Developing a model for analysing operational powers that lead to low participation of women in elite kitchens

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DECLARATION

I declare that this work has not been previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted for any other degree.

I further declare that this thesis is the result of my own independent work and investigation, except where otherwise stated (a bibliography is appended).

Finally, I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photography and inter-library loan, and for the title and abstract to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed

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Prof. Eleri Jones (Supervisor)
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I also extend my appreciation to the interviewees and questionnaire respondents who kindly gave of their valuable time.
ABSTRACT

Literature on women’s participation in the tourism and hospitality workplace highlights various imbalances although elite kitchens have received little attention. This thesis enhances knowledge on women’s participation in elite kitchens in the United Kingdom through quantitative and qualitative analysis and an evaluation of the discursive constructs of expert industry observers. The thesis explores power mechanisms and the extent to which they support inclusive attitudes, raise expectations and support real employment opportunities for women. It also explores the multidimensional operation of forces that oppose women’s participation and promote polarisation, alienation and detachment from the elite culinary arts workplace.

Women occupied just 5% of head chef’s positions in Michelin star restaurants. Successful women tended to be iconised and their achievements much celebrated. Yet, women’s low participation at senior levels is longstanding, despite a raft of policies aimed at promoting gender equality.

This thesis provides a rich picture of elite kitchens from a post-modern, contextual feminist perspective. Semi-structured interviews with expert industry observers provided in-depth insight into the complex and subtle ways in which the activity and inactivity of leaders and groups and the sheer weight of organisations - political, institutional and educational - served to perpetuate gender imbalance. Hard, quantitative data was used to show the true extent of gender imbalance. This thesis concludes that real employment opportunities did not exist for women because the mechanisms intended to support them were a mirage resulting in raised but unfulfilled aspirations. Reason was not being mobilised effectively in public debate to counter the power processes that perpetuated exclusion legitimising male domination, leaving women in a position of oppressed quiescence. This thesis makes a contribution to understanding women’s choices and constraints and is a major contribution to the development of hospitality and catering studies.
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**GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS**

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACA</td>
<td>Academy of Culinary Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFWS</td>
<td>Academy of Food and Wine Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BERR</td>
<td>Department for Business Enterprise and Regulatory Reform</td>
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<td>CBI</td>
<td>Confederation of British Industry's</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEO</td>
<td>Chief Executive Officer</td>
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<td>CEHR</td>
<td>Commission for Equality and Human Rights</td>
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<td>CESI</td>
<td>Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion</td>
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<td>CGC</td>
<td>Craft Guild of Chefs</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHME</td>
<td>Council for Hospitality Management Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIAG</td>
<td>Careers Information, Advice and Guidance</td>
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<td>CIPD</td>
<td>Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development</td>
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<td>CMI</td>
<td>Chartered Management Institute</td>
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<td>CTC</td>
<td>College Trainee Chef</td>
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<td>CV</td>
<td>Curriculum Vitae</td>
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<td>DM</td>
<td>Diversity Management</td>
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<td>DTI</td>
<td>Department of Trade and Industry</td>
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<td>EHC</td>
<td>Executive Head Chef</td>
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<td>EHO</td>
<td>Environmental Health Officer</td>
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<td>EHRC</td>
<td>Equality and Human Rights Commission</td>
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<td>EO</td>
<td>Equal Opportunity or Equality of Opportunities</td>
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<td>ESF</td>
<td>European Social Fund</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>F&amp;B</td>
<td>Food and Beverage</td>
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<td>FCSI</td>
<td>Foodservice Consultants Society International</td>
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<tr>
<td>FE</td>
<td>Further Education</td>
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<td>GFW</td>
<td>Guild of Food Writers</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
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<td>HE</td>
<td>Higher Education</td>
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<td>HRM</td>
<td>Human Resource Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBC</td>
<td>Institute of Business Consulting</td>
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<td>HTF</td>
<td>Hospitality Training Foundation</td>
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<td>ICG</td>
<td>Institute of Career Guidance</td>
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<td>Institute of Hospitality</td>
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<td>ITC</td>
<td>Internal Trainee Chef</td>
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<td>IWS</td>
<td>Institute of Wines and Spirits</td>
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<tr>
<td>KP</td>
<td>Kitchen Porter</td>
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<tr>
<td>LLP</td>
<td>Limited Liability Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>Managing Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>No 10</td>
<td>The official residence of the British Prime Minister is number ten, Downing Street.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NVQ</td>
<td>National Vocational Qualification</td>
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NHS National Health Service
OED Oxford English Dictionary
ONS Office for National Statistics
OPSI Office of Public Sector Information
PC Pastry Chef
PHC Proprietor Head Chef
PR Public Relations
PPI Progressive Policy Institute
PW Pot Wash
QCA Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
RAGB Restaurant Association of Great Britain
SC Sous Chef
TTFW Tourism Training Forum for Wales
TVU Thames Valley University
UK United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UKCES United Kingdom Commission for Employment and Skills
UWIC University of Wales Institute, Cardiff
WLB Work-Life Balance
WSET Wine and Spirit Education Trust
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INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Although some may view 'I' as a weak description of the nature of the teller, I have judiciously and deliberately adopted a first person narrative in the thesis. Its purpose is, in part, to improve the flow of the narrative. However, it also serves to avoid an awkward or unnatural separation between author, narrator, researcher and interviewer. Its use also makes obvious those occasions when I am deliberately introducing legitimate bias to the in-depth discourse in an attempt to facilitate enriched discursive constructs, as I occasionally challenge interviewees and encourage them to explore personal experiences.

In 2002, I was commissioned by the Tourism Training Forum for Wales (TTFW) to undertake consultancy work on gender equality in the tourism workplace. TTFW was established in 1998 as the principal organisation in Wales to guide business and human resource development in the tourism industry. An executive summary of the full report (White et al. 2002a) is available online (White et al. 2002b) and I have included the full text of this report in Appendix 3, as it may prove difficult to obtain.
1.2 Background of the 2002 case study

The 2002 research project was funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). ESF aims both to create and protect jobs and this includes developing employability and human resources. It focuses on ‘tackling discrimination and inequality in the labour market’ (ESF 2000: online). Mainstreaming equal opportunities (EO) policy is a clear objective of ESF and this means opposing discrimination by proactively dealing with barriers to participation and success. The conclusions of the 2002 research identify lessons to be learned and also promote good practice in support of the ESF function.

The case study aimed at exploring EO for men and women in the tourism workplace by focusing on core workers in hotels and visitor attractions. North-west Wales (Anglesey, Conwy and Gwynedd) and South-east Wales (Blaenau Gwent, Bridgend, Caerphilly, Cardiff, Merthyr Tydfil, Monmouth, Newport, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Torfaen and the Vale of Glamorgan) were used as two distinct comparator areas for study. Both areas are heavily reliant on tourism although the emphasis is different in each. South-east Wales has a larger population concentrated to some extent in the cities of Cardiff and Newport where business and incentive travel is extremely important and there is a growing emphasis on event tourism. In contrast, tourism in North-west
Wales has a more rural base or is centred in smaller towns and coastal resorts, which attract holidaymakers.

The research aimed at assessing long-term attitudes to employment in the industry and a wide assortment of hotels and visitor attractions of various sizes were chosen to seek a broad variety of experience. The project focused on the promotion of good practice through mainstreaming EO policy to all employees. This involved an evaluation of discrimination and how proactive staff and organisations were in dealing with barriers to women’s participation and success.

In total, tourism accounted for 6.1% of gross value added in Wales, with tourism spending contributing in excess of £2 billion directly to the Welsh economy (Stevens Associates 2008). The sector directly and indirectly supported around 100,000 jobs in 2005, representing over 8% of the workforce (Visit Wales 2008). Thus it is important that the industry fulfils its potential. Despite its importance, critical shortages of skilled restaurant staff, qualified chefs and kitchen assistants were reported by Haven-Tang and Jones (2004). An image problem was also reported in the industry, with evidence of vacancies being difficult to fill and shortages of skills (Future Skills Wales 2003). This had led specifically to the recruitment of international migrant staff.
1.3 Major findings of the 2002 case study

The following ten conclusions were reported in White et al. (2002a) and required further investigation.

Firstly, EO policies were not 'generally ... mainstreamed' (White et al. 2002a: 5). Mainstreaming aims to transform organisational cultures by identifying ‘hidden, unidentified and unremarked ways in which systems and structures are biased in favour of men and to redress the balance’ (Rees 1999: 189). Written policies were not given priority or prominence in a significant number of workplaces. There was a lack of willingness on the part of staff to complain and firms [were] often given the benefit of the doubt on equal opportunities issues’ (White et al. 2002a: 5).

Secondly, there were gender issues relating to promotion.

This was sometimes related to positive action and promoting gender balance, but sometimes had occurred for less commendable reasons. Promotions were sometimes being declined out of personal choice rather than as a result of anything present in the firm’s attitude. Women expressed confidence about promotion at least as much as men, though there was some general frustration about the speed of, and opportunity for, promotion in the industry.

(White et al. 2002a: 5)
Thirdly, the 2002 study found that, ‘Chefs’ work and the male culture common in kitchens’ were particular ‘sources of difficulty’ and this is why commercial kitchens became the particular focus of the PhD.

Mens’ dominance and power in the kitchen is not really being threatened by the promotion of equal opportunities. There is some evidence of the problem of ‘assimilation’ ... where female members of staff are treated like, and are expected to behave like, men in the kitchen. The kitchen environment is said to be daunting and frightening to some women. The ‘small wins’ approach ... , which advocates persistent attrition of male dominance, is absent. Results show continuing segmentation of men and women along departmental lines in these highly departmentalised organisations. Resistance to equality of opportunity from older and more experienced people of both sexes is still a problem but it proves difficult to pinpoint.

(White et al. 2002a: 5)

Additionally, when reflecting on the reputation that some elite chefs have for promoting ‘assertive, boisterous and aggressive’ behaviour (Hollweg 2001), elite kitchens were evidently a hotspot and provided a potentially rich area for research in terms of power and resistance.

Fourthly, the results showed that men and women felt disadvantaged by irregular, unsocial working hours, including split shifts that did not fit well with family routines and school times. Heavy seasonal workloads were particular problems for men and women with young families. There was a lack of family-friendly policies.
Results also provided evidence that segmentation continues on the domestic scene and that gender segmentation prevails in the hospitality industry. These factors mean there is less likelihood of return to operational work after maternity leave. Evidence showed that South-east Wales had greater problems regarding family-friendly policies though there was considerable evidence of firms exercising flexibility. The involvement of women at managerial level seems to have a positive influence on maternity policy except where it is overridden by the organisational culture.

(White et al. 2002a: 5)

Fifthly, women were joining management training programmes with high expectations of promotion and were confidently stepping out of personnel work into general management.

Sixthly, women were subjected to more gender stereotyping than men. This could lead to implications that were both positive and negative.

In South-east Wales ... women were regarded as more understanding and men more informal and uncomplicated.

(White et al. 2002a: 6)

Women seemed to have to fight harder even when they were given choice and opportunity. They responded by supporting each other through emotional expression and increased communication with one another other.

Seventhly, in organisations where the effect of EO legislation had led to more men and women working together, it was seen to promote
synergy. This was said to have had a positive effect on retention and helped to overcome resistance to change. It resulted in a wider choice of candidates and more likelihood of recruiting the best person for the job.

Eighthly, although education had served to give young people a desire to apply the principle of EO for all, general attitudes of other employees and employers towards EO had become static. While some cases of improvement were reported, some deterioration was also recorded, particularly in South-east Wales. There was some evidence of negative attitudes to EO, while others believed that the negativity had been overcome. ‘More felt that the equal opportunities issue has gone too far than those who thought that it needed to go further’ (White et al. 2002a: 6). There were several particularly live issues including differential pay rates for men and women, male resistance to EO and women being denied EO.

Ninthly, the ‘double burden’ carried by women running the home whilst in full-time work was still evident in Wales.

Tenthly and finally, applying positive action policy to correct imbalance, eliminating or counteracting ‘prejudicial effects arising out of traditional divisions of roles in society between men and women’ (White et al. 2002a: 6), was often misunderstood and mistrusted.
These initial conclusions were limited by the EO perspective of ESF research objectives. The same data from the 2002 case study was consequently reconsidered from two further perspectives. Social inclusion was one angle, which was presented in a conference paper (White et al. 2004). The initial conceptual framework (Figure 1) proposed in this paper is discussed below.

1.4 Major findings of the 2004 conference paper

In pursuing the ultimate goal of an inclusive society in the United Kingdom, New Labour identified five key battlegrounds: educational achievement; employment prospects throughout life; health; crime; physical environment. In each of these five areas, shown in Figure 1,
there was an emphasis on shifting from the exclusion processes to inclusion processes by changing attitudes, raising expectations and aspirations and expanding genuine opportunities for all (CESI 2002).

Social exclusion results from processes that disconnect people from the mainstream of society (Giddens 1998) causing varying degrees of alienation and polarisation that could ultimately result in complete detachment (Figure 1). Social inclusion is the antithesis of social exclusion and is the broad term that describes political, economic, social and technological processes that counter the enervating influence of social exclusion.
The initial conceptual framework (Figure 1) was developed (White et al. 2004: 176) from the philosophy promoted by the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion (CESI 2002) and shows the five objectives as arrows that shift society from processes that detach women from the mainstream, towards more desirable social inclusion processes. Better employment prospects throughout life, which I shall hereafter refer to as the employment mechanism, is an important measure of success for social inclusion processes and the amelioration of social exclusion. This is as true in culinary arts as it is generally.

Following the conference paper (White et al. 2004) the five objectives were reconsidered as mechanisms within which powers for and against women's inclusion operate]. The re-analysis of the 2002 data from this new perspective of power was published in a journal article (White et al. 2005). This article represented the final step towards the research question that is the heart of this project and the article contained the following conclusions.

1.5 **Major conclusions about gender and power**

The first conclusion, which stated that company policies did not translate into action on the EO agenda, suggested resistant powers may be in operation. A general lack of monitoring was reported, giving
opportunity for men to continue to exercise power over women by “influencing, shaping and determining” (Lukes 1974: 23) women’s ambitions. The lack of EO mainstreaming may also relate to the socialisation, communication and acculturation issues raised by Lukes (1974). The Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion (CESI 2002) defined an inclusive society as being characterised by an active struggle to reduce inequality. An absence of EO mainstreaming for all staff in this sector may indicate a lack of willingness to strive against socialisation, acculturation and thought-control through the manipulation of communication. Furthermore, inaction may emanate from men’s desire to maintain inequality and could serve to produce the remarkable notion that gender issues are no longer a problem. Consequently, an in-depth understanding of how power mechanisms affect the industry was proposed in order to seek the answer to the secrecy surrounding company EO policy.

Secondly, there was evidence that personal power could ‘over-ride the legislative power mechanism and that employees’, particularly women, could be overlooked for promotion or equal pay and were ‘reluctant or powerless to act against this’ (White et al. 2005: 46).

Thirdly, the male culture, common in kitchens, reinforced men’s power and numerical dominance. Evidence was found in kitchens (White et al.
2005: 14) to support the general assertion that women are expected to manage like men (Wajcman 1998). Kitchens thus remained intimidating environments for some women. A solution to this problem of assimilation of women may be revealed by a deeper analysis of power mechanisms.

Fourthly, while exploring data in the context of Lukes’ (1974) third dimension of power, it became evident that workers seemed to have been conditioned to accept that ‘the industry could not survive without long unsociable hours and low pay’ (White et al. 2005: 46). This ‘conditioning, whether conscious or unconscious, prevented demands becoming issues’. It had ‘not been resisted on a strategic level but ... led to a quiescent and sometimes confused workforce that’ on one side questioned whether EO could ‘ever really exist’ (White et al. 2005: 46) and on the other side that gender inequality was no longer a difficulty. Both views are problematic.

The maintenance of a quiescent workforce is clearly a matter of power. Such power could affect the capacity of participants, both on the employer and employee side, to effect change or to maintain the status quo. Further research was proposed to assess the capacity of participants (Morriss 2002) to act effectively to expose the reasons why employees often refuse to complain in situations where barriers may be preventing the operation of EO.
Irregular, unsocial hours did not fit well with school times while domestic division of labour along gender lines still served to reinforce the powerful disadvantages in opportunity being faced by women and men with children. The employment mechanism was one of the government's five power mechanisms for its social inclusion policy (Figure 1). Firms that operated family-friendly policies would certainly be acting in tune with this agenda, not to mention the 'rights and responsibilities' agenda of government (Powell 1999). Where women were responsibly seeking continued employment, or a return to work, they should have the right to honourable treatment by employers under the fair application of EO legislation. Nevertheless, the tourism and hospitality sector failed to co-ordinate any kind of consistent, family-friendly policies (White et al. 2005).

Fifthly, the high expectations of women entrants and confidence about promotion on the basis of education, careers information, advice and guidance (CIAG) and equality law were over-ridden by the commercial powers linked to the bottom line. Do the relational powers operating in the commercial sector effectively resist women's inclusion and promotion to senior positions? This must be answered by further research that focuses on the commercial rather than the public sector.
Sixthly, continued gender stereotyping in relation to some jobs, such as chef, and the continuing domination of one or other gender in some hospitality departments was a mark of resistance to change that requires further investigation.

Seventhly, EO legislation was undoubtedly having a range of positive effects, especially where the synergy of a balanced mix of male and female employees occurred, but the effect was limited by continued resistance to gender balance across much of the hospitality sector.

Eighthly, it may be that obstacles opposing women's participation were so constructed as to make resistance pointless. It is also possible that the expectation of inevitable defeat may have prevented women resisting when they faced barriers (Lukes 1974). Where confrontations occur in the workplace the challenges can have awful consequences for the individuals concerned, even when they have professional status (Barrow 2003). Thus, women were often quiescent in the face of frozen attitudes that opposed EO and they gave firms the benefit of the doubt on EO issues.

Furthermore, employee quiescence could potentially have been maintained despite the rhetoric of the media about the advance of social egalitarianism. People were supposed to be less willing to go along with all that the authorities dictate (Giddens 2000 citing Phillips 1999), but
there were still some active, negative dispositions in positions of authority that needed to be changed through education and by applying various other correctives. Thus, inclusive attitudes needed to spread through the industry. Women and men, under pressure at home, may not be in a position, at present, to effect desired changes in work because of the absence of certain act conditionals that lead to personal powerlessness (Morriss 2002). Conditions need to provide opportunity for people to act freely if EO is to prevail in this sector. Research is needed to consider the whole field of power over which these act conditions apply.

Ninthly, the data indicated that private power, exercised by men over women in the home, serves to burden women with more time constraints than men.

Tenthly, the issue of employers implementing positive action policy is an important mechanism in targeting employment opportunity imbalances. However, strong hostile attitudes persisted and led to the conclusion that the argument for positive action was not yet won. Historical antecedents and the views of non-actor, expert observers may serve to throw light on whether power is maintaining quiescence (Gaventa 1980).
1.6 A new research agenda

Having exposed the issues relating to the ongoing difficulties facing women and men, I can now define a point of departure for this thesis. The lack of EO for women, particularly in the hospitality workplace, was clear from the findings of the earlier research discussed above. Furthermore, given that the 2002 data was collected from the commercial sector, it was evident that kitchens in this sector were a particular hotspot for women's exclusion. There may well be gender imbalances in kitchens operating in the public and industrial feeding sectors but in order to limit the project to a manageable size I decided to confine its scope to elite kitchens in the commercial sector.

1.6.1 Social closure, applying EO policies and positive action

The patchy application, and mainstreaming to all employees, of written EO policies, may be leading to a lack of staff awareness of those policies. Why are written policies not given priority or prominence in a significant number of workplaces and why are they not being mainstreamed to all employees? EO is not often discussed in the workplace and this may lead to a degree of social closure, involving an under-utilisation and poor understanding of positive action initiatives. Why is positive action still mis understood? What powers are working to resist a change in attitudes? Do these powers cause the continued
clustering of men in elite hotel kitchens as chefs and of women in low paid hotel and catering jobs? I believe that an examination of historical antecedents may serve to throw light on the way in which power is maintaining quiescence.

1.6.2 Male culture assimilating women’s aspirations

The 2002 case study found that commercial kitchens seem to be a stronghold of hegemonic masculinity. If a woman’s aspirations have succeeded in penetrating the stereotype of an elite chef, she will be assimilated rather than accommodated in the role. Difficulties relating to the prevailing male culture will need a series of piercing questions to expose the nature of the issues.

1.6.3 Responses to low levels of women’s participation

Although Harper and Haq (2001) reported finding no hiring bias other than in craft and manual jobs, resistance to women chef’s was reported in the haute cuisine sector (Burrell et al. 1997), indicating that further investigation is appropriate. How men, women and organisations respond to low levels of women’s participation in elite kitchens needs to be evaluated. The actions and responsibility of the media in this respect also need to be questioned.
1.6.4 Unsocial hours and pressures attached to the chef's job

The hospitality and tourism workplace experiences 'high staff turnover' (White et al. 2002) and is notorious for low rates of pay and long, unsocial hours (Pratten 2003). In the case of the elite chef the anti-social shift patterns are coupled with high stress levels associated with service, the pressures of a hot environment and heavy lifting. Are these conditions necessary, or are they deliberately constructed by the industry to exclude anyone who is less than driven and mentally and physically fit for the onerous task? Is the head chef's role, with its emphasis on job commitment and profit margins, over-riding fairness?

1.6.5 Recruitment methods and behaviour towards minorities

The following questions are important in the context of the methods of recruitment that dominate the industry. Are low paid jobs being feminised? What happens when individuals step across the traditional boundaries? Is there any evidence of systematic sexual harassment and bullying tactics employed against minorities? Is there any evidence of old-boys' networks being active in the industry?
Chapter one: Introduction

1.7 Aims and objectives

This thesis aims to find the extent of gender discrimination in elite kitchens using quantitative data and to expose the field of power by exploring the views of expert observers of the industry who are now detached from operational responsibilities in elite kitchens. In order to achieve these aims the following objectives have been set as questions:

i) How are elite kitchens defined and important job roles identified (Chapter 3.5.7)?

ii) What is the numerical extent of women’s exclusion by grade or status and by geographical region (Chapter 4)?

iii) What is the significance of the statistical data in terms of gender balance (Chapters 4.5, 4.6)?

iv) What insights into the deep rooted causes and motivations for gender discrimination can be gained (Chapter 5)?

v) What can be exposed about the persistent hidden nature of gender discrimination (Chapter 5)?

vi) What assessments can be made of the characteristics of existing hegemonic masculinity (Chapter 5)?

vii) How is the status quo formed and to how does power maintain it (Chapter 5)?
viii) Can a model be developed to support a better understanding of relational power processes (Chapter 5.12)?

1.8 Thesis structure

The above two aims will be supported by a critical review of relevant literature in Chapter 2 that considers the following:

- The political (2.2), economic (2.3), cultural (2.4) social (2.5) contexts;
- Views of various key commentators on power and its operation and measurement (2.6);
- General views of feminist commentators together with those particularly relevant to kitchens (Chapter 2);
- The review will conclude by proposing a conceptual framework (Figure 9) that conceptualises the balance of a broad range of opposing powers in order to explore the mechanisms through which they operate.

The aims will also be supported in Chapter 3 by a discussion of the research approach. After considering epistemology and theoretical perspective, this chapter will examine feminism and the use of
discourse analysis before evaluating a set of appropriate research methods to collect and analyse data.

The statistical data will be set out in Chapter 4 to demonstrate the extent of women's participation in elite kitchens in the UK. Elite kitchens will be defined and job titles identified in Chapter 3 for the purposes of conducting a survey by letter (Appendix 1), followed by email. Headcount data will be collected by job title, full-time and part-time status and gender. Particular regard will be given to the gender balance in senior positions. Proportions will be calculated and statistical comparisons performed by Student's t-test to establish significance. Gender balance comparisons will be made between larger and smaller restaurants to expose possible differences in gender balance. Regional variations in gender balance will also be considered.

The fundamental qualitative aim of this thesis is to expose the field of power and so develop a new model for understanding operational powers that are active to support or oppose real job opportunities for women in elite culinary arts. The model is shown in Figure 13, and is a development of a new conceptual framework shown in Figure 9. The new model shows ten interdependent power mechanisms and these form headings under which the rich interview data is presented in the results and discussion in Chapter 5.
Chapter 6 presents the conclusions where the aims and objectives listed above are reviewed and major findings are presented. This will end with an assessment of the contributions and limitations of the thesis and give an indication of opportunities for further research.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

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LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the notion of a field of power in which gender imbalance in work and male dominance among elite chefs is apparent. This chapter considers the opinions of key academic commentators on feminism and power. Both of these theoretical perspectives are necessary in light of the prevailing stereotypical view of a chef as, ‘the man that presides over the kitchen ... a head cook’ ('Chef', OED 2010: online), while ‘women are largely excluded from kitchen work’ (Lucas 2004: 98). Furthermore, the elite, or ‘choice’ (‘elite’, OED 2010: online) few, are still widely understood to exercise assertive ‘discipline’ (Pratten 2003: 239) and kitchen tyranny (Pratten 2003 and Dobson 2003).

The literature review will identify key power mechanisms and discuss the dimensions of power that operate on them, to facilitate an evaluation of the successes and failures of the EO agenda in elite culinary arts. Drawing on prominent findings of academic writers, this chapter presents foundational evidence for constructing a conceptual framework. The framework (Figure 9) should expose the field of power
in which power mechanisms can be manoeuvred to support or undermine EO in elite, commercial kitchens. In this conceptual framework the political, economic, cultural and social (PECS) context acts as a foundation on which power mechanisms may shift. It is impossible to separate gender from this broad context in which gender identities are produced and maintained (Butler 1990). Consequently, this chapter begins by considering general context under these four contextual intersections.

### 2.2 Political context

The political context involves an overview of law followed by a review of literature covering a variety of key perspectives on EO.

Law is taken to represent a single 'Legal' power mechanism (Figure 3). The Equality Act (2010) is one facet of this mechanism. It aims to simplify complex discrimination laws, developed in the United Kingdom (UK) since the 1960s, in a single Act. This should help individuals to understand their rights and help organisations to comply with equality law. Similarly, the constitution of a single equality agency, the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR), will also bring together various public bodies in a combined approach. This body is taken to represent part of an 'Institutional' power mechanism (Figure 3).
Some contest the merger of legislation, arguing that it may be merely a ‘tidying up’ (Dickens 2008: 8) process rather than a radical improvement. Cockburn (1991: 172) suggests that the natural diversity of issues within the ‘equality project’, linked to gender, race, sexual orientation and disability, makes a unified approach complex. This can ‘lessen both the analytical understanding of each specific process and the impact of any one corrective project’ (Cockburn 1991: 172).

Yet, the advantages of unifying the four distinct areas in one ‘equality project’ are three-fold. Firstly, it ‘prompts women’ to be more conscious of ‘differences among and between women’ (Cockburn 1991: 172) and offers an opportunity to reconsider the ‘agenda’ with a wider consideration of individual ‘differences and needs’. Secondly, a unified approach across the four equality strands: gender, race, disability and sexual orientation, clarifies the nature of the third mechanism, ‘Systemic’ power (Figure 3), by revealing ‘dominance relations’ (Cockburn 1991: 172) in each of the four categories, which are male, white, able and heterosexual. Thirdly, Cockburn (1991: 173) argues that these dominant relations are not only ‘mutually reinforcing’, but ‘cumulative’, making all other groups ‘who seek to access their organisations’ subject to ‘the dual strategy of rejection or assimilation’ (Cockburn 1991: 213).
This can lead to ‘social closure’ (Murphy 1988), which is based on the power of the dominant group to ‘deny access to reward, or positive life chances to another group’ (Marshall 1998: 79). Weber (1948: 401) describes closure as ‘monopolising and restricting earning opportunities’. The utopian objective for Cockburn is to tackle dominant white male closure strategies by accepting and valuing the difference of every group and its culture and for subordinate groups to form ‘political alliances ... to dismantle the white male monoculture of power’ (Cockburn 1991: 214). The problem with this approach remains its application.

In its traditional form, EO is based on gender sameness and individual merit and rights, through legal compliance. Dickens (2000: 142) defines EO as ‘policy and practice designed to tackle the differential distribution of opportunities, resources and rewards’. Activists evaluating the results of 1980s efforts have been ‘coherent and united in their disappointment with the achievements of “equal opportunities”’ (Cockburn 1991: 215). They comment that the law is ‘too weak’ as a power mechanism, the cooperating organisations are ‘too few and their goals and methods too limited’ (Cockburn 1991: 215). However, Cotter’s (2004) conviction is that law and justice have the capacity, through approaches such as ‘zero-tolerance’, to secure gender equality in the long run, though they have not been successful so far. This argument focuses too narrowly on the legal mechanism, avoiding reference to aspects of inequality that are
either beyond the legal mechanism or are yet to be challenged by the legal system. The power framework (Figure 3) I am proposing contests the case for a pivotal legal mechanism, in that it regards the legal power mechanism as merely one part of a mutually supportive framework. To view this single mechanism as an independent champion for gender equality, fails to recognise the wider power context that resists equality for women. Thus, Cockburn (1991: 215) rightly affirms that EO policies are ‘seldom implemented ... not monitored ... non-compliance is not penalised’, nor is compliance ‘rewarded’.

Whilst Hoque and Noon (2004: 498) agree that EO policies in larger companies often exist as ‘empty shell’ policies that fail to ‘achieve greater equality outcomes’, they recognise that HR professionals can play an important role as ‘guardians of equal opportunities’ (Hoque and Noon 2004: 497), working to prevent EO policies falling into the ‘empty shell’ category. They assert that EO policies of substance still ‘matter in terms of ensuring equal treatment’ (Hoque and Noon 2004: 498) and need to be developed in supportive environments and cultures.

The general consensus that EO policies are seldom applied is not merely about the influence of ‘Antecedents’, seen as a forth power mechanism (Figure 3), but there is also ‘active resistance’ that generates ‘institutional’ barriers and that ‘foster solidarity between men and
sexualise, threaten, marginalise, control and divide women’ (Cockburn 1991: 215).

The legal developments are presented by legislators as a:

... step change in how we promote, enforce and deliver equality and human rights ... now necessary if we are to achieve the prosperous and cohesive society we seek.

(DTI 2004: 12)

The Equality Act (2010) will include simplified explanations to clarify the provisions and will replace nine major pieces of legislation, as well as approximately 100 statutory instruments and many ‘pages of guidance and statutory codes of practice’ (Equality Bill 2010: 9) including many of the following:

- Equal Pay Act 1970 and 1983 extension
- Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and 1986 and 2008 amendments
- Disability Discrimination Act 1995 and 2005 amendment
- Employment Tribunals Act 1996
- Employment Rights Act 1996
- Human Rights Act 1998
- Working Time Regulations 1998 and 2003 amendment
- Employment Act 2002
- Gender Recognition Act 2004
- Equality Act 2010 and 2006 precursor
- Various European Directives that Affect EO
This list of legislation shows that equality has been an issue for successive governments for over 40 years. Laws have been successively enacted to empower state bureaucracy to regulate society and oversee equality processes by means of a top-down approach. The Sex Discrimination Act (1975) took effect simultaneously with the Equal Pay Act (1970) at the close of December 1975 and both were significant flagships of the fairness agenda, but they have evidently failed to achieve equality outcomes on pay (Robinson and Wallace 1984 and Broadbridge 1997). The *legal* power mechanism concerning EO has been developed in a ‘piecemeal and pragmatic’ (Dickens 2007: 464) way. Progress of EO outcomes has been ‘slow, uneven and at times hesitant’ (Dickens 2008: 1) and managers still experience a significant gender pay differential.

... the average UK salary for a male manager is currently £10,071 more than that of a female manager, women face a 57 year wait before their take-home pay is equal to that of their male colleagues ... data collected from 43,312 individuals in 197 organisations reveals that male pay outstrips female pay by as much as 24% at senior level.

(CMI/XpertHR 2010: online)

In a BBC (2009) interview, Harman stated that women’s pay is significantly less than men. Truth or power has not yet prevailed for women and there is further hard evidence to support this assertion. The Equality Bill (2010: 15) states:
Nearly forty years after the Equal Pay Act, the gender pay gap remains at 22.6%. It is higher in the private sector where around 80% of all employees work. The Equality and Human Rights Commission’s enquiry into the financial services sector has revealed gender pay gaps of up to 60% in annual gross pay and as much as 79% in annual incentive (bonus) pay.

We cannot tackle pay discrimination if it is hidden. Shining a spotlight on the problem, workplace by workplace, will help employers and employees identify the causes and take action.

Such assertions are supported in statistics published by the Office for National Statistics (ONS 2010) shown in Figure 2.

![Figure 2: Earnings - Gender pay gap for median hourly earnings, excluding overtime]

Where there is active, entrenched resistance to the legal mechanism, the State will bring forward extensions of public policy to confront the conservative forces opposing EO. The Equality Act (2010), as an
example of imposing a set of actions to make equality a reality, is a good example of this approach, yet the proponents of EO for women must also win the arguments. Harriet Harman asserts:

While a combination of laws and wider action has brought us a long way over the past 40 years, inequality and discrimination persist today. That is why we are introducing a new Equality Bill.

(Equality Bill 2010: 1)

Thus, the new legislation must focus on outstanding equality outcomes. As far as the deployment of power is concerned:

The Bill will contain a power to require reporting on the gender pay gap by employers with 250 or more employees. However the Government has committed not to use this power before 2013 and it will only be used if sufficient progress on reporting has not been made.

(Equality Bill 2010: 15)

The Equality Bill will ban pay secrecy or ‘gagging’ clauses which stop employees discussing their pay with their colleagues.

(Equality Bill 2010: 15)

In support of the Equality Bill (2010), The Equality and Human Rights Commission is presently conducting industry enquiries focusing on ‘sex discrimination in the financial services sector’ (Equality Bill 2010: 16). The enquiries aim to find out what is causing the inequality in that sector and will ‘make recommendations accordingly. The enquiries will support the measures contained in the Equality Bill to increase transparency in the workplace’ (Equality Bill 2010: 16). Furthermore,
Chapter two: Literature review

the Equality Bill (2010: 18) refers to research on women’s representation on boards at Fortune 500 firms (Joy 2007) showing that:

Fortune 500 companies with a good gender balance on their board perform better. Companies with more women on their boards outperform their rivals with a 42% higher return in sales, a 66% higher return on invested capital, and a 53% higher return on equity.

Equality Bill 2010: 18

Research by McKinsey and Company (2008) supports these findings for European companies saying:

Some leadership behaviours, which are more frequently applied by women than by men in management teams, prove to enhance corporate performance and will be a key factor in meeting tomorrow’s business challenges. Hence, promoting gender diversity and leadership variety is of strategic importance for companies.

McKinsey and Company 2008: 1

The companies that succeed in fostering effective leadership, sustained by a diversity of both practices and gender, will gain a unique opportunity to develop a competitive edge that latecomers will find hard and long to acquire, especially as the barrier lies in culture and mindsets. In today’s corporate world, taking a lead in gender diversity is indeed a strategic decision.

McKinsey and Company 2008: 20

The Equality Bill (2010: 18) refers to this evidence in support of its intentions to expand the ways in which positive action can be used to address gender imbalance. Positive action concerns encouraging people
from under-represented groups to apply for jobs. The Bill claims that there is ‘uncertainty about what the law allows employers to do regarding positive action’ (Equality Bill 2010: 18). Consequently, I intend to explore the argument for deploying positive action as a relational power as depicted in Figure 8.

Just as Foucault (1976a) predicted, given the deployment of State power, an opposing power is created. Thus, as the Equality Bill went before Parliament it excited a comment from Millar, who responded saying:

Harriet Harman is about to let the specter of positive discrimination out of the bag. The Equality Bill before parliament today gives employers the right to choose an ethnic minority candidate or female candidate over another, a white male, specifically because they are an ethnic minority or female. This is a mistake.

(Millar 26/06/08: online)

So, while the State refers to ‘positive action,’ the opposing rhetoric replies with ‘positive discrimination.’ Millar (26/06/08) continues by claiming that positive discrimination is a certain way to create resentment and will arouse the most contemptible and shameful prejudices.

Millar (26/06/08) opposes the suggestion that ingrained prejudice in business is causing the gender pay gap and claims that evidence points
to better education for women as the key. ‘Education’ can be regarded as a fifth power mechanism (Figure 3). While Prosser (2006) did emphasise educational and careers guidance issues she also stated:

The complex and interrelated nature of the causes of the gender pay gap means that we have recommended sustained action to be taken by a range of players. Our task was to consider how to close the pay and opportunities gap in a generation. Momentum must not be lost if this challenge is to be met.

We recommend practical ways forward to make a real difference to women’s lives. But they can only be effective if all players are committed to the progress our recommendations represent. Now is the time for action and we urge all concerned to implement the recommendations in full.

Our recommendations set out a system to ensure that such actions become embedded into the work of the Government, through Public Service Agreement targets, through the operation of a Ministerial Committee, and through our review in a year’s time.

(Prosser 2006: ix)

The inter-related nature of the problem is recognised. Yet the embedded actions desired will inevitably lead to opposition across the complete range of power mechanisms.

The BBC cites Miles Templeman, director general of the Institute of Directors, saying of the Equality Bill (2010), ‘This is a further example of unnecessary regulation at a time when companies, particularly small and medium-sized enterprises, are struggling to survive’ (BBC 2009:...
online). David Frost, director general of the British Chambers of Commerce, told its annual convention that ‘the government too often sees the answer to a problem as being more legislation ... the result of this will mean that it will take longer to get out of recession and companies will be loathe to take on more employees’ (BCC 26/04/09: online).

The then shadow minister for women, Theresa May, whilst agreeing that too many people faced discrimination, proposed ‘real action’ as opposed to ‘exercises in box ticking’.

> We’re concerned that too many of the proposals in this Bill will be bureaucratic and expensive without providing real results, she continued. For example, Labour’s proposal for compulsory pay audits for all companies, rather than those proven to have broken the law, will simply waste time and money without making any difference to pay discrimination.

(BBC 2009: online)

The new 2010 UK coalition government is already considering the legal requirements concerning equality as it plans budget savings. Evidence for this is seen in the new Women and Equalities Secretary’s recent letter (May 2010) to the Chancellor where she advises on having regard to disproportionate impacts on women, amongst others. Here she specifically refers to the Equality Act coming into force in April 2011. However, the BBC (2010) reports that the government has so far stopped short of stating any intention to force gender pay audits, where
employers ‘reveal how much they pay men compared with women, as had been planned by the Labour government’ (BBC 2010: online).

In so far as EO can exist by the disposition of State powers, the use of:

- transparency in gender pay reports and the ban secrecy clauses
- fairness in recruitment advertising and public procurement
- extending the use of positive action and the powers of employment tribunals
- fairness in the use of public bodies, the use of women-only shortlists in Parliament
- protecting carers and feeding mothers
- ensuring private members clubs do not discriminate against women

(Equality Bill 2010)

might be effective in promoting State powers, but the operating powers will, together, meet an opposing disposition of resisting powers.

The 2010 Act will make provision to require government ministers and others to ‘have regard to the desirability of reducing socio-economic inequalities’ (Equality Act 2010: 13) when making strategic decisions. Decision makers must also have regard towards:

reform and harmonise equality law and restate the greater part of the enactments relating to discrimination and harassment related to certain
personal characteristics; to enable certain employers to be required to publish information about the differences in pay between male and female employees; to prohibit victimisation in certain circumstances; to require the exercise of certain functions to be with regard to the need to eliminate discrimination and other prohibited conduct; to enable duties to be imposed in relation to the exercise of public procurement functions; to increase equality of opportunity; to amend the law relating to rights and responsibilities in family relationships; and for connected purposes.

(Equality Act 2010: 13)

The whole legislative attack on unfairness now extends across a broad front of seven ‘protected’ grounds; women, ethnic minorities, disabled people, religions and beliefs, older people, and finally lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans-sexual people.

In addition to this, government policy since 1997 has also produced detailed legislation related to work-life balance (WLB) and this has focused particularly on parenting, career breaks and working hours for those near retirement (DTI 2003). In terms of good practice it should extend beyond ‘only supporting parents to supporting all employees, thereby moving towards the reality of WLB for all’ (Doherty and Manfredi 2006: 249). WLB initiatives aim, at least in part however, to counteract the failure of women to break into senior management (Purcell 1996). The initiatives can be regarded as part of the sixth power mechanism ‘Employment’ (Figure 3). Yet, up to 2004, these policies were reported as having little impact on women’s progress into senior
management or on the long-hours culture in the hospitality industry (Doherty 2004). In an industry with very low trade union density there has been an argument for ‘more State intervention’ along these lines (Doherty 2004: 445).

Segments of the legal power mechanism have various strengths and weakness. The Working Time Directive for example is an EU directive that covers maximum average weekly working times (48hours), limitations on working hours of trainees (40hours, and this is not optional for young workers), rest periods and annual leave, but there are significant opt outs from this in the UK (OPSI 1998 and 2003). In this case the legal mechanism has had positive impacts, reducing unacceptably long hours worked by trainees, but other requirements for commercial sector compliance with EO legislation are ‘fairly limited’ (Dickens 2007: 486). Nevertheless, Dickens (2007) goes on to argue that legislation in general goes further than requiring compliance as it also serves to change wider perceptions and values. It encourages voluntary action by power holders that can potentially re-enforce the legal mechanism. Even so, I would hypothesize that it is the limitations in regard to the private sector in the UK that allow gender discrimination to persist in elite commercial kitchens.
While recognising that European Union (EU) legislation has had some impact on gender equality, a significant number of ‘major limitations’ (Walby 2004: 6) have been identified:

... despite the European Union’s attempts at convergence through the mechanism of legislation, different countries will interpret and implement such legislation in very different ways.

(Doherty and Manfredi 2001: 75).

Thus, though some policy convergence has occurred across the EU over the last two decades, rules and practice differ from country to country.

According to the Treaty of Rome, states must simply:

- take all appropriate measures, whether general or particular, to ensure fulfillment of the obligations arising out of this Treaty or resulting from actions taken by the institutions of the Community

(EU 1957 Article 5: 16)

Applying the principles of subsidiarity the Treaty of Amsterdam adds:

- To ensure their strict observance and consistent implementation by all institutions [the EU wishes ...] to ensure that decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizens of the Union;

(EU 1997: 105)

Thus, the UK has tended to take a free market, self-regulatory approach on matters relating to subsidiarity and proportionality.
The law generally, in principal and application, has taken a liberal approach to EO rather than a radical one and so it is important to explain EO as a term in the general social context of the British workplace for the purposes of this research.

EO can be interpreted in many ways though it is widely regarded as ‘a set of laws, policies and practices’ (Breitenbach et al. 2002: 2) aimed at gaining a substantive change in patterns of ‘occupational segregation [and] ... patriarchal practices’ (Hakim 1992: 145). In paid employment, occupational segregation occurs when the division of labour results in male, female, racial, ethnic or other groups being channeled into different kinds of occupational functions or activities, leading to two or more separate labour forces (Marshall 1998). Academics tend to discuss EO issues from what some regard as opposing perspectives of liberal and radical approaches. The definition of EO is therefore contested. The widely used liberal.radical dichotomy is regarded as a ‘straight-jacket’ by Cockburn (1989: 215) and she wishes us to escape it ‘if we are to understand the EO movement’ (Cockburn 1989: 215). Some see liberals and radicals as ‘confused victims of their own manipulation’ (Jewson and Mason 1992: 328). Liff and Wajcman (1996) see the value of old distinctions but have sought to promote advances to new theoretical perspectives. More recently, academics consider the ‘huge array of differing concepts ... of what is meant by equality ... [leading to] a lack
of clarity when it comes to defining policy' (Kirton and Greene 2005: 114, 115) especially in terms of what EO is aiming to achieve.

Certainly there are 'limits of universalistic solutions to the problems of inequality, [and] ... discrimination is multi-faceted’ (Liff and Dale 1994: 196), which leads me to opt for multiple power mechanisms in Figure 3, which can accommodate all of the faces of power.

Liberal approaches to EO are the ‘traditional form’ (Gagnon and Cornelius 2002: 17), rooted in a human rights-based framework. Liberal EO aims at creating fair procedures for all (Webb 1997), based on individuals’ sameness and it is grounded in law that opposes and targets discrimination, in part through positive action, but more generally through policy safeguards at procedural level (Gagnon and Cornelius 2002).

Those who take a radical approach to EO criticise the values of the dominant liberal approach and the ‘minimalist and procedural model’ (Breitenbach et al. 2002: 3). They prefer equality of practical outcomes rather than policies and procedures, equality through difference rather than sameness (Jewson and Mason 1992). Proponents of radical EO regard liberal views as unlikely to affect women’s pay and employment segregation (Dickens 1994b), because they ignore real inequality and prejudice operating against women as a group. Radicals emphasise
positive and assertive action (Cockburn 1991, Kirton and Green 2002a) which may be termed ‘positive discrimination’ (Jewson and Mason 1992: 312). Young (1990: 197) argues:

If discrimination serves the purpose of undermining the oppression of a group, it may be not only permitted, but morally required.

Radicals refer to the ‘limited impact’ of ‘conventional equality measures’ (Liff and Cameron 1997: 35) and prefer the longer agenda (Cockburn 1989 and 1991), including ‘positive duties ... requiring changes in male gendered, culturally bounded ... organisational and occupational structures, practices, norms and value systems to accommodate all’ (Dickens 2007: 473).

Some radical concepts are criticised, occasionally by their own academics. One such researcher found little support for radical EO and reported a ‘powerful dislike of the idea of favouritism’ (Cockburn 1989: 217) associated with positive discrimination and others referred to ‘men becoming resentful of the “special treatment”’ (Liff and Cameron 1997: 35) and ‘advantages’ (Liff 2003: 441) of women. It is also pointed out that positive action may give an initial breakthrough and boost disadvantaged groups ‘up the ladder’ (Cockburn 1989: 217), but it lacks a dimension that deals with organisational structures within which women have remained ‘cut off from the sites of mainstream decision-
making where power resides’ (Cockburn 1996: 24) and the ‘glass ceiling’ effect has been maintained (Rosener 1990: 23).

In response it is argued that ‘once in positions of influence and power, women are able to use their agency to inject their own beliefs, values and concerns into strategy and actions’ (Kirton and Green 2002a: 160). The argument follows that, for women, ‘reserved seats and proportional representation ... might help ensure that their numbers are perpetuated and sustained’ (Kirton and Green 2002a: 171). This suggests it is easier to ‘promote social justice for all if different social groups are included’ (Kirton and Green 2002a: 158).

Yet, they report one woman manager saying, ‘as a woman manger I don’t feel I am representative of all women. A lot of women, for example, are lower grade, lower paid workers’ (Kirton and Green 2002a: 168). This links with the limitation discussed by Hicks-Clark and Iles (2003) that a senior woman manager’s behaviour is constrained to the more male traits that do not allow her to show difference. At senior levels women ‘must be both business like and attractive’ (Wajcman 1998: 165). Furthermore, they must:

“manage like a man” to succeed ... not ... emulate men ... rather ... forging what might be thought of as new hybrid forms of gender identity ... challenging the gender regimes of both the workplace and the home.  
(Wajcman 1998: 166).
Although EO and ‘the law can change the treatment of women in the workforce; it cannot change women themselves’ (Hakim 1996: 201). From a power perspective however, some suggest that a long agenda is required with its ambitious strategy to transform organisations by ‘tackling power itself ... [as] faceted and complex’ (Cockburn 1989: 219). This long agenda must aim ‘to achieve a gender perspective throughout policy making’ (Cockburn 1996: 24). The radical agenda must also challenge the notion of constructing:

women as different from men ... one of the mechanisms whereby male power in the workplace is maintained ... treating women in isolation from men ... locating women as the problem.

(Wajcman 1998: 2).  

The liberal/radical EO debate is a fundamental issue concerning the powers operating for inclusion (Figure 3) in elite kitchens, because the implications impact on every power mechanism. The mutually supportive combination of mechanisms ultimately underpins or undermines gender balance in employment, which is the specific concern of this project.

The Equality Act (2010), which came into force on 1st October 2010, applies broadly to Great Britain, while Northern Ireland has its own legislation. The Coalition Government’s strategy is currently founded on ‘two principles of equality: equal treatment and equal opportunity’ (Inter...
Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 4) that will be applied nationally or locally as needed. The Coalition Government claims that, in reality, increased legislation has not improved people’s life chances, in rewarding effort and ability, and has had diminishing returns. The Inter Ministerial Group, newly set up to drive the strategy across government, also claims to have adopted a new approach involving specific action targeting specific problems and working with and empowering people, communities and businesses to ‘enact change’ (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 4). Their aim is for government to be a catalyst to advocate change and enable people and organisations to tackle ‘the causes of inequality’ as well as dealing ‘with its consequences” (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 4). The Group asserts that accountability will not be achieved through increased legislation, but through organisational transparency, which will drive behaviour change by allowing challenges to poor performance. Equality is to be divorced from complex social engineering and political correctness and so Coalition politicians are scrapping what the Coalition Government term, New Labour’s ‘bureaucratic’ notions about ‘socio-economic duty’. There is also a move away from emphasising group identity or ‘equality strands’ to individuality (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 8). Even so, the Coalition Government has moved to implement most of the 2010 Equality Act, inherited from Labour, which ‘simplifies the legislative framework’ (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 8). Any interventions that are made will be prioritised during spending
periods. Five new principles are the basis of the Coalition approach. Firstly, the right for all to request flexible working and equal opportunities to progress, supported by the publication of a social mobility strategy (Cabinet Office 2011). Secondly, devolving power to develop and promote bottom-up solutions. Thirdly, giving people and local communities the tools they need, through improved transparency, to challenge organisations and hold public bodies democratically accountable. Fourthly, giving freedoms to voluntary and public sector workers to collaborate and innovate in promoting a more cohesive and inclusive society. Fifthly, the government intends to embed equality in all government actions through the work of the Inter Ministerial Group. Whether all five principles are truly a ‘step change’ (DTI 2004: 12) that serves to raise expectations further and create real job opportunities for all by repositioning various power mechanisms (Figure 3), particularly through the legislative power mechanism, remains to be seen.

2.3 Economic context

The ‘bottom line’ is, to many, an ‘inflexible law’ (Cockburn 1989: 220) that often over-rides legislation in the competitive environment. There has been evidence that financial constraints have restricted the benefits of EO to ‘women in middle and senior management’ (Cockburn 1989: 220). More recent research has found evidence to support previous research findings ‘that women in female-dominated or feminised
occupational areas have tended to be less well rewarded than analogous work undertaken by male or more evenly mixed workforces’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 48).

... the causes of segmentation remain debatable, subsequent “overcrowding” (an excess of labour supply over labour demand) in “low skill” jobs in segmented markets is associated with lower earnings of women.

(Purcell et al. 2006: 67).

Furthermore, ‘women appear disadvantaged in terms of earnings and promotion prospects in general’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 68). Hospitality jobs are generally regarded as ‘badly paid ... low status, feminised activity’ Guerrier and Adib 2000: 260-1). Women tend to be concentrated in the lowest paid jobs and so minimum pay protection has been effective in closing the pay gap at this level, but it has been reported that ‘equal pay legislation in the UK has had little impact in tackling structural pay inequalities.

The Equal Pay Act was introduced in 1970 and came fully into force in 1975. ... The 1980’s saw an important amendment to the Equal Pay Act providing for equal pay for work of equal value. ... Existing anti-discrimination legislation is frequently criticised for a range of limitations relating to its formulation, its operation in practice and its ability to influence employer practice

(Liff 1995: 462-3).
Despite this, it is significant that ‘discrimination was brought onto the agenda of management’ (Liff 1995: 463). An employer led body, Opportunity 2000, emerged and included ‘25 per cent of the Times Top 100 companies’ (Liff 1995: 464). They took the view that there was a business case for applying EO because it meant employing the best person, man or woman, and this related to gaining competitive advantage (Liff 1995). Liff argues that ‘If human resource issues achieve a more strategic role within organisations then this could ... be a positive for equal opportunities’ (Liff 1995: 485). Assuming EO is taken as a ‘strategic issue’ (Liff 1995: 485) and noting that ‘equal opportunities pervades all aspects of employment ... if the EO implications of policies were systematically assessed as they were developed’ (Liff 1995: 485) they could be more effective than maintaining ‘a separate EO policy’ (Liff 1995: 485). The approach is known ‘as valuing or managing diversity’ (Liff 1995: 485).

Diversity policy is now used to describe procedures which at one time would have been labeled EO policy (Kirton 2002). Rather than minimising or ignoring difference, the diversity management approach sees ‘positive aspects to difference’ (Liff 1995: 486) between social groups. Thus, separate courses, seats and committees became ‘vehicles through which diverse social groups’ such as women could ‘construct their own agendas within the workplace’ (Greene and Kirton 2004: 21).
Liberal views (Kandola and Fullerton 1998) about EO embrace diversity management (DM) as an alternative to such concepts as affirmative action. 'DM is a management idea which is underpinned by a belief that managing difference in the workplace can contribute to organisational performance' (Bridgstock et al. 2010). Some caution against regarding EO and DM 'as polar opposites' (Liff 1997: 24). Liff (1997) points to more advantageous versions of DM that 'address many of the limitations of current policies' (Liff 1997: 24) on EO and put more emphasis on changing organisations than changing people. Gagnon and Cornelius (2002) argue that both approaches have weaknesses that can be minimised by their integration in practice and Ford (1996: 35) argues that 'diversity management and equal opportunities can ... be viewed as being interdependent' to bring about a change in attitude.

Since EO enactments and policy underpin DM it is not necessary to exclude either one for the purposes of this research. Neither is it necessary to reject the capabilities approach (Sen 1992, Gagnon and Cornelius 2002) to workplace equality. Indeed, whether an individual is capable of achieving their goals in elite kitchens is practically incorporated into 'Personal' power, the seventh power mechanism (Figure 3).

It was in the late 1980s and 1990s that business case arguments developed momentum as a force to drive EO policies forward. In
essence, the business case for equality and diversity centres on the concept of a diverse workforce, delivering benefits to the organisation. 'It has become a competitive necessity' (Kanter 1994: xiii). Language shifted from social justice through equality, to competitive advantage through workforce diversity (Kirton and Green 2005). Some conclude that in practice firms 'do not necessarily see a radical separation between' (Greene and Kirton 2004: 22) the diversity and equality approaches. The business case aims to 'take advantage of diversity in the labour market ... maximise employee potential [by harnessing] skills and experience ... [manage] across borders and cultures and [create] business opportunities and [enhance] creativity' (Kirton and Green 2005: 202).

Business case policies are too restricted or short-term for some critics who believe that the results of applying these policies may be 'selective and partial' (Dickens 1997: 287) rather than comprehensive. Dickens (1994a) is right to stress the limitations of the business case, as it locates itself in the liberal “equal treatment”, rather than the radical “equal outcomes” approach.

It is important to some commentators that tensions between the language of diversity and EO ‘are not suppressed’ (Liff 1999: 74) because of the ability of new approaches to question ingrained assumptions about the achievements of EO initiatives. Dickens (1994a)
advocates the creation of a further business aim in order to link the business case back to social justice. The additional proposed aim she wishes to incorporate in the business case, relates to the reward of social legitimacy and corporate reputation as a 'carrot' to add to the 'stick' of legal compliance. This has potential to be highly advantageous to elite kitchens, which depend so much on image. Thus she argues that the business case initiative need not be opposed to the ethical social justice case but that the two can be 'complimentary strategies' (Dickens 1994a: 17). Her proposed 'collective bargaining model for promoting equality' (Dickens 1997: 288), a tripod approach of the legal case, the business case and social action case through collective bargaining, would not be so applicable in an industry with such low trade union density as elite culinary arts.

The business case could provide a means of 'mainstreaming' EO according to Dickens (1994a). Mainstreaming ensures that EO policies are 'injected into the overall policies and activities of the organisation' (Kirton and Greene 2005: 204). The aim is to avoid the pitfall of the traditional EO approach and ensure that all managers including those working outside of the Personnel or Human Resource (HR) department (Dickens 1994b) take ownership of diversity and equality.

Some have argued that equality measures must go further than 'achieving reluctant compliance' and 'need to win heart and minds' (Liff
and Cameron 1997: 44) through and beyond mainstreaming. They promote a proactive approach to cultural change in organisations through initiatives like ‘attitude surveys, assessment of the cost of current working practices for health and effectiveness of male employees and training’ (Liff and Cameron 1997: 44). They suggest that such approaches would be ‘more effective’ at ‘promoting [and] ... delivering more effective equality outcomes’ (Liff and Cameron 1997: 45).

Hicks-Clarke and Iles (2003) conclude that, in order for organisations to make effective use of female managers, they must create the appropriate climate for diversity to develop. Women in senior management tended to adopt male traits because the higher level climate was restrictive to their behaviour, but women in middle management were a more heterogeneous group and did not necessarily “state the party line” with regard to diversity issues’ (Hicks-Clarke and Iles 2003: 189). In this climate, women can have much more impact on equality initiatives and organisational performance.

Having discussed arguments that begin with mainstreaming, and move on through cultural change to the advantages of women operating in a climate that is free from patriarchal constraint, it is clear that powers working for women also act through the three dimensions (Lukes 2005).
Therefore, my discussions must involve three dimensional powers working both for and against women’s inclusion.

2.4 Cultural context

Given the generally high degree of gender segmentation and segregation in the hospitality industry, some further explanations for its existence need to be sought. Adib and Guerrier (2003) focus particularly on the hospitality industry and consider the relationships of power and status across multiple dimensions of differentiation. One such relationship would be the intersection of gender and work. Men and women construct their gender identity differently within each work context, with men tending to regard work as more central to their identity (Guerrier and Adib 2004).

Purcell et al. (2006: 71) state that ‘research on gender in organisations suggests that women in gender atypical roles or working in areas where they are heavily outnumbered by men experience a range of difficulties in being valued’. Although this might ‘not be reflected in lower average earnings, [it] might lead women to be less likely to find such work contexts to be comfortable places in which to develop careers’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 71). In certain male-dominated occupations women are discouraged and are normally given a hard time by male colleagues (Evetts 1998, Devine 1992). This finding suggests that women who
persevere in such occupations may have access to greater earnings equality, but can still experience difficulties in the workplace and in career development’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 71).

Women working in certain male-dominated professions ‘experience gendered obstacles’ and some ‘employers tend to be cynical and in some cases hostile to EO legislation’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 72). Even though women entrants may be increasing, ‘women’s progress to higher status highly paid jobs ... has not kept pace’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 72). Feminist academics tend to stress that conservative ‘recruitment practices’ may be to blame ‘where credentials, ... connections, networks ... and related cultural capital ... are associated with success and failure in impressing the generally patriarchal gatekeepers’ (Purcell et al. 2006: 72).

Working class males in hospitality are most closely associated with craft roles in kitchens ‘where the culture is tough and there is no requirement to be polite to customers’ (Gueirrier and Adib 2000: 261). Perceptions of masculinity and ‘notions that some jobs are more appropriate for women or for men are remarkably persistent’ (Guerrier 2005: 9).

The hospitality industry employs a large proportion of women but they tend to be confined to the less skilled roles whilst men are employed in higher numbers in craft skilled work (as chefs) or as managers.

(Guerrier and Adib 2000: 259).
Emotional work is regarded as ‘women’s work ... what women do naturally ... the skills involved are devalued compared to the technical skills which are part of men’s work’ (Guerrier 2005: 2).

The male establishment tends to defend itself against those who ‘directly subvert it ... young women from poor backgrounds should not get ideas above their station or outside their gender’ (Guerrier 2004: 153). Women insiders can be supported only by identifying with and ‘by becoming, above all, a defender of the patriarchal order’ (Guerrier 2004: 154). Women must manage their image and discount their ‘more radical objectives’ (Guerrier 2004: 157), dressing in ‘appropriate styles ... to reinforce ... power’ (Guerrier 2004: 155).

The Media can undermine women’s power and status by referring to them as men’s respected ‘seconds in command ... the boss’s indispensable secretary’ (Guerrier 2004: 156). Women must put up with ‘men’s sexist jokes’ (Guerrier 2004: 157) but refrain from similar behaviour, which comes across as objectionable. Women are stereotyped and thus ‘never allowed’ (Guerrier 2004: 162) to step out of their predictable character.

Watts (2009: 517) asserts that ‘bodies are disciplined to the extent that they are required to give an appropriate outward performance or
masquerade ... and thus conform to the display rules of a particular context' as a 'criteria necessary for advancement ... a "status passage"'. Furthermore, Watts affirms that the 'maternal reality' of women's lives 'ensures women remain at the margins of the professions'. This has led some to assert that if 'doing male is doing dominance and doing female is doing difference' then women must find 'a way of doing female which also allows doing dominance' (Guerrier 2004: 163).

The French have had an enormous antecedent influence on kitchen culture and 'high status Western cuisine' (Ferguson and Zukin 1998: 92). This influence has pervaded the culinary scene through a number of powerful organisations and systems, including the elitist Academy of Culinary Arts (ACA 2010a: online), a professional body involved in 'education and training programmes and the provision of career opportunities' (ACA 2009 & 2010b: online), and the more widely known Michelin Guides. As the best known and 'most respected ranking system for high-quality or haute cuisine restaurants' (Johnson et al. 2005: 170) in Europe, the Michelin star system can be seen to impact on gender balance at senior levels. In 2002, of over 100 Paris restaurants with Michelin stars none 'had a female senior chef, which suggests sexism operating in the industry' (Pratten 2003: 239).
There is a long-standing tradition of authoritarianism in elite kitchens. Trainees often find the work ‘mundane’ (Pratten 2003: 239) and conditions are sometimes cramped and unacceptably hot. Anti-social hours, split shifts and late finishes disrupt the social life of employees and when combined with poor pay cause many to leave the industry (Pratten 2003). Long hours are common, particularly at certain seasons like Christmas when staff report working ‘an average of 70 hours a week’ (Guerrier and Adib 2000: 271). This can be detrimental to health and so is included in the eighth power mechanism ‘Health’ (Figure 3).

Concerning sexual harassment, Gilbert et al. (1998) note that young women who populate the service industry are often in a weak position. Woods and Kavanaugh (1994) found that hospitality managers see sexual harassment as pervasive within the industry. Clearly, complaints about harassment will only be made if women know that their complaints will be taken seriously and women will only be assured of this if company policy is mainstreamed and multi-channelled. Cockburn (1991: 138) argues that it is cases of:

... sexual harassment that have prompted women to become more conscious of disadvantage ... The real test of policy [is defined by] the encouragement given or not given to women to bring cases of complaint against men and the action taken to discipline ... offenders’

(Cockburn 1991: 143)
A woman cannot operate by men’s rules and get away with it. What is funny coming from a man is obscene coming from a woman.

(Cockburn 1991: 156)

‘The realities of male power’ (Cockburn 1991: 170) remain unchallenged while women feel ‘gagged’ and muted under its oppressive operation.

The ‘many forms and aspects of violence and harassment make them difficult to define and describe’ (Di Martino et al. 2003: 1). However, according to Bloisi and Hoel (2008: 650) ‘understanding is converging’. One definition frequently used in research concerning bullying and harassment suggests that:

Bullying at work means harassing, offending, socially excluding someone or negatively affecting someone’s work tasks. In order for the label bullying ... to be applied to a particular activity, interaction or process, it has to occur repeatedly and regularly ... and over a period of time ... Bullying is an escalating process in the course of which the person confronted ends up in an inferior position and becomes the target of systematic negative social acts. A conflict cannot be called bullying if the incident is an isolated event or if two parties of approximately equal ‘strength’ are in conflict.

(Einarsen et al. 2003: 15)

Operational powers that ‘work to eliminate’ (Saul 2003: 72) such abuse, must account for the perspective of gender inequality and the weakness of women’s position in relation to men. In 1986 it was reported that ‘food and beverage operations at both craft and management level
remain a male preserve ... only men work in the kitchens ... women who were allowed to ... work in the kitchen’ were seen as ‘token women and it was emphasised to them that they were privileged’ (Guerrier 1986: 231). However, “token” women can be severely disadvantaged by their minority status’ (Simpson 2004: 352).

Most evidence about abusive chefs is anecdotal and is based on interviews and media reports according to Bloisi and Hoel (2008). They state that ‘most chefs identified with abuse work in the luxury end of the industry’ (Bloisi and Hoel 2008: 654).

Furthermore, evidence from the literature also suggests that abuse may be an expected part of the culture of a commercial kitchen and is supported by both historical and social structures. To be able to work in such an environment, chefs need to become hardened and eventually to tolerate such behaviours, even though working in a negative environment affects morale and can de-motivate and influence performance.

(Bloisi and Hoel 2008: 654)

Defining sexual harassment would involve more than the issue of denying employment opportunities to those who reject sexual advances. It takes various forms including ‘the creation of an intimidating, hostile or offensive work environment’ (Woods and Kavanaugh 1994: 21). The inherent nature of service organisations leads to customer orientated behaviour with which sexual harassment is associated (Poulston 2008b).
Poorly-educated women tend to be more tolerant of sexual harassment according to (Gilbert et al. 1998) and commercial kitchens do not require high academic qualifications. Results show that the bullying phenomenon can be lessened by using ‘codes of ethics, improving training and demonstrating management’s intolerance’ (Poulston 2008b: 239).

Maximising ‘profit remains a pivotal objective for service business activity and as such organisations need to deal proactively with the issue of sexual harassment’ (Gilbert et al. 1998: 53) as a likely cause of ‘some staff turnover’, concludes Poulston (2008b: 239). Concerning high staff turnover there are many negative consequences confirmed by Rowley and Purcell (2001: 164) as ‘the replacement process drained resources, was disruptive for continuing staff, and put at risk a range of business objectives’. Hospitality organisations ‘suffer from persistent high staff turnover’ (Poulston 2008a: 413), costing the industry over £400 million a year. Rowley and Purcell (2001: 169) emphasised that ‘deliberate understaffing, temporary staff shortages and unrealistic task criteria’, leading to job overload, had impacted on staff retention in hotels. Harassment should be treated as a matter of employee protection and improving organisational ‘productivity and effectiveness’ (Gilbert et al. 1998: 53).
It is reported that many chefs working in open kitchens ‘suggested that their working relationships with front of house staff and relationships with regular customers had improved because of the open environment’ (Graham and Oxley 2004: 65). Most felt an increased feeling of value and job satisfaction with ‘improved working relationships inside ... the kitchen ...’ (Graham and Oxley 2004: 66). Superior levels of professionalism are achieved and ‘many types of behavior considered unacceptable in an open kitchen are still considered tolerable within the closed kitchen environment’ (Graham and Oxley 2004: 66). As a result of their exposed nature, open kitchens provide a less aggressive, more composed working ‘Environment’, the ninth power mechanism in Figure 3, that is probably more agreeable to both men and women.

Doherty and Stead (1998) reported that women’s earnings were less in hotels and restaurants than in commercial and industrial catering, which are more unionized. They also noted extensive occupational segregation in the hotel and catering industry but reported no claims under the Equal Pay Act against hotel or restaurant employers. They attribute the lack of claims to low trade union density and ‘the complexity of the legislation’ (Doherty and Stead 1998: 142). There is therefore little expectation that a ‘collective bargaining model for promoting equality’, ‘seen as an addition ... to a[n] ... “equality law model” or an “organisation based EO policy model”’ (Dickens 1997: 288), will lead to EO in elite commercial kitchens. The collective
bargaining model is therefore unavailable as a ‘voice mechanism’ to add to the legal and cost/benefit approaches to EO action, as part of any proposed three pronged approach in ‘underpinning equality measures’ (Dickens 1999: 9).

The reasons given for low trade union density are twofold.

The substantial presence of small workplaces and their wide geographical dispersion pose considerable challenges to trade union recruitment and organising strategies. The ideology of a “family culture” is a significant barrier to organising in SMEs' (Lucas 2004: 151).

It is also true that the structural characteristics of the hospitality industry continue to enable unsympathetic employers to persevere with unreasonable management traditions despite the increase in legal employment protection rights. The managerial privilege is safeguarded by a combination of prominent industry characteristics. Firstly, the low skill nature of many of the jobs; secondly, the low levels of trade union membership; thirdly, the minimal training requirements; fourthly, the relative ease of obtaining replacement staff; fifthly, the variability of consumer demand; sixthly, market competition and finally, workers lacking eligibility for employment rights (Lucas 1996).

These features serve to inhibit the emergence of a “strategic” HRM approach at many establishments, especially, but not exclusively the smaller ones. The
hospitality industry, then, remains ... an extreme in terms of British employee relations practice.

(Head and Lucas 2003: 708).

Head and Lucas established how this extremism is effected at workplace level as “determined opportunism” and their research concluded that managers:

will continue to find ways and means to circumvent the law as they see fit. Hence the need for the policymakers to reconsider how better to fulfill the dual objective of protecting workers and promoting good management practice by means of employment legislation.

(Head and Lucas 2003: 708)

There are few means of employee representation of any kind and ‘hospitality employees, only 6 per cent of which are union members, have to be self reliant’ (Lucas 2002: 210). In fact, in ‘the hospitality industry ... union membership density has never risen above single figures’ (Lucas 2009: 42).

Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) mention unintentional discrimination and describe the way in which meetings can be run to the disadvantage of women. When women are forced to ‘defend their turf’ by speaking up they are denounced as ‘control freaks’, whilst men taking equivalent action are described as being ‘passionate’. One woman is cited on this issue saying, ‘If you stick your neck out you’re dead’ (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000: 129). Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) also assert that most
organisations have been developed by and for men and are based on male experiences. While men could be available for last minute meetings 15 hours a day, women had to be home for labour in the household. Meeting-overload and lax scheduling of meetings can damage everyone’s productivity, but has particularly negative consequences for women. The way senior chef’s jobs are constructed is unsuited to personal demands about work-life balance for many women and this will remain so unless gender issues are dealt with proactively (Gilbert et al. 1998).

Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) acknowledge that many firms work hard to create a fair environment for both sexes despite these difficulties. They describe and criticise three approaches, each of which involves firms trying to ‘fix’ (repair) women. The first involves women being ‘assimilated’ so that they are trained to behave like men. In this case, training focuses on assertiveness, leadership skills or decision-making. The second approach occurs where men invent new, less demanding career paths for women. This indicates that men’s career structures cannot be changed, and assumes that women need to be ‘accommodated’ because they are unwilling or unable to tolerate male career realities. The third approach exhibits itself where women’s talents are ‘celebrated’ by men who direct them into jobs that require the softer feminine skills. Guerrier (1986) suggested that women might be purposely channelled away from food and beverage management, a
male preserve, into feminised or low status jobs. Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) argue that this third approach channelled women into dead-end jobs, perhaps in HR. The career disadvantages that arose through such informal channelling of women accumulated over time. Thus, Careers Information, Advice and Guidance (CAI) can be identified as a tenth and final power mechanism (Figure 3).

I agree with Hollows and Moseley (2006: 155) in their assertion that 'rejection of femininity as a woman can lead to the sense of annihilation of self'. Denying a woman the machinery that allows feminine self-expression 'threatens her with desexualisation, if not outright annihilation' (Bartky 1990: 77). Baumgardner and Richards (2004: 59) argue that it should 'be legitimate for feminism to have a particular style of femininity folded into it, and as such for femininity to become a cause for celebration, not a mark of subordination'. Thus, all three of the approaches criticised by Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) proffer inadequate solutions to inequality, as they deal with symptoms rather than causes of gender inequity.

In response, Meyerson and Fletcher (2000: 131) advocate persistent campaigning 'for incremental changes that discover and destroy the deeply embedded roots of discrimination'. The programme should be driven by both sexes and both sexes will benefit. It is termed the 'small wins' approach and they advocate it as a means of transition to team
working. This links with the affirmative acts concept, outlined by the broader social inclusion agenda.

Such changes implicitly challenge the prevailing masculine individualist image of competence and leadership. Giving a name to discriminatory practices is critical and tends to promote a shared understanding of the problems. When staff embark on a ‘small wins’ approach they should regard the problems as systemic, not individual, and should pursue matters as a group, rather than individually. The aim is to produce a snowball effect by matching changes in understanding with continual changes in behaviour. The emancipatory outcome is to ‘fix’ the organisation, not the women employees, and to remove the label troublemaker from female complainants.

Establishing fairness towards women returning to work from maternity leave, for instance, necessitates uncovering and naming covert barriers. The division of labour in the family relating to unpaid domestic work has long resisted change (Glazer 1980). Housework, performed mainly by women in the private sphere, is not generally regarded as real work and when combined with ‘poorly paid non-domestic work’ in the public sphere, it amounts to a ‘double burden’ (Oakley 1993: 10) for women to carry. ‘Invisible’ work at home still provides women with the ‘double burden’ and so it must be established that it is a fundamental barrier (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000). Women who work full-time also ‘hold
different attitudes to both motherhood and work' (Marks and Houston 2002: 534). 'Few women at the top have children and the ones who do have nannies' (Wajcman 1998: 164). This is all the more important in the hospitality industry because of the high proportion of women employees (Lucas 2004).

2.5 Social context

The media image of the elite chef and the growth in one star Michelin rated restaurants in England from 20 in 1977 to 78 in 2002, lead some to suggest that young people are encouraged to enter what they perceive to be a glamorous industry, with the perception that 'they will become famous' (Pratten 2003: 237). This implies a lack of good quality Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.). Young entrants have 'little real perception of the rigors of the catering industry' (Pratten 2003: 238) and it is reported that 'many enthusiastic young people are leaving' (Pratten 2003: 241). Around half of the students who commence training as chefs 'never work' (Pratten 2003: 238) in the industry and 'the drop-out rate continues to grow' (Pratten 2003: 239).

Human Resource Management (HRM) gives 'scant attention' (Dickens 1998: 35) to labour market gender segmentation and gender hierarchies. Dickens concludes that most research on HRM does not focus on gender relations unless it is about EO or women and it is not
commonly acknowledged that ‘organisations are gendered [and it is possible] that HR practice may contribute to the gendering process’ (Dickens 1998: 35). Doherty and Manfredi support this by suggesting that organisational cultures that have opaque selection procedures ‘might operate as a form of indirect discrimination against women and certainly contributes to women’s under-representation’ (Doherty and Manfredi 2006: 570). In order to tackle this, Dickens advocates introducing a gender dimension to all new HR initiative, in order to establish ‘gender-proofing’. HRM techniques that seem gender neutral may not always be so and HR practitioners need to ‘develop a sensitivity’ (Dickens 1998: 35) to organisational gendering so that equality outcomes are achieved.

Comparatively little training takes place in catering compared to other industries in the UK (HTF 1996). Additionally, ‘the skills required to be head chef are different from those of a chef, and these are seldom offered in training’ (Pratten 2003: 241). For the senior chef, recognition is required in the form of stars and rosettes and gaining such accolades involves ‘risk and stress’ (Pratten 2003: 240). More ‘suitable training throughout the career of a chef might partially halt the exodus’ (Pratten 2003: 242). Poor quality, a ‘misuse of the concept of on-the-job training, and the frequency of (and support for) sink-or-swim workplace initiations’ (Poulston 2008a: 421), were the three themes that arose concerning the question of training in the hospitality industry.
Beyond problems with training, Hakim exposes issues that arise from women's own commitment to the job. Hakim does not view the female workforce as homogeneous and distinguishes between 'family-centred women', who often work part-time, and full-timers who are committed to paid work and the status-attainment process. The large proportions of women part-time workers are not expected to act as 'change agents' (Hakim 1993: 106) because their low status gives them little influence and because, unlike full-timers they do not 'invest effort and attention to this part of their lives' (Hakim 1993: 106). In contrast, women in full-time work are likely to be seen as 'the vanguards of change' (Hakim 1993: 106). Of these two main groups, which 'will always exist ... and differ' (Hakim 1995: 450), it is the latter that increased in numbers beginning in the 1980s and even in the deepening recession of the 1990s (Hakim 1993). Although this suggests the potential for increasing the power of women's collective voice within the industry, one woman manager argued that what you need is true representatives, 'I don't feel that I can necessarily represent those [lower paid] women very well' (Kirton and Green 2002a: 168).

Cockburn (1983) writes about contraception having given women power to put career above housework, but women fall into different categories depending on how they choose to use this freedom in their own interests as well as in the interests of men. Hakim (1998) extended her
two-category model and adopted a three-fold typology based on psychologically different categories for women’s work-life preferences in women’s employment histories, in which career-orientated women are in a ‘minority’ (Hakim 1996: 215). The typology involves women being either ‘home centred ... [or] adaptive ... [or] work-centred’ (Hakim 1998: 138), where 40% to 80% are considered adaptive and swing between the two poles. This continuum ‘is unlikely to disappear’ (Hakim 1996: 202) and leads Hakim to the notion of preference theory, developed with reference to women rather than men, as a ‘theoretical basis for understanding and predicting women’s choices between’ (Hakim 1998: 139) full-time, productive, specialist work and reproductive, part-time, family-friendly occupations.

The majority of parents prefer to care for their babies and young children themselves, rather than placing them in nurseries. Most mothers prefer to delay their return to work and have more time at home with small children. All recent government surveys on parental preferences for childcare have shown this.

(Hakim 2010: 12-13)

Hakim comments on social and fiscal policy and the way they support and compensate for unpaid family care work and household work.

Work-centred men and women adopt the competitive values of the marketplace: individualism, achievement, rivalry and excellence. One-sided policies that support employment and careers, but ignore productive work done in the family are in
effect endorsing marketplace values to the exclusion of family values.

(Hakim 2010: 13)

Critics of this approach assert that evidence reveals the situation to be ‘infinitely more complex than this’ (Crompton and Harris 1999b: 144) and conclude that ‘women do make choices ... although ... their relative lack of power and resources ... means ... they have been less able to do so ... and ... are also constrained’ (Crompton and Harris 1999b: 147).

Pfau-Effinger (2004) also criticises Hakim (1998) for not stating why women choose certain work-life balance options. Women’s choices often appear to be limited by social constructs. For example, Vlasblom and Schippers (2006: 343) highlight that changes in benefits have ‘made full-time motherhood relatively cheap compared to combining work and family’, making it easier for women to opt out of work-place participation after childbirth. Yet, it is also possible that some women indirectly choose to fuel these patriarchal constraints, avoiding confrontation or stress.

Seeing a ‘massive influx of women into the higher levels of the occupational hierarchy and their equally massive over-representation at the very bottom of this hierarchy’ (Le Feuvre 1999: 177) has caused some to challenge the static concept of masculinity and femininity and the male bread-winner model of gender process. According to such researchers the ‘conception of women’s quest for autonomy is the vital
step towards the transformation of the mid twentieth-century gender process' (Le Feuvre 1999: 177). They assert that this enables us to understand the 'meaning and consequences' (Le Feuvre 1999: 177) of this wave of feminization. Occupations that were previously dominated by men 'might themselves be transformed as a consequence' (Crompton 1999: 23) and gradually adapt to the fact that increasing numbers of its members might be [both] workers and carers' (Crompton 1999: 23). However, while those who commit time to work may be rewarded with time flexibility, where there is potential for self managed time arrangements, the demands in terms of time commitment of such jobs are unlikely to 'expand the practice of combining employment and caring work' (Ellingsaeter 1999: 59). In any case, such arrangements would not apply to chefs because they are highly dependent on customers and clear working time constraints, often linked to split shifts.

'Full-time female employment declined between 1951 and the mid-1980s ... only in the late 1980s was the trend reversed ... back to levels last seen in 1951' (Hakim 1992: 144). Even though sex differentials may be fading away in 'high-grade occupations', only 'a minority of women are committed to work as a central goal in life' (Hakim 1991: 101). The percentage of women of working age who are working full-time may be a substitute for this, but the 'precise relationship between this proxy variable and work commitment has yet to be mapped out' (Hakim 1991:
Hakim (1991) advocated that National Longitudinal Survey information on 'work commitment and work-plans ... should be collected systematically' (Hakim 1991: 116) across the EU. She stated that evidence indicated that women were 'becoming more entrenched in lower grade occupations' (Hakim 1995: 450). Her conclusions highlighted the concept that 'occupational segregation has been reconstructed in the late twentieth century to provide separate occupations and jobs for women following the marriage career' (Hakim 1995: 450). This clarifies the current peculiarities of female-dominated occupations which are characteristically, part-time, social hours, low levels of trade union membership and an 'ability to tolerate high levels of turnover' (Hakim 1995: 450). Hakim (1995) concludes that women are not 'victims with little or no responsibility for their situation' (Hakim 1995: 448). Women are competent actors who manage their own life plans with respect to the way they integrate 'waged work and motherhood' (Pfau-Effinger 1999: 64). Furthermore, 'Women were notably less likely to prioritise the opportunity to reach managerial level and more likely to have identified socially-useful work as the most important characteristics of their job' (Purcell et al. 2006: 48).

There is an argument concerning whether women are:

... making rational choices to trade earnings for other advantages, in ways that reflect a different orientation to employment, career development, and the centrality of family roles (Hakim 1995) or to
accommodate practical obstacles to the achievement of equal outcomes (Crompton and Lyonette 2005).

(Purcell et al. 2006: 91)

In addition to pursuing EO and increasing the number of occupations in which women are ‘vertically ... integrated’ (Hakim 1992: 138), it is vital that women should ‘exploit labour shortages ... and more equitable compensation for undervalued female-dominated jobs’ (Hakim 1992: 145). Two policy responses are advocated by Hakim (1996) to address gender polarisation in the workforce. Firstly, assuming that women will never break through into high-grade jobs, policy could focus on raising women’s pay in low-grade jobs by pursuing equal value initiatives. Secondly, policy could focus on breaking down ‘barriers to women’s promotion’ (Hakim 1996: 186). Social institutions ‘need to find ways of validating and valuing women’s multiple careers to open up more genuine opportunities and choices for women’ (Kirton 2006: 63).

The argument is essentially over whether women have acquired the capacity to choose freely, given individual diversity, or whether their choices are being ‘structured’ (Crompton 1999: 18). There is, however, a necessity to emphasise both, which means acknowledging both co-operation and conflict, individual and group dynamics’ (Folbre 1994: 4). This is not to be explained merely by State policies or ‘orientations of women to waged work, but rather by complex interrelations of culture, institutions, and social actors within the framework of ... gender
arrangements’ (Pfau-Effinger 1999: 78). It is certainly a matter for negotiation over the domestic division of labour within the ‘interpersonal relationships between men and women’ (Crompton and Harris 1999a: 125); for confronting it rather than ‘backing away from’ (Wajcman 1998:) it. Where women and men pursue high level ‘independent careers’ (Guerrier 1986: 231), they often experience strain on the marital relationship. Such issues would fall within the scope of the Personal power mechanism (Figure 3).

Between 1994 and 2002 ‘British women [showed] ... increasingly liberal attitudes towards gender roles’ (Crompton et al. 2005: 216). However, since 2002 ‘the rate of change in the direction of a more gender equitable division of domestic work appears to have slowed considerably’ (Crompton et al. 2005: 222), which ‘might be leading to increasing levels of stress at home’ (Crompton et al. 2005: 228). Furthermore, Hakim (2003: 115) suggests that ‘levels of divorce are lower among couples preferring traditional, gender-role differentiated family models’ (Crompton et al. 2005: 224).

While Hakim (1995) welcomes research on the issue of the pay gap, she also asserts that the issue of ‘sex differential in work orientations and behaviour’ is attributable to ungrounded feminist orthodoxy that is ‘fashionable but untrue’ (Hakim 1995: 448). ‘Occupational segregation is important and difficult to measure’ (Hakim 1992: 143). Charles and
Grusky (2004) also argue that single measures of segregation are inadequate. Thus, Hakim criticises those who use ‘catch-all explanations of sex discrimination and male exclusionary practice’ (Hakim 1998: 141), because such explanations do not explain consistent patterns of ‘occupational and job segregation’ (Hakim 1998: 141) across Europe.

Having evaluated the political, economic, cultural and social contexts above, I am now in a position to propose a preliminary framework of inter-related, mutually supportive power mechanisms (Figure 3).

Figure 3: A framework for understanding women’s exclusion from senior positions in elite kitchens. Inclusive attitudes, raised expectations and real opportunities for all are unsupported
I have chosen to represent each power mechanism as a sliding block. Working together, these mechanisms could support either women's inclusion or exclusion from senior positions in elite kitchens. I have shown exclusion as a matter of women's polarisation, alienation and detachment, currently supported by the power mechanisms. Women's inclusion is shown as a matter of inclusive attitudes, raised expectations and real opportunities for all, currently unsupported in elite kitchens.

The evidence of continuing gender segmentation in kitchens (White et al. 2002a: 5) appears to support the hypothesis that the power mechanisms are out of alignment. Thus, I have organised the sliding blocks to demonstrate this situation. Women's polarisation, alienation and detachment are supported by misaligned power mechanisms.

Supposing the above hypothesis to be true, it is important to discover why the power mechanisms are configured in favour of women's exclusion. The following questions must be answered. What relational powers are operating? To what extent are they responsible for creating gender segmentation in senior positions in elite kitchens? In what dimensions do the relational powers operate? Can all operational powers for exclusion be measured and overcome? I will now consider
the theory of power and attempt to explore these questions in general and then to apply them in the context of elite kitchens.

2.6 Power

Power can be studied ... but there is no short cut that takes us straight to power. We can only reach conclusions about power in a society by first having a deep understanding of that society.

(Morriess 2002: 151)

Power in society is complex. A single, all-embracing definition has proved elusive largely because of different contexts in which relational powers operate. This complexity is augmented by the possible consideration of power from a variety of philosophical perspectives. Overlaying the various theoretical views of power with a variety of feminist perspectives serves to further complicate the issue. However, regardless of the theoretical account of gender and organisation, whether liberal, structural (radical, Marxist or black feminist) or post-structural (language and discourse), power remains arguably the 'linchpin' (Durbin 2002: 757), as 'discrimination is greatest where most power is exercised' (Wirth 2001: 1).

Nevertheless, Halford and Leonard (2001: 26) suggest that 'despite its centrality, the concept of power has rarely – if ever – been made explicit in accounts of gender and organisation'. Consequently, they assert that,
in relation to gender, an analysis of ‘multiple forms and exercises of power ... offers a way forward’ (Halford and Leonard 2001: 63). Forms and exercise of power will now be discussed in relation to a variety of feminist perspectives.

The theory of historical idealism assumes that researchers can increase their knowledge of society and power by investigating human thought. Such thought must have its source in individuals. This view is contested by the perspective of historical materialism, which is not so individualistic in perspective and asserts the notion that socio-economic relations and process, operating through opposing, cohesive groups, are foremost.

Marx’s analysis of power was based on life and conditions seen from a historical materialist perspective. He argued that there is an underlying economic structure made up of natural resources and means of production and distribution. At the heart of this structure are the labour process and the emergence of labour as a commodity, defining features of a capitalist society. The proletariat is society’s ‘lowest stratum’ (Marx and Engels 1888: 232), which sells its labour power to the capitalist elite. This leads to the belief that ‘the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles’, (Marx and Engels 1888: 219).
While Marxist historical materialism considers capitalist and socialist modes of production, Cockburn (1983) uses a feminist historical materialist method in approaching gender relations. She proposes a 'gender system' (Cockburn 1983: 6) as well as a capital/labour system. The gender system is said to determine social categories in a hierarchy of power relations. Cockburn proposes that 'economic, social, physical and ideological initiatives in all societies seem to interact to produce a sexually-differentiated power system of great scope and influence' (Cockburn 1983: 6). This gender system maintains a 'strictly sexually-polarised division of labour' (Cockburn 1983:35) and dependency on one male's wage. Issues that appear on the surface to be a class struggle can also involve 'a struggle by men to assure patriarchal advantage' (Cockburn 1983: 35), so that, for instance, when women enter the paid workplace they can be seen by men as rivals, who are being exploited as cheap labour.

Introducing women into the paid male-dominated workplace causes men to behave differently, but there are notable contradictions in the way this manifests itself. Women can bring out the best in men, or women can have an adverse affect on men. 'Both imply that women are a catalyst to men' (Cockburn 1983: 189) and serve to change men's behaviour.
‘By securing privileged access to money, organisation, capability and technology, men hold the initiative over women’ (Cockburn 1983: 8) and, in so doing gain the power to define women as inferior. Cockburn does not argue for a single, one-dimensional social system of ‘capitalist patriarchy’ (Cockburn 1983: 8) in the UK, but a two-dimensional, dual system comprising capitalism with its associated class relations as one dimension, and patriarchy with its associated gender relations as the other. Although attempts have been made to alter gender patterns of labour force participation, Bonney (2007: 153) asserts that, changes have not had ‘the effect of muting the lines of social class division on occupation and income – indeed quite the reverse’.

Typically for Marxists, capitalist developments that depend on the ‘conventional family form’, are inexorably linked to a decline in ‘the position of women, with the separation of home from paid work’ (Walby 1990: 173). Furthermore, Cockburn (1983) asserts that the media sustains male values by stereotyping women as wives and mothers and also in promoting visual stereotypes. When women try to redefine themselves in reference to these terms, they are ‘misrepresented ... and ridiculed’ (Cockburn 1983: 209) as extremists and feminists.

Some feminist analysts, like Cockburn (1983), have considered working class unity being undermined by white male dominance in the working class. Cockburn asserts that men are torn between working class and masculine identity and working class is too often subordinate to gender.
Although working class men support class equality, their approach is blind to gender equality. Other theorists have pointed to the manipulative role of capital and State, or ‘historical antecedents of religion and language’ (Cockburn 1983: 210) for the fragmentation of the working class.

However, there is a ‘historical political project’ behind EO activism at its best, asserts Cockburn (1989: 223), but there has been a failure in the labour movement to see EO as anything more than subordinate to the ‘concept of class’ (Cockburn 1989: 223). Cockburn suggests that EO activists must seek to fulfill the political potential by grassroots organising in and around institutions. Extending the EO agenda ‘beyond ... access ... beyond ... paid work’ to ‘power relations ... and care’ (Cockburn 1989: 224), through alliances with disadvantaged groups, is the key to activists challenging managerial initiatives. All disadvantaged groups must be involved in the opposition to the system, including the working class, albeit subordinate in the EO movement, to gain the ‘co-operation with the labour movement’ (Cockburn 1989: 224). This unified approach to equality amounts to a ‘reinterpretation of “the working class”’ (Cockburn 1989: 224).

While working-class and masculine identities are each ‘contained’ (Cockburn 1983: 213), the status quo, in terms of gender inequality, will be maintained. Thus, capitalism and patriarchy are either fused or
operate in a kind of parallel, linked or symbiotic relationship. According to Cockburn (1983), only when the contradictions in working class concepts of equality are overcome can individual choices bring about a changed society. Women are empowered by three possible organisational resources according to Cockburn (1983). They are parliamentary, community and trade union based. Cockburn’s ultimate answer is men and women uniting in a diverse but ‘fully informed working class’ (Cockburn 1983: 233) that uses collective approaches to break free from male systemic power. She concludes with a utopian ideal that ‘further change depends greatly on men generating their own movement for a reconstruction of masculinity, in the interests of a fairer and gentler world’ (Cockburn 1983: 252).

Emphasising gender difference over commonality is seen by Cockburn (1985) as a gendering process and is pervasive in behaviour, so that ‘occupations have become gendered’ (Cockburn 1985: 168). ‘If, as Anne Oakley puts it “on the whole Western society is organised around the assumption that the difference between the sexes are more important than the qualities they have in common”, this serves men and disserves women’ according to Cockburn (1985: 168). This perspective highlights underlying masculine attitudes that represent females as non-technological, non-mechanical workers, unless women are used in a ‘guided role’ (Cockburn 1985: 197) of machine operator, superintended by males.
Cockburn (1983) shows how men use ‘work and technology’ (Cockburn 1983: 3) to maintain power over women. Modern technology simply becomes a new phase in the history of male domination, just as class relations always link ‘capital and worker’ (Cockburn 1985: 226) despite changes in technology. Women must contend persistently therefore if they are to access tuition and the know-how that are commonly accessible to men (Cockburn 1985). ‘Work is gendered terrain, a lone woman entering a man’s world immediately feels out of place, odd and isolated’ (Cockburn 1985: 203). Furthermore, masculinity intensifies when a woman is recruited as a means ‘to handle the perceived threat’ (Cockburn 1985: 244). She argues strongly that, when women are encouraged by firms to seek technical work, there should be a clear obligation on the part of the employer to reconstruct the ‘social environment’, which involves ‘changing many things about working relations’ (Cockburn 1985: 244) to minimize the isolation. The same principle holds true for women entering higher level careers.

Young women currently developing careers ... have grown up in an environment where they were encouraged to take equal opportunities in education and employment for granted.

(Purcell et al. 2006: 79)

Thus women are educationally socialised to expect workplace inclusion. Where women enter non-traditional environments however, the grounds seem to be more about men’s defence against women attacking the
gender power relationship and the work role (Cockburn 1985). The grounds for harassing women in the established male workplace seem to be functional and relate to power differentials. Women need coping strategies, which most commonly means that they must adapt and ‘go with the norms of the dominant group’ (Cockburn 1985: 204).

‘Trade unions are women’s most direct point of leverage’ (Cockburn 1985: 239) in terms of implementing strategy for change in vocational training as well as workplace training. Such change ought to be ‘central to trade union demands’ argues Cockburn (1985: 242) rather than optional peripherals. Given the low trade union density in the hospitality industry generally it is unlikely that vocational training will benefit by this means.

Cockburn (1985) concludes that workplaces need reconfiguring to allow low skilled workers to progress vertically along defined routes, and furthermore, that the ways in which men relate to women in work need to professionalise. If women as a sex are to gain access to technology there must be a ‘dismantling of gender’ and that is dependent on and ‘inescapably part of a feminist movement’ (Cockburn 1985: 254). From the perspective of the dual system, the argument states ‘it is not technology that is out of control, but capitalism and men’ (Cockburn 1985: 255). Cockburn (1991: 8) argues that ‘membership in patriarch is...
not optional’ and ‘women as women can only be liberated from patriarchy through a struggle to change the system as system’.

The answer to male resistance is ‘a new theory of power’ (Cockburn 1991: 240). We tend to conceptualise power in single dimensions but instead we must see it as ‘multidimensional’ (Cockburn 1991: 240) and recognise that we are all involved in it. This argument underpins the approach of this thesis, which aims to construct a framework that enables us to not only assess the position of the power mechanisms that underpin women’s employment in elite kitchens, but visualise the complex power field affecting these mechanisms.

Marxist historical materialism is often regarded as an over-emphasis on the economic forces that are at work ‘at the expense of political or cultural process’ (Marshall 1998: 401). Although the Marxist analysis highlights economic interests that determine human values (Samuelson and Nordhaus 1989), leading to alienation and class conflicts, inequality and movements for social emancipation, it must also be acknowledged that human values may also determine economic interests.

Patriarchy wins even in contexts where women are in the majority and researchers found that ideological stereotypes prevail over strength of numbers in the bid for power. After interviewing men in female-
dominated industries, Simpson (2004: 364) concluded that ‘discourses of gender take precedence over structural implications of numbers’ after finding that men are still promoted more quickly than women. This falls in line with Bradley’s (1993) assertion that male nurses are promoted more quickly than female counterparts and the argument that men tend to dominate occupations of power where they are rewarded for their difference from women with higher remuneration and various benefits (Williams 1993).

Cockburn (1991: 10) states that studying ‘equality strategies in organisations’ requires a feminist approach that draws on insights from liberal, socialist-feminist and radical feminist ‘tendencies’. This fits with the wide angle approach to relational powers taken in this study. On the gender ‘sameness’ or ‘difference’ issue, Cockburn (1991: 10) argues that ‘women can be both the same and different from’ men ‘at various times and in various ways. What we are seeking is not in fact equality, but equivalence, not sameness for individual women and men, but parity for women as a sex, or for groups of women in their specificity’.

The workplace equality movement is comprised of two contrasting aspects. The first aspect is EO employers who emphasise policies that organisations operate. Cockburn (1991: 45) found that the equality struggle produced a variety of ‘managerial aims and intentions’. Running in parallel with the variety of managerial barriers was the
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diversity of ‘different aims among individual women too’ (Cockburn 1991: 45).

EO policies are about removing obstacles to vertical and horizontal movement of women into non-traditional jobs. ‘It means confronting head-on men’s sense of owning the organisation’ says Cockburn (1991: 46). Yet, Cockburn (1991: 75) concludes that ‘management sponsors of EO ... interpreted equality of opportunity as removing bias to clear the way for advancement of individual women’ rather than ‘significantly large groups of women’. Business companies can accept a few women in management so long as they do not detract from the central business aim, which is profit.

Is it possible for women ever to achieve parity when they are defined by men and women in terms of their domestic ties and their roles as wife and mother? Questions arise about how women handle managerial roles even if they are single and childless because they are ‘domestically defined’ (Cockburn 1991: 77). They have ‘operated in an almost entirely separate labour market from that of men’ (Cockburn 1991: 77) and this has been to their great disadvantage. Cockburn (1991: 102) argues that patriarchy was the ‘constitution of the family as a private realm ... to control women’. O’Brien (1981: 56) states that this ‘requires a community of action of actively cooperating men and the creation of social institutions’ to reinforce and assert men’s rights.
Yet, I would assert that family has been good for many women and men, and the feminist attack on the family, as being a repressive structure, is rightly contested by Birkett (2000) as misplaced. It is reasonable therefore that men are ‘uneasy about the emergence of women from the private realm’ into the male-dominated public realm where they are ‘tied to the rat race’ (Cockburn 1991: 103).

Cockburn (1991: 104) asserts that, ‘What in the long run has to change is the pattern of men’s lives. A forty five hour week, a forty eight week year and a fifty year wage earning life cannot be sustained by both sexes’. She asserts that it should be worked by neither if EO is to be achieved. Yet many men and women are within their rights to opt for the traditional family structure and accept and assert the advantage different roles, choosing the single rather than the dual wage earner model.

Cockburn (1991: 105) argues that there is a women’s ‘work ghetto’ and that employers require and want to retain such a ‘super-exploitable category of employees at the bottom of their organisations’. She argues that for most women the ‘ghetto walls have to be broken down ... ending low pay: breaking job segregation by redesigning jobs or retraining staff or both; re-evaluating and upgrading their occupations; and
restructuring grade systems to reduce differentials' (Cockburn 1991: 105) are key.

This explanation is inadequate for many feminists as economic interest seems too narrow a viewpoint and any change in gender relations would depend totally on transformations in capitalism. Yet, I agree with suggestions that 'ideology is an extremely important site for the construction and reproduction of women's oppression ... this ideological level cannot be dissociated from economic relations' (Barrett 1980: 253).

In the UK, 'many feminist historians emerged from traditions of Marxist and socialist history', says Bennett (2006: 4). Just as Marxist historians focus on economic structure and power, feminist historians focus on patriarchic structure and power. Patriarchy is everywhere and one cannot be freed from it or think independently of it, so a historical analysis of the gender struggle serves to understand and establish social liberation in the present. Bennett (2006) asserts that feminist historians should give increasing attention:

\[ \text{to the history of a "patriarchal equilibrium" whereby, despite many changes in women's experiences over the centuries, women's low status vis-à-vis men has remained remarkable unchanged} \]

(Bennett 2006: 4).

Patriarchy as a theory aims to explain women’s subordination by capturing 'the depth, pervasiveness and interconnections' (Walby 1990:}
2) of the facets and variety of causes of women’s lower status. It is argued that there is a particular set of constituent elements that relate directly to the way patriarchy articulates in the UK today.

In the West the classic debate in feminism has concerned what are predominantly radical versus Marxist approaches in the UK and radical versus liberal approaches that prevail in the USA. Some feminists attempt a synthesis of these approaches. It is the radical feminist approach that proposes and emphasises a system of domination called patriarchy.

Weber (1948: 297) referred to ‘traditionalist’ patriarchal domination as a system of control in which men govern societies as a result of their position as heads of family groups. He points to the expansion of rational behaviour in the ways in which work was administered and organised in capitalism. In doing so, he regards bureaucracy as a modern development in formality that has struggled to overcome more traditional irrational power structures in society (Weber 1948). For Weber, there is a contrast between formal and substantive rationality. Calculating economic means is related to formal rationality, while the continual intrusion of human objectives and beliefs refers to substantive rationality.
Weber was concerned with State power, observing that there was an elite and that status and privilege compete with bureaucratic power and the process of democratic leveling. He concludes that there are status groups and class situations operating in society. It could be argued from this perspective that bureaucratic organisations and systems may provide mechanisms through which patriarchy operates invisibly and unintentionally. Weber provides us with probably the best-known definition of social power:

In general, we understand by “power” the chance of a man or of a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.  

(Weber 1948: 180)

The definition does not measure the costs, in terms of damaged careers and distress often experienced by individuals to realise their will (Barrow 2003), neither does it deal with particular power relations.

Research on successful career women pursuing traditional organisationally-bounded careers (Marshall 1994, Wajcman 1998, Kanter 1977) indicates that the costs of career development for women have often been high, especially in senior management, the presumption being that the pursuit of a traditional organisational career is not easily compatible with responsible parenting

(Purcell et al. 2006: 78).

Weber observes that ‘patriarchalism is by far the most important type of domination, the legitimacy of which rests upon tradition’ (Weber 1949:
296) and it represents the authority of the man as ruler and master, whether in terms of husband or tyrant. This observation has been developed by radical feminist writers. Their approach treats men and women as groups, where women are subordinated and men profit.

Patriarchy does not necessarily derive from class inequality, so it is not a by-product of capitalism (Walby 1990). The theory of patriarchy assumes the existence of collective, opposing interests of men and women. This assumption is often criticised for being reductionist or over-simplistic and essentialist, by trying to establish a complete explanation and reality of what lies behind women’s subordination. Essentialism also assumes that women and men are uniform within each group, which is contested.

Marxist feminists argue that gender inequalities originate from the capitalist system and thus patriarchy is not regarded by them as an independent system but they argue that ‘men’s dominance over women is a by-product of capital’s domination over labour’ explains Walby (1990: 4). Marxist feminism is criticised for its narrow focus on capitalism leading to its inability to focus on pre- and post-capitalism and its inability to recognise an independent ‘gender dynamic’ (Walby 1990: 4).
Liberal feminists tend to approach women's subordination as an accumulation of 'numerous small-scale deprivations' explains Walby (1990: 4). For example Meyerson and Fletcher (2000) argue for a small wins approach to resisting male domination. Similarly, Kanter (1993) sees the problem as systemic and organisational. Opportunities for women are thus limited by power imbalances. Changing policies that affect human behaviour, and that are imposed by organisational structures, by introducing programmes to improve work life and EO, are the proposed solution. Women in a minority are often treated as tokens and outsiders by dominant male groups who succumb to pressures for tradition and 'social homogeneity' (Kanter 1993: 68) by operating as a brotherhood of the leadership elite. Because of unequal rights for women there is prejudice but liberal feminists do not argue for social restructuring. The liberal approach is criticised for being piecemeal and superficial, and for not dealing with the network of manifestations of discrimination and the persistence of biased attitudes.

Walby (1990) distinguishes between private patriarchy, based on household production and public patriarchy based on State and employment, which is more collective in nature (Walby 1990). In trying to avoid a definitive essentialism, she asserts that there are six main structures or 'practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby 1990: 20) and that these comprise a system of patriarchy. The structures are 'paid work, housework, sexuality,
culture, violence and the State’ (Walby 1990: 16) and it is in their varied inter-relationships that they produce different ‘forms of patriarchy’ (Walby 1990: 16). The six structures are explained as follows.

In dealing with occupational segregation practices in paid work, Walby (1990) focuses on household production and culture. She asserts that patterns of women’s employment are explained more by ‘cultural values’ (Walby 1990: 58) than the materialist issues of capital and labour. As more women are committed to work and career patriarchy is metamorphosing from private to public. Two reasons are offered. Firstly, women have been pulled into employment as cheap labour. Secondly, women have been pushed into employment as patriarchal exclusion strategies have been undermined by feminists.

Housework practices also impact on occupational segregation because it is affected by household freedoms that have been won by women. Single parent families often live in poverty because of responsibilities in the home and the feminist critique of marriage being about male oppression in the family has affected other issues as ‘family’ determines ‘other social structures which shape gender relations’ (Walby 1990: 88).

Traditionally, men are more likely to be accepted when using of sexual or immoral language in professional discourse, as it suits the macho environment. Although Foucault identifies ‘religious’ (Foucault 1973:
61) 'medical' (Foucault 1973: 98) and 'institutional' (Foucault 1976a: 100) discourse as mechanisms of control, he does not consider how practices do, or ought to work, avoiding these strategies of control in relation to gender. He considers resistance to be important but does not consider it for women. However, this macho discourse appears to be common in the hospitality industry often upsetting women, who are labeled 'over sensitive' (White et al. 2004: 39). Language appears to have a front-line role amongst powers for exclusion. Thus, feminists have 'critiqued and reworked' (Walby 1990: 98) Foucault's post-structuralist approach to concentrate on gender difference and discourse so that a perspective is taken on how gender is represented in different contexts.

Culturally, the socialisation of men and women around a number of traits issues like assertiveness and compliance could relate to an overarching patriarchy. Cultural practice is greatly influenced by language and subjectivity and it is regarded as a breakthrough that femininity is no longer associated with domesticity and abstinence from paid work.

The practice of male violence towards women is considered part of the patriarchal social structure. Walby (1990: 149) concluded that State interventions are infrequent and humiliating and 'de-legitimising private male violence towards women has reduced, but not removed' men's power over women. She explains that the State can be regarded as a body that has legitimate rights to coercion, concluding that, in the UK,
‘the State is still patriarchal as well as capitalist and racist’ (Walby 1990: 171). She argues that EO legislation has ‘had only a marginal impact’ (Walby 1990: 171).

Though Marxist feminists see a regression into capitalism and patriarchy and radical feminists point to the status quo being maintained (Walby 1990), a number of researchers point to ‘some progress for women, painting ... a “complex and contradictory picture”’ (Durbin 2002: 755). Wirth (2001) agrees that limited progress has been made though the global picture is mixed. Meanwhile, Radicals also argue that patriarchy is dynamic as a power and that feminist gains have been followed by backlash as patriarchal forces have regrouped. Thus, private patriarchy has moved to public patriarchy and ‘involves the market as well as the State’ (Walby 1990: 200). She (1990: 200) asserts that while ‘gender and class have independent historical dynamics’ the two have impacts on each other. ‘Women have not been passive victims of oppressive structures. They have struggled to change both their immediate circumstances and the wider social structures’ (Walby 1990: 200) but the pessimistic conclusion is that they have only won more freedoms over which patriarchy can exploit them.

At this point in the literature review, it is helpful if I return to Weber’s (1948) observations of the State, where he recognises that an elite group exercise power. Mills (1956) was a critic of American democracy and in
echoing Weber, he also observed bureaucratic elites that set the power agenda. The mutual dependence of these organisations brought about a shared agenda and the individuals who ran them had shared experiences, which led to them having common perceptions about life. Thus, although there is an elite culture, there is no theory of conspiracy. Mills (1956) concluded that power was pyramidal in form and that the pyramid of State politics was supported by lesser pyramids of local politics (Figure 4).

![Diagram of Power Pyramid]

Figure 4: Mill's (1956) conceptualisation of the pyramidal shape of power elites

Mills is essentially a community power theorist, but his shared perceptions and shared agenda model was contested. Dahl (1968), who's views on power developed in the 1950 and 1960s, defended American democracy using a pluralist model to oppose Mill's notion of single, minimally differentiated elitist model. Dahl built on Weber's
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definition of power overcoming resistance in social relationships. Dahl regarded ‘democracy as a set of institutional procedures for ensuring quality in decision-making’ (Haugaard 2002: 7). For Dahl, there is no single elite but a plurality of competing elites in the shape of Mill’s pyramids (Figure 5). He described this as ‘polyarchy’ (Dahl 1963: 73). In simple terms this may relate to the left and right of politics but in the context of this study it could equally be used to depict feminist and anti-feminist camps.

Figure 5: A representation of Dahl’s (1968) conceptualisation of ‘Polyarchical’ pluralist democracy, made up of a multiplicity of competing elite pyramid-shaped powers to compete in decision-making

After receiving criticism from many academics, such as Bachrach and Baratz (1962) and Lukes (1974), Dahl (1985) widened his conceptualization of power to incorporate citizen participation in the
economic arena and the use of the mass media, but he did not redefine power beyond Weber's definition. His view was that if polyarchy was to deliver genuine democratic outcomes, our concept of democracy must include the educational and economic contexts that shape citizens' abilities and empower them to express their interests (Haugaard 2002).

Bachrach and Baratz (1962) criticised Dahl because his model failed to incorporate the notion of institutional bias. They argued that the institutional elite go beyond exercising power in decision-making. They can also limit the scope of the political agenda. The pluralist power framework that conceptualises competition in decision-making is inadequate because power operates to prevent issues being raised. Agents of power can introduce bias to avoid making decisions. In this sense, feminists may argue that male bias operates to keep 'family' private and off the public feminist discrimination agenda. Thus Bachrach and Baratz (1962) contend that researchers should investigate the mobilisation of bias. This involves:

1. Analysing prevailing 'values ... myths' (Bachrach and Baratz 1962: 952) and established political routines and codes of practice.
2. Inquiring which persons or groups, if any, benefit from or are disadvantaged by the prevailing bias.
3. Investigating the operations of none decision-making. This means examining how much those interested in maintaining the status quo influence social values and institutions that can limit decision-making to ‘safe issues’ (Bachrach and Baratz 1962: 952).

Finally, using his knowledge of the restrictive face of power as a foundation for analysis and as a standard for distinguishing between “key” and “routine” political decisions, the researcher would, after the manner of the pluralists, analyze participation in decision-making of concrete issues.

(Bachrach and Baratz 1962: 952).

They conclude by arguing that nondecision-making may not be measurable objectively, but it must not be discarded as subjective and therefore nonexistent.

Dahl’s polyarchical decision-making is referred to as the first dimension of power. Bachrach and Baratz nondecision-making, restrictive face of power represents the second dimension.
Figure 6: Polyarchical politics made up of opposing elites. Analysts must also take account of institutional bias, which can be an even more effective power.

Lukes (1974) adds a third dimension that is much less accessible to the researcher. He critiques the behavioural focus of the first two dimensions and argues that bias cannot necessarily be defined by action or inactions but may be inherited as structures or culturally patterned group behaviour without agents or observable conflict being involved. For Batstone et al. (1977) this third dimension or face of power is a matter of power embedded in history and structure, rather than a capacity to act.

Figure 7 incorporates all three dimensions of power as might be envisaged by Lukes. It now appears that Lukes (1974) was not
proposing a three dimensional view as a complete explanation of power as a phenomenon, but merely an essential single constituent element (Lukes 2005). Lukes (2005) acknowledged weaknesses in his original hypothesis (Lukes 1974) and notes that power in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} dimension is never more than partially effective. 'Power as domination is only one species of power' (Lukes 2005: 12).

\textbf{Figure 7: Polyarchical powers made up of opposing forces together with institutional bias. Now a 3\textsuperscript{rd} dimension of power is added that is very difficult to access}

Lukes (2005) acknowledges a further problem in his earlier research in denying that power need be agent-linked, but at the same time defined power in terms of dominant and dominated agents.
By premising that dominant power can distort the objective knowledge of the dominated, Lukes (1974) separates power from knowledge, suggesting that they can be oppositional. The dominated are unaware of their genuine interests because of an imposed false consciousness or ideology. In embracing the notion of false consciousness, Lukes is proposing theory parallel to Marxist ideology (Haugaard 2002), in suggesting that the working-class internalise beliefs, values and ambitions contrary to their real interests. Power is thus redefined as the subverting of the interests of the dominated by the dominant.

Cockburn (1989: 223) asserts that ‘anti-feminist discourse of men has to be seen as policing of women’s consciousness’. Similarly:

feminists have argued that patriarchal relations of domination are sustained by the internalisation of beliefs and expectations concerning gender differences.

(Haugaard 2002: 39)

Lukes is correct in linking structure, social knowledge and power and in arguing that social structures and consciousness cause relations of domination to prevail. The difficulty is how to understand the link between the power of the dominant and the consciousness of the dominated.
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The problem for Lukes is that notions of false consciousness and real interests are contested in that they tend to be determined by Western humanistic values. False consciousness also relates to conspiracy theories and mind control or brainwashing. Providing that an agency of self-interest can be found, it could help to avoid some of these problems.

In conceding the flaws of viewing power as a matter of one individual or group ‘over’ another, and neglecting to define the ‘interests’ of the dominated, Lukes (2005) opens the way for Hakim’s assertions about women positively exercising choice as an alternative to, or in coexistence with radical feminist arguments about patriarchal domination. Lukes (1974) also neglected the notions that power ‘can be productive, transformative, authoritative and compatible with dignity’ (Lukes 2005: 109). Lukes (1974) treated actor’s interests at unitary and failed to consider difference, interactions and conflicts of interest by using a simplistic system of binary relations. People can consent to and resent power at the same time, so power is not simply about how the dominant secure willing compliance. Yet, Lukes (2005) continues rightly to argue for three dimensions of power, as power can lead people to see their disadvantaged ‘condition as “natural” or even value it, and ... fail to recognise the sources of their desires and beliefs’ (Lukes 2005: 13).
Further refinement of the power framework (Figure 8) may be possible if power agencies of the dominant and dominated can be exposed. For example, institutional bias that excludes women can be opposed by the stick of positive action (Figure 8) or by the more persuasive concept of the business case in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} dimension of power. Proposing a three dimensional notion of power, however, begs a question; what agency, operating in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} dimension, serves to oppose patriarchy? Can such a simple conceptual dichotomy of power in the third dimension, between patriarchy and some unknown opposing agency, explain women’s subjection?

Figure 8: Opposing inclusive and exclusive polyarchical powers, institutional bias for and against women. Here the 3\textsuperscript{rd} dimension of power that is very difficult to access is termed patriarchy and is on the anti-feminist side.
The concept of patriarchy has been criticised for over simplifying women as a homogenous group. According to Walby (1990: 15), post-modern academics ‘attack forms of feminist theory that emphasise commonalities shared by women’. Post-modern theory detaches itself from empirical reality in social science and emphasises a pluralism of cultures, ‘variety, contingency and ambivalence’ (Marshall 1998: 512) so that all discourse is valid. For instance, Foucault disperses power and de-emphasises Marxist economic relations theory. This approach is too loose for Lukes and radical feminist theory as it allows gender relations to ‘take an infinite number of forms’ (Walby 1990: 16). Theories of patriarchy have difficulties in explaining cultural and historical differences because they have postulated a single causal element, patriarchy, and this will vary according to the context.

Foucault opposes the Marxist and other historical materialistic proposals by regarding knowledge as subjective and therefore ‘local ... differential, incapable of unanimity’ (Foucault 7/01/76: 8). He replaces scientific realism with a subjective ideology. Foucault proposes knowledge/power mutually constituted and as a broader substitute for the notions of bourgeoisie and labour. This provides him with a theoretical perspective to understand knowledge and discourse as it appears in history. Furthermore, Foucault proposes the atomisation of power in a way that discounts ‘centralized power blocks’ (McRobbie 2009: 13), such as State, patriarchy and law, and makes it more
fragmented, arguing for ‘singular ... noncommonsensical knowledges that people have’ (Foucault 7/01/76: 8).

For Foucault, truth is taken from the workers and given over to intellectual discussion. History has thus been abused, as the struggle of workers has been seized by academics for the purpose of applying theories of evolutionary social transformation from capitalism, through socialism, to communism, as modes of production or, alternatively, from patriarchy to women’s liberation. He asserts that there are methods of domination in the form of discourses and operations, such as ‘surveillance’ (Foucault 17/03/76: 242) that amount to modern forms of oppression. Discourses are themselves powers and they do not need to be located in forms of production or notions of patriarchy. The masses are directly controlled by the power of routine conversations of disciplinary institutions and simple dialogues between doctor and patient, counselor and counseled, unemployed worker and welfare agency, child and parent and husband and wife.

Power is not the property of the State, nor is it purely located in the executive bodies of State. Power exists in a multiplicity of complex micro-relations of society (O’Farrell 2005). The combinations are constantly shifting in a way that government-orchestrated power dispositions cannot match, even with an army of agents in the
government’s employ. Furthermore, the very existence of the State depends on the multiple societal powers.

Foucault’s argument is that history, as it is used by positivist, liberal and Marxist philosophers, can control and use the past as a form of knowledge/power to create fictions. These fictions are controlled by historians who by interpreting, amplifying supervising and manipulating history can justify certain interpretations of the present through the ‘reworking of knowledge’ (Foucault 3/03/76: 212).

According to O’Farrell (2005: 101), Foucault asserts that ‘knowledge and power operate almost interchangeably’ but all forms of knowledge emerge as a result of the exercise of certain complex networks of power. To equate power with knowledge is thus to atomise it and free it from, or de- emphasise the deterministic, economic relations perspective of Marxism. Such atomisation would also free power from patriarchal perspectives.

For Foucault, there are deep connections between knowledge and power and in the book, The History of Sexuality, we read about a historical age of repression, which ‘perhaps we still have not completely left behind’ (Foucault 1976a: 17). Censorship is imposed over subjects, on issues such as sexuality, by first subjugating ‘it at the level of language,’ controlling ‘its free circulation in speech’, expunging ‘it from things that
were said, and’ extinguishing ‘it from words that rendered it too visibly present’ (Foucault 1976a: 17). Therefore:

without even having to pronounce the word, modern prudishness was able to ensure that one did not speak of sex, merely through the interplay of prohibitions ... muteness which by dint of saying nothing, imposed silence.

(Foucault 1976a: 17)

Certain profound configurations of knowledge and power have thus imposed themselves on Western society in the twentieth-century, expanding into every part of life. Such power does not operate simply through capital and labour mechanisms and is not dysfunctional, but is fixed in practice at an atomised level in everyone and yet because of the ‘imposed silence’ in no one. The outcome of such atomised power, in silencing the dominated, is not dissimilar to that proposed by Lukes’ 3rd dimension of power.

Foucault (1973) considers the psychology of power, asserting that no theoretical system seems to deal with power as a general phenomenon. He approaches power relations, mechanisms and facts only in the context of their particular empirical settings. Thus, Foucault envisages a vast orchestra of institutions surrounding the judiciary. This surveillance and correction network includes police, educational, medical, psychological and psychiatric non-judicial powers. Marx,
Weber and Foucault approach power as conflict and seek to answer questions relating to opposing parties.

Foucault argues that bottom-up influences can even lead to a temporary unfreezing of the art of government. He refines his definition of power by arguing that it is a relationship between individuals that is being continually worked on by rational processes. Thus, any analysis of power should consider how power relations are rationalised and individualised.

In its ultimate expression, power either reduces opposition to complete impotence, or confronts those being governed in such a way that they are turned into enemies (Foucault 1982). In this sense power is strategic and confrontational. Foucault (1973) asserts that the strategy of discourse building is not to arrive at truth but rather to win. Yet, Foucault identifies limitations to power, stating that:

> It would not be possible for power relations to exist without points of insubordination that, by definition, are means of escape. Accordingly, every intensification or extension of power relations intended to wholly suppress these points of insubordination can only bring the exercise of power against its outer limits.

(Foucault 1982: 347)
Thus, the intensification and extension of powers that promote inclusion may serve only to broaden the opposition and provide opportunities for the opposition to resist.

For many centuries it has been known that the punishing of opposing forces ‘enhaunces their authority’ (Vicount St. Albans cited in Milton 1644: Online). Milton (1644), in arguing for the freedom of the press, said that there must be room for dialogue and, like Foucault, did not favour the suppression of truth and knowledge, no matter how inconvenient this may be to the purists. He affirms that truth is acquired through knowledge and knowledge is productive so it owns and disposes power in the ‘wars of Truth’ (Milton 1644: Online). This argument encourages government to use reason to win genuine popular support by opening the truth of its political arguments to public scrutiny and win the war by uncovering opposing arguments. As, ‘when complaints are freely heard, deeply consider’d and speedily reform’d, then is the utmost bound of civill liberty attain’d’ (Milton 1644: Online). Thus, it can be argued that knowledge/power and truth, exposed to human reason, can be a means of attaining the highest possible degree of liberty for women.

Theoretically, gender relations could take on a multiplicity of forms by extending and dispersing power in the way that Foucault suggests. However, Walby (1990: 16) argues that in practice ‘there are some
widely repeated features' of domination, which can be called patriarchy. Walby (1990) stresses that these interconnected, common features allow us to speak in terms of operational patriarchy, involving 'dichotomies, separations and power inequalities that occur at home ... and at work, [being] related and mutually reinforcing' (Walby 1988: 41). Hakim (1996: 186) contests this argument saying, 'although patriarchy cannot yet be ruled out as part of any explanation for women's position in society ... occupational segregation does not appear to be quite so important an economic weapon as ... Walby' and others believe. The pay gap, for instance, can be explained almost wholly by 'women's failure' (Hakim 1996: 186) to reach the higher grades. Why women fail to attain higher grades may be explained by two factors. Firstly, their greater unwillingness to 'put in the long hours' compared with men and secondly, 'unconscious as well as invisible' (Hakim 1996: 186) discrimination.

These arguments can be incorporated in the conceptual framework (Figure 8) by viewing patriarchy as systemically active to resist gender EO. Where power is actively exercised it may be possible to measure it or utilise its visible exercise to throw light on the means by which the low participation of women in elite culinary arts is maintained. Any analysis of powers, therefore, must involve an evaluation of 'sets of relations that exist between individuals, or that are strategically deployed by groups of individuals,' (O'Farrell 2005: 99). Thus, power is
not owned, as a capacity, by State, groups or individuals but is a set of relations that State, groups and individuals exercise.

Everywhere that power exists, it is being exercised. No one, strictly speaking, has an official right to power ...

(Foucault 1972: online)

Foucault (1972: online) asserts that power ‘is always excited in a particular direction, with some people on one side and some on the other.’ ‘Where there is power, there is resistance …’ says Foucault (1976a). Furthermore, Foucault (1976a: 88) asserts that ‘these points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network’, being actively applied throughout society. Foucault (1978) wants to portray homosexuality as a nature or a species rather than an act and to regard the relationship between sex and power in terms of repression, which ‘is to be subjected to a set of social regulations’ (Butler 1990: 96). It is the exercise of power ‘through complex machinery for producing true discourses’ (Foucault 1978: 5) that gives power its impetus according to this repressive hypothesis.

... if repression has indeed been the fundamental link between power, knowledge and sexuality since the classical age, it stands to reason that we will not be able to free ourselves from it except at considerable cost: nothing less than a transgression of laws, a lifting of prohibitions, an irruption of speech, a restating of pleasure within reality, and a whole new economy in the mechanisms of power will be required. For the least glimmer of truth is conditioned by politics.

(Foucault 1978: 5)
The problem, for Foucault, is that resistance seemed ‘doomed to inevitable failure in the face of omnipresent power’ because ‘in effect it could only ever be the mirror of the power being exercised’ (O’Farrell 2005: 99). Initially, Foucault (1977: 137, 138) circumvented this problem by proposing an entity he called the ‘plebs’, which he marked out as ‘a certain “something” which existed in individuals and groups that escaped relations of power and which limited the exercise of power’ (O’Farrell 2005: 99). This concept seems to resemble an unattributed idea taken from Orwell (1949: 220) who said, concerning ‘... power that might one day overturn the world’, ‘If there was hope, it lay in the proles!’ Foucault later refined his ideas stating that, ‘There is no power without potential refusal or revolt’ (Foucault 1981: 324). The concept of power leading inevitably to refusal or revolt links to Orwell’s (1949: 220) concept that ‘the proles were immortal ... and had a vitality which the Party did not share and could not kill.’ Thus, any EO policy being imposed by State will, at some point, be resisted by some of the proletariat. The only way for the Party to suppress this resistance, according to Orwell (1949: 267) is to ‘cut the links’ between individuals, promoting ‘loyalty toward the Party’ by instilling false hopes through the propaganda machine. Only in this way is resistance defeated and opposing powers eliminated, by effectively cutting the links between subversive elements and thus suppressing the truth.
The key issue for this thesis is to evaluate the powers exercised by women as individuals, and family members as a collective, as they organise to oppose patriarchy. As the coalition government drives the EO agenda it must either hold on to popular support by suppressing the resistant power/knowledge or it must open the intellectual debate to win the argument. Inclusive power agents must also recognise that power is mobile and its position is 'seldom found' (Cockburn 1989: 220) where women work. When women follow the established routes to power, above the level where they predominate, power can 'leach away' (Cockburn 1989: 220) from their new job locations. Highly-qualified women seldom move into positions from which the levers of power are controlled (Crompton 1994). The 'evasiveness of power' for women, according to Cockburn (1989: 220), is evident.

In constructing a framework to analyse power relations, I recognise that the field of power surrounding gender and elite kitchens does not exist independently. Nationality, race, ethnicity and class serve to produce complex articulations of power together with multiple gender identities and these 'are constructed through complex social processes and practices' (Adib and Guerrier 2003: 413). Brah (1996: 248) considers 'how these fields of power collide, enmesh and configure and with what effects' and asks 'what kinds of inclusions or exclusions does a specific articulation of power produce?' Although viewing equality as fluid can help to acknowledge the complexities of identity, I would argue that
atomising identities can also dilute the emphasis on group goals and actions. Thus, in this thesis, I am solely considering women's employment in elite kitchens and how it articulates between inclusion and exclusion because I am concerned to focus particularly on the employment goals and actions of this group.

The exploration of power is 'complex' because of its very 'nature' (Cockburn 1989: 215) and multi-dimensional because of the multiplicity of challenges to power resulting from EO activism. If the theory of power can be applied, together with an extended social inclusion agenda, in such a way as to use a single conceptual framework to illuminate the culinary arts profession, then it may be able to provide a tentative pathway to emancipation in the profession.

Foucault (17/03/76: 243) spoke of configurations of power as 'a new technology of power' and used it in a similar way to Lukes' multiple dimensions. When Lukes refers to the first dimension of power he is thinking of polyarchy while Foucault, in a not dissimilar way, uses the term 'discipline'. Foucault then goes on from discipline to what he termed 'biopower' and 'biopolitics' (Foucault 17/03/76). Biopolitics being that richer configuration or dimension of power that controls whole populations of which discipline is just a sub-set. Finally, Foucault came up with the technology of 'governmentality', which instead of restricting liberties, as 'discipline' and 'biopower' did, gave
room for the inclusion of freedoms into the mechanisms of power that guide people’s behaviour through a pastoral type of governance using all forms, procedures and techniques of governance that control personal and group conduct. This configuration of power has a more open ended nature as it includes all manifestations and means. It is these techniques, in their more subtle senses, that Lukes (1974) and Gaventa (1980) attempt to explore through the concept of their third dimension of power.

Most importantly for this thesis, Lukes (1974) and Gaventa (1980) argue that it is necessary to go beyond bias, bargaining power in conflict and barriers to participation in decision-making. They present an argument for a third dimension of power involving dominated ‘B’s quiescence and the shaping by dominant ‘A’ of ‘B’s consciousness about inequalities. Thus, for example, in relation to women’s average pay being less than that of men, women’s consciousness might have been shaped in such a way that they feel powerless and even confused about the issues, and so do not even participate in resistance or in opposition to male dominance.

Gaventa (1980) suspects that the mechanisms of power that shape consciousness can be identified. He argues that it is by ‘specifying the means through which power influences, shapes or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities and strategies of challenge
in situations of latent conflict' (Gaventa 1980: 15) that this is to be done. He includes the shaping of social myths, language and symbols in the power process as well as information and communication, or the means by which ideas, beliefs or roles become socially legitimate. Observable power processes that construct meaning and patterns may also be located. These may cause ‘B’, in this case women, to act against, and believe contrary to, what would otherwise be natural. Manipulating information through mass media and socialization processes can control thought in this way. Gaventa (1980) defines these as direct processes of power.

There are three further, indirect, aspects to this third dimension of power. Powerlessness may first be conditioned by the experience of continual defeat and may cause withdrawal, fatalism, self-deprecation and indifference to circumstances. Secondly, powerlessness may be conditioned by lack of experience (Freire 1972). This inexperience would give the stereotypically dominant male chef an air of legitimacy where women have adopted the norms of men and so are socialized into compliance. When tranquillity is disturbed women’s demands may be unclear and incomplete. Thirdly, any emergent consciousness may be shaped, worked and conditioned, by the arena of power in which it arises. Contradictory beliefs and grievances may be introduced to prevent central issues being identified so that dominant interests remain dormant, unexpressed and outside conscious awareness.
Complaints can be considered and excluded from the decision-making process in the second dimension of power. Yet, in the third dimension complaints can be averted without being considered at all. Women may discern injustice but avoid challenging the status quo because of perceptions about themselves as individuals, as a group, or because of their position in the social order. Even if they recognise injustice, they may be confused by the mystification surrounding who is responsible, or they may be unable to conceive any alternatives, whilst they perceive the status quo as immutable. Thus, women may see injustice but misconstrue the problem, select the wrong objective, or use an ineffective strategy. Gaventa (1980) concludes that the development of a third dimension of power results from powerlessness linked to the first two dimensions. Consequently, in evaluating the overall impact of power in the context of great inequality, all three dimensions must be considered. I have concluded that this is the approach I must take in this thesis.

If men's and women's interests are contrary, we might postulate that men can protect their interests best if they can perpetuate women's quiescence by convincing women that the status quo is also in women's best interests. Alternatively, men's and women's interests may not be contrary issues. Women may be opposed by organisational interests more than by men's interests and, if knowledge and power are about conflict, it would be wise for women to know their true enemy.
For Lukes, the three-dimensional view of power thoroughly critiques the
behavioural focus by pinpointing the deeper issues of:

1. Decision-making and control over political agenda
   (not necessarily through decisions).
2. Key issues and potential issues
3. Observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict
4. Subjective and real interests properly defined.

(Lukes 2005: 29)

This approach infers that means and mechanisms are needed for
identifying how women are prevented from succeeding. Thus,
application of theory and method, where there is a persistent politics of
inequality, is being advocated. Several means for empirical study are
then suggested.

Gaventa (1980) suggests four such means and mechanisms as follows.
Firstly, extensive research in the community in question is needed,
especially among non-actors and non-leaders. Evaluating how power
processes maintain quiescence through their experiences, lives,
conditions and attitudes is essential. Looking at historical development
may indicate whether the apparent consensus was shaped by power
inequalities or was arrived at as a matter of choice. Secondly, processes
of communication, socialisation and acculturation should be studied.
Thirdly, changing situations should be observed where challenges may
develop to oppose power-holders. When power-holders are weakened, or when third parties intervene, it may be useful to observe the resulting interactions.Fourthly, a comparative approach should be made, where similar unsuccessful groups have become more successful.

I intend, in this thesis, to focus particularly on the first of these means and approach, relatively-detached, industry observers who could rationalise with greater impartiality and wider expertise to identify and evaluate mechanisms of power within the industry.

In considering the three-dimensions of power I shall ask, how power has affected the shaping of the present consensus, as regards the implementation of EO legislation in elite kitchens. Such an analysis should include the complex and subtle ways in which the activity and inactivity of leaders and groups, and the sheer weight of organizations, political, institutional and educational, serve to perpetuate gender bias in the workplace.

Non-actors will be interviewed, asking whether power maintains quiescence. This will be done in the context of a variety of means and mechanisms where interviewees will be asked if socialisation, control of communication and acculturation have caused the present quiescence.
2.7 Summary and conceptual framework

Foucault, like most commentators on power, does not supply the hard tools needed to measure the phenomenon. Consequently, I have chosen the three-dimensional model furnished by Lukes (1974, 2005) and applied by Gaventa (1980) to add rigour to the measurement of power. Lukes' approach is incorporated in my final conceptual framework.

The following framework (Figure 9) shows the political, economic, cultural and social foundation upon which the field of power rests. Binary, opposing powers operate in the three dimensions, as proposed by Lukes (1974, 2005) and Gaventa (1980). These involve the first dimension, prevailing in decision-making in polyarchy, a second dimension, involving agenda control and bias, and finally a third dimension of power, involving averting conflict and grievance through securing consent, which on one side I have equated with patriarchy.

I suggest that these powers operate on ten mutually-dependent blocks (Figure 9), which can be described as power mechanisms for promoting social inclusion or exclusion. Women's personal choices are influenced by both inclusive and exclusive powers in the three dimensions, but women themselves may influence these powers, so that women cannot merely be regarded as passive participants or victims in the field of power.
Where the State deploys an array of powers to promote women’s inclusion, in support of the feminist lobby, it automatically prompts opposing powers in all three dimensions. Thus the following complete framework can now be constructed (Figure 9).

**The Balance of Power: A conceptual framework**

![Diagram](image)

Figure 9: Ten separate but interdependent power mechanisms being manoeuvred to support inclusion or exclusion of women from senior positions in elite kitchens influenced by three dimensions of opposing operational powers
The more legislation the State produces, indicated by the inclusive arrows pointing from left to right, the greater the exclusive oppositional powers, of all kinds, it stirs, operating from right to left.

All conceptual frameworks have their limitations but the great advantage of this framework over Figure 1 is that it portrays the bipolar powers operating on power mechanisms. These mechanisms are represented by interdependent blocks, underpinned by the political, economic, cultural and social context. The powers for inclusion must operate in a balanced way upon these various blocks or the relationships between the power mechanisms will become imbalanced and inclusion will not be achieved. This is particularly applicable to the case of culinary arts where women’s participation is low despite the State applying an array of powers on the State bureaucracy to support employment. Shifting the employment mechanism, without concomitant shifts in other power mechanisms, may only succeed in destabilising the mutually supportive power mechanisms.

Women are still detached from the job of the elite chef and consequently it is reasonable to assume that an opposing relational power has effectively resisted powers for inclusion. So long as the powers for exclusion can succeed in maintaining women’s quiescence they will succeed in maintaining the status quo.
prevent disputes arising, injustices being articulated and interests being acknowledged? Why, in a situation of such low participation, where observers might intuitively expect women to challenge male domination, do women remain, or appear to remain, quiescent? Are there any conditions under which barriers to women's progress result in discontent?

I can now identify the core of the research questions.

- Does the sheer weight of organisations, whether political, economic, cultural or social, serve to perpetuate gender bias in the culinary arts workplace?
- Do groups, leaders and the system itself operate in complex and subtle ways, whether consciously or unconsciously, actively or inactively, to prevent women from succeeding in the professional elite of culinary arts?
- Does the field of power in culinary arts, as depicted in Figure 9, prevent key issues about women's real participatory interests from emerging and being articulated?
- Does the field of power legitimise male domination and take advantage of the malleable emergent consciousness of women chefs?
## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH APPROACH

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CHAPTER THREE:

RESEARCH APPROACH

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 brought together, and discussed, research on power and gender segmentation in the workplace. It also discussed the development of a framework that will be used for testing the research hypothesis that powers, operating in three dimensions are excluding women from senior positions in elite kitchens. Chapter 3 discusses the feminist discourse analysis research approach used in the testing process.

Crotty (1998), similar to Saunders et al. (2003) and Denzin and Lincoln (2005), advocates a hierarchy to guide the social science research process. I intend to follow Crotty’s four-stage hierarchy, as it adopts a more systematic and ordered approach in moving the focus from a macro to micro level. Crotty’s hierarchy commences with the theoretical issues of epistemology and research perspective, followed by the more practical issues relating to methodology and methods. I begin, therefore, with the broad theoretical issue of epistemology as a general context.
3.2 Epistemology

Epistemological philosophies are the means by which we acquire knowledge (Seale 2004). Traditionally, in the research setting, these have tended to polarise researchers around one of the two possible extremes, although there are a number of less polarised variations. Objective methods, at one extreme, are the foundations of pure science and involve rigorous laboratory experiments that are 'invariably associated with an epistemological position known as positivism' (Bryman 2008: 13).

At the other extreme, the subjectivist epistemology emphasises created findings dependent on 'consciousness and experience' (Crotty 1998: 5). Subjectivism is a theoretical stance in which people are asked to participate with the researcher in constructing social entities or realities that cannot exist purely objectively. The constructions they provide cannot be subjected to rigorous experimentation outside the interpretation of the human actors. The purpose of a subjectivist epistemology is to understand the meaning of the society that exists, as seen through the eyes of actors and observers.

The research adopts a pragmatic approach in which a quantitative survey of elite kitchens is complemented by in-depth interviews that explore the rich experiences of detached expert industry observers. The
first section of the results presents quantitative data on participation of women in elite kitchens and their representation in various roles in the elite culinary arts profession (Table 2).

The second section of my results, which comprises the main body of my research, utilizes a subjectivist epistemological approach, taking a constructivist theoretical perspective. This requires a research design that aims at collecting data with 'depth, detail, emotionality, nuance and coherence' (Denzin 1997: 283) of interpretation that industry observers put on the real world. If propositions deduced from the theory of a third dimension of power are tested in this way, it may be possible to throw light on the reasons why powers for exclusion are succeeding.

Feminist epistemology often aims to set a 'feminist critique of science' (Harding 1986: 55), exposing a masculinist bias in the values, concepts and methods of social science. This bias makes women's experiences invisible to the observers (Hekman 2007). Thus, Hekman (2007: 535) argues that the anti-positivist centrepiece of most feminist critique is about values, saying:

The values of the social science researcher determine the object of study ... [and] ... the object of study itself is constituted by the values and concepts of the social actors.
Chapter three: Research approach

According to this argument, as a consequence of the generally inherent masculinist bias in epistemology, a feminist epistemology and methodology is needed as a kind of optical corrective. This feminist subjectivity goes beneath the masculinist surface and is unavoidable if I am to expose the objective realities that would not normally hit the radar.

The feminist critique can be summarised from three epistemological positions. Firstly, ‘feminist empiricism’ claims that masculinist ‘bias can and should be eliminated from science’ (Hekman 2007: 537). Having included male interviewees I have, to an extent, rejected the first position, though I do accept the need for a feminist epistemological corrective.

Secondly, ‘feminist standpoint’ epistemology critiques positivism and scientific method to some extent in that it ‘claims that all knowledge is perspectival, that is, the social position of the knower determines the knowledge produced’ (Hekman 2007: 537). Constructivism, as a paradigm, infers that social occurrences are happening through, and their meanings are interpreted by, social actors. Some of these actors have ‘living knowledge’ and are ‘embedded in communities of practice’ (Guba and Lincoln 2005: 192). I have chosen a qualitative approach with rare expert interviewees from the hospitality industry who have rich experience of, but no longer work in, elite kitchens. Thus, I am
accessing the perspectives of those that are relatively detached from the inherent bias of male-dominated kitchens. However, I accept that their perspectives remain linked to their social position and gender.

Thirdly, there is the theory of child development known as ‘object relations’ theory, which asserts that boys and girls are raised differently and so create masculine and feminine traits that lead to gender difference. Issues of patriarchy in the private realm will be discussed.

I have taken an eclectic approach to these epistemological issues and for the sake of this investigation adopt a simple relativist ontology, which concerns the construction of a set of co-created multiple realities (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). According to Bishop, when using a subjective approach there is no necessity to maintain an ‘artificial “distance” and objectify the “subject”’ (Bishop 2005: 130), so I acknowledge my opposition to women’s exclusion and so acknowledge a participatory consciousness (Heshusius 1994).

3.3 Theoretical perspective

The hard reality of the natural world has increasingly been subjected to rigorously controlled laboratory investigations in physics, chemistry and biology. This is the arena of pure science and seeks to exclude ‘the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied’
(Denzin and Lincoln 2008: 14). It was Comte, according to Filmer et al. (2004), who coined the term ‘positivism’ to describe the application of this kind of objective, scientific empiricism to social science research. The new approach emerged with the innovations of the ‘Enlightenment’ period when Comte asserted that man had grown beyond theology and metaphysics and had the capacity to explain his own world based on the scientific investigation of natural laws (Gilroy 1984 cites Comte 1830-1842).

Whether it is necessary to examine society purely through positivist approaches is a legitimate matter of debate. Scientists themselves, in the Western context, have largely diluted their positivist principles by embracing the philosophical naturalism of Charles Darwin. It is but a small step, from the post-positivist ‘conjectures’ of Darwinism, for social scientists to justify a number of additional post-positivist epistemological approaches (Guba and Lincoln 2005). Some social scientists like to claim scientific status (Outhwaite and Turner 2007 citing Parsons 1937, 1951, 1968), while others try to construct more relativist realities and argue that ethical standards are a matter of the researcher’s individual conscience (Greenwood and Levin 2005). They recognise that ‘relativism is our inescapable position as finite humans’ (Smith and Hodkinson 2008: 419).
The epistemological conclusion is that there is an array of alternative theoretical approaches or frameworks that researchers can utilise for legitimate enquiry. These approaches relate to metaphysics, which allows a variety of basic beliefs underpinning various enquiry paradigms (Guba and Lincoln 2005). The research question in this case is about whether elements of the three dimensions of power exist subjectively in the eyes of social actors. The subjectivist position is that the elements should be approached subjectively in that they ‘can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors’ (Bryman 2008: 18).

In a rich, in-depth study ‘there are multiple realities’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 24). Thus, analysing the third dimension of power must, by definition, adopt a subjective approach, as it incorporates actions, inactions and interpretations of actions, whether intentional or unintentional, where institutional and individual actors and observers depend on consciousness and experience in their social context. There is a richness and depth of meaning intrinsic to seeking reality by this approach.

Interpretivism is the philosophical stance that provides the context for the research interviews. It is concerned with what Weber (1949) termed ‘verstehen’ or understanding. According to Christians (2005: 151,152), it is about enabling ‘people to come to terms with their everyday
experience ... [and] ... taking seriously lives that are loaded with multiple interpretations and grounded in cultural complexity.' The industry observers may or may not share interpretations, though they may be affected by the same stimuli. Such stimuli will influence the way in which they socially and subjectively construct that world.

Any theory of power-processes that work effectively in the social arena of the elite chef must consider an ontological inventory. This involves listing objective realities, such as institutions, persons, roles, structures and practices (Marshall 1998). Clearly, an ontological consideration of the existing, complex and changing social processes that are associated with elite chefs, and the environment in which they work, leads to the conclusion that the setting is inappropriate for rigorous laboratory experimentation. For this reason, the constructivist, relativist, participative ontology (Guba and Lincoln 2005) is adopted as a theoretical perspective to support a subjective epistemological philosophy.

Power processes, and the meanings of them, will clearly be a matter of interpretation from the constructionist or participative viewpoint. Interpretations given by experienced industry observers, as they are given man-to-man or woman-to-man, are core to this research. The research process is about how I, a man, understand women's exclusion from the perspective of industry observers in a culinary arts context.
Chapter three: Research approach

My research employs a deductive strategy to test the three dimensional theory of power (Lukes 1974). The hypothesis is that powers, operating in three dimensions, are causing exclusion processes to succeed in detaching women from the role of senior elite chef. The research involves gathering the observations of detached industry expert observers to confirm or reject the theory as it applies to elite kitchens.

3.4 Methodology

3.4.1 Feminism

The argument of ‘difference feminism’ is that men and women understand things in different ways. This leads to a methodology that emphasises unique experiences from women’s perspectives, a methodology that on the face of it, seems inherently to exclude men’s participation. Given this difficulty and the additional problem that women’s own perspectives are a ‘widely varied phenomenon and not a single experience’ (Hekman 2007: 541), I have not been able to settle on a method that deals with the issue of difference (Hekman 2007). Even ‘Feminists have not yet developed’ (Hekman 2007: 541) such a methodology for themselves, as women, let alone one that puts male researchers in the equation.
Furthermore, feminism 'has not, and cannot, provide a coherent view of what “freedom” [or equality] consists of’ (Birkett 2000: 83), nor is it able ‘to agree on what a “woman” is’ (Birkett 2000: 83). This argument fits neatly with Hekman’s assertion that the ‘Universal “woman” is no longer employed in feminist discussions’ (2007: 541). Instead of confronting the weakness in defining terms, such as ‘woman’, ‘freedom’ and ‘equality’, feminists now adopt a broad multifaceted front from the perspectives of race, sexual orientation, age, ethnicity and disability. In my view, this broadened outlook dilutes the feminist agenda by merging it with too many divergent causes, and I need a narrower focus.

The methodological approach is ‘careful, politically focused, local analysis’ (Mohanty 1984: 345). Whether men’s dominant position produces perverse knowledge and is going on unchecked, possibly relating to the third dimension of power discussed by Lukes (1974) and Gaventa (1980), must be investigated. Oakley claims that the politics of masculinism can carry on without being questioned, as it is not really being investigated.

Theorising patriarchy is a minority interest, regarded with mistrust as tainted with the politics of feminism, while the biases in our knowledge due to the politics of masculinism go largely unnoticed.

(Oakley 2006: online)
Thus, my adopted method has three elements, as advocated by Mohanty (Hekman 2007). First, it seeks to place women politically, economically, culturally and socially as a distinctive, but not homogeneous, group within elite culinary arts. Secondly, like Oakley (03/03/06), I do not reject positivist methods outright agreeing that:

We still need quantitative methods to describe how women are doing - to test whether the rhetoric that we are all equal now stands up to empirical scrutiny.

(Oakley 2006: online)

Thirdly, as I do not regard women merely as a homogeneous, powerless and oppressed group of victims, I adopt Lukes' (1974) and the Foucauldian definition of power as multifaceted. Resistance to power is equally diverse in its application. My approach could therefore be labelled as a 'contextual methodology' (Hekman 2007: 542 cites Wing 2000).

3.4.2 Discourse analysis

The ten mechanisms illustrated in Figure 9 will be used as the basis for organising the data contained in the discourse analysis chapters 5-14. The aim is to test the research hypothesis using the conceptual framework set up in Figure 9.
The interview results concentrate on the rich views and the discursive constructs of the expert interviewees. These provide deep meaning and understanding, which is well suited to a comprehension of the complex issues underlying women’s non-participation as elite chefs. All interviewees were asked to consider each question in three dimensions. One dimension explored their evaluation of the issue. Another considered ‘activity’. Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, interviewees were asked to comment on ‘potency’ in relation to each question. I am working on the basis that by analysis of the discourse material it should be possible, as Foucault assumes (O’Farrell 2005), to put some order to the assembled knowledge of the industry experts.

For Foucault, power ‘operates in and through discourse’ and ‘lies in the articulation of distinctive forms of life in society’ (Holstein and Gubrium 2005: 491). Foucault’s research is about how social and cultural life serves to produce forms of identity and their corresponding subjective truths and knowledge (Filmer et al. 2004). According to Foucault, as humans, we are not the centre or agents of social development, but the products ‘of social relations’ (Filmer et al. 2004: 43). Thus, our knowledge is shaped by power (O’Farrell 2005) and the analysis of how words are put to work by discourse must take into account ‘how historically and culturally located systems of power/knowledge construct subjects and their worlds’ (Holstein and Gubrium 2005: 490,491). In my view ‘Foucauldian form of discourse analysis’ (Parker
1994: 95) is superficially true, though I see individuals as reasonable, responsible actors who, however much they may be subjected to and influenced by systems of power/knowledge, can opt to go against the prevailing tide and resist outside propositions, suggestions and impositions of their culture, society and social group (Foucault 1988).

Foucault has not given a theoretical framework to measure power, but provides a set of ‘analytics’ (Holstein and Gubrium 2005: 491) that help us to understand things as they are. As interview discourses are already influenced by external factors, such as social setting and history, the guidance provided by the research instrument, which is essentially feminist, serves to enrich ‘discursive repertoires’ (Byrne 2004: 183) and rhetorical strategies. By using the research instrument to get behind the EO façade, I may be able to expose the real reasons why a variety of attitudes are adopted and subjective truths are perceived by individuals.

Semi-structured interviewing of industry experts is about tapping-in to specialist experience. How the expert observers actively create and apprehend reality in the context of each research question is a matter of experience and consciousness. Schutz (1970: 271) cautions that:

The safeguarding of the subjective point of view is the only but sufficient guarantee that the world of social reality will not be replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer.
Thus, the expert observers are asked to consider the events or actions represented in the questions, which could be regarded as symbols around which they can position themselves ‘in the spirit of symbolic interactionism’ (Crotty 1998: 7). Great effort was expended on ‘framing, directing and harnessing passion in the interests of redressing grievous problems’ (Olesen 2005: 236) faced by women in some kitchens. Although the questions were asked identically, in the fashion of a structured interview (Fontana and Frey 2005), interruptions occurred from all discourse participants and considerable flexibility was given in the way in which expert observers answered. Where particular explanations and interpretation of meaning were requested, concise clarifications were provided as a ‘frame of reference’ (Bloch 2004: 172).

The objective basis of the subjective enquiry was the low participation of women as elite chefs (Table 2). However, the power processes that cause low participation are fluid and consequently more complex in terms of measurement. The optical instrument that the industry observers were prompted to use to view low participation is a set of lenses, or a social ontology, related to the third dimension of power (Lukes 1974). Thus, observers have an opportunity to account for and understand the phenomenon of low participation of women from the phenomenological perspective of power. Being invited to observe the low participation phenomenon, the observers were treated as distinct from the
phenomenon itself, and were asked to evaluate active and inactive power processes that may affect the objective reality.

Given the topic of research and my awareness of the methodological debate, my preference, in terms of validity, is to replace positivist nomenclature, such as internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity, with parallel constructivist terms like ‘credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 24) respectively together with ‘plausibility’ (Hammersley 1992: 70).

Validity in qualitative research of this kind is not so much about collection techniques but, rather, a matter of interpretation, concerning ‘the adequacy of the researcher to understand and represent people’s meanings’ (Tindall 1994: 143). Where tensions occur, and observations and opinions differ between interviewees, this does not make the data invalid. Huberman and Miles argue that ‘... it is always possible for there to be different, equally valid accounts from different perspectives’ (2002: 41). If validity is about interpretation, then applying a interpretative approach to a series of planned and unplanned discursive constructions will enable me to explore how observers interpret ‘... behaviour through the medium of their own subjective understanding ...’ (Davies 2007: 240). The aim is to evaluate power through observer’s experiences, lives, conditions and attitudes and how power processes
are working. The interpretative approach may sometimes blur the boundary between researcher and participant. It seeks to expose how historical developments and conservative traditions have helped shape the apparent consensus through power inequalities, or to establish whether the consensus was arrived at as a matter of choice.

Elite kitchens form a complex and dynamic arena and the qualitative results of this study are therefore not perfectly replicable (Banister et al. 1994). The work described here can be repeated but a change in researcher, informants and interpretation of the research instrument over time would produce a different piece of work as comprehensions are constructed through multiple realities. Therefore, the aim of this research is specific to the study rather than aiming at being perfectly replicable.

Cresswell (2007) identifies eight important strategies to check the validity or accuracy of results: triangulation, referring findings back to interviewees, in-depth descriptions to convey findings, explaining researcher bias, discussing discrepancies and contrary information, spending extended time in the field, debriefing with researcher’s peers and using an external auditor who is previously unknown to the researcher. A certain amount of triangulation is achieved by interviewing experts in different occupations such as education, retirement, consultancy, training and industrial catering. Also, thick,
in-depth descriptions have been used in presenting the findings. Rather than spending long periods in the field, purposive sampling aimed at obtaining interviewees with many years of extensive experience as observers. Additionally, contradictory constructs have been aired in discussion. Furthermore, I have openly explained issues concerning researcher bias. Although there has been no debriefing element in this study, using the above strategies strengthens the reliability of the findings and the validity of this research. By this means the evidence presented in this study is reliable because it is 'sufficient', ‘compelling' (Somekh and Lewin 2007: 348) and rigorous in terms of data collection and analysis.

Having chosen interviewing as an approach, it is evident that interviewees will be influenced and changed by the enquiry process and by reflecting on topics through in-depth (Byrne 2004) questioning. Listening and responding to each interviewee and keeping an awareness of non-verbal signals led to some repetition of the questions on occasions, or led to a prompt that gave opportunity for the other person’s view to be given. Each interviewee was given opportunities to respond individually, while maintaining the ethical imperative, to uncover truths.

Although some researchers reject the notion that men can be feminists because they lack a feminine consciousness (Stanley and Wise 1983),
Crotty argues that there are many feminisms, some bringing conflicting 'assumptions to their work' (1998: 161). It should be understood that a male interviewer, asking questions involving a feminist agenda, may have the effect of disarming or alternatively sobering the interviewee. The very fact that the interviewer is male must, of necessity, have some influence on the interviewees. The interview itself creates a hierarchical situation, because the interviewee is in the subordinate position and when the interviewee is a woman the effect could be increased (Fontana and Frey 2005). Whatever the interviewee's reaction to the gender of researcher, the researcher's influence over the interviewee must be considered when interpreting the data.

As a male lecturer and researcher, working in a Tourism, Hospitality and Events Management context, I could be open to criticism based on insider bias (Bishop 2005). Additionally, I acknowledge my own approach to EO for women involves a belief that intractable sexism still permeates the fabric of British society. I am also in agreement with Birkett's (2000: 120) criticism concerning a more extreme feminist 'regard for individualism and freedom', which led some to 'attack the social structures that were good for women' such as marriage and family. Every attempt was made to exclude my personal views at the beginning of each interview and stick to the specific questions on the research instrument (Appendix 2). However, when interviewees began fencing with these questions, I questioned them further to obtain deeper
clarity. Rhetorical strategies were recognised as I took an idealist rather than realist position (Byrne 2004).

The process of interpretation bridges the chasm between actions and our perspective of those actions. Difficulties of interpretation revolve around three methodological issues (Filmer et al. 2004: 40). First, 'indexicality', which is a matter of the occasion of the study; second 'inconcludability', which refers to the inevitability of supplementary data causing a change in interpretation and finally, 'reflexivity' by characterising low participation of women as a power issue will colour the researcher's perception of the problem. The long standing nature of women's low participation in elite kitchens may help minimise the problems of indexicality and inconcludability. Reflexivity resulting from the focus on 'power' was reduced by the introduction of two other dimensions of meaning, the 'evaluative' dimension and the dimension of 'activity', allowing interviewees to develop a rounded answer to each question. However, reflexive practice is openly employed throughout the process of my research because of the power dynamics I am faced with. Reflexive strategies are necessary to feminist research 'to reveal the inequalities and processes of domination that shape the research process' (Hekman 2007: 552).
3.5 Research methods

In selecting methods, Huberman and Miles (2002: 340) propose 'that the researcher start intuitively; think of the focus, or “heart,” of the study and build outward'. An intuitive approach to the study of gender in kitchens began after a consideration of gender equality in the tourism workplace.

After a consideration of the theory of power, intuition suggested that society’s conservative structures, individuals and groups may manipulate key power processes to women’s disadvantage in order to maintain the status quo, causing inclusion processes to fail. Such processes may maintain women’s low participation in senior positions in elite kitchens. Power was thus chosen as the heart of research and a set of statements and questions, relating to low participation of women in elite culinary arts jobs, were drawn up.

3.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

The legitimacy of this research emanates from the depth of insight obtained in a relatively small number of in-depth interviews. The research approach seeks to answer questions that could not be answerable by a merely quantitative approach and is more suited to
explaining the rich detail of interdependencies, processes and inconsistencies.

Four, semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2006/7 with expert industry observers, three men and one woman. Two joint interviews were conducted, one with two men and another with a man and a woman. Interviewees were asked to proceed through a series of PowerPoint slides. These contained a set of statements, including some tables and a vignette. Each statement was followed by three or four questions, identical to those in Appendix 2. Some expert interviewees asked to consider the questions prior to the interview so Appendix 2 was sent to them as an email attachment.

Interviews and joint interviews used the same structure, beginning with known issues and theories relating to interdependencies, processes and inconsistencies across all topics. The research instrument (Appendix 2) addresses 18 potential causes of women’s low participation in an attempt to be comprehensive (Bloch 2004). The questions were often developed from the results of the 2002 case study. The implication is that there is no likely single ‘causal claim’ (Hayduk and Pazderka-Robinson 2007: 148) that can result in women’s exclusion. In each case the questions operated as a framework around which the interview expanded. Interviewees were invited to quantify their responses where possible but, more significantly, they were also asked for examples and
richer, in-depth commentary on each issue raised. Latitude was given to allow unique contributions to develop, which enabled the interviewees to fill 'gaps' and clarify 'contradictions and difficulties' (Burman 1994: 51).

The questionnaire contains statements that are made from a feminist standpoint. Some questions focused on an evaluation of women's low participation in elite culinary arts. Is 5% participation of women good or bad? Attention was also drawn to actions that related to the numerical dominance of men. Was male dominance changing and if so at what rate and was it being opposed or was the status quo being actively maintained? In addition, questions were asked about the interaction of relational powers that may be maintaining women’s quiescence and non-participation. Interviewees were asked if the powers were weak or strong in relation to the low participation of elite women chefs.

A semi-structured interview gives the opportunity to introduce a multi-dimensional, preconceived set of questions that are thought to be important and then to probe for explanations. This approach allowed me to explore complex, dynamic issues in interpreting the social environment of the elite chef. A semi-structured interview allowed me the freedom to vary the topics and explore new avenues, which opened up during interviews, and interpret the world that the interviewees inhabit (Saunders et al. 2003).
By this means I have tried to achieve understanding or Weber's *verstehen*. Gerth and Wright Mills (1948: 56) comment on Weber's emphasis saying, 'Man can “understand” or attempt to “understand” his own intentions through introspection, and he may interpret the motives of other men's conduct in terms of their expressed or ascribed intention'. According to Manicas (2007: 11), *verstehen* is the ‘first step in the effort to provide causal explanations’ and is virtually synonymous with hermeneutics, which attempts to understand raw data by tapping into the richness of in-depth interviews, from the perspective of the interviewee.

High quality digital recordings were made as they can easily be backed-up and because they are much clearer than tape recordings. I transcribed these personally and this gave me the opportunity to run and re-run interviews in the transcribing process. Handwritten transcriptions were colour coded and sorted under ten thematic headings (Tonkiss 2004) using the ten power mechanisms drawn from the Literature Review (Figure 3). The original interview notes were kept complete to allow the researcher to re-examine statements in context. This enabled the researcher to trace inconsistencies where seeming contradictions occurred and give attention to tensions in each subject’s perspective. Rigour was thus ensured and a deeper understanding was obtained by this means. I then typed the hand written interviews
personally and further subdivided the data, at which point it was disaggregated and reorganised thematically in the ten categories depicted in Figure 3. This gave a further opportunity for reading and re-reading.

Lofland and Lofland (1995) advise that qualitative data analysis is not left until all the interviews have been completed and transcribed. Interviews were therefore transcribed as an ongoing activity as much as possible. This allowed me to become much more aware of emerging themes and the potential for digressions on certain “hot” questions.

The topics were clustered where possible so that similar themes could be linked and the subjects explored more thoroughly. Although the structure of the questionnaire limited the observers’ room for manoeuvre, each question had an open element to it. The tension of a structured approach was broken by providing opportunity to give ‘real world’ (Parker 1994 cites Brunsik 1947) examples and for interviewees to respond in a more open ended way to each question, while it gave me the opportunity of probing ‘lived experiences’ and to ‘value the narrative’ (Richardson 1993: 35). Consequently, interviewees could enter into some personal reactivity and by this means control the direction of the research. Interviewees’ standpoints have been accurately represented in the research process and careful interpretations made from information gathered to retain authenticity. The quality of this research depends on
coherent research findings in the sense that ‘they “fit” the data and social context from which they were derived’ (Fossey et al. 2002: 723).

I determined the salient questions (Appendix 2), partly by an analysis of the findings of 2002 case study, where the need for further research was indicated. Questions were sometimes constructed using quotations from the results of the 2002 case study (Such as Appendix 2, Questions 14 and 15). Tables of quantitative results from the 2002 case study were used to inform questions in the research instrument (Appendix 2, Table B). Others were constructed from issues that arose from ‘prior theories’ (Miles and Huberman 1994) covered in the literature review. Comprehensive coverage of the context of elite kitchens was the aim of the research instrument (Appendix 2).

Credibility is enhanced by the meaningful, context rich discourses (Denzin and Lincoln 2008) and was further enhanced by covering the widest possible range of topics including all of the following; unsocial hours, hard data about gender segmentation in elite kitchens and in the media, women’s and men’s responses, recruitment methods, uneven application of EO policies, gender stereotyping and aspirations, men’s resistance to EO, male dominance in kitchen culture, harassment, accommodating women in kitchens, social closure and positive action.
It is acknowledged that the generalisability or confirmability of data is reduced by the small sample size and the inevitable shortage of female experts available because of a history of women’s low participation in elite kitchens. Similar limitations concerning inability to obtain a wide variety of women’s views may be experienced in other cases where women fail to reach senior positions. Snowball sampling is the most applicable method for obtaining detached expert observers in these types of contexts. Confirmability may also be limited by the effect of gendered responses to a male researcher that relate to the issue of power relations between the researcher and the researched (Lincoln 1995) and the potential difficulty of obtaining a male researcher in another context. The discursive constructs that develop with a male interviewer using a feminist research instrument will probably produce a different reality than one in which a female interviewer is involved. Yet the findings include ‘thick descriptions for readers to assess the potential transferability and appropriateness for their own setting’ (Miles and Huberman 1994: 279). Where applicable, I have identified interviewee’s gender and I aim to make the discussion and conclusions generic enough to be applicable in other settings that may be of a different nature.

Some interviewees seemed drawn towards conforming to the structure of the research instrument and, on occasions, were suspected of being too compliant. Others were more inclined to resist and set their own
agenda, on occasions using wilful disruption of the feminist standpoint of some of the 18 research topics.

3.5.2 Semantic differentials

Barriers to women’s participation involve issues that are difficult to conceptualise and then to operationalise (Seale 2004). Research instrument design took considerable effort in terms of listing and communicating a set of components. The questions that follow each statement use bipolar semantic differentials to secure maximum clarity and scope in the answers. Thus, each question may be answered in three dimensions of semantic space (Figure 10). The example below compares two distinct objects in terms of an evaluation, activity and potency dimension.
The slug is considered to be relatively slow, bad and weak compared to the Labrador, which is relatively quick, good and powerful. Two points can thus be plotted in semantic space.

Expert interviewees' assessments of value, activity and power, relating to each question, form a framework upon which anecdotes and rich interpretations can be hung.
Adjectives were chosen to investigate the experiences, lives, conditions and attitudes amongst the expert industry observers. They were selected from the list tested extensively by Osgood et al. (1957). The particular adjectives were chosen to give the 'purest modes' of evaluation for each question. Sometimes four pairs were used to double check for dissonance in one particular dimension of the three. The same three dimensions of meaning were chosen to cover the whole questionnaire and they were the ones shown by Osgood et al. (1957) to have dominance. They are evaluation, activity and potency. Dimension one; the ‘evaluative’ dimension, aimed to answer whether a concept was good or bad while the second dimension; ‘activity’, focussed on dynamics and change. Thirdly, Osgood et al. (1957) identify ‘potency’, which might be understood using the characteristics of strength or weakness, softness or hardness, dependent on how they relate to each topic.

Industry experts were asked to rate their strength of feeling by marking each of three or four ungraded continua (Appendix 2), somewhere between the bipolar objectives, for each of the questions. Interviewees were given the option to answer neither if they felt that they could not express a view in any particular dimension, as advocated by Osgood et al. (1957).
3.5.3 Sampling

According to Patton (1990: 169) the:

... logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposeful sampling.

Well informed, expert observers who possessed a rich knowledge of the phenomenon of gender segmentation in elite kitchens were, in reality, exceptionally scarce, particularly women. Consequently, a purposive selection process was unavoidable and snowball sampling, in which participants identified others with direct knowledge relevant to the investigation being conducted, was used to locate observers through initial contacts. Interviewees’ combined experience in the industry amounted to over 240 years and most had prior experience working as chefs. Their unique perspectives offered relatively impartial alternatives to the potentially biased dispositions and management approaches of those currently employed as elite master chefs. The latter are still under the strong influence of the internal powers in the elite kitchen environment.

Snowball sampling, or ‘expert choice approach’ (Brotherton 2008: 172), was the technique used to select a small group of eight expert interviewees and, because of their rarity linked to low participation in
the elite sector, only two of the eight were women. Interviewees were
selected on the basis that ‘they can purposefully inform an
understanding of the research problem’ (Creswell 2007: 125). They are
people who are most likely ‘to have stories to tell about their lived
experiences’ (Creswell 2007: 128) in elite culinary arts. Interviewees
were also asked to suggest other experts who they considered might be
best placed to answer the questions being posed (Davies 2007).

Snowball sampling was undertaken because key informants were not
obvious at the start and assistance was necessary to identify potentially
valuable subjects where there was ‘no list of population available’ (Bloch
2004: 177). The snowballing method provided a purposeful sample by
referrals, limited to a single stratum of professionals (Table 1) who have
similar characteristics (Seale 2004). This gave an opportunity to get a
sense on industry networks and the discursive repertoire (Seale 2004)
in the context of gender in culinary arts.

Brotherton states that snowball sampling has ‘the disadvantage that
sample selection can become rather haphazard and dependent on the
subjective opinions of the people making the recommendations’ (2008:
172). Gerson and Horowitz (2002) cite the argument of Inciardi et al.
(1993) saying:

Readers and researchers alike need to be confident
that the findings reflect larger trends and not just
idiosyncrasies of a narrow or self-selected group. When possible, techniques especially likely to produce self-selection, such as snowballing or advertising should be avoided. When the contours or location of a particular group cannot be known in advance, strategies that rely on some form of self-selection may be the only way to find a sample.

(Gerson and Horowitz 2002: 205)

Interviewing people from one network may mean ‘that they might have similar experiences and this will bias the survey findings’ (Bloch 2004: 177). Babbie states, ‘Because this procedure ... results in [a] sample with questionable representativeness, it is primarily used for exploratory purposes’ (2007: 184). Yet Babbie (2007: 185) confirms that, ‘this procedure is appropriate when the members of a special population are difficult to locate ...’, as is the case here. However, by interviewing men and women, non-chefs, educators and consultants in the UK, a degree of data triangulation (Seale 2004) was achieved by demonstrating some convergence of evidence from geographically and professionally divergent sources.

3.5.4 Expert industry observer interviewees

My methodology involves research in the culinary arts community where ‘... non-actors ... become important, not as objects of scrutiny in themselves but to discover through their experiences, lives conditions and attitudes, whether and by what means power processes may serve
to maintain non-conflict' (Gaventa 1980: 27). Thus, eight non-actors were contacted and volunteered to participate in the semi-structured interviews, which were carried out in 2006/7. All had direct experience of working in or with elite culinary arts establishments and have been directly involved in education and training (Table 1).

One expert observer was involved in consultancy and two had moved laterally into industrial catering. Four interviewees had worked in senior chefs positions in elite kitchens, one of these had been a director of a country house hotel while working as head chef. Five were closely linked to the Academy of Culinary Arts (ACA). Four were ACA Academician Mentors. One had retired professionally but he continued to maintain an active interest in chef training. When working professionally, he had set up an Advanced Diploma in International Culinary Arts course in Higher Education (HE). He was in a senior position on the board of an elite professional organisation in culinary arts. The total number of years experience was over 240, which is an average for each interviewee of 30 years. Consequently, experts commented from a depth of understanding of industry practice, a breadth of experience in terms of length of service and a wide perspective in diversity of practical knowledge across the trade. The characteristics of the interviewees were purposive and their long experience meant they were not liable to the same degree of compliance
as less experienced, younger interviewee volunteers, who might feel a strong need for approval (Banister et al. 1994).

As well as teaching in hospitality in HE, three of the interviewees had or continued to be in management positions in HE. One of these men listed his professional bodies’ fellowships as: ACA, Institute of Hospitality (IH), Academy of Food and Wine Service (AFWS) and Institute of Business Consulting (IBC). His memberships of professional bodies included: Foodservice Consultants Society International (FCSI), Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD), Wine and Spirit Education Trust (WSET) Certified Educator, Chartered Management Institute (CMI), Guild of Food Writers (GFW) and Association de la Jurade de Saint-Émilion - prud’homme (Saint-Émilion). His professional bodies’ associateships included: The Restaurant Association of Great Britain (RAGB) (Lifetime Honorary) and Institute of Wines and Spirits (IWS).

Four individual interviews and two joint interviews, with two pairs of interviewees, were conducted (Table 1).
**Table 1: Biographical information on interviewees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Init.</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Yrs</th>
<th>Interests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J.B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Learning Coordinator Further Education (FE)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Teaching Young Chefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.R.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Hospitality, Course Director, HE</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Teaching F&amp;B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.H.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Gen. Secretary of Prof. body/ HE lecturer.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Pastry/Confectionary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Director/Proprietor of an F&amp;B Training Co.</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>F&amp;B/Hospitality Man.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Joint interview 1**

| Y.S.  | F   | Senior Lecturer in Patisserie, HE                | 33  | Advanced patisserie             |
| D.F.  | M   | Associate Dean, (Hospitality) HE                | 40  | Culinary Arts                   |

**Joint interview 2**

| M.O.  | M   | Head Pastry Chef in Industrial Catering         | 17  | Future Chef project             |
| B.E.  | M   | Operations Manager, Industrial Catering         | 21  | Craft Guild of Chefs            |

### 3.5.5 Piloting

The questionnaire (Appendix 2) was piloted before the 18 topics were finalised for use in the semi-structured interviews. Contextualising questions avoided any unnecessary confusion and ambiguity (Bloch 2004). The questionnaire was piloted twice with a view to minimising, in as far as is possible, dissonance between the meaning of the research question in the mind of the researcher and the interpretation of those meanings by the interviewee. Repeated piloting allows a more thorough assessment of the validity of the questions ‘on the basis of expert judgement’ (Burns 2000: 352). Each question was tested using three
pairs of adjectives and then provided to each interviewee in advance of the interview.

3.5.6 Ethical issues

The following points are usually considered in codes of ethics: voluntary participation, obtaining informed consent, protecting participants’ interests, researching with integrity (Blaikie 2009).

Voluntary participation was requested by email. The email explained who I was and informed the participant of who had referred me to them. I asked, ‘Would you be willing for me to visit you to conduct a recorded interview for research purposes?’ Participants were also informed that the interview concerned women’s participation in elite culinary arts and that the interview would be recorded. Deception was strenuously avoided and those who asked for prior viewing of the research instrument were emailed the full questionnaire.

The research hypothesis was shared at the commencement of each interview and each interviewee was asked for and gave informed consent regarding confidentiality. Participants were told that recording could be stopped at any time, if they requested not to be quoted, giving them an opportunity to opt out at any time. No one chose to withdraw information or opt out of the recording.
Researchers must take into consideration issues that may affect participants directly or indirectly and plan their research in respect of personal interests to ‘avoid any harm’ (Walliman 2006: 151). Although there was no risk of harm to interviewees during the interview process, when selecting data, I aimed to avoid exposing indiscretions, despite being given freedom to quote. I also used initials when referring to participants, as I felt it was unnecessary to use full names. Interview files and transcripts have been kept securely. I believe this adds integrity to the way in which the interviews were conducted and analysed.

3.5.7 Survey

Survey data was collected in 2010 to obtain a quantitative picture of the extent of women’s participation in elite kitchens. Expert industry observers were approached to find the best method for identifying elite kitchens and job titles. They agreed with Johnson et al. (2005: 170) that, ‘The Michelin star system in Europe is the best-known and most respected ranking system for high-quality or haute cuisine restaurants’ and the job titles were then established. Operational job titles were cross-checked between experts to maintain construct validity of the survey. Thus, the Michelin starred restaurants in the UK became the focus of the survey. Michelin (2010) listed 136 restaurants in the UK.
All were sent questionnaires by post and the response rate was 29.5%. Concerns about representative sampling and generalisability of the results were thus avoided, as all Michelin starred restaurants were surveyed. A follow-up email increased replies to 36.8%. Businesses were guaranteed anonymity. Despite this, it may be reasonable to suggest that kitchens where gender balance reflects poorly on EO were less likely to reply, making low participation more likely to be underestimated than overestimated in the results. Survey results are presented in Chapter 4.

3.6 Summary

I have taken a judicious approach to the selection of complimentary quantitative and qualitative methods. The first section of my results utilizes an objectivist epistemological approach and positivist theoretical perspective in collecting hard data about women’s participation in elite kitchens.

The second, more substantial section of my results is discourse analysis. I applied simple relativist ontology to the discourse analysis that was subjective and feminist. I adopted a participatory consciousness to seek the richer co-created multiple realities with my interviewees. The intension was to expose the subjective realities that
underlie the hard data, which demonstrated women’s exclusion from elite positions in culinary arts.

The research instrument (Appendix 2) comprises eighteen topics. Each topic is investigated using a set of 3-4 questions that address the three dimensions of semantic space: evaluation, change and power (Figure 10). Questions for each topic consequently address the complexity and scope of my aims and objectives by assessing the depth of feeling, the rate and type of change and perceptions of power. The questions were not specifically linked to each of the ten mechanisms (Figure 9) in order to avoid limiting the scope of discussion. However, each question provokes the discussion of complex, three dimensional power relations as they operate on potential power mechanisms such as those found in Figure 9.

In practice, the instrument was used both as a paper questionnaire, where interviewees were invited to mark a continuum (Appendix 2), while simultaneously showing the same questions as a series of PowerPoint slides in which the interviewees were invited to respond to one semantic dimension at a time (Figures 11 to 13). This ensured that no question or dimension of semantic space was neglected.
Figures 11 to 13: Examples of PowerPoint slides each showing the same statement on each slide, followed by a question focussing on each dimension of semantic space using semantic differentials. This approach was used in combination with the paper questionnaire (Appendix 2) in all interviews.
Chapter three: Research approach

My strategy was deductive and tested whether powers were operating in multiple dimensions (Lukes 1974) to polarise, alienate and consequently detach women from elite positions. I assembled the data under a number of headings, in line with the ten mechanisms shown in Figure 3.

The aim of chapters 5 to 14 is to analyse the field of power using perceptions and actions as they are portrayed in the discourses of the chosen expert observers. Each chapter is a ‘discourse set’ that relates to the functioning of relational powers operating in the context of the particular mechanism. Given the very nature of discourse it is impossible to keep every subject in neat boxes. Topics arise in each section that may relate strongly to other mechanisms. On occasions where particular themes are inseparable from others in the course of conversation, I have left such topics in place, for the sake of flow.
CHAPTER FOUR

SURVEY RESULTS

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CHAPTER FOUR

SURVEY RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Hard data is now needed to support the power discourses in chapters 5 to 14. To this end, a survey of staff structures in elite kitchens has been undertaken.

Caterersearch.com (2010) published contact details in an online database on 5 January. It is this listing that was used to contact all 142 Michelin rated restaurants in the UK in this staffing survey. The survey took place in April to June 2010 and quantitative results about the true extent of women’s participation in elite kitchens were obtained. There were 50 usable replies representing a 37.3% return rate. All restaurants were sent questionnaires and the initial response rate was 29.5%. The survey was undertaken by letter but, where no response was received to the letter, it was followed-up by an email request. This email increased replies to 37.3%. Businesses were guaranteed anonymity.
4.2 Headcount data

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) asked for a simple number (headcount) of employees by job title. Full-time and part-time, female and male employees were numbered against their respective job titles. The detailed list of job titles was compiled by referring to two expert industry observers.

The results are compiled in Table 2 with a column showing the percentage of the headcount in each role that is women rounded up to the nearest whole number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Males</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Number of Females</th>
<th>Number of Men &amp; Women in each role</th>
<th>%age in each role that are Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>278</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>612</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trainee positions had the highest proportions of women but 29% and 25% were well below parity proportions. Women often work as pastry
Chapter four: Survey results

chefs, which could be regarded as sous chef grade but the 26% proportion is again well below parity. Even lower proportions of women were found in other grades with most women finding work as basic chefs. Proportions of women fell in senior positions. It may be that the 12% of proprietor head chefs that are women entered their role through business purchase or marriage. More research is needed to establish the true reason for the 12% figure.

4.3 Staff proportions by grade and designation

Table 3 reveals that basic chefs represent 43.5% of all employees in Michelin starred kitchens. Full-time women occupied 12.5% of proprietor head chef’s roles. Returns showed no women executive head chefs. Percentages of part-time women are very low at all levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Males as a %age of employees in role</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Females as a %age of employees in role</th>
<th>Number in each role as a %age of combined number in all roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.3%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.6%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>22.6%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.8%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.6%</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.5%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Percentages of Male and Female, Full-time and Part-Time employees by Job Title and the number of staff working in each role as a percentage of the number in all roles, combined.
4.4 Average headcount per role in the kitchen

Of the 50 kitchens that replied, 13 (24.5%) employed 5 staff or less and Table 4 shows that the average number of staff employed in Michelin starred kitchens was 15.40%. The largest kitchens were in the London area (Table 5), as expected. In the UK, women employees employed in all positions averaged about 2 per kitchen.

**Table 4: Average Headcount Per Restaurant by Role**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Males Employed</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Number of Females Employed</th>
<th>Average Employees Per Restaurant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.80</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.24</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Gender of full-time staff in Michelin star restaurants

Figure 14 shows data for full-time staff from 50 (36.8%) of the Michelin starred kitchens that completed survey returns. Data presented are
mean ± SEM of full-time male (white bars) and female (black bars) proprietor head chefs (PHC), executive head chefs (EHC), sous chefs (SC), pastry chefs (PC), chefs (C), internal trainee chefs (ITC), college trainee chefs (CTC), pot washers (PW) and kitchen porters (KP), with statistical comparisons performed by Student’s t-test (**P<0.01; ***P<0.001).

**Figure 14: Mean full-time staff/restaurant**

All comparisons of men with women, with the exception of trainee grade employees, were significant in showing greater mean numbers of males compared to females, even in the sous chef role and in support staff (PW and KP roles).
4.6 Gender balance according to number of employees

For women staff, the 50 returns revealed (Figure 15) that there was no significance in the difference between proportions of women working in larger compared with smaller restaurants ($R^2$ value <0.75).

Figure 15: Percentage of women against total staff number in each restaurant

Larger organisations were expected to be controlled by HR departments that might require greater respect for the diversity management approach and compliance with EO policies. This could lead to higher proportions of women working in larger kitchens. However, proportions
showed no significant difference and it can be safely concluded that HR does not significantly influence gender balance in most cases.

4.7 Regional variations in the percentages of women

Table 5 shows London, the north of England and Scotland returning the highest proportions (18% or more) of employees that were female. The English midlands returned the lowest proportion of women at only 6.8%.

**Table 5: Regional variations in the percentages of women working in Michelin starred restaurants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>All Staff</th>
<th>Restaurant Count</th>
<th>Average staff / Restaurant</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>%age of Staff that are Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Number of Women Total as a %age of All Staff Total** 16.0%

**Average UK staff / Restaurant** 15.6

49 of the 50 returns were usable, as one was anonymous.
4.8 Summary

Some industry experts felt that it was spurious to draw any conclusions about the low participation of women at senior levels of elite kitchens from the 5% of women academicians listed (Appendix 2, Table A) by the ACA (2005). Other expert industry observers said the 5% of women academicians listed by the ACA (2005) was generally representative of the proportion of women working in senior positions in elite kitchens. The latter observation proved to be true.

**Table 6  Key facts about proportions of women**

| Percentage of staff that are working as Head Chefs, or above, that are Women | 5.7% |
| Percentage of staff working as Sous Chefs, Pastry Chefs or Chefs that are Women | 15.3% |
| Percentage of staff that are working as Trainees that are Women | 26.7% |
| Percentage of staff that are working in Support roles that are Women | 14.3% |

Table 6 shows the 5.7% proportion of women working in the top three senior chef’s positions in the Michelin starred restaurants is very much in line with the 5% proportion of women ACA academicians (ACA 2005).

All of the above data confirms the low proportions of women working in elite, Michelin starred kitchens, throughout the UK. It also confirms that there are more women proportionately in training and low status grades. This situation begs questions about recruitment, Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.), education and promotion.
opportunities in employment. Regional variations and the effect of HR departments must also be considered in the light of these results. The following qualitative data must now be used to give some in-depth evaluation of these issues and the review of the ten power mechanisms (Figure 9) begins with antecedence.
CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: INTERVIEWS AND JOINT INTERVIEWS

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CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: INTERVIEWS AND JOINT INTERVIEWS

5.1 Introduction

The central aim of this study is to test the conceptual framework (Figure 9). The previous chapter presented hard data to establish the extent of women's participation at various levels in elite Michelin starred kitchens throughout the UK. This chapter presents interview and joint interview data and discusses that data in an attempt to expose the complex relational powers that lead to women's low participation. The objective is to measure the extent to which ten individual power mechanisms (Figure 9) underpin outcomes such as women's polarisation, alienation and detachment from senior positions in elite kitchens.

Expert observers are referred to interchangeably as interviewee, observer or expert and gender is indicated where relevant. The interviewees were each given a questionnaire (Appendix 2). 18 statements were read, and a series of questions followed each statement, comprised of several sets of bipolar semantic differentials. These differentials offered extreme opposites to prompt interviewees. Experts were invited to discuss and mark a series of continua.
Chapter five: Results and Discussion: Interviews and Joint Interviews

The evidence is now arranged under the ten headings, where it is discussed and contextualised. Each heading represents a single power mechanism but power is complex so each section begins with a precise definition to prevent, in as far as possible, any overlap of discussion. In each section, discussions include evidence for powers operating in the third dimension working both for and against women’s inclusion.
5.2 Antecedent

A thing or circumstance which goes before or precedes in time or order; often also implying causal relation with its consequent.  
(*Antecedent*, OED 2011: online)

Previous principles, conduct and history have an antecedent impact on present conditions in employment. According to Darina Allen (Allen 2009: broadcast) both helpful and unhelpful traits and attitudes in the kitchen can be directly ‘passed from generation to generation’. Feeney (23/02/11), CEO of PZ Cussons Beauty, extended the discussion of antecedence into the third dimension of power when she said:

Women are ... excluded just by the way things have been. In certain industries that are male-dominated, it’s much harder to break through.

This perspective suggests that ‘the way things have been’ has a causal effect on the ‘way things are’. Commenting on elite chefs in general, one male expert said:

It’s just they’re entrapped in ... you know, it’s always been a male domain and that’s the way they want it to stay, I guess.

Many years ago, Mosman took over the Dorchester at the age of twenty eight and he wasn’t frightened to take on women chefs ... The older generation, in the West End, at the time, had never seen anything as outrageous as ... and they [men] just left in their droves. They didn’t want to see this sort of revolution.

Focussing more particularly on elite kitchens, the French have had an enormous antecedent influence on ‘high status Western cuisine’
(Ferguson and Zukin 1998: 92). One man asserted that, ‘the French have an awful lot to call for ... I’ve heard of people workin’ right through the night ... and someone has come in, in the morning, and they’re slumped over a table, ‘cause they’ve got this work ethic.’

In the UK, French chefs were behind the establishment of the ‘elitist’ Academy of Culinary Arts (ACA 2010a: online), an influential, professional body whose objectives include a focus on ‘education and training programmes and the provision of career opportunities’ (ACA 2009 & 2010b: online). One expert reported that ‘France dictated’ ACA policy on membership until the 1990s. Women represent 5% (Table A) of these ACA (2005) Academicians.

One expert asserted that it would be ‘spurious’ to draw conclusions about women’s low participation in elite kitchens from this figure. While ‘there’ll be a lot of restaurateurs there ... it’s very much the profit sectors’ ... there’s academics in there ... so it’s very unrepresentative ... and untypical of the proportions of elite chefs. However, one female expert said, ‘I think ... operating, women ... head chefs would be even less [than 5%]’. One female interviewee, who stated that she knew the ACA very well, said, ‘I would say it is representative, yes’.

One female interviewee in a joint interview said, ‘I don’t see changes occurring.’ ‘If changes occur they’ll be very slow’, agreed a male
interviewee, ‘... that elite five percent, it’s very stable isn’t it?’ These views were consistent with most of the interviewees. One male disagreed saying that the proportions were ‘typical at the moment, but to me it is fermenting. The younger chefs, I feel, are more open-minded to accept a female equivalent ... and there are more facilities for women’.

The survey of British Michelin starred restaurants confirmed that, of staff working at Head Chef level or above, 5.3% were female (Table 2). ‘Yes,’ a male expert continued, commenting on the low proportion, ‘it’s certainly typical’ of ‘very upmarket’ establishments. ‘In France it’s even worse. You’ve never seen bias like the French.’

The existence of a module entitled ‘Culinary and conversational French’ on chef apprenticeship courses demonstrates that French culture is still promoted to some extent as part of a chef’s training in colleges. Visiting Jean Varenne College around the late 1980s revealed to one interviewee that they had never taken a woman chef onto one of their courses. American women who had come over to take courses in France around that time found the prominent gender issue a new experience. The French found it very difficult to cope with women chefs. Another interviewee discussed recommending a female chef to a top French chef:

He rang me up and I said, ‘Yes because she ... professionally, no problem’ ... So you see, that would never have happened twenty years ago, that a top Michelin Star restaurant, a top restaurant; I mean he was number two on the best restaurant in the
world but he would actually recruit an English pastry chef, female.

Some asserted that British attitudes are regarded as ‘less biased’ and have to some extent ‘moved on’. However, others found that, in the UK, ‘if you’re a chef you’re just a servant’ while ‘on the continent it’s more of a recognised trade’, but neither approach has overturned gender exclusion. Experience in a Swiss German kitchen presented a similar attitude where ‘men didn’t like females and certainly didn’t like British.’ As a British woman chef, ‘I was up against it ... Now there you have an issue’.

A strong antecedent Western European culture of male supremacy in elite kitchens has undoubtedly shaped the exclusion of women in the UK, ‘That’s how it’s always been’ said one woman, asserting that the argument for male dominance is still ‘strong ... and complex’ and this indicates the operation of power in the third dimension.

Executive chefs, ‘Maitres des Cuisenaire’, or whatever their title happens to be, they are gods in their own lands and years ago, going into a kitchen as a female, in my role I used to feel uncomfortable ... but there’s a thing about Human Resources (HR) and chefs ... which perpetuates still today ... chefs think HR is rubbish. I think those are from the personnel days when there was only half a person in an office for half the week and things never really got done but with all the legislation ... and everything having to be ratcheted up, the chefs now are accountable to HR.

HR should answer the problem of antecedent organisational structures and processes that exclude women. Although HR is regarded as
stronger, because of its increased role in promoting compliance with legislation, my results (Figure 15) demonstrate that, even in larger organisations where we might assume a greater HR influence, there is no overall effect on overcoming the antecedent influence on women’s low participation. Thus the positive rhetoric about HR (Hoque and Noon 2004) may serve to prevent key issues about women’s real participatory interests from emerging and being articulated (Gaventa 1980).

Yet, Hoque and Noon (2004) do assert that, in order for HR to be successful, it must be developed in supportive cultures. My results show that antecedent influences promote women’s continued exclusion. Thus, a break away from antecedent influences is needed. This invites the question; how can elite culinary arts be detached from its context without losing its identity? The HR solution to antecedent influences on women’s underrepresentation contradicts what it means to be ‘Maitres des Cuisenaire’ and leads me to the conclusion that current solutions to patriarchal antecedence are a mirage.
5.3 Institutional

Of, pertaining to, or originated by institution; having the character or function of an institution; furnished with institutions, organized.

(‘Institutional’, OED 2011: online)

The survey revealed that Michelin starred restaurants varied in size, having from 1 to 62 kitchen staff. Many standalone restaurants were too small to have HR departments, but where they did operate, the balance of power between head chefs and HR officers favoured HR.

They don’t like answering to them because, quite often, HR come down with loads of paper work and like a ton of bricks say, ‘Chef this isn’t right, you can’t do this,’ and chef gets very prickly and the names I’ve heard them called is absolutely unbelievable. But HR is now getting the backing of GMs [general managers] and MDs [managing directors] and they’ve got to [be answerable] because, as John Williams will say to you, ‘The newspapers are just waiting.’ They’re just waiting for the first major accident where health and safety, EHO (Environmental Health Officer) goes in with a check book. ‘How long have you been working? When did you last have a break? When was your last day off? Why have you worked a twelve day stretch?’ which they do as you know.

‘And who do you work for?’ I added:

Of course they will ... But these companies know and they have to protect themselves and they have to abide by the law. So from that point of view of the big boys are toeing the line but when you get to your hotel in North Wales or in Worcester or wherever, this [lack of accountability] is perpetuating, I’m quite sure.
Dickens (1998: 36) suggests that Human Resource Management (HRM) ‘techniques may contribute to the gendering process’. Kirton and Greene (2005: 239) assert that ‘cost-minimisation and opportunism seem to over-ride equality and diversity agendas for leaders, leaving a gap between rhetoric and reality’, particularly in small country establishments according to one interviewee.

Regression analysis (Figure 15) was used to plot the percentage of women employed against a total head-count of employees. The R² value is 0.0018, much less than the 0.75 minimum required to show a significant correlation. This demonstrates that there is no significant relationship between overall women’s participation and the size of the staff compliment in Michelin starred kitchens. The rhetoric is that HR should improve women’s participation but the reality is otherwise, indicating the operation of power in the third dimension to prevent injustice being articulated (Gaventa 1980: 27).

The media also suffers from institutional difficulties. The BBC had eleven women and thirty four men posted on the food and chefs pages of their website (BBC 2005), a much better proportion than the ACA. Yet, few of the women were trained chefs. Considering the BBC as an institution, one female interviewee said, about BBC researchers:

..they ... should be seeking out in their research and looking instead of just saying, ‘Oh well, let’s have Brian, let’s have Ainsley,’ and, you know, they’re all
the tried and tested ... let’s er ... ‘We need some new faces on here and let’s get some female ones ... let’s get some girls in on the act.’ I mean, you know, Anthony and James and Brian and that’s Ross isn’t it and er, gosh Paul Rankin, Northern Ireland. Yes, he’s a member of the Academy. OK, you’ve got new blood in here, you’ve got Jamie and I suppose Gordon is, to an extent. They’re probably the newest on the block aren’t they, really? Maybe they’re just happy with the status quo because these guys are showmen. ... maybe it’s the BBC’s job. I mean, they have research departments ... getting paid large amounts of money. Why are they complacent with this? Why aren’t they out there saying, ‘Let’s find something, you know, someone new?’

Asked about gender balance in culinary arts on the BBC and whether it is effective or ineffective in relation to women’s participation in the industry she added:

I would say they’re being very effective by not having any more women in there. ... I think it’s a negative effect.

Responding to the notion that this perceived bias may be changing, she said, ‘I would probably say it’s unchanging.’ Thus, according to interviewees, institutional bias is fixed in a way that is unsupportive of women’s inclusion.

One observer argued for the positive effective of media power on recruitment and provided an example saying:

Do you know, until I actually looked at this, I had never thought about this before. With Jamie Oliver for instance, being on TV – he was an ex-student of Westminster College and as a result of him being on television and the profile, the number of applications that Westminster got, of people wanting to be chefs, went up but that wasn’t necessarily the gender
issue. It wasn’t all lads wanting to be chefs. There was a mix. It was the number of applications that went up.

This highlights the media’s ability to change people’s perceptions of an industry and influence recruitment. Although this power could be channeled to address ‘the gender issue’, the media has currently shown itself indifferent.

‘Tokenism’ makes it difficult for women to be recognised for their technical abilities above their gender and ‘physical appearance’ (Kanter 1993: 216). They are ‘public creatures ...’ that may be celebrated and sometimes paraded in ways that can violate ‘... the woman’s sense of personal dignity’ (Kanter 1993: 213). Where a woman works well enough to expose the inferior skills of a male colleague, there may be retaliation. Minority women tokens may even experience dominant male groups ‘uniting against’ them as outsiders (Kanter 1993: 224) and they can get ‘grief’ (White et al. 2004: 183) in the kitchen.

Multiple references to Leith and Hartnett indicated that they were so exceptional in the culinary arts system that few other women could be cited. Successful women become ‘highlighted’ (Kwan 2010: online, Sims 2008), ‘iconised’ tokens, and can find it ‘irritating’. After expressing general optimism about increasing women’s participation one man said:

it depends on what your particular motivation and background is. It is changing. If you were looking at the profile a few years ago compared to what it is
now, there are more women. The only disadvantage of that is that they become iconised. So for instance, you know Angela Hartnett becomes, ‘Oh isn’t it fantastic, this person is a chef?’ Or Pru Leith or people like that. They become like hotel ... Amanda Scott who’s a general manager at the Waldorf Hilton and fed up of being invited to speak at things because she’s a woman managing a hotel. They take on this sort of iconised status ... [laugh] ... It’s quite irritating. [laugh]

Elite women chefs have certainly been influenced by an atmosphere that has led them to feel comfortable holding two contradictory beliefs. The difficulty of simultaneously promoting women’s ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ is clearly operating at this micro-level. Such contradictions lead to a sense of powerlessness and even confusion about the issues that affect women.

Even when media institutions appear to include women, the women are largely not trained chefs and thus the media is creating a mirage of inclusion. Even when they are trained chefs, very few get to ‘finally cut the Gordon Ramsay apron strings’ (Prynn 2010: online) and still have to carry this association as men’s respected ‘seconds in command ... the boss’s indispensible secretary’ (Guerrier 2004: 156).
5.4 Systemic

Kanter (1993: 264) sees the ‘real problem’ as ‘the ways systems of work are organised’. This limits opportunities and creates power imbalances. ‘Understanding more fully the structural conditions that impact on human behaviour in organisations’ allows us to ‘choose more appropriate policies and programmes to improve quality of work life and promote equal employment opportunity’ (Kanter 1993: 264).

Ambition, drive and total commitment are emphasised in the elite system. Those who aspire to have a family, with an associated career break, would not be employed but weeded out at ‘interview stage’ when interviewers would be thinking, ‘is she really up to it?’ This issue flies under the radar, suggesting that powers of exclusion are operating in the third dimension (Lukes 2005).

There exists a frozen hardcore of elite chefs de cuisine that seems unlikely to change. These chefs imbibe a continental style. The system demands unreasonable patterns of work, hours and runs kitchens by unwritten codes of practice that are quaint, if not bizarre, and hostile to
women’s inclusion. There seems to be some hostility to women returners who according to one man who said that those who:

... want to come back to work and they have a family. So, if you can fit that into your daily routine, which often you can, it would depend on what sector they’re in as to whether it would be acceptable. ... Such as contract caterin’ would be probably suited to a young mother than a hotel perhaps but havin’ said that there are jobs within hotels and restaurants where, if they’ve got the skill the chef requires, they could be fitted in to the rota somehow, within reason, be it on a part-time basis or ... Allowances could be made if the candidate had the right skill factor and it was a bit of a give and take scenario.

This led to mention areas where time was not the crucial factor. Staff feeding, larder work and pastry work, depending on the scale of the pastry, were identified as sections where the timescale isn’t a crucial factor.

I think it depends on the type of job they are going ... ‘cause you got such a big broad band of cheffing, whether it be a normal restaurant, whether it be a cafe, or whether it be a Michelin Star place or whether it be contract catering, your working hours and the parameters that you have to work within are so vast. ... If you go into your really high, hardcore caterin’, you work straight shifts, where you start at seven in the mornin’ and you finish at whenever you finish the job. That could be four in the afternoon ... when it’s supposed to finish or it could be seven, eight, nine o’clock at night and I think the hardcore will never change. I think that is what it is and if you wanna get on, you have to put in the work, you have to put in the hours, and you have to put up with all sorts of things. I’m not saying it’s right but that’s what the job is and that’s what is almost the unwritten rule. That’s what is expected and that’s what you do.
Chapter five: Results and Discussion: Interviews and Joint Interviews

The proportion of young women chefs with high aspirations does not match the proportions that eventually succeed in the commercial sector. Why do so many graduates leave it? Well, in terms of the hours... it's wrong... and [elite kitchens] are actually not a great employer', even when chefs make it to the top.

One male observer had actively recruited women when he had been a head chef because of their 'creativity' and because they suited the non-macho culture of his kitchen.

I think there are an awful lot of macho males out there who wanna keep it as a male domain. I can't say I fit into that category at all because, oddly enough my experience, when I worked in the S..... M..... Hotel for ten years was, nearly all of my staff were female. My personal understanding was that they were better workers, they were more reliable [and] they had a good understanding.

The civilizing effect of 'one woman' on the unprofessional behaviour of men led some head chefs to approve of a better gender balance.

I think they [men] are disapproving [of low levels of women’s participation]. That's certainly when I sit and talk to head chefs, executive chefs. ... So many of the executive chefs now like to have as many girls in the kitchen as they can because it's like having women bouncers isn't it, outside nightclubs? It kind of takes away all this ... testosterone thing. And they say to me, 'Well you know the girls work as hard as the boys, if not, some of them, harder.' But they just bring this new leaven into the kitchen, which the head chefs welcome so much, so much. Even the Gordon Ramsey's, who I've never, never spoken to; he's not a member of the Academy but er... even he was very disapproving at the beginning wasn't he and now I think he's changed his tune quite a lot but I think that's probably his P.R. company that
said he’s going to do that. [laugh] So they respond to low levels of women’s participation. They disapprove of the fact that women’s levels are low.

A male expert agreed:

Well I think men are pretty ... positive about women coming into the industry. I mean we all want more people to enter this, the hospitality industry because of the skill shortages. So I think all men are generally pretty positive about that.

The female interviewee in this joint interview also firmly agreed. This is supported by Harris and Giuffre (2009: 15) who found that some elite women chefs claimed that ‘the kitchen is more professional, calmer, and that there is less sexual harassment because of the example they set and the norms and culture they have established’. Nevertheless, one man said:

I think it sometimes would be useful to have more women around because they’re very creative in certain areas but again it’s one of those things, you know? What you’ve got is what you deal with so I’m not going to sit there and dwell on thinking I’ve only got three female chefs in there and twenty male chefs. To me there are twenty three chefs.

Some observers argued that they did not want to change ‘the culture of the kitchen to be more ‘woman friendly’’, as they saw this as a reinforcement of the idea that ‘women are inferior chefs’. While ‘younger chefs ... are more open-minded to accept a female equivalent’, men feel ‘uneasy’ or ‘unsettled’ under female chefs, leaving individual women in ‘the minority’, having to fight harder ‘to prove themselves’ and gain respect. Even outside the professional circle of head chefs, women ‘are
generally considered incapable'. Sexist remarks 'are always the same'; offensive jokes and gestures are made 'all the time'.

Women's complaints are constrained by their desire to get on and by the 'very scary' culture and macho 'language'. One female said:

Some people I've worked with in hotels, they're died-in-the-wool, anti-females a lot of them. ... These people are still around.

Asked if women are generally incapable of bearing the stress of the elite kitchen one man said:

I think there are people who think like that. I mean like you say there are a few examples of women who've proved it wrong. Angela Hartnett probably being the best example but even she, I mean I've heard her say you know ... she sacrificed having a family and everything else in order to be as successful as she has. She's ... not married, as far as I know, and in order to achieve what she did. Whether she would have achieved it if she'd stopped, had a family, I don't know.

Unsocial hours that can be detrimental to family life are prevalent in elite kitchens, 'big time'. One male interviewee said:

... yes it's true, within a hotel situation or a restaurant situation, but it isn't necessarily true within industrial catering and contract catering sectors. In relation to hotels, I think it's acceptable because that's the way it is. There's no point saying it's unacceptable because the industry works twenty four hours a day, seven days a week, offering services 365 days a year. So, to suggest that it could be anything other than acceptable, I think is inappropriate. It has to be acceptable because that's the nature of the industry and calling it unsocial hours I find strange when the majority of people in this country actually work what is called unsocial hours because the majority of people work in the
service industries. People don’t work nine to five in this country, despite what people think. As far as the other side goes, masculine/feminine, well it’s neither. Why should it be one or the other?

Split shifts and ‘unacceptable hours go with the nature of the beast.’ One man spoke emphatically about the unchanging nature of the system, saying, ‘If that is the business; if the business is such, it’s unsocial hours. Then it is non-negotiable.’ He qualified this by alluding to the variety of different businesses within the industry.

... if somebody feels extremely strongly about the unsocial hours, then they should choose the section of the industry where it suits their idea. So to me it’s non-negotiable.

Hours are an ‘acceptable ... part of the business’ and, consequently the push for ‘more State intervention’ (Doherty 2004: 445) and WLB initiatives to counteract the long-hours culture is academic rather than realistic, as it is incongruous to the nature of the system.

‘It’s a masculine thing,’ said one woman. Another male interviewee commented on how women accept unsocial hours, saying:

[Concerning] ... real hard and fast Five Star hotels. I know there was a young lady that was here yesterday, who’s workin’ in the pastry and she’s doin’ sixteen hours a day, startin’ at, sort of, four thirty in the mornin’ ‘til whenever, nine o’clock at night. So, in those instances, no, it’s not changin’. I think that in certain sectors of the industry the roles are so demandin’ because of general cutbacks and lack of skill base that whereas you have ten in an area to run it, now you have six, but you still have ten peoples’ work.

Another expert commented that:
Generally speakin’ they’re unacceptable hours. A lot of times you don’t get paid for your overtime. That’s part and parcel. I wouldn’t think twice of workin’ thirteen, fourteen, fifteen hours a day. It didn’t bother me.

At first, one female interviewee rejected the notion that unsocial hours were related to a masculine approach. Yet, when asked directly, ‘You don’t think it’s a man thing then; a macho thing to do unsocial hours?’ she vacillated, saying:

Hmm ... Now you put it like that. Yeh, it’s er ... cutting the mustard isn’t it really. Yes, yes. So, it is a masculine thing. [Yet women] ... do exactly as they [men] do and they accept everything that the boys accept.

One man said:

... if you want to get to the top of your profession you’ll have to put in the work whether you’re male or female. I think that shouldn’t make any difference.

Another man agreed, ‘I’ll treat you exactly the same, male or female. It don’t make no difference there whatsoever.’ Men are accepting excessive workloads as part of the system, even when say they believe them to be ‘unacceptable’. Women are expected to compete effectively with men on the basis that there must be equal treatment in the kitchen. Men appear to be content that they are not discriminating on gender by treating women as the same. This notion is contested by Cockburn (1991: 10) when she highlights that it is not ‘in fact equality, but equivalence’ that is needed. Yet, experts took a defensive line in reasserting that treatment must be equal in the workplace.
Powers, which operate to shape consciousness and determine conceptions of the necessities that qualify a person to be an elite chef, are not contested. Such powers create the social myth that excessive hours are natural and legitimate in the elite kitchen and are part of the third dimension of power (Gaventa 1980). Conflict, about the means by which these ideas, beliefs or roles become socially legitimate, only materialises in academic circles, while the system remains unreformed.

‘Word-of-mouth is ... used, a massive amount’, ‘hugely’ and ‘goes on all the time’ in recruitment, ‘I didn’t advertise for staff for eight years but it was a kind of word-of-mouth thing’. An old boy’s network is ‘definitely’ operating in the system and ‘it’s strongly perpetuating the situation ... it’s widespread’. The same expert also argued that women’s exclusion is not ‘intentional at all’. Yet, it seems somewhat absurd that the words ‘not intentional’ can legitimise or hide the effects of an ‘old boy’s network’, preventing women’s exclusion from being recognised, let alone challenged. One male interviewee justified the network, saying:

You could interpret it like that but I don’t think it’s ... I wouldn’t necessarily put it like that. I think that in any industry like this you’re going to get a situation where ... Let me give you other examples. If you’re part of the Johansen Guide, it’s a marketing consortium; Hotels join it. They end up in a Johansen’s Guide; all prestige, sort of four and five star properties. Now, what tends to happen is, because those hoteliers know each other. If they are looking for somebody they will contact other people within that association. It’s the same with the Academy. It’s the same with the guild of Chefs. It’s the same with any association whether it be for
marketing purposes or whether it's for other purposes like a trade association. It's going to inevitably lead to that type of activity. Now, I wouldn't call that an old boys' network. I think it may operate like one but it's just simply using the opportunities you have. That's why you work for those sort of places.

Asked whether this might cause or perpetuate a gender imbalance and how strong its effect might be, he said:

I don't think it is actually. My view is that I don't think it is. The practice is certainly widespread but whether it is affecting gender balance is. I don't know ...

The continuing use of the old boy's network was justified on the basis that it was related to shortages of staff. 'The majority' of top positions in multinational companies 'never get advertised', showing that 'unconscious as well as invisible' (Hakim 1996: 186) discrimination is facilitated by common recruitment practices. Job consultants are also used to track down desirable candidates. Advantages accrue from being members of consortia where accolades and elitism are important for prestige. One expert said:

It's changing now; there are more consultancy, job consultants around than ever there were, for the top jobs, especially in the UK. Because in the UK, who owns the hotel groups, multi-nationals ... It must be 80% are multi-national companies and their programmes dictate, to a certain degree how you recruit. So that is changeable. In France where you still ... or on the continent, even take Switzerland ... I don't know that it's about fifty-fifty, private ownership to multinationals. Most of these three star Michelin restaurants they are chef patrons, so there it's word-of-mouth.
Regarding word-of-mouth recruitment methods, one male expert digressed, saying, 'I don’t think many women want to work in hotel kitchens, do they?' A female expert in the joint interview answered, 'It’s not an ... no ... it’s not an exciting or enticing position is it ... really.' They were then challenged, '[Yet] ... men ARE doing it.' The woman responded, 'Hmm ... That’s what they deserve.' The man added, 'I think they [women] find there’s better jobs outside.' The woman in the joint interview agreed. Experts in this joint interview agreed that London kitchens tend to rely more on agencies than word-of-mouth and where women see better jobs outside the industry they are opting for the better conditions.

Social closure in the professions is a strong and comprehensive term used to describe a position where ‘legitimate membership and ineligibility is made clear and supported ideally with the weight of state and its legislature’ (Cornelius 2002: 183). Almost complete male dominance in elite kitchens may represent social closure and explain women’s quiescence in the face of continual defeat. This leads some women to say, 'What’s the point of me trying? I won’t get it because I’m a woman'. One woman asserted that an ‘aspirational answer' would be that social closure is ‘incomplete, but’ she reflected, ‘to be a realist I would probably say it’s complete ... It’s going to take a while. I think it’s quite possible it’s increasing.' 'I don’t see changes occurring'.
Such an expression of powerlessness may be conditioned by the experience of continual defeat. Withdrawal, fatalism, self-deprecation and indifference to circumstances that result are an indication of power operating in the third dimension. This resignation highlights the limitations in attempting to apply Cockburn’s (1991: 214) utopian notion of dismantling the ‘white male monoculture of power’ through political alliances. To some, the status quo appears fixed against such change.

I think pretty much they do, yeh. I’m not aware of anybody who’s out and out tryin’ to change it. I mean certainly the army has been quite good, insomuch as they introduce women into their kitchen areas. The women are very good ... You know, the officers and people could see it and so er ... I think they were pretty much given equal opportunity.

When asked whether men were interested in responding to women’s low participation one male respondent said:

I think they [men/the establishment] do not respond at all.

One female challenged this line, saying:

Oh, no ... they’re active about it, yes. ... they are very happy to employ apprentices in the kitchen who are female.

Another female interviewee agreed, saying:

No. I think originally it was like this. You know, a million years ago and it’s gradually changing. It is changing. We’ve got women in kitchens now whereas in karem’s [might mean former] times you wouldn’t have women in kitchens.
Female experts argued the case against social closure, by asserting that there are now ‘women in kitchens’. However, to argue that 5% participation, as opposed to 0%, proves that the industry has not just ‘changed’ but is ‘changing’, may be wishful thinking. However, one male observer also denied that social closure was complete, saying:

As a whole, I don’t think it has occurred. I think, if anything, maybe the industry is becoming a bit more accessible.

This denial of a degree of social closure was supported by another male expert, saying:

No, No, I don’t think so. I feel that ... there are more opinions for women than there ever were. So, it can’t be that women are being excluded ... not accepted.

Asking about changeability may run against the entire nature of the system because it is so customer focused. If you changed the gender balance it would no longer be the elite culinary industry, leading one man to say, ‘It’s unchanging really. I don’t see how it could be changed’.

One male interviewee said that gender imbalance was discussed ‘quite overtly, yes, yes. It’s spoken about, yes, but nothing done’. Another man said, ‘It’s not going to change in my lifetime’. Experts were generally resigned to either a slow or frozen approach to change, in an industry that responds only to consumer demands, competitiveness and the bottom-line, to the neglect of individual staff needs. System adequacy breeds contentment, leading one expert to assert that:

An awful lot of these chefs are not actually the best. There are people who would do a much better job as a head chef but are not prepared to do the hours.
After considering the systemic workings of the culinary arts industry, 'more appropriate policies and programmes to improve quality of work life and promote equal employment opportunity' (Kanter 1993: 264) could be proposed. Yet, the results have highlighted a 'complex unity' ('System', OED 2011: online) content with the status quo and disinterested in supporting the application of policies and programmes that would reform unsocial hours, macho culture and word of mouth recruitment. Such corrective policies would go against the grain of the system.
5.5 Personal

The personal mechanism is rich, as it naturally embodies individual transition and immense variety. Private life and public service operate in an infinite number of contexts. The interaction between the active and the contemplative is subject to a multiplicity of interpretations. Such varying interpretations are commonly related to an individual identity and the scope of public exposure. According to modern psychologists Hogg and Vaughan (2008: 143), the most important forms of self-identity in the world today are probably:

... collective self (defined in terms of attributes shared with in-group members and distinct from out-group members), the individual self (defined in terms of attributes that make one unique relative to other people) and the relational self (defined in terms of relationships that one has with specific people).

Both the collective and the relational self describe public service in terms of effective external relationships, influenced by group actions and personal acquaintances. In contrast, the individual self is a matter of personal disposition and private self-perception.

Sometimes I ask myself, you know; if I had the chance to do it all over again, would I do it? And the answer’s probably no. I probably wouldn’t, as much as I love the job; you know and I give an awful lot for my job and I really enjoy it. I mean I enjoy doing the competitive teams (Unilever 2006) with the guys, you
know, being really creative and sometimes getting a reward for it. ... But would I want to do it again, no.

This is the reflection of one expert who summed up his past, personal experience as a successful elite chef. In this case, the public face of the professional individual known as 'chef' appears to have dominated the aspirations of the individual.

Analysis of this mechanism is also about choice and the individual’s capacities to act, which involves ‘a deep understanding of ... society’ (Morriss 2002: 151). Personal capacities, or what Sen (1992: 7) calls ‘means’, to achieve individual aspirations, relate to the capability theory approach to promoting equality.

From a feminist perspective, this necessitates that researchers consider women’s sameness and difference ‘through the notion of freedoms’ (Gagnon and Cornelius 2002: 37). EO and diversity management do not necessarily lead to equality of freedom for all women, because individuals are essentially diverse. Women entrants are ‘just as driven as men’, but their work must fit into lifestyle patterns and most women choose jobs more suited to family life. Green (23/02/11), of PricewaterhouseCooper LLP, stated:

I have to look for roles that fit with my lifestyle so that I can do it part-time and spend time with my children. It kind of limits the roles that I can do and I need to work harder to find them.
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The most critical stage in the career of an elite chef coincides with the time when most people consider starting a family. Employer flexibility in negotiating hours with women ‘depends on [an individual chef’s] status ... and on what sector they’re in’. Elite men and women must ‘put in the hours’. The extreme demands on the time of an elite chef lead ‘some women’ to step down. One male emphasised that choice is also a problem for men.

I’ve gone as far as I’d like to go, now I’m going to look after the family and get myself a job, which is probably less paid ... aspiring ... interesting, but it fits with my family life ... I had a choice. It’s either more time with the family or I’d be divorced in a few years time because I was spending so much time at work.

This was reinforced by another man, ‘Just because you’re passionate [about] something should not mean you have to give everything else’. Does passion for the work necessitate ultimate sacrifices of the kind that are currently a requirement?

When asked about whether women were generally considered incapable of working alongside male chefs, one expert said:

    No, I don’t think it’s the lack of capability. ... They choose not to do that.

Women choose career paths according to their work-life preferences, whether work centred, adaptive or home centred (Hakim 1998). The preferences may vary at different stages of life. Hakim (1998) points out that 80% of women are in the adaptive category and it seems that
industry does not accommodate these women. Only work-centred women can get to the top.

Women that change to alternative careers may reflect changes in work life orientation (Hakim 1995) or may change direction to avoid practical hindrances to the achievement of equal outcomes (Crompton and Lyonette 2005). Commenting on whether women were optimistic or pessimistic about better representation in élite parts of the industry, one woman said, ‘Why would they want to be in that field anyway?’ The male in the paired interview then said:

The thing is, women want to be liberated. They want to have equality of opportunity with men. So, I don’t think that they are particularly happy with life chances but they will accept it if it means that they have a choice. They can either go down that route or they sacrifice other things in life.

The female interviewee in the joint interview agreed, saying:

Exactly ... The choice is theirs, isn’t it? I went to Switzerland because I was advised that was the next stage of my training - I should go to Switzerland, and I was married and I had a young child, and I went to Switzerland for two years; came back and of course I still had the relationship but it was a bit dead and buried by then, you know; so, eventually got remarried. ... I wanted to expose myself to other things and really do what I had to do to get on. So I hadn’t planned to do it. It just all sort of fell into place and other things went bye the bye. That was my determination.

She explained that she had had to be tenacious in order to get on.

I think women are tenacious, they don’t necessarily want what I wanted and they don’t necessarily want to be head chefs ... it’s an unattractive option for
them. There are lots more interesting things that they can do in the industry. For example, I’m not a head chef but I’m actually very happy with what I’ve got, what I’ve trained to do and what I’ve landed. So, you know, my husband often says ... ‘Should we buy a restaurant together because we’re both cooks, we’re both chefs?’ We could do it but there’s absolutely nothing would make me want to do that. Why would I want to give up flexibility, pension, reward, that I get here training young people? Absolutely nothing would make me want to do that.

Thus, Hakim concludes that women are not ‘victims with little or no responsibility for their situation’ (Hakim 1995: 448).

Some experts regarded women’s choices, partly as a matter of feminine traits.

I think women gravitate to certain jobs as well, naturally gravitate to certain jobs like human resources ... there’s a good example. You know this idea that you shouldn’t give children so called boys or girls toys. Have you come across that theory? ... When I do recruitment here, I think that a lot of women particularly like more cake decorating. It’s full of women ... and there’s a link between cake decorating and pastry. I think that generally on the courses here, if you look down there are more women overall in the pastry and cake decorating than there are men. So I think there’s more interest amongst women in the pastry area if I look at the statistics on ... literally the applications ... I don’t know, it’s a difficult one. I think that, in my view people do gravitate towards certain subjects and that’s to do with gender. Well you don’t get synchronised male swimmers do you? There’s no ... have you ever come across one?

Two experts were asked if pastry is a feminine area. One woman responded, ‘No, it’s finesse, it’s fine, it’s accurate, it’s precise.’ I asked if
pastry was more creative. 'More creative, well, technically,' she said, but the male expert in the joint interview replied:

I think, on a scale, if you had a scale, masculine, feminine subject ... not enough research has been done on this. You see I'm a believer in, and I've never seen any research on this, is personality traits towards certain professions. Why do you become a policeman? Why do people become nurses, yeh? There's personality traits that draw people towards certain professions and I think gender is linked with that as well. So, on a scale masculine, feminine on an actual scale I would say that the subject pastry falls over the feminine side rather than masculine side.

This statement may reflect the bias in this man's mind, more than it reflects reality. Yet, the female expert agreed that this made sense, as the male discourse continued:

It's the feminine side of the male that is attracted to pastry. Does that make sense? But, you see, if you look ... for example there's a high proportion of gay people in nursing, yeh? Very high: and because it's their trait. It's that they fall on the feminine side of the industry because they're more caring, blah, blah, you know? OK, and then certain other professions, they attract certain personality traits. ... For example the biggest dilemma with the church, Church of England, Catholicism etcetera is gays in the church. The thing is they attract gays. It actually attracts people who are gay to that sort of profession.

There's a huge dilemma there. They don't know how to handle it ... And why do people join the army, a lot of people, because they wanna bloody shoot people and fight people; aggressive, because it's aggressive, yeh, and the masculinity. ... I think certain kitchens attract people for that reason.

Some recruits enter the profession to release 'aggression', a trait associated here with masculinity. The traits issue may be a barrier to
the promotion ladder that leads to head chef. Though individual women apprentices are 'very determined ... they become quiescent ... because [of] the status quo ... we haven't had one female chef that's actually achieved even a senior sous chef's position'. Female apprentices are 'very optimistic, that they're going to be different ... the suceeder ... the trailblazers'. However, their optimism diminishes over time said one woman, when 'their lives have taken different courses, whereas ... the young men ... nobody's going to get them off it.' A male expert said:

Well the industry itself, the way it operates is probably, I would say, not acceptable to cohesive relationships in this elite 5%, but that's the way the industry operates. ... In order to get into that 5%, women ... , in many cases, have to make that sacrifice - family etcetera. But equally men make that sacrifice as well because they end up divorced, you know? So there is a sacrifice to every job.

They [women] are free to do whatever they like; absolutely free. Free, but they have to make sacrifices. The same as men have to as well. I mean, men suffer relationship problems when they put their career first. I'm not just talking about, for example, about hospitality. I'm talking about, you know, other types of industry as well. You read about it every day that people put their career first and relationships snap. It's a very difficult one.

A female expert agreed, saying:

I think my husband makes big sacrifices. He works fourteen hours a day, five or six days a week – rarely is at home when we're all there. We rarely have a family unit day. That's his sacrifice. Now, I've accepted it, which I think a lot of women do, they go along with ... and he accepts what I do and mine creates its own problems. My way of life and the things I get involved in and I've taken on board lots of other things to keep me going because he's not there. ... So I think ... everybody works their lives
out either or independently-together ... I think it’s acceptable. Let the men do that awful graft [laughter from both interviewees]. I know what my husband does [referring to Chef de Cuisine at Langan’s Coq D’Or, Academician and Master of Culinary Arts 2000].

Women don’t complain about the system being more suited to a masculine disposition. ‘I can’t say I have ever heard them’, ‘most women accept it’, which indicates that women’s issues are not even on the agenda.

If women are to succeed in the industry, they must either walk the tightrope, attempting to balance public (relational and collective) and private (individual) self, or sacrifice either family or career altogether. Whichever option is taken, it is done without complaint. Expert emphasis on women’s freedom of choice is undermined by references to constraining forms of patriarchy related to trait theory.

Both choice and patriarchal constraints appear to be causing female chefs to remain publically quiescent in the face of powers for exclusion acting upon the personal mechanism. Consequently, the atmosphere makes it impossible to achieve or even envisage a realistic WLB outcome.
5.6 Environmental

Of or pertaining to ... The conditions under which any person or thing lives or is developed; the sum-total of influences which modify and determine the development of life or character.

('Environment', OED 2011: online)

Popular innovations like open kitchen environments can promote ‘calmer and more sociable’ (Graham and Oxley 2004: 65) behaviour, to the undoubted benefit of women. Open kitchen approaches change methods communication, both in terms of chef to chef and also chef to waiting staff, so that things are much more customer friendly and less boisterous.

Now, if you’ve got an open kitchen you’ve got a very different attitude because all the customers can see you. You know what I mean? Now, that I think ... would take away the issues and would be much more conducive to female staff ... behaviour changes radically in that sort of case and actually makes it ... a nicer working environment.

Arguments about pots being ‘too heavy’ were ridiculed by most experts. ‘That perception’s going now,’ said one female expert. Yet, even a high-tech kitchen ‘can be a really demanding environment, physically’. Although management and HR departments sometimes drive accommodations through ‘ensuring equal treatment’ (Hoque and Noon 2004: 498) in supportive environments and cultures, some kitchens still avoid employing women because of difficulties providing ‘changing rooms’ and ‘toilets’. In such cases accommodations are often ‘quite
feeble’, if they exist at all. ‘If the directors are ... in favour ... it gets done.’

It depends upon the nature of the employer. Again, it will depend on the nature of the sector. If you went into an industrial catering environment you find a very different attitude to what you’d find in some hotels or restaurants.

Women chefs can also be victims of the ‘power of definition’ (Nichols 1993: 5), accepting the cultural perception that their role is men’s work. The kind of experience needed to achieve senior positions in elite kitchens is found in areas that are least acceptable to people with feminine traits.

To work in the kitchen ... she can’t have ... nail varnish ... long finger nails because of machinery ... can’t wear jewellery or ... make-up. That takes the whole feminine side away.

I can hear these people saying, ‘Ah you know, it’s man’s work’.

Some chefs would regard women as not capable ... and they don’t view women on an equal basis. There’s that sort of attitude about. Certainly ... macho type chefs, chef’s clubs and that sort of thing, it’s a way, when they get together.

Women who want to succeed ‘take on male traits in order to survive’. Even ‘wimpy men don’t get on ... everyone has to display strength ... to get accepted.’ Women, ‘at the top end ... adopt the norms within those environments’ and give as good as they get, but maintaining a rough attitude is a high price to pay for acceptance. One expert said:

I do think it’s changing simply because there’s a new generation coming through all the time ... I think it’s
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about the way they've been educated ... the environment they live in.

One man spoke from experience about resistance to change among elite restaurants, saying:

I started the same day as 20 others, but there wasn't a female amongst us at the time. Now, whether they had been applying and been rejected, I don't honestly know. ... I think it is changing and getting better but it's slow going. You know, I don't think they would mind if they had a woman who was head chef and I remember working for a woman who was head chef years ago but ... she'd negotiated a deal whereby she didn't do the evenings. So ... by doing something like that, they liked her so much, they said, 'Well OK, we'll let you work in the day and then someone else will do the servicing'. ... But ... what you're ... looking at is very much ... the top end of the market and that's where they do struggle to survive ... [there are] much more now than what was in the 1970s ... a huge amount in the pastry area.

Referring to resistance to women from older male chefs, one group discussion went as follows:

I think it's changing. They used to resist and now I don't think they do any more.

I don't! I think that the older generation is still a bit stuck in the mud with it.

It's not about women 'not having equal opportunity to do the job' it's whether 'women ... want to do the job' given that their individual 'aspirations are constrained' by the necessity to adopt male traits. The environment leaves senior women unable to create a 'positive climate for gender diversity' (Hicks-Clarke and Iles 2003: 190) and while success should be about whether they can 'do the job' (Nichols 1993: 12), issues like the femininity of women's dress are still prominent in the media.
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'One of the problems ... is the macho image of kitchens, which doesn't always suit women'. Some women reject 'the whole male macho, swearing ... environment ... and [have] ... walked away from ... a lot of ... quite famous restaurants.'

I have first-hand experience of this ... macho behaviour, unbelievable language; a woman ... made very upset, quite a few things happening and we moved her ... Now I'm just talking about one girl, one student ... As a general thing ... , it's horrible, the banter and the aggression, but it also depends on the head chef and whether he allows that to actually happen.

Different workplace realities exist in various geographical locations. There is an exodus of workers from central London at week-ends. Holiday-makers need seven days a week service and staff are often committed to summer, Christmas and Easter working. One industry expert commented that busy periods such as these are 'unchanging', as 'You wouldn't go and have your dinner at four o'clock to suit the establishment'.

In some cases, new approaches to the elite kitchen environment appear to be improving things for women. However, traditional views are still maintained in many kitchens, often serving to exclude women with excuses such as physical demands and the need to create separate facilities. Eating habits and geographical and seasonal factors cause old traditions, such as long hours, to be retained. Women are still expected
to adopt male traits that de-feminise them and prevent opportunities for women to display difference with confidence.
5.7 Health

Excessive hours are obligatory in elite kitchens (Collinson and Hearn 1994). In an ideal world, working with head chefs to humanise the chef's job would allow people to lead healthier and more rounded lives. Hicks-Clarke and Iles (2003: 177) found, in a wider context, that there are deeply 'entrenched' pressures to work long hours with full commitment 'leading to burnout and much lower performance from staff'.

'It's a young man's game.' Burnout among head chefs is common by the age of 40. Women often carry too much family responsibility to risk working in this environment. One woman expert reflected, '... to get to this position I've sacrificed a relationship for my career, because I wanted to get on ... I've had to go through a fairly gruelling life experience, which resulted in one divorce and a remarriage and a child embroiled in it as well..’ The job certainly 'could be made lighter,' said one man, but the drive required to be a head chef leads to significant tensions and physical demands associated with the heat and velocity of work.

Yes, but the pressure and the physical demand is high. That's why the only success is on the pastry
side. That’s where you’ve got that many more females. Even in a production environment. Mike Lenil, Chris Browbidge on the patisserie. I don’t know what the percentage is but he’s got about four or five women in there and they do the same sort of thing as the men, but it’s not that heavy and he’s got about thirty staff. A lot of it is physical and a lot of it is maybe old-fashioned attitude.

One man sighed at the thought of unsocial hours, saying:

> I don’t think that’s so much of an issue, [rather] it is the pressure; it is the responsibility that you have. I mean, you’ve got unsociable hours in retail, but many of the women that work in retail don’t have the responsibility or the burden [of a head chef].

This led one man to say, referring to women, ‘It’s not that they’re not capable, it’s the pressure; and many men can’t hack it let alone women.’ ‘No, they can’t,’ agreed a woman expert. However, one male expert argued:

> I mean, I just personally, that’s nonsense, they can do it. Well I think they can handle the stress and the pressure. I think they are more put off by the language and the hours. If they wish to do it then I think, hmm ... [indicating they can].

Another man said:

> Well I actually regard that ... the way it’s stated, as unacceptable but we’re back to this issue about traits. There are certain traits that are required in that environment. They tend to be the masculine traits. That’s not necessarily a gender issue. Does that make sense? For somebody to say the first bit, ‘Women can’t handle stress and pressure and the heat.’ I think that’s unacceptable, like that. It’s just not true because there are examples where some do. Move into the industrial context, hospitals, schools. Who are the majority there? Women. Who are the chefs and the bosses? And the second bit, I think that’s individual, that sort of argument. It’s down to the individual. Depending who you speak to, you’ll
get that argument ... I don’t think many organisations would ever say it. Certainly individuals would.

One man proved this statement to be correct:

... there are not sufficient females that can actually cope with these points [stress, hardness, heat] unfortunately, I feel, from what I’ve seen during the years coming through. That is why some of them do very well in the pastry section because it’s not so heavy.

Yet another male expert said:

I think it’s unacceptable and I think it’s inaccurate, quite frankly. I think you can develop a kitchen with women. It’s the culture that you develop. I don’t think you need the male dominance at all. And, fast flowin’, I mean, women can run a fast flowin’ kitchen. I think that’s a load of nonsense. I think that’s protectin’ the status quo.

Opinions differ about the issue of stress and the need for male dominance. In part, these views seem to revolve around the absence or presence of modern kitchen equipment. The use of old, heavy pots serves to exclude women because of women’s inferior physical capacity.

There are very ‘few people in their fifties as head chefs in London kitchens; very, very few.’ Chefs must have ‘not just stamina but ... the right mental attitude’. Elite chefs who are captive to Michelin ratings make enormous sacrifices, as indicated by Loiseau, before his suicide, when he told Lameloise, ‘If I lose a star, I’ll kill myself,’ (de Vries 2003: online).
One respondent related the stressful work patterns to drug taking in order to relieve the pressure. This is clearly a problem in such a dangerous work place.

And there’s another thing that ... seriously disturbs me ... I believe a lot of people in order to work that hard, take drugs that other people take for entertainment at the weekend or something. They are purely taking them in order to work as hard as they do. Now that I think is abhorrent and is going on. There was quite a famous case of one of Gordon Ramsey’s chefs who, high on drugs, jumped off a balcony or something and killed himself and ... why should young people take recreational drugs in order to stay awake to work these daft shifts ... if there’s one thing that really, I think, should be addressed. It’d be difficult to prove, but if you talk to people in the industry they’ll tell you that, that’s what people do ... it is actually really criminal.

However, one joint interview discussed women’s civilizing effect on the unprofessional behaviour of men. The female expert in one joint interview interjected, ‘And women can handle the stress because they can dampen the stress ... with being a little bit organized’. She then added that kitchen stress is:

... Too much for some, that’s the problem, swearing etcetera, and that would be very uncomfortable for a woman, but I think when you get women, the good thing about havin’ women in the kitchen, it actually dispels part of that. It tempers it. I remember a head chef in London who actually said he wanted his brigade 50% men and 50% women. He’s now working for a bakery as a development chef. His name is Richard Blades. He roughly said he wanted a gender balance in the kitchen.
Some women adopt the culture norms and seem to gain men’s respect because they do so. This may be a high price to pay for respect but one woman said:

You see, I’ve always given as good as I’ve got. I never had any problems with it. But then I’ve also found a lot of respect ... say, even one woman in a kitchen tempers it and it does bring out the better side of men, I think, most men.

The tension, between women behaving like men and women tempering male behaviour, is clearly seen in the following seemingly contradictory statement:

A lot of time men are just trying to score points all the time and it’s also about being accepted ... because, if you’re in the team, you wanna be accepted by that team as well. It’s very difficult to work outside that box. It’s about being accepted and to be accepted you have to take on their language, to take on their culture and if you’ve got women in the kitchen it tempers all that and it does help the other men who don’t want to be part of it.

I then probed further, asking, ‘Are you saying ... that a woman should be prepared to adopt that macho culture herself and behave like a man in order to ...’ ‘No,’ said the man I’m sayin’ the opposite; to temper it.’ Women must ‘adopt the norms’ of the macho kitchen culture and at the same time temper that culture. The onus is all upon women adapting to help men. The man continued as follows:

And ... where we’ve got women, you get a lot of men are happy to accept that because it helps them. Does that make sense?

The female expert responded immediately, saying, ‘... but I think even a balance doesn’t matter. One female in a brigade helps the situation’.
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Women accept sexual harassment because they must, 'because they want to be one of the boys ... one of the elite ... it's a means to an end ... we'll never know because it's not reported, is it?' Bullying is also 'widespread', often involving 'aggressive behaviour' that is designed 'to shock'.

... a guy used to suddenly put a frying pan on the stove and say, 'Watch this. Oiy, catch!' So throws a small frying pan. Stick his fingers to it. 'There, told you. I told you he'd catch it didn't I?' That's it; he walks off and he thought it was brilliant. Or, when I worked at Pont de la Tour, a guy there if he didn't, I mean, you'd go do a dish he didn't like. He'd say, 'What the fuck is this?' Gets a plate and throws it through the kitchen. If you don't duck you get hit by a plate. Totally indiscriminate; that's it, I don't wanna know ... I've worked with women in ... who are worse than male chefs; a lot worse.

The other male joint interview interviewee added:

Yeh, you find the ones that are, are the ones that are still in the industry now, unfortunately.

Another expert said:

There is a belief that to run a kitchen you have to bully people ... to be a good ... head chef, 'I've got to punch. I've got to hit you' ... They don't see HRM as the best way to motivate people. I find this very backward quite frankly.

One interviewee alluded to bullying as part of the male 'banter':

Absolutely awful. Well, I've seen cases whereby they'll er ... you know, you get a team of lads, a very lady thing, they'll be cutting up some venison or something so they'll put the head of the deer in the dishwasher or something to shock and make the women scream, you know. I mean, they mean it as banter, but there's a more serious side to it. And the
er ... Yeh, I mean, it is wrong the amount of abuse they do get, I don’t condone it for a second.

I have firsthand experience of this in the last twelve months with er ... macho behaviour, unbelievable language; a woman, a female actually being, not physically fondled but certainly made very upset, er ... quite a few things happening and we moved her but it hasn’t affect her aspirations of what she wants to do ... it also depends on the head chef and whether he allows that to actually happen.

This woman interviewee stressed that ‘if there’s a problem’ girls were ‘encouraged’ to go to her ‘and we’ll talk about it’. Moving the woman was the solution rather than dealing with the behaviour of the men. When asked whether this was a disciplinary issue and should be taken further she replied ‘yes, yes’, but gave no indication of such issues going further than a conversation. In the final analysis, the continued existence of such intimidating environments is primarily a matter for the head or owner and this is where the problem lies.

In London, ‘you are dealing with ... ethnic minorities. So some chefs I know in general ... have been forced to change their attitude.’ If chefs ‘start shouting, you won’t get anything out of them. They’ll walk out. They don’t respond to it.’ However, ‘verbal ... undermining’ by head chefs who have ‘no formal qualifications’ and ‘see it as power’ is traditional and very ‘widespread’. A female interviewee said:

When I was at the Ritz ... one of my best places, that I worked, there was bullying going on with apprentices ... I’ll give you an example of bullying. When I left [another elite] place ... I was so scared about the day I left, because I knew I was going to be
put in the sink [with] all the old dead fish heads and guts and things like this. I just knew it was going to happen and I was so intimidated and scared I left my chopping board with a strawberry, and a knife still in the strawberry, and I left before I was due to leave, because I couldn’t stand it anymore. I was a quivering wreck and that’s the type of bullying isn’t it?

Young apprentices face the brunt of the attack, ‘juniors get picked on ... there’s a whole set of tricks done to people’ said one male expert. ‘It was like a tradition,’ said one woman, ‘just something that happened’. The prevailing argument seemed to be that it was acceptable because ‘it exists everywhere’.

Health problems relate to obligatory excessive hours, the need for high levels of stamina and strong mental attitude, physical demands and the pressure of the elite kitchen. When women enter these workplaces they are expected to bear the burden of civilizing the elite kitchen and dampening stress levels, while simultaneously adopting the male culture. Where problems arise, women are the ones who must adapt or be moved on.
5.8 Legal

Current, equality law in the UK is underpinned by the liberal EO idea that organisations and women are homogenous groups. The limitations of this broad sweeping approach are evident in low participation levels of women in top jobs in elite kitchens. Yet, Dickens (2007: 486) cautions against underplaying ‘the importance of achieving an appropriate, effective legal framework’ noting that some worthwhile outcomes have been achieved. These can go beyond ‘behavioural compliance’ to generate ‘changed understandings, values and attitudes’ (Dickens 2007: 487). However, Dickens (2007) views the Equality Act (OPSI 2010) merely as a direction, while regarding it as an improvement on the piecemeal style of previous years.

Though improvements are apparent, the current liberal approach to EO has ultimately failed to challenge the status quo or account for the third dimension of power, related to the theory of patriarchy. Application of equality law is still weak and the various reasons proposed for this include; lack of political will of legislators, lack of organisational will to mainstream EO policies and differences of interpretation between policy and practice that allow evasion of formal procedures by informal application.
Chapter five: Results and Discussion: Interviews and Joint Interviews

One all-male joint interview was prompted, ‘Women are ... either not getting in because they’re being kept out, or they’re not getting in because they don’t want to’. One man responded saying, ‘I think it’s probably because they don’t want to.’ The second interviewee agreed saying, ‘They’ve got more sense than to go into it.’ ‘Yeh (laugh) I would say yeh,’ replied the first man. The second man continued saying:

I don’t think they’re being kept out because, you know, it’ll come before long. It’ll come to the point where beggars can’t be choosers because we have to take what comes ..., because nobody wants to do it anymore and you’ve got less and less chefs in the industry. So you have to take in females, you have to take in foreigners ... You haven’t got a choice if you wanna make a success of your business, that’s what you’ve got to do.

‘Females’ and ‘foreigners’ seem to be acceptable to the industry but only as a last resort. As the European Commission presently debates the possible imposition of quotas in the most senior board positions and legislation across European Member States, the Davies report (2011: 18) ‘chose not to recommend quotas at board level,’ arguing that ‘board appointments should be made on the basis of business needs, skills and ability ... a more focused, business-led, approach can increase the number of women on company boards.’ ‘Board appointments must always be made on merit,’ argued Davies 2011: 2), and individual companies should set targets, suited to their own circumstances, to improve gender balance. The Davies report (2011: 4) called upon company boards to aim for ‘25% representation by 2015’.
Bird (2011) disagrees with companies setting voluntary targets, saying, ‘We have had enough of voluntary action. ... We want to see quotas.’ Other professional women agree with Davies. For example, Morrissey argues that having compulsory women creates ‘the perception of discrimination. Quotas are demeaning to women and should only be used as a last resort’ (Bawden 2011: online). One male expert said:

I’m very anti-positive discrimination on a personal level, because ... you create more imbalance by doing that. You distort the thing. In fact, you start discriminating against the wrong people ... so they get this particular balance because it’s based on some notion of what the whole population is and therefore it’s not representative.

Morrissey (2011: online) continues, saying, ‘Women can get there on merit’. ‘As long as there are quotas it will always raise the question of whether a woman is appointed on merit or because she is a woman’, says Morrissey, ‘By the time we get to about 30% the system can become self-perpetuating and we can drop the issue’ she argues (Bawden 2011: online).

One expert observer was concerned about the excessive amount of legislation already, pointing out that:

I think it’s changed over the last ten or fifteen years. It used to be a joy coming to work, being creative ... now you get so many restrictions ... because of legislation.
The negative attitudes toward legislation are perhaps strengthened by the views of Doherty and Manfredi (2001: 75) who doubt whether the European Union’s ‘attempts at convergence’ through the legislative mechanism will have any dramatic top down effect on ‘attitudes and employment practices’, because of differences in interpretation, so that women’s roles will remain undervalued. Dickens (2008: 7) seeks a ‘harmonised, consistent, comprehensive and coherent framework’ but argues that it appears, from the Framework for a Fairer Future – The Equality Bill (OPSI 2010), that ‘the opportunity is not being grasped. As it stands, the signs are that the Single Equality Act risks being more about tidying up the equality legislation than radically improving it’ (Dickens 2008: 8). Figure 43 demonstrates that attempts to ‘tidy up’ the legislation will not achieve employment outcomes for women. A new comprehensive legal framework is required and needs to be applied across all mechanisms because of their interdependence in supporting real jobs for women.

The Working Time Regulations (OPSI 1998), which came into force on 01/08/03 (OPSI 2003) guarantee chef apprentices that are under 18 years old a maximum 40 hour week. There are no opt-outs for restaurateurs in the case of adolescents, so young apprentices are protected. This may explain the relatively high percentages of women trainees (Table 2). Parents are told that their children will ‘not be doing those terrible hours’ of the past. However, when apprenticeships end,
chefs are asked to opt out of the system, so the protection is limited, ‘as soon as they finish they are asked to sign away their rights’ and may represent a low and effective glass ceiling to young women chefs.

Institutional EO ‘policies are not required by law [but] their value has been recognised by a number of employers who have voluntarily adopted them’ and they ‘vary according to the size of organisations’. They represent:

- a commitment by an employer to the development and use of employment procedures and practices which do not discriminate on grounds of sex or marriage and which provide genuine equality of opportunity for all employees. The detail of the policy will vary according to size of the organisation. (EHRC 2010: 9)

Commenting on the patchy application of EO policy, one male expert in a joint interview pair said that lack of mainstreaming was widespread.

A lot of people don’t look at it. They just say, ‘I’ve got a position to be filled.’ I think the choice of candidate, then – that might be intentional.

The other man in the joint interview hesitated and then said:

I think it’s like all rules; they’re there to be used and abused aren’t they and that’s one of them that they’re lookin’ at certain people who could probably sort of ... a regime ... by not disclaiming, or not giving them too much information on their equal opportunities. Some people would be unaware of the equal opportunities etcetera and their rights as a person. Not many people are that clued up on it.

The other then clarified saying:

It’s nothing that I’ve ever discussed at an interview, equal opportunities. It’s never even been discussed
or thought of. It’s never been part of an interview process but then, if I’ve got four candidates there for the job and there’s a female there and I think, ‘Well she’s twenty four, she’s married, probably likely to have kids in the next two years ... No ... I’ll go for the other guy.’

Even so, and ‘despite the Equal Pay Act (OPSI 1970), there is difference in pay between male and female ... of course there is’. This implied that the gender pay differential was inevitable. ‘Companies would argue that they are applying [EO] because the policies exist ... usually they have systems and procedures in place’. Yet, ‘I’ve never discussed at an interview, equal opportunities. It’s never even been discussed or thought of’ and ‘I’m sure if you went into London, a lot of places wouldn’t know about equal opportunities policy’.

There is little enthusiasm for implementing positive action policies and the industry would be unhappy with their application. ‘This industry would be horrified. Absolutely, they would have a heart attack and die.’ When asked about the possibility of women only shortlists, one male interviewee replied, ‘Yeh ... [laugh] that would scare them’. However, advertisements that say, ‘Women welcome to apply’ were considered by one woman to be very positive and a ‘breath of fresh air’.

When Lusher (2009: online) reported a record vanguard of 10 women chefs winning Michelin stars, Angela Hartnett commented on the accolades, saying, ‘fantastic’. Yet, according to Lusher, Hartnett warned
‘that the culture change’ may not be as significant ‘as perhaps some of her sous chefs might hope’. Hindsight has cautioned against overconfidence about changes after 30 years of legislation. Consequently, Dickens (2007: 488) recognises that a ‘step change’ is needed, rather than another step in the same direction. She argues that opportunities now exist ‘to reconsider and strengthen enforcement mechanisms’ that are now outdated and so ‘provide a better fit with’ contemporary equality and diversity issues. This may address an interviewee’s comment that:

... Well, I’ve never experienced equal opportunities policy not being applied.

The policies may exist, and where they do, there is a perception that they are being applied. However, low participation of women remains.

Rhetoric is at variance with reality when we consider the lack of ‘behavioural compliance’ or ‘changed understandings, values and attitudes’ (Dickens 2007: 487) in this industry. Interpretations of the law differ. Real jobs for women are difficult to find because the legal power mechanism does not address the third dimension of power, where patriarchy dominates. Positive action might serve to oppose patriarchal power but patriarchy has responded by promoting the perception that positive action is positive discrimination. In addition, while the Working Time Directive has had a positive impact for young entrants, it is limited to apprentices. As trainee chefs reach the upper
age limit of this scheme, they are asked to opt out, thus facilitating a glass ceiling for women who cannot work the long hours. Such systems and procedures are temporary fixes that allow women to step onto the elite chef ladder only to face an effective barrier just before significant promotions are likely to be offered.
5.9 Careers Information Advice and Guidance

In modern language (after French carrière) freq. used for: A course of professional life or employment, which affords opportunity for progress or advancement in the world.

('Career', OED 2011: online)

"Information, advice and guidance" is ... an umbrella term. It covers a range of activities and interventions that help young people to become more self-reliant and better able to manage their personal and career development, including learning.

('IAG', Hughes 2007: online)

The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) is concerned about poor Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.).

Young people need a core understanding of their chosen careers but too many suffer as a result of poor provision of careers advice. Close to half of employers (43%) feel young people have limited knowledge about their potential job, and too few have completed relevant work experience – half (53%) of our members cite this as a concern.

(CBI 2010: 23)

It is also apparent that there are significant costs attached to students switching courses through ‘ill-informed career or study choices’ (Hughes 2010b: 2). Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.) professionals must explain the kitchen customs clearly to potential students because ‘A lot of younger people ... who go into the trade do drop out ... particularly women’. For men and women the job is ‘detrimental to bringing up a family ... this dreadful trade, doing split shifts ... every weekend ... every Christmas, ... is one of the reasons I
came out of it,’ said one expert. This may go some way to explain the almost 50% drop-out rates reported from chef education college courses in Chapter 5.10.

Experts reported a shortage of good quality pastry chefs and mentioned women being directed by employers ‘to think about ... larder or pastry ... not kitchen.’ One female expert said:

There are fewer pastry chefs around so, yes, that’s ... [why] ... I always sell it to people. You know, they can travel around, they can always guarantee a job because there is just a hardship of them.

Another interviewee argued that ‘Michel Roux was a pastry chef to start with. I think Marcus Wareing was as well. So, some people do go on the other route [pastry] and succeed’, but then admitted that most ‘stay within that area’.

Educational institutions are also known to direct women towards unrecognised courses. There’s no one telling ... women recruits ... that have the aspiration to go out and cook ... if you did vocational ... level three and four courses ... you could actually get a very good career in this profession,’ said one expert.

‘I think that ... schools ... are very anti-women going ... into kitchens,’ said another male expert. ‘Domestic science in schools has been decimated ... careers people ... have actively discouraged women from
going for it' and 'I think we are in danger of stereotyping ... there's a lot of women pastry chefs' (26% - Table 2) because 'pastry work ... doesn't have to be a split shift'.

Poor Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.), which may or may not relate to Careers Information Advice and Guidance (C.I.A.G.) practitioner competence (ICG 2010), may be affecting social mobility and depriving the culinary arts industry of some of its best talent. It may also be partly responsible for high drop-out rates. This represents a significant waste of human effort, money and time. Hughes (2010a: online), Institute of Careers Guidance president, says:

> We have a generation coming through university who have not had the experience of high-quality careers education. This means that young people are not developing the necessary knowledge of the labour market nor the skills to equip them for it. ... The situation for careers education in schools is best described as being patchy and inconsistent.

The powerlessness of women stuck in dead-end, declining roles with lowered aspirations is frustrating. The high cost to individual women trainees and elite kitchens, in terms of effectiveness and productivity, represents a 'sheer waste of potential human talent' (Kanter 1993: 287). It may well be that most women are not becoming head chefs because they have got more sense than to go into a profession that is constructed in this way, 'they don’t look at it as a life-long career', said one expert.
Improving individual choice in career direction and learning, through the potential of new technology, is advocated by some (UKCES 2010) as a significant advance. The solution offered by the current coalition government is a ‘single, unified careers service’ (Hayes 2010: online) beginning in England. ‘We are clearly, as a nation, still wasting talent on a scale that is scandalous. It is a moral failure, an affront against social justice which we have to put right’ (Gove 2010: online).
5.10 Educative

The systematic instruction, schooling or training given in preparation for the work of life. Also, the whole course of scholastic instruction, which a person has received.

('Education', OED 2011: online)

Experts indicated a shortcoming in preparation for the work life of chefs. One said:

The new NVQs ... took out of the core, the customer relations stuff, because they argued that chefs didn’t need that ... there was an assumption that they didn’t have any customer interface, but ... what they were forgetting about was the internal customer and ... many chefs do actually deal with customers.

Another expert asserted that the HR element is absent from apprentice chef training at level 3 and said:

... it’s like this NVQ system. It’s training; it’s not education. ... We are not educating chefs like we should be. You see, that’s why we’ve got a process here where we develop chefs to level four now and they have to do the human resources courses. They have to understand people and how to motivate people. How do you get the best out of people?

‘So you are emphasising the difference between an academic and a trained apprentice?’ I commented.

Absolutely. There’s a big difference and I have a real worry about what we are doin’ in colleges now because we’re goin’ down ... the government talk about ‘trainin’ for skills’. We educate for skills, yeh? What underpins the skill? How do you get the best out of people is about educating them because what we are seeing in a lot of places is perpetuated in the system, you know? ‘I did long hours so you’ve gotta do long hours.’ Yeh, right, OK? I’m shoutin’ at you ‘cause the chef shouted at me.’
'Does that go on?' I asked.

Yes. Education is to say to people ... well for example, 'I was shouted at but that's not the best way of doin' things.' My best education, that I've ever had, was when I went from the hotel industry to the food industry, and I told this story. In the hotel Industry I was shouted at, balled at etcetera, right: abusive, etcetera. I went to the food industry as a development chef and I was there two weeks and I couldn't stand it. I couldn't stand it, 'cause everyone was so nice, right? I thought, 'There's somethin' wrong here' and then a colleague of mine came up to me and he said, 'I know what you're goin' through,' cause he came from a hotel background, same hotel. He said, 'It's all genuine. This is how they operate. This is how they motivate you, yeh?' They support you and I spent four years in that company and they put me on courses etcetera but they got the best out of people by using different tactics, by caring for people, by supporting people, yeh? ... but it's power.

These experts confirm that the 'skills required to be head chef are ... seldom offered in training' (Pratten 2003). Potentially, this leaves trained chefs, who must often supervise others, with a lack of understanding of the more subtle motivational strategies. The outcome of plunging men or women 'into [management] jobs without sufficient training or experience' is an over-'directive, controlling and details-oriented' (Kanter 1993: 204) management style. The result is a 'doing male is doing dominance' (Guerrier 2004:162) culture that is internally acceptable and typical of many elite kitchens, but erupts negatively where the kitchen interfaces with restaurants and suppliers.
Even within the education system, new entrants become disillusioned with the cheffing dream, leading to high drop-out rates. One male expert in a joint interview said:

I think the whole industry itself is losing a lot of really good people and they're very, very hard to replace in general. I mean, we had a meeting the other day where we discussed bits of the college. They're taking in, what was it, 150 students and they expect to lose at least 50 in the first year and then about another 30 in the second year. ... Because people just don't want to do it anymore.

'That's massive,' I said. 'It's huge,' said another interviewee in the joint interview.
5.11 Employment

According to Wajcman (2004: 14), ‘getting more women to enter’ professions, was the 1970s and 1980s feminist solution to the gender deficit. Thompson (23/02/11), of PricewaterhouseCooper LLP, confirms that on recruitment:

*We are [now] close to 50/50 male and female but what we find is that, by the time you get to the very senior levels, we have far less women than men. ... If we are not promoting an equivalent number of men and women, then let’s just stand back. Have a look. Why is that not happening?*

Similarly, observers of elite kitchens argued that there was no ‘gender issue ... around recruitment at all’. Entry barriers are low and women’s presence ‘takes away all this ... testosterone thing ... they just bring this new leaven into the kitchen, which the head chefs welcome so much.’

However, offering recruitment into junior positions, as the solution to the gender deficit problem, does not address the glass ceiling concept (Rosener 1990) and fails to ask how the system and institutions could be reshaped to accommodate women at senior levels (Wajcman 2004). One male interviewee was asked, ‘Is the job of ‘chef’ being constructed in such a way ... that it’s a man’s job and could it accommodate women if it was tailored in a different way?’ He answered, ‘It clearly does
[accommodate women] ... because there are women working in it'. This was challenged, ‘In equal proportion?’ I asked.

No, but then why should there be? You could ask the same question about industrial feeding, Why aren’t there more male chefs in industrial feeding? ... You could have asked that question and then you’d end up with a different set of [answers] ... because industrial feeding isn’t about individuals wanting to make a name for themselves. You don’t get many famous industrial catering chefs. They all come from the commercial sector. All these media people are all somehow connected with the commercial sector, not hospital catering. [laugh] So if people want that sort of, owning their own restaurant and all the rest of it, you wouldn’t necessarily go through the route of contract catering or industrial feeding, schools, hospitals.

This expert was fencing with the question about whether the job of elite chef was being constructed to favour men. Some expert observers felt that female chefs should be treated just like male chefs and one man was asked how he regarded this view, in terms of his experience in the industry. ‘I think that’s a general view’, he replied. ‘Is it as simple as all that?’ he was asked. He replied:

Yeh, I think it is really. ... It’s acceptable, because that’s the general view ... If you want to work in that environment you’ve got to be able to do the job. Simple as that and that’s why it’s simple. [laugh] If you want to do any job you’ve got to be able to do it on merit, not because the job has been made different.

I probed by asking, ‘Should women behave like men in this environment if they are going to succeed?’ And the interviewee answered:

Well, you do find that ... the women who are successful in these environments tend to have characteristics that you would normally associate
with a male ... But in the environments we are talking about here, it's the male characteristics that tend to be the requirement for the job. And I'm using male in the sense of the managerial characteristics, not in the sense of gender. So you'd better be careful with that. And you find that the people who are hard-headed business people are hard-headed business people whether they are male or female.

This expert was suggesting that stereotypically male, 'hard-headed' managerial characteristics are a necessity and must be adopted by women in order to succeed. One male interviewee was asked about treating women just like men in the kitchen and he said, 'You don't treat them as men. You treat them as equals ... same as male chefs.'

'Do you think there is a potential for them losing their femininity in a kitchen situation? Are they not allowed to be women anymore? Have they got to behave like men?' I asked.

That's very interesting. That is really interesting ... They've got to go in there and be as good as the men and they know that. And a lot of chefs have said to me, 'When they're good they're so damned good, that they're better than the men.' When they're good and they're really er ... doin' well and starting to do well in the industry, they're better. They're better ... and, and we have the girls on the course as well. The ones who are very good can wipe the floor with the boys. They're fantastic, absolutely fantastic.

I replied saying, 'It takes a particular type of woman perhaps ...' The female interviewee responded saying:

Yeh and if you could identify that and put it in a pot you'd have the answer, wouldn't you? [laugh] Well, I don't know what it is.

In one joint interview the discourse followed the following pattern:
A lot of women, they're not very feminine are they? They're almost like – they wanna be one of the lads.

Like Angela Hartnett. She’s like one of the lads. She was a judge for us last year, and she came across as sort of being that way, but to be in her position with Gordon, you'd have to be tough; anyone has.

But you need guts.

When asked, 'Why should women have to be like that to get on ...?' One man replied saying:

You can have a load of blokes together ... They sit drinking, swearing and farting ... that sort of thing. Yet, if you hear that from a woman, you think, ‘Cor – she’s a bit of a rough bird isn’t she.’ ... So I mean for a woman to work in the kitchen, you know, she can’t have any nail varnish on, you can’t have any long finger nails because of machinery, she can’t wear jewellery or any make-up. That takes the whole feminine side away, that a woman wants to look after half of the time.

One female interviewee talked about the defeminisation of women in elite kitchens saying:

I do see the girls and I'm not just seeing them in a work environment ... I've had so many years now seeing these girls being able to say, you know, it is all stripped away.

Kanter (1993: 68) asserted that pressures for 'social conformity' in 'top jobs ... foster social homogeneity'. This process operates in the brotherhood and 'macho type chef's clubs' of the leadership elite. Yet, in other industries, some women are succeeding in leadership roles 'because of -not in spite of- certain characteristics generally considered to be 'feminine' and inappropriate in' (Rosener 1990: 13) organisations that define effective leadership as 'command-and-control'. In fact,
redefining effective leadership was thought to be a possible route to vaporising the ‘glass ceiling’ (Rosener 1990: 23) and allow women to break into senior management (Purcell 1996).

Concerning upward mobility, one man commented that it had taken him twenty years to get to the top of his profession. He felt that promotion was slow compared to other professions, saying:

If you look at some jobs out generally in industry, people can earn just as much in a lot less time. So why would somebody come into here, workin’ long unsociable hours in hot sticky, smelly, dangerous environments? ... We are obviously here to talk about the women, I think, at present, I can’t see it changin’.

His joint interview colleague agreed, saying:

Yeh, I think to actually get there, there’s no quick fix really. It’s quite a hard process to get up that ladder. You need to go through some pretty tough regimes to get to the end goal generally speaking.

I think there’s possibilities to change it but, will it change? Probably not.

One respondent argued that improved conditions in kitchens would only occur when demand for labour in elite kitchens outstripped labour supply. When asked whether it was possible for the industry to improve the kitchen side in such a way that the job would become more acceptable to women, he replied:

No. Only if the labour shortage gets bigger and bigger, then yes. You see they would have to improve conditions. They would have to improve wages.
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They work 16 to 18 hours because... they want to work for Locatelli. They want to work for Ramsey. They want to work at the Dorchester and Savoy, because it's a good CV, and then from there they can jump hopefully, but it doesn't quite work like that.

Chefs who aspire to elite status want to work for top chefs and for this reason elite restaurants experience a surplus of labour. Chefs will thus accept poor working conditions to obtain such jobs.

One male expert asked a young woman acquaintance, why she was put off culinary arts.

I say, 'Do you wanna be a chef?' and she says, 'No chance.' I say, 'Why not?' and she says, 'Well it's long hours, takes you ages to get there, right? You are working all over the place. You've got no job security there because if something goes wrong tomorrow and they close you down; that's it, you're gone. You're swapping jobs every three, four, five years or something like that.' She said, 'Your pay isn't good. You come home smelling. You smell of kitchen and all sorts of things. You smell of fish and what have you. Why should I wanna do that when I can have a job doing something else?'

To counteract this, pastry is sold to women as 'more fine ... accurate ... delicate', a 'deliberate' choice. Rather than women being sidelined, it is regarded as a 'smarter place to be', legitimising women's segmentation and reinforcing stereotypes. A male expert commented on pastry, saying:

It certainly has been seen as more of a female area. There are more specialist women in the pastry area than there are in others because it's dainty and pretty and that sort of thing ... pastry work can also be better in as much as it doesn't have to be a split shift, because you're not actually delivering at the
service time. You're saying, 'here are the sweets', do you know what I mean. Although that's changed because, of course, this was in the days of having a sort of sweet trolley or something whereas nowadays somebody has to be there to finish off the plated [food]. But you can do the groundwork from nine to five if you like and then you can say to somebody, 'This is how you put it together'. So, you know, it is possible. Most of the girls who've been very keen here have gone to St David's Hotel and really got a lot from doing the pastry work there. It's the pastry work that they choose to specialise in.

However, 'most pastry sections have now disappeared' because they are 'expensive', so even this 'female area' is being lost. 'They are ... buying in, yeh.' Referring to pastry sections as a niche for women, one man said:

Yeh, very much so. One of the reasons is of course because it's not subject to the same constraints as working on the hotplate. If you're working on the hotplate and you've got to be cooking. Whereas pastry is done usually a lot in advance ... So, the hours are different and the pressures are different. You've got a whole different set of [conditions] ... exactly why they [women] go into different sections.

There was no clear reference to female traits here but this male interviewee was implying that women do not suit the 'constraints' and 'pressures' of a 'hotplate'. Practical choices are being made by women. However, it could equally be argued that underlying patriarchal pressures are effectively conditioning women in and through their work environments to guarantee that such choices are made.

Responding to the questions, 'Are women being marginalised by some staff in hotel kitchens because they are not generally considered
capable of working closely on an equal basis with male chefs and is that acceptable, and how strong or weak is that phenomenon?’ one man said:

I think it probably is the case and I also think it’s unacceptable if that is the case. You know, if they are being marginalised then it shouldn’t happen.

Another male expert said:

I think it’s fairly strong in the elite area and less so, much less so in contract catering.

Another male interviewee denied the marginalisation of women, saying, ‘Well your Table B (Appendix 2) suggests that’s not true. Only eleven out of sixty eight actually said, ‘it’s men’s work.” I responded, ‘And so my question is targeted at ‘the some”. Are women being marginalised by some, not all, because clearly not all of them do, but some do stereotypically see the chef as a man.’ The interviewee answered, ‘No, I don’t think so.’ He continued by saying:

I like this. I think if you’d probably asked me the same question now, I’d have come up with the same answers. I think that’s fairly typical of what you would expect.

Eleven out of sixty eight whereas forty five out of sixty eight think that maintenance. So in comparison with the other categories of job you’ve got, it’s far less.

Addressing the issue of intentional marginalisation, one man said, ‘I think it depends on the type of business. It could be intentional.’ Another man thought the effect of marginalisation was weak and said:

Theoretically it’s not acceptable, er ... but because there are still a certain percentage of people, not just
men, women as well, who are of that opinion; there are certain jobs for men and certain jobs are for women. ... I think it is slightly intentional. But then again you see, it is only that low percentage who's got that sort of opinion.

A female expert commented on women being marginalised, saying:

By some staff, yes. Seeing some of the staff ... are still around, yes. ... This is unacceptable. It’s the stereotypical isn’t it? ... It’s unacceptable. My immediate reaction to say to that is unintentional, but they don’t think, and they don’t know any better but that sounds really unkind [laugh] doesn’t it? I suppose there are some women who are being marginalised, yes, yeh, ... So it could be intentional. ... The bias, if you like, of staff who are there already. That’s what we are talking about isn’t it?

I suppose the effect is still quite strong. It must be because ... There is nothing in the kitchen now that women shouldn’t be able to do. Like the old days when it was just so incredibly difficult.

Looking at the students ... there are some sixteen, seventeen year olds who come. That’s when they start on the course ... who ... the boys are quite macho and they are, and they find it quite difficult to relate to girls even in the kitchens in college. But the majority are very pro-girls and very pro-female influence, working with girls as well, most of the time.

A female expert said:

I would say that’s unacceptable ... that they’re considered incapable of working closely ... because, speaking from experience, when I have a girl, maybe at Claridges, or wherever, who’s moved onto the team on the sauce, and they’re all male. She is [capable], and she is expected to be [capable]. OK, she’s a girl, but her gender doesn’t matter. She’s there to train just like [men], if there are two of them at Claridges in the same year, then they go through exactly the same thing and they're treated in the same way.
Concerning whether women are capable of working with men, 'That can only be established after a trial period. So, really it’s unacceptable, to a certain degree,' said one man, because equipment is 'more accessible,' but he continued:

It’s a complex issue, definitely. There are certain things like ... the argument when they used to say about, if they can’t lift the stock pot or things like that. Today, things have changed, are changing, when you look at equipment and everything; there’s a tremendous amount of change going on.

Fly remarks about equipment are no longer valid in the modern kitchen environment. Consequently, the objection to women’s participation has shifted to focus on testing, or assimilating, individual personalities 'after a trial period'. Whether improvements in equipment have exposed the deeper long standing prejudice against female participation, or whether this is a new and subtly esoteric excuse for continuing exclusion of women, is worthy of consideration.

Overall, theories about gender segmentation in the workplace have centred on three major insights concerning power. Put simply, these are: firstly, a liberal feminist perspective, which regards unequal treatment of women as being caused by gender bias in organisational policies and structures, secondly, a radical feminist perspective, which focuses on the operation of a patriarchal system that promotes male dominance, and thirdly, a Marxist feminist perspective, which regards gender inequalities as originating from the capitalist system working
Chapter five: Results and Discussion: Interviews and Joint Interviews

alongside or interwoven with the gender system. In addition to these three, the persistence of gender inequality may also involve a strong element of women exercising choice outside any notions of patriarchy.

Superficially, employment in elite kitchens appears to be a matter of free choice for women (Hakim 2010), but the apparent consensus could easily be regarded as being shaped or ‘constrained’ (Crompton and Harris 1999b: 147) by historical power inequalities. Thus, the dominant male incumbents in every position, except trainees (Figure 14), can lift the male elitist hurdle so high that few men and even fewer women make the leap.

One interviewee exposed gender bias in the profession by saying, ‘if you’re getting married you can’t really compete on the same level as a man; that is one of the main problems’. The way senior chef’s jobs are constructed is unsuited to personal demands about WLB for many women and this will remain so unless gender issues are dealt with proactively (Gilbert et al. 1998) to reshape head chef’s jobs. Hot-kitchen, macho roles are constructed for men, while pastry chef roles are provided for celebrated women tokens, who are sidelined from the promotional mainstream. 25% of pastry chefs are women, the highest proportion in any role above the level of trainee. From pastry, ‘it’s more difficult to get up to head chef level ... they’d have to diversify in order to go on to being a head chef and the majority don’t want to.’
While Kanter (1993) reported employment rates for men and women converging since the 1960s, the current participation rate for women in all positions in Michelin starred restaurants is only 14% (Table 2). Achieving employment rate convergence in Michelin rated restaurants is unrealistic while the work demands on personal time are so excessive.
5.12 Summary

The qualitative results relating to all ten power mechanisms have now been presented and discussed in depth. Evidence shows that, for every mechanism, powers of exclusion operating in the third dimension oppose women’s inclusion so effectively that no breakthrough in the male-dominated culture of elite kitchens has yet occurred.

Each power mechanism exhibits multiple social interactions involving either active or latent gender related conflict. The interaction of the opposing relational powers is complex, yet for each power mechanism the outcome is the same. Women’s views are often not effectively articulated and patriarchy is not effectively opposed, nor is the argument for so-called male leadership characteristics effectively contradicted. Arguments are confused, stereotyping is still evident and most women remain quiescent through a strong and effective conditioning of consciousness and expectations.

The only exception found in the hard data is seen where women occupy 13% of proprietor head chef’s positions (Table 2). If these women were excluded from the figures in Table 2 senior women would occupy only 1.1% of positions at head chef or above. Women who can directly access the proprietor head chef position avoid the promotional route. This rare exercise of power effectively avoids anti-female, patriarchal opposition,
in all three dimensions of power. Other than this, women are effectively excluded from senior positions.

The conceptual framework (Figure 9) can now be adjusted in three ways, and a new model produced that incorporates the research findings (Figure 16).

**Figure 16:** The model depicting ten separate but interdependent power mechanisms being manoeuvred to support exclusion of women from senior positions in elite kitchens influenced by three dimensions of opposing operational powers, showing ten mirage mechanisms that are the product of focussing on EO rather than outcomes.
Firstly, dominant patriarchal power creates a mirage of virtual or rhetorical power mechanisms to mimic real, substantial power mechanisms. Real power mechanisms would support women’s inclusion in senior positions in elite kitchens effectively, but the goal of real job opportunities for all is not presently achieved since the rightward sliding employment power mechanism is unsupported. This strongly relates to the emphasis at policy level on equal ‘opportunities’, rather than equal ‘outcomes’ for women in senior positions in elite kitchens.

Secondly, a continuum of outcomes is envisaged between women’s detachment and real opportunities for all (Figure 16). This continuum conceives of the possibility that attitudes can be altered and women’s expectations raised, while real job opportunities may not yet be realised.

Thirdly, matriarchy is proposed as the opposing power agency operating in the third dimension (Figure 16) to counteract patriarchy. However, there is no evidence that it operates effectively for women in respect of senior positions in elite kitchens. The concept of matriarchy has some theoretical value, but its practical use in elite kitchens may have been limited by the paucity of women employed at senior levels and the opaque nature of patriarchy operating in this environment. Given the coalition government’s rhetoric about transparency and bottom-up empowerment it may be that junior women chefs could in future, facilitated by the Equality Act (2010), exert significant matriarchal
power to increase real jobs for women, as there are proportionately more women working at junior and trainee chef levels than in higher grades. Unlike patriarchy, the term matriarchy is either inconsequentially used or substantially absent from important feminist literature relating to the exercise of power in employment (Cockburn 1983, 1985, 1991, Hakim 1996, Wajcman 1998, Walby 1990). Hence it was not included in the conceptual framework (Figure 9). Accepting Foucault's (1976a) assertion that deploying power creates an opposing power, the omission of matriarchy would represent a significant gap in the theorising of gender power as a conceptual dichotomy.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

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CHAPTER SIX:

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Introduction

The first aim was to expose the field of power surrounding women’s low participation in elite kitchens and to develop a model that supports a better understanding of relational power processes. The second aim was to find the extent of gender discrimination in elite kitchens by gathering and analysing quantitative data.

Elite kitchens in the UK were defined for the purposes of this study as Michelin rated kitchens. The main kitchen employee roles where identified. The numerical extent of women’s exclusion by grade or status and by geographical region was established. The significance of the statistical data in terms of gender imbalance was rated as high. The survey (Chapter 4) established that elite kitchens exemplified a significant case of gender segregation in employment with very low participation rates of women chefs at senior levels.

Having demonstrated the extent of women’s exclusion in the statistical data (Chapter 4), this study went on to expose the field of power surrounding elite kitchens in an empirical study utilising a conceptual
framework (Figure 9) by exploring the views of expert industry observers; non-actors that were detached from operational responsibilities in elite kitchens.

Empirical testing exposed three limitations of the conceptual framework (Figure 9) and demonstrated that it did not fully represent what could happen in the third dimension of power. Firstly, it failed to show the irrationality of the power mechanisms working for inclusion. Secondly, it failed to recognise employment outcomes as a continuum. Thirdly, it failed to fully illustrate the relational powers that lead to gender discrimination in elite kitchens because it did not identify matriarchy as a relational power in opposition to patriarchy. Since patriarchy was theorised (Weber 1948, Cockburn 1983, Walby 1990) and every force has an opposing force (Foucault 1976a) it seemed reasonable to theorise an opposing structural power operating in the third dimension. This was much wider in scope than feminism and so I proposed matriarchy.

Figure 16 was proposed as a more accurate representation of the field of power surrounding women’s low participation in senior positions in elite kitchens. The model exposed how powers, operating in three dimensions, could maintain inequality of outcomes in employment of senior elite women chefs while preserving their quiescence. Power processes that operate to perpetuate non-conflict (Gaventa 1980) and prevent disputes arising, injustices being articulated and interests being
acknowledged, operate effectively to create a mirage out of each mechanism, without exception. Thus, the research objectives can now be considered.

The sheer weight of patriarchy operating through political, economic, cultural or social means has operated to perpetuate gender bias in the culinary arts workplace. Groups, leaders and the system itself have operated in complex and subtle ways, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, sometimes actively and at other times inactively to prevent women from succeeding in the professional elite of culinary arts. The field of power in elite culinary arts, as depicted in Figure 16, has prevented key issues about women’s real participatory interests from emerging and being articulated. Additionally, the field of power has legitimised male domination and taken advantage of the malleable emergent consciousness of women chefs.

Women remain quiescent because appearances are being maintained about the operation of inclusion processes. Inclusion processes operate merely on the level of tinkering with the power mechanisms. Matriarchy is not achieving positive employment outcomes in the form of real jobs for women in senior positions in elite kitchens. To have real power, matriarchy must be capable of causing significant employment outcomes by shifting rather than just affecting (Morriss 2002) the power mechanisms.
Without considering the concept of power operating in the third dimension, exposing the mirage of mechanisms could not have been achieved. Furthermore, the model now shows that causing change in employment outcomes for women requires not a notional repositioning that amounts to a vague impression of goodwill but an effective rationalising and actualising of all the power mechanisms simultaneously and permanently. This is why employment outcomes must be the acid test for inclusion processes, rather than illusionary employment opportunities.

This project uncovered the deep rooted causes and motivations for gender discrimination, exposed its persistent hidden nature and assessed the characteristics of existing hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, it explored how the status quo was shaped and the extent to which power maintains women’s low participation. Lukes’ three dimensional perspective of power demanded a consideration of ‘the effects of power when it was not overtly seen through conflict’ (Angolano 2011: 394). This third face of ‘power as domination’ was the most effective (Lukes 2005), stealthy, least observed and ‘insidious’ (Angolano 2011: 394) face of power because it serves ‘to maintain non-conflict’ (Gaventa 1980: 27). This led to an analysis of what prevented disputes arising, injustices being articulated and interests being acknowledged. Given a situation of such low participation of women, where observers
might intuitively expect women to challenge male domination, explanations were given stating why women remain, or appear to remain, quiescent.

Foucault rightly views discourses as forms of domination (Haugaard 2011), which he termed discursive power (Torfing 2011) so it was important for this project that men’s as well as women’s discourses and discursive constructs were studied.

Chosen interviewees were not head chefs or leaders of elite kitchens. They were non-actors who were not themselves direct ‘objects of scrutiny’. It was ‘through their experiences, lives, conditions and attitudes’ (Gaventa 1980: 27) that they acted as a window into the elite culinary world to discover ‘by what means power processes may serve to maintain non conflict’ (Gaventa 1980: 27). Discourse was seen to prohibit or proscribe liberal views about women’s inclusion as unacceptable and when linked to Lukes’ third face of power, patriarchal discourse was seen as one cause why issues were ‘left out of public discussion’ (Angolano 2011: 394).

Lukes’ (2005) view of power considered power as conflict or a manipulated consensus, rather than truly consensual. Considering the third face of power has allowed the researcher to explore whether apparent consensus in society was real freedom of choice for women or
manipulated and to examine uses and abuses of power beyond the
realm of conflict (Angolano 2011). Evidence suggests that patriarchy
shapes consciousness about women’s low participation in senior
positions elite kitchens so that quiescence is maintained.

6.2 Contribution to Theory

The most significant contribution to theory in this study was the model
(Figure 16). This model brought together all of the critical power
mechanisms necessary for an understanding of women’s employment
choices and constraints in elite kitchens. The ten mechanisms are the
result of an extensive review of feminist theory on women’s inclusion
and gender segmentation in the workplace (Figure 3). The model (Figure
16) utilises these and additionally incorporates the three dimensions of
power first conceived by Lukes (1974, 2005) and tested by Gaventa
(1980). It relates Lukes’ theory to feminist theories about power and
illustrates how powers influence women’s employment through the ten
mechanisms.

The project indicated how the ten power mechanisms are manipulated
by all three dimensions of power: in the first dimension by inclusive and
exclusive polyarchies; in the second by inclusive and exclusive bias and
finally and most significantly through patriarchy and an ineffective
operational matriarchy operating in the third dimension of power to
oppose male dominance supported by patriarchy. The model indicates the importance of a deep understanding of power in order to fully expose the mirage phenomenon created by three dimensional patriarchal power.

6.3 Contribution to Practice

This study heightens awareness of employment outcomes for women in terms of turning changed attitudes and raised expectations into real job opportunities. During the last 40 years women have grappled successively with EO, diversity action and capabilities equality (Sen 1992). Pervasive sexual discrimination, harassment in hospitality (Woods and Kavanaugh 1994) and male domination in kitchens have persisted. Women are still directed towards ‘emotional labour’ (Guerrrier and Adib 2004: 348) and socially ‘acceptable’ (Guerrrier 1986: 237) low skilled jobs. From a general perspective this project emphasises that equality policy-makers need to recognise patriarchy as the dominant power and that there are ten vital interdependent power mechanisms that must be considered and acted upon together if gender equality in employment outcomes is to be achieved.

The model is generic and could be applied empirically to any sector where women’s low participation rates require investigation. Given the Coalition Government’s emphasis on rights to flexible working, equal
opportunities to progress, devolving power to develop and promote bottom-up solutions, giving people and local communities the tools they need through improved transparency to challenge organisations and hold public bodies democratically accountable, giving freedoms to voluntary and public sector workers to collaborate and innovate in promoting a more cohesive and inclusive society and their intention to embed equality in all government actions through the work of the Inter Ministerial Group, it would seem opportune for the Coalition Government to use elite kitchens as a test case for the application of its new policy. The facilitating intention behind the Equality Act (2010) may be a very effective means of challenging the powerful patriarchal world of elite kitchens through the mobilisation of operational bottom-up matriarchy. The hard data revealed in Table 2, together with the rich interview data provided above, certainly expose the true nature of the problem of women’s exclusion. The five tools of the Coalition Government have a precise focus in this case. The Coalition Government should ‘work with employers, employees and wider society as an advocate for change’ in elite kitchens, as one manageable test case, among others, for their new policy on equality to ‘support people to make the right choices’ (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 8). This is a case where government could indeed ‘act as a leader, a catalyst and an advocate for change’ (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 24), remembering that the ten mechanisms must be
brought into real alignment simultaneously if they are to effectively support women's inclusion in senior positions in elite culinary arts.

This study also represents a major contribution to the development of hospitality and catering studies. When combined with hard data about non-participation of women, the model is a means of bringing transparency to the closed world of elite kitchens and, given the tendency toward gender segregation in the hospitality industry, it could be a useful tool in helping to professionalise the workforce by exposing bad practice. University and industry training courses in hospitality should explore human resource management practices more deeply to expose inequalities, so that new bottom-up challenges can be made to organisations, and public bodies can be held democratically accountable (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010). In this way, educators in industry and universities could join the Coalition Government as catalysts for reform by exposing their students to knowledge of malpractice in ways that bring about reform. This involves a new approach that requires specific action that targets specific problems and working with and empowering people, communities and businesses to 'enact change', just as the Coalition Government advocates (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010).

Hospitality is a clear case for a 'targeted intervention where' there is a possibility for government to 'make a real difference' where on its own
'government can only ever make limited progress'. Educators in industry and universities represent some of the 'people, communities and businesses who government could work with to empower them to enact change'. Such an approach works 'with the grain of human nature, not against it, [and could promote] the fairer, more equal and more prosperous society that we all want to see (Inter Ministerial Group on Equalities 2010: 24).

6.4 Contribution to Methodology

The contributions of this project to methodology are threefold. Firstly, it has brought together and envisioned a complete set of mechanisms covering a wide range of issues that are needed to fully assess the rich operations of power in an employment context. Secondly, it has linked these mechanisms to a rich, three-dimensional analysis of power-related to women's inclusion in a male-dominated industry. Thirdly, it has devised and tested a questionnaire for assessing the operations of power across a comprehensive range of issues that involved a deep analysis of semantic space to assess value, change and power.
6.5 Summary

Prestigious kitchens form a ‘powerful culinary world’ (Ferguson and Zukin 1998: 98), a world resistant to the small wins approach (Meyerson and Fletcher 2000) to improving women’s participation. For women who aspire to senior chefs’ positions, real jobs are exceedingly rare. Present rhetoric, concerning more inclusive attitudes together with raised expectations in young women, does not reflect these severely limited positions (Guerrier 1986) in the hospitality industry. Michelin starred restaurants require a comprehensive, uniform, relentless, time co-ordinated effort to counter gender inequality across the whole range of power mechanisms (Figure 16). This may be referred to as a ‘step change’ (Dickens 2007: 488) to rationalise or actualise every mechanism and bring them into alignment to support real job opportunities for all in senior positions in elite kitchens (Figure 16).

Male domination is still deeply legitimised in the culture of elite kitchens. Power mechanisms, operating in and around Michelin rated kitchens, still support the detachment of senior women. Top-down instructions backed by law and voluntary initiatives, like the business case, have not made a significant impact in balancing gender at senior levels to alter the long-standing status quo. The explanation lies in complex patriarchal powers operating in all three dimensions to create
an atmosphere of quiescence despite continual defeat. ‘What’s the point of me trying? I won’t get it because I’m a woman’.

The field of power in culinary arts, as depicted in Figure 16, generates a socialised sense of powerlessness among women that ‘prevents demands’ (Gaventa 1980: 12) from emerging and being articulated. Thus, the present social structure takes advantage of the malleable emergent consciousness of new women chefs. Patriarchy versus Matriarchy is sidelined in expert discourse and replaced by illustrative discourse about ‘barriers’ and ‘glass ceilings’ that sidestep the patriarchal strategy behind these exclusionary tactics. Excuses such as, ‘people who are determined can break through the barrier’ are characteristic of expert discourse and expose the weakness of a merely tactical focus.

All men can see these tactics whereby I conquer, but what none can see is the strategy out of which victory is evolved.

(Galvin 2003: 114 citing Sun Tzu 500 BC)

If aspiring chefs are to realise their goal and elite kitchens are to utilize ‘our most talented human resources’ (Schwarts 1989: 101), they must firstly know their enemy (Galvin 2003), accept that a power mechanisms mirage exists and acknowledge that patriarchal powers are succeeding in excluding women. Secondly, they must know themselves (Galvin 2003) and target opposition by promoting inclusive matriarchal powers in multiple dimensions, directing them simultaneously to bear
down upon the whole array of interactive mechanisms. Winning may not require constant-sum; increased matriarchal power need not be at the expense of patriarchal power, but would make job competition healthier for both men and women by releasing the best talent and increasing power over all.

Lukes' (1974) radical approach has been used to measure power and offers a compelling case for a model that incorporates current quiescence of women rather than conflict. Powers for exclusion operate effectively upon every mechanism that should support real jobs for women. Consequently, women in elite kitchens have become quiescent about the atmosphere being maintained around a mirage of inclusion mechanisms that surround Michelin rated kitchens. Practical employment opportunities at senior levels in elite kitchens do not, in reality, exist for women. The mechanisms, which are intended to support them, being a mirage, necessitate a deeper look at the power that has conferred such significant differentials on the matriarchal/patriarchal conflict. The question now at hand is whether it is truly possible to effectively resist powers that operate to maintain women's exclusion and invert the patriarchal culture, finally replacing the mirage with genuinely supportive rational mechanisms.

Foucault (1973) adopts a strategic notion of power and the object is not to arrive at truth but to win. Legitimising male domination is not merely
about achieving specific goals and meanings, corresponding to ‘Foucault’s ideas of shallow conflict’ (Haugaard 2002: 304). It is about a much deeper conflict over the existing social structure or order. Structure here means ‘the structural and institutional machinery of power which confers differentials upon the actors’ (Haugaard 1997: 134). This structure must be ‘up for negotiation’ (Haugaard 2002: 304) if matriarchy is to win and cause a significant rise in women’s participation in senior positions in elite restaurants.

The model (Figure 16) confirms that deeper powers are at work and supports a better understanding of these power processes. The model offers a new theoretical basis on which to challenge patriarchy in the arena of real employment and fulfil women’s raised aspirations. It demands that patriarchy and matriarchy be recognised as the core powers and centralised in current discourse concerning women’s low participation. It is possible that reason and the power of discourse may then be mobilised effectively to inform a meaningful public debate about the power processes that perpetuate women’s exclusion. Thus, power mechanisms supporting real jobs in senior positions could be rationalised and a strategic emancipatory agenda set.
6.6 Further research

Future development of the model (Figure 16) should focus on four strands:

Firstly, matriarchy should now be studied in the context of three dimensions of power, as differentially weaker and as an opposing force to patriarchy. Local situations, where improvements in gender balance have occurred, should be studied to further test the model. Where matriarchal power may have caused effectual change in raising women's participation, researchers should consider how the underpinning mirage of power mechanisms have been rationalised against the, once prevailing, patriarchal powers.

Secondly, comparator case studies could be undertaken to compare and contrast the aspirations of newly recruited trainees with more experienced trainees and recently qualified chefs who have dropped out of the profession. Interviews should aim to identify the main elements that shape the newly emerging consciousness of young chefs (Gaventa 1980).

Thirdly, withdrawal, fatalism, self-deprecation, indifference to circumstances and feelings of powerlessness that are conditioned by continual defeat (Freire 1972) need to be investigated among lower
ranking, working women chefs. ‘Necessities, possibilities and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict’ (Gaventa 1980: 15) should be evaluated. This would include the shaping of social myths, language and symbols in the power process, as well as information and communication, or the means by which ideas, beliefs or roles become socially legitimate.

Fourthly, an evaluation needs to be undertaken of female chef’s perceptions about themselves as individuals, as a group, or about their position in the social order. Where women recognise injustice, confusions surrounding who is responsible, or an inability to conceive any alternatives and perceptions that there is an immutable status quo need to be evaluated. Complaints about injustice that misconstrue the problem, select the wrong objective, or use an ineffective strategy need to be examined.

Such research should build on current findings to support an even deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of the field of power surrounding women’s low participation in senior positions in elite kitchens and enhance strategies for promoting gender balance in this sector.
6.7 Limitations

Expert observers’ combined experience of over 240 years exposed the powers operating to produce a mirage in the case of each power mechanism. Although the data was sufficient to produce the model in Figure 16, the sample of interviewees was small and despite their rich experience, more interviewees may have further exposed the field of power.

Although male interviewees outnumbered females three to one, having more males can be justified as follows. A higher proportion of male experts reflected the dominance of male discourse in the industry. Without significant numbers of men, the hidden powers and contradictions of patriarchy would not be so fully exposed.

By their very nature, expert observers were not only rare, but they occupy only a limited number of professions. These expert non-actors were not easy to find and employing snowball sampling to locate them leaves the project open to the accusation of methodological bias. Women, who have seldom been employed in senior positions in elite kitchens, were even rarer than men. All interviewees were chosen because they did not currently work in elite kitchens. Some had done so and others had not but all were in a position to have observed deeply, widely and over an extended period of time. A degree of detachment was
thus ensured and a rich stream of discourse and discursive constructs accessed.

Non-actors and non-leaders were deemed important to ascertain the means by which power maintained non-conflict. However, investigating the third dimension of power is by definition complex and should go further than accessing the discursive constructs of detached observers. Investigating non-actions, silence, non-events and non-decisions is difficult because their relevance may be arguable. Furthermore, as Barnes (1988) states, when building on the consensual view of power, ‘power is not simply reducible to its exercise’ (Haugaard 2002: 113).

It is vital to establish quiescence in the face of power and to prove female chefs would act differently if they were not prevented. This necessitates extensive research in the elite chefs' community as well as among non-actors.

The project did not specifically investigate situations where elite kitchens had changed and where challenges might be developed to overturn current patterns of gender segmentation. Open kitchens might be one such arena. Furthermore, evidence might be gathered in places where men’s power weakens or where third parties intervene or new resources come into play. These, together with opportunities to compare
groups where women have rebelled with groups where they have not, may prove productive.

The model (Figure 16), which is limited to gender issues, is too simple to account for additional layers of power operating in parallel with gender questions. It is worth noting, with Lieberson (1980) and Charles and Gursky (1995) that 'there is no one measure or index that can capture all dimensions of segregation' (Elliott 2005: 165), because of the inherent 'heterogeneity of the labour market' (Elliott 2005:166).

Showing patriarchy and matriarchy in opposition is both a strength and a weakness. The two powers are often opposed but it may be that matriarchy is sometimes consensual with patriarchy and both are working together, for good or bad, in the 'order of things' (Foucault 1972). The consensus may operate to make the field of power stronger. In that case the power may never be constant-sum (Morriss 2002) and there may be good reasons for arguing that 'consent is central to power relations' (Haugaard 2011: 137), especially in the arena of WLB where conflict can be managed through consent. Haugaard (2002: 69) points out a number of significant aspects of power.

... power does not simply exist, it has to be created; the creation of power is inextricably related to the reproduction of social order; even if power is not always legitimate, it is not equivalent to violence or coercion; power is not zero-sum; and it is not inherently contrary to people's interests.
This view could be termed a consensual view of power and it has clear relevance to any further development of the model (Figure 16).

The model emphasised group goals and actions more than the notion of atomised, fragmented and individual power. This could be indentified as a limitation when considering the argument that atomised power can silence the dominated (Foucault 1976a). However, expert observers’ personal experiences were central in exposing two key components of the model. Firstly, the workings of patriarchy, whether top down or bottom up in cause and effect and secondly, the resulting mirage.
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APPENDIX ONE:

LETTER AND EMAIL SURVEY FORM:
Restaurant Manager
Restaurant Name
Address.

Date: April to June 2010

Dear Restaurant Manager

I do not wish to waste your time in making this request. I am undertaking an important research project that is concerned with staffing structures in elite kitchens across the UK.

Please would you assist me by completing the simple table below? It asks you to give the number of kitchen employees working in your restaurant. All data provided will be kept confidential and no individual restaurant will be identified in the published results. Please return the completed table to me, in the stamped addressed envelope provided by 16th June.

Your co-operation is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Alan White
Senior Lecturer
Department of Tourism, Hospitality and Events Management
Cardiff School of Management
Tel: 029 20 41 6316  Email: awhite@uwic.ac.uk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of MALES Employed</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Number of FEMALES Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Part-Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proprietor</td>
<td>Head Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Head Chef</td>
<td>Head Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Chef</td>
<td>Sous Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sous Chef</td>
<td>Pastry Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Internal Trainee Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>College Trainee Chef</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>Pot Wash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you wish to have a copy of the final results please write your email address here

Western Avenue, Cardiff CF5 2YB UK
Tel: 44 (0)29 2041 6311
Fax: 44 (0)29 2041 6330
email: csm@uwic.ac.uk  web: www.uwic.ac.uk

Rhodfa'r Gorllewin, Caerdydd CF5 2YB, DU
Ffôn: 44 (0)29 2041 6311
Fax: 44 (0)29 2041 6330
e: csm@uwic.ac.uk  w: www.uwic.ac.uk

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Mae UWIC yn elusen cofrestredig yng Nghymru ac yng Nghaerdydd (rif 1140762)
Follow-up Email version

Dear Sir/Madam

I do not wish to waste your time in making this request. I am conducting an important research project at the University of Wales Institute that is concerned with staffing structures in elite kitchens across the UK.

Would you be willing to assist me by completing the table below? It simply asks you to count the number of men and women employees working in your restaurant. I would be grateful if you would return it to me by email (AWhite@uwic.ac.uk) as soon as possible. Simply click on reply and the table below should reformat in columns.

Your co-operation is much appreciated. Individual restaurants will NOT BE IDENTIFIED in any of the results. If you have any query about the form please let me know.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of MALES Employed</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Number of FEMALES Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Trainee Chef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Trainee Chef</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pot Wash</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yours faithfully
Alan White

Alan White
Senior Lecturer: Room: B2.01
Cardiff School of Management
University of Wales Institute
Colchester Avenue
CARDIFF. CF23 9XR
Tel: 029 20 416316
Fax: 029 20 416930
APPENDIX TWO:

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE
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SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Name

Instructions

Each of the following questions is followed by a continuum. Please mark the continuum line with a / to indicate the where you think the true answer lies. You may not wish to answer the question by marking the continuum, in which case, you may answer neither by ticking the box that follows each continuum.

For example, if I were to place a slug on the table and were to ask you whether this slug was fast or slow you may mark the continuum ‘relatively slow’ as follows …

Fast? \[\text{\ldots} \] Slow?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum as above or …

If you felt you could not add a mark as above you could leave the continuum blank and tick the box as follows

Answer NEITHER by ticking here \[\checkmark\]

In an interview situation you may wish to cite examples.
1. How should aspiring women chefs regard unsocial hours in hotel kitchens? As …

Acceptable? Unacceptable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …
Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Nonnegotiable? Negotiable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …
Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Changing? Unchanging?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …
Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Feminine? Masculine?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …
Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible …
Appendix two: Semi-structured interview questionnaire

The following data is extracted from the Academy of Culinary Arts listing of Members, posted on the Internet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Membership Numbers</th>
<th>... Of which have women’s names</th>
<th>%age of Women members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honorary</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emeritus</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academicians</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associates</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2. Do you view this as ...

Representative?    Unrepresentative?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Static? Moving?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Unchangeable? Changeable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Typical? Unusual?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible ...

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222x778

224x533

224x533

224x533

224x533

224x533

224x533
3. How do women respond to low levels of participation?
Women’s responses are ...

Constrained? Free?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Yielding? Tenacious?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Contentious? (Meek)? Quiescent

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Pessimistic? Optimistic?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible ...

Appendix two: Semi-structured interview questionnaire
4. How do men respond to low levels of women’s participation?
Men respond …

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approvingly?</th>
<th>Disapprovingly?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Passively?</th>
<th>Actively?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humorously?</th>
<th>Seriously?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overtly?</th>
<th>Covertly?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please give examples if possible …
5. Please comment on the gender balance in the BBC vignette and its influence on women’s participation?

Good?  

Bad?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here
5. Please comment on the gender balance in the BBC vignette and its influence on women’s participation?

Effective?  Ineffective?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

Unchanging?  Changing?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

Please give examples if possible ...
6. ‘Word-of-mouth’ recruitment methods accounted for 29% of hotel core workers’ appointments in Wales.

How might this affect a gender balance?

*Weakly?*  
*Strongly?*

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

*Widespread?*  
*Locally?*

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

*Positively?*  
*Negatively?*

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

*Unintentionally?*  
*Intentionally?*

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here □

*Please give examples if possible* ...

Appendix two: Semi-structured interview questionnaire
7. Exclusion of women chefs might be caused by patchy application and mainstreaming of “Equal Opportunities” policies is in the hotel industry. Is this ...

Local? Widespread?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Intentional? Unintentional?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Bad? Good?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible ...
Sixty-nine tourism core workers in Wales were asked, "Do you regard these jobs as men’s work or women’s work?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CORE JOBS</th>
<th>Women's work</th>
<th>Either</th>
<th>Men's work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance staff</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General clerical staff</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef/assistant chef</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking staff</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reception staff</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table B Core worker responses in Wales

8. Consider the above table. Are women being marginalised by some staff in hotel kitchens. If so, is its effect ...

Acceptable? Unacceptable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Unintentional? Intentional?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Strong? Weak?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible …
9. Consider the previous table. Are women generally considered incapable of working closely on an equal basis with male chef's? If so, is this argument ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acceptable?</th>
<th>Unacceptable?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong?</th>
<th>Weak?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple?</th>
<th>Complex?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answer NEITHER by ticking here</td>
<td>□</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please give examples if possible ...
Appendix two: Semi-structured interview questionnaire

10. Some interviewees felt that female chefs should be treated just like male chefs. Do you regard this view as ...

Acceptable?  Unacceptable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here  

Humorous?  Serious?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here  

Wise?  Foolish?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here  

Simple?  Complex?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here  

Please give examples if possible ...
14. One interviewee said, "... women can't handle the stress, the pressure and the heat ... the kitchen is very hard ... it's mostly male dominated". Male dominance is needed in a fast-flowing kitchen. Do you regard this assertion as ...

Acceptable?  Unacceptable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Weak?  Strong?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Complex?  Simple?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible
15. One interviewee said, "I know in a previous hotel where a female was workin' in the kitchen environment of males. That person tends to get picked on – they’re in the minority".
Another said, "One of our restaurant staff, a lady, went to work in the kitchen and she got grief for it."
Is sexual harassment in hotel and restaurant kitchens ...

Widespread? 

Local?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Weak? 

Strong?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Decreasing? 

Increasing?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible
16. How do hotel kitchens make significant attempts to accommodate women?

Vigorously? Feebly?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Rarely? Frequently?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Well? Badly?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible
17. ‘Social Closure’ occurs when women are excluded and meekly accept the status quo. Has a degree of social closure occurred in the culinary arts profession? If so, is its effect ...  

Complete?  Incomplete? 

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Weak?  Strong?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Increasing?  Decreasing?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible
Appendix two: Semi-structured interview questionnaire

18. ‘Positive Action’ may involve women-only interview shortlists to address imbalance. How do you regard positive action to address the gender imbalance in hotel kitchens? The case for positive action is ...

Strong?  Weak?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Closed?  Open?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Unacceptable?  Acceptable?

Please rate your answer by marking the continuum above or ...

Answer NEITHER by ticking here

Please give examples if possible

End of Interview
Thank you ...
