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An Investigation in Culinary Life and Professional Identity in Practice during Internship

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An Investigation in Culinary Life
and
Professional Identity in Practice during Internship
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1 Introduction

This paper forms part of a larger Doctorial research study into internship and provides an overview of culinary life and of the many celebrated chefs who travelled to gain culinary experience before Erasmus funding was available for internship. I also use this paper to provide a synopsis of kitchen systems and present a review of studies related to internship. I attempt to provide some insight into internship and culinary practice in order to augment the forthcoming internship framework. The paper commences with a short review of Georges Auguste Escoffier, one of the most celebrated chefs of all time and one who is still used as a model for the teaching of young chefs today. Following this, I go on to discuss internship and examine some of the key writers on the subject. I compare and contrast these writers and provide reflective comments at the end of the review. The paper concludes with a sample of the research findings.

1.1 Towards an Understanding of the Culinary Life

There is evidence to suggest that France, towards the end of the revolution 1789-1799, was the birthplace of what is now referred to as a 'restaurant.' The restaurant gradually reduced an older aristocratic style of eating which involved skilled cooks employed in households, (Finkelstein, 1989). Glanville and Young (2002:123) indicate that, prior to the France revolution people had essentially three choices: to go to an 'ordinary' where a dish of the day was provided for a set price, along with bread and a drink; to buy ready prepared food from a cook shop or seek an invitation from an acquaintance. Following the revolution many of the cooks, needed to establish other places to work and served meals for the new class, the bourgeoisie, who could pay for their services, a place where they could rest and restore from hunger or fatigue and came to be known as restaurants, (Mennell, 1996; Pitte, 1999; Spang, 2000 and Trubek, 2000). Therefore, a restaurant can be defined as an establishment where 'on-site provision of food represents the main business activity' (Cullen, 2005).

The term 'cook' has also evolved and although still ambiguously used by Fines (1996) when referring to the art of professional cookery, is understood in culinary educational institutions and industry to represent different levels of cooking skills. For example, Palmer, Cooper and Burns (2007:312) state:

A focus on the job of chef cooking as a job can mean different things and its status varies according to the type of cooking involved, for example, school meals or restaurant cuisine. Even the job title is a symbolically charged nomenclature; chef denotes a higher status than cook for instance. Whereas between chefs "cook" is not a derogatory term but rather one of praise, a compliment: The highest compliment for a chef is when another chef calls that he's a good cook. It would be an insult for a civilian to say "oh, are you the cook"? To a chef that would be a terrible insult, but if another chef says about you behind your back, "dude, that guys a really great cook". That would be the highest praise.

Therefore, the term 'cook' can refer to a person who might not be professionally trained but is cooking food for a living, he or she would not working in a professional culinary setting. Professional cookery relates to the chefs demonstration of attributes such as their: culinary skills, knowledge of ingredients, products, and having an attitude that strives towards achieving the goals of the kitchen brigade, (White and Steen, 2006). Fine (1996) claims that 'cooks' (chefs) like many occupations embedded within culinary organisations demand teamwork and coordination to enable the restaurant attempt to present complex meal experiences for their patrons, and achieve the organisational goals. According to Fine (1996:85), cooks (chefs) need to 'learn how to put up with burns, cut and injuries. Those are the things nobody likes but those are the sacrifices that you make to become a cook,' (chef). 'A chef's role begins when the work of nature including farmers, fishermen, craftsmen, food processors microbiologists/food scientists, culinologists and molecular gastronomists ends,' (Hegarty, 2008:1). Bourdain (2007:66) claims, in a kitchen, 'It's not really esprit de corps. One person is in charge. You can't have a hippie commune in the kitchen, where everyone is giving their input.' According to Bourdain (2007:66), the kitchen is always going to be an 'autocratic society, with a certain militaristic aspect to it.'

However, in contrast to Bourdain experience of a kitchen environment, Marco Pierre White said:

I found myself working for a chef who was soft and inquisitive. He was a man who actually asked for my opinions and who wanted to know about my passion for food. In fact, Raymond Blanc was so enthusiastic and encouraging that I discovered a sense of freedom, and that is when my confidence started to grow. It seemed as if I done painting by numbers and now I was being given a blank canvas, (White and Steen, 2006:87).

In addition to Marco Pierre White's above excerpt, Georges Auguste Escoffier (28 October, 1846 – 12 February, 1935) who was a French chef, restaurateur and culinary writer that popularised and modernised traditional French cooking methods, and is regarded as one of the great chefs of his time (Kinton and Ceserani, 2007). Escoffier suffered from bullying and verbal abuse as a commis chef and vowed to professionalise his kitchen and ensured that all his staff was treated with respect and insisted that they be polite to one another (Kraig, 2006). Escoffier preferred to leave the kitchen if he felt he was losing his cool and return when he had calmed down to deal with any issues (Page and Kingsford, 1971). Escoffier was also renowned for running a militaristic style kitchen. For example, Herbodeau and Thalamas (1955:79) claim that Escoffier advocated 'Taylorism' in the kitchen. According to Mac Con Iomaire (2009:139), Escoffier arranged his kitchens into five equally supporting parties: 'garde-manger' responsible for looking after the cold dishes and supplies for all of the kitchen; 'entremetiers,' for soups, vegetables and desserts; the 'rôtisseur' with responsibility for roasts, grilled and fried dishes; a 'saucier' for the making of sauces; and a 'pâtissier' who made all the pastry dishes for service. This system became known as the Escoffier's brigade system.

There is evidence illustrating the impact Escoffier had on modern culinary practices via the movement of chefs who were in search of culinary experts to work with and from whom they could gain knowledge and skills. For example, the British were enthusiastic consumers of French haute cuisine with up to five thousand French chefs living and working in Britain by 1890 (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009 and Trubek, 2000). It is also evident from the literature that many French

chefs worked in Ireland in the 1900s for example, the first named French chef linked with Dublin during the nineteenth century is Alfred Suzanne, (Mennell, 2006:160 and Trubek, 2000:77). Alfred Suzanne, born 1829 in Normandy arrived in Dublin in 1847, during the Famine, to work as chef in the kitchen of the Earl of Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (1847-1852) (Anon, 1896). In the subsequent forty years Alfred Suzanne spent in Ireland and England he also worked for the Earl of Wilton and the Duke of Bedford (Trubek, 2000:77). Alfred Suzanne was one of the top French chefs who collaborated with Escoffier on *Le Guide Culinaire* (Mennell, 1996:160). The movement of chefs in search of culinary expertise to increase their skills and influence their careers is a well documented feature of culinary life, what follows is two brief illustrations of this characteristic nature of chefs.

Michel (1858-1931) and Francois (1853-1940) Jammet were born in St. Julia de Bec, near Quillan, in the French Pyrenees to Barthelemy, farmer, and Catherine (née Bourell), (Mac Con Iomaire, 2005). The two Jammet brothers, aged 12 and 17 respectively, were forced to leave home finding work first in Perpignan and then in Paris where they trained as chefs (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Michel Jammet first came to Dublin in 1887 as chef before moving to London in 1891. Following four years working in London for Lord Cadogan, Michel Jammet returned to Dublin to work as head chef at the Viceregal Lodge, when Lord Cadogan became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2006:218). In 1888 Francois became head chef of the 'Café de Deux Mondes', Rue de La Paix, Paris, and then moved to the 'Boeuf a La Mode', Rue de Valois, Palais Royal. In 1900 Michel and François Jammet bought the Burlington Restaurant and Oyster Saloons at 27 St Andrew Street, Dublin renaming it 'The Jammet Hotel and Restaurant' in 1901 (Mac Con Iomaire, 2005).

Frederick. Macro was born in Sudbury, England to a father who was a confectioner and caterer. Frederick apprenticed in Paris at the *Maison Gage*, and later served under two presidents of the *Société des Culinaires Française* before returning to London to become second cook at the Russian Embassy, (Anon, 1896c:2). Frederick spent some time as a private chef in Scotland, worked in the

Officers Mess in Edinburgh Castle, chief cook on P&O's SS 'Pekin' where he travelled to Calcutta, Bombay, China and the Australian Colonies. He returned to London, taking charge of the kitchens of the Albion Tavern in Covent Garden. Following six years as chef at the North Devon Ilfracombe Hotel, Frederick became chef at the newly opened Grand Hotel in Belfast, (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009; Anon, 1896c:2).

It is evident from those excerpts and illustrations' that a restaurant kitchen environment can offer many different experiences and with varying numbers of chef in the brigades. For example, the brigade in the Hyde Park Hotel located in London, had a large kitchen that included a 'Head chef, five sous chefs (second in command), three chefs on fish, three on meat and sauce, three on pastry and four on the larder. There were chef de partie, the premier commis chefs and the commis chefs,' (White and Steen, 2006:206). In contrast, Harveys a two Michelin starred restaurant in London, had rarely more than eight chefs in the kitchen brigade (White and Steen, 2006). Because the kitchen environment was so small Harveys needed to have the right number of staff to allow a chef the enough cramped space to prepare the dishes, (White and Steen, 2006:205). However, common to all kitchens is a sort of classical hierarchy brigade system that requires competent chefs and waiters, (Hegarty, 2008; Jones, 2005; White and Steen, 2006; Fine, 1996 and Palmer, et. al., 2007).

1.1.1 Kitchen Brigade System

It could be argued that the relationship between Escoffier's Kitchen Brigade System and students undertaking culinary internships has a direct impact on the social categorisation process and the students' integration into the kitchen system. Escoffier's development of a system of work that introduced organised discipline into kitchens still permeates many French kitchens today and can be found in simplified versions throughout Europe and other international kitchens. Brigade de Cuisine is a system of hierarchy found in restaurants and hotels kitchens

regardless of their size (White and Steen, 2006). The modern concept of the Brigade System is still evident in culinary arrangements requiring discipline and skill to meet the demands of the kitchen. For instance, my visit to Le Mas Candille during the summer of 2008, a Michelin-starred restaurant located between Cannes and Grasse in France, revealed a kitchen structure that mirrored Escoffier's Brigade System, (see Figure 2). The kitchen staff consisted of fifteen chefs including Serge the Chef du Cuisine or Executive Head Chef, a second Head Chef or Sous Chef, and a number of Chef de Parties working with a commis chef and stagiaires (a person undertaking a short period of unpaid training) for each section in the kitchen. A similar structure was found in the Le Manoir Aux Quat'Saisons in Great Milton, Oxfordshire. This is a two star Michelin restaurant which also incorporates a country house employing thirty-four chefs, including commis chefs and stagiaires in the kitchen. The restaurant is owned by the Orient Express Hotel group and the celebrated chef in the culinary arena Raymond Blanc. Each member of the brigade had a specific role within the structure of the kitchen system.

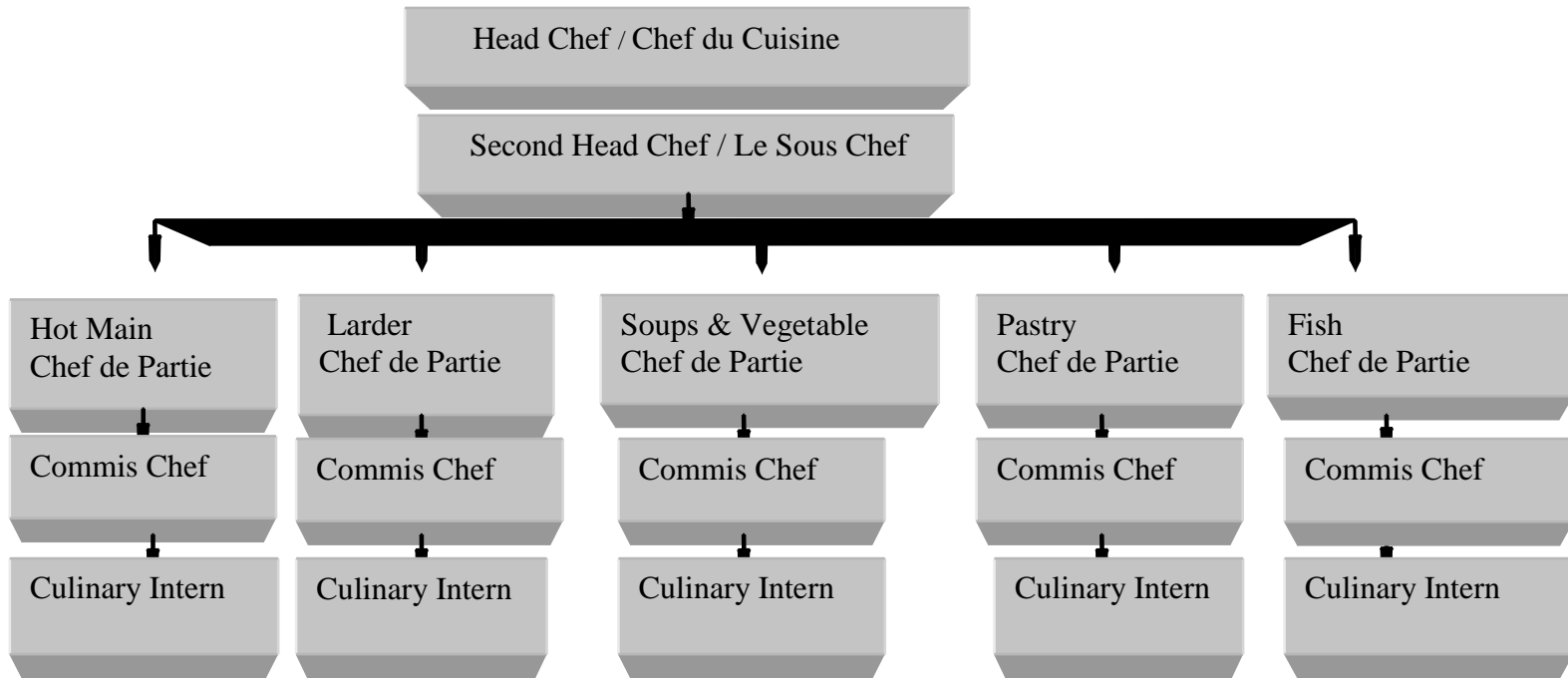


Figure 2 Le Mas Candille and Le Manoir Aux Quat’Saisons Kitchen Brigade Systems (Source: Developed for this Study)

Hegarty (2008) purports that, the chef's role is much more than the end producer of a meal, for example, a cook. The professional chef's role involves the 'science selection, the technology of preparation, processing, cooking and the artistic design,' in a restaurant environment, (Hegarty, 2008:1). Jones (2005) concurs with Hegarty (2008) by claiming that chefs' engage in three roles: 'production, research and managerial duties in a kitchen. Jones (2005) identifies eleven key competences that may be used to personify the role of a chef: (1 time management, (2 knowledge of culinary operations, (3 skilled at food presentation, (4 knowledge of products, ingredients and their functionality, (5 knowledge of kitchen function and pressures, (6 understanding food testing, (7 ability to work in a multi-task environment, (8 ability to make decisions, (9 knowledge of quality assurance and food safety, (10 general communications skill, and (11 ability to distinguish levels of quality in food products. The chef in close collaboration with the waiter is the end producer of the meal experience. A trained waiter is a person that has,

Extensive knowledge of international cooking, beverages, restaurant and bar services techniques. The waiter is the most important contact person in attending the restaurant customer. It is therefore necessary that the waiter has a complete command of serving rules and can demonstrate the preparation and service of special flambé and other dishes, and drinks at the guests' table. Basic requirements are skill and resourcefulness, good manners, aplomb and practical ability. (Cullen, 1999:10)

Relating to competent chefs and waiters, Eraut (1994) claims that individuals must demonstrate an integration of attributes, knowledge 'know how' and performance 'can do,' before they demonstrate competence. Eraut (1994) also identifies the term competency as an element of vocational competence, whereby the individual demonstrates performance (e.g. culinary and service skills) capability in a specific domain, for example, in culinary disciplines. Individuals that demonstrate specific skills or elements of knowledge relevant to their professional practice may be deemed to have demonstrated competence (Eraut, 1994). Therefore, the term competence as used in this study refers to the demonstration of combined or integrated attributes related to culinary performance and knowledge. Cheetham and Chivers (2001) and Paloniemi (2006) suggest that competence and expertise is one of the most valuable assets of individuals, organisations and societies. Chatman and Spataro (2005:321) identified the demonstration competency by an individual, as a factor in the social categorisation process 'how well employees can exchange knowledge and information and offer

distinct competencies for completing group tasks' (such as those required in a restaurant or kitchen). Palmer et al. (2007:319-320) also note that,

Psychological boundaries of the chef community are constructed by the nature of the work and the routines and task associated with being a chef. A working environment that spills over into the social arena due to the long and mostly unsocial working hours reinforces belonging... the nature of the work defines the world-view, the values system of the whole community. Belonging is thus established on the basis of a shared history and the disciplinary stigmata referred to earlier (kitchen hierarchy), cuts, abrasions and buns acquired along the way are markers of belonging that identify groups members both to themselves and to each other.

This overview provides some insight into the structure of a kitchen without explaining all sections within a busy culinary environment. In the context of this paper what is important, is the categorisation of the kitchen into sections within a small and often confined space. The kitchen environment is hot and stressful with people working in close proximity to each other, and sometimes tempers flare (White and Sheen, 2006). Each employee is in full view of all other employees working in the kitchen, so the need to demonstrate competence is important in order to gain acceptance as a dedicated culinary student. Orwell (1989) depicted the culinary workplace by stating,

What keeps a Hotel going is the fact that the employees take a genuine pride in the work, beastly and silly though it is. If the man idles, the others soon find him out, and conspire against him to get him sacked. Cooks, waiters and plongeurs differ greatly in outlook, but they are all alike in being proud of the efficiency. Undoubtedly the most workmanlike class and the least servile are the cooks. They do not earn quite so much as waiters, but their prestige is higher and employment steadier. The cook does not look upon himself as a servant, but as a skilled workman; he is generally called 'un ouvrier' which a waiter never is. He knows his power - knows that he alone makes or mars a restaurant, and that if he is five minutes late everything is out of gear. He despises the whole non-cooking staff, and makes it a point of honour to insult everyone below the head waiter. And he takes a genuine artistic pride in his work, which demands a very great skill. It is not the cooking that is so difficult, but the doing everything to time. (Orwell, 1989:74-75)

Orwell paints a bleak picture of culinary life that would not be representative of most kitchens today. In many ways the images depicted on TV mirror Orwell's kitchen experience and may only be found in a small number of restaurants. A well known celebrated TV chef demonstrates contempt for his kitchen staff, (see UTV's 'Hells Kitchen') and some of our culinary students have experienced such behaviour during their internship in Ireland. This type of behaviour is contrary to the beliefs of Escoffier.

The following section will explore the concept of internship as a means of providing opportunities for students to gain *vocational self-concept crystallisation* by working alongside experts in their field of study.

1.2 Internship

Dulgarian (2008:281) defines internship as ‘work experience in an industrial, business, or government work situations that leverages class guidelines experienced through practical work experience.’ Ackerman Graham, Schmidt, Stern, and Miller (2009:27) suggest that internship is ‘an intense and formative period of practical work experience in the life of an individual,’ whereas Lauber Ruh, Theuriand, and Woodlock (2004:42) define internship as: ‘experience in actual work situations that allows students the opportunity to translate academic theories and principles into actions, to test out career interests and to develop skills and abilities.’ Lauber et al. (2004) also claim that internship can benefit the student and industry organisations through the development of strong academic and industry links. Internship also provides the opportunity for students to mix with professionals and increase skills that are difficult to develop in a classroom laboratory environment (Lauber et al., 2004). Callanan and Benzing’s (2004) research complements that of Lauber et al. (2004) by postulating that internship can benefit the student, employer and academic institution, identifying that the employer gains a positive recruiting image and ensures an available pool of educated people at a low cost to the organisation, whereas the academic institute develops a strong link with the industry and the student gains through practice. These definitions identify three common elements of internship,

- The internship student is an active participant in the experiential learning.
- Internship only reinforces prior learning if standardised training programmes are agreed.
- The internship reinforces and helps embed knowledge learnt in the classroom environment.

Brooks, Cornelius, Greenfield, and Joseph, (1995) examined the relationship between the career-related work and internship experience of 164 senior college students consisting of 111 females and 53 males; 56.6% of Brook's sample had experienced internship. Brooks et al. (1995:336) define internship as 'a supervised pre-professional career - related experience, paid, or unpaid, part or full-time, with measurable learning objectives and formal evaluations.' The participants came from a variety of subject and background disciplines but mainly industrial relations, journalism, psychology, economics and English. Questionnaires were disseminated and internship experience was assessed using a job characteristic inventory that measured six dimensions: variety, autonomy, task identity, feedback, dealing with orders and friendship opportunities. The survey instrument used a five point scale to measure student career decidedness, self-concept crystallisation, occupational information, career self-efficacy, vocational commitment and tendency to foreclose. Brooks et al. (1995:337) used what they termed occupational alternative questions requesting participants to 'list all the occupations you are considering right now.' Brooks assessed the students' self-concept crystallisation using a 40 item scale for rating occupations. The scale was developed by Barrett and Tinsley (1977) who conducted a similar study related to vocational self-concept crystallisation and occasional indecision, providing a measurement to indicate the level of self-concept and self-esteem. Unlike the study carried out by Barrett and Tinsley (1977), however, that of Books et al. (1995) was related to internships.

A similar study was conducted by Taylor (1988), who examined the effects of internship on students in relation to:

- Developing greater crystallisation (sic) (e.g. clarification) of vocational self-concept and work values.
- Less reality shocked.
- Better employment opportunities.

In measuring greater *crystallisation of vocational self-concept* Taylor (1988) investigated if students who undertook an internship related to their field of study were more likely to achieve higher levels of job satisfaction and remain in the first job as opposed to students that did not engage in any form of internship. Taylor also

investigated if internship experience reduced 'reality shock,' identified by Taylor as the transition from college to permanent employment. Taylor (1988:393) argued that, 'reality shock occurs when individuals find that many of the work standards and procedures learnt in school directly conflict with those required on the job.' Taylor's study sample consisted of 67 students. 32 had undertaken internship and 35 had no internship experience. All of the participants had similar demographics in respect of age, their level of education award participation, marital status and work experience which related to their field of study. Students in the internship programme under Taylor were required to undertake 200 hours of work placement over a maximum of 15 weeks. Participants were drawn from students studying business, engineering, industrial relations, interior design and journalism. A quasi-experimental approach was used with the dissemination of four questionnaires to measure, pre- and post-experience.

Verney, Holoviak and Winter's (2009) study examined the responses from 81 internship supervisors; 46% supervised students studying marketing majors and 54% management majors in the USA. Employers were also asked to evaluate the interns' skills. The main focus of this study was to establish the benefits of internships to students, employers and universities alike using a five-point Likert scale incorporating questions on communication skills, critical thinking and ability to work with others. Questions soliciting information concerning the student's ability to learn were also included. A further section of the questionnaire examined character traits related to responsibility, dependability, initiative, attitude towards work and the student's performance.

1.3 Comparing and Contrasting Internship Studies

The Brooks et al. (1995) study supports the findings of Taylor (1988) by providing evidence that internship experience related to beneficial changes in the students' self-concept. Brooks et al. (1995) did recommend, however, that further studies should use pre- and post-measurements that incorporate individual differences. Taylor (1988) found that students with internship experience were perceived by employers as being significantly better qualified. Taylor also established that graduates with internship experience relevant to their field of study gained an advantage over peers with no

experience in the labour market. Brooks et al. (1995), Taylor (1988), and Verney et al. (2009) proposed that internship experience benefits students by preparing them for work and developing their vocational self-concept as individuals. It is further claimed by Taylor (1988:400) that ‘the time and effort invested in internship is cost effective for many students in the long run.’ It must be noted here that Taylor’s (1988) findings suggest that internship is taken as an add-on at the end of the students’ degree programme, rather than forming part of the academic degree programme. This, however, was not made clear in Taylor’s (1988) paper.

The study done by Brooks et al. (1995) on internship produced similar results to those found in Taylor’s (1988) study, indicating that students who engaged in internship work-related activities relevant to their field of study gained a greater degree of vocational self-concept *crystallisation* or clarification. Brooks et al. (1995) and Taylor (1988) also found that, internships providing opportunities to deal with other people were directly related to the development of the students’ increase in vocational self-efficacy when dealing with other people in the workplace. Brooks’ findings complemented the research conducted by Taylor, by demonstrating that internship experience that provided high levels of feedback facilitated the development of self, increasing the students’ self autonomy, task identity and skills variety.

The Verney et al. (2009) study complemented the findings of Brooks et al. (1995) and Taylor (1988), indicating that, if internship is to support the development of the student it must include work at a professional level. According to Verney et al. (2009), interns who are integrated into the working environment will appreciate and benefit from the experience. A study conducted by Callanan and Benzing (2004:83) augments the views of Verney et al. (2009), Brooks et al. (1995) and Taylor (1988). Callaghan and Benzing’s (2004) findings indicate that one of the key mechanisms for facilitating the development of an accurate vocational self-concept and the gaining of a realistic understanding of professional practice is the pursuit of internships that focus on the students’ specific career goals and incorporate assignments that require reflective practice.

Coco (2000:41) claims that ‘internships are a real differentiator, the symbol of maturity and confidence,’ proposing that, the purpose of internship is to provide a bridge

between the academic environment and work. In terms of the educational values, Coco (2000) found that internship benefits the individual through reinforcing technical competencies, improving the students' analytical skills, and most important, according to Coco, internship fosters the students' awareness of the need to adapt and become creative in a changing environment. Callaghan and Benzing's (2004:87) research reinforced Coco's views by claiming that: 'in today's world, the key to successful career management is the development of a clear self-identity, the setting of career goals and the pursuit of career strategies that are consistent with that identity.' Callaghan and Benzing (2004) also claimed that internships are invaluable for the students' development of self-identity and the setting of career goals.

1.4 Final Reflective Comments

A picture is developing that suggests internship provides a valuable tool to enhance student learning. Claims are made, and supported by the various writers, that students benefit from the internship through working with professionals in their field of study (Callanan and Benzing, 2004, Coco, 2000, Lauber et al., 2004, Pianko, 1996, and Verney et al., 2009). These studies identified benefits for all parties involved in the internship process. For example, Dennis (1996) identified the benefit to the company of the provision of inexpensive workers and cheap labour. This highlights the need for well structured internship agreements to ensure the work activities enhance the possibility for student learning. The reviewed literature also highlights the internship process as being capable of developing the students' competence, improving analytical skills, knowledge, tacit skills related to chosen profession, and the development of self-concept, self-esteem and self-identity (Barrett and Tinsley, 1977, Callanan and Benzing, 2004, Coco, 2000, Lauber et al., 2004, and Taylor, 1988). It is noted that the studies provide many nuances that cross the boundaries between educational psychology and socialisation, and relationships are also drawn between knowledge transfer and new knowledge obtained through working alongside professional practitioners during the internship process. These researchers provide some insight into internship and its benefits. None of the studies, however, assessed the development of self-identity as a learner in terms of mobility (living away from home) in another country during the internship.

This raises the question: to what extent can the inclusion of mobility and working in another country contribute to the students' development as learners? We can see from the literature that culinary internships in a kitchen can and do offer a very different environment from internship related to business, interior design, engineering or management studies. Based on personal experience and documented evidence of culinary internship practice, it is my contention that culinary students working in a kitchen are categorised based on their skills. One student wrote,

Hours really take it out of you. Kitchen communication is getting slightly easier. I like the fact that we all sit down to eat before each service, front of house and kitchen staff. The head chef sits at the top of the table and we sit in accordance to our rank (sous chef, chef de partie, moi, plongeur...). The head chef usually cooks the staff meals, taking big pride in the chore of feeding his staff. (BA in Culinary Arts student T Webcourse log, 2009)

It is also my understanding, based on the literature reviewed, that the process of internship might also impact on the students' *'self-identity'* as learners. The development of competencies has been linked to internship, but to what extent do culinary students gain vocational self-concept clarification through working in a hot stressful environment. I would argue that the process of mobility provides additional opportunities through experiential learning, both in and outside of the workplace. The reviewed studies examined the process of internship with the work environment forming the main focus of their discussions, see Barrett and Tinsley (1977), Brooks et al. (1995), Callanan and Benzing (2004), Coco (2000), Dennis (1996), Lauber et al. (2004), Pianko (1996), Taylor (1988), and Verney et al. (2009). It is relatively clear from the literature reviewed that there are common aspects to internships. Unique to this study, however, is the culinary environment and the potential to gain an understanding of the relationships between culinary internships, learning and the academic domain. Thus, for the purpose of this study Lauber's (2004:42) definition of internship is adopted: 'experience in actual work situations that allows students the opportunity to translate academic theories and principles into actions, to test out career interests and to develop skills and abilities.'

My analysis of the case study data identified aspects of the professional culinary practice, integration, and categorisation of students and their identity in the host organisations. To facilitate an understanding of shifts in the students' identities as learners during their internship, as well as their attitudes towards the internship programme and the experience, I disseminated questionnaires before and after the internship in April and October of 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011, to support the qualitative data collected. The literature reviewed revolved around professional practice and culinary life through explorations of the movement of chefs in search of greater culinary skills. I reviewed categorisation as a process of culinary practice and drew on writers such as, Mac Con Iomaire (2009), Verney et al. (2009), Kraig (2006), Lauber et al. (2004), Books et al. (1995), Orwell (1989), Taylor (1988) and Page and Kingsford (1971). Mac Con Iomaire (2009), Kraig (2006) and Page and Kingsford (1971) discussed the chain of command, bullying and verbal abuse that can be experienced in a restaurant kitchen. Based on data collected in 2007 see Cullen (2010a) and Cullen (2010b), the interactions in the kitchen are relevant because some of the students have experienced episodes of verbal abuse during their international internship. Verney et al. (2009), Lauber et al. (2004), Books et al. (1995) and Taylor (1988) conducted research in relation to the development of student vocational self-concept during internship. This was also pertinent to this study because I had no knowledge if students gain or lose vocational self-concept as a result of their experiences during the international internship. By developing my knowledge of vocational self-concept it might help me to design a framework for the internship programme in the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology that facilitates the enhancement of the students' experience.

Using the headings and sub-headings for example, *Pre-internship Concerns*, and *Student Greatest Concerns*, I commence the analysis in this section by exploring data collected in relation to the students' concerns about their level of culinary competence and the skills that internship host organisations might require from them. Following the analysis of the participants' pre-internship concerns, I explore data connected to the categorisation of participants during their internship and identify that students do align themselves with the collective identities to gain acceptance as part of the culinary teams in the kitchens. Therefore, under the heading of Categorisation and Proving Oneself, I explore the data in relation to the hierarchical systems used to categorise the participants in the host internship kitchens.

1.4.1 Students Pre-Internship Concerns

In this section I analyse the data related to the students' concerns about the internship and use excerpts from their interviews and final reports to develop the connections between this study and the theoretical frame. The sub-sub-heading *Students' Greatest Concerns* is used to illustrate the connection and understanding of the students' expressed concerns. Thirty students were interviewed before the internship, eleven male and nineteen female. During the interviews I explored the students' concerns about their culinary practice and what Barrett and Tinsley (1977) and Taylor (1988) described as vocational self-concept and occasional indecision. In their study Barrett and Tinsley (1977) found that individuals with low self-esteem did not have the same crystallised understanding of the type of career they wanted compared with individuals who had higher self-esteem. During the analysis of interviews which was conducted with students prior to their internship links were identified between Barrett and Tinsley's (1977) concepts of vocational self-concept, in particular their concepts of occasional indecision, and the students' attitude to the internship. I established through the thirty pre-internship interviews and quantitative analysis of data collected, that the female students had greater concerns about the culinary practice regardless of their self-esteem. For example, ten female students indicated that they had concerns about the culinary practice in the host organisations as opposed to three male students expressing any concern. However, the students that demonstrated a greater focus on working as a chef on completion of the BA in Culinary Arts programme only spoke about the level of culinary skills that might be required and had organised the internship themselves. In contrast, the students that did not demonstrate or indicate that they had a clear vocational focus, expressed concerns about integrating in the host organisations as well as the culinary skills required. Two participants in particular, indicated that they lacked confidence in their skills and ability to deal with people and had not found a suitable host organisation at the time of the interview - the internship was due to commence within four weeks of the interview. The male students were mainly concerned about being exploited by the employer during the internship. For example, twelve male participants made some reference to exploitation whereas the females did not identify this as a concern.

This data is relevant to the theories of vocational self-concept and the information might help guide the development of the School's internship framework. Using the data I explore the participants' abilities to make decisions about the type of internship they would like in relation their demonstration of vocational self-concepts. I also explore issues related to the Erasmus funding, accommodation and the communication difficulties experienced by participants' when working in the host organisation kitchens. By developing a better understanding of the participants' concerns and the impact vocational self-concept might have on their choice and the type of experience they would have during the internship, the data was used to guide the development of a framework for the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology's international internship programme.

Students' Greatest Concerns

Interview with two students: In response to the question, 'If you had any concerns about that placement what would it be?'

(RSF) Well my own concerns would be that when I get over there I'll be way over my head as far as what I know and what my skills are. I just don't know whether they're going to accept me in straight away over there. I'm going to be barraged with abuse and I'm not up to the standard for the first while. I just don't know.

(RSF2) What I'm really concerned and worried about is what I will have to wear, like I don't know if it will be an office environment, do you know what I'm going to have to wear?

(I) You'll have to wear chef's uniforms, because you would be working with the experts in the innovation kitchen in Puratos and they wear whites. So bring your own whites. Is there anything else you would like to know?

(RSF2) That's great.

Participants' RSF and RSF2 had not worked in kitchens apart from a five-week national internship in 2007 and had indicated that they did not wish to work in a restaurant kitchen during the international culinary internship. RSF was assisted and found an internship with a bakery in France. RSF2 was assisted in securing an internship in Puratos World Innovation Centre in Belgium. Inference can be made between the data collected during this study and Brooks et al's. (1995) claim that internship can benefit individuals by helping them crystallise their vocational self-concept. I agree with Brooks et al. (1995) that internship can benefit students by enhancing their vocational self-concept. For example, participants RSF and RSF2 had decided that they did not

wish to work in a restaurant kitchen following their national internship experience and this was a crystallisation of their vocational self-concept. However, they still expressed what Barrett and Tinsley (1977) term 'occasional indecision' as neither RSF nor RSF2 was sure about the host organisations and both had concerns about the practice and their integration into the host organisation. But both participants were certain that working in a restaurant kitchen would not be suitable for their international internship experience.

The next excerpts relate to two students, RAF and RCF, who clearly demonstrated a crystallised vocational self-concept following the national internship. RAF was placed in a Michelin-starred restaurant for the national internship and continued to work in the restaurant post-internship. The Head Chef in the restaurant helped the participant to secure her internship with a Michelin-starred restaurant in Italy. RCF also worked in a restaurant during the national internship, but then decided that a career in a restaurant kitchen did not interest her. These participants had demonstrated high self-esteem through their ability to represent their class during discussions, and a vocational self-concept through a strong focus towards careers in culinary practice. They gave the following answers to the question: 'If you had any concerns about that placement what would they be?'

(RAF), yet more so, like I know you can only do your best and you have to adapt to teams. When you have to go all day, but you cannot do anything about that crack (meaning adapting to the situation) before you go over. So all I can do is improve my cooking.

(I) Your performance in the kitchen?

(RAF) Yes. All I can do is my best, and they have great expectations of me.

(I) So you feel that is putting pressure on you?

(RAF) Yes.

(I) Do you have any other concerns?

(RAF) Yes the language. The fact that I don't do it in school but I have never really learnt Italian before, and even now, with everything else to do I keep putting it on the back boiler and he told me (the Italian head chef) I cannot speak English in his restaurant. He said through a translator Italian in my kitchen, Italian in Italy, no English so that was quite scary.

(I) If you had any concerns about internship what would they be?

(RCF) Just will I be able to do the work that they set out for me and will I make friends, will the people be nice.

(I) What type of establishment are you going to work in during the internship.

(RCF) Cupcake weddings.

(I) When you say cupcake, cupcake to me is like fairy cakes?

(RCF) 'Yes' no it's not like that, it's weddings and some people get a cupcake wedding cake rather than the traditional wedding cake.

Participants RAF and RCF demonstrated clear vocational self-concepts and did not expect the tutors to assist them in securing the internship because they had a vision of the type of experience wanted. These students had set out a plan to ensure as close as possible that their internship meet with their expectations. The students were able to explain what they would be doing during the internship and RAF had met with the Head Chef from Italy when he visited Dublin. Similar cases to RAF and RCF were established where the students had a clear focus on the type of career they would like. For example, two students requested assistance to set up their internship in the Fat Duck, a three-starred Michelin restaurant near London. Following some initial contact made by myself, the students negotiated the terms and conditions that suited them during the internship without further intervention from internship tutors. One case study participant negotiated his terms and conditions with La Manior, a two-starred Michelin restaurant in London, and another did so with Restaurant Eve, a two-starred Michelin restaurant in the USA. Eight participants demonstrated clear vocational decision-making ability during the interviews and had engaged in researching the restaurants before accepting the internships. All eight participants returned with increased self-autonomy and task identity. The data collected seem to support Taylor's (1988) claim that internship experiences that provide a high level of feedback (in this instance professional culinary practice feedback) facilitate the development of 'self,' increasing the students' self-autonomy, task identity and skills variety. For example in 2007 twelve out of twenty-two participants indicated on the questionnaire that their confidence increased following the internship. Following the introduction in 2008 of a mentors' report as a means of providing student feedback, nineteen out of twenty-one participants indicated on the returned questionnaires that their confidence increased following the internship. In 2009 twenty-three participants out of twenty-seven returned post-internship questionnaires indicated that their confidence increased.

The next interview excerpts are from two participants, RAF3 and RKF, who had worked in kitchens following the national internship and demonstrated clear vocational self-concept. The participants did not, however, engage in any research to obtain feedback from the employer or tutors in relation to the internship. The data suggests that the two participants, RAF3 and RKF, had a clear vocational self-concept but, they also expressed strong concern in relation to their integration in the host organisations. This is relevant because the data suggests that participants with a clear vocational self-concept

also need to have a positive self-concept of their practical culinary skills and abilities to gain social acceptance into new groups before they are comfortable with the expected change. All the students were assisted with securing the placement because they accepted current internships with one of our host organisations. They were advised to meet with the students that had completed their internship with this establishment in 2007, none of them followed up on this advice. One explanation for this finding might be that the more experienced and culinary competent students were, the more they tended to gravitate towards working in Michelin-starred restaurants. On the other hand, students who indicated that they did not intend working in kitchens once they graduated from the programme perceived the internship as something which did not allow them to experience a creative learning experience:

(RAF3) I suppose concerns are due to my chromes.

(I) Yeah.

(RAF3) Can I talk about that?

(I) Yes.

(RAF3) Because I'd just be afraid that I'd get sick and wouldn't be able to perform to the best of my ability.

(I) Yes, we know then if you get sick, we've already spoken about 'that' that we can actually sort it out, you know.

(RAF3) Yeah.

(I) You know you can come home for a little while to attend hospital if needed and ((S) Head Chef) is aware of that?

(RAF3) Yeah.

(I) And the insurance company is actually aware of it.

(RAF3) Yeah. I suppose on a personal level I'm afraid that maybe I'm won't integrate into the team as quickly as I'd like to like.

(I) Why do you feel that?

(RAF3) No I want to and I feel that I will but that would be a concern that maybe because of my lack of, well not lack of French but because of the French, my French isn't that good, that I would be afraid that like that would cause some holdbacks, setbacks.

(I) Right, that's interesting actually I might pick up on that later on and see how you feel when you come back about that.

(RAF) Yeah, yeah.

(I), But do you have any concerns about the internship and if you do, what would they be?

(RKF), The work, if I can do what they (employer) asked me to do.

(I), So are you worried about the skills level of the work?

(RKF), Yes, and if I would get along, because we are stuck there for nine weeks. (The internship was a 12-week period).

(RSM) Well my own concerns would be that when I get over there I'll be way over my head as far as what I know and what my skills are. I just don't know whether they're going to accept me in straight away over there. Am I going to be barraged with abuse and I'm not up to the standard for the first while. I just don't know.

(I) Yeah, yeah.

(RSM) I don't know how I'm going to handle the fact that they could ask me to do something and I won't have a clue what they're talking about.

(I) Would you be confident enough to say that you don't know what they're talking about?

(RSM) Oh yeah I think I should be because I imagine I mean they can't really expect you to know everything in a day now when you're just coming as a commis chef.

Twenty-two of the thirty case study participants interviewed did not appear to have a vocational focus for the internship and many were prepared to allow the internship committee do all the work when it came to finding the internship. In February of 2008 the committee realised that students actually saw it as being responsible for finding the internship for them. The internship programme was quickly moving from a 'student problem-based approach' to a 'tutor problem' based approach. This was addressed at a workshop held with all thirty students in February 2008. I could identify a gap in the case study participants understanding of the internship objective that was not going to be addressed with one workshop. It was identified from the data that the curriculum framework needed to consider the development of the individual as a 'boundary crosser.'

Over the course of the interviews male respondents were more likely to identify issues of money, accommodation, 'getting bored with the location, fights breaking out and getting into trouble' (getting picked upon), eight out of eleven males identified these factors as issues that concerned them. For example,

(RKM) My biggest concern is that I run out money, now I kind of have it sorted out so I should be okay. Another concern is the language barrier, I do Italian now and I only did French up to the sixth year, so it's been a couple years since I did the French.

(RTM) I suppose everybody has concerns about the internship.

(I) But what would be a greatest concern?

(RTM) My greatest concern would be that you get stuck in a place with people that you don't get on with or arrests or fights happening around the place. I think that would be the worst thing that could happen. I know that there is a language barrier, but you can get over that, so that wouldn't be a problem, it's more so getting into trouble.

(I) Right, so when you say getting into trouble, you're really concerned about somebody attacking or mugging you?

(RTM) It's not really that, you can get attacked anywhere. It's more to do with the working environment that would kind of working in an unusual working environment, and you just don't get anything out of the internship, just hate it like you know. You would be better off if you just go in and you'd get on with everybody, well not necessarily people that you get on with but more to do with the environment.

(I) So working as a team?

(RTM) Yes, and probably getting lost.

(I) Okay.

The quantitative data indicated that seventeen respondents were worried about finance, eleven females and six males. It transpired that nine participants received financial support from a family member or friend during the internship, eight female and one male. In addition to exploring the connections with the theoretical frame cross-tabulation was conducted on the country and style of restaurant (for example, Michelin-starred restaurants) to establish if there was a relationship between a particular type of establishment and problems with finance. The Erasmus grant is index-linked to the host country but many of the Michelin-starred restaurants only provide food and accommodation and make no payment to students on internship, see Cullen (2010a). The data indicates that the country or type of restaurant did not have a greater impact on the respondents' financial problems. It is important that I establish these factors, as we continue to develop partnerships that seek accommodation, meals and good training agreements as part of our internship programme. Table 1 presents the frequency results of factors that were cross-tabulated with all the statements in the questionnaire to establish if any patterns existed that needed to be addressed, but nothing of significance was found.

Table 1 Frequency of Results for Qualifying Factors used in Cross Tabulation.

Response to questions used in pre-internship questionnaire	YES	NO	
1. Have you work abroad before going on placement	9	13	
2. Will you be working in a Michelin Star restaurant	7	15	
3. Will you be alone while on work-placement	4	18	
4. Will you receive payment for the placement	B*10	G*6	W*6
Questions used in post-internship questionnaire			
1. Would you consider working abroad again	20	1	
2. Should the internship be extended to six months	6	15	
3. Was your internship in a Michelin Star restaurant	7	14	
4. Did you feel alone while on internship	4	17	
5. Did you receive payment for the placement	B*11	G*5	W*5

Note in Table 6: B* = Both accommodation and meals, Mo* = Meals only and No* = None, G* Grant only, W* = Wage only. The average payment of European Culinary internship is €400 per month in cases where B* is denoted.

The interviews did establish that the female participants are more concerned about culinary performance than the male students. One plausible explanation for this difference in levels of concern between the male and female students may be due to the fact that, when asked, only four female students on the BA in Culinary Arts programme indicated that they would work in kitchens following their graduation as opposed to eight of the eleven male students on the programme. It could also be that the female students are more conscientious about their learning during the internship. For example, seven of the respondents indicated they were going to work in a Michelin-starred restaurant during the internship, four female and three male. In contrast, male students were more likely to seek part-time employment in kitchens during their studies, thus improving their skills. For example, eight out the eleven male students where working in kitchens as opposed to four out of the nineteen female students. Participant RSM indicated concern in relation to his culinary skills because he intended to undertake his internship in a three-starred Michelin restaurant located in the greater London district. The quantitative results support the qualitative findings of the pre-internship interviews. The concerns in relation to the culinary practice raised by many of the students were not unique to Michelin-starred restaurants, as I would have assumed prior to this analysis, see Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 Concerns about Culinary Skills 2008

I am concerned that my culinary skills will not be good enough

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	2	9.1	9.1	
Disagree	2	9.1	9.1	18.2
Agree Nor Disagree	7	31.8	31.8	50.0
Agree	6	27.3	27.3	77.3
Strongly Agree	5	22.7	22.7	100.0
Total	22	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 Concerns about Culinary Skills 2009

I am concerned that my culinary skills will not be good enough

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly Disagree	4	14.8	14.8	
Disagree	4	14.8	14.8	29.6
Agree Nor Disagree	9	33.3	33.3	63.0
Agree	5	18.5	18.5	81.5
Strongly Agree	5	18.5	18.5	100.0
Total	27		100.0	

In relation to language concerns in the context of professional identity in practice, one participant stated:

Major drawback here was the language barrier, believing you understand the task given to you with complete clarity to learn then that you didn't understand some detail to it and then doing it wrong. This caused a lot of frustration for me doing something wrong purely from misinterpretation and wasting time and resources of the other chefs who would then go away and correct my work. This however did improve over time and I learned all the little variable techniques they used and completed the tasks to perfection. I saw how specific and technical some chefs could work completing each task without variation from the last time they did it, always with great speed. Also my level of concentration and awareness of self was increased, the guys I worked with were constantly talking and working with me so an efficient level of workmanship was constantly maintained. This was the reason trustworthiness was of utmost importance, the sense of working as a team was imperative to the successful running of the kitchen and you never wanted to disappoint a co-worker by making a mistake, improvement was the only option. Your success meant more success for everyone. (RMM, Final Report, 2008, France).

A connection can be made between the extract above and Giddens (2007) theories in relation to self-concept and self-evaluation. Giddens indicates that an inverse relationship exists between the values placed on achieving common organisational goals and the salient attributes of categorisation. In this instance, RMM identified the common goal as 'completing each task without variation from the last time they did it, always with great speed' to achieve perfection. It was the student's demonstration of culinary competence and his development of 'awareness of self' (self-concept) that he could maintain the common goals (high standard expected in the kitchen) which connects with Giddens' theory about inverse relationships between organisational goals and categorisation. The data also suggests that the identification of oneself with other group members is an important aspect of the students' self-identity during their

internship, see Tables 4 and 5. Bergh and Theron (2008) argue that, although the individual's presentation of self can be variable, their self-concept is generally stable. RMM made reference indicating that his 'level of awareness of self was increased, the guys I worked with were constantly talking and working with me so an efficient level of workmanship was constantly maintained' (RMM, final internship report). I believe that in this instance RMM's self-concept did not remain stable, but changed in order to gain acceptance as a skilled culinary student in the kitchen. RMM's experience demonstrates connections with Giddens' theories about the transition of the individual's self-identity advocating that the demographic dissimilarities may be less salient to that of achieving common goals to become an in-group member of the culinary kitchen brigade. The transition that RMM experienced may have had a significant effect on his self-identity because he found himself in a situation that necessitated major change to the normal living activities.

Table 4 Culinary Skill Post-internship 2008

My culinary skills were good enough for the placement experienced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Agree Nor Disagree	4	19.0	20.0	20.0
	Agree	9	42.9	45.0	65.0
	Strongly Agree	7	33.3	35.0	100.0
	Total	20	95.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	4.8		
Total		21	100.0		

Table 1 Culinary Skill Post-internship 2009

My culinary skills were good enough for the placement experienced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Disagree	1	3.7	3.7	3.7
	Agree Nor Disagree	2	7.4	7.4	11.1
	Agree	13	48.1	48.1	59.3
	Strongly Agree	11	40.7	40.7	100.0
	Total	27	100.0	100.0	

The interviews conducted prior to the internship established that students have concerns about their culinary skills. For example, in 2008 ten female and three male participants

had concerns about their level of culinary skills, in contrast with the interviews and quantitative research conducted following the internship which found that the students believed that their skills were good enough.

1.5 Conclusion

During my analysis of the data I highlighted a number of factors that contributed to the skills learnt by students and the cultural integration they experienced through their engagement with the internship programme. I detailed their experiences, such as the development of confidence, communication skills, culinary skills, boundary-crossing (how to adapt in a new culture), decision-making and problem-solving skills, learning to negotiate with peers, vocational self-concept and personal financial management skills. These skills are learnt to some extent and to different degrees by many of the students. A number of the factors I identified during the analysis of the data, coalesced and correlated with the theories and concepts presented in the literature review. For example, data was provided correlated with Giddens' (2006) concept of self-actualisation in terms of gaining freedom from emotional habits. However, this depends on the students' circumstances and living conditions prior to the internship. Therefore there needs to be a shift in habit before students experience freedom from external tutelage. The participants indicated that without external tutelage they gain the freedom to make decisions and be themselves.

During the data analysis I identified evidence that internship is a confidence builder in relation to 1) the students' culinary abilities, however, this depends on the standard of culinary practice in the kitchen, and 2) evidence was identified in Section 6.3.2 indicating that participants living away from home for the first time and/or having to deal with difficult situations can gain from the experience. The international internship experience promotes understanding of, and competence in, professional culinary practice. The data presented in Section 6.2.1 provided evidence that the development of a vocational self-concept can be an outcome of internship because students learn to work alongside experts in the culinary field and to identify the type of career they would like, such as cake decoration, pastry work. Students also identify the type of skills required to work in a Michelin star restaurant or whether they ever want to work in a

kitchen again. The findings support the claims of Taylor (1988) and Brooks et al. (1995), that individuals do gain vocational self-concept as a result of internship. I am arguing, however, that culinary internships must include professional level culinary work that interests the student if they are to gain from the experience. I am also arguing that there is some justification in the data presented in Chapter Six, to claim that the international culinary internship can enhance the students' self-concept and self-evaluation and I have drawn connections with the reviewed literature in Sections 3.3.1 and 4.1. For instance, in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.5.3, I drew implicit connections with Taylor (1988), Verney et al. (2009) and Brooks et al. (1995) and their concepts of 'vocational self-concept.' In Section 6.6.4, I explored the students' self-evaluation and perception of their culinary competence and abilities to integrate and gain in-group membership. The data indicated that the students' self-concept can be enhanced when the connections between the academic studies and the internship are made. I also identified that the connections could be further developed and enhanced using a framework that encourages research on possible host organisations, reflection on the professional practice and finding suitable internship host organisations that will allow the students to work alongside experts in the culinary field.

It was suggested by Brooks et al. (1995), that well structured internships providing high levels of feedback will facilitate the students' development of self and can increase their standard self-autonomy, task identity and skills variety. There is evidence in the data presented in Section 6.2.1 to support Brooks et al's. (1995)argument. The excerpts presented above, related to the interviews and reports from participants RSM2 and RAF3 before, during and after the internship and provided an account of the self-identity and vocational self-concept that can be *lost* (and by *lost* I mean individuals who wanted to become chefs before the internship, then indicated they did not want this career, moved to another host organisation and again decided they wanted to become chefs). The data also indicated that engagement in international internship can further enhance the students' development of self in addition to their culinary practice.

A series of transitions was identified in the data which resulted in the students attuning to the new culture and conforming to the host organisations' culinary practice. Living and learning in both culture and culinary practice ceases to be perceived as a problem. For many of the students, the internship is a good experience and the different elements,

such as integrating into the host organisation, developing new friendships and experiencing more independence, are welcomed. My analysis suggests that the brigade system is still in use and a labelling of the student as '*stagiaire*' in Europe or '*extern*' in the USA sets the tone for the culinary practice making it necessary for the student to gain acceptance. The process of self-evaluation by students prior to the internship is evident in the recorded interviews. For example, eight of the students evaluated their skills against the researched data they collected about the intended host organisation for their internship, and without conducting any research themselves two students evaluated their culinary skills against their understanding of what the host organisation might be like to work in. In twenty cases the students did not make comparisons of their skills with the skills that might be required by the internship employer or had not collected any researched information about the host organisation. This approach by the student sometimes resulted in problems with integration during the internship.

For many of the students, the internship is a good experience and the different elements, such as integrating into the host organisation, developing new friendships and experiencing more independence, are welcomed. My analysis suggests that the kitchen brigade system is still in use and a labelling of the student as '*stagiaire*' in Europe or '*extern*' in the USA sets the tone for the culinary practice making it necessary for the student to gain acceptance. The process of self-evaluation by students prior to the internship is evident in the recorded interviews. For example, eight of the students evaluated their skills against the researched data they collected about the intended host organisation for their internship, and without conducting any research themselves two students evaluated their culinary skills against their understanding of what the host organisation might be like to work in. In twenty cases the students did not make comparisons of their skills with the skills that might be required by the internship employer or had not collected any researched information about the host organisation. This approach by the student sometimes resulted in problems with integration during the internship.

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