting uniform may signal to others a lack of professionalism which might limit career mobility. Finally, wearing a man's uniform is yet another reminder to female chefs that this is a man's world and that they do not belong.

Menstrual Products

Let's get honest. Menstruation is not a punctual German train that rolls into the station at 6:25 am every 28 days. Menstruation is an unpredictable part of life and the notion that "you should be prepared" is ridiculous. Much like a thunderstorm, sometimes you get caught in the rain because you might not have checked the weather forecast, maybe you forgot your umbrella or raincoat, or perhaps the forecast was completely wrong! This happens and often.

Supplying emergency menstrual supplies could build equity with very little financial cost to the institution or employer. Already our institutions provide the free use of urinals, toilets, running water, electricity and sanitary products like toilet paper, soap, paper towels and air driers. These sanitary items are so commonplace in our institutional washrooms that we overlook an important question: Why are products such as toilet paper and soap made free while menstrual products that are “necessary to sanitarily manage natural and unavoidable bodily functions” are not (Montano, 2018)? Claire Coder (2020), the founder of Aunt Flow, recognized this gap when she was without a tampon at a networking event. Forced to go home by an uncontrollable biological function, Coder missed important career advancing opportunities and, in response, founded a social enterprise that helps provide free menstrual hygiene products across the United States (Coder, 2020; Montano, 2018). In Canada, British Columbia public schools are under a ministerial order since 2019 to provide free menstrual products in school bathrooms. Shortly after, Toronto public schools did the same (Schmunk, 2019; Teotonio, 2019). It is time Alberta schools and institutions do the same.

Expanding the first-aid kit contents could change the trajectory for many women, non-binary and trans people in workplaces. I propose adding menstrual supplies to the first-aid kits in the professional kitchen and in schools. This allows for equal access to education for women, non-binary and trans people as menstruation should not be a barrier to one’s education. Free and accessible menstrual products enable those who menstruate the ability to stay in school and at work. Simply put, often by the time menstruation products are located and accessed, it is a little too late.

Imagine this, you are a student in class and have realized you have begun to menstruate without menstrual products, perhaps you switched backpacks and forgot to restock, perhaps your

water bottle leaked and destroyed your products or maybe you just don't have any until your next pay check. You ask your classmates, but they haven't any or perhaps you are too shy to talk to your classmates. Located in the women's washroom is a coin operated machine, but you do not have any cash on you (because let's be honest, no one carries cash anymore and most of the time those machines are "out of service", but let us pretend you have found a working dispenser). You search out a bank machine, withdraw \$20.00 and then search for a place to break your bill so that you can access the coin operated machine. At this point, it is probably too late and you will have bled through the folded layers of toilet paper or paper towel you have used in the emergency. Now you must go home because it would be unsanitary to continue in your class work or at your job without protection. What follows is that you then must leave school embarrassed and ashamed and upon your return, you will likely have to justify your absence to your instructor or supervisor who will probably be male. If you chose not to disclose the reason for your absence, there are further repercussions. What if you are trans and menstruating and do not have access to or are uncomfortable with entering a gendered washroom or publicly purchasing menstruation products? What if disclosing your "situation" also means "outing" yourself? A biological process of which is completely out of one's control should not be the limiting factor to education or career.

I argue these products should be kept in a central location like a first-aid kit for several reasons. First, these products must be discreetly accessible to all who need them in an emergency. Understanding that a public location may appear to be the opposite of discrete it is in fact so. Fetching menstrual products from a location that exclusively carries menstrual products will limit their accessibility to those who are comfortable with menstruation and locking them away in gendered bathrooms further marginalized trans and non-binary individuals. Considering

that sex ratio is that of 49.6% female to male (Ritchie & Roser, 2019), you would be surprised at how many pads and tampons are discretely passed in public spaces and carried to public washrooms without being witnessed.

Lastly, publicly supplying menstruation products in accessible, gender neutral areas like first-aid kits makes them visible. This visibility counters misogyny and the stigmatization of menstruation and it does not hurt anyone. Finally, the first-aid kit should be the first place to go if you are bleeding - from anywhere. Period.

Hierarchal Structure Recommendations

Within culinary school, we must begin to coach the attributes and strategies that enable these participants to procure gainful and sustainable employment within the male dominated professional kitchen. Coaching resilience and tenaciousness are clearly not as simple as explaining the concept and asking the students to “do” it. These concepts are complex and personal. These concepts invite students to examine problems without bias and/or exaggeration and to create and formulate possible changes when presented with challenges (Perkins-Gough, 2013). Despite the value of this approach, a shift in thinking at the managerial and instructional level is required otherwise these are just fluffy words.

The educational culinary institutions’ staff, from management to educational assistance, first must acknowledge that not everyone who enters these doors have equal opportunity. That means we have to see gender, we have to see colour, and we have to see socioeconomics. This is just a start because if our organization requires that we hide behind the institutional walls, we cannot acknowledge that issues like racism, classism, sexism or any manifestation of the like exist. We cannot expect to see any sort of innovative work being done (Brown, 2018). Under these entrenched conditions, we will continue to see defensive behaviours like criticizing, belittling,

cynicism, perfectionism, passivity and disengagement, all of which are a response to insecurity (Brown, 2018). To shift these practices will take a lot of work, but I have never been scared of work.

Next, we, as an institution need to acknowledge that “in industry” should not exclusively be the reasons for the types of programming we offer nor the mode of delivery. Even though industry should certainly partner with educational organizations, the relationship should be not be one based in authoritarianism. It should be about building equity. Instead of education systems producing workers ready to be a cog in the machine, our focus should be on producing learners ready to innovate and change industry for the good of the industry and its’ employees. Innovation must mean more than dreaming up something great to only serve the good of industries’ bottom line, the profit margin. Innovation must include social service. We need to understand and acknowledge both the obvious and unseen barriers facilitating stratification. This will also be met with resistance, which I am learning to not fear.

What I have also learned is that by becoming involved in various committees and activities within the post-secondary institution, participating in policy discussions, and asking many well-intentioned questions to gain multiple perspectives not only deepens ones understanding but builds trusting relationships with those around you. Trusting relationships will help your voice be heard. Nothing can change if no one is listening, so, find someone who will.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

It is my understanding that education is greatly concerned with their students finding success. “Success” is presented as slogans (e.g., success for every student). It is in the names of our support programs (e.g., Student Success Centre), and it is almost always central to mission statements and professional development activities everywhere. Conventionally speaking, success is often defined as the attainment of “wealth, favour, and/or eminence” (“Merriam-Webster”, 2018). Although these markers may be a by-product of “success”, it is certainly not limited to these categories (Huffington, 2015; Lebowitz, 2017). Upon further inspection, economic conditions, cultural capital, gender, race, neurodiversity, sexual identity, ethnicity, age coupled with a comparative culture ignites social division, determines the dominate ideology and narrows the definition of success (Acher, 1990; Bielby & Baron 1987; Bourdieu, 1984; Eastman, 2015; Strober, Myra & Arnold 1987; Wright, 2005). In each of the above applications, success has different meanings though each are an interpretation of one concept. We may reasonably conclude that success is not a permanent state, but rather a place in time; highly personal and subjective. If the only measurable indicators are based on comparisons (e.g., you have and they do not). Those without indicators would be considered unsuccessful. In this paradigm, success is a finite resource to be fought over. Those unsuccessful (i.e., those without the indicators) ultimately justify the success of others. One existence is dependent on that of the other. This comparative culture lends itself to the practice of measuring against one another rather than against oneself. Suddenly the intent of education shifts from lifting the population as a whole to using segments of the population, which are usually already marginalized groups, as simply the foundational rungs of a hierarchal ladder.

Success is a construct of hierarchal and organizational structures. Even though both structures may present “success” in common terms. For example, success may come in the form of career mobility and wages, yet there is a fundamental difference. The organizational structure is concerned with the systems of function; whereas, the hierarchy is of social construct. Although the hierarchal structure is often confused for the organizational structure because they function in synchronization, we must remember that they are not synonymous. When we forget this, we make structural or social changes that do not last (e.g., think hiring a single woman in large organizations with the intent that this will solve systemic misogyny). When the hierarchal structure is abusive and exclusive, it replicates itself and marginalizes many gifted, talented and hardworking individuals based on arbitrary conditions and attributes. Simply inserting stratified individuals into the organizational structure without addressing the social hierarchy that cripples any chance of equity is short sighted at best and, at its worst, is akin to further throwing already marginalized people to the wolves.

Many of those people stratified by the hierarchal structure are women, which can be linked to the origins of the professional kitchen and its ties to the military. The demands of the industry – the hours and expectations do not allow for anyone, any human beings with external commitment to participate.

Those who do not fit the traditional mold in the professional kitchen find that they are allocated to positions and tasks that are removed from the center of the professional kitchen thus from career mobility. Stations such as the patisserie and garde manger are removed from the center of the professional kitchen for practical reasons such as access to a refrigerated room, humidity controls and/or special equipment. Although the location of these positions is based on operational needs, often, women find themselves relegated to these areas because of the

hierarchical structures at play. The opportunities for career mobility and promotions are limited by the physical location and socialization. Working in positions which have little opportunities for advancement, over time, begins to shape behaviours. Conversely, those in the center of the kitchen, stations like grill and sauté, are in areas that are not only easily visible to leadership but often have leadership working within them. Due to the visibility and proximity to leadership, candidates are more likely to have advancement opportunities and, in turn, exhibit the behaviours deemed admirable and meritorious. Thus, it is not that there are simply predisposed gendered tasks, but that working in unison, the organizational and social structures enforce patterns of behaviours and attitudes promote or limit upward mobility. However, despite all the hardships; the working hours, expectations, mental health issues, wages and stratification, the professional kitchen entices many people to enter.

The professional kitchen is a place for lost souls. It is a place of constant communication and of belonging even in unhealthy kitchen environments. We must be cautious. If the hierarchical structure is unhealthy, it becomes abusive and misogynistic. Abuse and misogyny beget abuse and misogyny. The system replicates itself. Those that question the practices are either relegated to positions and tasks away from opportunities of advancement and/or bullied and harassed to the point of withdrawing from the environment. Further, regardless of gender identity, chefs share some common characteristics; manual dexterity, fine motor skills, the ability to work quickly and efficiently. They must have the drive, passion, creativity, attention to detail and the ability to take criticism and incorporate feedback. Above all, they must be able to form beneficial relationships.

Female chefs in this study cited their ability to create and maintain meaningful relationships with their staff. These relationships were born through self-reflection and finding confidence in

vulnerability and empathy. Through these relationships, these chefs created safe and diverse kitchens in which innovation and creativity are encouraged and celebrated.

By actively dismantling the abusive hierarchy that marked much of their careers and by employing creative scheduling, these chefs are able to run professional kitchens full of diversity, provide staff with reasonable working hours and a work-life balance that they themselves did not have in their careers. These women exhibit the type of leadership that lifts their staff to new levels rather than to maintain their ego.

Lastly, these female chefs support each other. They are not in competition with each other. Their success is not measured by another's failure. This is what real confidence looks like. Their actions inform other women and minorities entering the professional kitchen as they confront misogyny and actively building equity in their workspaces.

In our post-secondary culinary schools, we can authentically serve our students by personally deepening our own vulnerability. Using vulnerability as a strength, we can begin to confront inequity and privileged, coach resilience and tenaciousness, and derive our sense of self value. From a place of vulnerability, we can find voice. In places of servitude, we must demand agency.

In the end, schools are far more than simply instructional sites strictly dispensing the curriculum and nothing more. Schools are sites of culture, of interaction and of relationships (Giroux, 1983). Schools are where students should be able to challenge conventions instead of just bending to them; a place to explore and confront the ideology it serves, reproduces and inscribes in human consciousness and behaviour (Giroux, 1983). School *could* be the place to reclaim authority over the dominant class's hegemony instead of passively and often unconsciously giving consent to the silent structures and mechanisms informing conscious belief (Giroux, 1983). School could be where students learn to think; a place to cultivate the confidence

to confront each other's ideology and question its own normative structure (Giroux, 1983); a place where passion is cultivated, not traded; a place that celebrates every student's journey regardless of ability or status with excitement, compassion, dignity and pride; and, finally, a place where every student has equal opportunity to create the world they are about to venture into.

The following advice is from a prominent and accomplished chef who has given permission for her name to be published. Jennifer Stang has written the letter below to female-identifying cooks, bakers and chefs who are entering the industry.

Advice: This is not an easy career. It is hard work. It is long terrible, hours. It is, at best, mediocre pay. Your instructors in school will be either largely or solely comprised of men. The chef whites you will wear will be designed for men's bodies. It's a bit of a battle. But it doesn't have to be; this can all be changed. You have to be there for that to happen. Only women in kitchens will change the environment for women in kitchens. The women who came before me laid down a path and I am working to continue it for the women who come after me. It still won't ever be an easy job, but it can be an immensely rewarding one. Men have created the tone of this industry, that does not mean it cannot be changed. If we, as women, continue to pursue careers in kitchens, our presence there will no longer be questioned, and we will change the tone. There will come a point where we will not be female Chefs, but just Chefs. If you have the passion and the drive to be a Chef, there is absolutely no reason why you can't be. Never let anyone tell you otherwise.

Chef Jennifer Stang

Limitations and Further Research

Limitations

The attributes and strategies are not a finite list nor has the study participants' personal histories been deeply explored, that is, beyond their career journey and brief parts of their upbringing. We do not know the other factors that might have supported them along the way such as socioeconomics, income level, parental/guardian emotional and financial support/ level of education. These attributes and strategies are a starting point rather than a conclusive answer.

Finally, like everything, my personal experiences and biases are the undercurrent to this work. It is important to note that although I certainly have done my very best to respect and convey the intent of the research data, my epistemology has coloured my perceptions and interpretations. That is not to say that the interpretation of data or the writing is false or misleading as it is about the experiences of fellow female chefs, but the acknowledgement of the lens to which has been the silent partner in the construction of this work.

Further Research

As I researched potential participants, I came to realize that there are few, if any, female chefs that publicly identify as indigenous. There are also few, if any, female chefs of colour running fine dining establishments within the city of Edmonton. Further research is required in the relationship between LGBTQ+ individuals, individuals of minority groups including those who are differently abled and the effects of compounding marginalization. Additionally, further research into the roles and responsibilities of a post-secondary institution in the procurement of gainful, sustainable, and fulfilling employment for underrepresented student groups is imperative as NAIT builds towards an inclusive educational environment.

Research is required to assess the experiential outcomes for female chefs when institutions and professional kitchen providing female form-fitting uniforms and free and accessible menstrual products. Further research into the development and deepening of programming aimed to institutional staff members to support inclusivity and diversification in professional kitchens must include thoughtful questions of the way “context” influences our social, educational and workplace culture that ultimately informs stratification and generates inequity. It is my hope that through further work, that we move forth from the sectarian fissures that have long divided us.

References

- Acker, J. (1990, June). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society*, 4, 139–158. https://www.spp.uwa.edu.au/data/assets/pdf_file/0005/2859998/ackerl.pdf
- Acker, J. (1992). From sex roles to gendered institutions. *Contemporary Sociology*, 21(5), 565–569. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2075528?seq=1>
- Agg, J. (2017, April 15). Why female cooks stay out of the kitchen. *Globe and Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/why-there-are-really-so-few-women-in-restaurant-kitchens/article34712822/>
- Alberta education career and technology studies: Apprenticeship. (2021). <https://education.alberta.ca/career-and-technology-studies/apprenticeship/?searchMode=3>
- Aschaffenburg, K., & Maas, I. (1997, August). Cultural and educational careers: The dynamics of social reproduction. *American Sociological Review*, 62(4), 573–587.
- Ashforth, B. E. (1994). Petty tyranny in organizations. *Human Relations*, 47(7), 755–778. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Blake_Ashforth/publication/247717438_Petty_Tyranny_in_Organizations/links/5db86b7ba6fdcc2128eb8d48/Petty-Tyranny-in-Organizations.pdf
- Audia, P., & Goncalo, J. (2007). Past success and creativity over time: A study of inventors in the hard disk drive industry. *Management Science*, 53(1), 1. <https://pubsonline.informs.org/doi/10.1287/mnsc.1060.0593>
- Balazs, K. (2001). Some like it haute: Leadership lessons from France’s greatest chefs. *Organizational Dynamics*, 30(2), 134–148. doi: 10.1016/S0090-2616(01)00048-1

- Ball, S. J. (1981). *Beachside comprehensive: A case study of secondary schooling*. Cambridge University Press.
- Beertsen, S. (2017, April 2). We asked male chefs why there are so few females in professional kitchens. *Vice*. https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/3dmje8/we-asked-male-chefs-why-there-are-so-few-females-in-professional-kitchens
- Beichler, J. (2018, November 14). Best hotels in Canada. *Trivago Magazine*.
<https://magazine.trivago.ca/best-hotels-in-canada-2019/>
- Berardo, D. H., Shehan, C. L., & Leslie, G. P. (1987). A residue of tradition: Jobs, careers, and spouses' time in housework. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 49, 381–390. doi: 10.1016/S0090-2616(01)00048-1
- Best baked good 2018. (2018, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/restaurants-food/best-restaurants/2018/best-baked-goods/>
- Best baked good 2019. (2019, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*.
<https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2019/best-baked-goods-in-edmonton/>
- Best bakery 2017. (2017, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2017/best-bakery/>
- Best new 2016. (2016, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2016/best-new/>
- Best new 2017. (2017, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2017/best-new/>
- Best new 2018. (2018, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/restaurants-food/best-restaurants/2018/best-new/>

- Best new 2019. (2019, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2019/best-new-restaurants-in-edmonton/>
- Best overall 2016. (2016, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2016/best-overall/>
- Best overall 2017. (2017, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2017/best-overall/>
- Best overall 2018. (2018, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/restaurants-food/best-restaurants/2018/best-overall/>
- Best overall 2019. (2019, March 1). *Avenue Magazine*. <https://www.avenueedmonton.com/edmontons-best-restaurants-2019/best-overall-restaurants-in-edmonton/>
- The best 10 restaurants*. Yelp. <https://www.yelp.ca/search?cflt=restaurants>
- Bielby, W., & Baron, J. (1987). *Undoing discrimination: Job integration and comparable worth*. In G. Bose & C. Spitze (Eds.), *Ingredients for women's employment policy* (pp. 211–229). SUNY Press. <https://doi.org/10.1177/056943458803200107>
- Björkqvist, K., Österman, K., & Hjelt-Bäck, M. (1994). Aggression among university employees. *Aggressive Behavior*, 20(3), 173–184. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-2337\(1994\)20:3<173::AID-AB2480200304>3.0.CO;2-D](https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-2337(1994)20:3<173::AID-AB2480200304>3.0.CO;2-D)
- Blau, F., Ferber, M., & Winkler, A. (2006). *The economics of women, men, and work* (7th ed.). Prentice Hall.
- Bloisi, W., & Hoel, H. (2008). Abusive work practices and bullying among chefs: A review of the literature. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 27(4), 649–656. doi:10.1016/j.ijhm.2007.09.001

- Bohman, J. (2005, March 8). Critical theory. In *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy* (Spring 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2021/entries/critical-theory/>>
- Bourdain, A., Ripert, E., & Halpern, D. (2000). *Kitchen confidential: Adventures in the culinary underbelly*. Ecco Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (R. Nice, Trans.; 2nd ed.). Harvard University Press. (Original work published 1979)
- Bowling, D. (2016, June 1). Tradition in evolution. *Hospitality Magazine*, 724. https://issuu.com/hospitalitymagazine/docs/hospitality_may_2016
- Bregman, P. (2019, August 21). Learning is supposed to feel uncomfortable. *Harvard Business Review*. <https://hbr.org/2019/08/learning-is-supposed-to-feel-uncomfortable>
- Brincat, I. (2018, January 30). Michelin Guide accepts decision of Sébastien Bras to hand back stars. *Food and Wine Gazette*. <https://www.foodandwinegazette.com/8242>
- Brouillette, D., Cheung, C., Gao, D., & Gervais, O. (2017). *Impacts of minimum wage increases on the Canadian economy*. Bank of Canada. <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/san2017-26.pdf>
- Brown, B. (2019). *Dare to lead: Brave work, tough conversations, whole hearts*. Random House Large Print Publishing.
- Bryant, M. (2019, February 11). Three Michelin stars! Meet the first woman to smash America's Boys' club. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/food/2019/feb/11/three-michelin-stars-meet-the-first-woman-to-smash-americas-boys-club>
- Burrow, R., Smith, J., & Yakinthou, C. (2015). "Yes Chef": Life at the vanguard of culinary excellence. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(4), 673–681. <https://doi.org/>

10.1177/0950017014563103

- Burton, M. (2018, January 30). Michelin takes back 3-star rating at chef's request. *Eater*
<https://www.eater.com/2018/1/30/16949794/michelin-takes-back-stars-le-suquet-a-laguiole-sebastien-bras>
- Byrne, D., & Ragin, C. C. (2009). Using cluster analysis, qualitative comparative analysis and nvivo in relation to the establishment of causal configurations with pre-existing large-n datasets: Machining hermeneutics. In *The Sage handbook of case-based methods* (pp. 260–268). Sage Publications. doi:10.4135/9781446249413.n15
- Caldwell, G. P., & Ginthier, D. W. (1996). Differences in learning styles of low socioeconomic status for low and high achievers. *Education*, 117 (1), –141–146.
- Canada's 100 best restaurants. (2015, April 11). *Canada's 100 best restaurants 2015*. <https://canadas100best.com/canadas-100-best-restaurants-2015/>
- Canada's 100 best restaurants. (2016, April 11). *Canada's 100 best restaurants 2016*. <https://canadas100best.com/canadas-100-best-restaurants-2016/>
- Canada's 100 best restaurants. (2017, April 11). *Canada's 100 best restaurants 2017*.
<https://canadas100best.com/canadas-100-best-restaurants-2017/>
- Canada's 100 best restaurants. (2018, January 29). *Canada's 100 best restaurants 2018*.
<https://canadas100best.com/canadas-100-best-restaurants-2018/>
- Chua-Eoan, H. (2013, November 7). The 13 gods of food. *Time Magazine*.
<http://time100.time.com/2013/11/07/the-13-gods-of-food/>
- Coder, C. (2020). Tampons and pads for businesses and schools. *Aunt Flow*.
<https://www.goauntflow.com/>
- Collinson, D. (1988). Engineering humour: Masculinity, joking and conflict in shop-floor

- relations. *Organization Studies*, (9), 181–199. doi: 10.1016/S0090-2616(01)00048-1
- Connell, R., & Messerschmidt, J. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19, 829–859. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639>
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. University of California Press.
- Coontz, S. (1997). *The way we really are: Coming to terms with America's changing families*. Basic Books. <https://doi.org/10.1177/105345129903400512>
- Cooper, A. (1998). *A woman's place is in the kitchen: The evolution of women professional chefs*. Van Nostrand Reinhold. <https://doi.org/0442023707>
- Cooper, J. (2012). *The occupational identity and culture of chefs in United Kingdom (UK) haute cuisine restaurants* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Strathclyde). https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Occupational_Identity_and_Culture_of.html?id=ah_poAEACAAJ
- Cooper, J., Giousmpasoglou, C., & Marinakou, E. (2017). Occupational identity and culture: The case of Michelin starred chefs. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 29(5). <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-02-2016-0071>
- Cooper, J., Giousmpasoglou, C., & Marinakou, E. (2018). “Banter, bollockings & beatings”: The occupational socialization process in Michelin-starred kitchen brigades in Great Britain and Ireland. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 8(31). <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJCHM-01-2017-0030>
- Creswell. J. (2013). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/978-1412916073>

- Crocker, R. (2018). *Apprenticeship completion, certification and outcomes*. Red Seal.
<http://www.red-seal.ca/others/outcomes/rpt.4.5tc.4m.2s5-eng.html>
- DiMaggio, P. (1982). Cultural capital and school success: The impact of status culture participation on the grades of U.S. high school students. *American Sociological Review*, 47(2), 189–201. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2094962>
- Druckman, C. (2010). Why are there no great women chefs? *Gastronomica*, 10(1), 24–31.
<https://gastronomica.org/2010/02/05/why-are-there-no-great-women-chefs/>
- Durkheim, É. (1973). *Émile Durkheim on morality and society*. University of Chicago Press.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2777263>
- Eastman, J. K., & Eastman, K. L. (2015). Conceptualizing a model of status consumption theory: An exploration of the antecedents and consequences of the motivation to consume for status. *The Marketing Management Journal*, 25(1), 1–15. <http://www.mmaglobal.org/publications/MMJ/MMJ-Issues/2015-Spring/MMJ-2015-Spring-Vol25-Issue1-Eastman-Eastman-pp1-15.pdf>
- Feloni, R. (2014, October 20). How the Michelin Guide made a tire company the world's fine dining authority. *Business Insider*. <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/history-of-the-michelin-guide-2014-10>
- Female [definition]. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/female>
- Fitz-Gerald, J. (2018). Countdown to the cup. *Bakers Journal*. <https://www.bakersjournal.com/profiles/countdown-to-the-cup-7220>
- Fitzgerald, I., & MacNaughton, W. (2016). *Knives & ink: Chefs and the stories behind their tattoos*. Bloomsbury, USA, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing, Plc.

- Five (5) most luxurious hotels in Edmonton. *Where Magazine*. <https://where.ca/alberta/edmonton/most-luxurious-hotels-edmonton/>
- Fredrickson, B. L., & Roberts, T. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 21, 173–206. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00108.x>
- Frenette, M. (2017, April 10). Postsecondary enrolment by parental income: Recent national and provincial trends. *Economic Insights 070*. Statistics Canada, Social Analysis and Modelling Division. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-626-x/11-626-x2017070-eng.htm>
- Fox, K. (2015, November 15). The kitchen apprentices: Have knives, will travel. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/nov/15/the-kitchen-apprentices-have-knives-will-travel-stagiaires>
- Forbes, P. (Ed.). (2009, April 30). Might as well be barefoot and pregnant: Women at the Beard Awards. <http://www.eatmedaily.com/2009/04/might-as-well-be-barefoot-and-pregnant-women-at-the-beard-awards/>
- Fortin, J., & Zraick, K. (2019, May 23). Mario Batali charged with assault and battery in 2017 case. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/23/us/mario-batali-charged-boston.html>
- George, J. M. (2007, November 30). Creativity in organizations. *Academy of Management Annals*, 1(1), 439–477. <https://doi.org/10.5465/078559814>
- Giddens, A. (1999). *Runaway world: 1999*. Reith Lecture 1999 at The Royal Institution of Great Britain, London. http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/rmhttp/radio4/transcripts/1999_reith1.pdf
- Giddens, A., & Held, D. (1982). *Classes, power, and conflict: Classical and contemporary debates*. University of California Press.

- Gillespie, C. (2011). *European gastronomy into the 21st century*. Butterworth-Heinemann. <https://doi.org/0750652675>
- Gingrich, P. (1999, September 28). *Marx's theory of social class and class structure*. *Sociology* 250. <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s28f99.htm>
- Giousmpasoglou, C., Brown, L., & Cooper, J. (2018). Alcohol and other drug use in Michelin-starred kitchen brigades. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 70, 59–65. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2017.11.003>
- Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*. Bergin & Garvey.
- Gisslen, W. (2018). *Professional cooking for Canadian chefs* (7th ed.). Wiley.
- Gladwell, M. (2013). *Outliers: The story of success*. Back Bay Books.
- Goodson, I. (1993). *School subjects and curriculum change*. Falmer Press.
- Government of Alberta. (2018, February 1). *2017 Alberta labour force profiles: Women*. Government of Alberta. <https://open.alberta.ca/publications/2292-6615>
- Government of Alberta. (2018, February 13). *Baker: Occupations in Alberta*. Government of Alberta. <https://alis.alberta.ca/occinfo/occupations-in-alberta/occupation-profiles/baker/>
- Government of Alberta. (n.d.). *Career and technology studies: Apprenticeship*. Government of Alberta. <https://education.alberta.ca/career-and-technology-studies/apprenticeship/>
- Government of Alberta. (2018, February 13). *Cook: Occupations in Alberta*. Government of Alberta. <https://alis.alberta.ca/occinfo/occupations-in-alberta/occupation-profiles/cook/>
- Government of Alberta. (2019). *Compulsory certification trades*. Government of Alberta.

- <https://tradesecrets.alberta.ca/trades-occupations/compulsory-certification-trades/>
- Government of Canada. (2018, February 15). *Interagency advisory panel on research ethics*.
- Government of Alberta. <http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/eng/policy-politique/initiatives/tcps2-eptc2/chapter1-chapitre1/>
- Gramsci, A. (1999). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. The Electric Book Company.
- <http://abahlali.org/files/gramsci.pdf>
- Guerrier, Y. 1986. Hotel manager: An unsuitable job for a woman? *Service Industries Journal*, 6(2), 227–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02642068600000023>
- Hakim, C. (1979). *Occupational segregation: A comparative study of the degree and pattern of the differentiation between men and women's work in Britain, the United States and other countries*. Research Paper No. 9, Department of Employment, London HMSO.
- Halford, S., & Leonard, P. (2001). *Gender, power and organizations: An introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Halimi, M., Consuegra, E., Struyven, K., & Engels, N. (2016). The relationship between youngsters' gender role attitudes and individual, home, and school Characteristics: A review. *SAGE Open*, 6(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016656230>
- Halkos, G., & Bousinakis, D. (2010). The effect of stress and satisfaction on productivity. *International Journal of Productivity and Performance Management*, 59(5), 415–431. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17410401011052869>
- Harris, D. A., & Giuffre, P. (2010). “The price you pay”: How female professional chefs negotiate work and family. *Gender Issues*, 27, 27–52. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-010-9086-8>

- Have and have not. (2014, February 1). *The Economist*. <https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2014/02/01/have-and-have-not>
- Heighton-Ginns, L. (2018, October 12). The business behind Michelin stars. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-45733941>
- Hearn, J., & Parkin, P. W. (1983, July 1). Gender and organizations: A selective review and a critique of a neglected area. *Organization Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/017084068300400302>
- Hennessey, B. A., Amabile, T. M., & Mueller, J. S. (2011). Consensual assessment. In M. A. Runco & S. R. Pritzker (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of creativity* (4th ed., Vol. 46). Academic Press/Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-375038-9.00046-7>
- Hobbs, D. (1989, September 22–24). *School based community development: Making connections in learning* [Paper presentation]. A Working Regional Conference: The Role of Education in Community Development, Roanoke, VA, United States. <http://srdc.msstate.edu/publications/archive/142.pdf#page=19>
- Horkheimer, M. (1972). *Traditional and critical theory*. Herder and Herder.
- Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. (2002). *Dialectic of enlightenment: Philosophical fragments*. Stanford University Press.
- Huffington, A. (2015). *Thrive: The third metric to redefining success and creating a life of well-being, wisdom, and wonder*. Baker & Taylor.
- Internationale Kochkunst Ausstellung. (n.d.). <https://www.olympiade-derkoeche.com/en/ika/history/>
- Isalska, A. (2018, October 25). The ingenious story behind Michelin Stars. *BBC*. <http://www.bbc.com/travel/story/20181024-the-ingenious-story-behind->

micelin-stars

James Beard Foundation. (n.d.). About us. James Beard Foundation. <https://www.jamesbeard.org/about>

Jensen, D. (2018, January 23). The military's subtle but pervasive influence on the modern restaurant. <https://www.kcet.org/shows/meals-ready-to-eat/how-the-military-has-shaped-the-way-restaurant-kitchens-operate-today>

Johns, N., & Menzel, P. J. (1999). If you can't stand the heat! ... Kitchen violence and culinary art. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 18(2), 99–109. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0278-4319\(99\)00013-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0278-4319(99)00013-4)

Kang, M., & Jones, K. (2007). Why do people get tattoos? *Contexts*, 6(1), 42–47. <https://doi.org/10.1525/ctx.2007.6.1.42>

Kanter, R. M. (1993). *Men and women of the corporation*. Basic Books.

Kessler, S. J., & McKenna, W. (1978). *Gender: An ethnomethodological approach*. University of Chicago Press.

Kim, E. C. (2009). Mama's family: Fictive kinship and undocumented immigrant restaurant workers. *Ethnography*, 10(4), 497–513. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24048133>

Kolkman, J. (2017). *A profile of poverty in Edmonton*. Edmonton Social Planning Council. http://www.livingwagecanada.ca/files/4515/0096/7057/CityOfEdmontonPovertyProfileUpdate_2017.pdf

Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life* (2nd ed.). University of California Press.

Lebowitz, S. (2017, March 22). *12 rich, powerful people share their surprising definitions of*

- success*. Business Insider. <http://www.businessinsider.com/how-successful-people-define-success-2017-3>
- Lee, S., Daniels, H., Puig, A., Newgent, R., & Kyung Nam, S. (2008). A data-based model to predict postsecondary educational attainment of low socioeconomic-status students. *Professional School Counseling, 11*(5), 306–316. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42732839>
- Lee-Ross, D. (1999). A comparative survey of job characteristics among chefs using large and small-scale hospital catering systems in the UK. *Journal of Management Development, 18*(4), 342–350. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02621719910265531>
- Leymann, H., 1996. The content and development of mobbing at work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 5*(2), 165–184. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13594329608414853>
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Sage Publications.
- Living Wage Canada. (2018). *Alberta*. Vibrant Communities Canada. <http://www.livingwagecanada.ca/index.php/living-wage-communities/alberta/>
- MacKinnon, C. (1989). Sexuality, pornography, and method: Pleasure under patriarchy. *Ethics, 99*(2), 314–346. <https://www.philpapers.org/rec/MACSPA>
- Marini, M. M., & Shelton, B. A. (1993). Measuring household work: Recent experience in the United States. *Social Science Research, 22*, 361–382. <https://doi.org/10.1006/ssre.1993.1018>
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1948). *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (S. Moore, Trans.). <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>
- McInnis, B. (2017, September 30). Feeding 1,000 people “no big deal.” *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.pe.ca/living/feeding-1000-people-no-big-deal-108895/>

McNally, D. (2007). *Another world is possible: Globalization and Anti-Capitalism*. Merlin Press.

Meloury, J., & Signal, T. (2014). When the plate is full: Aggression among chefs. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 41, 97–103. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2014.05.006>

Mintz, C. (2015, October 27). A cycle of exploitation: How restaurants get cooks to work 12-hour days for minimum wage (or less). *The Globe and Mail*. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/food-and-wine/food-trends/a-cycle-of-exploitation-how-restaurants-get-cooks-to-work-12-hour-days-for-minimum-wage-or-less/article26999168/>

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/food-and-wine/food-trends/a-cycle-of-exploitation-how-restaurants-get-cooks-to-work-12-hour-days-for-minimum-wage-or-less/article26999168/>

[restaurants-get-cooks-to-work-12-hour-days-for-minimum-wage-or-less/article26999168/](https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/food-and-wine/food-trends/a-cycle-of-exploitation-how-restaurants-get-cooks-to-work-12-hour-days-for-minimum-wage-or-less/article26999168/)

Mintz, C. (2017, April 3). The World's 50 best restaurants get by with a lot of unpaid labor. *Eater*. <https://www.eater.com/2017/4/13/15265868/restaurant-intern-staging-worlds-50-best>

Montano, E. (2018.). The bring your own tampon policy: Why menstrual hygiene products should be provided for free in restrooms. *University of Miami Law Review*, 73.

<https://repository.law.miami.edu/umlr/vol73/iss1/10>

Mueller, J. S., Melwani, S., & Goncalo, J. A. (2010). The bias against creativity: Why people desire but reject creative ideas. *Psychological Science*, 23(1), 13–17.

<http://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611421018>

Niu, W., & Sternberg, R. (2006). The philosophical roots of Western and Eastern conceptions of creativity. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology*, 26(1–2), 18–38.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/h0091265>

- Northern Alberta Institute of Technology. (n.d.). NAITSA staff directory.
<https://naitsa.ca/contact/staff-directory/>
- Northern Alberta Institute of Technology. (2020). Department of Institutional Research.
- Novarra, V. (1981). *Women's work, men's work: The ambivalence of equality*. Marion Boyars. <https://doi.org/978-0714526805>
- 100 Best restaurants in Canada 2019. <https://canadas100best.com/canadas-100-best-restaurants-2019-rank/>
- OpenTable (n.d). *OpenTable diner's choice: Best overall restaurant*. OpenTable. <https://www.opentable.ca/s/dinerschoice?topic=Overall&metroId=27&ionIds=111>
- Padavic, I., & Reskin, B. (2002). *Women and men at work* (2nd ed.). Pine Forge Press.
- Parsons, T. (2012). The rules of sociological method. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Classical sociological theory* (3rd ed.). Wiley-Blackwell.
- Pelletier, R., Patterson, M., & Moyser, M. (2019, October 7). *The gender wage gap in Canada: 1998 to 2018*. Government of Canada. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-004-m/75-004-m2019004-eng.htm>
- Pelligrino, S., & Panna, A. (2019, November 24). 100 best chefs in the world 2020 [Digital image]. <https://www.finedininglovers.com/article/best-chef-in-the-world-2020>
- Penner, A. M., & Toro-Tulla, H. J. (2010). Women in power and gender wage inequality: The case of small businesses. In C. L. Williams & K. Dellinger (Eds.) *Gender and Sexuality in the Workplace (Research in the Sociology of Work, Vol. 20)*, pp. 83–105). Emerald Group Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1108/s0277-2833\(2010\)0000020007](https://doi.org/10.1108/s0277-2833(2010)0000020007)
- Perkins-Gough, D. (2013, September). The significance of grit: A conversation with Angela Lee

- Duckworth. *Educational Leadership*, 71(1), 14–20. <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/sept13/vol71/num01/The-Significance-of-Grit@-A-Conversation-with-Angela-Lee-Duckworth.aspx>
- Polachek, S. W. (1981). Occupational self-selection: A human capital approach to sex differences in occupational structure. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 63, 60–69. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1924218>
- Presser, H. B. (1994). Employment schedules among dual-earner spouses and the division of household labor by gender. *American Sociological Review*, 59(3), 348–364. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095938>
- Ramos, V., Jr. (1982, March–April). The concepts of ideology, hegemony, and organic intellectuals in Gramsci’s Marxism (P. Saba, Ed.). *Theoretical Review*, 27. <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/periodicals/theoretical-review/1982301.htm>.
- Rayner, J. (2017, November 26). Is being a chef bad for your mental health? *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/nov/26/chefs-mental-health-depression>
- Red Seal Program. (2018, March 23). <http://www.red-seal.ca/about/pr.4gr.1m-eng.html>
- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Signs*, 5, 631–660. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173834>
- Richins, M. L. (1994). Special possessions and the expression of material values. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21, 522–533. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2489690>
- Ritchie, H., & Roser, M. (2019, June 13). *Gender ratio*. Our World in Data. <https://ourworldindata.org/gender-ratio>
- Sagan, A. (2019, March 14). Unpaid restaurant work exploitative for people in

- precarious positions. *National Post*. <https://nationalpost.com/pmn/life-pmn/food-life-pmn/unpaid-restaurant-work-exploitative-for-people-in-precarious-positions>
- Salin, D., & Hoel, H. (2011). Organizational causes of workplace bullying. In Einarsen, S., Hoel, H., Zapf, D., & Cooper, C. (Eds.), *Bullying and harassment in the workplace: Developments in theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 227–243). CRC Press.
- Sanders, B. (2017, March 10). How old money and new money habits differ. *The Business Journals*. <https://www.bizjournals.com/bizjournals/how-to/growth-strategies/2017/03/how-old-money-and-new-money-habits-differ.html>
- Schilt, K. (2010). *Just one of the guys? Transgender men and the persistence of gender inequality*. University of Chicago Press.
- Schmunk, R. (2019, April 5). B.C. public schools must provide free menstrual products for students, government orders. *CBC News*. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/free-menstrual-products-bc-1.5086346>
- Scott, J. (1986). Gender: A useful category of historical analysis. *The American Historical Review*, 91(5), 1053–1075. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1864376>
- Shukla, P. (2008). Status consumption in cross-national context. *International Marketing Review*, 27(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/02651331011020429>
- Smith, D. W., Davis, J. L., & Fricker-Elhai, A. E. (2004). How does trauma beget trauma? Cognitions about risk in women with abuse histories. *Child Maltreatment*, 9(3), 292–303. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559504266524>
- Statistics Canada. (2017, November 29). *Does education pay? A comparison of earnings by level of education in Canada and its provinces and territories*. Government of Canada.

<https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/98-200-x/2016024/98-200-x2016024-eng.cfm>

Statistics Canada. (2020). *Table 37-10-0171-01 Postsecondary qualification holders aged 25 years and over by highest certificate, diploma or degree, STEM and BHASE (non-STEM) groupings for major field of study, sex and selected demographic characteristics.*

Government of Canada. <https://doi.org/10.25318/3710017101-eng>

Sternberg, R. J. (1985). Implicit theories of intelligence, creativity, and wisdom. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49(3), 607–627. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.49.3.607>

Strober, M. H., & Arnold, C. L. (1987). Integrated circuits/segregated labor: Women in computer-related occupations and high-tech industries. In H. Hartmann (Ed.), *Computer Chips and Paper Clips: Technology and Women's Employment*. National Academy Press.

Success [definition]. (2018, February 23). *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/success?src=search-dict-box>

Taylor, E., & Taylor, J. (1990). *Mastering catering theory*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Teotonio, I. (2019, August 30). Toronto school board to provide free menstrual products to students. *The Toronto Star*. <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2019/08/29/toronto-school-board-to-provide-free-menstrual-products-to-students.html>

Tiedens, L. Z., & Linton, S. (2001). Judgment under emotional certainty and uncertainty: The effects of specific emotions on information processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81(6), 973–988. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.81.6.973>

United States of America, U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2006). *Education longitudinal study of 2002 second follow-up, 2006*. U.S.

- Department of Education, National Center for Education. https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/els2002/tables/postsecondaryenrollmentdecisions_3.asp
- Vigneron, F., & Johnson, L.W. (2004). Measuring perceptions of brand luxury. *Journal of Brand Management*, 11(6), 484–506. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.bm.2540194>
- Walby, S., & Bagguley, P. (1990). Sex segregation in local labour markets. *Work, Employment and Society*, 4(1), 59–81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017090004001004>
- Weber, M. (1978). Class, status, party. In G. Roth & C. Wittich (Eds.), *Economy and Society* (pp. 81–96). University of California Press. <http://sites.middlebury.edu/individualandthesociety/files/2010/09/Weber-Class-Status-Party.pdf>
- White, A. (2014, October 8). Smells ring bells: How smells can trigger emotions and memories [Web log post]. <https://lions-talk-science.org/2014/10/08/smells-ring-bells-how-smells-can-trigger-emotions-and-memories/>
- Wiggershaus, R. (1995). *The Frankfurt School: Its history, theories and political significance* (M. Robertson, Trans.). Polity Press. <https://doi.org/978-0745616216>
- Williams, C. (1995). *Still a man's world: Men who do "women's work."* University of California Press.
- Williams, C. L., & Dellinger, K. (Eds.). (2010). *Gender and sexuality in the workplace* (Vol. 20). Emerald Group Publishing. <https://doi.org/9781848553712>
- Williams, K., & Keen, D. (2009, November). *2008 Survey of public participation in the arts*. Research Report #49. National Endowment for the Arts. <https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/2008-SPPA.pdf>
- Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and Method* (3rd ed.). Open University Press/McGraw-Hill Education.

- WISE Work Safe. (2019, December 10). *The importance of female-fit workwear & PPE*. Wise Work Safe. <https://www.wiseworksafe.com/blog/view/the-importance-of-female-fit-workwear-ppe>
- Wood, R. C. (2000). Why are there so many celebrity chefs and cooks (and do we need them)? Culinary cultism and crassness on television and beyond. In *Strategic questions in food and beverage management* (2nd ed., pp. 129–152). Butterworth-Heinemann. <https://taylorfrancis.com/chapters/many-celebrity-chefs-cooks-need-roy-wood/10.4324/9781315415253-5>
- The world's 50 best restaurants. (2019). <https://www.theworlds50best.com/list/1-50>
- Wright, E. O. (2005). *Approaches to class analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, T. (2016). *Gender and sexuality in male-dominated occupations: Women working in construction and transport*. Palgrave Macmillan/Springer Nature. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12251>
- Yagoda, M. (2018, June 21). Why people are so frustrated with the World's 50 Best Restaurants list. *Food and Wine*. <https://www.foodandwine.com/news/worlds-50-best-restaurants-list-lack-diversity>
- Zapf, D. (1999). Organizational, work group related and personal causes of mobbing/ bullying at work. *International Journal of Manpower*, 20(1–2), 70–85. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01437729910268669>

Appendix A: University of Alberta Notification of Ethics Approval

12/13/2019	https://remo.ualberta.ca/REMO/sd/Doc/0/139TED2BIM1KB2ANFPLJM5600/fromString.html	
Notification of Approval		
Date:	December 10, 2019	
Study ID:	Pro00081091	
Principal Investigator:	Kelly Marie Hobbs Bruzzese	
Study Supervisor:	Bonita Watt	
Study Title:	A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry	
Approval Expiry Date:	Tuesday, December 8, 2020	
Approved Consent Form:	Approval Date 12/10/2019	Approved Document Information & Consent Letter
<p>Thank you for submitting the above study to the Research Ethics Board 1. Your application has received a delegated review and been and approved on behalf of the committee.</p> <p>Any proposed changes to the study must be submitted to the REB for approval prior to implementation. A renewal report must be submitted next year prior to the expiry of this approval if your study still requires ethics approval. If you do not renew on or before the renewal expiry date, you will have to re-submit an ethics application.</p> <p>Approval by the Research Ethics Board does not encompass authorization to access the staff, students, facilities or resources of local institutions for the purposes of the research.</p>		
Sincerely,		
Anne Malena, PhD. Chair, Research Ethics Board 1		
<i>Note: This correspondence includes an electronic signature (validation and approval via an online system).</i>		
https://remo.ualberta.ca/REMO/sd/Doc/0/139TED2BIM1KB2ANFPLJM5600/fromString.html		1/1

Appendix B: The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Ethics Approval



**The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology
Research Ethics Board
Certificate of Ethics Approval for Research Proposal**

Principal Investigator: Kelly Hobbs Bruzzese

Organization: University of Alberta

Project Title: A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry

Grant/Contract Agency: none

Research Ethics Application #: 2019-19

Research Ethics Certificate Expiry Date: January 16, 2021

**Certification of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology
Research Ethics Approval**

NAIT REB has received your application for research ethics review and concluded that your proposed research meets the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology Policy for *Research Involving Human Subjects* (IR 10.0) and *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS2). On behalf of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology's Research Ethics Board (NAIT REB), we are providing research ethics approval for your proposed project.

This research ethics approval is valid for one year. To request a renewal, please contact NAIT REB or Jodi Lommer (REB Co-chair) and explain the circumstances and reference the Research Ethics Application # assigned to this project (see above). Also, if there are significant changes that need to be reviewed, or if any adverse effects to human participants are encountered in your research, please contact REB@nait.ca immediately.

Co-chair, Research Ethics Board

Printed Name: Jodi Lommer

Signature: 

Date: January 16, 2020

Appendix C: Initial Contact Letter

Initial Contact Letter**Date:**

Good day,

I am contacting you today because I would like to invite you to consider being a participant in my study. The results of the study will be used to support my Master's thesis in Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

You are invited to participate in this study due to your career-related accomplishments and because you are a female-identifying chef in the Edmonton area and may have graduated from an Alberta based post-secondary technical institution such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology or the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology.

Study Title: A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry.

Purpose of the study

The hospitality industry is teeming with gender-related inequitable opportunities. While the female graduation rates at The Northern Alberta Institute of Technology continue to rise, the hospitality industry persistently struggles in the hiring and promoting of female chefs at the same rate as male chefs. This study aims to begin to identify common attributes, skills and or strategies in which have enabled female-identifying chefs to climb the ranks in the culinary world. In so, my research question is as follows: What are the roles and responsibilities of a post-secondary institution in the procurement of gainful employment for their female-identifying graduates entering a male-dominated workforce?

If you are interested in becoming a participant in this study, I will forward the Letter of Information and Statement of Consent. This document outlines the background and purpose of the study as well as study procedures, potential benefits and risks, withdrawal from the study, how the data will be collected and protected and the extent of anonymity.

If you agree to become a participant, you will be required to sign the consent form. A copy will be provided to you for your records. If you have any other questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact me by email or by phone.

Sincerely,

Research Investigator:

Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese
University of Alberta
kellymar@ualberta.ca
780.893.3993
Pro# 00081091

Supervisor:

Dr. Bonita Watt, Professor
11210 87 Ave - 432 Education Centre South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
bwatt@ualberta.ca

Appendix D: Letter of Information and Statement of Consent

Department of Secondary Education
Faculty of Education

347 Education South
Edmonton, Alberta, Canada T6G 2G5

www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/secondaryed
educ.sec@ualberta.ca

Tel: 780.492.3674
Fax: 780.492.9402

Appendix A1
Letter of Information and Statement of Consent

Study Title: A woman's place is in the kitchen... unless she's getting paid. A study of the social and structural dynamics impeding gender equity in the culinary industry

Research Investigator:
Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese
University of Alberta
kellymar@ualberta.ca
780.893.3993
Pro# 00081091

Supervisor:
Dr. Bonita Watt, Professor
11210 87 Ave - 432 Education Centre South
University of Alberta
Edmonton, AB, T6G 2G5
bwatt@ualberta.ca

Letter of Information

Background

- You are invited to participate in this study due to your career-related accomplishments and because you are a female-identifying chef in the Edmonton area and may have graduated from an Alberta based post-secondary technical institution such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) or the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT).
- The results of this study will be used in support of my Master's thesis in Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

Purpose

- This study will begin to address the cultural shifts required for female-identifying graduates to find gainful employment in a male-dominated workforce.

Study Procedures

I intend to use two series of qualitative interviews as this process allows for the researcher and participant to reflect between sessions, affording both parties with the time necessary to question, clarify, redirect the intent and deepen the meaning of the collected data.

- Within the first set, I will be asking 5 (potentially more) open-ended questions, in which I hope will elicit your stories and opinions.
- The second set of questions will build and extend the responses from the first meeting.
- Upon reviewing and reflecting on the audio data collected, I hope to group some of the ideas/ views that surface and then design a second set of interview questions with the intention to probe deeper into the key themes which emerged.
- Each of the two interviews will be between 1 to 2 hours in length.
- These interviews will be conducted face to face, or by way of Skype and audio-recorded.
- Audio recording and field notes will be encrypted in a data file and secured in a locked space.
- Partial transcripts of the audio-recorded interviews will be submitted to you for review and confirmation.

Benefits

- By being a participant, you may uncover personal strategies and personal attributes that you have yet to recognize in yourself. These personal strategies and attributes may be coached into students, family members, friends, colleagues and/or staff.

- There is the potential to use the findings to begin to inform policies in a post-secondary technical institution of which could promote equitable opportunities within and outside of the institution regardless of gender identity.
- I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help us better understand the roles and responsibilities of Alberta based post-secondary technical institution such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology or the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology in the procurement of gainful and sustainable employment for female-identifying graduates.
- There is no cost to participate in the study and you will not receive any compensation (or reimbursements) for your participation.

Risk

- You may feel tired after answering questions in which require you to recount personal experiences related to your career path.
- Minimal risks involve recounting your career journey. As a female-identifying participant, parts of your journey may include but are not limited to recounting of harassment in a variety of forms, bullying and/or feelings of inadequacy. However, you have the opportunity to have your story told and to pass on knowledge, experiences, skills and strategies which has the potential to support other female-identifying students, female-identifying chefs and inform postsecondary institution policy.
- There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.

Voluntary Participation

- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary and you are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study.
- You may opt out without penalty and can ask to have any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study. Even if you agree to be in the study you can change your mind and withdraw from the study during the data collection and interviewing stages. You will have one week to withdraw from the study after data has been collected and transcripts provided to you for review. You may withdraw from the study by submitting a written notice.
- By consenting, participants have not waived any rights to legal recourse in the event of research-related harm.
- You have the right to leave any/all questions unanswered.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- The intended uses of the research are for my Master's thesis, presentations, publications and for teaching.
- During the study, only I and my direct academic adviser will be privy to your identity. The final study will be void of identifiers beyond your age range (example: 35 – 40), city location and career. Places of work will not be overtly named though they will be described and so there is a risk to be identified.
- Research data will be stored using audio recordings and digital files. These will be stored on my personal laptop that is protected with a password and Orbicule Undercover Software.
- Transcriptions will be stored on my personal laptop that is protected with a password and Orbicule Undercover Software.
- Your data will be retained securely for at least five years and for possible future research use by myself, sole researcher. The data will not be shared without the explicit consent of participants and all future research will be approved by a Research Ethics Board.
- Research findings will be available to you if interest is indicated in written consent form.

All researchers and assistants will comply with the *University of Alberta Standards for the Protection of Human Research Participants* including those relating to confidentiality of data. Research personnel will sign a Confidentiality Agreement. The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines by a Research Ethics Board at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Research Ethics Office at (780) 492-2615.

Further Information

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please do not hesitate to contact

Kelly Marie Emma Hobbs Bruzzese
kellymar@ualberta.ca
780.893.3993

Appendix E: Initial Interview Script

Initial Interview Script

1. Where are you from/ where did you grow up?

Topics that may surface

- Where parents/ grandparents (biological or not) originated
- Extended family origins
- Birth order of siblings
- Where the participant considers “home”

2. Describe your educational experience?

Topics that may surface

- Where schooling occurred
- Favourite subjects
- Subjects in which participant excelled and/or struggled
- Postsecondary education history

3. What inspired you to pursue your career?

Topics that may surface

- Who did the cooking in the house
- Intergenerational links
- Personal/family history with food
- Celebrations and events

4. Describe the journey to your current position.

Topics that may surface

- Places of work
- People that inspired them
- Challenges faced
- Awards/ accomplishments
- Competitions/ Volunteer experiences

5. What have been some of the challenges you have faced along your career journey?

Topics that may surface

- Places of work/ work place incidence (bullying, harassment etc.)
- Life circumstances (financial events, marriage, divorce, children, deaths etc.)

6. Describe some of your past and present aspirations. These can be non-career related.

Topics that may surface

- Missed opportunities
- Future goals

Appendix F: Final Interview Script

1 of 5

INTERVIEW SCRIPT**OPENING**

1. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Your time is very valuable, and I am grateful to learn for you.
2. This interview is informal and should last at most an hour. The idea is that this would be more of a conversation in which you may share your thoughts and experiences
3. Before we begin, I will quickly go over the consent form for this study.

INFORMATION AND CONSENT**Background**

You are invited to participate in this study due to your career-related accomplishments and because you are a female-identifying chef in the Edmonton area and may have graduated from an Alberta based post-secondary technical institution such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) or the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT).

The results of this study will be used in support of my Master's thesis in Department of Secondary Education, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to highlight and begin to address the cultural shifts required for female-identifying graduates to find gainful employment in a male-dominated workforce.

Benefits

- By being a participant, you may uncover personal strategies and personal attributes that you have yet to recognize in yourself. These personal strategies and attributes may be coached into students, family members, friends, colleagues and/or staff.
- There is the potential to use the findings to begin to inform policies in a post-secondary technical institution of which could promote equitable opportunities within and outside of the institution regardless of gender identity.
- I hope that the information I get from doing this study will help us better understand the roles and responsibilities of Alberta based post-secondary technical institution such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology or the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology in the procurement of gainful and sustainable employment for female-identifying graduates.

Risk

- You may feel tired or upset after answering questions in which require you to recount personal experiences this may include but are not limited to recounting of harassment in a variety of forms, bullying and/or feelings of inadequacy. At any point, you may terminate the interview and I can provide resources of support.
- There may be risks to being in this study that are not known. If I learn anything during the research that may affect your willingness to continue being in the study, I will tell you right away.

Voluntary Participation

- You are under no obligation to participate in this study. The participation is completely voluntary and you are not obliged to answer any specific questions even if participating in the study.
- You may opt out without penalty and can ask to have any collected data withdrawn from the data base and not included in the study.
- You have the right to leave any/all questions unanswered.

Confidentiality & Anonymity

- During the study, only I and my direct academic adviser will be privy to your identity. The final study will be void of identifiers beyond your city location and career. Places of work will not be overtly named though they will be described and so there is a small risk to be identified.
- Research data will be stored using audio recordings and digital files. These will be stored on my personal laptop that is protected with a password and Orbicule Undercover Software.

Consent

1. Has the interviewer (myself) explained the purpose of the study?
2. Has the interviewer explained the benefits and risks?
3. Do you understand that participation is voluntary and that at any point in the data collection phase you may chose to leave the study and your information and data will not be used?
4. Do I have consent to audio record this interview using a secured device?

There are 5 sections of question blocks we will be progressing through. The first section pertains to your background, education and career choice

PART 1 Background, Education & Career

- Where are you from/ where did you grow up?
- What was your school experiences like?
- What was your favored topic in school, any subjects in which participant excelled and/or struggled?
- What inspired you to pursue your career?
- What do you believe are some of the characteristics of a successful chef?
- What does it mean to be successful to you?
- What are the circumstances/people/opportunities that have helped you move into your current position?

This next section is about the demographics you've experienced in commercial kitchens and your perspective on equal opportunity

PART 2 Demographics & Equal Opportunity

- What has the journey been like to your current position?
- Do you think there is a gender imbalance in the back of house/commercial kitchens / pastry shops/bakeries?
- In your experience, what positions have women most held in the culinary industry?
- Do you think there are more male identifying chefs in high level kitchen/pastry positions? Why do you think that is?
- If you asked your male colleagues why they think there are not more women in commercial kitchens, what sort of explanation do you think they would provide?
- In an ideal world, what would it take for every person regardless of gender, race, or sexuality, to have the same opportunities to advance in the kitchen?
- What sort of changes/strategies could help others to climb the ranks in the kitchen?

**I have learned that kitchen culture plays a significant role in attracting and retaining chefs.
This next section is sort of an exploration of kitchen culture from your perspective**

PART 3 Kitchen Culture

- Can you describe what a healthy kitchen culture looks like?
- Is there a hierarchy in the kitchen? How is this constructive? Can it be harmful?
- Do you think competition plays a role in kitchen culture?
- Have you competed and if so, how has that benefited your career? Did the competitions have any direct or indirect effects on your personal life?
- What have been some of the challenges you have faced along your career journey?
- Have you ever felt discriminated against in your places of work?
- Have you ever felt bullied or harassed in your places of work?
- Have you ever experienced (either personally or as a witness) addiction and/or substance abuse in your places of work?
- Do you think competition plays a role in kitchen culture?
- Have you competed and if so, how has that benefited your career? Did the competitions have any direct or indirect effects on your personal life?
- What have been some of the challenges you have faced along your career journey?
- While working in kitchens, what would say has been the demographics? How have you found a place within these demographics? Highlights? Challenges?

It has become evident that as a society, we struggle with work life balance. Section 4 questions are aimed at exploring work life balance for your perspective

PART 4 Work – Life Balance

- Is it common for those in the industry to have a healthy work life balance?
- Are you able to find a work life balance?
- Have you ever felt like you have missed opportunities because of your paid work?
- What are some of the challenges of being a working parent? How do you balance the paid work and the unpaid work?
- In an ideal world, what sort of supports or changes would need to happen or be in place for you to be able to have a strong work life balance.
- Considering the new restrictions on public gatherings due to the current COVID 19 pandemic, how do you think this might impact the industry and the women working in the industry?

This last section is about you going forward and an opportunity to include anything I may have missed in the interview and/or to speak candidly on any topic you would like to expand on

PART 5 – Moving Forward

- If you could go back and make different decisions about your career, would you and what would they be?
- Do you have any present aspirations? These can be non-career related.
- Do you have anything you would like to share with me that I did not touch on?

This concludes the interview

Thank you so very much for your insightful contribution and please do not hesitate to reach out to me for any inquires, concerns or additional thoughts.