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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL CHEFS

by

EMILY E. HANSFORD

Under the Direction of Dr. Jennifer Patico

ABSTRACT

The professional fine dining kitchen has predominately been the domain of male chefs. The purpose of this study was to look at what factors affect chefs, especially female chefs, in the development of their professional careers. I interviewed 12 professional female chefs and five male chefs in New York City and Atlanta, in various stages of their careers, in order to gain a better understanding of the difficulties faced by chefs. Through my research I learned that although women face devaluation from their male coworkers, they also face stigmatization from their female coworkers. This research provides insight into changes that need to be made in order for women to more successfully navigate the culinary industry as well as women in other male-dominated professions.

INDEX WORDS: Women, Culinary, Chefs, Fine dining, Hospitality

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EMILY E. HANSFORD

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EMILY E. HANSFORD

Committee Chair: Jennifer Patico

Committee: Jennifer Patico

Megan Sinnott

Emanuela Guano

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this to all of the wonderful women chefs with whom I have worked and interviewed. They are sources of inspiration and much needed additions to my life.

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.Most importantly, I would like to thank Dr. Jennifer Patico for dealing with my incessant questioning, and always being there to help me throughout this process. I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Megan Sinnott and Dr. Emanuela Guano for contributing their vast knowledge. Special thanks to Dr. Kathryn Kozaitis and her amazing insight and leadership as well. I would also like to thank the amazing staff at Georgia State University's Anthropology department.

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1 Introduction

"Only men have the technique, discipline and passion
that makes cooking consistently an art."
Fernand Point

"The only real stumbling block is fear of failure.
In cooking you've got to have a 'What the hell?' attitude"
Julia Child

Night after night, diners sit in restaurants drinking various flavored libations, dressed-up and anticipating a culinary "experience." After reading reviews and hearing various reports of the tantalizing dishes, the manipulation of food into forms and combinations they had never dreamed of, diners sit, mouths watering, waiting for their first course. Around them the servers float seamlessly throughout the dining room, continuously checking on their tables and filling wine glasses. During this the server's assistants are filling water, serving amuses, and running various plates of food out to the tables. In the background the front of the house manager is scrutinizing every table checking to make sure every glass is full, every patron is content and enjoying every minute of their dining experience. If any piece of this elaborate puzzle is missing the manager will give a quick nod of his head to a server and the table is immediately approached and the problem is fixed before the diner even notices.

In the dining room an air of pleasurable calm is exuded; in the kitchen a frenzied ballet of jumping flames, crashing pans, and spinning cooks is being performed. During service no one speaks except the curt, militaristic "Yes, chefs" and the Executive Chef yelling out orders. The Chef yells at the sauté cook for dripping sauce on the edge of the plate. Garde manger is moving too slowly; no one can ever move fast enough. After three hours of moving at a nonstop pace, cooking through the pain of the fresh cut on their hands, holding five hundred degree pans de-

spite the pan searing to their skin through the cooks unknowingly damp cloth, the cooks pause to take a deep breath.

For a female cook this controlled chaos is accompanied by a slew of other complications. Before and during service she is frequently "accidently" rubbed up against. Many of her male coworkers are talking about the chicks they banged the night before and their various sexual conquests. When she asks her coworker for meat, he quickly responds with, "Yeah I bet you need some." Throughout the service male servers come into the kitchen talking about "the chick at table seven and her huge tits," which is soon followed by a barrage of sexual innuendos from other servers and cooks.

While service is happening, she looks up from the salad station at her male coworker who just recently graduated from culinary school. Her years of experience were overshadowed by his air of bravado and overly arrogant demeanor; odds are that he earns more than she does. After service the cooks begin cleaning and comparing their burns and cuts from that nights service. She remains silent about the freshly seared section of her forearm afraid that she'll be criticized for whining.

Having worked in restaurants for ten years, I have encountered my share of sexual harassment and gender prejudice. I started cooking at the age of sixteen at a chain restaurant. My first experiences in the culinary world were filled with constant harassment by a man in his forties. Whether he was asking me if I would like "fries with that shake" or if it "was cold in the freezer" while staring at my chest, I was exposed to a constant reminder of my feminine sexuality. As I entered college, I worked in a fine dining Italian restaurant where the servers would hit on me, and the owner of the establishment asked me to visually demonstrate how to perform oral sex, so that he could please his wife. There were other instances where he would take me into the walk-

in cooler and scream at me about challenging his authority. Through these occurrences, I quickly learned the importance of developing a defensive barrier.

After my undergraduate program, I attended The Culinary Institute of America. The CIA constantly preached an atmosphere of professionalism and gender equality. At the same time, my first teacher was fired for taking body shots off of a female student; body shots are typically when a woman's body is used as a platform to consume the various components of a tequila shot, salt, lime and tequila. During my 2005-2007 academic experience there were only three female chef instructors compared to the 46 male instructors (CIA yearbook 2007). Despite this hypocrisy, I graduated with the idea that fine dining kitchens would be a bastion of gender equality and professionalism. While continuing on in my culinary career, I discovered that things had not changed; sexual harassment and gender inequality still flourished. Whether it was a French chef that would not divulge his recipes to his female sous chef, but who had no problem dropping his pants to show her the rash on his inner thigh, or placing me on the pastry station even though I had no pastry experience; I quickly learned that my previous issues with the culinary industry were still flourishing. In order for me to successfully maneuver the culinary world, I adapted and learned to ignore the majority of the sexual harassment. I also trained myself to take a slightly masochistic approach to cooking. Through my personal experiences in the culinary world scars, cuts, and burns are seen as a sign of status, and showing signs of pain are viewed as weakness. In order to maintain my status within the kitchen, I developed the ability to laugh through the pain. By emulating what society deems as traditionally masculine behaviors, I found that I was able to successfully navigate my career.

My array of experiences led me to undertake a preliminary study in 2009, of the fine dining industry in Atlanta. I wanted to determine whether female chefs felt they needed to adopt

more masculine roles in order to succeed in the culinary industry. All of the women I interviewed had at least one occurrence of verbal or physical sexual harassment. Through my study I realized that women did not see themselves as assuming "masculine" attributes; they saw themselves as embracing their inner strengths and finding the proper balance between being overly aggressive or overly emotional.

In my preliminary study, I also looked at how various stations within the professional kitchen were gendered. Through my experiences, I had seen a trend that indicated women were frequently placed in pastries or at the garde-manger station. Garde-manger is typically the cold food station; this station makes salads, cold appetizers, and other plates that do not require cooking. The majority of the women I interviewed agreed that these stations were seen as being the bottom of the cooking hierarchy. Although both stations traditionally require highly technical skill levels, they were traditionally staffed with the lower skilled employees and women.

Upon the completion of my preliminary study, I realized that the results I had obtained did not help to resolve my larger question; why are there so few upper-management women in fine dining restaurants? Many of the women I interviewed have since left the industry; one is working in marketing, two have returned to school, and one is focusing on food writing. Despite investing, on average, forty thousand dollars on their culinary professions, they have abandoned the culinary world. That contributes to my research question; why are women willing to give up their culinary dreams? Is their departure based on the professional environment? Is the culinary profession one of the last strong holds for misogyny, and if so how is this affecting our society?

In this study I speculated that women had a more difficult time succeeding in the fine dining industry due to the lack of female mentors available to them. I believed that if a woman did not have another woman to help support her and aid her in navigating her career that it would

make her experience more difficult. Throughout the study I came to realize that although none of my female interviewees had a female mentor, they all had a male chef that helped them develop their career. This revelation lead me to further pursue other areas that might have played a larger role in contributing to the low number of women in executive positions within fine dining restaurants.

In the following chapters, I try to capture the various experiences of female and male chefs throughout their careers while identifying factors that may contribute to the low number of female executive chefs. Through the interviews conducted, many factors were identified that contribute to the difficulties chefs encounter within fine dining restaurants. Both male and female chefs expressed the difficulties of working in the high stress, highly competitive environment of the professional kitchen, which was also physically demanding and often painful environment. However the data suggest that women faced special difficulties in addition to those shared by both sexes. As we shall see, many female chefs found it difficult maintaining a balance between their family lives and work. In addition to frequent cases of sexual harassment from male colleagues, women chefs describe problematic relationships with their female peers that impact the overall working environment for women in the industry.

2 Literature Review

In order to develop an understanding of professional women chefs in the culinary industry, I have looked at three distinct areas of anthropological study: the gendering of food, gender in the workplace, and gendered public and domestic spheres. Through my research, thus far, I have not found many anthropological sources on women in the culinary industry. Many of the readings traverse the areas of food, the workplace and public versus private space, but none specifically address the difficulties women face in the fine dining industry in the United States. Through the various readings I have found, I have developed a structured theoretical background for my study that is based on the gendering of food, the gendering of cooking, and the gendering of public and private space.

2.1 Food as Gendered

Food holds a position of power in society; not only is food necessary for survival, but it determines one's status and is used as a medium to convey an array of cultural meanings and customs. In American society, food can be used to depict the subordination of women, as well as the dominance of men (Counihan 1999:10). The power of food can be asserted through body image, as well as the ideas of what is or is not appropriate for individuals to consume. American society has placed great emphasis on the idea that it is natural for men to desire hearty, filling foods; when men eat to the contrary they are often seen as effeminate (Inness 2001:25). A study conducted by Carol Counihan (1999) revealed that even female college students recognize that women should eat "light" foods such as salads and chicken, whereas men are expected to consume more "heavy" foods such as meat and potatoes (Counihan 1999:10).

Meat has obtained high status within Western society; it is frequently associated with the idea of wealth, masculinity, patriarchy, and power (Inness 2001:26; Adams 1990:16-17).

Bourdieu argues that meat is the most nourishing food and that it provides its consumer with "vigour, blood, and health" (Bourdieu 1984:192). This idea is elaborated by Inness (2001), who states that the act of eating meat is an act of power. She argues that when meat is consumed it demonstrates one's superiority over animals (Inness 2001:26). This idea of power can then be transmitted to the consumer. According to Bourdieu, in the context of French society, meat is men's food; they need stronger foods that can satisfy their "brutal needs" (Bourdieu 1984:192). Through this assumption that meat is men's food, meat gains superiority. Bourdieu (1984) continues that other delicate food, salads, fish, etc. are meant for women. Women do not desire the strong flavored foods that men consume; they need smaller quantities and more delicate foods (Bourdieu 1984:191-192). David Sutton (2010) cites a study conducted by J. Cowan; in Cowan's study of Italian women, he noticed a trend that women are associated with sweet flavors, whereas men are associated with salty. He suggests that cultural norms play an implicit role in the development of gendered flavors. Cowan states that by consuming sweets, the women are furthering the idea that they have "sweet, feminine dispositions" (Sutton 2010:213-214).

I agree with both Cowan's and Bourdieu's conclusions about societal depiction of gendered food. Cowen states that in Italian society there exists the social gendering of flavors, whereas Bourdieu's theory states that such tastes are seen as innate in French society; they believe that taste is based on one's class. Bourdieu states that French society assumes that women do not "have a taste for men's food" (Bourdieu 1984:192). I support Bourdieu's theory that being born into a certain class, and being raised eating foods that are typical of said class, would cause one to develop that class' "taste." This same theory applies to women and their food preference. When woman is raised watching her mom consume certain foods, and at the same time she is encouraged to eat the same foods, she is more likely to continue to eat those foods. If one

is not raised eating food with stronger flavors i.e. blue cheese, steak, strong liquor, one will not necessarily like it upon trying it. A person born into a higher class is not born with the ability to recognize foods of higher status; they are cultivated to appreciate that food through their development.

2.2 Cooking as Gendered

Cooking is also frequently seen as a gendered activity. Levi-Strauss noted that different cultures associated different cooking styles with a certain gender (Levi-Strauss 1966:31). In his article "The Culinary Triangle," Levi-Strauss presents evidence that, depending on the culture, a certain style of cooking is typically related to either men or women. In Western society, women are traditionally associated with domestic, ferial, cooking, whereas men, when they contribute to domestic cooking responsibilities, are linked to weekend, celebratory cooking (Inness 2001:28; Adler 1981:51; Julier and Lindenfeld 2005:3).

In post-World War II society, the wife was expected to remain in the home and tend to her familial duties, while her husband worked (McFeely 2000:1). In American society, male cooking is typically associated with celebratory events such as weekend grilling, carving the holiday meat, and Sunday morning pancakes (Adler 1981:46, 53). Men had the freedom to cook when they wanted to, whereas women had to cook due to their domestic responsibilities (Inness 2001:22). Men's cookbooks typically focused on meat cookery; they focused not only on traditional meats but wild game as well, which is also associated with men due to its gamey, strong flavor (Inness 2001:19; Bourdieu 1984:192). This association with meat allowed for masculinity to be carried into the art of domestic cooking, thus making it acceptable in a culture that traditionally viewed cooking as feminine, and viewed any male intrusion into the domestic realm as an indication of effeminate behavior (Inness 2001:20).

This idea was reinforced by many men's cookbooks at that time; even today one can witness the over-masculinization of men's cookbooks. Titles like "Bake Like a Man" (Bowers and Bowers 1999) that depicts a man's torso wearing a tool belt, and "Tough Guys Don't Dice: A Cookbook for Men Who Can't Cook," (Thorson 1989) further instill the idea that cooking is domestic and has to be drastically altered to make it acceptable for men to cook at home. In order for men to perceive domestic cooking as acceptable, they either have to make food "manly", or they need to acquire more culinary "tools." In Jonathan Deutsch's ethnography (2005), Deutsch discusses how the firefighters take the seemingly feminine idea of cooking and make it more "masculine." By creating lewd names and sexualizing food, the male firefighters made domestic cooking more acceptable in their "male" space (Deutsch 2005). Adler mentioned that many male cooks will spend large amounts of money on the purchasing of special kitchen gadgets. Not only are these gadgets a means of incorporating tools in the kitchen, they also connote a man's superiority, because his foods appear more gourmet through the usage of specialty equipment (Adler 1981:48). An opposing argument is that men feel subordinated in kitchens because of the domestic nature of the kitchen and society's hegemonic view that depicts men who perform domestic cooking to be effeminate (Julier and Lindenfeld 2005:9). While this may be true, it should be noted that this has been observed of domestic, not professional, cooking.

In American society, red-meat has the highest status, within the realm of red meats; steak is considered the ultimate male food. Steak has assumed nearly iconic status within the realm of meat varieties. This connection of men with steak, and steak being viewed as high status, thus leads to the development of men's high status while grilling (Inness 2001:26). Even within the professional cooking industry, men are typically in charge of the meat butchering. Gary Alan

Fine, in his ethnography, *Kitchens*, notes that the butchering of large pieces of meat is frequently done by the typically male, head chef (Fine 1996:93).

Grilling meat took the masculinization of meat a step further. The idea of cooking meat over an open flame, not only echoes Levi-Strauss' theory as it being natural and primal; but it conjures up the imagery of primitive man cooking over the fire, which supports the idea of masculinity (Inness 2001:27-28). American society upholds the masculinity of the grill through the stereotype of women's inability to grill. There is a common idea that if a woman grills, she will either burn the meat or overly "feminize" the meat by adding fruit or other unnecessary sundries (Inness 2001:19).

Throughout my study I used the following concepts as a way to help explain why professional kitchens have been a predominately male dominated atmosphere. The gendering of food and cooking lead to the association of women with more menial style of food and cold preparations, while men become associated with the more "valuable" foods within a restaurant. The dishes that have the highest costs are typically meat focused. Through the literature referenced one can see that not only is meat associated with men, but celebratory and more desirable foods are also linked to men. These associations could play a significant factor in role of men in fine dining restaurants.

2.3 Public and Private Spheres as Gendered

In Ortner's controversial piece "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?" she makes the statement that women are subordinate to men in every society, and that even in societies where women have relatively more power, there still exists evidence of their subordination (Ortner 1972:24). Ortner discusses the concept that societies "devalue" nature and view the development of cultures as a means to subordinate and control nature (Ortner 1972:25-26). Women

are viewed, by societies, as being closer to nature; women's bodies equate them with nature through childbirth and menstruation, both functions that are considered natural and common in animals (Ortner 1972:29-30). Ortner continues that due to the bond a mother forms with her child during its infancy, it is only natural that she maintains the domestic role of childcare because of the already formed bond. Society deems infants and small children as animalistic; women's association with children and childcare places them in a situation that implies their closeness to nature (Ortner 1972:32-33). Her argument supports the idea that men are given more dominance in society because they represent culture. Ortner (1972) recognizes that children's socialization by their mothers should shift women into the realm of culture, not nature. Instead, men are seen as the final distributors of culture; where women have started, men have to finish the process. She supports this idea through the depiction of the professional kitchen. Where women have started the "civilizing" of food, men see themselves as the true refiners of the cuisine by bringing it to the professional level (Ortner 1972:33-34). Although Ortner has published an updated version of her article where she recognizes that her original argument was overly universalizing, I find that her base theoretical ideas apply to the development of the division of the sexes when referring to cooking in U.S. society.

M. Z. Rosaldo (1980) argues that although there are frequent examples of women's weakness, there are other cultures that have the opposite perception. She recognizes the idea that in various cultures women have more equality and can have high status, but Rosaldo states that a political system does not exist where there are more women than men in positions of power (Rosaldo 1980:394-395). Rosaldo parallels Ortner's nature versus culture theory by stating that women are related to the domestic sphere, whereas men are associated with the public sphere (Rosaldo 1980:397). Ortner builds on Rosaldo's theory in "Gender Hegemonies." Ortner states

that the reason for the public's dominance over the domestic is that the public domain encompasses the domestic; since the woman's realm is contained by the man's, it is granted less value (Ortner 1990:153-154).

Rosaldo's development of the theory of public and domestic spheres is echoed in the development of gender inequalities not only in society at large, but specifically in the culinary workplace. Women's labor in the U.S. has traditionally focused around domestic duties, cooking, child-rearing, and cleaning, whereas men are traditionally related to arenas outside of the house. The kitchen has traditionally been seen as a woman's realm. Ortner relates this idea to the world of cooking; she states that although cooking is traditionally seen as a woman's domestic role, once it is raised to the higher status of haute cuisine in the professional world, it is considered a man's realm (Ortner 1972:34).

Margaret Mead noted that in all societies, man's need for accomplishment can be seen. She argues that the actual activity does not matter; if an occupation is associated with men, then all of society views it as important. If the same occupation is associated with only women it is deemed of less importance (Mead 2002). This ideal can be seen in Vicki Swinbeck's work on culinary hierarchies. Swinbeck (2002) discusses how much of the development of traditional French haute cuisine was accompanied by the focus on the separation of domestic cookery and professional, male cookery (Swinbeck 2002:469). She argues that male chefs viewed domestic cooking as lowly unskilled cooking; in order for food to be raised to the level of haute cuisine, it had to be distinguishable from home cooking. This division was obtained by taking traditional recipes and adapting them by adding select ingredients that were distinguished as being higher class i.e. foie gras, truffles, cream. Domestic cooking was characterized by its focus on affordability; women used locally grown products and foods that were cheap and easily attainable. Pro-

fessional male chefs differentiated their cooking by adding ingredients that were not easily accessible, as well as creating overly ornate plating styles (Swinback 2002:471). Male chefs created haute cuisine by exploiting the domestic cooking of their mothers. Swinbeck mentioned Escoffier, one of the principal founders of haute cuisine, and highlighted how he utilized one of his mother's traditional dishes, but by substituting the olive oil for butter, and garlic for truffle, he made the dish worthy of the haute label (Swinback 2002:469).

The strict division of public versus domestic, where domestic is the home and public is any place outside of the home, has been criticized by Susan Gal (2002). Gal argues that the depiction of domestic and public could apply in various arenas. She states that there is no clear distinction between public and private; Gal contends that any space can contain aspects of public and private. Even within the home, the living room can be viewed as a public space and the bedroom can be seen as private; this representation can be continuously categorized into smaller representations (Gal 2002:78).

Gal's theory can be utilized while viewing the professional kitchen. Within the restaurant, there exist other spaces that can be depicted as public and private. The main dining room is associated with the public, whereas the kitchen, due to physical barriers, is perceived as private. From now on, I will refer to the main dining room, as well as the main entrance, host area, and the bar as the front of the house. This is a typical restaurant term that views the restaurant as a "house;" the back of the house is always associated with the kitchen and office, whereas the main spaces of the restaurant are viewed as the front of the house. Although women are frequently found in the front of the house, their roles are traditionally as servers. Women servers are more frequently found in restaurants that are less lucrative, such as diners (LaPointe 1992:379). These positions are typically associated with being feminine and subordinate (Crous 2010:18).

Traditionally the kitchen is viewed as domestic/private, but when the professional kitchen is viewed as a separate entity it can be brought into the public sphere. The public identity of the professional kitchen associates it with men, which is supported through the predominately male staff located in the majority of professional kitchens (Cooper 1998:24-25). Using Gal's argument, the kitchen can then be classified into smaller spaces. The executive chef of a restaurant is associated with the public space; he seen as the kitchen, and frequently comingles with customers and others within the front of the house. The kitchen "hot line", the area where burners, ovens and other cooking mechanisms are located, is also split from the pantry and dessert space. This division is frequently gendered; where the hot line is connected to the space the executive chef occupies, the pantry area is separated and located within a different location of the kitchen. The pantry and dessert stations of the professional kitchen are typically associated with the female or low-skilled workers and can be seen as the most domestic/private location within the kitchen (Fine 1996:94). The use of a physical barrier, usually a prep table or cooler, is frequently used a means of separating the pantry and pastry from the more "public" hot line. The pantry and dessert stations are not only perceived as being feminine stations, but they connote a lower status within the culinary hierarchy due to their supposed low-skill requirement (Fine 1996:95). This furthers the idea that women's work is inferior to men's work.

In another article, Susan Gal (1989) suggests that language is also used as a barrier between male and female coworkers. She argues that in the United States, when a group of men organize themselves, they create a hierarchical structure; at the same time, women form smaller groups and create cohesion within these smaller groups (Gal 1989:11). Gal continues by stating that the communication within the men's group utilizes more direct commands and contains a competitive air that encourages challenges from non-speakers. Women, she argues, typically ask

more questions in order to maintain the fluidity of the conversation (Gal 1989:11). In male-dominated professional kitchens, women's skill in creating social cohesion can prove a hindrance within the typically ego-centric atmosphere.

As late as the 1970's in the United States, women were banned from the "public space" of the restaurant, unless they were escorted by a male; single women in restaurants were perceived to be prostitutes. These restaurants tailored to their typically middle class businessmen clientele by maintaining a "woman-free" zone. The main platform used by the proponents of male only establishments, was created under the pretense of protecting women from immorality (Hickey 2008:387). By keeping women out of the public space, men were limiting women's access to the traditionally male dominated business world. Through various legal battles in the 1970's single women were able to gain access to bars and other restaurants. This prohibition of women from the public space was another method of asserting the dominance of men in the public sphere while maintaining the subjugation of women through forced domesticity (Hickey 2008).

Even in today's more gender egalitarian U.S. society there still exist professions that are associated with men, and when women try to breach those professions, tension frequently occurs. Ortner argues that when women enter into the public spaces that are defined as "male" instead of trying to create a space that is more egalitarian, the women adopt characteristics that are socially defined as being more masculine tendencies (Ortner 1996:169). She then continues that women who manage to create a balance between the ideas of feminine and masculine actions are the most successful (Ortner 1996:169). By blending the ideas of public and private and dominance and submission, the women Ortner studied were able to succeed in an area typically ascribed as "masculine." If a female chef uses Ortner's theory of creating a blend of "masculine" and "fem-

inine" characteristics to establish a position within the male-dominated professional kitchen, she has to alter her persona in order to acclimate to her profession.

Arlie Hochschild suggests that making one's self act in a manner that is not natural to them can cause strain. Her study looked at the commercialization of emotions, especially among flight attendants (Hochschild 1983). Hochschild's theory of the commodification of human emotions not only pertains to the struggles that servers in the front of the house encounter, but also to the difficulties women face in the kitchen. Wait staff are expected to portray confidence and amenability throughout their interactions with their customers. Female servers are frequently instructed to subtly exhibit their sexuality and femininity in order to make male customers more comfortable and to potentially elicit a larger tip from them (Crous 2010:20; LaPointe 1992:382-383). Hochschild also mentions how male flight attendants elicit more respect than the female flight attendants; this is echoed in the treatment of waitresses and waiters in restaurants (Hothschild 1983:178-179).

Through the literature represented here, one can see how food can not only connote one's class, but also one's gender. The consumption of meat, especially red meat, is typically associated with men. Man's participation in domestic cooking is limited; they are typically in charge of grilling and other celebratory forms of cooking. By contrast, women are traditionally associated with the domestic cooking that occurs daily and is typically thought of as being mundane. When men cook, cooking is removed from the traditionally domestic realm with which it is normally associated and brought into the public space. This transference of locations allows male cooking to be seen as more prestigious, technological, and socially acceptable.

According to Ortner, Rosaldo, and Gal society is divided into public and private spaces. Traditionally, men are associated with the public side and women with the private. Gal takes this

argument a step further and deconstructs the formerly rigid categories by stating that within any space certain areas can be shifted to designate a space as public or private; this can be done strategically for one's political motives. Although cooking is traditionally seen as being in the domestic realm, the private, when it is seen as a profession, cooking is moved into the male, public realm.

U.S. society has contributed to the encouragement of women's exclusion from the public realm. This has assisted in the maintenance of the perception of women's inherent domesticity. When women stray from this norm and enter into the typically male public realm, they encounter resistance and have difficulty penetrating the barriers in place. By utilizing this literature on public and domestic space, I am speculating whether a woman's presence within the professional kitchen can potentially cause their male coworkers to feel threatened. As previously discussed, the kitchen has been seen as a domestic space and in order for it to become public, a distinction had to be made between domestic cooking and fine dining, public, cooking. When women enter the public space of fine dining restaurants, are they presenting a threat to the established male space of fine dining restaurants? As we shall see, the answers to these questions require attention not only to mentoring relationships, but to the peer relationships women have with other chefs, both female and male.

3 Methodology

My data were gathered through conducting first hand, semi-structured interviews. These interviews lasted approximately one to two hours and occurred one or two times depending on whether or not a need still existed. I prepared a list of open-ended questions that provided me with a guideline for the interviews. These questions addressed individuals' experiences within the culinary field and their work history. I also looked at how the chefs defined success, and what they felt they needed to accomplish in order to deem themselves successful. Throughout the interview process, I addressed each chef's relationship with their managers and their other coworkers to see if there were any noticeable biases. During the interviews, I was able to stray from my prepared list of questions in order to further delve into the topics that were being discussed. I used an audio recording device so that I would not be as distracted nor would I be a distraction to the interviewee.

With some of my interviewees, I conducted a follow up interview. Many of the follow ups were conducted with some of my early interviewees. The more female chefs I spoke with the more some issues were discussed of which I had previously not thought. The interviews were conducted away from the interviewee's place of work, predominately at coffee shops. Considering the majority of chefs work late hours, I had some difficulty scheduling interviews. Many chefs had minimal desire to wake up more than an hour before their shift began, but eventually we were able to compromise and meet.

In order to facilitate this process, I will be referring to the individuals as chefs; there is a very strict hierarchy in the professional kitchen, and only individuals that are at the Executive Chef level are considered chefs. When one attends culinary school, there is an almost militaristic atmosphere, and students address their teachers as chef. If a student were to refer to one of their

classmates with the label chef they would most likely be chastised. The label "chef" is usually reserved for individuals who have been working in the industry for years and have been executive chefs. For the sake of not overly complicating this section, I am going to forego this formality and refer to both cooks and executive chefs as chefs.

I was able to interview seventeen chefs; twelve of these were women and five were men. The women I interviewed had anywhere from five to forty-two years of experience, whereas the men's experience ranged from five to thirty years. This wide range in years of experience allowed me to understand the various difficulties in the fine-dining industry from multiple perspectives and maturity levels. I primarily focused on female chefs of varying skill levels due to the focus of my research. Three of the women were executive chefs while the others ranged in position from sous chef to line cook. I also interviewed male chefs that had worked with women in some capacity, whether as a co-worker or a woman who was in a superior position within the restaurant. By talking to individuals who had had female and male managers, I was able to hear different perceptions of women and men in managerial positions. I did not limit my search with an age range; in order for an individual to work in a professional kitchen he or she must be at least eighteen years of age; therefore, my interviewees were at least eighteen years old. I did not put an age limit on my study because individuals in the culinary field comprise a wide range of ages, and I did not wish to exclude anyone who was over a certain mean age. Individuals with more years of experience were able to inform me of changes and trends that have developed within the culinary industry; they also had a longer work history from which to recount various experiences.

I initially wanted to interview women who had just graduated from culinary school; this would have provided me with the expectations that women have upon leaving school. When I

attended culinary school, the instructors very rarely mentioned any difficulties that women may face in the culinary profession. They were emphatic on the idea that the profession was very demanding and could prove to be very challenging, but few if any of the instructors mentioned any forewarning specifically focused on women. Due to my experiences, I thought that it would be useful to interview some recent graduates; unfortunately, I was unable to contact any. I am still in contact with some of my female chef instructors from the Culinary Institute of America; one is currently a member of Women Chefs and Restaurateurs and has been cooking since the 1970s. I had hoped that she would provide me with data that would help to demonstrate how women in the fine dining industry have progressed, and what obstacles have remained the same.

Some of the women that I interviewed came from an array of locations, Kenya, Brazil, Panama, Korea, the Philippines etc. All of the women are citizens of the U.S. and have been working in the hospitality industry for years. Although my study did not focus on ethnicity, I found that the diversity provided me with a variety of different cultural insights and opinions.

While conducting my literary research, I read a couple articles that suggested that lesbian chefs have an easier time gaining acceptance in professional kitchens. CNN conducted an interview with Chef Anita Lo, who works in New York City, and asked her about the difficulties being a woman in the culinary industry. During this interview she stated that there is a higher ratio of gay to straight female executive chefs and she asked the question, “Are gay women less bound by societal norms and therefore get further in this field?” (Lo 2010). In a different interview, Chef Elisa Roche stated that her only experience of successful women in the restaurant were “butch, tattooed, lesbian chefs, swearing and ogling porn along with the rest of the restaurant staff - essentially fitting in because they act and look like men” (Roche 2004). The main focus of my study does not look at the role sexual identity plays in women’s success, but I felt that if

interviewees were willing to disclose their sexuality it could provide some interesting insight. Surprisingly, only one of my interviewees identified herself as a lesbian,; therefore, it was difficult to judge the veracity of that claim.

I initially interviewed co-workers, as well as associates I met while attending the Culinary Institute of America, CIA, in Hyde Park, New York. Through my co-workers in Atlanta, I used the snow-balling method to obtain other interviewees. Having worked in five fine-dining restaurants in Atlanta, I have met many individuals of various backgrounds. Being that my co-workers view cooking as a profession, they have continued to work in fine-dining restaurants, which enabled me to encounter more chefs that work at the higher level within the restaurant hierarchy. As for my previous classmates from the CIA, the ones I focused on currently work in New York City. I traveled to New York and interviewed my classmates, and by using the snow-balling method, I was able to interview some of their current co-workers. I chose to use chefs from New York for various reasons. Having utilized Atlanta in a preliminary study, I wanted to broaden my sources in order to obtain a wider spectrum of views. New York City is seen as the leading culinary city in the United States. Many of the chefs I interviewed see the culinary industry as a profession, and they were very serious about their career trajectory. With the low wages and overwhelming hours required to work in a fine-dining restaurant in New York City, one has to be extremely passionate about one's work in order to continue in the field. These factors helped me focus on serious culinary professionals, and not individuals that are just cooking until they, "find something better." My main contacts in New York are located at three nationally acclaimed restaurants, and they have been working in the city for five years. Another advantage to using New York City as a study locale is the population density; with the amount of people located in the city, I assumed I would have a much easier time encountering female chefs. Since

I traveled to the city on a weekend, the majority of chefs were working and did not get off work until around two o'clock a.m. and they immediately started drinking when they left their place of work. The other setback was even with New York's immense restaurant scene, it was hard finding female chefs. My contacts had worked with maybe one other woman, and they did not know of many chefs outside of their restaurants.

I had no problems gaining access to individuals employed in the culinary industry. I did not conduct any interviews at an individual's workplace. This prevented any concerns about their job security or any other fears the interviewee might have had relating to their job. Having worked in restaurants for many years, I did not struggle with the label of "outsider." This intimate understanding of the fine dining industry has provided me with a unique understanding of the professional kitchen that assisted me throughout my research. Not only do I understand the professional lingo associated with the kitchen, but I also have an understanding of the internal hierarchies that are established within the restaurant.

I recognized that my experience working in the culinary industry had assisted me in formulating a base set of skills that enabled me to have easier access to the group at which I am looked. I also realized that I entered this study with many preconceived ideas and biases. Having been a victim of various forms of sexual harassment, I recognized that I would have a potentially higher sensitivity to worker interactions. Although I do not think that I have developed any resentment towards male chefs, I had to make sure not to demonstrate any emotional reactions that I might feel when listening to various responses, especially from male chefs. I also had to make sure that I did not misinterpret any responses, through the use of in-depth questions that eliminated any vagueness.

4 The Development of Culinary Professions

The culinary industry has grown exponentially in the United States over the past decade. This growth can be contributed to many factors, although I would argue two of the major factors are the increase in cooking shows and televised competition based shows as well as the increase in culinary schools. By looking at the historical context of fine dining restaurants, one can see the development of sexist tendencies and where, if at all, women entered into the professional culinary scene.

4.1 European Roots and Traditions

The modern fine dining industry's fundamental systems and foundations were established in French traditions. France is associated with the creation of haute cuisine, even though French cuisine was developed by the Italians upon the arrival of Catherine de' Medici to France (Fine 1996:5). Haute cuisine was initially developed for the French aristocracy, its translation meaning "high food;" it was food for the elite. In French society the development of various cuisines was based on one's status within society. The idea that higher society ate certain foods while people of lower classes ate other prescribed foods is echoed in Bourdieu's ideas on cultural capital found in *Distinction* as well as by the French gastronome Brillat-Savarin who stated, "Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you who you are" (Trubek 2000:3). To this day, French techniques, terms and systems are utilized throughout kitchens and culinary schools worldwide.

The professional kitchen has a very pronounced hierarchy; today's traditional hierarchy was initially developed by Aguste Escoffier, a French chef from the 18th century. He created an elaborate system that required up to 15 positions within the kitchen (Cooper 1998:107) The system started with the Executive chef, Chef du Cuisine; the Executive chef is responsible for the development of the menu, the hiring of cooks, and all of the various costs of the kitchen. Under-

neath the Executive chef is the sous chef; the sous chef is responsible for everything and everyone within the kitchen. The sous chef typically places the produce and meat orders, prepares the more complicated food items, and maintains order and communication between the various cooks and the chef. Underneath the sous chef is the chef de partie; he/she is responsible for a station and any other cooks that work that station. The "hot line," a kitchen term that refers to the area of the kitchen where all of the hot cooking methods are utilized, consists of the saucier, poissonier, grillardin, friturier, rotisseur, legumier, and the tournant. The saucier is responsible for all the sauces as well as all of the items that needed to be sautéed; the poissonier is in charge of all of the fish dishes. The grillardin is responsible for all grilled items, while the friturier is in charge of the fried items. Roitsseurs prepare and roast or spit roast all of the meats; the legumier cooks all of the starch food items as well as the majority of the vegetable accompaniments. Tournants are individuals that know all of the stations and can assist other cooks as needed. The "cold line," the area where all of the cold dishes are created and assembled, consisting of the entremetier, garde-manger, and the patissier. The entremetier is responsible for any between-course foods a customer receives, these foods are typically referred to as palate cleansers. Garde-manger is traditionally responsible for the utilization of any leftover food. They create salads, cold meat dishes such as charcuterie or terrines. Charcuterie is a term used for sausages and other forms of cured meats. Terrines usually consist of meat and other seasonings and vegetables; it is held together by gelatin, and is traditionally formed into a loaf shape and sliced. Garde-manger used to also be responsible for ice-carving and other artistic creations. The patissier is the pastry chef who created all of the desserts and petite fours. Finally there is the position of potager who makes the soups, stocks, and prepares much of the basic prep (Cooper 1998:257-258).

European chefs traditionally follow a different career path than chefs from the United States. Since there are many French chefs employed in the United States, many of whom own some of the top restaurants in the country; I feel that it is important to note the differences of their professional growth in order to understand their typically different managerial styles. The majority of French chefs are born into lower-middle class, working class families; they start working in restaurants right out of their primary schooling, around the age of 14 (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:97). Usually, French chefs have family members in the culinary industry and get involved through the family; they typically hold an unpaid position as an apprentice. If an apprentice is paid it is usually a minute amount, as low as ten dollars a month.

After years of working in the "lower" positions of the restaurant, prep cook, dishwasher, and working at other restaurants as an apprentice, French chefs have to take state level certification tests (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:97). They typically move from garde-manger, to the fish station, to sauces, roasts, sous chef, and then chef de partie. French chefs take the certification tests seriously, and the scores one obtains can assure one a job, or it can take them out of the fine dining circuit (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998: 98-99). In order to obtain a position within some of the three star restaurants in France, many chefs are on a waiting list to attain a position as an apprentice.

4.2 Haute Cuisine in the United States

The first restaurant to introduce haute cuisine to the United States was Delmonico's in New York City in 1837; its executive chef was a French man (Fine 1996:6). Delmonico's specialized in what was to be defined as American haute cuisine. The menu consisted of a large array of food offerings ranging from the newly created eggs benedict to the well-known Delmonico steak (http://www.delmonicosny.com/). Fine dining restaurants spread through the country

due to elite society's needs for "status-conferring surroundings" (Symons 1983:39). The first restaurant to introduce French haute cuisine was Le Pavillon in New York City; societies' elite frequented Le Pavillon as a way to distance themselves from the "lower" American food (Fine 1996:7).

Despite the use of restaurants as societal indicators, the public did not respect chefs, especially American born chefs. Societies' interpretation of a chef was typically of a dirt ridden, man covered in food, and usually drunk (Fine 1996:42). American chefs were seen as "savages" of the culinary world, unable to produce food in the artistic manner that would classify it as haute cuisine (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:95). The U.S. Department of Labor did not view cooking as a profession until 1976; the delay was due to the fact that the Department of Labor viewed cooking as a domestic task (Cooper 1998:25). The lower class label that was transcribed to professional chefs is an image chefs are trying to shed even today. In most culinary schools, students are expected to keep their chef uniforms pristine, and when the chef uniform is not necessary, students are supposed to dress in business casual.

In the United States, Escoffier's brigade system is loosely followed; traditionally U.S. kitchens are much smaller and cannot financially support the amount of chefs needed to fill the brigade system's needs. Through my personal experience the traditional, average sized kitchen is staffed with three to four line cooks, a cook who works pastry and pantry, one to two sous chefs, and the executive chef; this can vary based on the size of the restaurant.

The art of cooking has started as the overly ornate, class-depicting, haute cuisine of France, and has spread to the United States. Even though restaurants are still used as indicators of status (a meal at the French Laundry, one of the best restaurants in the United States, starts at 250 dollars) the establishment of haute cuisine as purely French has been altered. American

chefs have created a niche for themselves within the world of fine dining. Through the introduction of various accreditation systems as well as the rise in popularity of culinary schools, the professionalism of cooking in the United States has caused a rise in the depiction of the American chef. With the current increase in "foodie" culture, and competitive culinary programs, the culinary industry has increased in popularity. Despite these advances there is still a distinct barrier that hinders women from excelling in the fine dining industry. Part of this impediment is based on the continuous assertion that the professional kitchen is a man's domain, and that women are unable to survive in the physically-demanding crass atmosphere. Using my research and my preliminary study, I hope to uncover what other factors play a role in women leaving the industry, and what can be done to support women in the future.

4.3 Women's Entrance into the Culinary Industry

Women slowly entered into the culinary industry; their primary entrance was through bakeries. In 1937, Margaret Rudkin established a bakery that eventually developed into Pepperidge Farm; Stouffers only utilized women workers in the 1950s because of their abilities to accurately follow recipes (Cooper 19988:24). In 1971, Chez Panisse opened in Berkeley, California; Alice Waters, the owner and executive chef, is one of the first women executive chefs to gain national acclaim. She is also credited with bringing "nouvelle cuisine" to the United States (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:94). Nouvelle cuisine is associated with the usage of seasonal ingredients as well as the incorporation of "lighter" ingredients i.e. steamed fish, vegetables, infusions (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:94-95).

In 1990, the first and only woman, a Culinary Institute of America alum, received the title of Certified Master Chef, CMC (Cooper 1998:24). The label CMC is part of a system contrived by the American Culinary Federation, ACF. The ACF was formed in 1929 and was formed to

"promote the professional image of American chefs internationally" (Cooper 1998:183); they have created an accreditation system that has developed a system of uniform standards with which culinary schools must follow. The ACF also hosts various competitions; the CMC certification test lasts eight days and requires a 3,800 dollar test fee. Currently there are 50 CMC only one of which is a woman, and there are 17 Certified Master Pastry Chefs, none of whom are women (American Culinary Federation 2010). Currently ACF certification is mainly applicable to chefs that work in hotels, culinary schools, or other large corporations.

In Europe restaurants are judged by the "Le Guide Michelin;" this guide uses a three star rating system. If one obtains the coveted three star rating, it is the pinnacle of one's career. Le Guide Michelin is held to such esteem in Europe that in 2003 when a French chef, Bernard Louiseau, thought that he was going to lose one of his stars, he committed suicide (Reynolds 2009:65). Currently there are 26 chefs that have obtained the three star rating in France, only one of which is a woman (Reynolds 2009:67). The Michelin star rating system was introduced to the United States in 2005; the U.S. has traditionally used the Forbes five diamond rating, the AAA four star rating, the *New York Times*, and Zagat as rating systems (Reynolds 2009:68-69).

4.4 Career Development

In the United States, chefs are typically from middle class families, and many develop an interest in food either through trips to Europe or their first job was working in a chain, or small diner style restaurants. Unlike French chefs, the majority of chefs in the U.S. did not get involved in cooking through family connections, although some expressed that their family's ethnicity contributed to their interest in cooking. Typically, American chefs start cooking in college or after high school, as a means to earn money, and discover they have an aptitude for cooking, so they stay in the industry (Reynolds 2009:102-103).

This route was taken by many of the chefs I spoke with. Ryan grew up in a small town outside of Philadelphia. He started cooking "to support my drug habit. I was working at an Applebee's, and I was using most of my salary to go out partying after work, and sometimes during. And then one day I realized I actually liked cooking so I decided to go to culinary school." He had dropped out of high school, and was looking for something to do. The culinary lifestyle suited Ryan's needs. He explained that, "It was great, we'd get high before going into work and then just make some food there. It really wasn't about cooking at first. It was just a place I could go fucked up, eat for free, and mess around with a bunch of my friends. After a while my parents started getting on me to figure out my life, so I got my GED and went to the CIA." Ryan dropped out after the first half during his internship; he said "I didn't want to go back, I was in south Florida, dating a girl there, and I had already gotten in so much trouble that if I did anything else I'd be kicked out anyways." Ryan eventually started to take his career more seriously when he married his then girlfriend.

The culinary field is frequently used as a place of transition. The almost militaristic atmosphere of kitchens provides a place of structure; everything has to be done a certain way and for a reason. The strict structure of fine dining restaurant can be very beneficial for people. The down side is that many people fall into drug addiction and alcohol abuse in the industry. Through many interviews many chefs said that drugs and alcohol are rampant in restaurants. It is common knowledge that many chefs use marijuana and cocaine. With the high stress and high pressure atmosphere of restaurants, many chefs resort to heavy drinking. In my years of experience chefs go out to a bar after work almost every night. The alcohol is a way to help one calm down after a busy night, the problem being that many chefs do not stop after one drink. A couple individuals I've spoken with have received DUI's and had other run-ins with the police. Jerry

was an executive chef at a restaurant who, through the abuse of drugs and alcohol, lost his restaurant after a year of its opening.

Lolita is another example of a chef who kind of "fell into" the industry. She started her culinary career after high school; she worked in a bakery for five years while she attended a large university. While she was working at the bakery and attending school she was also working part time as a secretary. Lolita brought up how much she hated working at a desk. She said that she really enjoyed the bakery because she was always walking around and doing something. While she was working and studying she had an epiphany and decided to go to culinary school. "It just kind of dawned on me one day that, hey I could do this for a living. Before that, I was like I don't know what I'm going to do with my life. I was starting to freak out about trying to get it together, you know, I was married with a kid, and had no idea what to do."

Janna, who started cooking when she was sixteen, was planning on attending a University as a pre-med major when she won a cooking competition where the prize was a full scholarship to the Culinary Institute of America. Jen and Sunny both knew they wanted to attend culinary school directly after high school. Some culinary schools have started offering bachelor's programs; Janna and Elsa both decided to extend their stint at the CIA in order to earn the degree. They both state this was a waste of time, although Elsa used the extra two years to develop relationships with the chefs at the school, which eventually assisted her in obtaining a better job upon her graduation. Through her connections she won a scholarship to travel to multiple vineyards in France. She also was able to assist chefs that were competing for their Certified Master Chef certification. Through her various experiences and her internship, she was able to secure a managerial position at a restaurant run by a "Top Chef" contestant following her graduation.

Many chefs perform what is known in the culinary world as a "stage." A stage consists of working without pay for at least one night in the restaurant. Typically, chefs perform stages as a way to gain access to exclusive restaurants. Depending on the competitiveness of the restaurant, they could place you in the corner preparing basic stock ingredients and doing menial tasks, or they could have you work a station. The majority of chefs I interviewed in New York have participated in stages at least once in their career.

Occasionally, after a chef has established a professional base in the United States, individuals travel to Europe to perform apprenticeships in two or three star restaurants. This was seen more frequently with the older chefs I interviewed.

Evelyn has been working in the culinary industry since the mid-seventies. She started her career working in a small restaurant in her hometown in California. After working a several restaurants in the area she decided to attend the Culinary Institute of America. When she graduated Evelyn worked in many well-known fine dining restaurants in New York.

> It was extremely difficult working in those restaurants at the time. All of my chefs were French men and they did not take me seriously. It was hard enough getting a spot in the restaurant; fortunately, some of my instructors from the school were able to get me in. Initially all I did was clean produce and cut mirepoix. It took me month of getting their early and staying late, until I was finally able to work the garde manger station. After that job, I had an easier time getting into places. But even then I'd still have to prove myself and work harder than everyone else.

Evelyn worked abroad in France after working in New York City for several years; she then moved back to California and worked in some fine dining restaurants. After several years in the industry she decided to become an instructor at a culinary school. "I decided that if I want-

ed to help other women in the industry, the best way to do that was to teach. I am able to reach more women at a culinary school than I ever would in a restaurant."

Ana had a similar experience; she grew up in New Mexico and decided to attend culinary school because cooking had been a large part of her youth. Her mom's side of the family was Mexican and food always played an important role in her life. She and Evelyn both attended the CIA. "After I went to culinary school I worked in the New York scene for a while. I was fortunate enough to have instructors at school that could help me get a job. I worked at The Quilted Giraffe for a while and then worked at Le Cirque. After that I wanted to get more in touch with my Latin roots so I decided to move to Argentina to cook."

Susie worked in various restaurants on the west coast before deciding to travel to France and where she had to start at the bottom again and work her way back up. Pam, an executive pastry chef, chose to attend culinary school in Paris. Patty was the only younger chef who cooked abroad; she chose to go to France for her internship.

The number of Americans who attend culinary school has increased, and has led to an increase of semi-skilled workers into the field; this flux has caused some discontent within the fine dining industry, because some chefs feel that culinary graduates have an inflated sense of entitlement and do not follow instructions well (Reynolds 2009:103). When a typical American enters the culinary industry, it is usually through a diner style restaurant where one would cook "short order" style food. "Short order" food refers to the amount of time it takes to cook food. Since diners and breakfast restaurants typically cater to individuals that have a limited amount of time, the food has to be ready in a short amount of time; the presentation of the food is also of less importance.

This was the experience of many of my interviewees. Patty, who has been working in the culinary industry for ten years worked at a Chick Fil-a when she was in high school. After her experience at Chick Fil-a she started working in more established restaurants, until she attended culinary school in Atlanta. Elizabeth started cooking at a breakfast restaurant chain while she was in high school because it was the only option besides being a hostess. She stated, "There was no way I wanted to deal with people complaining about having to wait and where they're sat. I figured I'd be happier behind the scenes." After she graduated from high school she continued to work in restaurants during her undergraduate studies to help pay for her schooling. Elizabeth decided to attend culinary school at the Culinary Institute of America after she graduated from university.

If one does not attend culinary school, the easiest way to enter into the fine dining restaurant is through washing dishes or working in the mornings as a prep cook. The morning prep cook will typically make stocks, and perform basic culinary tasks i.e. cutting mushrooms, peeling and cutting carrots and onions, washing lettuce. Jerry was the only chef I interviewed that had not attended culinary school. After he graduated from high school, he started washing dishes at an independent casual Italian restaurant where he befriended the staff and was able to start cooking. If one attends culinary school, the cook typically follows a similar trajectory of a French cook; the cook starts at garde-manger, than works their way up through hot appetizers, fryer, sauté, than grill (Parkhurst-Ferguson and Zukin 1998:100-101). After a cook has mastered the following stations, they are typically promoted to sous chef, which after years of working as a sous chef, one is promoted to executive chef. Even though Ryan dropped out of school early, and spent the next two years drunk and high on a variety of drugs, he sobered up and moved to Atlanta where he started taking his career more seriously. At 24, he now works two jobs, and

has worked his way up to a sous chef position at one of them. “I’ve had offers from one of our frequent customers who wants me to open a restaurant. He’s loaded and said he’d give me pretty much free reign. I keep thinking about it.”

Sue had a less typical introduction into the world of cooking. She initially attended a university to obtain her bachelor’s degree in communications. While she was in school she switched her major to hospitality. “I just fell into it in college I switched my major, and took some cooking classes and just really loved it. I wanted to be a chef and go to culinary school.” After school she worked at a restaurant and started her own personal chef business. She now runs a small café and does various culinary events.

4.5 Hierarchies

In the restaurant, the hierarchy is slightly blurred; the sauté and grill stations are typically viewed at the same level. Usually, the restaurant will designate an individual as the “lead line cook,” and they will read the orders to the rest of the line and will encourage communication in order to maintain the proper timing of orders. Although there is a lack of distinction between the status of the sauté and grill stations, there is a definite hierarchy that divides the kitchen into the “hot line” and garde-manger and pastry. Through my experience, most chefs avoid pastries and claim they “just can’t do sweets.” This usually leads smaller restaurants to have simple desserts such as ice creams, sorbets, a fruit dish of sorts, and a chocolate cake option. This belittling of the pastry station is continued by combining it with the garde-manger station. Garde-manger is typically assigned to the lowest-skilled worker (Fine 1996:93). This cook is then in charge of assembling all of the salads, cold appetizers, as well as the desserts. According to Fine, the cooking staffs of restaurants are largely male, but the majority of the individuals, he encountered, that worked the pantry, garde-manger, station were female (Fine 1996:94). Janna recounted her ex-

perience at a restaurant where she worked the garde manger station. “They had me start at garde manger, but after months of being on that station I wanted to move up. Two people that started after me moved up to other stations while I was still stuck doing salads. I finally started forcing my way onto other stations.” While Janna divulged her culinary story, I looked around the Italian restaurant we were in and noticed that the open-air garde manger and pastry station was run by three women and that the hot stations were being run strictly by men.

In the hotel industry there is much more strict status-based hierarchy (Fine 1996:95). Cooks are designated into a rank system cook three to cook one; cook one is the highest ranking for line cooks. In large hotels, the pastry area is in separate room as is the garde-manger station. In my personal experience working in a hotel, the pantry area was only worked by women. In one recent experience, a male line cook three, who dropped out of culinary school two months earlier, was promoted to cook one; whereas a woman cook three, who had been working in the industry for five years, who was working in garde-manger was passed up for any promotion. I later spoke with Jiji who informed me that she quit and has now opened a restaurant with her boyfriend.

Many of these shared experiences can be seen on a larger scale where women are frequently placed in jobs described as menial. In Ong’s article “The Gender and Labor Politics of Postmodernity” she describes how in factories throughout Asia, management roles are always given to men, while women are placed in “low-skilled and labor-intensive positions” (Ong 1991:289). By placing women in these low-skilled jobs, the possibility of growth and the accrual of knowledge are virtually impossible. Many of the female chefs with whom I spoke acknowledged that other women are frequently assigned to the garde manger station, and they never leave it. By being stuck on the “easy station” the women are unable to further develop their ca-

reer or gain any more knowledge of their trade. Ong also discusses how many stereotypes about women are utilized in order to make certain tasks apply more towards women. In her article she describes how companies have stated that women are more adept at working menial jobs due to their more nimble fingers and docility (Ong 1991:291). Similar statements can also be applied to women that work the garde manger station due to the need for precision and delicacy.

4.6 Gender Struggles

In my preliminary study, I talked to various chefs about their views on the garde-manger and pastry stations. All of my female interviewees noticed the definite trend of women working these two stations. Veronica, who has been cooking for twenty years, is currently running the garde manger station in a large hotel. "I keep asking chef to let me work on the hot line, but it's like they assume since I do garde manger I can't handle the hot side." Some women stated that when anyone new entered the kitchen, the individual assumed that the woman worked either the garde-manger or pastry station. They felt that other cooks viewed these two stations as requiring the least amount of skill. In reality, in fine dining restaurants, garde-manger is responsible for a voluminous amount of prep and each item has to be cut in a very particular uniform style. One of my interviewees was not only in charge of the prep and assemblage of five different salads, but she was also responsible for oysters, curing fish, making and serving various charcuterie items, as well as cold meat items, pates etc. The pastry station requires patience and skill. Many of the dishes require very precise measurements and have many intricate components; in one of my pastry experiences, the pastry chef required one of the desserts to have five candied thyme leaves. Each individual leaf had to be plucked from the stem, dipped in foamed egg whites, dipped in sugar, and left to dry. If each dessert had to have five leaves, I had to prep at least one

hundred leaves a day. This tedious, intricate work has to be done at a fast enough pace, that the pastry cook can still have time to prepare the other six desserts and all of the accoutrement associated with them.

European chefs are typically associated with more assertion of male-dominance within the kitchen. The French chef Paul Bocuse, credited as being the haute cuisine chef, was quoted as saying, "like women generally, she [his mother] lacked the imagination essential to genuine creativity" (Swinbeck 2002:470). Ferdinand Point, another prominent French chef, who learned how to cook from his mother, and from one of the leading chefs in France, a woman, dedicated his cookbook to his father (Swinbeck 2002:470). In Terrio's book on the history of French chocolate making, she mentions how only the men were seen as true chocolate artists; the women that worked in the shop were viewed as unskilled workers who only performed menial tasks (Terrio 2000). These menial tasks consisted of tempering the chocolate; tempering chocolate is an extremely important step of chocolate making that assures the chocolate will dry in a uniform color and not leave streaks of white cocoa butter. More recently, Gordon Ramsey was quoted as saying that he did not employ women cooks, because he did not want a cook that could only work three weeks out of the month (Reynolds 2009:83) Yet another European, Chef Pierre Marco White stated that, "Restaurants kitchens are a man's world. It is physical and demanding. It is the men who rise to the top" (Reynolds 2009:85). When this statement was read to some of my interviewees, the majority of them laughed and stated that they worked harder than most of their male coworkers. Patty said "Yeah I work harder, you have to. If you want to get any respect in a kitchen you have to go out of your way to do more than your coworkers. Then they see that you can hold your own." Surprisingly, American chef, Anthony Bourdain has said "Women line cooks…are a particular delight. To have a tough-as-nails, foul-mouthed, trash-

talking female line cook on your team can be a true joy-and a civilizing factor" (Bourdain 2000:57). Even though European chefs are notorious for their sexism, the misogynistic notion that women do not belong in the professional kitchen is still prevalent with American chefs.

Joyce Goldstein, a female restaurateur in San Francisco, stated that "there are two kinds of cooks, there's mama cooks and show-off cooks. Now not all mama cooks are women, but all the show-off cooks are men. Boys with chemistry sets" (Goldstein 2007). She continues that a lot of men cook as a way to draw attention to themselves, where "mama food" is about satisfying the consumer and making them happy. During my interviews, I asked the various chefs if they felt this was true. The general consensus was that there are women who are dabbling in the world of molecular gastronomy, but the majority of the chef agreed that there are few if any female chefs that fill the role of "show-off cooks". While they could list a slew of male chefs that focused on fame, it was much harder thinking of a female equivalent. Gordon Ramsey has made himself into a household name by screaming obscenities on his various television shows, Rocco DiSpirito, Emeril Lagasse, Mario Batali, Michael Symon, and Bobby Flay are just a few examples of male chefs who have taken their restaurant background and created an enterprise out of it. When one tries to look for a female equivalent, the closest anyone got was Paula Dean and Lidia Bastianich. While all of my interviewees agreed that Paula Dean does not count as a chef, Lidia Bastianich is hardly a household name, despite her cooking show, cookbooks, and multiple restaurants.

Then there are chefs such as Ferran Adria, Grant Achatz and Wylie Dufresne. They are the main leaders of molecular gastronomy; the newest trend in cooking that involves the use of chemistry in order to manipulate food. This supports the idea presented by Adler (1981); he states that in order for men to justify their cooking, they purchase expensive tools and kitchen

gadgets to make cooking into more of a science. Susie mentioned this idea as well and stated "men and their toys." This alteration of cooking into a form of science creates a further division between the idea of domestic cooking and professional male cooking, although this gendered division is quickly being bridged by female chefs.

5 Hardships and Barriers

The culinary industry is a notoriously difficult and challenging industry. For the majority of chefs, both male and female, succeeding in this industry is a source of great pride. The stress, physically demanding hours, and frequent injuries are typically enough to turn many people off to the profession. In this chapter, I discuss the many elements that contribute to the hardships faced by chefs, and factors that create larger barriers for female chefs versus their male counterparts.

5.1 Buns in the Oven

As I will discuss in more depth later, female chefs experience a plethora of obstacles throughout their culinary career. Some of these hurdles are faced by their male counterparts, but the theme I heard most commonly encountered by women was having a family. Many women expressed that their families and society have placed many expectations on them, and that they did not know how they were going to fulfill all of these expectations. The majority of the women had been harangued at some point by their families about when they were going to start having children. While I was interviewing Sunny, I asked her why she thought that there were so few female executive chefs in the fine dining industry.

> If you are successful by thirty, that is an accomplishment. You're very young, and it means that you've pushed yourself pretty much your entire youth to get to that point. And for women, by thirty you're a grown-up; it's time for you to start making some serious decisions. And for a guy, thirty is still young, and if you talk to a lot of thirty-year-old guys, some have just gotten married and have kids. Who's taking care of those children while they're at work?

She recognized that for various reasons, societal and biological, women have more success giving birth to healthy children while they are younger. This places a pressure on women to perform their womanly role. In the culinary industry, as in many other trades, in order to become successful one typically has to devote years to honing their culinary skills. After a chef has toiled for years working "on the line," one then is promoted into a more managerial position, most likely as a sous chef. The managerial positions help chefs to acquire the necessary financial skills that are required to run and maintain a successful restaurant. Food, liquor and labor costs are all issues one has to take into account on a daily basis. Eventually a cook is elevated to the status of an Executive chef; at this level the chef has to have a strong understanding of payroll, the various food costs, the menu development, how well service is being run in the front of the house, etc. For many chefs, this process takes years.

In her previous statement Sunny is addressing the problem that if a woman wants to have a child in her early thirties she has to be an Executive chef. Only at that level will you be able to control how frequently you are at the restaurant, but it will also give a woman the status that will enable her to take time off after giving birth. Sunny noted that a lot of men expect their wives to take care of the children while they are at work. She gave an example of a male co-worker who has a family.

> I was talking to Greg about this the other day; he's like a year older, and we're both equally ambitious. I have to make a name for myself by my mid-thirties because I want to be a part of bringing up my own children. I want to bring up my kids, and he was like well my wife will be there to take care of the kids. And that's the arrangement he's made, his wife will raise the kids. It's kind of weird but that's the nature of it, and I don't know if I'll have that luxury and I don't know if I want that luxury.

Where men have more freedom when it comes to starting a family and working in the restaurant industry, women have more limitations placed on them. Women are traditionally expected to take care of the children. Although this trend has changed significantly in U.S. society now that both parents typically have a job, there are still pressures placed on women to raise children. Even though the trend of stay at home fathers is increasing in the United States, it is still a difficult relationship to work out.

Elsa, a 24 year old sous chef, explained that she is too busy to maintain a relationship. She stated that she wanted to accomplish as much as she could as fast as possible, and then she would focus on developing a relationship.

> I don't have a boyfriend but I would absolutely like to settle down eventually. I think it's the reason I push myself fast because I figure that I have another, maybe, five years at the top. Then I can have a family. As a woman, you have to achieve it younger. Men have all the time in the world.

Susie, an executive chef with two children, also mentioned a similar sentiment. “I got my career under control before I had kids. If you are a mid-twenties line cook and they have a kid I think that it’s going to be really hard. I have one woman working for me that is in that situation. She has a mental breakdown every two months and I have to calm her down.” In this statement, Susie supports Sunny’s sentiment. Susie recognizes the difficulties of trying to balance a social life and working in the culinary field. As a line cook, a woman will not have the freedom to take time off from work for an extended period of time. The majority of line cooks are paid hourly, and they are a crucial ingredient in the success of a restaurant. From personal experience, it is extremely difficult getting a week off of work. If a woman has not attained an executive chef

position, it will be extremely difficult to not only ask for time off, but try and take care of the child.

Lolita had a child while she was working an hourly position. At the time she was married and was "surprised" by her pregnancy. She explained that it was very difficult trying to balance the two, but she was fortunate enough to work mornings which enabled her to send her son to either a family member or day care. She said that with her new job she works nights sometimes. "It's really hard. My son is five, and I don't see him when I work nights. He's been really good about the whole thing, but every now and then he asks why he doesn't see me as much. In this industry it's hard to balance, you either want to be a parent or you want to be a chef." Lolita expressed that when she chooses jobs she always keeps her son's needs in mind primarily. In her case, she managed to balance her work with her son, but her husband

Elizabeth noted that one of her co-workers was pregnant and had to take a maternity leave. "She had been working at the restaurant for I think about seven years […] she finally got pregnant, and the owner of the restaurant and the executive chef both told her that her job would be waiting when she returned. In the meantime they had to hire another cook, and when Divina returned they kept the new cook and told they didn't have a job for her." Elizabeth thought their decision was cruel, but she did recognize that in the culinary field you cannot be short-staffed. She also continued by saying that the new cook hired in Divina's place was not as moody as Divina, and that more than likely Divina would have to call off a lot, now that she had a baby. Her husband was a sous chef at a local restaurant so he would not be as able to call off as easily as she would. Sous chefs typically work more hours than any other individual in a restaurant. When an hourly employee calls off, or when labor costs are running too high, the sous often takes a cook's position to help reduce costs. They also place the produce and other food item

orders. Divina's husband's position is such an integral part of the kitchen's daily success that calling off is not really an option for him.

Janna echoed Susie and Sunny by saying that, "I think a lot of women out there are very good cooks; they're amazing, but I think at some point in time women want to start having a family. They want kids, and I think they drop out too early in the game to be executive chefs. If I have kids I'll make my husband stay home and take care of them." Whether or not Janna will actually be afforded this luxury is yet to be seen.

Ana also expressed "There is a reality here: the carrying of a child is a woman's domain, that's the reality. Women have to make a decision about how they are going to incorporate motherhood into their lives. It can be a hard time because this is an emotionally demanding business." Ana continued this sentiment by saying she and her husband were able to adjust their schedules, and now he stays home with the child and she works. This process was facilitated by her husband being able to work at home, so that he is able to continue working and watch their child.

Jerry's sentiments were similar when I asked him what he thought contributed to the low numbers of women in executive chef positions. "I think it's the hours. Women are traditionally the caregivers in relationships and the hours that one needs to be in the kitchen are at odds with having a family."

Pam stressed the difficulty of trying to balance a social life and working in a restaurant full time. She has an "open" relationship with one of her male friends. She stated that she has had a hard time maintaining a serious relationship due to her long and irregular hours. When I asked her if she thought a woman chef could have a restaurant and a family she said:

> It's hard you can't have one and the other. It's one or the other. You can have a family and a restaurant, and they could both work, but then you have to let go of some of the ambition of your restaurant. You can't be at your restaurant all of the time. Look at Pitt and Jolie they can keep having kids because they can hire someone to take care of them. Nobody that starts a restaurant has money around to pay a nanny.

Pam felt that it's possible, but if you want your restaurant to be amazing, it will be difficult when you add a family to the equation. A restaurant requires so much time and devotion, as does a family, and there are not enough hours in a day to devote the amount of time required to both.

Sue continued on Pam's statement by looking at the way women prioritize the various aspects of their lives.

> I think women have different priorities. Women are more oriented towards taking care of their relationships than their career. To run a restaurant like Per Se or Le Bernadin the number one priority in life has got to be that restaurant. Thomas Keller would be the first one to tell you that his number one priority is to make sure his restaurant operates to perfection. I now have a 7 year old daughter and my number one priority will always be my child before my restaurant. I'm okay with that.

Sue echoes the statement that a chef cannot run a restaurant to the best of their ability and still have time to focus on their family. Her husband and she decided to have a child about a year after her café was opened. She stated that it was difficult working through her pregnancy and had to hire on extra people to cover for her absence. "It caused a pretty big financial hit to the business, since our price point is pretty low. Plus I had to let one of the employees go when I came back to work." Sue continued that she and her husband sent their child to daycare until she was old enough to attend school. Sue also explained that it was a slightly easier experience for her

because her café was only open for lunch and breakfast. She thought that finding a babysitter to cover nightshifts would be much more difficult.

In my experiences and through interviews, I have encountered male executive chefs who frequently lament not being able to spend as much time with their children as they wanted**.** Mark has a four year old daughter. He stated, "Of course I'd love to see my daughter more; it's just not possible. Now that my wife and I are divorced I have to pay child support, our house payments, and the rent at my new apartment. I sometimes only get to see her once a week. It sucks, but it's what I have to do."

I asked Ryan what he thought about female chefs having families. He said that he thought having kids caused many women to leave early. Ryan thought women were more prone to staying at home and raising their children versus their husbands. "I guess I would say many women would focus on their relationship over a restaurant. They'll put their personal life first." Ryan is married and works two full time jobs; his wife stays at home and tends to their houseful of pets. Ryan explained that his Christian beliefs required that he financially take care of his wife. "It's my role in the relationship. I'm supposed provide for my wife. I know she wants me to be home more often, but I work this much so she can be comfortable." I asked him if they were planning on having children, and he said that his wife and he were currently trying. I inquired whether he planned on maintaining the same schedule if they had a child. Ryan responded by saying "Well, hopefully, I can get a position that will pay the same amount that I get from my two jobs. If not, then we'll just make it work. I'm not that good with kids anyways."

According to my interviewees, both male and female, women have a more difficult experience trying to balance a family and a restaurant job. The women chefs with families with whom I spoke stressed the difficulties of trying to place an equal emphasis on their families and their

jobs. They all agreed that their families came first, and that they were willing to sacrifice more regarding the restaurant than their children. This is not to say that male chefs with families do not also feel like they have a hard time balancing the two, but there was a consensus among the male chefs with whom I spoke, that they felt the need to provide for their families, so their jobs frequently took precedence. Only two of the men I interviewed had children, but when asked, all five assumed the more traditional role of provider, and presumed that their wives would spend the majority of the time caring for the children.

5.2 Mystery Meat

During my interviews another frequently expressed sentiment I heard was that women were not properly prepared for what to expect in the culinary world. The chefs that I interviewed were not saying that women entering the industry did not have the basic skills to function in a restaurant; they were saying that women were not emotionally prepared to work on the line in a restaurant.

According to my interviewees one of the major components to people, both men and women, leaving the industry was the minimal pay. Lolita summed it up best by stating, “There’s nothing like paying forty-something-thousand dollars for school, to leave and if you’re lucky make ten an hour. You realize you don’t want to live this way. I don’t think they realize what they’re getting in to.” If a person decides to start cooking, and does not take the culinary school route, odds are they will start at as a dishwasher and prep person, who will most likely make minimum wage or up to eight dollars an hour. Most culinary school graduates make about ten dollars an hour at their first job. This provides the student with about 19 thousand dollars, pre-tax, a year. Jen felt that the low wages affect women more than men. “Guys think that a good life means sleeping in a shoebox for long periods of time with a beer. They don’t care if they live

in a shithole. They're able to slave for little pay or no money for longer periods of time." She recently stopped cooking and moved to the front of the house, and is now a manager at a well-known restaurant in New York City. She said she was tired of sharing a tiny apartment with two other people and barely being able to pay bills. Her move to the front of the house has afforded her an apartment to herself and enough money to actually have furniture.

Janna, meanwhile, has been working in the kitchen of a large restaurant in New York City for three years. She has an apartment that is furnished with a table made out of milk crates and a piece of plywood; she has slept on an air mattress for the past three years. All of her dishes are all plates from the restaurant where she is working; they are all chipped and were going to be thrown away so she scavenged them before they were trashed.

Elizabeth was excited when she got her first sous chef position because she was going to make 30 thousand dollars a year, without benefits.

> My manager told me that they had based my salary on a forty hour work week where I'd be making fifteen dollars an hour. He also said he'd give me an extra hundred dollars a month to help pay for my own insurance. What I didn't think about was the fact that I'd never work only forty hours a week. I averaged at least sixty hours a week; when the executive chef left, I was stuck working eighty hour weeks. My only day off was Monday, but even then I had to come in and do inventory. I guess the advantage to not having a life is not spending the money you're earning.

Elizabeth was earning about seven dollars and twenty cents an hour when she was working eighty hour weeks, which was less than the dishwasher. Restaurants have small profit margins. So there is not a lot of money to give out as a wage. Many culinary students do not antici-

pate the length of time they will have to work before they are able to earn any significant amount of money.

Many of the chefs I spoke with also discussed the important role that culinary schools play in helping a woman prepare for the professional world. Lolita felt that culinary schools contribute to the delusions many women have when entering the kitchen.

> I think that if you go to culinary school, they make everybody think they can be great. Especially women, they think they'll be on Food Network and have their own show. You see them all the time, they're all excited and ready to work. They have no idea what it's like to actually work and put it out there. All you end up having is debt and disappointment. You know, they think well I can cook at home; I can cook in a restaurant. It's not the same thing. Cooking at home is not the same thing. I'm really good at making cakes…really…when it's from a box.

Although Lolita was specifically referring to women who take the baking and pastry track in culinary school, when asked, she thought the same applied to women that were working the savory side. Lolita felt that cooking programs often undermine the difficulties of the restaurant world. Lolita was referring to many of the shows hosted by women that make cooking "easy and fun." In a follow up interview, I asked Lolita why she felt that women were especially prone to these illusions. She stated:

> As much as I hate to say it, women are the ones that normally do the cooking in the households. They make these online recipes, and they get this mentality that if I can cook a recipe from online or a cookbook, it's usually something simple, and everyone is all 'wow, this is wonderful.' They think they can do it for a living. It's takes a lot more than going to Martha Stewart and making some recipe. I think the actual industry has a lot

> more to do than just following a home recipe. I think women don't realize that what you do at home is pretty basic. That when you actually get into the business there's a lot more to it than cooking for your family

Lolita felt that women obtain a false sense of confidence in their cooking abilities, and that this confidence leads women to think that if they are capable of cooking in the home for their families than they will be able to work in a restaurant.

Elizabeth had a slightly different view on her culinary schools approach to preparing students for the real world. "You go into culinary school with these ideas of grandeur, and they were good about telling us we were not going to be executive chefs when you leave here. But they broke us down at my school; they wanted you to know you were nothing and nothing you did was good enough." Elizabeth continued that as much as she disliked the negative atmosphere, it did help her when she initially started in the culinary industry.

> During school, I ended up having to go to one of their therapists. I was a perfectionist and being told nothing I did was good enough every day, it just got to me. I hated being there and I thought I'd never make it. Eventually, I was able to distance myself from the constant harassment; you have to learn to distance yourself from criticism.

Elizabeth said that everyone in her class went through a similar experience at least once. When I asked her whether her school gave women any specific advice on difficulties they might face, she stated that they did not, but that some instructors took it upon themselves. "I had a chef that told a girl in my class that being pretty wasn't going to save her. I know a lot of the girls in the class were like how could he say that, but I was glad. He was helping her out, culinary isn't based on appearance."

Ana brought up a valid point relating to the extent of injuries chefs can experience which can suddenly end one's career. Her following story was the only example I heard from my interviewees about injury causing the demise of a woman's culinary career, but I find that its horror is worth sharing.

> One of the restaurants I worked in was an all-female kitchen. One night we were scrubbing down after a busy service; I was cleaning the cutting boards, one of the women was cleaning out the fryer and the other was cleaning the hoods. Well, the woman that was cleaning the fryer had put the hot grease in a stock pot on the floor; the other woman cleaning the hoods didn't notice it so when she stepped down off the stove top, she stepped right into the pot of hot grease. It took her a second to even realize what she did, the grease was so hot. We called an ambulance, but the burns were so severe, that when they tried to remove any part of her pant leg her skin was coming off with it.

Ana continued that story by saying the female cook, never went back to cooking, and had to go through extensive medical treatments. She told a few other stories about instances where a coworker was accidently stabbed when they walked around a corner and didn't see their coworker's knife. There were also cases of cooks cutting parts of their fingers off in slicers, and of receiving third degree burns from various oils and fats. Although such severe injuries are rare, I think it is important to note that most people do not anticipate being seriously maimed on the job.

5.3 Girl on Girl Hate

Many chefs, both female and male, expressed that some women are too emotionally sensitive, and they are unable to handle being yelled at and criticized. Sunny works as expediter frequently. An expediter is the person who is the last person to touch the food before it leaves the kitchen. They make sure the order is complete, usually add the final garnish, and check the qual-

ity of the dish. Sunny explained that there are times when cooks give her food that is not properly prepared and she has to have them remake it.

> So when the food is not done properly you have to be able to just shove it back and say do not pass me this shit, do not do it again. And a girl I work with, if I said that to her she would cry, she has cried. I understand shoving something and saying 'what the fuck is this?' is a little harsh, but if you're trying to cook food to a four star level you can't make mistakes like that. And you know why would you do that?

Sunny continued by describing the girl she previously mentioned. She said she was straight out of culinary school and this was her first culinary job. She had been working the garde manger station for a couple of months and they wanted to start to train her on the fish station, but she was hesitant. Sunny was beginning to wonder how much longer she would last at the restaurant. "She's so timid and sensitive. If she wants to make it here she needs to show some kind of…moxie, I guess."

One would assume that a female chef would have more luck working in a kitchen with other women. This could prove to be quite the contrary, depending on that chef's abilities. When asked if she enjoyed working with other women, Patty quite bluntly stated she preferred working with men. "Men don't complain as much. I just hate when women are whiney bitches, just fucking do your job." She continued that those girls "…get pushed to garde manger, the weak ones." I continued my questioning and asked Patty if she thought all girls were "whiney bitches." She said that "No, some of the other women that work in the kitchen, they're pretty much like me. They get burnt and just keep going. The ones on the line have tough skin. I like working with them."

Jen had a different reason for preferring working with men. She is currently the only woman at her restaurant and prefers it that way. "When there were some [women] they made me uncomfortable. They'd judge either your appearance or how you do things; they'll voice their opinions more." Jen frequently mentioned feeling insecure around previous coworkers. She experienced women as being more catty and judgmental.

Lolita's sentiments relating to one of her coworkers echoes Jen's fears of being judged. Lolita had a negative experience with a new woman at one of the restaurants in which she was working, and her impression of the cook was permanently tarnished. "There was one girl, not that bright, and we were cooking some figs, and she comes over and looks in the pot and was like, oh my god, are those snails? From then on, we called her a dumb-ass and never wanted to work with her. She sort of worked herself up, but I never respected her again. She was a dumb-ass, that was it." She also continued by saying that she preferred working for men. "Although I know some people don't like to have a male boss, I like it because it kind of drives you more to sort of prove yourself. I don't mind it. They uh, I think it's the way that they see women employees. I think they tend to think they are able to do things better, that they have more skill." Her rationale was that when she worked for a man she worked harder and pushed herself harder, because she felt that they thought they were better than her.

Sue expressed her antipathy towards working with women. She has had female coworkers in the past at various restaurants, and although she got along with these individuals, she stressed that they caused a lot of drama. "Honestly, I prefer to work with men. They're not as emotional. I like to be the only female in the kitchen. I'm just used to it, and not that I wouldn't hire a woman but I prefer men."

On the opposite spectrum, Janna had terrifying experiences working for a female executive chef. The only other encounters with women in a fine dining restaurant Janna had was with two of her coworkers that worked in the pastry station. When I asked her what it was like working for a female executive chef she stated, "Scary, she still scares me. I remember working for her and being like, 'Oh my god she's yelling.' She'd throw stuff at me. I still have nightmares." Janna's physically violent encounter with a female chef was the only example of serious aggression that I heard. With the exception of Janna's experience, all of my other interviewees expressed fairly positive experiences with women as their superiors.

Although many women preferred not working with women as equals, the few that had a female executive chef stated they enjoyed the experience. Elizabeth's first chef out of culinary school was a woman.

> I really enjoyed working with her. She definitely let us know that she was the boss, but at the same time, she'd help us out if we needed it. She was also more interested as us cooks as people. Like, she'd ask us about our personal lives. I've only worked for men since then and they never really seem to care about you, just that you're getting their food out the way they want it.

Elizabeth mentioned the more familial environment of her first job. She appreciated a manager that showed they cared about her as a person more than just as an employee. Patty also mentioned a similar experience with one of her female managers. "Women chefs, I become more friends with them. I have a more personal relationship with them than I do with male management. We're friends. I don't have that personal relationship with men." Similar findings were noted in Brandi Wyatt-Hughes research comparing male and female chefs' managerial styles. She stated that "Women tended to suggest that the kitchen is more effective when people

are being nurtured and treated fairly without a highly emotional climate" (Wyatt-Hughes 2009:32). She also stated that she found that, "None of the male chefs expressed any concern with happiness or how much fun the environment was" (Wyatt-Hughes 2009:33). Wyatt-Hughes findings support many of the sentiments women expressed towards women as superiors.

While interviewing Mark he mentioned the different managerial approaches he took depending on whether his employee was a woman or man. "When you're working with guys you just tell them what to do and they'll do it. But with women, you have to act more concerned about their lives. I never ask the guys what's going on in their life, but girls always respond better when I do." Mark recognized that the female employees he had were more willing to respect him and perform more efficiently if he took a more personal approach to their relationship. Further into the interview he alluded to having multiple sexual relationships with female employees. Although this is outside the scope of my study, it is important to note the potential of having future sexual relationships could play a role in the interactions between female and male coworkers.

I find it interesting that women are more prone to accept a woman as a superior than as a coworker. The majority of my female interviewees stressed their dislike for working with other female line cooks; they were typically more judgmental and competitive towards their female coworkers versus their male. Through my research, I found men to be less critical towards women, whereas, female chefs were more prone to make snap decisions about other women which would permanently skew their perception of this person

5.4 Crispy Bacon (Burn out)

When one enters into the culinary industry, that person can expect long hours, low wages, and few vacations. Many of the chefs I spoke with expressed the toll of standing for a minimum of nine hours a day was taking on their bodies. The women and men I spoke with explained the continuous popping and cracking of their bones upon waking and throughout the day. I questioned my interviewees on whether they had ever thought about leaving the culinary industry, and while many expressed that they were "lifers" and "masochists" a few women expressed that they had thought about it in various stages of their careers. This sentiment was best summed up by Elizabeth, "I've been abused. I've been shit on…I'm jaded."

After Sue graduated from her undergraduate program, she attended culinary school. While she was attending school, she was also working two jobs. One of her jobs was in a restaurant that was very demanding in both time and energy. "I was really burnt out. I was working. I'd go to school from 7-12 and was working two jobs, I just hated it. I thought I didn't like the restaurant, but when I left I missed it. I've wanted to [quit] many times, but I think I'll be in it forever, I love it."

Sunny started working Boston following her graduation from culinary school, and from there she moved to New York City. After working in the city for almost two years, Sunny stated, "There was a point that I was burnt out and kind of disillusioned, where I thought maybe I should take a step back from cooking for a while and do something else. And then go back to cooking when I missed it not because I felt like I had to keep doing it." When she had reached this point, Sunny started going to her restaurant's sister restaurant. She explained that she started working there a couple of nights a week. The sous chef there started pushing her to work harder and began teaching her new techniques. She said that experience helped reignite her passion for

cooking. "If you just go into auto pilot, you burn out because you brain gets bored and here was this place that was constantly trying to push things to a new level all the time, and that's when I realized that's what I wanted the whole time." Lolita reaffirmed Sunny's realization; she maintained that "Moving around is important. It's very helpful not only for yourself, but you gain exposure to a lot of people and more ideas. Plus it keeps it interesting."

The culinary industry has a notoriously high rate of turnover. According to a recent study conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor in 2006, the food service industry has the highest rate of turnover at 56.4% (http://www.nobscot.com/survey/index.cfm). Although financially this can be difficult for restaurant owners, who lose money when they have to train new staff, it is actually rather beneficial for a chef's career. In my experience, most chefs looks for cooks that have a minimum of a year at a restaurant, but having a variety of cooking experiences gives the cook a more marketable career. The frequent movement also allows for the cook to not become stagnant and bored. This boredom, as noted by Sunny, can lead a cook to start questioning why they are in the industry and what they are doing with their life.

Both female and male chefs elaborated on the various difficulties they encounter in the professional culinary world. Although it is challenging for all individuals, women face more obstacles than their male counterparts. These impediments can often cause women to leave their careers early or lessen the amount of energy and devotion they put into their work.

6 Secret Ingredients

Success and longevity in the culinary world takes a complicated web of characteristics that if performed correctly can prevent burn out and provide a chef with the necessary platform to potentially succeed. Let it be said, that even if a chef can successfully balance the difficulties of maintaining a social life, relationship, and their job, it still does not always ensure that their restaurant will be successful. Many of my interviewees stated that it takes a "certain type" of person to be a chef. Lolita explained that the culinary industry, "It's full of alcoholics, drug addicts, all kinds of weird people. We all sort of migrate to this crazy industry. We're masochists." The restaurant world is a fickle place, where if not every aspect of the restaurant is perfect, it will fail. This constant striving for perfection takes a certain type of person that is able to handle the high stress, high anxiety atmosphere. As stated above by Lolita, that environment can lead to substance abuse, but it also can pull an eclectic group of individuals together. Janna stated that chefs have to have a good sense of humor, "Without it we would have already killed ourselves…or someone else." The importance of humor in the professional kitchen is also noted in a study performed by Lynch in his article "Kitchen Antics: The Importance of Humor and Maintaining Professionalism at Work." Lynch looks at how the use of humor in the high stress environment of restaurants provides cooks with a sense of "empowerment and resistance" (Lynch 2009:461).

Throughout my interviews, chefs of both sexes expressed their opinions of what causes a restaurant/chef to fail, and what characteristics are necessary for an individual, especially a woman to excel. Without any prompting from me, the majority of female chefs would start discussing what skills women have to have to succeed. While telling their various stories and expe-

riences, many women would reflect on the various occurrences which typically let to their introspection and analysis of how they survived their various "battles."

6.1 Thick-skin

According to my interviewees, the number one trait necessary for every chef no matter the age or sex is tough skin. Nothing else will enable a person to navigate the professional kitchen with as much success as being able to withstand the continuous barrage of harassment, critique, and sexual harassment. Stereotypically, women are seen as more sensitive and emotional, and as discussed in chapter four, this stereotype is embraced by many of the female chefs interviewed. In order to contradict this idea, many women feel they have to work harder and accept the kitchen environment status quo. This was succinctly stated by Lolita, "I think women have to be tougher than men, in order to make it."

During our interview I asked Patty if she felt comfortable in the restaurant in which she was working. She had previously stated that she was the only woman in the kitchen, and as will be discussed later in this chapter, she experienced sexual harassment daily.

> Yes I feel welcome. I kick ass, if I wasn't good and didn't win all of those contests I wouldn't feel comfortable. Like I have to step up, I have to endure pain, endure bull shit. I have to endure a lot of crap, if I don't step up. If I don't do more than the guys, which is what I usually do, if I do more I feel welcome…but I don't get any privilege.

Patty felt that the only reason she could feel comfortable and accepted within the male run restaurants, in which she worked, was through winning various accolades and working harder than her coworkers. In order for Patty to be taken seriously by her coworkers she felt that she had to be able to ignore pain and harassment, work harder, and compete for a more tangible representation of her culinary prowess.

Ana, in her many years of experience, expressed the difficulties she faced working in fine dining kitchens. “Guys said I didn't belong there. Even though they were often in tears from stress, cutting their fingers or burning themselves, I had to cover anything like that up as it would have been seen as a sign of weakness because I was a woman.” A similar sentiment was conveyed by Jen, “I could never say I'm tired, or I'm sick, or I've cut my finger, as the response would be, “It's because you're a girl.’” According to my participants’ statements in the male dominated space that is a fine dining kitchen, a man can express pain, and frustration, and that is acceptable. Their female counterparts, on the other hand, cannot express any of these feelings without being ridiculed for acting like “a girl.” Not only do women have to keep their frustrations and physical wounds to themselves, but they also feel they have to work harder than the male chefs in order to be taken seriously. According to many of the female chefs I spoke with, women are judged more critically, and instead of being aggravated due to a busy service or by overly particular orders they are seen as being overly emotional because they are women.

Sue made a statement that she did not enjoy working with women. She finds them to be overly emotional, but after some contemplation she stated that, “Women in general [are sensitive] some women are stronger than others. Those women, that are leaders, are the ones that put up with a lot to get that position. I guess the stress…how much stress you can take.” Through her many experiences, Patty noticed that women who are not sensitive are able to lead better and have better luck advancing in their career. She also noted that being able to manage stress is crucial. Restaurants are a hotbed of stress and anxiety, Patty notes that being able to handle that pressure is crucial if one wants to excel.

As I was speaking with Sunny I asked her about why she thought women had a difficult time continuing their careers in fine dining restaurants. She initially addressed the difficulties

balancing relationships and a career, but Sunny followed that rationale with a more introspective approach.

> I think the only thing that becomes a factor is the emotional part. And I'm saying this because I'm an incredibly emotional person, and for a while I was able to keep my emotions in check. And then things happen where things go wrong at home, and you have a bad day at work, and then you find yourself, you're kind of…not crying, but you find yourself…your walls start breaking, and other guys, they express themselves through…they express themselves through aggression and anger. Which is fine in a kitchen, but for me, it's like I would feel so much better if I could cry, if I could just let go for a second. You never feel like you can ever let go. And with the guys, they can kind of let go 'cause all they're doing is expressing a sense of aggressiveness. When I'm angry I get aggressive, but it doesn't relieve any of the anger. I just start to aggressively clean.

Sunny expressed the everyday difficulties of containing her emotions. Unlike her male coworkers, Sunny's frustration is not as easily relieved. Where the other cooks can find release by throwing a pan or breaking a plate, Sunny needs more of a release. If she were to cry, though, she would most likely face ridicule and lose a lot of the respect she has earned from her coworkers.

As previously discussed, I had hoped to address the hypothesis of lesbian chefs having an easier time within the restaurant business, "Are gay women less bound by societal norms and therefore get further in this field?" (Lo 2010.) Jen had stated that there were a couple women in her kitchen. I asked her if she agreed with the previous quote. She said that none of the women in the restaurant were lesbians, and that "It's not the way it really is. All the women I work with in the kitchen are like men they're not super girly or anything. They're cute, but they don't fuck

around." She continued that she does not think that being gay facilitates kitchen work. Jen explained that is more of a personality issue than a sexuality issue. The majority of female chefs that I asked about lesbian chefs stated that they did not think that sexuality played a role in one's ability to succeed in the culinary industry. Of the male chefs that I interviewed, they expressed that they preferred working with lesbians. Gerry stated that "[heterosexual] Women have more of a tendency to stress the small stuff, and therefore it affects their performance. Women have more direction and they don't want to vary from that and that's a downfall. Lesbians do what needs to be done, and lesbians are normally stronger." Although this is a gross generalization, Gerry's sentiments were similar to the other men with whom I spoke. Mark explained that he thought lesbians were less emotional and less sensitive. Although, I was not able to speak to any lesbian chefs, I would argue that it's the characteristics that are stereotypically associated with lesbians that make a woman successful. Being assertive, confident, and thick-skinned are not strictly lesbian qualities, nor do all lesbians have those characteristics. In my personal experiences as a lesbian chef, I have worked with lesbian chefs that are extremely emotional and sensitive, and I have worked with women who identify as heterosexual, who are very callous and emotionally detached.

Although Jen said the women in her kitchen were "like men" I would argue that they were just performing qualities that are assumed to be masculine. Sunny felt that she had to act "more masculine" in order to fit in. "I don't think that I ever didn't feel welcome; I just felt excluded from the boy's club. I felt the only way I could be part of the club, was if I was acting more masculine, if I did as much ass grabbing as the guys did."

Sunny recounted her experiences of the first few weeks she worked at her current restaurant. She stated that she avoided a lot of sexual harassment because all of the front of the house

and the majority of management were women. These women as well as the executive chef, Dan, insisted on running a highly professional environment within the kitchen. As mentioned previously, Sunny stated that she never felt like she fit in. Initially, she assumed that she needed to act more like her male coworkers, but that did not help her feel accepted by the other male cooks.

> The only time it didn't feel that way was during service when we were just cooking. There was no need to talk; there, I was just as good of a cook as the guys were. I didn't need to go out and prove myself. I just did what I did the best that I could. And in my head, I thought my work will speak for me; I don't need to prove anything to these guys. I think once I really truly didn't just tell myself that, but truly believed that, that's when I actually started fitting in with the guys more than anything else. When I started to like feel confident as a cook, they'd say, 'You know, you're really not a girl. You're just a cook.' And it's funny, the day I heard that I was really flattered. It's such a weird thing to be flattered about. Finally they don't look at me as just a girl they look at me as a cook.

In Sunny's experience, she realized that in order for her coworkers to view her as an equal, not only did she have to be a good cook, but they had to see her as being gender-less. According to Sunny's coworkers, when she started displaying her sense of self confidence, they were able to see her as cook and not as "just a girl." This development for Sunny helped her breach the barrier between herself and her co-workers.

6.2 Sexual Harassment

When asked if they had ever experienced sexual harassment, every female chef I interviewed answered in the affirmative without a moment's hesitation. Sexual harassment is a daily occurrence for the women with whom I spoke. When I asked Lolita if she has ever experienced sexual harassment she stated, "Yes, there is plenty of that. I think for the most part if you work

in a restaurant a little groping is bound to happen. But I think you find that women that work in the kitchen don't really take that as an offence. They usually expect it." I followed up Lolita's response by asking her if she worked in a different profession whether she would find that kind of behavior acceptable. She laughed and responded, "No, I guess that if I was wearing a suit to work every day I'd be pretty pissed if someone grabbed my ass. I'm not really sure why I'm so okay with it in the kitchen…You just know it's going to be there."

Elizabeth had a similar sentiment regarding the acceptance of sexual harassment within a kitchen environment versus a more professional setting.

> "I think that it's weird that we think that it's not that big of a deal, where in other industries it would be. I think since you work in such close quarters with people, you see them more than anyone else. The things you talk about there and things that happen wouldn't happen anywhere else. You're so literally close to people all the time I think it's just something that happens.

Along the same lines, Sue said, "Absolutely, but it's never been an issue." She explained that she had dealt with sexual harassment frequently and at all of the kitchens in which she's worked. When she stated "it's never been an issue," she was saying that the degree of the sexual harassment was nothing she felt was worth reporting. The women I spoke with constantly stated that they were sexually harassed, but that the level they experienced was tolerable, if not acceptable. Pam noted that, "There is always the ass-grabbing but there was never any cornering me in the locker room or the walk-in or anything too crazy. I think when I went to work in restaurants, I was very careful to work in places that I knew had too much at stake to let that happen in the restaurant." She viewed "ass-grabbing" as a tolerable piece of life in a professional kitchen. I asked her if she ever felt like bringing up instances of sexual harassment to management.

Pam said that she would probably never talk to a manger about being sexually harassed unless she felt "physically threatened." According to Pam, "You just can't do that. When you work in a restaurant you have to expect that guys are going to harass you. It's just how it is. And if you went to a manager about, you'd get so much shit from your coworkers…it's just not worth it."

Pam felt that her coworkers' negative responses could not justify complaining to a manager about sexual harassment. She continued that when she first started working within the culinary industry that she was uncomfortable with the sexual conversations and banter among her coworkers, but now that she has been working in restaurants for over fifteen years, that she has developed her own sense of crass humor.

Sunny also initially felt uncomfortable with "guy talk" when she first started working in one restaurant. She felt that, "They still had a boys' club and the guys would always be bantering and talking about you know things guys talk about and in that aspect I did feel excluded and I didn't want to feel like I had to change who I was to feel like I was part of it." Sunny felt excluded by her coworkers not only because she was the only woman in the kitchen, but also because she did not participate in their conversations about their sex lives and array of sexual experiences.

Patty felt that the main reason she experienced sexual harassment was due to the fact that she was the only woman that worked in the restaurant. "The guys hit on me and talk about sex and I'm there. It's dirty and disgusting things but I'm there. And I've had guys hit on me, cause I'm the only one there." Patty had become accustomed to the lewd conversations in kitchens through her years of experience. Although the topics of conversation made her feel uncomfortable, Patty never felt that it was anything worth reporting to management.

Although all of the women I spoke with feel that sexual harassment within a workplace is wrong, when that workplace is identified as a kitchen, the degree of sexual harassment that is deemed unacceptable is dramatically increased. My interviewees had a hard time defining what made it acceptable to be "groped" while they were wearing a chef's uniform versus a business suit. Many suggested that they went into the industry expecting to be harassed, which therefore made it an acceptable and tolerable behavior. Through these interviews, I would argue that many women learn to put up with sexual harassment in order to feel accepted within the kitchen. In order to fit in women will tolerate "groping;" if a woman were to report any unwanted behavior, she would be treated as an outcast, and have a harder time gaining access into the kitchen.

6.3 Confidence and Competition

The other necessary trait for men and women who want to be successful in fine dining restaurants is confidence. Both male and female chefs stressed the importance confidence plays in one's success. They also stressed the importance of not being overly confident which is interpreted as being "cocky."

Sue expressed that confidence is not a trait not easily exuded by women. "I think that's a big part about being a chef that they have to have a lot of confidence. And think it's a lot easier for men to be more confident and assertive. I think it's tougher for women, and it's a tougher industry and I think that comes out in their demeanor."

Sunny who experienced a mélange of difficulties both personal and work-related at her most recent restaurant, discovered the factor that enabled her to feel comfortable in her job was confidence.

That was when we really overcame that obstacle that I had thought had been there the whole time, when in reality it had just been my insecurities and my lack of confidence. If

> you see a guy in the kitchen without confidence, guys will say 'oh, what a pussy' and then they look at a woman [without confidence] it's because she's a girl. It's so easy to go back to, she's a girl. It's almost like your go to when you can't really understand why people are the way they are.

Sunny recognized that when she started cooking with an air of confidence, she fit in with her coworkers. She noticed that if a male chef did not exude a sense of confidence he would be mocked, but if a female chef was without confidence, their rationale indicated this was because she was a girl. Within Sunny's restaurant, lack of confidence was associated with women. A man was called effeminate slurs if he was not confident, and women were just expected to not ooze confidence.

With the array of competitive culinary shows on television, even a non-cook can understand the prevalence of competition in the kitchen. All of the individuals I spoke with stated that every cook has to be highly competitive. Jerry stated that "You have to be. You can never succeed if you're not constantly pushing yourself." He continued that the "real chefs" were individuals that were constantly pushing themselves, and trying to better their skills. He explained that if a cook wants "to move up the ranks" within the kitchen that they constantly have to assert themselves and demonstrate their superior skills versus those of their coworkers.

According to my interviewees, in order for a woman to succeed in the culinary industry she has to be able to handle continuous criticism, be confident, and be able to tolerate sexual harassment. These characteristics are important for both male and female chefs, although sexual

harassment is fairly nonexistent between male coworkers. Much of this is applicable to any woman who is trying to access a male dominated field.

7 Conclusions

The primary focus of this research was to look at the careers of female and male chefs to determine the relevance a mentor-style relationship had in the development of chef's careers. Through the course of my research I was able to garner insight from both males and females on

the various factors that contributed to their individual success. My initial speculations were that women had a more difficult time in the culinary industry due to their lack of a mentor. I felt that since there few female executive chefs, women line cooks were unable to develop the same style of relationships that male cooks have with male executive chefs. Through my interviews I determined that all of the female chefs had a mentor and that for each of them this mentor was male. This realization forced me to look at other factors that might contribute to the difficulties women face in the culinary industry.

There are many elements of the culinary industry that make achieving longevity and success difficult. My male and female interviewees all stressed the difficulties of working in restaurants. The high stress and physically exhausting atmosphere are demanding. Even without the previous examples, the fine dining restaurant has a typically militaristic atmosphere where cooks have to be able to handle an executive chef yelling at them about various errors while only being allowed to answer "yes, chef." Many of my interviewees expressed struggling with various forms of substance abuse and anxiety. The majority of my interviewees had experienced a severe physical injury at least once during their careers, and some of the older chefs I spoke with had chronic back problems. Despite the array of difficulties that cooks face throughout their career, cooks still view these tribulations with a sense of pride. It takes "a special kind of person" to succeed in the culinary industry. For women, the requirements to fit into the mold are more difficult.

The largest contributing factor for women's struggles in the professional kitchen is having a family. Professional fine dining kitchens consume the majority of a chef's time; when a woman decides to have a family she feels the need to place more importance on her family than on her job. This preference for family over work can cause a lot of difficulties for women.

Many managers are not sympathetic to a worker that has to call off work or adapt their schedule for a child. Many of the female chefs I spoke with that had children expressed the desire to put equal energy into their restaurants and their families, but they quickly realized the lack of feasibility. The women always placed their families first and in turn their restaurant took second place.

The male chefs that I interviewed took their families very seriously, but they felt that their role within the family was as the provider. This led men to place more priority on their careers. The male chefs were willing to sacrifice time with their families because they felt they were working to support the family and that was more important.

Through my research I found that women were just as prevalent a factor as men for making a female chef's restaurant experience difficult. Women were more critical and judgmental of other female chefs. The women with whom I spoke typically viewed women in the same manner as many of my male interviewees. They saw women as being overly emotional and overly sensitive. Some of the female chefs also saw other women as being unintelligent and delusional. The women placed themselves as exceptions to the norm. Where between male coworkers there is traditionally a feel of camaraderie, the women expressed a more solitary existence. They preferred working with men, but when there was another woman present, the women tended to place an air of competition in their relationship. The female chefs I interviewed like to differentiate themselves from their female counterparts. They described themselves as being "tough-skinned" and able to tolerate the long hours and sacrifices needed to succeed in the culinary field, but many were quick to state that other women were unable to hack it. Only one of the women with whom I spoke mentioned anything similar about male coworkers. By applying traditional stereotypes to other female cooks, women find a way to empower themselves. They can

set themselves apart from other women by labeling another woman as "overly emotional" while demonstrating how differently they behave.

All of the women with whom I spoke, stated that being sexually harassed was an acceptable activity within the kitchen. They stated that harassment was "just part of the job." I would argue that these women's acceptance of the harassment was a way for them to fit into the kitchen atmosphere. By not challenging their male co-workers' behavior, not only did they make themselves more welcome, but they also confirmed the stereotypes of male superiority within the kitchen. Allowing their coworkers to "grab their ass" provided the women with a sense of solidarity with their male coworkers. They proved that they "could handle it" and that they were unscathed. At the same time, it would appear that allowing their male coworkers to touch them undesirably gives their coworkers more power over their bodies and still supports their male coworkers' superiority.

When the female chefs with whom I spoke, focused on separating themselves from their female coworkers, they typically aligned themselves with their male coworkers. This echoes Gramsci's theories on hegemony, especially his analysis of through the use of coercion and consent (Hall 1986:16). When the female chefs align themselves with the male chefs, they are supporting the male-dominated atmosphere that is prevalent within the fine dining industry. Through this support they maintain that the male cooks have the authority. This authority is then acted out by male chefs through the use of sexual harassment; this harassment is a subtle form of "coercion" that allows the men to frequently assert their dominance. When the female chefs accept the harassment as "something to be expected" they are reaffirming their male coworkers' power over them.

In C.J. Pascoe's ethnography, "Dude You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School" there are many striking similarities in the way male students treat female students as well as the frequent assertion of heterosexuality amongst the male students. Pascoe's study found that male students "touch" their female counterparts in undesirable ways in order to construct and maintain a social hierarchy. The unwanted invasion of a woman's space reaffirms the dominance of the man invading her space (Pascoe 2007:96). This can be seen in restaurants where male chefs frequently occupy their female coworkers' space and "accidently" bump into them or touch them in a sexual manner. Pascoe also notes in her ethnography that men typically only feel the need to continuously assert their dominance when they are in groups that predominately consist of many men (Pascoe 2007:158-159). This also supports the notion that in professional kitchens, which are typically predominately male, men are asserting their heterosexuality and dominance in order to maintain the hierarchy as well as the cohesion between the male chefs.

For this research I wanted to see what factors contribute to women's difficulties within the culinary industry. I have determined that although men still have skewed visions of women's roles and some have difficulties with women in fine dining restaurants, the largest source of prejudice may come from other female chefs. Women are quick to side with their male co-workers over their other female co-workers. By not supporting their fellow female chefs, women continue the stereotypes that they themselves have faced. My interviewees set themselves off as exceptions to the stereotypes, but through this reinforced the generalizations held of female chefs. Many of the difficulties facing female chefs are probably applicable to women within other male-dominated fields. Although I was not surprised that motherhood has a dramatic effect on

a woman's career, I was astonished at the amount of competition and negativity women held towards each other.

For follow up research I would like to speak with more women who have left the culinary industry. I feel that being able to speak with them about their experiences cooking would provide me with more insight on relationships between women in fine dining restaurants. I also feel that researching women in other male-dominated fields would be beneficial. I would like to know if women have similar experiences with other women within those industries.

Throughout my research I learned that social support systems play an important role in aiding chefs in their professional development. However, my initial speculation that women lacked mentoring figures was refuted. All of the women I spoke with identified a mentor that played a pivotal role in the development of their careers, even though, all of their mentors were men. Through the interviews I discovered the array of factors that contribute to women's and men's success in the professional kitchen, and most importantly the many difficult issues that face women. These factors, whether they are raising families or women denigrating each other, are not only prevalent issues in the culinary industry, but could also be applied to other professional domains where women struggle to gain acceptance.

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