

Culinary Arts Pedagogy:

A Critical Enquiry into its Knowledge, Power and Identity Formation

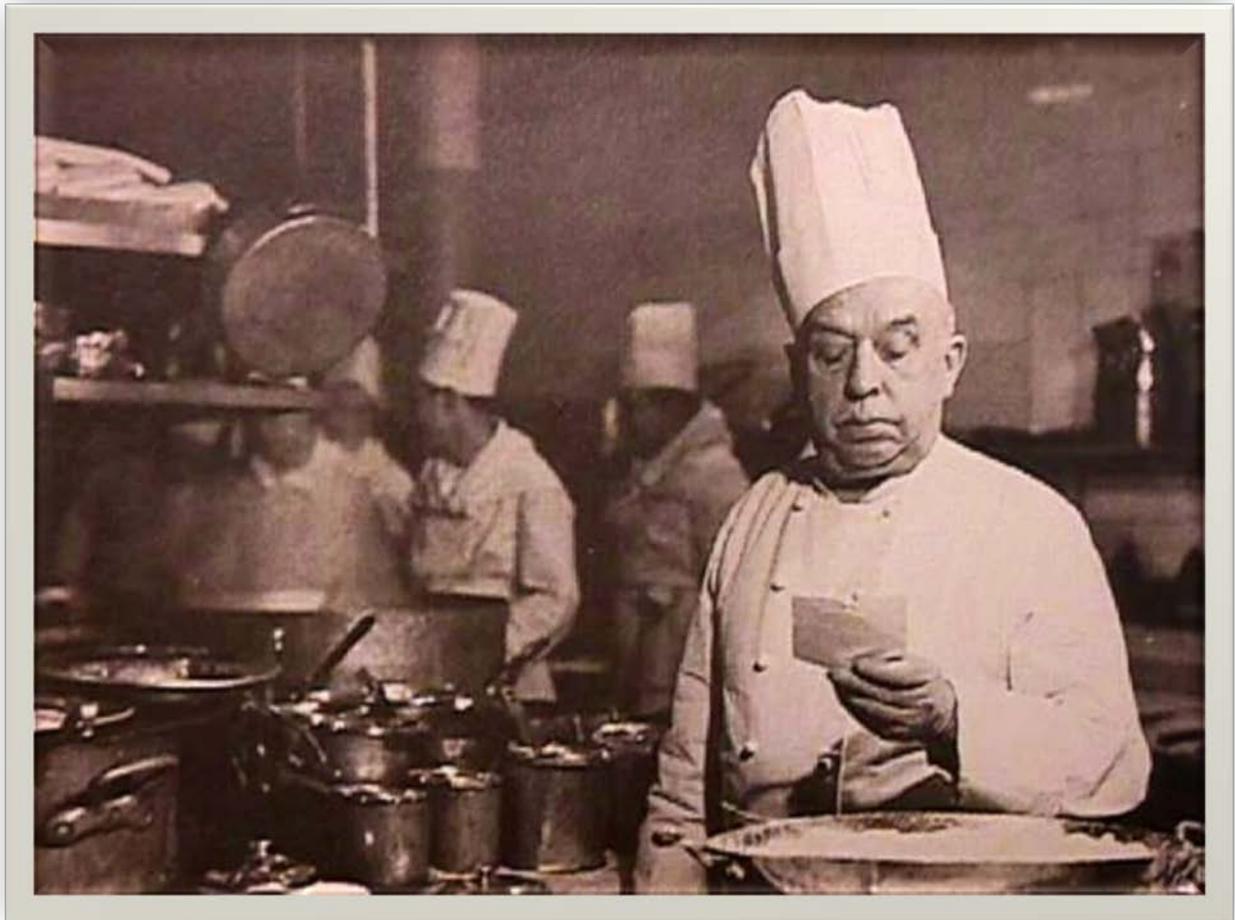


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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the chefs who surrender their lives to the professional kitchen so that we, the guest, can imbibe with our friends and family.

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Noelle Liddy for the vision and tenacity to challenge the ways in which culinary education could be delivered in New Zealand paving the way for the establishment of the design-based Bachelor of Culinary Arts degree programme. Without her personal strength none of this would have been possible.

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Mitchell, R. Woodhouse, A. Heptinstall, T. and Camp, J. (2013) Why use design methodology in culinary arts education? Hospitality & Society 3: 3, pp. 241–262

Mitchell,R. Woodhouse,A. Heptinstall,T. Camp, J. (2012) Why Use Design Thinking in Culinary Arts Education, International Conference on Designing Food and Designing for Food (iFood Design Conference), London Metropolitan University, London, 28-29 June 2012.

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1 PREFACE



Image from personal collection

1.1 A Road Map to this Academic Journey

This thesis has drawn inspiration and insight from my journeys into the professional cookery kitchens of haute cuisine, through to my current position as a Principal Lecturer on the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at Otago Polytechnic, Dunedin, New Zealand.

This is a philosophical enquiry and critique of the pedagogies and subsequent teaching and learning practices that underpin Western culinary arts education. It is through this enquiry that I will explore the question: what are the pedagogies that underpin culinary arts education? Using a critical perspective to explore this question, I hope to provide a differing lens on the role of power and knowledge in culinary arts education, and in turn, offer new pedagogical perspectives on both my own professional practice and those of the wider culinary arts education community of practice.

It is my intent that this thesis is a meeting ground where both academic and culinary communities respect their differing cultural perspectives. It is my lasting wish that this work be read by my community of practice so that it may contribute to this community in more meaningful ways than the certification of my academic knowledge. As an academic leader on a culinary programme, I am constantly torn between my academic and culinary identity and the cultures that each practice embraces. To remain respected within each practice I have to constantly morph my identity and language structures, whilst trying to find a balance between “whose knowledge is best”. As Palmer states, due to the unsocial nature of the culinary occupation, chefs view the world from a position of “us’ in the kitchen and “them” on the outside world (Palmer, Cooper, & Burns, 2010). According to Palmer et al. (2010, p. 322)

Chefs are moreover, a community of common descent in that they share a history, a tradition, a language of speaking and a language of being that bind members together in the face of what some regard as a hostile world with little understanding of what goes on behind the kitchen door. This is not to say that everyone agrees with the values, attitudes and behaviour of all members of the community.

Some readers may find the actions and language of the personal insights that appear at the beginning of each chapter challenging, but to present them any other way would devalue the authenticity of the experiences and the meta-cognition I hope to achieve in the supporting academic theory. It is through the collision of the culinary and academic worlds that I hope to engage both communities in critical reflective thought about their professional practice.

It is at this time that I would like to remind the reader of the social theories proposed by French philosopher and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that each of us operate within habitus of our various communities and as such we each bring certain lifestyles, values and perspectives to our work. In effect we have our own socially and culturally generated perspectives of the world and its reality. In his theory of reflexive sociology, Bourdieu reminds us that we need to be aware of our own views and bias to better understand the social reality of others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As such behaviours that may seem unnatural to the reader are in essence not part of the social realities or cultural identity that the reader maybe accustomed to (Bourdieu, 1984). Likewise the philosophies of Bourdieu are not lost on me, the researcher. By presenting these insights to you, the reader, now expose myself to you.

2 REFLECTION THROUGH STORYTELLING



Image retrieved 14/10/2015 from http://ecx.images-amazon.com/images/I/51FkHE0HVRL._SX331_BO1,204,203,200_.jpg

Insight One: The Early Years

I clearly remember my first year of teaching. It was 2002 and I was only 27 but had already been in the hospitality industry for over a decade. I had worked in some prestigious restaurants and had a fairly well informed intuition of what kind of student would make it in the world of haute cuisine. Quite frankly you have to be fairly hard arse to adapt and survive in those kitchens. It's an environment where chefs like Marco Pierre White and his bad boy rock star attitude are worshiped. Equally Jamie Oliver is seen as a pretty Essex boy who had sold out to dinner party "wanna be's" with his carefree "lovely jubbly" salads.

Most of the kids in front of me wanted the glory and stardom that Jamie and television provided. Sucked in by the media and signed up to a course which they believed would provide them with a fast track into the world of celebrity chef. I distinctly remember being allowed to write menus for the training restaurant. I actually enjoyed writing the menus as it was a chance to escape the drudgery of unit standards and the state controlled curriculum I had to teach. The irony was that I had the freedom to write and implement the menus because the students weren't being assessed during the preparation and serving of them – it was just work experience with no learning credits attached. I vividly remember one of the dishes on the menu "Duck Parfait with Granny Smith Apple Gel, Star Anise Glaze and Toasted Fig Brioche": a technical masterpiece and a dish that I had co-created and prepared at the award winning Thornley's Restaurant in Christchurch.

I had busted my gut at Thornley's, working 16 hours a day for shit pay (I literally couldn't even financially survive). But I did it because I was learning at a phenomenal rate and I was gaining acceptance into an exclusive community of chefs. To my dismay the kids in front of me didn't give a shit about the dish, it wasn't being assessed and emotionally they didn't own it. They hadn't sat around after a hard service with their mates conceiving potential new flavours and sensory aspects of the dish, in turn taking ownership of it. Instead they had simply bought the dish via a student loan. If my chef buddies knew that I had simply given this recipe to a group of students they would have been mighty pissed off, everyone in the industry knows knowledge like that is not shared freely and it is earned the hard way.

At the end of the year I took a one week course in basic teaching at the Dunedin College of Education. This course was a revelation to me as I was introduced to the theories of different types of student motivations and to pedagogy in general. From that point forward I started to look at my students in a different light. It became apparent to me that their motivations were different to mine. Maybe my world and their worlds were different?

Unlike most of my students, I distinctly remember the day that I knew I wanted to be a Chef. I didn't choose to do it because I felt like something different in my life; it was a conscious calling and, for me, a way of being.

2.1 The Power of the Narrative

Insight One briefly introduces me to you (the reader) and starts the process of building my personal landscape through the descriptive narrative which I will periodically delve into throughout this thesis. It also captures one of the most significant times in my life, a time when I am starting to transition from a **cook who teaches** to a **teacher who cooks**. It marks a moment which challenged my preconceptions of students and the world of culinary arts; it is in fact a moment of enlightenment through critical reflection. This was my first pedagogical transformative learning moment and as this thesis will testify, it would not be my last.

This insight has been adapted from the teaching portfolio that I prepared for the New Zealand National Tertiary Teaching Awards in 2008. It was initially written for an academic readership which would determine if I was worthy of a national accolade for teaching (Ako Aotearoa). The original version is non-abrasive and politically correct as it speaks of hopes and dreams, aspirations and transformations. As this thesis testifies, this academic journey has emancipated me from my perceptions of **what is right** and **what is wrong** in the landscape of 'true' knowledge.

I intend my insights to be a raw account of my personal experiences, bringing the reader closer to me and the community of culinary arts. I have no intention of them being purely narcissistic accounts of my professional life but a behind-the-scenes snapshot of my haute cuisine and teaching experiences presented similarly to the insightful literary recollections of Anthony Bourdain (Bourdain, 2000), Bill Buford (Buford, 2007) and Macro Pierre White (White & Steen, 2006).

The aforementioned Ako Aotearoa portfolio was co-curated by Dr Maxine Alterio, a staff member at the time in the Higher Education Centre at Otago Polytechnic. She has been an academic mentor of mine ever since. Dr Alterio is a respected academic in the use of reflective storytelling in higher education. Under her mentorship I have embraced storytelling and the power of the personal narrative as a meaningful learning and communication tool (Alterio, 2008; Alterio & McDrury, 2003). According to Alterio (Alterio, 2008):

Stories often need to be told in different forms before they feel complete and learning can be consolidated...as tellers and listeners we consciously and subconsciously draw on our past experiences to make sense of current situations.

The use of reflective storytelling has long been associated with the construction of knowledge and identity for learners (Alterio & McDrury, 2003; Durrance, 1997; Haigh & Hardy, 2011; Jenny Moon & Fowler, 2008; Sobol, Qentile, & Sunwolf, 2004). I hope that my insights may offer more than this to the reader. I intend to take you into a world that you may not have encountered before, a world that Palmer (Palmer et al., 2010) calls the “underbelly” of culinary arts and its associated pedagogies. For those of you already connected with the world of culinary arts, I intend these insights to add an authentic voice and a means to segue into the critical philosophical perspectives I explore. For me they act as the dissemination of the reflective praxis that this journey has taken me on. As Paulo Freire (1970, p. 72) states

Looking at the past must only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can more wisely build the future.

2.2 Reflection in Practice

As my critical enquiry has unfolded it has indirectly forced me to think about my own practice and how I have come to be the person that I am today. Many times during this academic and reflective journey I have been forced to stop and take an introspective look at myself and try to make sense of who I am. In the words of Maxine Alterio “storytelling values emotional realities, capture the complexities of the situations, encourage self-review, make sense of experience” (Alterio, 2003, p. 2). In this process of emotive and reflective storytelling I present myself in ontological and epistemological ways and expose my “set of embodied dispositions” (Johnson & Duberley, 2003). As Feighery (2006, p. 271) proposes should be the case, the process of reflexivity has forced me to reflect upon my values and actions during my research process

The reflective narratives presented here capture my personal story in a process that has allowed me to make sense of myself using my own culturally generated sense-making processes (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). My early experiences of reflective practice were that of *reflection in practice* (Schön, 1983) and were fundamental to my early professional culinary career development. These were academically unconscious reflective practices that were deeply informed by experience gained through working in practice. It was in the culinary workplace that I was exposed to “the knowledge” a term which Michelin chef Gordon Ramsey refers to as the normalities and realities of being a chef (Duncan, 2001). It is a world in which “you have to bow down and stay focused until the knowledge is tucked away” (Duncan, 2001, p. 10).

Meanwhile, Stephen Brookfield describes this kind of knowledge acquisition as tacit and intuitively based, “privately developed, proven ways of performing that are the contextually specific, idiosyncratic and unmentioned in the textbooks of professional practice” (Brookfield, 1987 in Jennifer Moon, 2004, p. 39). Donald Schön also describes this type of tacit knowledge as that of *knowing-in-action* (Schön, 1983) and others as *theories in use* (Argyris & Schon, 1974; Brookfield, 1987). It is “the knowledge” in these insights which I hope those from the global culinary arts community will emotionally and cognitively connect with and in turn give credence to my voice.

As the opening insight indicates, through my continued academic studies my reflective practices have evolved and I now more readily integrate *reflection on action* (Schön, 1983) into my reflective framework and practice. The insights presented here are a blend of ‘in action’ and ‘on action’ as they are a direct reflection of who I am. They are also a storying of the tensions that exist between formal and informal education and the power struggles of espoused theory and knowing in action (Argyris & Schon, 1974).

2.3 Phenomenology and Reflexivity

I have thought long and hard about these narrative insights and the role that they play in my work. I was initially inspired by the autoethnographical thesis of Richard Wright (Wright, 2011) and briefly considered using a pure autoethnographic methodology to convey my academic thinking. The ability to write with emotional recall within the bounds of concrete experience and intimate detail appealed to me. Equally, I could have chosen simply not to have included these insights within my work and adopted a framework embracing positivist and modernist philosophical principles. Under this approach I could have solely embraced a doctrine of logic and epistemology to present my work. I have, however, chosen to go down a more critical path and use the interpretive phenomenology of my lived experience to integrate into my academic journey. I am not alone in this approach but have chosen to add my voice to a growing number of hospitality and tourism critical theorists who call for the lived experience to become a valued aspect of the academic “ways of knowing” within the academy (R. Robinson, Solnet, & Breakey, 2014).

For me the process of including reflective narratives has been a personal and academic challenge. It is the relationship and tension that exists between my professional reflexivity and personal growth and the critical enquiry I so academically propose. As an emerging researcher I am consciously aware of the reflexive sociology which operates within my thesis and as such I wish to thank my academic supervisor Dr Richard Mitchell whom I have drawn

upon to ensure the balance of personal thought and critical academic enquiry remains appropriate.

These insights have captured and articulated my personal and academic journey but I wish them to offer something more reflective to the reader. It is my wish that you stop and think about your own values and actions and how these influence your everyday thoughts and actions within your community of practice. It is through the process of critical reflection that we can better understand ourselves and grow as individuals.

This academic thesis is split into two distinctive parts. Part One (see Chapters 2, 3 and 4) is a positioning of the academic literature and subsequent theories that inform Part Two (see Chapters 5 and 6), the critical enquiry pertaining to culinary arts pedagogy.

Chapter 2 discusses an overview of my personal perspectives of culinary arts pedagogy and introduces the research methodologies utilised within this thesis. Chapter 3 explores the development of the pedagogy and hierarchical structures in culinary arts education and presents a review of the literature pertaining to culinary arts pedagogy. The notions of power and knowledge and their relationship to human development are introduced in Chapter 4, along with a historical overview of the related historical tensions that exist. Chapter 4 concludes with an overview of the critical theories of Apple, Bowles, Friere, Gintis and Illich which form the framework for Part Two, (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

Building on from the literature reviews in Part One, Part Two is a critical investigation into culinary arts media and classroom practices at Otago Polytechnic, Dunedin, New Zealand. Chapter 5 examines the 2016 Institutional prospectus of Otago Polytechnic. Chapter 6 examines a typical classroom experience in relation to the pedagogy of the teacher and how this experience impact on the knowledge and identity formation of the learner. Part Two concludes with Chapter 7 which is a summary of the findings and a possible way forward for the culinary arts community.

3 CRITICAL CALLS FOR CHANGE: CHALLENGING THE ESTABLISHMENT



Image from personal collection

Insight Two: Selling the Illusion

It was 2000 and I had just taken the position of Head Chef at the prestigious Brassiere Flipp in Wellington, New Zealand. At the time Brassiere Flipp was listed as one of the best restaurants in the world in Courvoisier's Book of the Best. Brasserie Flipp was viewed as a culinary mecca in the Wellington dining scene, with its pedigree of award winning chefs and a dining room which radiated indulgence and opulence. As you walked the marble lined stairs to the first floor of the restaurant you immediately became overcome with a sense of affluence and sophistication. Even reading the menu required a certain level of gastronomic intelligence...what the hell is an Agnolotti of Cherve on Petit Legumes to the average Kiwi? Through the clever use of architectural space, stylised service and menu design you certainly thought you were experiencing something special and unique and to be honest, in the most part, you were.

But Brassiere Flipp had a dirty secret that nobody spoke about. It was the signature dish that patrons would come in every week to eat and would abruptly storm out if it was not on the menu. Every night people would personally thank the chef for the most amazing preparation of the dish that they had ever experienced - the perfect balance of crispy exterior and soft melt-in-your-mouth interior.

Quietly I suspect a few patrons knew what Brassiere Flipp was selling but were too scared to ask the question or point out the obvious. Surely in this award winning and gastronomically praised environment they wouldn't sell something as fraudulent as that, it would have to be the real thing wouldn't it? But it wasn't the real thing; it was exactly the same product that you could get at the fish 'n' chip shop for a fifth of the price. It was just that in the environment of Brassiere Flipp it appeared to be real and authentic and Brassiere Flipp had no issues charging people for the privilege of experiencing it.

It was in the middle of service on a Saturday night when someone finally spoke up against the dish. He was an elderly man and he demanded to see the chef and the owner. He was irate to say the least but wanted to know why we had the audacity to sell him commercially manufactured squid rings that he could buy at the supermarket in the discount freezer section. That's right, those homogenous textured squid rings that

are produced from the by-products of squid manufacturing and formed together with transglutaminase or as it's commonly known "meat glue". Against all of the social, cultural and symbolic power structures at play in the environment of Brassiere Flipp it took the courage of one man to stand up against the business and say "this isn't right". Just as it happened at Brassiere Flipp that night, there is a now a growing voice in the educational culinary arts community questioning the status quo.

3.1 Culinary Arts Canon and Pedagogy

3.1.1 The Guilds and Master-Apprentice Learning

Western culinary arts and its accompanying pedagogy have their roots deeply embedded in the European master craftsmen of the Middle Ages. It was during this time that these craftsmen organized themselves in the form of guilds for the purposes of overseeing the learning and the working rights of their workforce (Emms, 2005; Mills, 2007). Throughout this era, the education of cooks and chefs was delivered through a workplace master-apprentice model of pedagogy (Emms, 2005). This pedagogical learning model was based on an apprentice spending time with a master craftsman and learning the vocational craft through workplace observation. Through this process the apprentice would replicate the actions of the master under the watchful eye of the master, with heavy emphasis on the application and replication of the master's skill and knowledge.

In this environment the apprentice developed an understanding of the medium of their craft while honing their technical skills and becoming proficient in their masters trade. With time and through the acquisition and proficiencies of these new skills, the apprentice transitioned to become a journeyman and eventually a master of their craft in their own right (Mitchell, Woodhouse, Heptinstall, & Camp, 2013). It was during the 18th Century Industrial Revolution that the function and role of these guilds started to be relinquished as governments looked to take on more responsibility for vocational education and make it more formalized and contractual through the workplace apprenticeship system (Mills, 2007).

3.1.2 Auguste Escoffier

At the beginning of the 20th Century the pioneering work of French Chef Auguste Escoffier was the catalyst for the most significant pedagogical structures of modern culinary education. Escoffier, often cited as the father of modern cuisine, reorganised many of the professional kitchens of leading European hotels to create a revolutionary new food production and service model called *service a la russe*. A key component of Escoffier's *service a la russe* model was the development of the hierarchical brigade system (Mitchell et al., 2013). Developed using 19th Century Taylorism principles, Escoffier divided the kitchen into the five key areas of 'entremetiers,' for soups and vegetables 'garde-manger' for cold dishes, 'rôtisseur' for meat cookery, 'saucier' for the making of sauces; and a 'pâtissier' for sweet production (Cullen, 2012). To oversee the efficient production within each of these sections, Escoffier developed a hierarchical work force system with the *chef de cuisine* at the top, the

sous chef as the overseer of general production, the *chef de partie* as section leader and the *demi-chef* and *commis chef* as junior production chefs.

It was while working at the Savoy Hotel in London that Escoffier wrote his 1903 book *Le Guide Culinaire* as a hotel training model for apprentices (Cullen, 2012). During this time Escoffier advocated for formal culinary education for young boys and this led to the opening of Britain's first cookery school at Westminster Technical Institute in 1910 (James, 2002). The crossover of *Le Guide Culinaire* into formalized learning was in 1946 when two American women, Katherine Angell and Frances Roth adopted Escoffier's book as the core curriculum for their new cookery school. In response to government funding for training returning World War Two veterans, Angell and Roth formed The New Haven Restaurant Institute. This school was to later change its name to the Restaurant Institute of Connecticut and, in 1951, the Culinary Institute of America (CIA). The CIA has gone on to become recognised as one of the Western world's most preeminent culinary education institutes (Deutsch, 2014).

Figure 3.1 Escoffier's *Le Guide Culinaire*

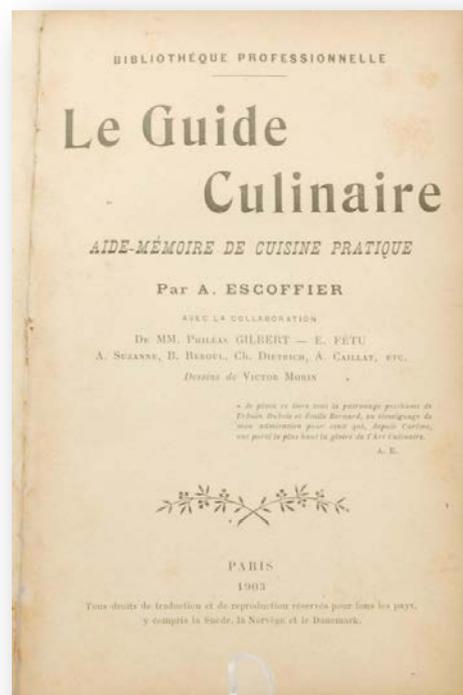


Image sourced from Live Auctioners. (N.D.). *Le Guide Culinaire* https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/6399714_le-guide-culinaire-auguste-escoffier-1st-edition.

3.1.3 The Rise of Formalised Vocational Education

In the 1960's and 1970's, as a result of economic growth and increased post war funding from governments, there was a rise in global culinary vocational education. Similarly, during this time the culinary occupation status transitioned in the United States from domestic to a professional status. With this elevation in status the education of the professional culinary workforce rose as well (VanLandingham, 1995). Vocational culinary education was now no longer informal and solely work-based but had morphed into something more institutionally organised and structured with associated government certification.

Following an educational movement towards higher education within the sector of hospitality and tourism, the 1990's saw the emergence of the first culinary degrees in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. As Joseph Hegarty, the then Head of School at The Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT), stated, these higher education programmes were:

aimed to develop the intellectual capacity of the individual rather than the wrist-to-fingertip drills of the traditional apprenticeship and to maximise the potential of each individual student (Hegarty 2001 in Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 2008, p. 9).

Through a variety of differing education providers such as community colleges, polytechnics and universities, institutional culinary arts education is now globally offered from certificate through to postgraduate level.

Nevertheless, throughout all of the educational evolutions in the past one hundred years, the pedagogical model has still primarily been based upon the master-apprentice framework and the hierarchical structures developed by Auguste Escoffier (Cullen, 2012; Deutsch, 2014; Mitchell et al., 2013). In most parts of the world, the formalised culinary curriculum is still arranged around the content and structure of Escoffier's 1903 book *Le Guide Culinaire* (Deutsch, 2014). Even today it is still common practice for a culinary student to start their education with simple vegetable preparation before transitioning to more technical tasks such as meat production and cooking, in accordance with Escoffier's book (Deutsch, 2014).

The segregation of the food preparation and service tasks through authoritarian delegation has been a hallmark of formal and informal culinary education for the last century (Cullen, 2012). There is a strong emphasis on authority and discipline and to compliment these, students and apprentices learn through a repetitive manner of observation and replication for the judgement of the chef or their lecturer (Deutsch, 2014). In essence, students of the

culinary arts are taught not to question or challenge the ultimate knowledge or authority of their masters (Deutsch, 2014).

Interestingly, however, it could be argued that Escoffier himself would be critical of the current culinary arts community for continuing to utilise curriculum and kitchen structures that he developed over a century ago. According to Escoffier (1907) cookery should be a reflection of the society it serves and as such it should evolve and progress with the needs of that society.

We must respect, love and study these great works...we ourselves should seek out new approaches so that we too may leave behind us methods of working that have been adapted to the customs and needs of our time (Escoffier, 1907, p. 8).

3.2 Critical Calls for Change

The hospitality and tourism industry (of which culinary arts is part) has primarily been focused on providing utilitarian services to willing buyers in return for economic gain (Mitchell & Scott, 2013). As such tourism and hospitality education is often situated within business schools which embrace the academic capitalistic ideals of neoliberals (Hall, 2010) and the knowledge creation and dissemination in this sector has been predominantly situated within the operational and economic management of these transactions of services (Mitchell & Scott, 2013). This dominant positivist approach to knowledge within the sector has created a series of disciplinary 'truths' which have informed the ways of knowing and operating that had until recently remained unquestioned (Lugosi, Lynch, & Morrison, 2009). There are now critical calls for change in hospitality and tourism education through a transformation and restructuring to transition from "ivory towers" of knowledge to "watch towers" of co-created knowledge (Liburd & Hjalager, 2011).

In the 1980's some of the first criticisms of the traditional approaches to hospitality education emerged. Ferguson and Berger (1985) asked questions of the role of hospitality education and its function in the encouragement of creative problem solving processes. They challenged hospitality education for its emphasis on conformity rather than individual thinking. Their comments were to segue into a global discussion in the new millennium in relation to how hospitality and tourism knowledge is taught and, in turn, constructed. This has seen a call from critical hospitality, tourism and culinary academics for its education to be realigned with its pedagogical emphasis to be on producing future-focused and critically reflective

practitioners with transferable skill sets (Ateljevic, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2007; Fullagar & Wilson, 2012; Liburd & Hjalager, 2011; Lugosi, Lynch, & Morrison, 2009; Mitchell & Scott, 2013; Mitchell, Woodhouse, Heptinstall, & Camp, 2013; Schwarzin, 2013; Sheldon, Fesenmaier, & Tribe, 2009). Cam Woolcock's (2011) research suggests that future-focused transferable learning skills are important in culinary arts, as chefs are likely to change their profession within ten years due to workload and the lifestyle aspects of the profession. He goes on to recommend a change in pedagogy and curriculum design in culinary arts to "anticipate, promote, and prepare for the nexus between professional cooking and career change" (Woolcock, 2011, p. 228).

3.2.1 Pedagogical Tensions within the Academy: Positivist and Phenomenological Knowledge

The last decade has seen an emerging voice from critical theorists within the tourism and hospitality academy questioning the fundamental ways in which the positivist knowledge truths are constructed by the academy and the role of those truths within the lived experiences of the practitioners it serves (Ateljevic et al., 2013; Fullagar & Wilson, 2012; Tribe, 2002). With hospitality and culinary arts deeply entrenched within the human experience there has been a growing critical call (Ateljevic, Harris, Wilson, & Collins, 2005) to embrace the social sciences in the discipline with its interpretive, alternative and critical modes of enquiry (Wilson, Harris, & Small, 2008).

Central to this critical turn in hospitality research and knowledge creation is the sociological ontology of phenomenology (Robinson, Solnet, & Breakey, 2014). Unlike the positivist and post-positivist methodologies, phenomenologists value the richness of the lived experience to form the epistemology of knowledge. However, phenomenologists do not proclaim to produce universal theory but 'truths' and not 'the truth' as predetermined by the hallmarks of the positivists (Robinson, Solnet, & Breakey, 2014). Robinson proposes that interpretivist phenomenological approaches to research and knowledge in hospitality provide illuminating insights not facilitated by more conventional practices (Robinson et al., 2014).

3.2.2 Culinary Master, Apprentice and Recipe Based Pedagogy

With master-apprentice hierarchical structures and a firmly entrenched classical curriculum, culinary arts education provides the ideal environment for perpetuating the "ivory towers" of culinary knowledge and practice.

Culinary arts lecturer Jonathan Deutsch from Drexel University, Philadelphia (USA) raises critical questions of the dominant culinary learning methodology of master–apprentice learning through demonstration and replication. This methodology involves a “recipe-based pedagogy” where the chef teacher demonstrates a dish and the student replicates it for the lecturer’s approval. Deutsch claims that traditional culinary arts education devalues the individual and, in turn, their creative thinking process. The lack of questioning of the conformed modes of practice inhibits a student’s ability to become better prepared for the challenges they will face when having to think innovatively within the industry.

We produce good soldiers and even some generals, but no one who can talk their way out of the conflict altogether. We produce skilled technicians who can replicate a menu with efficiency and consistency but who struggle to adapt when the unexpected happens (Deutsch, 2014, p. 6).

Robert Mills (2007) from the International College of Management in Sydney is supportive of Duetsch’s position, challenging the role of rote learning in culinary education. Mills asks “do the techniques and learning methods of this approach still have a place in the training kitchen of a modern vocational college?” (2007, p. 266). Mills proposes that educators should be “focused on the development and implementation of innovative teaching techniques that include reflective practices” (2007, p. 271). Barry O’Mahony from Victoria University in Melbourne also encourages culinary educators to move their curricula from operational to critical enquiry as this will prepare students for the ever-changing market place. This will require new schools of thought and fundamental to this is the embracement of the culinary imagination (O’Mahony, 2007).

According to Deutsch the powers of uniformity and conformity deeply shape the culinary curriculum at the expense of ‘suppressing and controlling desires’ of the students and their passion for learning (2014, p. 3). Deutsch proposes that personal skills such as communication, problem solving, initiative and a sound work ethic are more important graduate attributes than technical skills as these “can be taught and developed over time” (Deutsch, 2014, p. 8). Deutsch is critical of the traditional model as it does not provide students with the opportunity to develop these skills. Accordingly, Drexel University has developed courses to meet these needs through designing learning activities that embody students and their desire to learn. Drexel University describe their course’s as fun, where “students are placed in situations necessitating they apply culinary, interpersonal, problem solving and critical thinking skills” (Deutsch, 2014, p. 8).

3.2.3 Reflexivity and Lifelong Learning

Supporting calls to embrace reflexivity is academic Joseph Hegarty (retired). Himself a noteworthy publisher on culinary pedagogy (Hegarty, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2011, 2014) focuses on the transition from vocational to cognitive higher education. Hegarty's scholarly position echoes that of others within the wider tourism and hospitality community (Ateljevic, Morgan, & Pritchard, 2013; Fullagar & Wilson, 2012; Tribe, 2002) and calls for higher education to emancipate itself of traditional universal truths and power structures and to rethink how we know what we know. Central to this liberation is critical reflexivity through reflective practice for both the teacher and the student. Teachers are being called to embrace critical pedagogy within their curricula to allow for different knowledge creations within hospitality and tourism teaching (Fullagar & Wilson, 2012). Within this call to change there is a radical reforming of the teacher-student learning model; where the teacher is the universal purveyor of knowledge and the student the passive learner (Fullagar & Wilson, 2012; Wilson et al., 2008). With current educational content offering only a few years of currency there is now more importance being placed on the role of reflectivity as a lifelong learning tool (Cooper, Hofheinz, & Purdy, 2007). The use of work-integrated learning allows students to explore critical perspectives and develop reflexive thinking skills further preparing them for lifelong learning (Fullagar & Wilson, 2012, p. 4).

Hegarty (2011) calls for critical reflection as a fundamental cornerstone for culinary excellence and lifelong learning beyond the academic classroom. Hegarty proposes that to lift culinary arts beyond being a craft, educators and students need to become reflective practitioners by studying their situations with a view of improving the quality actions within them. Hegarty advocates that students need to "learn how to learn" (2011, p. 56) and to become entrepreneurial citizens of the world with a sense of social and ethical responsibility to the planet that they operate within. In order to achieve this, Hegarty proposes that students need to develop cognitive skill sets utilizing both the "rational and spiritual imagination" (2011, p. 56). This will require a knowledge epistemology which values structured scientific processes while also nurturing the creative and cultural imagination of students. To enable this, Hegarty advocates that culinary arts lecturers do not need to "think our way into a new kind of living: rather, we live our way into a new kind of thinking." (2011, p. 64). Fundamental to this pedagogical transformation is that the "traditional mindset within the culinary schools" (2011, p. 60) will need to change. According to Hegarty the challenge in higher education is for reflexivity to be considered a legitimate knowledge source as it is based upon the construction of one's own realities and contains elements of objectivity. To effect these changes, culinary educators need to become reflexive ethnographers within

their institutes and apply self-analysis tools to question their own practices within their context (2011). Hegarty (2011) attests that this pedagogical approach will improve the chances of education becoming transformative and culturally responsive.

Like Hegarty, Sherlock and Williams (2014) propose that culinary arts education should be a staircase of pedagogy, andragogy and heutagogy. They believe that culinary education should be founded on the philosophy that students acquire knowledge through traditional pedagogy and understanding, cultivating and processing this knowledge through andragogy and finally developing autonomy through realization and heutagogy (Sherlock & Williamson, 2014). Underpinning their philosophical approach is the development of “professional and reflective skills developed through a structured educational process” (Sherlock & Williamson, 2014, p. 1110)

Also supporting the use of reflective frameworks in higher culinary education is Frank Cullen and Martin Mac Con Iomaire (Cullen, 2010; Mac Con Iomaire, 2008, 2003). They suggest that industry work placement needs to transition from sole opportunities for technical skill development to experiences to allow for self-identity formation. They attest that the role of work placement is to allow for student generated knowledge (Cullen, 2010) through the use of experiential and reflective practice (Martin Mac Con Iomaire, 2008). The culinary world is particularly applicable to this epistemology as “chefs realities are largely informed by their constructed experiences within an occupational community” (Robinson et al., 2014, p. 67).

Mac Con Iomaire is also a recognized award winning chef and is extremely critical of the working conditions and the cyclic culture of violence and bullying in professional kitchens. He advocates that to retain staff in these environments the culinary arts community needs to develop a new generation of educated chefs. Mac Con Iomaire suggests that by students developing and practicing reflexivity while on their work placement they will be better prepared in the future to break this violent cycle. This is due to reflexivity practices forcing students to think about the positive and negative aspects of their work placements with a view of improvement (Martin Mac Con Iomaire, 2008). The implementation of a strong mentoring partnership between DIT and the industry has begun the process of developing a new generation of chefs who are no longer “perpetuating the myth, modeling themselves on violent chefs, thereby maintaining a vicious circle of bullying” (2008, p. 3). To quote Mac Con Iomaire’s (2008, p. 14):

The philosophy of mentoring needs to be generalised into the wider culinary arts community in order to transform the nature of the kitchen into a nurturing environment.

It is through the concept of self-identity that students can think critically about the future culinarian that they want to be and what that means in terms of their approach to their leadership and professional practice (Cullen, 2010).

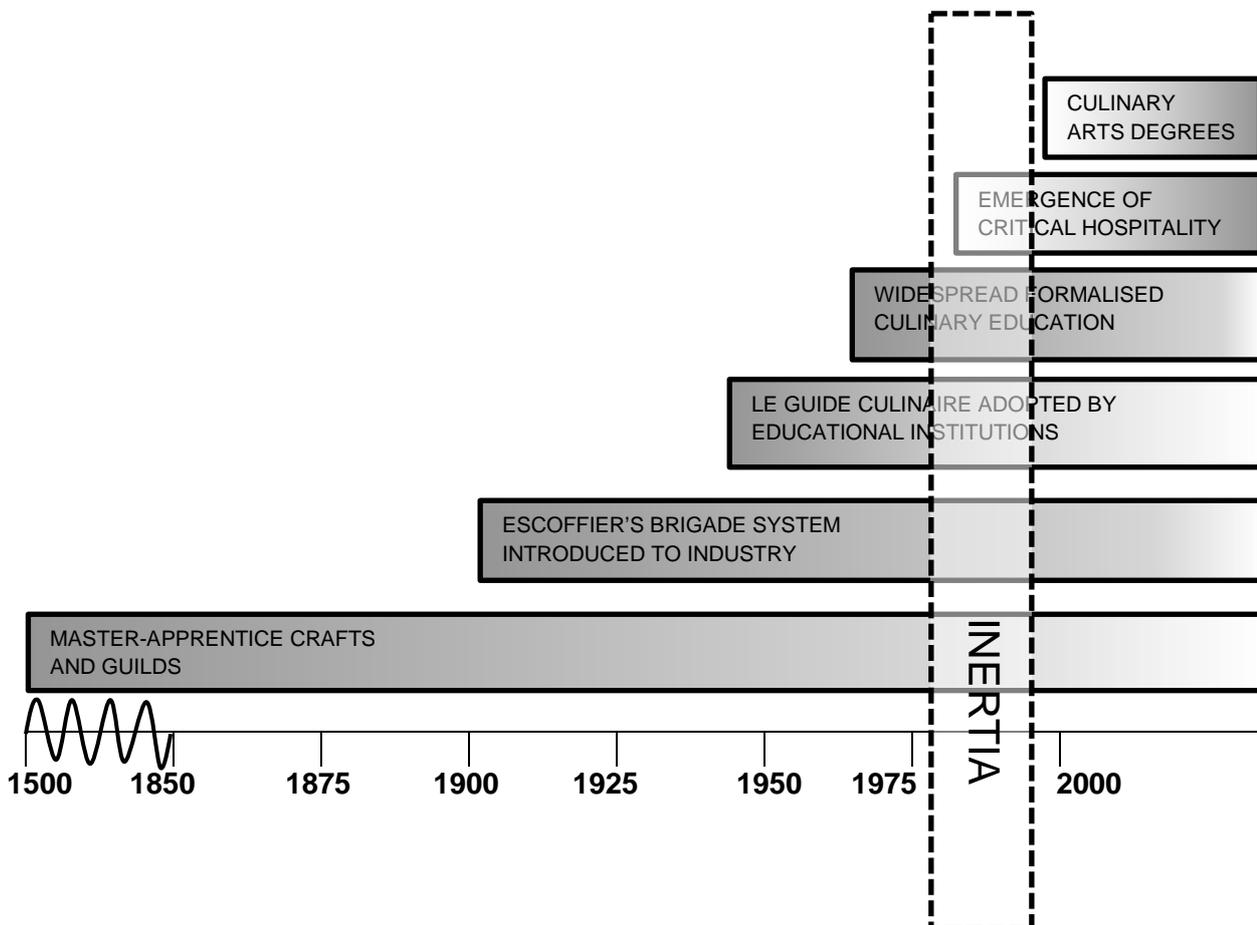
Like Drexel University, my own work at Otago Polytechnic challenges the traditional master–apprentice approaches to learning as this becomes limited by the knowledge of the master. Until recently culinary arts education in New Zealand was predominantly focused on competency based assessment and largely positioned within the polytechnic sector. In 2011 Otago Polytechnic commenced delivery of the first culinary arts degree in New Zealand and this program was the first anywhere to embrace design as a methodology of learning and practicing. Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA) students at Otago Polytechnic operate within an enquiry based framework which allows them to explore, experiment and evaluate their work and in turn create their own canons of knowledge. Supporting this framework is the embedding of 21st Century learning skills (Partnership for 21st Century Learning) which incorporate creative thinking, being a creator, communication and collaboration skills.

Utilising the methodologies of design, students explore their existing knowledge whilst integrating this with newly acquired self-determined information. In this learning environment the role of lecturer is transformed from the ‘master’ of knowledge to the facilitator of knowledge, allowing for the co-construction of knowledge for both student and teacher. Within this learning environment knowledge is constructed by learners in ways that allows it to be meaningful to them and the design problem that they are solving. Students then apply this knowledge, either individually or collaboratively, in practical ways and evaluate it through the feedback of others and themselves. The application of this design methodology allows for the experience to become a reflective learning opportunity and in turn a phenomenological construction of knowledge. The evaluation and reflection stage is an important aspect as it develops the student’s critical thinking skills with a long term aim of developing these so that they may transfer into all aspects of culinary life (Mitchell et al., 2013).

3.3 Pedagogical Inertia: Resistance to Change

This review of literature highlights that the culinary arts community of practice is powerfully structured around hierarchical cultures incorporating master-apprentice pedagogies. Since the 1990's and particularly since the adoption of degrees within culinary arts education there has been a growing voice of culinary academics who have questioned these structures and the ways in which knowledge is acquired and utilised by students. The research suggests that there are a number of elements present within the community of practice and educational frameworks that are reinforcing these cultures and in turn are acting as forms of inertia that prevent the widespread adoption of pedagogical change. Figure 3.2 identifies the development (over time) of these reinforcing power structures and their role in industry and education.

Figure 3.2 Culinary Arts Inertia to Pedagogical Change



Returning to the insight at the opening of this chapter (§ Insight Two: Selling the Illusion), the similarities between the Brasserie Flipp scenario and the pedagogy of culinary arts are evident. Within the environment of Brasserie Flipp, the power structures of the ambience, menu design and food service helped perpetrate the illusion that those commercially manufactured squid rings were the authentic product. These power structures within served as mechanisms that normalised customers' attitudes and expectations towards what they were actually consuming. As Figure 3.2 illustrates, culinary arts pedagogy also has a number of power structures in place that enable it to perpetuate the "normalised" behaviours of master-apprentice learning and hierarchical structures. Just as the guest at Brasserie Flipp challenged the establishment, the introduction of higher education to the culinary arts landscape, has led to the emergence of a critical debate into the education of its future chefs.

Furthermore, these power structures present challenges to those wishing to embrace the critical calls for change within the culinary arts community. In order to complete the pedagogical transition from master-apprentice knowledge formation to a self-determining and co-constructed methodology, the community of culinary arts must challenge - and at times question - the ultimate knowledge of its culinary masters. This raises questions relating to the power and control of knowledge, a subject which will be the focus of Chapter 4.

4 CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATION OF RELEVANCE TO CULINARY ARTS: KNOWLEDGE, POWER AND IDENTITY

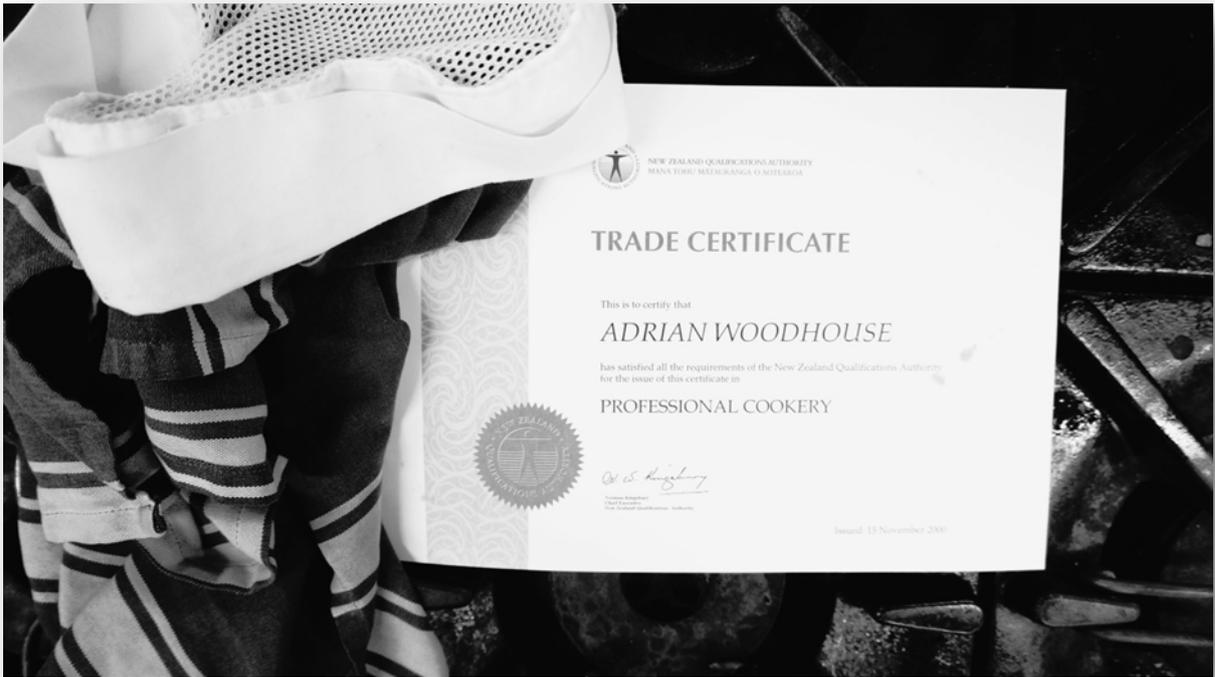


Image from personal collection

Insight Three: Book Smart vs Street Smart

It was 1994 and I had returned to Otago Polytechnic for my final year of full time study. The course was coming to an end with a work placement component before the summative assessments that would then qualify me as a trade certified chef. My placement was at Bell Pepper Blues a local award winning fine dining restaurant.

My first week on placement was intriguing as the chef was utilising the then popular Pacific Rim approach to designing dishes. It was a world apart from the traditional Eurocentric repertoire that I was taught at the polytechnic. During my placement the Sous Chef was leaving and various applicants applied for the job. In the end a chef from a restaurant in Christchurch was offered the position. The two head chefs knew each other through the community of fine dining. This is very much an old boy's network that operates on a high level of trust. It's extremely covert and powerful and dictates who you can work with and in what position within the network.

Just before the new Sous Chef was about to start he decided not to take the job. The years of pressure had gotten the better of him and he needed time out from the stress of fine dining kitchens. To my surprise I was offered the position but only on the condition I left my polytechnic studies and commenced work immediately. I spoke to my lecturers and they advised me that this was a great opportunity and to take up the offer. They explained to me that my education could be finished down the track at a more convenient time.

I flourished in the environment of Bell Pepper Blues as it rode the waves of fusion cuisine and the identification of an emerging New Zealand cuisine. In 1995 we entered the National Cervena Plates competition and 1996 we were successful in winning it. In the final cook-offs we were up against other leading chefs in the country and the experience deepened my connection to the fine dining community. By winning the competition my acceptance within the fine dining culinary community was fully legitimised. The media attention associated with winning such a competition meant that Bell Pepper Blues was in every food publication in the country. As the Sous Chef I had not only "become" a chef but I had actually become recognised nationally as one of the better chefs.

In late 1998 I decided that I needed to complete my formal culinary education and approached Otago Polytechnic looking for ways of doing so. They propositioned that I needed to complete the State-dictated practical assessment and theory examination. The theory test was effectively an assessment of the knowledge and application of classical dishes from the Practical Professional Cookery book. Dishes such as Pommes Delmonico: a potato dish of diced potato's cooked in milk or o'euf en gelee, poached eggs set in savory jelly with fresh herbs.

These classic French dishes where totally unrelated to what I was actually cooking in the industry but I rote learnt them anyway. Despite their lack of currency and relevance in the industry, these classical dishes had characteristics that had been defined over time and they were placed into a textbook, creating truths that could be tested. The dishes I was preparing in industry were novel and untested; and as such they were harder to classify and required interpretation. Knowledge is easier to test when it has defined certainties and not when it is subject to interpretation and subjectivity.

I achieved the top grade in the country for the theory exam in 1998.

The irony of my practical assessment was that I was required to cook a Cervena dish for my main course. Even though I had won a national competition I was still required to cook it in front of the assessors on the day. At the end of the practical assessment I had passed, but the certification of my knowledge was still not complete. I still needed to complete a work placement practical competency work log along with 6000 hours of practical experience.

The networks within the fine dining community had served me well and I was fortunate enough to work with some recognised chefs and get a number of head chef jobs as a result. One such job led me to Wellington where by now my food was now being classified by the media as sophisticated and "Jackson Pollock" influenced. It was in Wellington 2001 that I initiated the process of finalising the accreditation of my formal culinary education. By now I had lost my industry competency work log. When you work 60-80 hours a week, filling in a work log is the least of your concerns, never mind now actually being the head chef who is meant to sign off such competencies! I phoned the New Zealand Qualification Authority and explained my position. The man at the end of the phone was accommodating and explained that all I had to do was pay the \$150 fee and supply a couple of references and the process would be complete.

Eleven years after I had entered the professional kitchen I became a fully integrated member of the culinary community and a nationally certified chef. Both becoming a member of the community and being formally State certified had been taxing on me in their differing ways. My professional “being” was through my experiences within the professional community and the ‘official’ certification of my knowledge through state conformity and compliance. I had paid heavily for both; one in labour and the other in money.

4.1 Introduction

While Chapter 3 (see § 3.2) discusses the critical calls for change within culinary arts and its wider community, the critical questioning of the control of knowledge in society and its associated power is not new. In order for me to contribute new thought to this critical discussion, I have decided to explore the themes of knowledge, power and identity within my own experiences and practices of culinary education. This chapter will introduce these themes in two different parts.

The first of these will be a brief historical overview of the relationship between knowledge, power and societal evolution (§4.1.1). This is intended to provide the reader with an overview of the on-going human struggle that exists between those who control knowledge and how it can be controlled for personal gain.

The second part will be the introduction of the power, knowledge and identity theories from the critical theorists Apple, Bowles, Freire, Gintis and Illich (§ 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, 4.2.4, 4.2.5). It is these theories that I will utilise as a theoretical framework for my critical enquiry of culinary arts education in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.1.1 The History of Knowledge and Power

Philosophical thought and its ability to question human knowledge, reality and existence have underpinned Western philosophy since the work of the Greek philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle (Nussbaum & Long, 1988). Throughout the literary recording of cognitive development there has been a quest for humans to understand the keystones to their own existence. One of the earliest recordings of idealism and the struggles between *becoming* more human and philosophical critical thought can be traced to Plato’s *Allegory of the Cave*

and the *Book of the Republic* in which Plato (Plato & Cornford, 1945) discusses the effect of education and the lack of it on our nature.

Plato's Allegory of the Cave has been discussed, interpreted and disseminated by academics (Bloom, 1991; Mayhew, 1997; Plato & Cornford, 1945; Santas, 2008) and popular culture (Irwin, 2002) since its conception 2,500 years ago. It has been a key seminal work of idealist educational ideology with its moralistic and humanistic messages of education as an enabler of human liberation and emancipation (Vallée, 1990).

In the metaphorical narrative of *The Allegory of the Cave*, Plato presents his mentor Socrates describing a gathering of prisoners forcefully chained together and facing a blank wall in a dimly lit cave (Plato & Rouse, 2008). On the wall is a series of moving shadowy images and the occasional sound which the prisoners believe to be the reality of their world. In fact the images are just the shadows and the sounds of men and other living things walking past a series of burning fires behind the prisoners that are projected onto the wall in front of them. As these prisoners have spent their entire lives chained together and viewing the images on the wall they believe that this is the reality of human existence and knowledge. The story continues that one day a prisoner is released and forced to turn and see the fires fuelling the illusion of their lives. Eventually the prisoner is dragged from the cave and after an initial blindness from the sunlight they realise that the sun and its radiating beams is the true knowledge or the "sun of the good". Plato writes that it would initially hurt the prisoner's eyes and they would turn back to the darkness and the things which they were comfortable with as it was clearer than what was being shown to him. The sunlight in the allegory is representative of the new reality and knowledge that the freed prisoner is experiencing. Upon the prisoners return to the dark cave they are partially blinded again and disoriented as they readjust to the dark. Now they feel pity for their fellow prisoners as they try to explain the limitations of their knowledge and conceived realities but sadly the chained prisoners do not want to venture from the cave and to endure a similar fate of blindness observed by their peer (Plato & Rouse, 2008).

The story is a means which allows Plato to claim the role of education in human liberation. Plato urges society's philosophers to speak of the truths and to drag each person as far out of the cave as possible (Plato & Cornford, 1945). Even in this early postmodern era it is evident from Plato's allegory that there are fundamental themes of power and knowledge and their direct relationship to the education and domination of certain members of society. It is these key themes that I will explore in Chapters 5 and 6.

In Plato's allegory he suggests that being shackled as a prisoner is not only a mere physical act but a denial of ontological *being* through the deprivation of existentialistic enlightenment (Thomson, 2001). However as history has demonstrated the powering controls of the *truths* and its associated knowledge have not been solely at the disposition of the philosophies of the metaphysics but other drivers such as religion, technology and neoliberalism. Throughout the ages these have been critical in shaping and conditioning our notions of self-identity and the communities and societies that we operate within.

One cannot talk of the control of power and knowledge without bearing in mind the role of moral ideologies. An example of the co-existence of moral ideologies and education occurred in the Middle Ages in Europe. During this time the Church offered education to train and indoctrinate priest's into their religious philosophies and rituals (Fletcher, 1961). With time, the Church took on the dominant role of "the educator" through the use of the written word and civic public education. Children were taught obedience through reading and reciting the bible and its associated doctrine. They were instructed in plain "truths" that they could understand and interpret, such as how to regulate their manners and better their lives to allow for improvement in their faith (Lawson & Silver, 2013). In these monastic communities the power of religious and educational salvation served to benefit the Church as it bolstered the religious ranks while continuing to spread the ideologies of the Church.

However agencies of power are not immune to challenges to themselves. Advancement in technologies can threaten knowledge and its power structures. Again taking the Church example, while the Church dominated the written word up until the 1500's the introduction of the printing press altered the then structures of society (Lawson & Silver, 2013). The religious and political authorities and their accompanying power structures were threatened as the ease of knowledge and unrestricted ideas circulated throughout the middle classes and, in turn, broke educational domination of the literate elite (Emms, 2005). This infers that whether it is a book, radio, television or the internet, the control of these media and technologies has been critical in controlling *who* sees *what* knowledge and *how* they can access it. While this was an issue for the Church over 500 years ago, we still see the same tensions occurring today between open access information and copyright protected academic knowledge (Lidburd & Hjalager, 2013).

While moral ideology and technology are central cogs in the mechanism of power and knowledge, so are those of personal wealth and political control. Capitalism and politics were major juggernauts in the education of the working class of Great Britain during the Industrial Revolution (Gillard, 2011). The invention of new technologies such as the steam engine

freed workers from the everyday toils of working on the land, while new mega factories emerged in the Midland and North of England to accommodate a new vocational workforce. With this new workforce came vocational education to enable these farming labourers to be educated into productive factory labourers. With child labour a key aspect of these factories, education was now starting at a much earlier age and with a focus on education for commercial gain (Gillard, 2011). The following excerpt from Hadow (1926, p. 104) paints a picture of the role of vocational education at the time.

The children were taught reading and writing, geography and religion. Thirty of the older girls were employed in knitting, sewing, spinning and housework, and 36 younger girls were employed in knitting only. The older boys were taught shoemaking, and the younger boys prepared machinery for carding wool

As the above historical illustrations (§ 4.1.1) testify, the control of knowledge has been an integral facet of our human evolution since the time of Plato. In doing so they have presented philosophers with critical questions relating to the control of knowledge and the human benefits associated with it. Historical actions have led us to believe that education for the purpose of producing an effective societal workforce is a normalised way of thinking. However in the last forty years some philosophers and critical theorists have begun to challenge our educational discourse and its function in shaping the structures of our societies and the identities which exist within it.

4.2 The Rise of the Post Modern Critical Theorists

The 1970's saw the emergence of critical pedagogy as a social movement that embraces both education and critical theory (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). A fundamental role of critical theory is to challenge the ways in which schools and their educational offerings impact on the social, cultural and political lives of their students (21st Century Schools, N.D.). Shor defines (2012, p. 129) critical pedagogy as:

Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse.

Within a wider group of critical education theorists (including bell hooks, Jacques Derrida and Ira Shor), sits the critical positions held by Paulo Freire, Samuel Bowles, Herbert Gintis, Ivan Illich and Michael Apple. Between these critical theorists some of the most significant seminal texts have been written on the subject of education and power and have been instrumental in the formulation of academic critical discussion since their early publication.

The impact of these theorists work is evident in the number of academic citations their works have received. The following table outlines five of the key critical theory publications by these authors and the number of citations associated with each.

Figure 4.1 Critical Theorist’s Citations

Author	Year	Seminal Text	Citations*
Paulo Freire	1970	<i>Pedagogy of the Oppressed</i>	48,279
Ivan Illich	1971	<i>Deschooling Society</i>	4,762
Samuel Bowles,	1976	<i>Schooling in Capitalist America: Education reform</i>	5,270
Herbert Gintis		<i>and the contradictions of Economic Life</i>	
Michael Apple	1982	<i>Education and Power</i>	3,136
	1979	<i>Ideology and Curriculum</i>	5,719

*:Citations as per Google Scholar 5th July 2015

4.2.1 Paulo Freire: Cultural Invasion and Identity Formation

One of the early pioneers of the critical theory movement was Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (1970) who wrote the seminal text *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. His work commenced a critical conversation about the power relationships between teachers and students and the associated dehumanizing processes that is still on-going today (Darder, 2014). Freire proposes that critical education can be a means to engage learners in a praxis of learning that liberates them from the conformity of their world “Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it” (Freire, 1970, p. 60).

In particular Freire is critical of the learning environments in which *knowledge banking* is performed (Freire, 1970). The knowledge banking learning framework occurs when students are seen solely as vessels into which knowledge from teachers can be deposited (Freire, 1970). According to Freire the role of the teacher in this learning relationship is that of the “oppressor” and their role is to transform the minds of the students to the teacher’s dominant ideologies. He continues that creating a learning environment in which people become passive and adaptive to the views of the dominant ideologies, results in the oppressors emerging as the sole benefactors (Freire, 1970). To this end “the oppressed, whose tranquility rests on how well people fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it” (Freire, 1970, p. 57).

Instead, Freire proposes that students problematise their own lives in order to realise that they can achieve a different status. He suggests that both teacher and student need to engage in meaningful critical conversations within a problematised learning framework with both sharing an equal voice. For Freire, it should not be that the teacher is doing all of the dialogue as this would be knowledge banking, but both acting together in a mutual dialogue. Democracy and respect between teacher and learner are fundamental to dialogical learning and that mutual dialogue is an essential component of this. Accordingly Freire (1970, p. 15) says that

Society is rapidly making objects of us and subtly programming us into conformity to the logic of its system to the degree that this happens, we are also becoming submerged in a new "Culture of Silence" (Freire, 1970, p. 15).

Freire suggests that within these oppressive learning environments students do not think critically about their conditions. As such they become acquiescent to existing practices and conditions of the times, rather than constructing new means of critical thought to improve theirs and others lives. He proposes that individuals should form their own identities rather than have their identities formed for them. In this instance, identity formation is 'antidialogical' and is an act of cultural invasion. Accordingly "cultural conquest leads to the cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders" (1970, p. 122)'. However he continues that for cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential for the oppressed learner to be convinced of their inferiority. While Freire's (1970) book is critical of the role of cultural invasion and identity formation in education, the following year saw the publication of Ivan Illich's (1971) *Deschooling Society* which was to challenge our very notions of society's need for formal education at all.

4.2.2 Ivan Illich: Formalized Education as a Societal Consumable Commodity

In 1971 Ivan Illich wrote the book *Deschooling Society*. Illich's book is based upon the premise that Western Society has been schooled to believe that to learn; learners need to engage in, and become active consumers of formalised education. In his book, Illich introduces the concept of "societal deschooling" which is the ideology of releasing ourselves of our institutional needs for learning and to become dependent on ourselves for learning. Formalised education is challenged in the book as it packages knowledge into commodities which can be bought by willing consumers. Illich proposes that the schooling environment conditions people to accept that packages of knowledge developed by "technocratic"

institutes are necessary in life. Once this formalised knowledge has been consumed it becomes legitimized through grades and official certification. According to Illich (1971, p. 78):

Schools are designed on the assumption that there is a secret to everything in life; that the quality of life depends on knowing that secret; that secrets can be known only in orderly successions; and that only teachers can properly reveal these secrets.

Critical questions are raised in Illich's work of our dependence on formalised education for learning and he suggests we have lost our natural incentive to learn independently. Illich (1971, p. 39) proclaims that in formalised education:

Once the lesson is learned, people lose their incentive to grow independence: they no longer find relatedness attractive, and close themselves off to the surprises which life offers when it is not predetermined by institutional definition

Power and knowledge relationships underpin the work of Illich. In his book he proposes that the education system presents an illusion that the most significant learning in society correlates to learning undertaken from institutional teaching. To this end, Illich claims that formalised education serves only for the benefit of itself through its own advancements and purposes. In contrast Illich suggests that knowledge constructed outside of formalised learning is as valuable, if not more so at times, than that dictated in formalised education. This type of unformalised learning is described as an unhampered participation within a meaningful setting in which learners can be "with it", whilst formalised education is based upon students identifying their personal growth with planning and manipulation (Illich, 1971).

4.2.3 Ivan Illich: Education and Salvation

One of Illich's most poignant criticisms in *Deschooling Society* is the relationship between formalised education and salvation. Here he presents schools as the new world of religion, offering salvation to the poor through their rites of passage. Using the church metaphor, Illich proposes that due to teachers dictating where the energies should be placed on certain aspects of students learning, they assume the role of "custodian, preacher, and therapist" (Illich, 1971, p. 30). In the 'custodian' role the teacher acts as the master of ceremonies, arbitrating students through the rituals and obligations of academia. In the role of 'preacher', Illich states that teachers act as moralists in indoctrinating students into what is right and wrong not only in learning but in society as well; hence the teacher becomes the substitute for parents, God or the state. And finally in the 'therapist' role the teacher delves into the

personal lives of the students believing that they will assist them with their growth, but when combined with roles of custodian and preacher roles Illich suggests that this can allow a dominant view to be forced onto a student.

4.2.4 Bowles and Gintis: Social Structures and Egalitarian Access to Knowledge

In the 1970's, while Freire was asking critical questions about the relationship between learning and becoming fully human, Bowles and Gintis (1976) were asking questions of the relationship between school and social reproduction. With the rise in vocational education in post war America, Bowles and Gintis wrote their groundbreaking book *Schooling in Capitalistic America* which challenged the work of progressive education (Rofes & Stulberg, 2004). The major claim which these neo-marxist theorists propose, is that indirectly the education system reproduces the social and hierarchical relationships that exist within the vocational workplaces of America.

Their work challenges the “hidden assumptions” of progressive education in that it should be integrative, egalitarian and allows for students to develop their own interests and fully realised potential. Bowles and Gintis (1976) developed the concept of the “Meritocratic Ideology” which is based upon the assumption that the workplace is based upon a hierarchy of skills and cognitive ability and the ownership of these qualities will result in financial and social reward. With each year of schooling there is the development and evaluation of these skills, so that students can be prepared for a working role suitable to their skills which have been developed in school (Rosenberg, 2004).

The structure of social relations in education not only introduces the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social class identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 131).

However, Bowles and Gintis (1976) also found that the correlation between education and income did not always transpire and social hierarchy (and its associated social and cultural capital) were more likely to be determining factors for achieving higher income.

Fundamental to their work is the notion of the “Correspondence Principle” and its claims that the learning and acceptance of society's social relationships are more at play than the cognitive development (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Like workplaces, they propose that the school environment exhibits attributes of inequality, hierarchy and authoritarianism. Within

the correspondence principle they propose three specific facets: 'legitimation', 'acclimatisation' and 'stratification'.

'Legitimation' is the process by which repeated student contact with the education system perpetuates the ideology that students become socialised to their expected place in society. The students become accepting of the role and function of their lives in society as a result of this legitimation process (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

According to Bowles and Gintis (1976), 'acclimatisation' is the notion that students display certain characteristics based on their expected social and economic position, thus fostering social relationships in the education environment where, for example, such students are automatically subordinate to the authority of the teacher. Similar to Freire's (1970) position, Bowles and Gintis (1976) propose that schools foster these types of personal developments such as dominance and subordinancy. Students who display actions such as punctuality, persistence, reliability and conformity are rewarded academically while creativity and independence are discouraged.

'Stratification' is the principle that students from certain demographic and social backgrounds are prepared for different positions within the social and economic hierarchy (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). These differing student backgrounds present non equalitarian systems and lead students to resign themselves to their rightful places in the workforce.

4.2.5 Michael Apple: Legitimate Knowledge and the Hidden Curriculum

Michael Apple (1982) wrote the book *Education and Power*. This work followed on from the critical theme of "legitimate knowledge" that he introduced in his previous work in 1979, *Ideology and Curriculum*. The three main critical themes to emerge from Apple's work are that of 'social reproduction', 'hegemony', and the 'hidden curriculum'. Like other Marxist theorists (e.g. Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Illich, 1971), Apple (1982) aligns with the position that schools are agents for social reproduction. Apple claims that schools are distribution systems for one's social class and economic trajectory. As such, schools operate in two fundamental ways, as: 1) 'productive apparatuses', and; 2) 'reproductive apparatuses'. Within the 'productive' context, Apple (1982) sees schools as producing technical knowledge and associated ideologies that are imbued with the principles of the economy, the State and the school. These forms of technical knowledge become referred to as "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1984) and provide schools with a dominant position of defining what is high status and 'legitimate' knowledge (Apple, 1982). Apple is critical of how the education system divides this legitimate knowledge into units of capitalistic value which then become cultural

commodities in an education marketplace. According to Apple (1982, p. 38) the educational system associated with this knowledge, allows schools to teach the “norms, values, dispositions and culture that contribute to the ideological hegemony of the dominant group”. For Apple (1979, p. 63)

Schools do not only control people; they also help control meaning. Since they preserve and distribute what is perceived to be ‘legitimate knowledge’—the knowledge that ‘we all must have,’ schools confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups. But this is not all, for the ability of a group to make its knowledge into ‘knowledge for all’ is related to that group’s power in the larger political and economic arena

In particular, Apple (1982, p. 19) asks the critical question: “how may official knowledge represent the dominant interests in society?”. Apple (1982) claims that the school acts as the filter between the home and labour market by deciding what is ‘normal’ or ‘deviant’ behaviour and how these behaviours correlate to the needs of the working economy.

Apple’s work is interwoven with the work of sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu. Apple draws heavily on the notion of cultural capital and the distinction of taste as forms of social control through its interrelations on the student’s curricular studies and associated pedagogy. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) proposes that “tastes” are socially conditioned and are a reflection of the hierarchical domination of certain sectors of society. Thus for Bourdieu “taste” becomes a power tool to differentiate the legitimate from the illegitimate. According to Bourdieu (1984) the cultural, educational and linguistic worlds are areas of struggle for legitimate knowledge and at the heart of these is the school which perpetuates the dominant ideologies. The use of symbolic capital in the form of qualifications, awards and honours serves as agents of power within formalised education and its quest to legitimatise its knowledge offerings.

For Apple (1993) it is these dominant tastes within the education system that count as legitimate knowledge. More importantly he queries who is empowered to teach this legitimate knowledge and what amounts to a successful portrayal of having learnt this knowledge. For Apple (1993) this control of legitimate knowledge is a way in which dominance and sub-ordination are reproduced in society.

Apple (1993) also introduces the notion of the “hidden curriculum” and ‘correspondence theory’. Correspondence theories imply that the behavioral characteristics, working traits, skills and dispositions that an economy requires are embedded in the social interactions

within student's schooling. In effect the student learning experience mirrors the working life that students will expect to encounter when they leave education. In particular, Apple focuses on the hidden curriculum as a means to incubate habits of work such as submission to authority and time-keeping.

4.2.6 Michel Foucault: The Examining Gaze of Education

As illustrated in this chapter, the work of Apple, Bowles, Freire, Gintis and Illich raised critical questions of the role and impact of education on learners and the societies they serve in. However these pedagogical critical theorists were not alone in challenging the relationship between power and knowledge. Philosophers such as Michel Foucault (1972) (who is not usually referred to as a critical theorist) have also examined the role of power and knowledge and its impact on selected members of society.

While Foucault is not considered to be a critical theorist, he is a respected historian and philosopher whose work has impacted across multiple aspects of society's interactions with hierarchical structures. Foucault's (1972, 1973, 1977, 1988) work is broader than the previous critical theorists as his focus is on the power structures that exist within the wider aspects of society such as religion, medical care and the military as well as education. For Foucault, power is a relationship and not an entity and is the exercise of a vision by one dominant group (Foucault, 2002). The social controlling of students through the structures of school and the examining gaze of teachers is one of a number of fundamental philosophical perspectives of his work. In 1963 Michel Foucault introduced the term "the gaze" in his book *Birth of the Clinic*. This term was to be explored further in relation to normalized behavior through self-surveillance in 1977 in the book, *Discipline and Punishment*. In *Discipline and Punishment* Foucault (1977) analyses punishment in its social context in order to examine how changing power relations affect punishment. Foucault proposes that observation and the "gaze" act as instruments of surveillance and power over others. Foucault proposes that disciplinary power is present when the following three factors are present; hierarchical observation, normalising judgment and examination.

To illustrate this concept, Foucault (1977) utilises criminology as an example. Foucault (1977) describes *Betham's Panopticon* which was a conceptual Victorian viewing tower designed for controlling prisoners behaviors while incarcerated. The tower was designed to be placed into the middle of a circular structure surrounded by celled prisoners. Its designers proposed that because the prisoners never knew when they were being watched they would eventually normalise their behaviors to that required of the prison to avoid receiving punishment. The Panopticon Tower was a move away from the dungeon imprisonment system, which at the

time was a physical means to alter the behaviour and actions of its prisoners. It is through the Panoptican metaphor that Foucault introduces the concept of “the gaze” and self-surveillance as a form of social control. Foucault (1977) further proposes that schools (and other hierarchical institutes) operate forms of “examinational gaze” on their students to control what is deemed acceptable behaviour.

The workshop, the school, the army were subject to a whole micro penalty of time (lateness, absence's, interruptions of tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence), of behavior (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body (incorrect attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness) (Foucault, 1977, p. 178).

Foucault (1977) also discusses the term ‘bio power’ which is associated with the examining gaze of the expert. Foucault argues that those who are positioned as experts act as the judge and juror of what is deemed normal and abnormal behaviours. In turn those who rebel against these structures are outcast from society. For Foucault, knowing within the education system that your actions are being watched and assessed against metrics of what has been deemed acceptable and normalized behavior, allows for a mass control of thoughts and actions. Fundamentally the pedagogical concept underlying Foucault’s gaze theory is the notion that students must accept what is deemed structurally as normalized actions and behaviors or their life will be difficult.

4.3 A Critical Review of Plato’s Allegory

By revisiting Plato’s allegory in light of these more recent critical theorists we can now put a new lens on the metaphor. A critical review of Plato’s allegory by the above critical theorists would ask a series of questions still relevant to our current times. In the allegory the fires are constantly burning to create the illusion of reality for the prisoners. But who keeps these fires fuelled and what is their motive for doing so? It could be suggested the bourgeois fuel these fires through their necessity for social and economic control over the oppressed working class (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Freire, 1970). The fires could be fuelled by the state and the academy and they could be utilising the objects to send overt messages that these images are the only true images or realities in life (Apple, 1982).

Some may ask the question: do the prisoners actually perceive themselves as prisoners? Are they actually physically chained or are their chains socially constructed? (Foucault, 1977). Maybe the prisoners unconsciously sit down and shackle themselves and take their rightful place within the line of fellow prisoners, schooled to believe that such a pathway is

the meaning of their existence (Illich, 1971). Maybe their fellow prisoners are telling them to sit down and stare at the images, for to do so will result in a more favourable position within the shackled line up (Apple, 1982). What factors determine which prisoners are freed, why are they privileged over their peers?

As I refer back to the insight at the beginning of this chapter (Insight Three: Book Smart vs Street Smart) it now becomes evident that the legitimization of my own culinary knowledge was being controlled by the State. The State was telling me to look at the images on the cave wall as this was the “legitimate” knowledge in life. Meanwhile I had ventured from the darkness of the cave only to realise that true culinary knowledge (from the “sun of the good”) existed in the community of practice.

While Plato’s Allegory of the Cave has acted as a stimulus and catalyst for the critical thought that underpins this enquiry, it is however not its primary focus. In the next chapter I intend to turn the critical lens from the above theorists into the paradigm of culinary arts education and explore the way in which knowledge can be controlled in the formalised educational journey of the culinary arts student. To borrow a phrase from critical theorist Ira Shor (1996) I intend this enquiry to be a “rainbow in the cave” of culinary arts education through images from the “sun of the good” and not the masters of the fire.

5 THE ROLE OF THE PROSPECTUS AND THE FRANCOPHILE CULINARY CURRICULUM

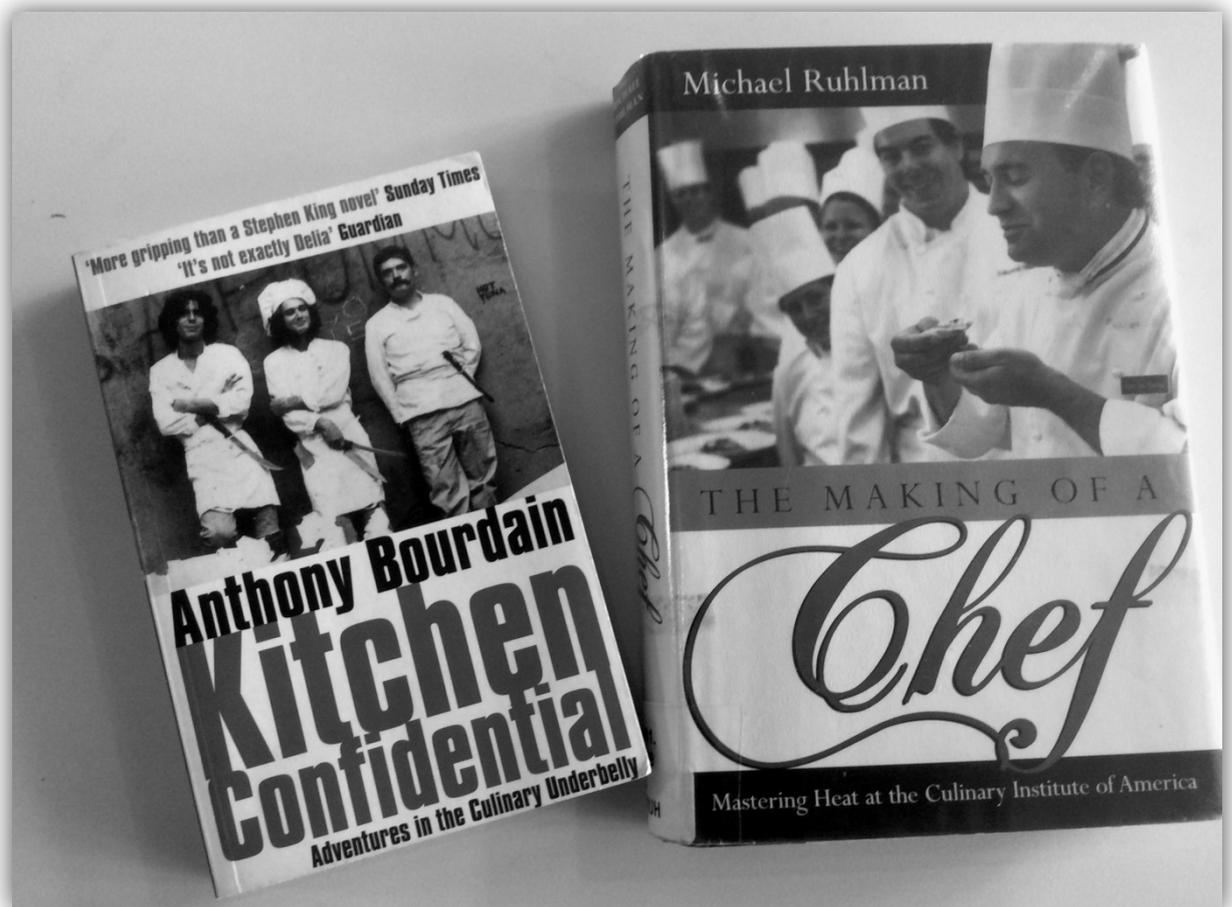


Image from personal collection

Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds

When I was sixteen I got my first job in a commercial kitchen at the Shoreline Hotel in Dunedin. It was the early 1990's and the menu was a staple of grilled meat, seventies retro and just about everything else that you could drop into a deep fryer. I worked for no pay for three months just so that I could get some industry experience to improve my chances of studying to be a chef at Otago Polytechnic. In those days you would automatically be turned down on the first attempt at culinary college as it was a test to see if you were determined enough to survive or just some dreamer who had nothing better to do with their time.

I loved working in the Shoreline kitchen with the adrenaline rush of service and crass banter amongst the chefs. The kitchen was its own little secluded world with its own language, customs and rituals. I really looked up to the head chef Scotty, for he had taken me under his paternal wing and spent extra time training and mentoring me in basic kitchen practices and techniques. Each week I asked him to fill in a notebook with the tasks that I had completed and would get him to duly sign it. It would become my evidence that I had spent time in industry and was worthy of a place on the catering course at Otago Polytechnic.

Finally the day came for me to have my interview for a position on the programme. I was as nervous as hell but I thought I had prepared myself well. The staff member interviewing me took a look at my CV and asked a few random questions about my favourite dishes to cook. I responded with something "a la" as I wanted to sound informed and intellectual enough for the programme. Later that day I got the phone call that I was accepted onto the programme; it all seemed a little too easy.

I told Scotty of my acceptance and he shook my hand as a proud father would his son. He explained that I would love the dishes, flavours and new techniques that the programme would introduce to me. It would be as rewarding for me as it was for him and for the next two months Scotty would enlighten me with descriptions of the dishes that he prepared while he was an apprentice at college. His stories of college were that of a utopian world of freshly churned ice cream and thick luscious Crème Anglaise. It sounded magical and was a distant place from the glorified pub grub that I was currently cooking.

My first week in the kitchens at college was foreign to me. Most of the lecturers were European and all the kitchen language was in French. The first technique that I was to do was to cut a chiffonade of lettuce. I felt comfortable with the task as I prepared lettuce this way for the shrimp cocktails at work. I was scorned while I was preparing it as some of my cutting skills were “industry cowboy” according to the lecturer. I was told to “slow down and stay focused and there might be a chance that you will become a real chef”. Of course the lecturers “must be right” because they came from Europe and the curriculum food we were preparing was European-focused. Even the cookbook we operated from had a picture of an English dressed crab on its cover.

That week I was very mindful of my actions in class and slowed all my work down to develop the “correct” cutting technique. I was also now thinking that the Shoreline was actually a pretty crappy establishment and the chefs I once admired were now greasy spoon cooks.

At the end of the week I returned to the Shoreline Hotel to complete my weekend shift. I walked into the kitchen and started to cut the lettuce for the shrimp cocktail, now much more mindful due to my new learnings. As I did so, Scotty walked into the kitchen. I expected him to ask me about my week at college but he didn't. Instead he slowly turned to me and raised his head and said “move your arse boy, you're not at Wally World now”. I then realised that I was a pawn in the differing worlds of formal and informal education and that I had better learn to be quiet and adapt to both if I was to survive in either world.

5.1 Introduction

The above insight typifies the reflection on the new learning that I have commenced since the beginning of this academic journey. As I have explored new theoretical perspectives, I have had the opportunity to look back at my own culinary learning journey and make sense of it through a new critical lens. While it has been twenty years since the completion of my own formal culinary education, the hallmarks of a Francophile culinary curriculum, hierarchical structures and the powers of uniformity and conformity are still largely at play in culinary arts education (Deutsch, 2014).

I now intend to refocus my critical lens back onto the landscape of culinary education and explore it through new perspectives. My culinary insights have conveyed my personal story of applying for formalized culinary education (§ Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds), my experiences within the learning environment (§ Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds) and the legitimisation and certification of my official knowledge by the State (§ Insight Three: Book Smart vs Street Smart). It is through these student experiences that I now wish to re-examine more closely the relationship between power and knowledge in culinary arts education in the 21st Century and address the critical question: *“What are the underpinning pedagogies that inform culinary arts teaching practices?”*

While culinary pedagogy as an academic field of enquiry is still emerging, I intend this exploration to build on the work of my fellow culinary academics by investigating the everyday activities that culinary teaching staff engage in. My critical examination is not to be seen as the “truth” but as a phenomenological experience which, like Robinson et al (2014) suggest, may form an epistemology of knowledge from which other critical perspectives may be built upon.

5.2 The Culinary Education Journey

Chef Definition : a professional cook who usually is in charge of a kitchen in a restaurant
: a person who prepares food for people to eat (Merriam-Webster, n.d)

The commencement of an academic journey for a potential culinary student usually begins with them looking through an institutional prospectus for potential programmes of study. These visually stimulating brochures are marketing tools developed by educational institutions to promote their offerings and in turn recruit students into potential programmes. Primarily they inform the potential student of the programme entry requirements, learning expectations, learning packages and potential job prospects. In many ways they are similar to a travel brochure which highlights the experience and value that the student, the consumer, will extract from the journey. While every institute’s prospectus is different, it is not unusual to find stories of students happily interacting in their learning environments, successful working graduates and notable teaching and professional practice accolades associated with the teaching staff. In effect this potential first media contact with an educational institute is a mechanism for perpetuating dominant hegemonic ideologies (§ 4.2.5), the stratification of learners (§ 4.2.4) and the legitimisation of institutional knowledge (§ 4.2.2, 4.2.5).

The purpose of this critique is to illustrate how these hegemonic ideologies are subliminally presented to students in innocent ways. It is through the critical examination of these institutional artifacts, that we can explore questions of the control of knowledge (§ 4.2.1,4.2.2,4.2.4), the under-pinning dominant ideologies (§ 4.2.5) and the consequences of these.

5.2.1 The Institutional Prospectus

For the purpose of this critical enquiry into the institutional prospectus I have chosen the 2016 Otago Polytechnic prospectus as my enquiry medium. Like many other prospectuses, it contains images of chefs in freshly pressed white uniforms, adorned with beautifully folded neckerchiefs (see figures Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2, Figure 5.3) students harvesting from the garden (Figure 5.1) while others are working in a happy environment (Figure 5.2) or preparing pastry dishes (Figure 5.3). There are also sections dedicated to an overview of the variety of cookery programmes on offer from introductory certificates and intermediate diplomas through to bachelor degrees.

Figure 5.1 Students harvesting from the gardens



Figure 5.2 Students working in the kitchen



Figure 5.3 A student preparing a tuile biscuit*



Figure 5.4 A classic French charlotte



*Images are from 2016 Otago Polytechnic prospectus Parson, H. (2015). Otago Polytechnic Programme Guide: BJBall Publishers. Pg36-39

Within Otago Polytechnic there are differing culinary educational and pedagogical offerings for students. The prospectus declares that the introductory certificate programme will offer the skills to become a competent junior chef. The following excerpt is taken from the level 3 basic cookery course description and describes the learning (Otago Polytechnic, 2015, p. 35)

Learn the fundamental cookery techniques to prepare, cook and present a range of basic dishes using products commonly used in the industry. Health and safety, effective communication, professional customer service and standard commercial kitchen operating procedures are also covered.

While at the other end of the spectrum, the Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA) programme offers the student a diverse range of career outcomes from chef to artisan producer kitchen manager, food journalist or photographer (food media) or teacher:

This advanced, applied degree will provide you with the knowledge, tools and techniques that will increase your employment potential in the professional Culinary Arts. With an emphasis on creativity and problem solving, you can focus on one of five specialties: Restaurant/Hotel Chef, Artisan Producer, Management, Media and Technology, or Tertiary Teaching.(Otago Polytechnic, 2015, p. 36)

Similar to other international culinary programmes (Deutsch, 2014; Woolcock, 2011) the certificate programme is taught via master-apprentice pedagogy and adopts a technique-

commodity based practice methodology. The programme has clearly defined learning objectives and these have been developed for the purpose of gaining skills for an entry level chef position.

Meanwhile, the BCA programme is taught through an enquiry-based design methodology and has a heavy focus on student autonomy and future-focused 21st Century skill set development (Mitchell et al., 2013). The BCA learning framework reflects the critical turn within the sector (§ 3.2) and embraces creativity, problem solving and reflectivity as fundamental tools for the development of adaptive and future-focused culinarians (Deutsch, 2014; Hegarty, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2013; O'Mahony, 2007). As such, the BCA programme and learning environment is devised in such a way as to prepare students for the changing world whilst equipping them with the necessary tools to navigate these future landscapes. Underpinning the BCA programme is a set of transferable cognitive tools to enable students to think critically about their actions and to provide them with options in the future. Skills that have been identified by the academy as being essential for practicing in the future (§ 3.2.3).

In terms of entry into the programmes, BCA students are required to have successfully completed the State-regulated higher education academic requirements, while the certificate programme is open entry. Therefore for a potential student to gain academic entry into the BCA, it would have required them to have succeeded in the secondary school system prior to their tertiary studies. In turn, to have access to formalised culinary education that values the cognitive development as equally as practical application, the student would need to have conformed, adapted and succeeded in the conventional State-regulated school system (§ 4.2.4).

5.2.2 Critical Consequences of Access to Higher Education

The critical issue here is that, while higher education in culinary arts has been developed to foster the intellectual ability of the culinary work force (Hegarty, 2001), the role of the state still functions as a driver of the stratification of knowledge (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). It is through the intervention of the regulatory controls of the State, that a student and their potential access to higher cognitive knowledge can be strongly influenced by their conformity to State dictated academic achievement principles.

Exploring deeper within the course descriptors there is also evidence of what Apple (1982) would describe as social reproduction. According to Apple access to knowledge can have an indirect impact on the social reproduction and social identity of learners. The prospectus

suggests that BCA students with their skills of creativity and problem solving are portrayed as the leaders and thinkers within the practice. The BCA programme offers access to knowledge that will prepare students for a career as a creative artistic chef or a professional such as an artisan producer, manager, media personality or teacher.

The Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme allows students to learn in a creative, flexible and collaborative environment within a culture that promotes and supports culinary driven entrepreneurial opportunities. Specifically the programme aims to equip students with the design tools, techniques and competence required to work in their chosen career path within the extremely broad field of professional culinary art (Mitchell et al., 2013, p. 254).

Meanwhile, the certificate students are portrayed as the mere workers through their application of their practical skills in a commercial kitchen. As Bowles and Gintus (1976) would propose this repeated contact with education helps to legitimise students' thinking that failing in the conventional educational system validates their role as workers as opposed to the thinkers in society. This could be viewed as an act of the hidden curriculum as discussed by Apple (1982). The potential consequence of this social stratification in culinary arts, is that students on certificate programmes could be less likely to re-engage in higher education in the future and potentially could view themselves as low skilled workers for life. This claim is supported by Cam Woolcock's study (2011) into level 3 commercial cookery lecturers and students in Australia. His research findings indicated that due to the lack of future-focused and career planning skills on certificate programmes, many chefs exiting the industry were more inclined to take jobs as unskilled labourers, just to escape the harsh realities of the commercial cookery world (Woolcock, 2011). This would suggest that the link between possible social stratification and identity is potentially present within the offerings of the culinary arts educational framework.

5.3 Culinary Images and the Media

I now return to Figures 5.1-5.4 (above). As discussed previously, one of the students (see Figure 5.1 Students harvesting from the gardens) is engaged in the activity of picking vegetables from the institute's edible gardens. This is reminiscent of popular food media celebrities such as Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall relaxing in his garden at River Cottage, Jamie Oliver happily picking thyme from his apartment herb window box or Rick Stein purchasing fish from the local fishmonger.

The other images are of students smiling and laughing with each other, radiating a sense of fun and energised enthusiasm within their workplace. There is another image (see Figure 5.3) of a student preparing a classical French tuile biscuit and yet another picture of a classical French product (see Figure 5.4). These images should not be a surprise to us, as western culinary education is firmly entrenched within the foundations of French chef Escoffier (Deutsch, 2014). You will also observe in the images that the students are dressed in French chef uniforms, manifesting notions of tradition and professionalism.

While at first these images appear innocent, I would like to examine them more closely as they act as symbols of cultural ideology. In fact, these images presented within the prospectus only speak of a selected perspective of culinary attire and approach to cuisine. These images portray a utopian lifestyle and the uniform and approach to cuisine is from a hegemonic French perspective. I would suggest that these images do not reflect all of the perspectives of the culinary community.

5.3.1 Lifestyle Realities

In 1990 Marco Pierre White released the book *White Heat* and subsequently it has gone on to become a seminal cookbook for the culinary industry (Paulo, 2015). For the first time its black and white images by photographer Bob Clarke revealed the harsh realities of professional kitchens in haute cuisine restaurants. Anthony Bourdain described that, when initially opening the cookbook, it was the first time in his culinary career that he saw a media image of a chef that he recognized (see image Figure 5.5 White smoking after serviceHe writes:

We didn't have time to be happy. What we had time for was work and stress. Marco, unlike any chef we'd ever seen, in any cookbook ever, looked stressed. It was carved into his face. Look! He's smoking, leaning up against the kitchen wall, pulling on that cigarette as if he's trying to suck that whole thing down in one go. We knew that feeling. We knew how that cigarette tasted. We were grateful to finally see a chef who admitted to stress and exhaustion like us (Bourdain as cited in Paulo, 2015).

Many years after the publication of *White Heat* being a chef is still highly stressful (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007) ,contains elements of dirty work (Fine, 2008) and has a high staff burn out rate (Woolcock, 2011). As Marco Pierre White once said "I swear it's the job that has carved my face. It's the hours, the stress and the pressure. It's not me trying to look like

this” (1990, p. 44). To show these images of stressed and dirty workers to potential students would surely place doubt in their minds as to whether this is a suitable choice of industry for them. It is through the selection of utopian lifestyle images that educational institutes have the power to control the honest representations of the realities of many of the working lives of chefs for its potential students. This raises ethical issues in relation to role of educational marketing and the products it promotes.

Figure 5.5 White smoking after service



Figure 5.6 White cleaning his kitchen



Images retrieved from Clarke, B. (2000). *White Heat*. Private Collection.

5.3.2 How One Should Dress

These student images presented in the prospectus speak of classic French tradition. Otago Polytechnic is not alone in adopting these ideologies. The cover of Michael Ruhlman's (1997) autobiography into his own culinary education at the Culinary Institute of America portrays similar images of chefs in traditional uniforms (see image on right hand side of page 47) and contains personal accounts of preparing classic French dishes from scratch. The connection of the French chef uniform and bourgeois cuisine seems from its designer Marie-Antoine Carême, a celebrity chef who cooked for the royalty of Europe in the nineteenth century (Kelly, 2005). It is the same uniform that the contestants on *Master Chef* wear and the same uniform that its judges (such as Gordon Ramsey, Michael Roux and Josh Emmett) adorn. We also see these chef's uniforms extensively utilised in the sector of haute cuisine; which is the sector of cuisine that is often associated with accolades such as Michelin Stars and the

World's Top 50 Best Restaurant awards. As such the chef uniform has become a recognisable aesthetic of culinary knowledge and identity. Within education and the media these French chef uniforms act as symbols of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984) enabling the perpetration of the French culinary structure as legitimate "high status" culinary knowledge within society. Emms (2005) refers to the use of these French ideologies as the "French Condition". She goes on to say "the French methodology being the selling point (i.e. the branding) is used to promote various chefs, restaurants, hotels, tertiary courses and culinary tourism" (Emms, 2005, p. 104).

According to Apple (1982) it is these dominant cultural tastes within the education system that counts as legitimate knowledge. Therefore knowing how to prepare food from a Francophile perspective is considered legitimate knowledge in the formalised education of the culinary arts. It is through the power relationships of the media and education that their dominant portrayal of what it means to be a culinarian is reinforced. Those who do not conform in uniform or in their approach to fresh cuisine are shunned from the public eye in the institutional prospectus. A student who chooses not to conform in dress sense would simply not be chosen for the prospectus, whereas those who have conformed are featured.

In Ben Shewry's book (2012) *Origin*, he discusses being lined up at the beginning of each day at catering college to have his chef uniform inspected by his lecturers. Illich (1971) is critical of such actions in education because the institution acts as the moral judge and juror and decides how a chef should act (in this case how a chef student should dress). Due to the differing sectors within the culinary profession there are varying ways of dressing. These range from bandanna's and baseball caps to cover the head, through to smocks, tee shirts and overall's to cover the body. It is similar to the hip hop artist and their "bling", the heavy metal singer and their black tee shirt or the concert pianist in their wing tail suit, how a community of practice dresses signifies the values and ideologies it adheres to.

One might ask the question "where are the images of tattooed student chefs cooking in their tee shirts and baseball caps?" These chefs do exist in culinary practice and are leaders within the culinary community. No one would question the ability or integrity of respected chef Danny Bowien from Mission Street Chinese (MAD, 2012).

Figure 5.7 Chef Danny Bowien of Mission Street Chinese



Image sourced from Smith, H. (2010). Danny Bowien. Mission Local.org: Mission Local.

Where are the images of the chefs throwing handfuls of instant stock powder into dishes to give them that much needed umami boost? And where are the images of the chefs exhausted at the end of a 14 hour day scrubbing the hot stoves (see Figure 5.6) only to repeat the process the next day? So long as formalized culinary education continues to follow and present to the public the hierarchical and curriculum structures of Escoffier's classical brigade system, Western culinary education will continue to perpetuate the hegemonic position that legitimate culinary knowledge comes from adopting a classical French position.

5.3.3 Lecturer Influence

The 2016 Otago Polytechnic prospectus is different to other years as it is the 50th anniversary of the institute and as such it features a birthday cake designed by a Bachelor of Culinary Arts (BCA) graduate on its front cover (Figure 5.8). The cake is modernist cuisine-inspired and highlights the innovative nature of the BCA programme. In doing so, the Institute and the School (Food Design Institute) hope to entice potential students into the exciting world of professional cookery. But why was that graduate selected to design and prepare the cake?

I had three graduates who could have undertaken the task. The first graduate would likely have prepared a classical enrobed fruit cake with petit flowers made of royal icing. This would have highlighted the respect for tradition in both gastronomy and technique. The second graduate would likely have prepared a comfort home-style cake, with lush layers of decadent fillings and a velvety frosting to top. This would have showcased approachability and the trend towards the casualisation in dining movement (Naylor, 2014). The third

graduate, and subsequently the one who was chosen, reinvented a classic Bombe Alaska which incorporated the Institute's branding and featured a Modernist plating technique of dry ice.

Figure 5.8 Cover of the 2016 Otago Polytechnic Programme Guide



To understand the thinking, I need to explain the situation a little more clearly. I was approached by our marketing department to select and commission a graduate from the BCA programme to design and prepare a cake to celebrate the Institute's birthday. The graduate was to work to the brief that the cake's design needed to include the Institute's branding and demonstrate the Institute's values of future-focused education. These requirements alone ruled out the traditionalist graduate as her practice did not align with the values of the Institute. As for the other two graduates, either of them would have easily met the requirements of future focus, but it was me who made the decision and me alone. Herein lies an important fact, my personal ideologies regarding what is future-focused was the dominating factor in the final decision. As Bourdieu (1984) would propose my bias towards the "field" of fine dining, where innovation, novelty and highly manipulated techniques are revered, was reflected in the selection of the student and in turn the cake that featured on the cover of the prospectus. Reflecting back, it was me, the chef, who acted as the judge and jury of what, was appropriate and what was not. This appears the most simple of acts, but to analyse our actions more critically helps us know more about the factors that influence our actions and, in turn, the educational experience of our learners. I now turn to the educational culinary kitchen to explore how our everyday actions can impact on the learners in both their access to and construction of knowledge and its potential impact on culinary identity.

6 THE CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE



Image from personal collection

Insight Five: The Innocent Task of Cutting a Carrot

Just like my first days polytechnic, the task of chopping and cooking vegetables to a prescribed standard is fairly normal occurrence within the classical hierarchical French culinary curriculum. Michael Ruhlman talks of being presented on his first day in the CIA culinary kitchen with a prep list of mirepoix, tomato concasse and minced onion (Michael, 1997, p. 6). For me, it was cutting carrots into brunoise shaped vegetables, with the trim being placed aside for utilization in a “fond brun” or brown stock. For those uninitiated into the culinary language, a brunoise cut is a 2mm cubed dice usually pertaining to vegetables or fruit.

For me the day started out like many other sessions would, the morning was spent with a theory lesson lead by the chef lecturer going through the classical vegetable cuts with diagrams of the scaled vegetable cuts as reference points. We were instructed that this learning was part of the entremetier section of the kitchen and that the skills learnt were the foundations of other more technical dishes that we would learn in the future. That morning there was also a basic instruction on how to prepare a stock. This learning included an introduction into its ingredients and terms such as mirepoix and bouquet garni. The rules of stock preparation were clearly stipulated. White stocks have a low percentage of carrot to prevent discoloring while brown stocks are allowed the addition of tomato and mushroom to assist with the coloring of the stock. We were then informed that these stocks were to be the basis of many sauces and with time advanced technical soups such as consommés¹.

After the theory lesson was completed we would then enter the kitchen for a practical demonstration led by our lecturer before we were allowed to undertake the task ourselves. The practical demonstration commenced with my lecturer giving us a discussion as to why we were undertaking the task in such a set way.

Firstly we were instructed that to be a good chef we needed to learn to master the knife. Our lecturer explained that as a chef we would be expected to chop vegetables at a quick speed as “time is money in the restaurant industry”. We were then instructed that upon mastering the cut we could then utilize it in a potage and later in the year for

¹ I must state that this knowledge is still taught like this on the certificate programmes in my institute except we have the aid of video resources to make the lessons more engaging for our digital native learners.

a consommé brunoise. It was made clear to us that mastering this skill was important as we would be assessed on the production of both soups in the future. Our lecturer then proceeded to wash, peel and rewash the carrot, meanwhile explaining that this was to prevent soil contamination and that the use of a peeler is the most cost effective way of removing the minimum amount of skin. Next the carrot was squarely blocked is as to make the task of slicing it thinly easier and safer.

My lecturer then took his knife and with its precision slowly transformed this once cylindrical carrot into a mound of perfect small dice. The trim was to be placed into a bowl and to be used for stock; as my lecturer explained “you wouldn’t throw twenty cents into the rubbish bin, so we waste nothing in a kitchen”.

We were then given 30 minutes to cut our carrots into brunoise before placing them onto a plate for the judgment of our lecturer. As we worked there was the sound of activity in the kitchen but no one was talking as we were focused on the task ahead. We did not question the reasons for our task as we assumed our expert lecturer; with years of industry experience knew what was good for our learning. With time we would learn that those who failed at the task or did not conform to the approved ways of cooking would be moved closer to our lecturer’s bench so that their practice could be watched more closely. A simple glance of the eye or a brief comment from the lecturer was all that was required to change your behaviors. Those of us who were lucky enough to adapt our skills and conform were spared such actions.

6.1 Introduction

Just as I have attempted to paint a picture of my institution’s prospectus I now wish to introduce the formalised classical French classroom through my own journey. For me these first learning experiences were to be the frameworks of the master-apprentice learning that I would engage in for the remainder of my formal culinary education. I appreciate that not all culinary students have had such an indoctrination to the culinary arts community, however my experiences echo the claims of other culinary academics (Deutsch, 2014).

Now let’s take this simple task of a student cutting a carrot into the classic French *brunoise* cut as a case study that we can examine from a knowledge and power perspective. What are the critical implications for what appears at first to be a learning activity with the best intent?

6.2 Banking Knowledge

As a teaching strategy the stair-casing of knowledge from *brunoise* cut to *potage* (a basic soup) to *consommé brunoise* has pedagogical value (Hodson & Hodson, 1998). Likewise, from an industry perspective, chefs are still required to cut vegetables into small pieces for such actions as sauté, salsa sauces and garnish. It is therefore without question that the skill of cutting is a fundamental component in haute cuisine. Likewise, the ability to slice fish for sashimi in Japanese cuisine is considered an art form.

Like *potage*, we also see within the different cultures of the world many examples of mankind's ability to flavour liquids to form a multitude of gastronomic creations; *tom yum* (Thailand), *avgolemeno* (Greece) and *gazpacho* (Spain) are all examples of this. Even as a young chef I was required to make a different soup each day from the offerings in the chiller, but would struggle as the classical repertoire taught to me at polytechnic only contained 12 soups.

It is through the action of being instructed to learn to prepare a *brunoise* that we can see the principles of knowledge banking and the adherence to the ideologies of the French repertoire present (Freire, 1970). According to Freire (1970) the action of knowledge banking is an act of cultural invasion as the ideologies of the French repertoire and approach to technique are being forced upon the student. Primarily, I was being asked to learn the skill of cutting a *brunoise* because at some predetermined time I would be assessed against it. Could I cut vegetables to an industry standard? Yes I could, because I was working in a hotel where I prepared up to ten different salads a day. The knowledge at college of how to cut a carrot is what Schön (1983) would call "espoused theory". In this situation this knowledge was completely different from the knowledge of cutting vegetables that I had gained from *knowing in action* (Schön, 1983). I was now operating within a different knowledge framework from my lecturers. As discussed in *Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds*, I was now operating between different fields of play (Bourdieu, 1984) and the doxa, or rules, were different for each. I was constantly moving between my Institute's and my workplace's perception of legitimate and illegitimate forms of knowledge.

At the Shoreline Hotel we used a mandolin slicer to cut our vegetables as we would prepare twenty litre buckets of carrots for the vegetable of the day. They weren't perfect in size but the customers were more focused on value for money from food as opposed to precision and artistic expression.

According to Ira Shor (2012), the teacher assumes a position of authority and legitimate knowledge even before a student walks into a classroom. Shor attests that through years of conditioning students learn that the teacher's knowledge is the only true knowledge and they are there to receive it without question. Further, as Illich (1971) would propose, I had been schooled to believe that school would teach me how to cut a carrot when the most important and *meaningful* learning for me in terms of cutting carrots had already occurred through my practice in industry. This is legitimate knowledge in the industry but to take out a mandolin when cutting a *brunoise* in formal education would have been illegitimate through its act of disobedience. In effect the purpose of learning this espoused knowledge of how to cut a carrot was to bank knowledge for institutional assessment. In my certification of culinary knowledge, state certified knowledge was the only knowledge that would be formally recognized and assessed.

Freire (1970) would also describe this type of learning environment as anti-dialectic as the lecturer is doing the majority of the talking. While there is a physical silence in the classroom, there is a hidden silence, because as students we would not challenge the knowledge of our lecturer. For Freire when there is not the presence of equal dialogue between the lecturer and the student there is not a democratic learning process happening. The lecturer had taken the role of the master of knowledge and now, due to his dominant role in the formation of knowledge, the students have entered into a code of silence. While this could be put down to first day nerves amongst the students, there was certainly no questioning the lecturer as to why we were undertaking such a task. As Deutsch (2014) would say, we were being indoctrinated into not questioning or challenging the ultimate knowledge or authority of our master. We were now learning to say 'oui chef' and not 'why chef'. As Ben Shewry (2012, p. 86) attests in his own culinary education:

There was no place for creativity, poetic license, individuality or freedom...very much like the military. When you address me you call me Chef. When I bark orders at you, you respond, "chef, oui chef."

Within *Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds* you can see how my Francophile indoctrination was now impacting on my perspectives of my workplace the Shoreline Hotel at the time. While I believe that my teachers were working in what they perceived to be the best interests of the students, Freire (1970) would propose that the consequence of their actions was the indoctrination of their dominant cultural ideologies onto us the students.

6.3 Society's Desire for Legitimate Knowledge

A student cutting a vegetable in a manner that is approved of by an educational institute (and in turn the State) legitimises the student's knowledge and actions as official knowledge (Apple, 1982). I now propose that determining that a carrot be cut in accordance with the principles of the French classical repertoire, in turn, legitimises the French repertoire as a component of the official body of culinary arts knowledge.

The discourse of how to cut this carrot becomes an educational commodity which now has capital value and can therefore be sold to willing buyers (Apple, 1982; Illich, 1971). Why is it that a student would willingly sign up for a course and pay money to learn to transform a carrot into a small dice, when this information is freely available on the internet in the form of step by step on line videos? Even Otago Polytechnic has open access videos (some developed by me) on every assessment dish that students were required to make for their course as part of a blended delivery model. As Illich (1971) proposes, it is the power that educational institutes have over society as to what constitutes legitimate knowledge and what does not, that is key in society's need to be educated by formal means. Even as a chef you do not need certification to practice. Certification is optional and there are many well-known chefs such as Heston Blumenthal and Ferran Adria who did not go to culinary school.

Illich (1971) is critical of such actions and states that we need to become deschooled and learn how to educate ourselves again as a society. Society can freely educate itself on how to cut a carrot through online, high definition video, incorporating step by step instruction. However, and more importantly, it is the institute (as approved by the State) that has the power to assess this knowledge and award a qualification which recognises it as legitimate knowledge. As Illich (1971) would suggest, it is the pressures of our meritocratic and technocratic society that continue to drive students to culinary college to seek the certification of their culinary knowledge when this knowledge is already widely available. As Illich (1971) suggests students have been schooled in society to believe that all the secrets to culinary life can be learnt at school. In essence, for Illich, society needs to relearn how to learn again. But for students to have their knowledge legitimatised they must submit their practices to the culinary culture and ideologies of the French and, as Freire (1970), proposes this is an act of cultural invasion.

6.4 The Hidden Curriculum

Returning back to that carrot, I now ask the question; why was the decision made to transform this piece of nature into something so manipulated? Why did my culinary education begin with a lesson on the control and manipulation of an ingredient instead of a lesson on the respect for that ingredient and an understanding of its taste and the place that it came from? One could argue that the carrot is just an affordable medium for the development of technical knife skills and this would be true. As mentioned in § 3.1.2, the classical culinary educational framework is based upon Escoffier's *Le Guide de Culinair* (Escoffier, 2011/1903) which transitions from simple dishes through to more complex dishes. The hallmark of the French culinary curriculum is the stair-casing of learning through the advanced manipulation of ingredients and techniques (Deutsch, 2014). This follows as the highest form of French cuisine is haute cuisine.

Haute cuisine requires high levels of professional competency and the food is characterised by its technical manipulation. But where are the other philosophical approaches towards food? Where are the perspectives of those culinarians who choose to respect nature and work with it as opposed trying to control it through technical manipulation? As Chef Margo Henderson said where are the feminine perspectives in cooking? - these are the perspectives that are excluded from the limelight of haute cuisine as they are seen as being too domestic (Henderson, 2013). Meanwhile food philosopher David Hume proposes that matters of taste are personally subjective:

Beauty is no quality in things themselves; it only exists merely in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a different beauty. One person may even perceive deformity, where another is sensible of beauty (Hume, 1985, p. 230)

6.5 The Examining Gaze

In *Insight Five: The Innocent Task of Cutting a Carrot*, those who failed to meet the expectations of the lecturer would be moved closer to the lecturer's bench so that their actions could be monitored more closely. It is in this act that we can see what Foucault (1977) refers to as the examining gaze. As my lecturer would 'gaze' at the non-conforming students in the front benches it was a reminder to them that their actions were being observed and judged. These actions of observation ensured that with time the students

would adjust their practices through self-regulation until they conformed to the normalised practices of the lecturer.

As Foucault would propose this examining gaze acts as a form of disciplinary power to enable self-surveillance and in turn normalising the student's behaviors to those of the lecturers. As I discussed in *Insight Four: One Discipline - Two Worlds*, I too had to adjust my approaches to cutting vegetables from efficiency in the work place to precision in the culinary college.

6.6 Impact on Identity Formation

Apple (1982) proposes that the 'hidden curriculum' of education, the socialisation process of schooling is a fundamental factor in the determining our roles and identities in society. I now ask the critical question; was my identity predetermined before I entered the kitchen? Fine (2008) proposes that the organisational tasks that are delegated to chefs have a significant influence on the chef's identity of themselves; as such chefs working identities are socially constructed in the workplace that they operate within. According to Fine, depending upon the allocations of these tasks, a chef can see themselves as an artist, a business person, a professional, a labourer or a blend of these (Fine, 2008). For Fine the organization is not a factor in the formation of identity but the tasks allocated within it. Therefore a chef in a fine dining restaurant who prepares basic vegetables can view themselves as a labourer because they do a manual job, while a cook in a school canteen can perceive themselves as an artist because they have the power to present the food as they wish. It is through the actions within our workplaces that our identity can be formed. The classical French brigade system has resulted in such identities with apprentices as labourers, senior chefs as professionals and Chef de Cuisines as artists and/or business people.

Looking back at my first task at polytechnic (*brunoise* of carrot) it could be argued that my identity was predetermined as that of a labourer. The speed at which I could cut the carrot would determine how fast I could get the job done and therefore create efficiencies for the business and my ability to utilize the trim would help me make money for them. However, as Fine (2008) would propose, many chefs view the preparation of food as artistic expression.

It could be argued that I was being socially stratified to the role of worker by the well-meaning comments of my lecturer. From Apples (1982) perspective the needs of the

hospitality industry, institute and the State were taking precedence over my own culinary aspirations and desires.

These personal comments from lecturers give us an insight into how they perceive students' culinary identity. Apple (1982) proposes that these repeat messages of being sub-ordinate to authority and being a cost efficient worker are part of the indoctrination process within a capitalist work force. From my own perspective, culinary arts students who display these actions are viewed in favorable ways in education. In this situation I believe my access to culinary knowledge was for the purposes of a predetermined social identity, one determined by the working 'fields' and cultural 'habitus' of my lecturer. But what happens to those students who wish to acquire culinary knowledge not for the purposes of working in the industry; those who chose to learn for their own needs? I now propose that the working and financial needs of the hospitality industry are seen as the major benefactors of formalised culinary education.

What of those students in my class who saw culinary arts as a true form of artistic expression? To assume the identity of an artist would have meant that the power of knowledge would need to be released from my lecturer and assigned to the learner. It would have been "take this carrot and create with it what you want". To take such a position means that the lecturer would have to engage in a democratic dialogue and to submit to the notion that the student brings a level of culinary and life knowledge to the classroom. As an experienced lecturer I can testify that all students have such knowledge and it is just as varied as each of us are.

7 Conclusion

7.1 Summary

This philosophical enquiry proposes that the power relationships between the educational institute, its media and the culinary teachers act as important factors that can impact on a student's access to knowledge and, in turn, ways of *knowing* and *being*. This enquiry proposes that these interrelated power relationships act in both overt and covert ways within the educational journey of a culinary arts student.

In the first instance the educational institution is a gatekeeper of the educational ideologies of the government through its ability to control access to culinary education and knowledge. It is the student's access to culinary knowledge through the State-controlled academic entry requirements which ultimately decides who has access to culinary education and the social roles associated with these. Even when students meet adult entry requirements to degree based education this is still at the discretion of the education institution. This controlling power of educational institutions has consequences for students of the culinary arts in the form of social stratification and professional identity formation. This enquiry proposes that the diverse offerings of culinary education are now segregating its community into the professional "thinkers" and the labouring "doers".

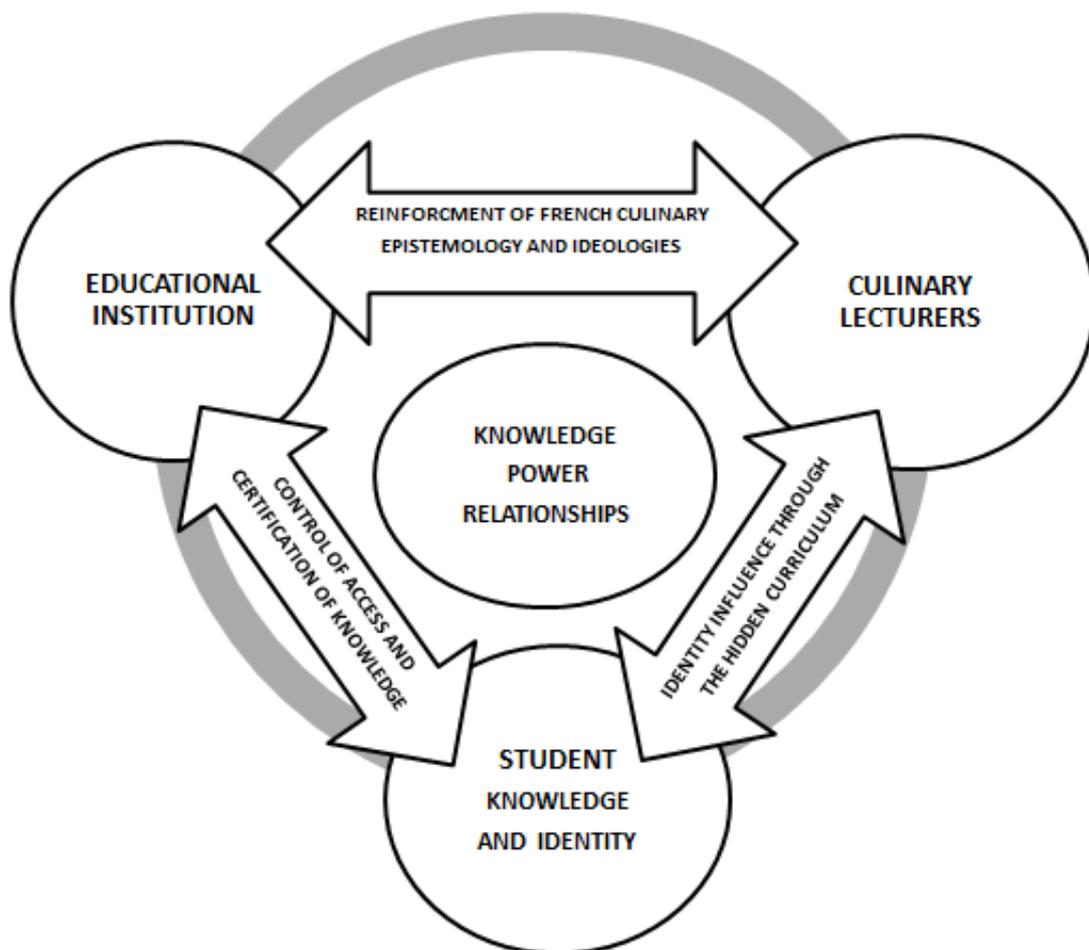
It is through the prospectus' images that the educational institution can reinforce to students the legitimatisation of their offerings of a French Haute Cuisine culinary epistemology and ideologies. These media images help reinforce the Francophile methodologies which are adopted by the culinary lecturers as the professional practice of the discipline. These power relationships coexist in ways that benefit both the institution and the teacher as ways of legitimising the knowledge and actions of both parties. Underpinning these power relationships is the teacher, who, through their institutional investiture, has the ability to decide and certify the knowledge and actions of French Haute Cuisine as the most legitimate forms of culinary practice.

The final power relationship is between the culinary lecturer and the student. Within the hidden curriculum there are pedagogical approaches and teaching activities which reflect the teacher's own personal culinary values in relation to knowledge creation and student culinary identity. I now propose that the relationship between teaching methodology and knowledge creation can be a factor in the formation of a student's culinary identity. To return to the carrot, the task of cutting this humble vegetable can be the action of a labourer, an artist or a

professional, but this culinary identity is influenced by the words and actions of the teacher and their view of the professional practice. Perpetuating this situation is the fact that students have been socially conditioned to accept that their culinary teachers are the universal source of knowledge and their practice is not to be questioned.

Figure 6.1 is a visualisation of the power and knowledge relationships with institutional culinary education discussed above.

Figure 7.1 Knowledge Power Relationships in Institutional Culinary Arts Education



7.2 The Final Words

As an emerging higher education discipline, culinary arts pedagogy and its critical dialogue is still in its infancy. As mentioned in §1.1, the intent of this critical enquiry is not to provide the positivist ‘truth’ or *the* way forward for the culinary arts community but to add to the body of knowledge within a critical paradigm.

The stories that I have shared have been my own personal experiences and have allowed me to fuse the worlds of practice and theory through an interpretive enquiry methodology. These insights have allowed you (the reader) to “stand at the workbench” of the culinary arts student and experience their daily learning environment. More importantly for me, they have allowed me to build a richer and deeper understanding of my own practice and the classroom experience of my students through the process of praxis. As Manen (1990) suggests, this critical enquiry has allowed me to engage in a mode of *pedagogical thoughtfulness* with the intent of bettering, not only my own practice, but the practices of other culinary institutes.

My own professional practice at Otago Polytechnic (see § 3.2.3) has been acknowledged in New Zealand in recent years for its innovative approach to teaching and learning and sustained educational excellence. Through this academic enquiry I have now discovered (and started to connect with) a global community of like-minded culinary educators whose approaches to the philosophy of education are similar to mine. Like my own practice, this community adopts a pedagogy which embrace’s “ways of being” as opposed to the conventional “ways of knowing”. Within this community of practice the traditional notion of the chef lecturer as the “ultimate source of knowledge” has been abandoned in favour of an open learning environment in which knowledge is co-created through multiple sources. Knowledge no longer comes from a series of “truths” from a book or the mind of the teacher but is constructed in meaningful ways from a student’s own reality of the lived experience.

The role of professional practice within my own practice has been transformed from a process for the sole development of practical skills to an experience from which to reflect and learn and construct true and meaningful knowledge. As a result of this critical enquiry, in 2015 the BCA programme (which I teach on) adopted an “in practice” teaching and learning methodology for third year students. This “in practice” framework now allows students to undertake the majority of their third year study in an applied learning environment, thus enabling them to develop authentic interpretive knowledge from their own realities. This differs from the BCA’s previous teaching methodologies which were based upon students applying and understanding academically theorised models of practice.

Throughout my academic journey I have been in a constant state of praxis. Through constant engagement in critical theory I have reflected on the overt and covert power that I have within my classroom. Underpinning these reflections has been the critical question

“whose interests are being served when I act in a classroom?” Within my classroom I am constantly torn between the needs of the government, the industry and the student.

Chapter 3 discusses the development of the master-apprentice and hierarchical structures (see § 3.1.1) within the culinary arts community. As illustrated in Figure 3.2 Culinary Arts Inertia to Pedagogical Change the master-apprentice approach and hierarchical structures are deeply entrenched within culinary arts practice. Through the integration of higher education within the discipline; these pedagogical practices are now being challenged through the process of self-critical examination.

Some may suggest that the challenge of transformational change is too great for the culinary arts community; the inertia of kitchen hierarchy and master-apprentice pedagogies are too powerful. However we need only look to medicine and McMaster University in 1969 as inspiration for change. In 1969 McMaster University radically transformed global medical education by abandoning the structured and directed curriculum and adopting a *problem based learning* (PBL) environment. Through PBL, McMaster University medical students develop a deeper level of learning whilst acquiring transferable life skills (Lee & Kwan, 1997). McMaster University has been described as a “trail blazer” in medical education and its approach teaching and learning has been adopted by multiple medical institutes across the globe (Lee & Kwan, 1997).

The wheels of change turn slowly for the culinary arts teaching community but a possible inspiration exists in the work of chef Rene Redzepi from restaurant *Noma* in Copenhagen, Denmark. Redzepi has redefined his approach to cooking through the abandonment of French culinary conformity and a rediscovery and adoption of traditional Nordic ingredients and culinary techniques into his practice. His approach utilizes only Scandinavian ingredients and embraces the Nordic culinary practices of foraging, fermentation and preservation. The result of Redzepi’s work has been the adoption of Danish culinary values into his every day practice and, in turn, the development of a new food approach referred to as Nordic Cuisine. This transformation by Redzepi demonstrates the potential that exists when chefs engage in critical thought and when they are allowed to express their personal identities freely. By engaging in these processes Redzepi has redefined to the gastronomic world what it means to be Scandinavian.

Like Plato’s *Allegory of the Cave*, Redzepi’s story is a metaphor for a similar transformation that could exist in culinary education. Through a paradigm shift in knowledge construction the culinary arts teaching community could refine what it means to study and learn to ‘be a

chef'. This paradigm shift will mean that critically reflective chefs who challenge the hegemonic practices and offerings of their times may become the norm and not the exception. The last century has seen Auguste Escoffier, Paul Bocuse, Ferran Adria and Alex Atala think critically about their practice and make radical changes to them. Likewise each of these chefs has left their distinctive and lasting mark on the culinary landscape. However with the current hierarchical kitchen structures and a supporting culinary education system which perpetuates the culture of not questioning the status quo, it will be difficult to imagine a future where chefs of this ilk will be the exceptions and not the norm.

The final words in this critical enquiry are from Sir Ken Robinson and summarize the challenges that face, not only culinary arts education, but all of Western education (2011, p. 49).

Current systems of education were not designed to meet the challenges we now face. They were developed to meet the needs of a former age. Reform is not enough: they need to be transformed.

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