A Critical Analysis of Gender Inequality in the Chef Profession in Ireland

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A Critical Analysis of Gender Inequality in the Chef Profession in Ireland

Submitted by
Mary Farrell

To School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology
Technological University Dublin
For the Award of a PhD.

Supervisor:
Dr Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, Technological University Dublin

September 2020
Declaration

I declare that this thesis which is now submitted for examination for the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that that work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for graduate study by research of the Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for any award in any other third level institution.

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirement of the Technological University Dublin’s guidelines for ethics in research.
Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisor Dr. Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire for his continued assistance, support and supervision throughout the evolution of this dissertation.

Special thanks to Professor Emeritus John Baker whose expertise on inequality and social justice was invaluable, Dr. Deirdre Nuttall for support, advice and guidance along the journey and Dr. Elaine Mahon for her invaluable assistance with editing.

Many thanks to my doctoral examiners, Professor Pat O'Connor and Dr. Ziene Mottiar, for their close reading and engaging discussion at the Viva, which helped strengthen the final thesis.

I would like to thank Gary and Claire Morton of C. Morton & Sons, who, as my employers were generous of spirit throughout this process. Finally, I would like to thank Richard, steadfastly patient and supportive always.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the most important women in my life, past and present, my two grandmothers, my mother and my five sisters.
Abstract

As an original piece of research, this dissertation investigates the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. The aims of the study sought to establish the extent of gender inequality and the factors that contribute to it in the chef profession in Ireland. The first national gender inequality survey was designed to collect empirical and qualitative data of the chef profession. Joan Acker’s (1990) original theory of gendered organisations and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity were employed to undertake a systematic gender analysis of the data emanating the survey. This analysis reveals, for the first time, the extent of gender inequality in the roles and work environments in which men and women chefs work and suggests reasons why this occurs. A critical gender analysis of the qualitative data revealed the factors that women chefs identify as barriers to gender equality and those that need to be addressed to advance gender equality. The gender analysis of both the empirical and qualitative data in this study suggests that Acker’s (1990) theory remains relevant for assessing gender inequality in twenty first century work organizations with caveats. The findings suggest that education should be considered as a possible site of inequality in addition to Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting practises and processes of the division of labour, individual identities, workplace interactions, cultural symbols and images and the organisation logic of gendered organisations.
Glossary of Terms

**Brigade de Cuisine:** A French hierarchical management system to ensure kitchen operations run smoothly. It is known as the kitchen brigade or sometimes referred to as the simply the brigade.

**Chef de Cuisine:** The leadership role of executive head or head chef in the professional kitchen who is responsible for overall management of kitchen. They supervise and manage staff, control costs and make purchases, and liaise with the restaurant manager and suppliers to create new menus.

**Sous Chef:** The deputy chef who shares many of the same responsibilities as the head chef, however they are much more involved in the day-to-day operations in the kitchen. The sous chef also fills in for the head chef when they are not present.

**Chef de Partie:** The station chef. This role is split into many different roles. There is more than one chef de partie and each one is responsible for a different section of the kitchen.

**Chef de Tournant:** The relief chef. This person does not have a specific job, but rather fills in as and when needed at different stations.

**Entremetier:** A vegetable chef who prepares vegetables, soups, starches, and eggs. In larger kitchens, this role may split into two.

**Potager:** A entremetier or vegetable chef who is in charge of making soups

**Legumier:** A entremetier or vegetable chef who is in charge of preparing any vegetable

**Commis Chef:** Is the apprentice chef and the junior chef who has usually recently completed, or is still partaking in, formal training.

**Stage:** An internship
### Abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BLS</td>
<td>Bureau of Labor Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERT</td>
<td>The Council for Education, Recruitment and Training for the Hotel Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIC</td>
<td>Construction Industry Council’s Diversity Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSO</td>
<td>Central Statistics Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIT</td>
<td>Dublin Institute of Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>EC</td>
<td>European Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGFSN</td>
<td>The Expert Group and Future Skills Need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIGE</td>
<td>European Institute of Gender Inequality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESRI</td>
<td>Economic and Social Research Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOTREC</td>
<td>Umbrella Group for Hotel Career Hospitality Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGBT</td>
<td>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCCB</td>
<td>The National Craft Curriculum Certification Board (NCCCB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWCI</td>
<td>National Women’s Council of Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONS</td>
<td>Office of National Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAI</td>
<td>Restaurant Association of Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

As an original contribution to the literature, this dissertation investigates, for the first time, the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. Despite the continued dominant responsibility for domestic cooking by women, men dominate the chef profession. A transformative mixed methodology was used to explore the reasons for, and the extent of, women’s underrepresentation at every level in the chef profession in Ireland. This chapter introduces the research topic identifying the significance of the study. The background to the research is outlined followed by the researcher’s positioning within the research. The aims and objectives are presented, and an examination of the theoretical context follows. The methodological approach taken to achieve the research aims is presented and the chapter concludes with an overview of the dissertation.

Significance of the Research

This dissertation makes a unique contribution to both culinary arts and equality research by providing a comprehensive analysis of empirically based evidence of the gender inequality which exists in the chef profession in Ireland. The significance of this research is that it demonstrates, for the first time, the gender composition of chef roles and work environments of a national sample survey, which reveals the extent of gender inequality in the chef profession. This is important as it will make it possible to track the progress of gender equality in the chef profession in Ireland by undertaking a similar empirical study in the coming years. This is the first research output that empirically quantifies, on a national scale, evidence of gender inequality in the chef profession and offers a starting point for quantitative based academic research on gender equality in the chef profession at international level. Crucially, the empirical data offers the possibility of comparative analysis with other professions in the broader professional sphere, at both national and international level, where empirical gender
equality research is undertaken. This pioneering research adds to international academic equality scholarship by offering a fresh historical perspective for the paradox of why women remain the dominant cooks in the domestic sphere while men dominate the chef profession. This study is the first to identify the role of culinary education as a possible site of gender inequality and a contributor to gender inequality while suggesting possible ways to address the under-representation of women in the chef profession in Ireland. From a methodological perspective, the contribution of this study is two-fold: firstly, it demonstrates the ability of a targeted online survey to access chefs from a diversity of professional environments, and secondly, it illustrates the significance of a gender weighting mechanism to allow for an accurate gender representative sample of the chef population. From a theoretical perspective, it demonstrates the continued relevance of Joan Acker’s (1990) original theory of gendered organizations to elucidate gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland, whilst also highlighting some limitations.

**Background**

The chef profession operates within the hospitality industry, a fast-paced service industry with current statistics predicting growth in many countries. In 2010, the hospitality industry supported 16.6 million jobs in Europe, representing 7.8% of the European workforce and 3.7% of GDP (Hotrec, 2018). The restaurant industry in Ireland is part of the booming hospitality industry where a combination of strong inwards tourism figures, combined with near full employment, has witnessed unprecedented growth in the food service industry including coffee shops, casual dining, hotels and full-service restaurants (Bord Bia, 2016). As a result, industry leaders argue that the shortage of chefs to cater for this demand is at crisis point (Farrell, 2018). Interestingly the chef profession in Ireland is similar to the profession internationally, where/in that it remains male-dominated while the vast
majority of women continue to have responsibility for unpaid domestic food work. It is estimated that up to 5,000 chefs are required each year to fulfil the demand of a booming restaurant industry in Ireland (EGFSN, 2015). Therefore, it is important to identify the factors that contribute to women’s under-representation in the profession and to explore why this talent pool is being lost to the industry and, subsequently, contributing to the chef shortage.

Statistics indicate that, while there is variance in representation across countries, women are poorly represented in the chef profession, and in particular, in leadership roles as head chefs. In 2017, women accounted for 17% of the chef population in the United Kingdom (UK) and 41.2% in the United States of America (USA) (BLS, 2018a; ONS, 2018). In 2016 in Ireland, female chefs accounted for a little over 31% of the chef population, a reduction of 2% in their representation from the 2011 census (CSO, 2018a). Statistics reveal that in Ireland in 2014, 14.5% of head chefs were female while in the USA in 2017, 22% of head cooks and chefs were female (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; BLS, 2018b). Women are a tiny minority of the head chefs in Michelin-starred restaurants and in best restaurant/chef lists; details of women’s poor representation are explored in Chapter Two in the section Cultural Symbols and Images: Chef Awards.

Morgan and Pritchard (2019, p. 38) stress “the continued missed opportunities of neglecting female talent and call on female and male leaders to shape a gender-just future in hospitality study and practice by mentoring and holding hierarchies to account”. Food studies scholars (Avakian and Haber 2005; Cairns and Johnson 2015, p.172) have noted the “long-standing and curious division between studies of gender and food, where food studies has tended to neglect women and very little of its analysis has been feminist in nature”. Research reflects the dominance of men in the chef profession where topics addressed include occupational identity,
socialisation of chefs, abusive work environments within professional kitchens, and success factors for chefs which focus on men as chefs in the industry with only cursory attention paid to women (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; Cooper et al., 2017; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018; Johns and Menzel, 1999; Mac Con Iomaire, 2008; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007; Palmer et al., 2010; Young and Corsun, 2010).

Limited comprehensive research has been carried out on women in the chef profession and much of this research has focused on female chefs in America (Cooper 1997; Druckman; 2012; Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004). Harris and Giuffre’s (2015) work stands out as a comprehensive study of gender inequality in the chef profession in America. By employing organizational and occupational sociology, they demonstrated the gendered differences in how national food media covers male and female excellence in the kitchen. Furthermore, they documented the challenges women chefs face in the industry in Texas, including discriminatory divisions of labour, normalised sexual harassment practices, and the difficulty in balancing work and family life (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). They also provided an analysis of the historic development of cooking as a profession, arguing that the gender identity of chefs has been embedded within ‘precarious masculinity’, and the need to distance itself from the ‘feminisation threat’ of the domestic sphere and home cooking. This was accomplished through hyper-masculinised and exclusionary codification, training, and organizational structures which have carried through to the contemporary chef profession. More recently, Haddaji et al.’s (2017a; 2017b) research found that the masculine culture of the professional kitchen contributed to the low representation of women in haute cuisine kitchens, while research on aggression, bullying and sexual harassment in professional kitchens has also brought forward issues relating to structural, cultural, organizational and masculine
culture (Ineson, 2013; Meloury and Signal, 2014; Ram, 2018; Theocharous and Philaretou, 2009).

The pioneering research within this dissertation is therefore orientated towards expanding the current limited body of knowledge by interrogating gender inequality in the chef profession and its specificity within the Irish context.

**Positioning within the Research**

Researchers are social beings who are influenced by past experiences such as belief-systems, attitudes and expectations. They also enter the investigative process with a set of assumptions and expectations pertaining to the outcomes of the study at hand. As a result, qualitative observation and interpretation has the potential to be biased due to researcher subjectivity (Robson, 2002). Such subjectivity has provided the foundation for a great deal of criticism directed towards qualitative measures. However, instead of down-playing and shying away from the reality of such bias, Elliott, Fischer, and Rennie (1999, p. 221) argue for the importance of “owning one’s perspective” and being reflexive when conducting qualitative investigation. Reflexivity requires researchers to be mindful of any personal factors that may impact the research process, such as their social identity, research goals and expectations, assumptions regarding gender, race, and class, and the political milieu of the study (Ahern, 1999). Some scholars advocate that a reflexive statement should be incorporated within qualitative reports, as a means of demonstrating transparency and informing readers of the researcher’s ideological position (Morrow, 2005). While this research incorporates a mixed methodology approach, the researcher believed it beneficial to provide a brief account of their own experience of/in? the field and the motivating factors that influenced the pursuit of the research.
The researcher has thirty years’ experience working in the hospitality industry, mainly in Ireland with early experience in Europe and Australia. Having initially started at the bottom of the hospitality industry, the researcher successfully worked in a diversity of leadership roles as executive head chef, front of house manager, food business owner and employer, educator and more recently as an employee in variety of professional environments. The researcher’s embodied (de Beauvoir, 1949; Young, 1980) professional experiences give a unique insight into the chef profession in Ireland. Over the course of her career, the researcher has experienced and witnessed gender discrimination at many levels and has confronted and negotiated gender discrimination issues with staff while in the role of head chef in the professional kitchen. The embodied professional experiences and knowledge both as a chef and a woman led the researcher to question why it is that the chef profession in Ireland and indeed internationally continues to remain dominated by men.

As the researcher reflected on this phenomenon and discussed it with friends, a universally perplexing question emerged: why are women the main cooks in the home while men appear to be the chefs in industry? Furthermore, she was influenced by the increased public discourse around gender equality in Ireland where criticism of the dearth of women in a range of professions, particularly in leadership roles in areas such as politics, theatre and higher education, began to take centre stage (Duncan, 2014; Gander, 2014; NWCI, 2014; Watters, 2014). As a result, the researcher became more acutely aware of the lack of visibility of women in her own profession and was surprised by the vehement denial of the existence of gender inequality in Ireland by many male chefs. Finally, as a former student of political theory, the researcher believed in the principle of equality of opportunity in the professional sphere as one of the principles of liberal democracies where jobs are awarded on merit regardless of gender. However, the researcher’s understanding of this principle has evolved and changed over time now believing that women are unequally positioned in the chef profession by virtue of their
gender. The Diversity and Equality Law Division of the Department of Justice and Law Reform is responsible for developing the policy and legal framework to advance equal opportunities and to promote the development of a more equal society. It becomes therefore fundamental to understand the specific factors that result in women chefs’ underrepresentation and which do not afford them equal opportunity in the chef profession. The goals of the project are directed to social justice: addressing the causes of gender equality offering possible solutions to promote gender equality in the chef profession.

Aims and Objectives

The overarching purpose of this study was to uncover the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland in the face of limited research on this topic internationally, and the complete absence of research on this subject in Ireland. The study aims to empirically quantify gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland for the first time, in order to provide a nuanced gender analysis of the factors that contribute to women’s under representation in the chef profession in Ireland. The research seeks to fulfil this objective by posing the following main research question (MRQ): What factors contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland?

This main research question was answered by addressing three sub research questions (SRQ’s):

Sub Research Question A: What is the demographic composition of the chef profession in Ireland?

Having identified the absence of substantial demographic data on the chef profession, the researcher believed it was critical to collect empirical data in order to gain demographic knowledge that would help evaluate gender inequality.
**Sub Research Question B:** In what roles, and in what type of work environments/kitchens are women and men chefs working in Ireland, and does the empirical data highlight gender inequality in the profession?

The collection of this data was required to empirically demonstrate the existence and the extent of gender inequality.

**Sub Research Question C:** What are the key issues that men and women chefs in Ireland consider to be barriers to gender equality and what are the key issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession?

This question sought to understand the issues of critical concern for women chefs that need to be addressed to bring about meaningful change to advance gender equality within the chef profession in Ireland.

**Theoretical Framework**

A brief overview of the theoretical framework is presented below before a comprehensive discussion is undertaken in Chapter Two. There are three theoretical components to this study: (a) gender equality, (b) professional organizational hierarchies i.e. the organizational structure in the chef profession, and (c) hegemonic masculinity. Gender inequality in society is the central focus of feminism in its assertion that social and political structures in society discriminate against women (Mendus, 1998), while the gendered organization theory addresses the structural inequalities within organizations that cause and reproduce inequalities for women in professional organizations (Acker, 1990).

A feminist perspective frames the analysis by employing Acker’s (1990) original theory of gendered organizations to critically evaluate the causes of gender inequality in the chef profession in Western democracies. Acker’s (1990) theory is recognised by feminists as one of the seminal texts for feminist critique of gender inequality in organizations where she
elucidated the complex set of interrelated structural, societal, cultural, and professional inequalities that continue to exist in contemporary hierarchical organizations (Bridges and Messerschmidt, 2017; Sayce, 2012). Over the past years, intersectionality-based approaches have become increasingly popular among organization studies researchers. Intersectional approaches have explored how gender, race, nation, class, sexuality and age, become co-articulated. In this way, the concept of intersectionality refers to the ways in which a person’s process of workplace identification can link to, overlap with, and operate through the other possible identifications available in a given context (Crenshaw, 1998; Hancock, 2007; Hearn, 2014; Winker and Degele, 2011). Acker (2012) asserts that ethnographic or case study methodology is best suited to answering questions about how intersectionality works to produce inequalities in the real world. As this was the first study undertaken to assess gender inequality and there were no comprehensive statistics available on the gender composition of the chef profession in Ireland, the researcher decided to collect empirical and qualitative data on women and men and perform a gender analysis of both of these sets of data to identify the extent of gender inequality in the chef profession. The empirical data included demographic data and data pertaining to chef roles and work environments while qualitative data addressed gender inequality issues in the chef profession in Ireland. The researcher was also guided by Harris and Giuffre’s (2015) use of Acker’s (1990) theory to critique the chef profession in America and by O’Connor (2014) who employed Acker’s (1990) original work to critique gender inequality in academia in Ireland. As the chef profession is a male dominated profession, Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity was enlisted as a tool to analyse masculinity within the chef profession.
Methodology

The methodology used in this dissertation is briefly outlined here, while a more in-depth discussion is found in Chapter Three. This dissertation employs a transformative multi-method approach integrating sequential analysis and is underpinned by a feminist philosophical framework. Transformative research aims to address power imbalances in society and is not value free (Sweetman et al., 2010).

Feminist research approaches within sociology have linked mixed methods research and designs to complex research questions that foster a nuanced understanding of women’s experiences while also linking to advocacy perspectives (Leckenby and Hesse-Biber, 2007; Nordenmark and Nyman, 2003; Sweetman et al., 2010). Mertens (2003) identified the central characteristics of the transformative paradigm as collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, rigorous methods being applied to both forms of data, and the integration of the two data sets by merging or connecting them sequentially, with one building on or extending the other.

Transformative . . . scholars recommend the adoption of an explicit goal for research to serve the ends of creating a more just and democratic society that permeates the entire research process, from the problem formulation to the drawing of conclusions and the use of results (Mertens, 2003, p. 159).

Feminist research aims to expose hidden problems in social processes (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2007), such as employment practices commonly observed across the chef profession that regulate the gender of the ‘ideal’ employee for a particular role.

The objectives of this research fulfil the multi-method approach by using a combination of qualitative and quantitative research combined with a triangulation process to comprehensively, and systematically, interrogate gender in the chef profession in Ireland for
the first time. A feminist review of the literature was undertaken by employing Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations. An opportunistic discussion group was conducted and analysed to build on the findings of the literature and to situate the research within the Irish context before designing an online gender equality survey, *Step up to the Plate, Equality in the Chef Profession* for the chef profession in Ireland. The discussion group considered women chefs’ experiences of gender inequality in the chef profession in contemporary Ireland. Following this, the online survey was designed using the Irish Higher Education Authority *Gender Equality Survey* as a template when designing the questions, as this was the first time a gender equality survey was conducted on the chef profession internationally. The statistics are both descriptive and inferential. A four-phase systematic sequential analysis (Mertens, 2007) of the online survey quantitative data was conducted while thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was conducted on the discussion group and the qualitative data within the online survey. As the research evolved, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) released demographic statistics of the chef profession in Ireland for the first time. This allowed a comparison to be made with the demographic data that was collected within the online survey to assess its generalizability to the chef population in Ireland.

**Summary**

This chapter outlines the scope of this research. Chapter Two contextualised the research by initially examining the historical development of the chef profession within 19th century Europe, before contextualising it within 20th century Ireland and within contemporary professional kitchens. Chapter Three discusses the central concept of gender inequality by explaining the ways in which feminist thinkers have advanced its theoretical understanding since the 19th century before detailing the ways in which gender inequality manifests in society and in contemporary workplaces. Chapter Four discusses the theoretical framework employed
for this study and the rationale for its use. Chapter Five presents a critical review of the literature. Chapter Six maps out the methodological design employed for this study. Chapter Seven report the findings and discussion of the demographic and some empirical data resulting from the online survey. Chapter Eight presents the findings and discussion of the empirical data of the chef roles and work environments resulting from the online survey data relating to the hospitality career construct. Chapter Nine draws together the findings of Chapters Seven and Eight within the overall context of the theoretical framework, offering practical implications and recommendations of ways forward to address some of the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland that were raised within the research. The limitations of the project are evaluated and areas of further research are suggested.
CHAPTER 2. CONTEXTUALISING THE CHEF PROFESSION

This chapter contextualises the research in order to gain an understanding of how the chef profession emerged, developed and evolved as a male profession in contemporary society and in Ireland. The chapter begins by considering the significance of the political, economic, and social transformation of the Industrial Revolution in shaping the emergence of the chef profession as a male profession. The chapter continues by examining the creation of the organizational model, the *brigade de cuisine*, that laid the organizational foundations of the chef profession and the model of the ‘ideal chef’ that carries through into the contemporary profession. The chapter then contextualises the chef profession within Ireland by examining women’s roles and their relationship to work within the social and political context of early 20th century Ireland before considering Irish culinary education and the development of the chef profession in Ireland during this period. The chapter concludes by examining how contemporary professional kitchens have evolved from the historical model revealing an evolving organizational model that is reflected in a diversity of kitchens and chef roles that have emerged over time.

The Historical Development of the Chef Profession

Historically, cooking has been ideologically and materially assigned to women in the domestic space while the professional kitchen has historically been the preserve of men in society (Bartholomew and Garey, 1996; Fine 1996). The chef profession began to take the form of a distinct profession in the latter part of the 17th century, in France, when the landed nobility began to rely on chefs to prepare food, thus indicating one’s higher status and distinction in society (Swinbank, 2002; Trubek, 2000). Pre-Enlightenment, pre-capitalist French society, Europe in general was patriarchal, primarily because the means of production and organization of labour were owned by men (Bennett, 2006; Lerner, 1987). Nevertheless, since the Middle Ages, women and men had worked together and separately as cooks in inns and institutions
(Takats, 2011, p. 20). Interestingly, young men acquired professional cooking skills and qualifications via the exclusively male hierarchical Medieval Guilds system given that very few guilds allowed female members other than the second-class status permitted to masters’ widows (Ogilvie, 2011). Women continued to acquire cooking skills in an unstructured informal manner, as they had always done, either from domestic mothers or from working with male cooks. Male cooks were therefore set apart from, and considered superior to, their female counterparts as the preferred choice of royalty and higher aristocratic palaces, resulting in the former being more highly paid and consequently valorised owing to their distinction (Notaker, 2017).

The Industrial Revolution (1780-1850) ushered in the restaurant industry, where male chefs found new ways of distinguishing themselves by developing their skill and creativity in a new kitchen environment. The elaborate style of cooking known as haute cuisine, made famous by French chef Marie Antoine Carême (1784–1833), further differentiated between male and female cooks in the 19th century (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Women cooks were considered inferior domestic cooks, unwelcome by their male counterparts and excluded from the emerging restaurant industry in the 19th century (Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004). Additionally, male chefs were developing their distinction and expertise by controlling the authorship of cookbooks and the education of cooks (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Notaker, 2017; Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004; Symons, 2000; Trubek, 2000). In tandem, we witness the codification of the chef profession in the 19th century when Georges Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) introduced the brigade de cuisine, or partie system, a military hierarchal authoritarian model of organization, a system that continues to be used in contemporary kitchens (Civitello, 2008). The Escoffier system replaced the old system of kitchen organization dating back to the 14th century where noble house kitchens had been loosely divided into different sections for

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different types of food, and the dishes served, when kitchens were characterised by excess, disorganization, inefficiency, and often chaos (James, 2006). Influenced by his experience in the French army, Escoffier, while working at the Savoy hotel in London, organized the *brigade de cuisine*, a hierarchy of restaurant kitchen staff positions based around a military model of chain of command based on rank, where efficiency and clearly defined duties became the focus of professional kitchen organization (James, 2006). This system further legitimised and distinguished the professional higher status of the male chef from female cooks in the public domain and their association with the domestic by defining it in the public realm within the exclusively male *brigade de cuisine* organizational model (Harris and Giuffre, 2015).

While men were establishing their distinction as chefs and commanding higher salaries in the 19th century, migrating to the emerging *haute cuisine* restaurant business, female cooks were increasingly employed in *bourgeois* (middle-class) houses. As women’s education developed, it orientated to the domestic; working-class women/the servant class were educated in domestic service, as domestic servants and cooks. Middle class women focused their attention on their role as homemakers as cookbooks were published to cater for the new literate middle-class housewife (Notaker, 2017). The domestic space was aligned along gendered and class lines. Poor working-class women, including immigrant women in Europe, operated within the gendered framework of the domestic servant as they overwhelmingly performed domestic cooking duties—less well paid and less valued than their male counterparts (such as manual labourers, gardeners, house maintenance men, farm labourers) within domestic service (Notaker, 2017). By the end of the 19th century, working-class women, domestic servants and cooks, increasingly worked in single family middle-class houses where they combined cooking with other household tasks until these became obsolete (Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2004; Notaker, 2017). The interwar period (1918-1939) marked the beginning of the end of domestic service.
work. Upheavals of the First World War (1914-1918) and new employment options for working-class women such as in retail and clerical positions, witnessed a dramatic fall in the number of women in domestic service work (Delap, 2011). Forces, including the interwar depression, media pressure and state welfare policies pushed many women back into the domestic service sector in the 1930s (Delap, 2011). Nevertheless, numbers did not return to pre-war levels and continued to decline as new work opportunities for working-class women grew (Delap, 2011).

The rapid social and economic transformation of the 18th century’s Industrial Revolution took place within a new political context when liberalism became the bedrock of Western liberal democracies and capitalist economies. These forces came together to establish a new world that legitimised an already patriarchal world by identifying two distinct and unequally valued spheres: the public/professional/masculine high-status and the private/domestic/feminine low-status spheres (Pateman, 1989). Exclusivity was the preserve of white propertied males while men of colour and all women were excluded from political participation (Pateman, 1989; Mills, 2017). The division of labour influenced how women, as part of the newly emerging working classes during the 19th century, were positioned in relation to cooking and men in both the public and private spheres.

The gendered division of labour had a direct effect on the development of the chef profession in liberal democracies. In liberal thinking, women were deemed lacking in the capacities necessary for participation in civil society and excluded from the political realm as a result of their biology, being identified as imperfect irrational beings (Hirschmann, 2009). This extended to the public world of work where women were positioned in lower status work when compared to their male counterparts. The skill of cooking was socially constructed within a
patriarchal hierarchy, both within the public sphere as well as between the public and private sphere; in the public world of work, men embodied the chef higher status role while women embodied the lower status amateur cook role and its association with the private domestic sphere. While women cooks were not excluded from the public world of work, they were incorporated differently, were less valued than their male counterparts by virtue of their association with the domestic, and by being women. The public/private divide was characterised by the male chef who occupied the higher status professional public world while the domestic cook occupied the lower status unpaid world of the private realm. The skill of cooking was now socially constructed within a gendered framework; the professional chef was a masculine occupation, while women, both in the public and private sphere, were associated with domestic feminine cooking. All women, both working-class and middle-class women, remained responsible for domestic food work (Figure 2.1 below).
The Hierarchical *Brigade de Cuisine*

The organizational structure of the chef profession is based on an authoritarian hierarchical system, the *brigade de cuisine*, rooted in the military model, where a chef’s skill and status are understood by his/her role within the kitchen, revealing the long-established chain of command within this space (Fine Dining Lovers, 2016). The success of the brigade system lies in how tasks are broken up. Mac Con Iomaire (2009) identified five supporting stations or sections within the original *brigade de cuisine*, each of which had responsibility for one critical area in the creation and production of meals in the kitchen. The *garde-manger* was responsible for preparing cold dishes including salads, appetisers, canapés as well as kitchen supplies which included the receiving of goods into the larder kitchen; the *entremetiers*, was responsible for hot appetizers, soups, vegetables and desserts; the *rôtisseur* had responsibility for roasts, grilled...
and fried dishes; a saucier was in charge of making sauces; and a pâtissier was responsible for pastry dishes (Cullen, 2012).

The professional kitchen is hierarchically structured with a large team of chefs. At the top of the hierarchy the head chef or an executive chef, generally leads the kitchen and is typically in charge of directing others and providing creative leadership in recipe and menu development. Next in the hierarchy is the sous chef, or deputy head chef who takes direction directly from the head chef and oversees the execution of the head chef’s order of work in the various stations/sections of the kitchen. The sous chef also acts as deputy when the head chef is absent. Each station/section in the kitchen is controlled by a chef de partie who answers to the sous chef. Under the original brigade system, progression through the ranks of the hierarchy was dependant on successfully completing a number of stages or internships: a chef must have first worked for a sufficient period of time in each of the sections within the kitchen and then secondly, have gained experience at chef de partie level on each section, before progressing to chef tournant (relief chef) and then sous chef. Commis chefs or junior cooks also work a specific station assisting and reporting directly to the chef de partie while apprentice chefs or trainee chefs gain experience by also working in a specific station where they help with preparation work (Figure 2.2).
The historical analysis demonstrated that the chef profession had developed as a masculine profession. The chef profession was advanced during the late 19th century with the introduction of the *brigade de cuisine*, a hierarchical authoritarian organizational structure. This model is rooted in the military model in which a chef’s skill and status is understood in terms of his role within the kitchen revealing a long-established chain of command in this profession (Fine Dining Lovers, 2016). At the top of the hierarchy, the ‘ideal chef’ as embodied by the head chef or *chef de cuisine*, is one of unquestioned authority as a result of their “superior skill, craft and often renown” (Lane, 2014, p. 72). Loyalty, obedience, long hours and strict discipline are demanded from staff, where strength, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and toughness are valued as ideal masculine traits within the kitchen environment (Lane, 2014). These qualities were embedded within the profession and exemplified in the persona of the ‘ideal chef’ who,
freed from domestic responsibilities, could commit himself completely, working long hours to perfect the craft of cookery.

The embodiment of the ‘ideal chef’ as a man, framed the chef as separate from and superior to women. These qualities established the chef as the ‘gatekeeper’ (Abbott, 1988) within the professional framework of the *brigade de cuisine* while strict discipline ensured compliance by embedding masculine authoritarianism in the head chef at the top of the hierarchy. The authoritarian hierarchical system ensured compliance and preservation of the values. Emulation of this model was normalised as the *brigade de cuisine* model became recognised as the standard organizational model for the chef profession in the high-status professional world. Over the course of time, as men dominated and controlled the chef profession, they became recognised by society as the experts in the skill of cooking within the public professional sphere in their roles as chefs. Conversely, women’s exclusion from the chef profession resulted in their lack of access to power, knowledge or control in the profession. Furthermore, their continued responsibility for, and association with low-status domestic cooking embedded gendered understandings of the skill of cooking in society.

The chef profession was created as a masculine profession in direct opposition to the feminine domestic cook; its organizational structure, the *brigade de cuisine*, was designed for men embedding authoritarian masculine qualities within the persona of the ‘ideal chef’ and remains widely used in professional kitchens. The historic creation of this organizational model legitimised masculine power within the organizational culture, embedding authoritarian masculine specific identities and practices that came to represent the ‘natural’ qualities and practices of the ‘ideal chef’ and the organizational model over time. This largely
unaltered and uncontested model remained in place as women began to enter the chef profession in the early to mid-twentieth century.

**Women and Work in Early 20th Century Ireland**

Following Irish independence in 1922, a symbiotic relationship between the Irish Catholic Church and the Irish state emerged where the Church was afforded a great deal of power and influence over society (Inglis, 2005; McKenna, 2006). The Catholic Church ran schools, universities, hospitals, political societies and the welfare system, and this enabled it to enforce moral guidelines across every facet of society. The Church had very stringent ideals regarding the role and stature of women within society; such ideals were based on a patriarchal philosophy which promoted male domination, power and influence, coupled with female subordination (O’Connor, 1998).

In 1932, the Irish government introduced the Marriage Bar which required all female civil servants to leave paid employment upon marriage and which limited employment in a broad range of areas to single women and men (Pyle, 1990). Women were further restricted from partaking in industrial work when the Conditions of Employment Act 1935 came into force. This act compounded women’s lack of equality of employment by prohibiting them from taking part in industrial work or by fixing the number of women an employer could employ in industrial work so that they did not adversely affect the number of male workers employed (McAuliffe, 2011).

In 1937, The Constitution of Ireland replaced the 1922 Constitution which had established the Irish Free State. Within the new constitution, Articles 41.1 and 41.2 documented the importance of the family unit and the significance of the female role as child bearers and the
chief caregivers in Irish society, thereby “defining womanhood in terms of motherhood” (O’Connor, 1998, p. 63). The predominant political viewpoint of this period of Irish history believed that a married woman’s place was not in the workplace. Rather, married women would contribute to society by primarily looking after their husbands and building a patriotic home environment (Ferriter, 2012). Married women were assigned to the private domestic realm with responsibility for domestic food work, procreation and caregiving. The belief that domestic work was ‘women’s work’ was deeply ingrained in Irish societal thinking when the fledgling independent state implemented, “with little resistance, highly reactionary policies in relation to women, whose domestic role within the family became endowed with almost sacramental qualities” (Ward, 1982, p. 24).

The Marriage Bar was lifted in 1957 for primary teachers but remained in place for civil servants until 1973. The Employment Equality Act of 1977 prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of sex or marital status (Pyle, 1990). The education of women as chefs and their access to employment were set against their restricted roles in Irish society until the 1970s when they were afforded equal employment rights. Women’s relationship with culinary activities centred on domestic food work in their roles as the chief caregiver and homemakers of Irish society.

**The Development of the Chef Profession in Ireland**

Mac Con Iomaire (2009) documents the emergence of the restaurant in Ireland as beginning in the latter part of the 19th century while also noting a dramatic increase in the number of hotels throughout this century. Mac Con Iomaire (2009, p. 134) states that in the 19th century “gastronomic dining habits” in Dublin replicated those in England when the Escoffier *brigade de cuisine* system was first introduced into Ireland through the Viceregal court. French or
French trained chefs were employed to cater in the *haute cuisine* style as a symbol of sophistication that was subsequently emulated by the upper and middle classes. Many of these establishments employed French chefs or chefs trained in French *haute cuisine*. Interestingly, census data for 1901 and 1911 revealed that there were slightly more females than males working as cooks (non-domestic) where women tended to work mainly in private homes and lower to middle class establishments. Male cooks worked in higher status establishments with foreign born cooks being deemed the most prestigious amongst all cooks in Dublin (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

Prior to independence in 1922, Irish male chefs and female cooks were trained in Ireland through the traditional apprenticeship of the hotels or restaurants. There is some evidence that male chefs were trained in the Escoffier *brigade de cuisine* by French or French trained chefs who were responsible for the emerging *haute cuisine* kitchens in Dublin at this time (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

Cookery had been taught in primary schools and domestic cookery classes for women was offered as a subject in Dublin Technical Schools from the 1870s (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Domestic cookery classes for girls and young women reflected a similar pattern in Europe and in the United States of America (USA) at the beginning of the twentieth century as outlined in the previous section (Teuteberg, 2007). In 1927, a course for male chefs was included in the Apprentice School where two years training was provided and scholarships were offered to suitable candidates before assignment to employers, while a six months’ course, ‘The Women Hotel Cooks’ was offered to girls in 1929 (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). The courses were filled by candidates from poor working-class backgrounds as evidenced by the poor and unhealthy nature of some of those who applied to attend training, some candidates being rejected because of their poor overall state (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). While male and female apprentices came
from working-class backgrounds they were not considered of equal status. The gendered nature of the skill of cooking in the public sphere is evident when courses were separated and defined along gendered lines. Male apprentices were trained to work in the more high-status restaurants and hotels offering *haute cuisine*, while females worked in lower status kitchens where “the term ‘cook’ was applied to females and ‘chef’ to males” (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, p.339).

During the 1920s and 1930s there was move by some restaurants away from elite *haute cuisine* to *cuisine bourgeoise*, a less formal, more affordable and simpler style of cookery. One example of this is the Red Bank restaurant in Dublin which, having previously offered only an *haute cuisine table d’hôte* menu, a second more informal *cuisine bourgeoise and à la carte* menu in a separate dining room was added in 1934. In 1948 almost 70% of Red Bank staff was female in marked contrast to Jammet’s *haute cuisine* restaurant, the most prestigious restaurant in Dublin, which employed approximately 10% female staff in the same year (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Interestingly Mac Con Iomaire (2009, p. 201) suggests a “possible marker for this decline in status from *haute cuisine* to *cuisine bourgeoise*, or plainer fare, might be the increased employment of women”. The gendered nature and the different status attributed to chefs and cooks is also suggested when the advertisement by the Red Bank restaurant for a female grill cook “might be viewed as a sign that standards were falling, given the prestige that was previously attached to male and particularly French chefs” (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, p. 201). The emergence of large department stores such as Woolworths (established during the 1940s) in Dublin, with informal cafes, restaurants and self-service dining rooms, also witnessed women cooks being employed (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

Courses for chefs transferred to St Mary’s College of Domestic Economy, when it opened in Cathal Brugha Street in 1941 and was renamed Dublin College of Catering in the 1950s. St Mary’s College of Domestic Economy was recognised as being of ‘national importance’
where its focus centred on training women for domestic duties and training teachers of Domestic Economy. Subjects taught included art, needlework, laundry, dressmaking and dress design, housewifery and cooking that focused on institutional and hotel work (Murphy, 2006).

Significantly, “formal knowledge transfer of the French culinary canon” took place during the 1947-74 period (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, p. 246). Courses for chefs in Cathal Brugha Street were continuously improved, and adhered to the French Escoffier system while provision of culinary training along gendered lines was extended outside of Dublin during this period. *Coláiste Charman*, in Gorey was the first provincial centre for training female hotel staff. Male chefs and waiters were trained in Rockwell College, in Tipperary; Maynooth in County Kildare; Athenry, in County Galway; and Killybegs, in County Donegal; Shannon College of Hotel Management (1951) and then later in the Regional Technical Colleges (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Census data for 1961 and 1966 show cooks and chefs as one category and females dominate slightly in both years (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). In 1971, census data shows that this begins to change when males are slightly better represented when it has been suggested that the Marriage Bar may have influenced this change (O’Sullivan and O’Neill, 1999, p. 136).

During the 1960s educational training for chefs was significantly improved and modernised. The Council for Education, Recruitment and Training for the Hotel Industry (CERT) was set up in 1963, initially as a national body responsible for co-ordinating the education, recruitment and training of staff for the hotel industry, though its remit was extended to the entire catering sector in 1974 (Corr, 1987; Coolahan, 2002). Further advances were made in 1977 with the introduction of the City & Guilds advanced master chef courses (706/3) in both kitchen/larder, and in pastry (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). In 1982, the National Craft Curriculum Certification Board (NCCCB) was established enabling catering education in Ireland to set its own standards, draw up its own criteria and award its own certificates, all of which had been carried
out primarily by the City & Guilds of London prior to this (Corr 1987, p. 78). The 706/3 advanced cookery programme was taught in the Dublin College of Catering where “students became the future teachers, entrepreneurs and leaders in culinary matters in Ireland in the last decades of the twentieth century” (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, p. 336).

The modernisation of the education of chefs is highly significant as it defined men, who had trained in the Escoffier *brigade system*, as the educators of chefs in Ireland. Male chefs who had worked or trained in the Escoffier *brigade system*, whether foreign or Irish born, became the educators of chefs in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Male apprentices worked in Dublin’s hotels and restaurants where they learnt from both foreign chefs and Irish chefs who had trained in the French Escoffier system. The Dublin College of Catering was the leader of culinary education in Ireland offering full-time courses in hotel cookery, apprentice chefs/cooks, and apprentice waiters. In 1986, a full-time certificate in culinary arts was developed focusing on catering for health, and in 1999, a primary degree in culinary arts was sanctioned by the Department of Education (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

The 1947-74 period is considered to have been “the golden age of *haute cuisine*” in Dublin and was extended to country house hotels in Cork, Kerry, Galway and Mayo in the latter part of this period (Mac Con Iomaire. 2009, p. 246). Male chefs who had been trained in the Escoffier *brigade system*, worked and controlled the *haute cuisine* kitchens during this period. Gender differences in hotel kitchen staff is evident in the 1950s when Jury’s hotel, offering *cuisine bourgeoise* rather than *haute cuisine* employed a majority of female kitchen staff while the Gresham hotel, which offered *haute cuisine*, was overwhelming dominated by male chefs (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

A culinary group, the Panel of Chefs of Ireland, was formed in Dublin in 1958, with responsibility for running a catering exhibition in Dublin (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). This body
remained relatively dormant until 1983 when it was reformulated as an all-Ireland body with branches in Leinster, Ulster, Connaught and Munster (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). The Panel of Chefs of Ireland focused on participation in international competitions and later the organization of culinary competitions in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Culinary competitions were held bi-annually and details of winners of various culinary competitions and their place of employment were published in the Panel of Chefs of Ireland newsletter ‘Stockpot’. In 1981 the newsletter revealed that only 8% of winners in the senior competitions were female, but by contrast 66% of the junior competition winners were female, “mostly students from the Dublin College of Catering or the Regional Technical Colleges” (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, pp. 338-339).

Culinary education reflected the dominant gendered expectations of men and women in Irish society until the mid-1970s. For most of the twentieth century, female cooks were traditionally placed working in hospitals, institutional catering, and in lower grade hotels or guesthouses while professional kitchens environments producing *haute cuisine* were dominated by male chefs (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Mac Con Iomaire (2009, p. 339) states “(Mary) Murphy of the Royal Hibernian Hotel was one of the few females working as a *chef de partie* in gourmet restaurants” in the 1950s. Furthermore, the wage books of the Shelbourne Hotel during 1922-1946 revealed evidence of higher remuneration for chefs when compared to their female counterparts (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Moreover, as Mac Con Iomaire (2008, p. 44) argues, many employers viewed culinary college students and apprenticeship courses as “a form of low cost labour particularly during periods of high unemployment, such as the 1980s”.

The gender imbalance began to change in the 1970s, “particularly with the opening of the Regional Technical Colleges, both male and female students trained side by side and both began to be placed in some of the best hotels and restaurants” (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, p. 339).
By the end of the twentieth century, females and males were equally represented in culinary arts courses in the Dublin Institute of Technology (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). It is suggested that there was a dramatic rise in the number of female chefs working at chef de partie or sous chef level in Dublin during the period 1974-2002 and that by the 1980s both male and female apprentices were treated equally and paid equally (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). However, while there were exceptions, such as Myrtle Allen of Ballymaloe House in Cork, female head chefs remained a minority in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009, 2018). In October 2018, Gabriela Gómez Quintana was appointed as the first ever female Executive Head Chef at the 5-star Conrad Hotel in Dublin (McAree, 2018).

**Contemporary Professional Kitchens and Roles**

Contemporary chefs work in a wide variety of different work environments that can be broadly categorised as daytime service and full-service professional kitchens. A lower status is attributed to chefs working in daytime kitchens as it is considered less skilled culinary work producing simple gastronomically uninteresting fare. Examples of daytime service kitchens include cafes, independent, industrial and corporate catering companies that cater to a diverse clientele including schools, hospitals, super markets, food emporia, and corporate clientele. Full-service restaurants operate a lunch and dinner service, again ranging from low-status independent casual dining restaurants, gastro-pub restaurants and hotel restaurants to the high-status fine dining and Michelin starred restaurants, either independently or attached to a hotel or hospitality group. Fine dining kitchens and Michelin starred kitchens are recognised by chefs as the more prestigious, where the most skilled and culinary ambitious chefs aspire to work. Hotel kitchens operate from early morning to late at night where they service breakfast, lunch, dinner, rooms service and large functions such as weddings.
Most contemporary restaurant establishments cannot afford the luxury of the large team of chefs that was historically required to staff the traditional *brigade de cuisine*; it would require too many people to do properly and is not cost effective. Contemporary cost-conscious kitchens operate a much more streamlined and simpler version of the original *brigade de cuisine* system. Depending on the restaurant and the type of food they serve, kitchen teams may consist of a small number of staff while larger food establishments such as hotels have a much larger team of chefs as part of their modern *brigade de cuisine* (Cullen, 2012). Furthermore, not all restaurants employ separate chefs for each of the different stations within the professional kitchen. It is more common to see a small crew of people running the kitchen, doing everything and completing tasks in all areas as assigned by the head chef. Depending on the size of the restaurant, there may be only three or four people cooking on a weeknight. Even for busy weekend service, there may only be six or seven people producing food for large numbers of customers. This operation is less expensive to run and can serve the same quality as a larger brigade, so it is easy to see why many people have moved away from the full brigade. However, the hierarchy from the brigade system remains.

Contemporary hotels have large staff requirements to cater for multiple services as indicated above. Large industrial/corporate catering companies also have staff requirements to service large corporate clients and multiple sites. However, there is a notable difference in how senior roles are defined in these two professional kitchen settings. Hotel kitchens adhere to the traditional *brigade system*; the executive head chef is the most senior role and has responsibility for overseeing the smooth running of the entire kitchen operation. The chain of command follows the *brigade system* (Figure 2.2 above) where head chefs report to the executive head chef. Some large industrial and corporate kitchens follow a similar pattern where an executive head chef oversees the operation of the overall corporate culinary business. However,
management of the food production operation in industrial kitchens is more commonly undertaken by a kitchen manager as opposed to an executive head chef. This role does not feature in the original *brigade system* which was originally designed for restaurants. The kitchen manager performs a similar function to the executive head chef; i.e. the head chef reports to the manager where a similar *brigade system* chain of command exists within the industrial kitchen. While the kitchen manager and executive head chef perform similar functions, a higher status and greater prestige is attributed to the executive head chef role in the chef profession. This reflects the higher status that is attributed to the hotel work environments when compared to the industrial or corporate kitchens. Significantly, there are no international statistics available to identify the roles and different work environments in which chefs work in contemporary professional kitchens.

Research suggests that the *brigade de cuisine* organization model has evolved over time where younger, contemporary chefs are moving to a more egalitarian civil interaction management model (Lane, 2014). Nevertheless, the military hierarchical authoritarian system of organization, originally designed exclusively by male chefs, continues to be used in contemporary kitchens (Civitello, 2008). For example, research shows that discipline remains an integral part of professional fine dining kitchens when older British and German chefs happily acknowledged this “Yes Chef” authoritarian management style, identifying positive qualities such as warmth, fairness, and decency similar to the tight-knit bonds of family, where loyalty is demanded within the professional kitchen (Lane, 2014, p. 73).

**Summary**

This chapter contextualised the chef profession in order to gain an historical understanding of factors that influenced the emergence, development and evolution of the chef profession as a
masculine profession in society and in Ireland. It revealed that the division of labour, the creation of two distinct and unequally valued spheres, the public/professional/masculine high-status sphere and the private/domestic/feminine low-status sphere, as articulated in 18th century liberal thought, played a pivotal role in creating a gendered understanding of the public world of work. The emerging chef profession reflected this new world order where men controlled the public world of work thereby possessing the power to shape how the chef profession developed in Western society. This was accomplished through men’s control over the education of male chefs, the ownership and authorship of cookbooks and access to work in kitchens in newly emerging restaurants in 18th and 19th century Europe (Notaker, 2017; Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004; Symons, 2000; Trubek, 2000). Conversely, working-class women, as unequal participants in the public world of work, occupied low-status positions as cooks while their education centred on low-status domestic service which included cooking. Middle class bourgeoisie women were also associated with the domestic in their roles as feminine homemakers, epitomising the essence of the ideal nurturers and caregivers, while cookbooks were published to cater for the new literate middle-class housewife. The division of labour directly influenced society’s gendered understanding of cookery in society and explains why working-class and middle-class women have historically been associated with cooking in the domestic sphere while men, as chefs, have been associated with the professional sphere.

While the historical analysis confirmed that the chef profession had developed as a male profession, it was the codification of the profession in the late 19th century within the Escoffier hierarchical brigade de cuisine, partie system that defined it as a masculine profession. Qualities of discipline, strength, competitiveness, and aggression were embedded within the profession and exemplified in the persona of the ‘ideal chef’ who, freed from domestic responsibilities, could commit himself completely, working long hours to perfect the craft of
Cookery. Strict discipline ensured compliance by embedding masculine authoritarianism in the ‘head chef’ at the top of the hierarchy. Emulation of this model was normalised as the *brigade de cuisine* became recognised as the standard organizational model for the chef profession in the high-status professional world. Over the course of time, as men dominated and controlled the chef profession, they became recognised by society as the experts within the public professional sphere in their roles as chefs. Conversely, women’s lack of access to power, knowledge or control in the profession, combined with their continued responsibility for and association with low-status domestic cooking, embedded gendered understandings of the skill of cooking in society that remains relevant in contemporary society.

Nineteenth century Ireland followed a similar culinary pattern to Europe when leading French male chefs trained in *haute cuisine* were employed by Lord Lieutenants and subsequently emulated by the upper and middle classes in private households, clubs, hotels and emerging restaurants in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Chefs were trained in this system by French or French trained foreign chefs through on-site apprenticeship training in hotels and the emerging restaurant industry in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Following independence, gendered culinary training courses developed for women as cooks and men as chefs. Until the mid-1970s, female cooks worked in hospitals, institutional catering, and in lower grade hotels or guesthouses while professional kitchens environments producing *haute cuisine* were dominated by male chefs (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). From the mid-1970s onwards, women began to move into chef positions in restaurants and hotels while head chef positions remained the preserve of men apart from a number of exceptional outliers such as Myrtle Allen, chef proprietor of Ballymaloe House.

Contemporary professional kitchens have evolved to reveal a diversity of work environments ranging from high-status full-service hotels, fine dining restaurants, casual dining restaurants,
to lower status daytime food operations such as cafés and industrial kitchens. Varying degrees of adherence to hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* reflect the size of the food establishment and economic viability of staffing levels for businesses. Lower status daytime industrial kitchens differ from the traditional *brigade de cuisine* hierarchy where a kitchen manager oversees the kitchen operations in contrast to higher status full-service kitchens where the executive head chefs oversee larger staffing in hotels.
CHAPTER 3. GENDER INEQUALITY

This chapter discusses the essential element of this dissertation: gender inequality. In Chapter Two we saw how the chef profession evolved as a masculine profession by embedding masculinity within the persona of the chef and within the hierarchical brigade de cuisine, partie system. A distinction was made between men and women, their roles and work environments based on gender where women were unequally positioned within the chef profession. Statistics revealed that, while there is variance in representation across countries, the contemporary chef profession remains a male dominated profession, particularly head chef leadership roles in USA, UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) and in Ireland (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; BLS, 2018b; CSO, 2018a; ONS, 2018). This data reveals that gender inequality exists in the contemporary chef profession.

This chapter begins by exploring the term ‘gender’. It then proceeds by discussing gender inequality by elucidating the ways in which feminist thinkers, throughout the three waves of feminism, have advanced the theoretical understanding of this concept since the 19th century. The chapter concludes by illustrating the ways in which gender inequality continues to manifest in society and more specifically in the workplace in contemporary society.

Gender: Beyond Binary Definitions

The understanding of the term ‘gender’ has changed over time. In the first instance, gender refers to the biological sex differences between men and women (chromosomes, sex organs, hormones and other physical features). Since the 1970s feminist researchers have formulated the theoretical starting point of gender as created through relations and processes that constructed different social roles for females and males and that prescribed sex-appropriate behaviour, demeanour, personality characteristics, and dress (Rubin, 1975; Kessler and McKenna, 1978). Masculinity describes what society deems appropriate behaviour for a ‘man’
while femininity describes what society deems appropriate behaviour for a ‘woman’ (Kimmel, 2008). Gender is understood to be a social status, a personal identity, and a set of relationships between women and men, and among women and men (Hearn and Parkin, 2003; Lorber, 2010). Since the 1990s, society’s understanding of gender identity has evolved from our binary concept of male / female with expectations of stereotypical masculine and feminine traits, to a more complex understanding of gender as fluid. Specifically, gender is a concept that describes how societies determine and manage sex categories; the cultural meanings attached to men and women’s roles; and how individuals understand their identities including, but not limited to, being a man, woman, transgender, intersex, gender queer and other gender positions (Lorber, 2010).

Acker (1992, p. 250) described gender as the changing constitution of divisions between men and women in all social interactions:

> patterned, socially produced distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine.

Gender is not something we are, in some inherent sense, although we may consciously think of ourselves that way. Rather, for the individual and the collective, it is a daily accomplishment ... that occurs in the course of participation in work organisations as well as in many other locations and relations.

Gender therefore is not something ready and complete to be discovered by research, but rather research focus should be on understanding and interpreting how gender is ‘done’ (Höök, 2001; West and Zimmermann, 1987; Widerberg, 2007). Gender is constantly changing as men and women interact with each other and their evolving social and cultural world as new technological practices emerge, organizational structures are reordered, and employment relationships expand (Heiskanen and Rantalaiho, 1997; Martin, 2004). Gender distinctions are socially incorporated into hierarchical structures where men tend to be at the top and women
are disproportionally at the bottom, while images of those who govern and manage have a masculine character (Acker, 1992). West and Zimmermann (1987, p. 146) hold that “in humans there is no essential femaleness or maleness, femininity or masculinity, womanhood or manhood, but once gender is ascribed, the social order constructs and holds individuals to strongly gender norms and expectations”. As such, gender is constructed around notions of otherness: the “masculine” is treated as the default human experience by social norms, the law and other social institutions (Pateman, 1989).

The focus of this dissertation confines itself to examining gender inequality with respect to women and men in the chef profession. Therefore, the researcher’s understanding of gender follows Acker (1992) as recognising gender as a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes where men and women are ascribed gender norms. Gender norms for men and women are identified as the perceived distinctions between masculinity and femininity. We, as humans, construct gender by ourselves in our everyday lives. Further, it shapes everyday behaviour of men and women by having an impact on their interactions. As with any type of relationship, gender may benefit some groups of people and harm others. It indicates and articulates the distribution of power (Scott, 1986).

**Gender Inequality: The Shifting Sands of Feminism**

Gender inequality in society is the central focus of feminism in its assertion that social, cultural, legal, and political structures in society discriminate against women (Mendus, 1998). Gender inequality is defined as the:

Legal, social and cultural situation in which sex and/or gender determine different rights and dignity for women and men, which are reflected in their unequal access to or enjoyment of rights, as well as the assumption of stereotyped social and cultural roles (EIGE, 2019).
Since the 19th century, gender equality has been the focus of feminists in its objective to make women more equal in relation to men. Feminist thinkers have enlisted a variety of theoretical arguments to help advance gender equality. Over time, new theoretical arguments have emerged as the complexity of addressing gender inequality is revealed and the limitations of existing theories became apparent. This section discusses some of the important advances in feminist thinking that helped to advance our understanding of gender inequality since the 19th century.

**First Wave Feminists**
Biological determinists of the 19th century reasoned in an essentialist way that men and women possessed inherently different natures based on their biological composition (Allen, 1984). This reasoning identified women’s inherent biological differences such as their irrationality, physical weakness, and inherently emotional nature among others as justification for their exclusion in the broad array of areas in the public arena (education, employment, lack of voting rights and property ownership) and confinement and suitability to domestic work in the private sphere. First wave liberal feminists of the 19th and early 20th century, in particular the suffragettes, were inspired by the writing of Mary Wollstonecraft (1792) who argued that women are not naturally inferior to men but appear to be only because they lack education. Furthermore, she argued that both men and women should be treated as rational beings where a social order should be founded on reason. The suffragette movement focused its attention on legal issues to successfully gain the right to vote for white middle class women. They also fought for equal opportunities to education and employment, and for the right to own property.

Simone de Beauvoir’s (1949) foundational tract of contemporary feminism, *The Second Sex*, presented a detailed analysis of women’s oppression. De Beauvoir was an existentialist rather than a feminist who nevertheless presented a convincing argument for women’s oppression in
society. As an existentialist, she accepted Jean-Paul Sartre’s precept that existence precedes essence; hence “one is not born a woman but becomes one” (De Beauvoir, 1949, p. 283). Her analysis focuses on the social construction of Woman as the ‘Other’ as fundamental to women’s oppression arguing that women have historically been considered stereotypically deviant and abnormal (Hekman, 2015). Further, she argued that this stereotyping was always done in societies by the group higher in the hierarchy to the group lower in the hierarchy. While she acknowledged that a similar kind of oppression by hierarchy occurred in other categories of identity, such as race, class, and religion, she claimed that gender was the most profound example. Here, men stereotyped women and used it as an excuse to organize society into a patriarchy (Hekman, 2015). De Beauvoir (1949) argued that for feminism to move forward, this attitude had to be set aside.

**Second Wave Feminists**

Friedan’s (1963) seminal work *The Feminine Mystique* heralded the beginning of the second wave of the feminist movement when she criticized the idea that women could only find fulfilment through childrearing and homemaking. Friedan (1963) hypothesized that women are victims of a false belief system that requires them to find identity and meaning in their lives through their husbands and children (Coontz, 2005). This system defined women in essentialist feminine and lower status terms in relation to men, differentiated by masculine and feminine, the former being superior to the latter. Such a system causes women to completely lose their identity in that of their family. Friedan argued that women were as capable as men in terms of performing any type of work or career path (May, 2011). She was also an advocate of raising consciousness and lobbied in favour of legislative reform to address gender inequality. Whilst the political process is dominated by men, Friedan and others believe there is sufficient scope within its boundaries for women to advance the feminist position, reflecting the liberal feminist position toward women’s freedom and equality (May, 2011).
Philosopher Iris Marion Young (1980) located women’s oppression in the different socialisation processes that boys and girls undergo as children that carried them through into adulthood. She argued that boys and girls are socialised to move their bodies in distinctly different ways that are predicated on cultural acceptable norms of masculinity and femininity. According to Young (1980), because of the socialisation process that women go through in a patriarchal society, women approach tasks thinking, “I can’t” rather than “I can” because:

feminine bodily existence is an inhibited intentionality in contrast to, an uninhibited intentionality that projects the aim to be accomplished and connects the body’s motion toward that end in an unbroken directedness which organises and unifies the body’s activity (Young 1980, p.146).

Young’s point is that having an uninhibited intentionality makes a difference in how people think of themselves. For example, if someone sees a goal and puts their whole body into reaching it, rather than shying away from full exertion, it will make a difference in whether or not the outcome is successful. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty’s idea that the body is what allows us to think of ourselves as beings, Young (1980, p.152) contends:

the general lack of confidence that we frequently have about our cognitive or leadership abilities, is traceable in part to an original doubt in our body’s capacity. Women in sexist society are physically handicapped which means that they are physically inhibited, confined, positioned, and objectified.

For Young, the salience of gender is found in retaining its link to social structures. Girls are not encouraged to use their bodies as freely as boys are, and this socialisation follows them throughout life. Young (1980) argued that girls are not socialised as boys are, to have confidence in themselves and in their abilities.
The second wave became increasingly theoretical, based on a fusion of neo-Marxism and psycho-analytical theory, and began to associate the subjugation of women with broader critiques of patriarchy, capitalism, normative heterosexuality, and the woman’s role as wife and mother (Lorber, 2010). Radical feminist Catharine MacKinnon (1983) argued that sex and gender are a worldwide system of domination of women by men through control of women’s sexuality and procreative capacity. Radical feminists argue that sex-gender system of women’s oppression is deliberate, not accidental, and pervades other social institutions—the family in particular, as well as mass media and religion, which produce the justification for women’s subordination. Radical feminists are particularly critical of such modern social-control agencies as law and the criminal-justice system because they allow men to rape, batter, prostitute, and sexually harass women with few legal restrictions (MacKinnon, 1983).

In her most famous work, *The Sexual Contract*, Pateman (1989) challenged the liberal idea that the power of the state does not contradict the freedom of individuals because it is founded upon their consent. Social contract theorists such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau rejected the notion that political authority could be obtained by birth right or through violence. They argued that legitimate political authority could be derived only from the consent of free and equal individuals. However, Pateman (1989) argued that the orthodox interpretation of contract, as the basis of freedom, is predicated on subordination because it excludes the female half of the population who were considered irrational. According to Pateman (1989), the social contract is thus predicated upon a prior, sexual contract: the systematic subordination of women to men. For Pateman, the social contract and the sexual contract are not antithetical but complementary, even though the former professes to establish equality and freedom while the latter enforces inequality between the sexes. In the first place, the exclusion of women from the social contract confirms and perpetuates the sexual hierarchy in institutions such as marriage. Secondly, sexual hierarchy is reinforced by the fact that it is represented as the natural order of things.
Thus, women are not merely absent from the social contract, but politics is defined in opposition to the activities and traits usually associated with womanhood. Although the social-contract tradition marks the end of a paternalistic model of political authority, Pateman (1989) argued that the liberation of the ‘sons’ is based on and perpetuates the subordination of their wives, sisters, and daughters. For all those reasons, Pateman (1989) claimed that the social contract did not supersede but merely transformed patriarchy, the system of male domination.

Pateman (in Thompson et al., 2018, p. 94) explains:

By the time I was writing the book...women were, more or less anyway, equal citizens. But in fact...you couldn’t ever forget that you were women. We’re not these individuals in exactly the same way that men are. For example, although...many more wives were working or in paid employment...they were not seen in exactly the same way as male workers.

Pateman (1989) focused on social structures as institutions, exploring how marriage, employment, prostitution and surrogacy are in fact characterised by the subordination of women (Thompson et al., 2018).

Friedman’s work inspired the start of the second-wave feminism of the 1960s-1980s which focused on issues of equality and discrimination. A wider range of issues were debated and actively addressed including sexuality, family, workplace rights, reproductive and official legal inequalities. Inspired by Friedan’s (1963) feminist treatise The Feminine Mystique, the slogan ‘The Personal is Political,’ identified women’s cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to understand how their personal lives reflected sexist power structures. Friedan (1963), Pateman (1989), MacKinnon (1983), Young (1980) and others made clear that feminism in its second wave was about breaking down gender stereotypes. Women were no longer defined by an understanding of femininity that reduced them to objects of beauty dominated by a patriarchy that sought to keep them in the home or in dull, low-
paying jobs. Sex and gender were differentiated—the former being biological, and the latter a social construct that varies culture-to-culture and over time. Second wave feminists argued that problems that hitherto were considered women’s individual problems and unimportant were in fact systemic and political, and fundamental to the fight for women’s equality. Issues about sex and relationships, access to abortions, and domestic labour were now considered to have a much broader meaning within a newly redefined political context. Feminists spoke of women as a social class and coined phrases such as ‘the personal is political’ and ‘identity politics’ in an effort to demonstrate that race, class, and gender oppression are all related. They initiated a concentrated effort to rid society top-to-bottom of sexism, from children’s cartoons to the highest levels of government (Lorber, 2010). Radical feminists argue that feminism is a revolutionary (or, at least, revisionary) project, and it calls upon women to be the agents of their own emancipation. However, valuing women’s agency inclines feminists to value women’s wishes and choices, and to provide a political framework within which women’s real experiences and actual choices are taken seriously, even though those choices may sometimes be the result of patriarchy (Schwartzman, 2006).

Third Wave Feminists
The early 1990s witnessed a shift in feminist thinking and theorising about gender inequality in response to perceived failures of the second wave and to the backlash against second-wave initiatives. Second-wave feminists treated women as a homogenous group, without paying attention to the many axes of difference that cleave apart the singular category of ‘women’. Third-wave feminism sought to challenge the definitions of femininity that grew out of the ideas of the second-wave, arguing that the second-wave over-emphasized experiences of upper middle-class white women. Gloria Jean Watkins, using the pseudonym bell hooks (1993, 2004) drew attention to the need for multiple feminisms, noting the devaluation of black femininity, and the side-lining of women of colour within the feminist movement. This, she argued,
reinforced racism and classism within the movement, and the only ones who suffered were women themselves. Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term ‘intersectionality’ as a way to help explain the oppression of African-American women. Crenshaw (1989) argued that women of colour may suffer from a double bind where their less valued historical status may intersect with the feminine narrative to increase the level of inequality they experience. Crenshaw’s (1989) original concept of intersectionality was expanded by third-wave feminists to see women’s lives as intersectional, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing inequality.

During the 1990s, academic investigations of queer theory influenced the progression of the third-wave of feminism. Judith Butler (1990) advanced the understanding of gender as performative, positing that gender and sexuality are fluid categories, and do not easily map onto binary understandings of ‘male’ and ‘female’. Increased understanding of bisexual and trans identities characterise the third wave. In a more general sense, third-wave feminism has been critiqued for its focus on individual emancipation, in contrast to the ‘personal is political’ debates of the second wave. While the third wave’s focus on micropolitics is in keeping with a well-documented shift towards individualism in the latter years of the 20th century, some argue that this can be depoliticising, shifting the onus for change onto the individual – thus making wide-reaching change more difficult to effect (Thompson, 2018).

Gender research can be viewed as a cluster of competing views on gender equality (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007). Gender inequality has been thus defined, conceptualized, approached, and studied differently. Although gender equality has become widely accepted as a political and societal goal over the last decades, as a concept, it is also changing over time. Feminist theories were developed to explain the reasons for the pervasiveness of gender inequality. Each perspective has made important contributions to improving women’s status, but each one also
has limitations. Feminist ideas of the past thirty-five years changed as the limitations of one set of ideas were critiqued and addressed by what was felt to be a better set of ideas about why women and men were so unequal. Continuities, convergences and robust debates are a feature of gender inequality theorizing.

Gender is not the only dimension of social relationships that causes inequality. Since we are so deeply diverse, equality in one space may lead to inequality in another one (Lombardo and Verloo, 2009; Sen, 1992). Many feminists have incorporated into their theories of gender inequality the ways in which women’s and men’s social statuses, personal identities, and life chances are intricately tied up with their racial, ethnic, and religious groups, their social class, family background, and their place of residence. Nonetheless, these widely differing groups of people have to fit into two and only two socially recognized and legal genders in Western societies, ‘men’ and ‘women’. The members of these two major status categories are supposed to be different from each other, and the members of the same category are supposed to have essential similarities. Work and family roles, as well as practically all other aspects of social life, are built on these two major divisions of people. Gender inequality is built into the structure of the gendered social order because the two statuses - women and men - are treated differently and have significantly different life chances.

**Gender Inequality: Progress and Stagnation in Work Organizations**

Since the 19th century, each feminist wave has sought to advance women’s equality in the public sphere and increasingly so in the private sphere. In most countries people work at many levels in order to develop more equal societies. Over time, feminist activists have campaigned for issues such as women’s legal rights, especially in regard to contracts, property, and voting; body integrity and autonomy; abortion and reproductive rights, including contraception and
prenatal care; protection from domestic violence, sexual harassment, and rape; workplace rights, including maternity leave and equal pay; and against all forms of discrimination which women encounter. In Western democratic countries women are, in principle, afforded equal opportunity in employment and protected discrimination and harassment of any type without regard to race, colour, religion, age, sex, national origin, disability status, genetics, protected veteran status, sexual orientation, gender identity etc. However, in most cases due to a resistance to structured reproduction of power and privilege, inequality persists (Pease, 2010).

There is still no country in the world where women have equal access to power and decision-making, and to decent and well-paid jobs (EIGE, 2019). Women make up half the world’s population yet generate only 37% of global GDP, reflecting their lack of equal access to labour markets, opportunities, and rights (McKinsey, 2019). There are 655 million fewer women in the labour force than men, women spend three times the amount of time as men on unpaid care work in the home, 195 million fewer women than men are literate, 190 million fewer women than men have a bank account, and there are only twenty-two women in ministerial and parliamentary positions for every 100 men (McKinsey, 2019). The McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) has mapped fifteen gender-equality indicators in both work and society for ninety-five countries. MGI found that absolute scores on equality in society tend to be higher than those of equality in work for most countries (McKinsey, 2019). Conversely, almost no countries with high equality on social indicators had low equality in terms of employment and labour markets, suggesting that gender equality in society is a powerful driver or determinant of gender equality in work (McKinsey, 2019). The European Gender Equality Index measures six core domains (work, money, knowledge, time, power and health) for Member States (EIGE, 2019). Data for 2015 revealed that no country had reached parity in any of the five domains for gender equality. A comparison between member states revealed that Sweden scored highest for overall gender
equality. Nordic countries were the top performers while Ireland lay in eighth position out of the twenty-eight Member States, slightly higher than the EU average, while former Eastern bloc countries were the worst performers (EIGE, 2019).

Women have made great progress in education. In the United States, the European Union and a number of other countries, women now actually surpass men in educational achievement (Blau and Kahn, 2017; van Hek et al., 2016). However, across the OECD, women are less likely to be employed than men, though the size of the gap differs considerably between countries (OECD, 2019). In 2018, the average female employment rate in the OECD was 65% while the OECD average for men was 76%. In some countries (e.g. Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway and Sweden), the gap in 2018 was only around five percentage points or less. In others (e.g. Mexico and Turkey), it was higher than thirty percentage points (OECD, 2019). However, globally women in the workplace continue to face discrimination to varying degrees on multiple levels including unequal pay, sexual harassment, lack of access to senior roles and are more likely to work in part-time, low paid stereotypical feminine roles (EC, 2019; Grant Thornton, 2019; Johnson et al., 2019).

**Pay Discrimination**

In the USA, the gender pay gap has decreased from 36-38% in 1970 to 18-21% in 2010 (Blau and Kahn (2017). In 2018, women in the USA earned 85% of what men earned, according to an analysis of median hourly earnings of both full- and part-time workers in the United States (Pew Research Centre, 2019). Based on this estimate, it would take an extra thirty-nine days’ work for women to earn the same amount as men in 2018 (Pew Research Centre, 2019). The basic principle of equal pay for equal work was included in the Treaty of Rome in 1957, and while great strides have been made in fostering equality, gaps still exist. In the EU in 2017, the gender pay gap stood at 16% and has changed only minimally over the last decade (European
Unequal Access to Power – Leadership

Globally, women continue to lack access to senior roles and related decision-making power compared to their male counterparts (OECD, 2019). Lack of access to leadership roles is reflected in media organizations, academia, the arts, government and public sector organizations, as well as the private and business sectors. In 2019, only 29% of senior management roles in business were held by women globally (Grant Thornton, 2019). Significantly the proportion of women in senior management differs by role. While 40% of human resources directors are women, only 17% of sales directors and 16% of chief information officers are female suggesting that leadership roles continue to adhere to gender stereotypes (Catalyst, 2020; Duncan and Cassells, 2019; Grant Thornton, 2019). In Europe, 26% of leadership roles in corporate companies are occupied by women with considerable variation among the member countries (EWOB, 2020). Companies from France, Sweden, the UK, and Norway are the closest to achieving gender-balanced governance. Norway, France Belgium, Germany and Italy have legislated quotas for women on corporate boards of publicly listed companies, however Sweden and the UK have not. Interestingly, not all countries with binding quotas for board members are high in the ranking. This is the case only for France and Norway while Belgium and Italy have an average result, and Germany has a below-average result. Swiss companies have the least diverse leadership (EWOB, 2020). In Ireland, women accounted for 29% of thirty-four boardroom seats filled across Irish public limited companies, the lowest in a European comparison of seven countries (Brennan, 2019; Slattery 2019).

Public sector boards have better female representation. In 2015, for example, in the USA of America, women made up 34.4% of the senior executive service (SES), the executive level of the
federal government, while in 2014, women between the ages of 23 and 34 accounted for 43.5% of managers, compared to 26% in similar positions in the private sector during this period (Thakrar, 2018). Female representation on Irish state boards has improved, at 36.2%. Despite better educational outcomes for women compared to men, significant gender inequality remains in higher education. Women continue to be vastly under-represented in top positions within the higher education sector as well in top academic decision-making positions across Europe (HEA, 2016). In Ireland, women remain under-represented at senior levels in higher education and especially in the university sector. While women make up about half of university lecturers, they account for just under a quarter of professors (O’Brien, 2019). In politics, only 24.3% of all national parliamentarians were women as of February 2019, a slow increase from 11.3% in 1995 (UN Women, 2019). As of January 2019, only 20.7% of government ministers were women; the five most commonly held portfolios by women ministers are more stereotypical feminine portfolios: Social Affairs; followed by Family/Children/Youth/Elderly/Disabled; Environment/Natural/Resources/Energy; Employment/Labour/Vocational Training; and Trade/Industry (UN Women, 2019).

**Occupational Segregation**

Research on segregation in the labour market has identified the gendered division of labour in many occupations in European countries and considerable variance at a national level (Catalyst, 2018; EIGE, 2009). The dramatic increase in female labour force participation has been accompanied by a significant change in the gender composition of occupations. In certain occupations that were previously almost entirely male, women have made substantial headway e.g. police officers, architects, lawyers and doctors (Equitable Growth, 2017). However, many occupations remain heavily dominated by one gender or another. In 2017, in the USA, it was still the case that over 96% of secretaries, 97% of childcare workers and 97% of dental
assistants were women (Equitable Growth, 2017). Conversely, occupations that are considered iconic male occupations such as airline pilots and engineers remain so (Equitable Growth, 2017).

Occupational gender segregation does not result in separate but equal jobs. Rather, women’s work tends to be lower in pay, prestige and benefits (ILO, 2016, Oláh, 2018; Woodfield, 2007). Most of the USA economy’s highest paying occupations are predominantly male while most of the lowest paying occupations are predominantly female (Equitable Growth, 2017; Hegewisch et al., 2010; Roth, 2006; Warren, 2009; Williams, 1989). In the USA, in 2017, only 6.6% of women worked in full-time male-dominated work occupations (Equitable Growth, 2017). The report by Equitable Growth (2017, p. 1) states “The evidence shows that occupational segregation based on gender occurs more because of assumptions about what kinds of work different genders are best suited for than because of an efficient allocation of innate talent”.

Throughout Europe, sectorial divisions in occupations also continue. Male workers dominate in their traditional sectors like construction, utility services, communication and manufacturing (EC, 2020). Research suggests male-dominated industries and occupations are particularly vulnerable to reinforcing masculine stereotypes that make it even more difficult for women to excel (Scott et al., 2018). Women are dominant in health and education and also outnumber men in the wholesale and retail trades as well as other service-related industries (EC, 2020; Catalyst, 2018). In Ireland, workers in the health and education sectors are more likely to be women than men, while the opposite is true for workers in agriculture and transport (EC, 2020).
Part-Time Work
In many OECD countries, gender differences in working hours are driven by disproportionately high rates of part-time employment among women workers: 23% female, 6% male (OECD, 2019). The share of people working part-time in the EU rose from 15% in 2002 to 19% in 2017 (OECD, 2019). Part-time employment was much more common among women (31%) than men (8%) in the EU in 2017 (Eurostat, 2018). In eastern European countries, the female part-time employment rate is only slightly higher than the male part-time employment rate (OECD, 2019). Conversely in other countries, part-time employment rates for women are four or five times the size of those for men (e.g. Austria, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg). In the Netherlands, 58% of employed women work part-time, far higher than the share for employed men (19%).

Part-time roles are often a good choice for women when trying to balance work and family life (Slaughter, 2015 Women continue to do the vast majority of family and caring work in society. The family is one of the pivotal sites where gender relations are produced and reproduced. A central aspect of gender relations within families is the division of labour over domestic tasks. While women progress in employment, they continue to carry the burden of domestic tasks. Furthermore, research has found domestic roles align with traditional thinking on masculinity and femininity even among couples where a woman is the primary or sole breadwinner and even in same-sex couples (Quadlin and Doan, 2018). Research has identified the complicated reasons for the choices that women make in relation to family and care work. Firstly, many had not anticipated the difficulties of having to navigate family life with a demanding career when confronted with mismatched expectations of their male partners who had gendered assumptions of their family and caregiving roles (Ely et al., 2014; Grant Thornton, 2015; Stone, 2007). Secondly, some failed to identify the moral imperative of duty and responsibility for
this work by virtue of being mothers (Lynch et al., 2008, p. 93). Scholars have been surprised by the persistence of social, economic, and political differences that have maintained the structural constraints of gender and class much more than expected (Adkins, 2004; Johnson et al., 2014; Parsons, 2015). A study in 2017 revealed the complex nature of egalitarian policies, where fewer of the youngest millennials, those aged 18 to 25, support egalitarian family arrangements than was the case with the same age group 20 years earlier (Coontz, 2017). O’Connor’s (2015) research of children in contemporary Ireland suggests that children continue to draw on “rather stereotypical ways of doing boy/girl” with relation to family roles that reinforces concepts of femininity and masculinity (2015, p. 105). Significantly, O’Connor (2015) points out that women’s roles as ‘bread winner’ in a family dynamic seems insufficient in challenging the gendered understanding of women and men’s roles in family settings possibly because women continue to carry out the majority of caring roles and duties in family situations.

**Sexual Harassment**
The workplace continues to be a site of sexual harassment for women. Sexual harassment includes visual, verbal harassment, physical and psychological harassment. Mateo and Menza’s (2017) research in USA found that levels of sexual harassment in the workplace have remained largely unchanged from 1976 to 2017, with approximately 80% percent of women experiencing some form of sexual harassment (Mateo and Menza, 2017). A European survey in 2019 (FEPS, 2019) conducted in France, Germany, Italy, the UK and Spain found that six out of ten women have endured sexist treatment or suffered sexual violence during their careers. The number is significantly higher in Spain (66%) and Germany (68%) while almost 30% of French women have been harassed or sexually assaulted in their workplace. The survey shows that in total, 21% of women have been victims of some form of sexist or sexual violence.
in the previous twelve months, with a higher prevalence being in Latin countries such as Spain and Italy (FEPS, 2019).

The World Economic Forum estimates that, based on current rates of progress toward equality for women in the workplace, it will take eighty-one years to close the gap completely (McKinsey, 2019). MGI (2015) found that fully closing gender gaps in work could add as much as $28 trillion to annual GDP in 2025. Even in a more attainable scenario, one in which each country matches the progress toward gender parity of the best performer in their region, an additional $12 trillion could be added to GDP in this timeframe. Every region studied has the potential to increase its GDP by 8% to 16% between 2015 and 2025 (McKinsey, 2019). Despite the large economic and social benefits of gender equality, large gender gaps persist around the world. Significantly, women face challenges both in the public service, private industries and business.

Summary

This chapter discussed gender inequality by initially identifying our understandings of gender in society. Gender inequality was then explored through the lens of feminist thinkers in the three waves of feminism. Finally, the manifestations of gender inequality in contemporary society and the workplace in particular, were discussed.

Gender is defined as different biological sex characteristics of men and women. Gender is also understood as socially constructed, fluid and changing. While gender relates to being a man, woman, transgender, intersex, gender queer and other gender positions groups in society, this dissertation focuses on men and women. Gender is understood as socially constructed where appropriate and different behaviours are attributed to men and women, defined as masculinity and femininity. Gender inequality is defined as the unequal “legal, social and cultural situation
in which sex and/or gender determine different rights and dignity for women and men, which are reflected in their unequal access to or enjoyment of rights, as well as the assumption of stereotyped social and cultural roles” (EIGE, 2019, n.d.)

The chapter continued by examining how the three waves of feminism have advanced arguments that have progressed gender equality in society. In the first phase the suffragette movement enlisted philosopher Mary Wollstonecraft’s (1792) argument that women were inherently rational beings in order to successfully gain suffrage for white middle class women (Macdonald and Scherf, 1997). De Beauvoir (1949) argued in an existentialist vein that the social construction of Woman as the Other was fundamental to women's oppression arguing that women have historically been considered deviant and abnormal.

Second wave feminist thinkers argued that women’s oppression and subordination was located in the social construction of female social norms and behaviours in society and politics. Friedan (1963) located women’s oppression in the socially constructed feminine domestic sphere that requires them to find identity and meaning in their lives through their husbands and children. Young (1980) argued that the site of women’s oppression was located in childhood socialisation processes of boys and girls when stereotypical masculine and feminine bodily movements and behaviours were embedded in boys and girls that carried through into adulthood. Pateman (1989) identified the social construction of gender in the original social contract arguing that the orthodox interpretation of contract, as the basis of freedom, is predicated on subordination where ‘men governed women’ and infused every aspect of institution in society e.g. marriage (Thompson et al., 2018). The main point which feminists have consistently emphasised about gender inequality is that it is not an individual matter, but that it is deeply ingrained in the structure of societies. Gender inequality is built into the
organization of marriage and families, work and the economy, politics, religions, the arts and other cultural productions, and the very language we speak.

Third wave feminists expanded our understanding of gender inequality, arguing that it was intersectional: lived experiences of black women highlighted different and more complex issues than those of white middle class women. The intersectional aspect of gender inequality was expanded by third-wave feminists to see women’s lives as intersectional, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing inequality. Gender is not the only dimension of social relationships that causes inequality. Although gender inequality overlaps with other inequality axes and various inequalities are often mutually constitutive, this thesis focuses only on gender inequality. The specific ways that gender inequality shows up in the workplace are: men earn more money than women; the work done by men is valued more highly than that done by women; men occupy better-paid, more powerful, higher-status and more satisfying jobs than women; men exercise power over women; women are subject to bullying and sexual harassment from men; the culture of the workplace is more comfortable for men than for women; the working conditions of the workplace suit the needs and preferences of men better than those of women; processes of recruitment and promotions favour men over women.
CHAPTER 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework and the rationale for its use to interrogate the chef profession within the literature. It employs Acker’s (1990, 1992, 2006) theory of gendered organizations and is supplemented by Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity to critically evaluate the causes of gender inequality in the chef profession. The chapter begins by distinguishing the difference between perception and position in the workplace. It continues by outlining a selection of feminist theoretical approaches to gender inequality in work organizations. The chapter proceeds by outlining the background, central assumptions and key concepts of my chosen theory. It continues by examining how researchers have enlisted Acker’s theory to elucidate the reasons for gender inequality in a diversity of organizations. Acker’s (2006) theoretical revisions are then examined before discussing Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity. Finally, the researcher’s positioning is outlined and justification is provided for enlisting Acker’s (1990, 1992, 2006) theory and Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity as the basis for my theoretical framework.

Organizational Theory - Perception and Position

Gender inequality in society is the central focus of feminism in its assertion that social and political structures in society discriminate against women (Mendus, 1998). The study of ‘gendered organizations’ emerged and developed as a distinct area of scholarly inquiry in an effort to explain such inequality within work organizations. Gendered organization theory has its roots in second wave and radical feminist scholarship dating back to the 1960s when rapid development of the awareness of women to their subordination in private and public spheres occurred. However, up until 1980s, organizational studies and feminist theories were detached due to their distinctive areas (Calás and Smircich, 2006). Organizational literature had been
dominated by male academics to solve problems of male managers while feminist studies dealt mostly with women and the nature of patriarchal relations (Gherardi, 2009). A fundamental premise of feminist theory is that traditional accounts of socio-political life are prejudicial to women. Part of the task of feminists, which organizational theories have neglected, is to offer an account of how the different treatments of the sexes operate in our culture and how the prejudices against women are maintained by economic, social, and political arrangements. The theories and research on sex segregation and other gender inequalities in organizations increased the consciousness to the ‘gender blind’ nature of organizational studies which eventually led to the gendered analysis of organizational structure to explain women’s unequal positions in organizations (Rosser, 2005).

**Feminism and Gender Inequality in Organizations**

Importantly, different strands of feminism differ on both normative (how women ought or ought not to be viewed and treated) and descriptive (how women are, as a matter of fact, viewed and treated) claims of gender inequality. For instance, disagreement may lie in the explanation of injustices; two feminists may agree that women are being denied proper rights and respect, yet differ in their account of how, why and what is required to end the injustice. This section presents a broad outline of how feminist theorizing has contributed to our understanding of gendered aspects of organizations including liberal, radical, Marxist, psychoanalytic, postmodernist and socialist feminisms and finally, gendered organizational theory. It illustrates changes in this scholarship over time from liberal concerns regarding women’s access to participation in organizations to “concerns regarding the stability of categories such as ‘gender’, ‘masculinity’, ‘femininity’, and ‘organization’ and about the gendering of organization processes and practices” (Calás and Smircich, 2016, p. 1).
**Liberal Feminism and Gender Inequality**

Liberal feminism is the most popular version of feminism having evolved from the 18th and 19th century political economy on which it relies. Organizations as institutions of liberal political and economic systems are assumed to be, by definition, sex/gender neutral, “where rational individuals have equal access insofar as they are equally meritorious” (Calás and Smircich, 2006, p. 292). Similarly, organizational theory is based on the assumption of neutrality, and the organizational processes affected by gender stereotypes are viewed as merely reflecting the wider social arrangements between the sexes. Therefore, liberal feminists are not challenging capitalism or patriarchy but rather looking for the removal of barriers that prevent women operating effectively in the public sphere on equal terms with men without discriminating on the basis of sex. In the Anglo-Saxon organizational literature, the strand of research which investigates gender equity has been labelled ‘women-in-management’ and seeks to demonstrate that women are as good as men in fulfilling organizational needs (Gherardi, 2009).

The concept of the ‘glass ceiling’ is an example of a representative topic of this scholarship which addresses the persistence of sex segregation and tries to elucidate its causes through measurable constructs (Gherardi, 2009). In this instance, sex is thought of as a biological issue and socialization of sexes for appropriate behaviour is considered to be constitutive of gender. This research is primarily informed by social psychological approaches tending to locate the problem of women’s inequality in flawed cognitive judgment processes, including an over-reliance on out-dated stereotypes and their association with normative gender roles (Gherardi, 2009). They seek to challenge ideas and practices that treat women as second-class citizens while leaving other areas such as sexuality, reproduction and domestic labour relatively unchallenged. Suggested remedies for unequal workplace outcomes imply that solutions to inequality can be found with a mindset change by women rather than in reforming the
organizational system. Liberal feminists believe that some minor changes within the existing system such as equal pay for equal work, sex-blind performance appraisals, equal opportunity for training and gaining higher status work, and an increase in the number of working women, are enough to eliminate inequality in workplaces. Research topics such as leadership, the glass ceiling, and work-life balance issues, are oriented to understanding women’s limitations in accessing higher management and organizational levels, and tend to ignore the conditions of work at lower organizational levels where most women are found (Gherardi, 2009; Lorber, 2010; Calás and Smircich, 2009).

More recently, the intensification of work and the normalisation of dual career households have placed the issue of work–life balance on the agenda of management and organization studies for neo-liberal feminism (Hoobler et al., 2009; Mescher, 2011). Rottenberg (2014, p. 11) points out how “the neo liberal feminist ideal is not a one-track professional woman, but a high-powered woman who manages to balance a spectacularly successful career with a satisfying home life”. Neo-liberal feminism thus stresses how entrepreneurial subjects have to make individual choices for balance, drawing on a “market rationality of efficiency and cost–benefit analysis” (Rottenberg, 2014, p. 12).

Liberal feminists have been criticized by other feminists because they are not critical of power relations, hierarchical division of labour and the separation of private and public. Further, they have individualistic orientations towards personal accomplishment and lastly, their demands reflect only middle-class, white, western women’s interest excluding race and economic class differences (Benschop and Verloo, 2015). Critics argue that the portrayal of work–life balance as a personal problem hinders any systematic critique of gender inequality in organizations which demand flexibility and availability from their employees but do not consider employees’ activities and responsibilities in other spheres of life (Acker, 2006). Neo-liberal feminism
maintains that hiring migrant domestic care workers and nannies can be a solution for the ‘personal problem’ of work–life balance, however the larger implications of this ‘personal choice’ are not problematized as contributing to societal gender inequalities (Dyer et al., 2011). Fraser (2009, p. 114) argues that the neo-liberal solution of outsourcing household and care tasks to the market results in “the dangerous liaison between feminism and marketization”. Furthermore, notwithstanding equal opportunities and anti-discriminatory legislation in work organizations, the persistence of gender inequality calls into question the ability of the liberal resolutions to address gender inequality (Benschop and Verloo, 2015).

**Radical Feminism and Feminist Organizations**

Radical feminists believe that sex is one of the instruments for the stratification of society and gender (Lorber, 2010). It conceives gender as a system of male domination, a fundamental organizing principle of patriarchal society. Radical feminists maintain that women’s oppression is the most widespread and deepest of oppressions. They argue that the historic exclusion of women from the public realm has caused differences in the socialisation of women. When women entered into historically male dominated organizations, they found themselves marginalised. Thus radical feminists should always ask the woman question (Ferree and Martin, 1995). A separatist politics has been theorized in relation to male-dominated organizations in pursuit of alternative organizations to shed light on women’s experiences. Here, feminism is considered as theory and practice of women and among women only. Against this background, radical feminists argue that women’s socialisation makes them better equipped than men to perform the skills necessary for the creation of democratic, participatory, non-hierarchical organization (Savage and Witz, 1992). Radical feminists advocate for women-centred, leaderless, structureless organizations that are informed by equality, community, participation and integration, in form and content that may eliminate masculine values advocating competition, leadership, and hierarchy (Brown, 1991). Radical feminists argue that
androgyne - being neither female nor male but human – is an optimal situation to deal with the inequalities of the contemporary world. Starting from a women-centred theory, some scholars have revised basic organizational concepts such as work, career, and management (Marshall, 2013; Tancred, 1995).

However, this women-centred, separatist strategy which over-values women over men, has been criticised by other feminists for its undervaluation of other differences such as culture and history which contribute to inequality and therefore limits its critique of inequality. Moreover, one can argue that like the liberal feminist arguments, this new type of organization might only represent white, middle class women’s interest (Calâs and Smircich 2016).

**Psychoanalytical Feminism**

Psychoanalytic feminist theory denies the biological determinism of traditional psychoanalytic interpretations of gender and sexuality. Rather, psychoanalytic feminists consider the patriarchal family engendering distinctions in male/female psychological development and different notions of gendered self and identity as key to understanding women’s inequality (Braidotti, 1989; Gilligan, 1982). Braidotti (1989) argues that this is not only a problem of socialization but also an epistemological problem concerning whose knowledge is valued and whose is devalued. According to these theories of personality, emotions are often deeply buried in the subconscious or conscious areas of the psyche and they also highlight the importance of infancy and early childhood in the patterning of these emotions. Different psychosexual developments lead to different concepts of justice and morality, for example male morality is an ethics of justice, while female morality is an ethics of care (Gilligan, 1982). Thus, most women fell short in the corporate culture because the rules, norms, and ethos of modern business reflected male developmental experiences. The corollary was that women would have to change if they were to succeed, but, unlike liberal feminism which addressed women’s
success as a personal issue, psychoanalytical feminists addressed psychosexual development as both a personal and a societal issue, with cultural and historical roots.

During the early 1990s, feminists combined women’s ‘difference’ arguments, including radical-cultural, psychoanalytic, and psychomoral, to contend that women’s different ‘voices’ should be seen as beneficial for both organizations and women, rather than as a lack of managerial capabilities (Gherardi, 2009; Symons, 2001). They argued that women’s unique sex-role socialization, and different character traits, including an ethics of care, were advantages for corporate effectiveness. Thus, women’s ways of knowing and leading, their relational skills, sensitivity, and empathy become increasingly valuable and skilful resources for global competition in contemporary economy (Gheradi, 2009; Calás and Smircich, 2006).

However, limitations and contradictions of the ‘female advantage’ question if it actually advantages women or whether it further entrenches gender stereotypes (Baxter, 2010). Others called attention to the dangers inherent in the instrumental positioning of women’s supposedly ‘essential’ qualities for coming to the rescue of corporations (Baxter, 2010). Although they think this perspective is a good way to challenge the status quo, they never try to change existing hierarchical structures. In addition, over-emphasis on psycho-sexual development reduces the importance of power dynamics which are the basic causes of gender inequality. Eventually these potential problems have become clearly demonstrated in recent research documenting a perverse dynamic where women are overrepresented in high-risk, precarious leadership positions, and confront a ‘glass cliff’ when they fail and are singled out for criticism and blame (Adapa and Sheridan, 2018).

**Marxist Feminism**

Marxist feminists perceive gender as similar to class relations that constitute and maintain the system of oppression. The gendered division of labour and women’s ‘double’ oppression by
class and sex, capitalism and patriarchy are central themes for Marxist feminists (Hartsock, 1983). They criticize liberals for accepting given hierarchical and capitalist relations, for their devaluation of patriarchy and for ignoring women’s unpaid labour as an important factor in social reproduction (Marshall, 2013). According to them, the capitalist economy should be analysed in terms of power relations in order to understand gender inequality. However, Marxist feminists argue that without gender structural changes in the political realm, we cannot talk about equality both in public and private spheres. They mostly examine why women tend to be at the bottom in the job market. Feminists have explored the concept of a ‘reserve army of labour’ to explain women’s economic roles under capitalism (Beechey, 1983). Marx himself argued that the capitalist system needed a potential work-force consisting of workers who could be drawn into new branches of production, easily switched between different jobs and easily laid off when no longer required. In some ways, women are seen to be the ideal reserve army.

Although Marxism has suggested ways of analysing women’s position under capitalism, it has not met feminist requirements. Critics argue that class equality is prioritised over gender equality (Hartmann, 1976). In principal, Marxism espouses the equality of women and indeed Marx wrote that the level of civilization could be measured by the position of women within it (Hartmann, 1976; Walby et al., 2007). However, it is the case that the emancipation of women is subsumed to simply a by-product of creating socialism (Hartmann, 1976; Walby et al., 2007).

**Postmodern Feminism**
Postmodern feminists engage in intersections of complex social relations. They criticise ontological and epistemological claims of modernist theories, their foundationalism, essentialism, and universalism, including the claims of many feminist theories (Calás and Smircich, 1996; Cixous and Clement, 1986; Weedon, 1987). They are critical of other feminist theories for focusing on gender alone in their analysis while being critical of the binary concept
of gender, defined as masculine and feminine, also (Butler, 1990; Gherardi and Poggio, 2006; Pullen, 2006). This approach contains the basis for a broader critique of how ‘knowledge’ is constructed. Postmodern feminists argue that it is through language that researchers constitute the subject of their knowing, their subjectivities as knowers, and what counts as knowledge (Butler, 1990). “The precarious position of any claim to knowledge opens spaces for a distinctive feminist politics of knowledge that points to the local operation of power and the crucial role of discourse in sustaining hegemonic power” (Gherardi and Poggio, 2006, p. 182).

Postmodern feminism has been influential in critical management studies while they also highlight the political power of knowledge and science and the illusion of scientific neutrality and objectivity. Postmodern feminists argue that knowledge forms the power relations in organizations, and this naturalises the exclusion of certain groups from organizations, such as women, minorities, and the elderly (Savage and Witz, 1992). However, they also argue that even as power creates the possibility of resistance, power relations cannot be understood simply as structural inequalities (Savage and Witz, 1992). Calás and Smircich (1993) focused on the construction of gender in organizations and the involvement of organization studies as a scientific discipline in the constitution of gendered arrangements. Tyler and Cohen’s (2010) emphasis on discourse focused on the way gender is materialized in and through organizational space. They analysed how gendered subjectivities are performed and valued in organizations through the interplay of bodies with aesthetic and symbolic artefacts in workspaces (Benschop and Verloo, 2015). Hancock and Tyler’s (2007) analysis of the images contained in recruitment brochures demonstrated how idealized gendered subjects who are organizationally viable, are constructed.

Although post-modern feminists emphasise more complex and distinctive issues that are ignored by other perspectives, many feminists criticised their approach. Deconstruction is the
most widely used methodology in their organizational analysis and the expected outcome is to widespread dissent rather than consensus (Deetz, 1996). Critics also argue that postmodern feminism runs the risk of undercutting the basis of a politics of action based upon gender difference, through its very anti-essentialism (Hekman, 1990). Furthermore, postmodern analyses have been criticised as being over-academic, hard to understand and to interpret, therefore remaining inaccessible to most people (Nussbaum, 2000).

**Socialist Feminist Theory – Gendered Organizations**

Socialist feminism relies on the idea that male dominance is a consequence of social practices rather than biological differences and that it is concerned with challenging capitalism as well as male supremacy or patriarchy (Hartmann, 1979; Holvino, 2010). Socialist feminists are concerned with how the unequal relationship between sexes is systematically reproduced to meet material needs, which is not universal, but rather had occurred in a specific space and time in history (Gherardi, 2009).

The Industrial Revolution is the starting point for the analysis of the unequal relationship. Prior to this, feudal patriarchal relations prevailed where a father had strict authority over his wife and children, and women were carrying out both domestic and non-domestic work. By the Industrial Revolution, capitalist workplace and liberal philosophy heralded a new patriarchal order where the separation of public and private and wage employment resulted in the sexual division of labour and marginalization of women in the public sphere. After that point in history, social feminists examine occupational sex-segregation, sexual division of labour, wage inequality and power relation, symbols, and images within the organization.

Socialist feminists challenge the presumptions of the competitive market economy and basic principles of self-interest that constitute the political liberal economy of liberal individualism. In contrast to liberal feminists who focus on managers and access to senior positions, socialists
examine all aspects and all layers of organizations (Benschop and Verloo, 2015). They recognise that the public realm in which organizations are located is not separated from the private realm, arguing that relations within organizations and within families are assumed to be mutually dependent. Socialist feminists criticise Marxism for being gender blind, for primarily focusing on economic class and employer-labour relations (Hartmann, 1976). They argue that this oppression needs to be understood, in terms of the requirement of capitalism and the role of state institutions in a capitalist society (Gherardi, 2009). They make analytical connections between class relations and gender relations in society and relate changes in the role of women to changes in the economic system and patterns of ownership of the means of production (Benschop and Verloo, 2015; Gherardi, 2009; Lorber 2010). Furthermore, racism and sexism are the major concerns of socialist feminists (Verloo, 2013). As previously discussed in Chapter Three, the feminist movements in the 1980s highlighted the intersectionality of inequality. These include that the lines of differentiation are not parallel, but intersect in multiple ways and are expressed in multiple voices. This approach recognizes that while women are divided by class, colour and political beliefs, they do experience a common oppression as women. As a consequence, by including gender and race differences in the analysis, socialist feminism re-conceptualises Marxist and Socialist theories as well as other feminist theories. They also draw some of their concepts from the radicals, while being critical of them for having separate solutions under capitalism and patriarchy. Despite their agreement on exploitation and domination by men, socialist feminists criticise other approaches for omitting historical and cultural conditions, and for claiming some minor changes without altering the existing capitalist social relations. Gendered organization theory has had a profound influence on socialist feminist theory.

**Theory of Gendered Organizations**
Chapter Three explored the emergence of the social construction of gender as a key sociological development in the analysis of gender inequality. Since the mid-1990s a substantial body of scholarship, both conceptual and in particular empirical, has been influenced by socialist feminist Joan Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations as well as others’ work on gendering practices in organizations. Gendered organization theory has its roots in second wave and radical feminist scholarship dating back to the 1960s when feminist scholars such as Heidi Hartmann, Elizabeth Moss Kanter, Dorothy Smith and others, interrogated the reasons for women’s unequal positioning within organizations. These scholars revealed how the dynamics within organizations produce outcomes which disadvantage women and advantage men. Hartmann (1976) identified capitalism and patriarchy as separate but interlocking systems that work together to structure social organization to subordinate women as individuals and as a collective group through various modes of production, the gendered division of labour, and subsequent sex segregation (Brooks, 2007). Therefore, according to Hartmann (1976) women enter the wage labour market at a disadvantage, and men’s actions maintain women’s subordinate position while protecting their own privileges. Hartmann’s theory made the link between structure and agency explicit by recognising the interconnections between gender and other institutions and also the importance of men’s actions in maintaining gender inequality. Kanter (1977) posited that the job one holds in the hierarchy of an organization determines one’s ability to progress and succeed within that organization. Kanter (1977) provided a structural explanation for gender inequality when she argued that because women are disproportionately located in lower grade positions within organizational hierarchies, they possess limited power and authority to advance in organizations. Thus, women have poor career pathways and remain confined to lower grade positions within the organizational hierarchy (Brooks, 2007). While Kanter identified mechanisms for how, once in place, gender inequality is maintained through occupational sex
segregation, she neglected to explain the origins of segregation that leads to an array of unequal work benefits (Acker, 1990). The structuring of organizations along gender lines also involves sexuality (Game and Pringle, 1984) and organizational sexuality referring to movement and proximity, feelings and emotions, ideology and consciousness, language and imagery (Aitchison, 2003; Cockburn, 1992; Hearn and Parkin, 1987). West and Zimmerman (1987) coined the notion of ‘doing gender’, understood as routine, ongoing methodological social accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction. ‘Gendering’ in this case, becomes a verb referring to processes and practices that are enacted in various locations and relations, including in work organizations (Britton, 2000).

Acker’s (1990) theory built on the work of previous feminists developing a ground-breaking framework within which to critique gender inequality in work organizations. Acker (1990) argued that gender assumptions are embedded in societal expectations and that they interact with organizational rules and practices lying subliminally beneath macro-social structural arrangements. These arrangements are rooted in the political, economic and social changes of the Industrial Revolution. Fundamental to Acker’s (1990) theory is the denial that organizations are gender neutral. Rather, organizational structures are inherently gendered as they were historically created based on an ‘ideal worker’, who is a man who could fully commit to work without the distraction of domestic duties. Gender was built into the structure of organizations where the rules that governed how hierarchies were rationalised and legitimised within organizations were defined within a masculine framework (Acker, 1990). Thus, gender inequality is ‘institutionalized’ within them (Acker, 1990, p. 139).

Acker (1990, p. 140) states:
To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine.

Consequently, Acker (1990) argued that, contrary to the belief that contemporary organizations are gender neutral and disembodied, they are in fact deeply gendered and embodied. She states “images of men’s bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes marginalising women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organizations” (1990, p. 139).

Acker (1990) argued that gender inequality is reinforced in organizations through five interconnecting processes within society. These are culture and the organization: the division of labour, individual identities, workplace interactions, cultural symbols and the organizational logic of an organization including work rules, job descriptions, pay scales, and job evaluations.

The social division of labour is reflected within the organization where men and women occupy different and distinct realms and are defined by acceptable behaviours, physical work locations and power. Symbols and images, such as language and culture, are constructed that reinforce these divisions. Gendering processes occur in interpersonal interactions between and among men and women that enact patterns of dominance and submission and produce gendered social structures. Individual identities promote and reinforce gendered outcomes also through appropriate work, dress, and presentation of self, to the extent that people enact and internalise gender specific scripts for behaviour. Gender constitutes organizational logic, one of the fundamental organizing elements of creating organizational structures. The organizational logic of an organization is therefore not gender neutral but rather a masculine construction.

This is manifested in work rules that favour men, where women’s different but equal needs are ignored, including women’s child bearing needs, and the social construction of women’s roles as caregivers and as being responsible for family matters in society. Job descriptions and
evaluations are defined along gendered lines where men occupy more senior masculine roles and women occupy less senior and more feminine roles as the result of the hierarchical nature of the organization. The organizational logic marginalises women through a masculine culture that can give rise to bullying, harassment, and discrimination against women. Higher financial rewards accrue to men when compared to their female counterparts for the same work carried out in equally comparable roles. In 1992, Acker revised her theory when she subsumed organizational logic as a constituent element of the remaining four key processes.

This theory has been widely used as a framework for analysing gender inequality in multiple professions. Researchers have contextualized the ideal worker in different sectors, industries, organizations, or functions (Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998; Tienari et al., 2002; Kelan, 2010; Styhre, 2012; Kelly et al., 2010; Pas et al., 2014), but all find an implicit masculinity in the norm that continuously constructs masculine work patterns as normal and legitimate.

Pierce’s (1995) ethnographic study of gender inequality in corporate law firms demonstrated how behavioural norms and expectations for men and women lawyers and paralegals are culturally constructed, symbolised, and reinforced through masculinity and femininity. Successful lawyers were characterised by their hyper masculine ‘Rambo’ litigating techniques and women lawyers were obliged to conform to these masculine behaviours in order to achieve success. Women paralegals were also judged through a feminine lens where they were expected to nurture and mother their bosses to avoid consequences of criticism from them, whereas men paralegals did not experience the same set of constraints and experiences.

Williams (2000) used the concept ‘ideal worker’ to describe how norms at work are established through social constructions of what it means to be a good worker. Williams (2000) exposed the institutional practices, expectations, and culture that define workplace excellence, and most importantly, how these are socially constructed along gendered life cycles. In particular,
Williams focused on a part of the professional career trajectory where the ideal workers are those who function unencumbered by family responsibilities or caretaking. This means that men’s life patterns (e.g., no time off for childbirth and little time off for child-care) are a better fit than women’s life patterns for career progression because men are better oriented toward meeting the ‘ideal worker’ expectation for uninterrupted productivity and greatest achievement during the key child rearing and bearing years.

Acker’s theory has also been used in studies on women and men in non-traditional occupations. Williams (1992) demonstrated how men who occupy ostensibly female professions such as librarians, elementary school teachers, and nurses face different experiences than women in the same occupations. Williams (1992, p. 256) highlighted how men were promoted at exceptional speeds, “riding the glass escalator” rather than facing barriers to advancement in female professions. These findings illustrate how a masculine gendered substructure operated to benefit men, even when women constitute the numerical majority of workers in a given occupation or firm. Britton’s (2003) research on prisons revealed how training materials and examples for prison officers were not gender neutral, rather they were constructed as though all trainees were men. Britton argued that the material failed to address issues and information particular to women’s prisons and completely ignored sexual harassment of officers from inmates. Studies on men in nursing and women in engineering illustrate how men and women challenge norms about masculinity or femininity in the conventional gender order (Simpson, 2014; Joshi, 2014). They develop strategies to manage gender in their daily work practices, complying with some constructions of masculinity and femininity, and resisting others.

O’Connor’s (2014) research of gender inequality in higher education institutions in Ireland highlighted the existence of a masculine organizational culture as a barrier for women’s progression within academic organizations. O’Connor (2014) argued that organizational culture is masculine, where competition, aggression, and focus on individual advancement
are key drivers within the culture. Furthermore, processes in the academy are not very open, with male dominated patterns of networking and influence working against women (O’Connor (2014). O’Connor (2011, p.168) demonstrated that contrary to the perception that universities are “gender-neutral meritocracies, concerned with the transmission and creation of scientific objective knowledge”, they are in fact gendered organizations.

This analysis of gender within organizations calls out the alleged gender neutrality of organization theory and organization processes, pointing to the persistent reproduction of gender inequalities in organizational realities (Acker, 1990). It shows how norms about gender equality at work, that emphasize the gender neutrality of jobs, skills and qualifications, co-exist with norms and rules about appropriate behaviours that imply differential assessments of femininity and masculinity at work (Benschop and Doorewaard, 2012).

While this theory was very usefully employed in the 1990s and beyond, technological change and globalisation in workplaces and work organizations have led to more streamlined, flexible and efficient work models with less hierarchical and more flat management systems. Furthermore, the advancement of intersectionality of inequality demonstrated the complex and interwoven nature of gender inequality with race, class and gender (Calás et al., 2014). In 2006, Acker addressed these issues when she reformulates her theory to take account of these developments. She argues that while work organizations have changed, the underlying subtext is gendered. Acker (2006, p. 441) suggests the idea of ‘inequality regimes’ as “the interlocked practices and processes that result in continuing inequalities in all work organizations”. She argued for its use as an analytic approach to understanding the interconnecting practices and processes that create and maintain racialized and gendered class relations and inequalities in contemporary work organizations. Significantly, Acker (2012) acknowledges the difficulty in
incorporating intersectionality into gender inequality analysis when she asserts that ethnographic or case study methodology is best suited to answering questions about how intersectionality actually works to produce inequalities.

Acker’s theory is not without its critics and limitations. While it has been demonstrated as a useful tool to analyse gender inequality in work organizations, critics argue that it is “currently more invested in analyses of failed change than in providing suggestions and conditions for successful change” (Benscopp and Verloo, 2016, p. 105). Work organizations are the target for many attempts to alter patterns of inequality. However, the persistence of gender inequality belies the organizational change strategies encapsulated in phrases such as ‘fixing the women’ or ‘creating structural equal opportunities’ or ‘valuing difference’, which have been enlisted by liberal feminism in contemporary work organizations. Work organizations are critical locations for the investigation of the continuous creation of complex inequalities because much societal inequality originates in such organizations. It appears that these strategies are easily absorbed into the ongoing reproduction of gender inequality (Ely and Meyerson, 2000; Benschop and Verloo, 2006; Van den Brink and Stobbe, 2014). The study of change efforts and the oppositions they engender are often opportunities to observe frequently invisible aspects of the reproduction of inequalities that have wider implications for management and organization studies. As a result, gendered organization theory is useful to understand why these initiatives for change have failed to understand the complexities of organizational change (Reger, 2016). Altogether, studies taking a gendered organization perspective illuminate how changing organizations is much more than a matter of simply adding more female bodies (Benschop and Verloo, 2006). Rather, the focus of analyses becomes the practices and relationships re-inscribing structures of domination, which cut across organizational levels. These arguments are now further articulated through analyses of ‘intersectionality’, focusing
on the simultaneity of gender, race, class, sexuality, and other social categories in the production of social inequality, and strengthening understanding of the complexity of hierarchical differentiation in organization.

Acker (1990) argued that hierarchical work organizations give expression to the idea of the ‘disembodied individual’ whereas in fact, images of men’s bodies and masculinity pervade organizational processes, marginalising women and contributing to the maintenance of gender segregation in organizations. Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity helps to deepen and broaden our understanding of the complexity of gendered organizations and work performed by men and women within this framework. Hegemonic masculinity relates to society’s normative understanding of masculinity and its association with qualities of authority, discipline, competitiveness and aggression, concerned with bread-winning and free from domestic responsibilities. As we have seen in Chapter Two, these qualities were historically embedded in the persona of the head chef (Lane, 2014). Hegemonic masculinity is socially and hierarchically exclusive and set in opposition to normative understanding of femininity and its association with qualities such as nurture, empathy, care and home maker (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt recognised the existence of a combination of multiple forms of masculinities while also arguing that certain masculinities are more “socially central, or more associated with authority and social power” than others (2005, p. 832). The concept of hegemonic masculinity presumes the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities.

The model of hegemonic masculinity is also applicable to women; similar to Connell’s hegemonic masculinity, this dominant expression of gender needs a complicit counterpart in order to be dominant. Hegemonic femininity, also referred to as ‘emphasized femininity’ or indeed ‘traditional femininity’ is a concept that was developed in tandem with hegemonic
masculinities “to acknowledge the asymmetrical position of masculinities and femininities in a patriarchal gender order” (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). The ideal state of femininity (hegemonic femininity or ‘emphasised femininity’) is the unpaid female homemaker, constructed in opposition to the hegemonic masculinity of the heterosexual male “bread winner” (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 834). The concept focuses on “compliance to patriarchy” and is “still highly relevant in contemporary mass culture” (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). The hierarchical relationship between femininity and masculinity ensures inequality and domination along gender lines (Schippers, 2007). Furthermore, Schippers (2007) asserts that the dynamic between hegemonic and subordinate femininity is dependent on race and class, just as different forms of masculinity often depend on these social divisions in order to bolster the hierarchy (Budgeon, 2014; McRobbie, 2009).

Taking issue with the taken-for-granted equation of men and masculinities with management, leadership, and authority, Connell (1995) and Collinson and Hearn (1996) were among the first scholars to think critically about the concepts of ‘men’, ‘masculinity’, ‘multiple masculinities’, and ‘hegemonic masculinity’ in the context of organizations.

**Justification for the Use of Acker’s Theory of Gendered Organizations**

The above section discussed several feminist theories and their limitations in analysing gender inequality in workplaces and organizations. All theories have their unique perspectives and limitations. My choice of theory is guided by the contextual analysis of the chef profession that was revealed in Chapter Two and the purpose of this dissertation which is to uncover the causes of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. In Chapter Two, we saw that the chef profession was historically established as a masculine profession where power and control was located with men and embedded within a hierarchical masculine framework arising from the division of labour in liberalism and the onset of capitalism, a model that was adopted in Ireland. As we have seen, liberal feminist theory assumes work organizations are gender neutral. It is
not critical of power relations, hierarchical division of labour and the separation of private and public in uncovering the causes of gender inequality. By contrast, gendered organization theory is based on the recognition of the historical gendered nature of work organizations. It addresses gender inequality within organizations where gender bias, discrimination and privilege become more visible within ostensibly gender-neutral organizations (Williams et al., 2012).

Gendered organizational theory offers a more appropriate analytical tool to assist in uncovering the complex interconnecting processes and practices that result in gender inequality arising from the creation of the masculine chef profession in Ireland. Acker’s theory (1990) provides a theoretical framework that examines how the social construction of gender as the dynamic practice of distinguishing between women and men, or articulating the differences between masculinity and femininity, can provide insights into power processes and the production of social inequalities. These insights in the ongoing production of social inequalities in the workplace have had a profound impact on management and organization studies (Benschop and Verloo, 2016). The contextual analysis identified the head chef as a masculine role. Some post-modern and radical feminist theories ask whether women’s differences make a difference in organizations that can, in some ways, justify women’s inequality. Gendered organization literature asks, how is it possible that gender differences have become an explanation for sex/gender-based inequality in organizations? What ongoing practices and processes sustain organizations as gendered spaces? In Chapter Two it was revealed that the chef profession, like other work places, has adapted to more streamlined working models. Acker’s ability to adapt her theory, as flatter organizational models emerged, demonstrates its continued relevance for evolving modern work organizations and is therefore helpful to analysis of the contemporary chef work environment. Acker’s theory (1990) helps uncover the specific practices and processes in the chef profession that contribute to gender inequality within the literature, thus helping to identify the specific research questions for this dissertation. In 1992 Acker revised
her original work and subsumed organizational logic into her four remaining processes and practices. However, Williams et al. (2012) successfully extended Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations when they identified the mechanisms that reproduce gender inequality within the organizational logic of twenty first century geoscientists in the oil and gas industry. By doing so they emphasised the importance of organizational logic as an independent practice reproducing gender inequality while also identifying its continued importance even as work organizations evolve. Therefore, this dissertation employs Acker’s original five processes and practices to uncover gender inequality within the chef profession.

Furthermore, it allows an assessment of the theory in light of the data that unfolds within this dissertation. Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity is incorporated into the framework to examine its significance for the persona of the head chef on gender inequality within the workplace and the profession.

Summary

This chapter laid out the theoretical framework and the justification for its use within this dissertation. It began by distinguishing between male and female perceptions of issues within organizational studies. Organizational theories have been dominated by men and have been male gendered. They neglected issues that pertained to women in work organizations (Gherardi, 2009). The chapter then outlined a selection of feminist theoretical approaches and their limitations that developed to address gender inequality. This included liberal, radical, post-modern, Marxist and socialist theories to counter this neglect. It then discussed Acker’s theory of gendered organizations including examples of its use within organizational studies to elucidate the reasons for gender inequality in a diversity of organizations. It continued by addressing Acker’s (2006) theoretical revisions to take account of changing contemporary work organizations and theoretical developments of intersectionality before discussing
Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity that is used to supplement Acker’s theory. Finally, it has outlined my justification for enlisting Acker’s theory and Connell’s concept in this dissertation as the basis for my theoretical framework. Chapter Five will discuss the methodology employed in this dissertation.
CHAPTER 5. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter Five critically analyses the available literature to uncover themes and gaps that need to be addressed for this dissertation. The chapter begins by presenting a brief outline of Acker’s theory of gendered organizations that was examined in Chapter Four. The literature is then reviewed by enlisting Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting processes within society, culture and the organization to assess the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession. Acker’s (1990) theory is supplemented throughout the review with Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity. The relationship between the division of labour and domestic food and care work is then examined to assess its significance in contributing to gender inequality. Finally, gaps in the research in the Irish context are identified with regard to key themes that emerge from the literature.

Acker’s Theory of Gendered Organizations

Acker (1990, p. 47) describes “gendered processes” as practices and procedures on the job that make a distinction between male or female and masculine or feminine. The reproduction of gender stereotypes creates an environment wherein men benefit and become more likely to dominate certain occupational areas. Acker (1990, p. 155) argues for continuous efforts of feminist research to “puzzle out how gender provides the subtext for arrangements of subordination”. Acker (1990) identified the five processes and practices as (1) the division of labour, (2) individual identities, (3) workplace interactions, (4) cultural symbols, and (5) the organizational logic of an organization (this includes work rules, job descriptions, pay scales, and job evaluations). Acker (1990) describes organizational logic as the taken-for-granted policies and principles that managers use to exercise legitimate control over the workplace. Workers comply because they view these policies and principles as ‘natural’ or normal business practices. Acker (1992) reformulated her theory when she subsumed organizational logic within her remaining four processes and practices. Acker (2006, p. 441) suggested the
concept of “inequality regimes” as an analytical approach to examine interlocked practices and processes that give rise to continuing inequalities in class, gender and race in all work organizations.

This dissertation’s central enquiry seeks to uncover the factors that contribute to gender inequality, specifically women’s inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. William et al’s (2012) research into gender inequality of geo scientists in the historically male dominated gas and petroleum industry argue that organizational logic is a critical element of understanding gendered organizations in the new economy and should be retained within Acker’s theory. Therefore, this literature review enlists Acker’s (1990) original theory to uncover the specific questions that need to be addressed within the Irish context. This chapter begins by examining each of Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting processes and practices while also considering how the organizational logic helps to reinforce the operation of each of the other four elements in sustaining gender inequality.

**Division of Labour**
The division of labour within the kitchen workspace and between different work places is now examined by considering how the processes and practices within the organizational logic give rise to gender inequality in the chef profession by reinforcing gender stereotypes.

*Workspace Stratification: Gendered Roles*
Acker (1990, 1992) identified the division of labour within a gendered organization structure as a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality. The literature shows that division of labour is a factor within professional kitchens where work spaces are spatialised into areas that are defined as masculine and feminine within the organizational logic. This reinforces gendered stereotypes of women’s separate and lesser role as pastry chef and men’s superior
role as head chefs in the savoury or ‘hot’ section of the professional kitchen thus perpetuating gender inequality.

**Pastry Chef and Head Chef**

Within the professional kitchen space, the pastry section is set apart from the savoury, or ‘hot’ side of a restaurant, hotel or other foodservice business to prevent ingredients such as chocolate and butter from softening prematurely. The feminine pastry role is recognised as an accepted role for women within the masculine profession of the chef, where it occupies a separate space and lower status in the professional kitchen (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Keohane, 2015; O'Sullivan, 2015). Women who begin their culinary careers in the ‘pink dungeon’ of the pastry section find it difficult, but not impossible, in some cases to break out and build broader culinary careers (Jennings, 2018b). Nevertheless, Harris and Giuffre’s (2010a) research found that many women find that they can be channelled to the pastry section of the kitchen as a legitimate role for women in this space and away from the ‘hot’ section where the serious male chefs work. In 2013, *Time Magazine* printed an article titled ‘The Gods of Food’, featuring some of the best chefs in the world, where four women made the list, none of whom were chefs. Two female chefs did feature in a sidebar of the article, both of whom were pastry chefs and given only a short mention reflecting their lesser importance (Dixler, 2013). The editor of the magazine explained:

> Well we had 13 original gods of food. We were thinking of a sidebar, and we thought of pastry and those are the names that came up. The sidebar was, as all sidebars, not a major consideration in the 13 gods of food. They're important but, as you know, sidebars are little side thoughts (Dixler, 2013).

Conversely the hot section of the kitchen is identified as the masculine space where the head chef controls this area of the kitchen and leads and directs the *brigade de cuisine* during service
During service the hot section or ‘the pass’ is a busy and highly pressurised area where a tightly knit and well-organized team ensures the smooth running of the area. This area of the kitchen is sometimes characterised by hegemonic masculine behaviour where aggression, shouting and verbal abuse are features of a section that has failed to deliver the required dish on time or to the standard required by the head chef (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). For full-service restaurants, evening service is the busiest period, where the head chef showcases their menu in order to build their reputation in the profession. This space in the profession has been historically identified as the location of the ‘ideal chef’ who was a man. Statistics reveal that men continue to dominate head chef positions and they remain therefore predominantly in control of the ‘hot’ section space in professional kitchens. In the USA, 41.2% of chefs were female while only 22% of head cooks and chefs were female (BLS, 2018b). In 2016 in Ireland, female chefs accounted for a little over 31% of the chef population while research carried out in 2014 had revealed that 14.5% of head chefs were female (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; CSO, 2018a). The allocation of spaces within the professional kitchen along gendered lines is one of the factors that reinforces gendered stereotypes in the professional kitchen and contributes to women dominating pastry chef roles and men dominating leadership head chef roles.

**Workplace Stratification: Gendered Work Environments**

The literature shows that the division of labour is a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality when women and men tend to occupy different work places in the chef profession where men occupy more high-status, full-service and elite kitchens, while women tend to occupy more low-status daytime service kitchens. This results in men dominating high-status hotel and fine dining kitchens and the senior roles within the workplace thereby protecting and reinforcing the hegemony of men as the ‘ideal chefs’. This is partially explained by the normalised practice of working long hours.
In Chapter Two it was documented that chefs work in a wide variety of different professional environments that can be broadly categorised as daytime service and full-service professional kitchens. A lower status is attributed to chefs working in daytime kitchens while full-service restaurants operate a lunch and dinner service, again ranging from lower status independent casual dining restaurants to high-status fine dining and Michelin starred restaurants.

Research on segregation in the labour market has identified the gendered division of labour in many occupations in European countries and considerable variance at a national level (Catalyst, 2018; EIGE, 2009). Research in the UK has highlighted the gendered division of labour, where female chefs are more likely to work in public and retail sectors as opposed to their male counterparts who make up the majority of chefs in the full-service restaurant and hotel sector (Lutrario, 2010). Research carried out in full-service hotels in Andalusia, Spain, revealed that almost 100% of senior roles, including “main and second chef”, were occupied by men and was indicative of a very high degree of horizontal segregation of work in hotels based on gendered division of labour (Campos-Soria et al., 2011, p. 96). Furthermore, full-service fine dining kitchens are male dominated spaces where a commitment to long hours is expected in order to perfect the craft of elite cooking (Haddaji et al., 2017a; 2017b). In 2017, women accounted for 17% of the chef population in the United Kingdom (ONS, 2018). This represented an increase on the previous year, however, senior roles remain dominated by men which, it is suggested, may be accounted for by two thirds of women working part-time when compared to only one third of men (Witts, 2017). This may suggest that women are working part-time in order to accommodate their family and caring roles.

Acker (1990) argued that hierarchical organizations are not gender neutral, rather they are inherently gendered as the work rules were originally designed for men as ideal workers thus
masking the embodied nature of work. Men, as ideal workers, can commit to long hours unencumbered by domestic duties and caregiving roles resulting in the division of labour within gendered organizations (Acker, 1990). The historical *brigade de cuisine* organizational structure embodied the male chef as the ‘ideal chef’ as part of the professionalization process. Commitment to long hours was established as a ‘normal’ organizational practice within the organizational logic of the profession kitchen. In the chef profession, full-service restaurants demand a commitment to working long hours. Men are more able to commit to this demand allowing them develop their careers pathways and dominate senior head chef and executive chef roles in higher status hotel and fine dining kitchen work environments. Conversely women tend to locate in daytime and retail kitchens limiting career paths to less prestigious roles such as kitchen manager or head chef roles in lower status kitchens.

*Unequal Pay and Access to Promotions*

The division of labour further generates and perpetuates gender inequality when the stratification of work spaces as a result of the normal work practice of working long hours limits women chefs’ potential to access more highly paid senior roles in high-status kitchens. Women chefs, as with women in many other professions, are paid less than their male counterparts (Pells, 2018). The hospitality industry is a low paid industry and women tend to be concentrated in lower paid positions (Mooney and Ryan, 2009). A Glassdoor (2016) report found that women chefs were second from the bottom, sharing this position with dentistry professions, and only ahead of their female counterparts in the technology industries. Female *sous chefs* and executive head chefs in the USA are paid almost $8000 (approximately €6760) less per annum than their male counterparts (Jennings, 2018a). In Ireland, executive head chefs earn the highest salaries while also having the potential to earn bonuses (McMahon, 2018). The Glassdoor (2016) report claims that the main cause for the gender pay gap across all professions in the USA results from sorting of men and women into jobs that pay differently in both occupations and industries (Glassdoor, 2016). The literature suggests that women are
concentrated in lower status work places because of their inability to combine the practice of working long unsocial hours in full-service restaurants with their socially ascribed caring roles. This limits women’s ability to access better paid senior positions in higher status full-service professional kitchens such as hotels and fine dining restaurants. This contributes to the gender pay gap and women’s poor representation in senior head chef roles in the chef profession thus perpetuating gender inequality.

**Gendered Identities: Work/Life Conflict**
Acker (1990) argued that within the organizational logic of hierarchical masculine organizations individual identities interact with the organization to reinforce gender inequality are internalised. This section examines this factor by examining the work rules of long unsocial hours and internalised gendered identities in the organizational logic of the chef profession that contribute to unequal pay and low representation of women in leadership head chef roles by reinforcing gendered stereotypes of chefs.

*Long Unsocial Hours*
Individual identities are a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality in the chef profession where the normalised work practice of working long hours in the organizational logic reinforces women’s identities as feminine mothers and carers in society and lower status chefs. Furthermore, it reinforces Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity where men’s identities are framed as the masculine ‘ideal chef’ and bread winner. The literature suggests that the normalised practice of overwork in male-dominated workplaces and the gender beliefs operating in the family and society combine to reinforce gender segregation and gender stereotypes of the chef labour market.

Senior roles/head chef positions generally arise when women are in their thirties, which is the time in contemporary society when many women consider having children. Many women see this as a real stumbling block for entry, progression or longevity in the industry as they cannot
commit to the expected long hours in full-service restaurants while also balancing family and caregiving roles (Bartholemew, 1996; Cooper, 1997; Druckman, 2012). Head chefs in full-service restaurants must contend with long unsocial hours that are not conducive to work/life balance and the responsibility of caregiving. Statistics for Ireland and the USA, as cited above, indicate that women are poorly represented in the chef profession and in particular, in leadership roles as head chefs (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; BLS, 2018b). While there are increased numbers of female chefs entering the profession in Ireland, their overall representation has fallen (CSO, 2018a). It may be the case that some women are exiting the chef profession because of the difficulty of combining long unsocial working hours (demanded in full-service restaurants) with procreation needs and socially ascribed family roles.

Research reveals that women chefs negotiate work-family conflict using a variety of the following strategies: (1) choosing more family-friendly options by seeking work in establishments such as food production kitchens or cafes; (2) leaving kitchen work for another job in the culinary field or starting their own business; (3) delaying/forgoing childbearing to succeed as a chef; and (4) adapting either work or family to make the two roles more compatible (Harris and Giuffre, 2010b; Holroyd, 2012). Studies on work/family integration and facilitation consistently point out that the ability to schedule work flexibly and have control over work and home schedules is associated with greater job satisfaction, emotional well-being, and overall life satisfaction, as well as lower turnover intentions (Chapman et al., 2013, Farrell, 2012).

Cha’s (2013) research demonstrates that mothers are more likely to leave male-dominated occupations when they work fifty hours or more per week, but the same effect is not found for men or childless women. Cha (2013) also showed that overworking mothers are more likely to exit the labour force entirely, and that this pattern is specific to male-dominated occupations.
Cha’s (2013) research further suggested that a culture of long working hours negatively impacts women’s entry into male dominated professions. As a result, women may not consider the chef profession a suitable career choice at the outset when they consider the organizational logic of long working hours and their future aspirations to have families thus protecting the hegemony of the male chef in full-service kitchens.

Maternity and Paternity Leave
The lack of access to maternity and paternity leave intersects with long unsocial working hours in full-service restaurants to reinforce gender stereotypes and gender inequality in the chef profession.

The USA is the only country in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that does not offer paid maternity leave to new mothers, though there are some rare notable exceptions in the hospitality industry (OECD, 2016). American women chefs recognise maternity leave as a real issue affecting women working at every level in the chef profession but particularly in fine dining, where it intersects with the industry’s lack of high-profile women, where continuity and commitment including commitment to long hours are expected to reach the elite chef status (Kludt, 2016). European women chefs’ experiences, however, belie the substantial maternity and welfare supports available to them as the percentage of female head chefs remains very low (Télérama, 2015). The Nordic countries consistently score the highest on global gender equality rankings, where employment legislation provides a great deal of flexibility and generous parental leave for both working mothers and fathers. However, work is segregated along gender lines, and the chef profession in Nordic countries reflects the Western trend, with a very low number of female head chefs that continues to decrease at the highest level of the culinary spectrum (Carmichael, 2015; Norden, 2015).

Regardless of the respective countries’ maternity policies, at an international level, chefs cite the difficulties for women in this area. Providing generous maternity as well as paternity leave
are clearly progressive social policies. However, unaltered work rules, in this case the commitment to long hours in the professional full-service kitchens work environments, may inhibit men and women who access these provisions, when single or childless women and men do not need them. The latter, being of equal skillset and education, can theoretically be preferentially chosen (implicit bias) to progress in the professional kitchen, leaving the hierarchical structure and gendered identities significantly unaltered unless policies are put in place to counter this eventuality. Some women chefs do find ways of negotiating both motherhood and the chef world, but it is clear that it is a considerable challenge for many (Saskia, 2017).

Benchop and Doorewaard (2012) argue that expected commitment to long hours implicitly reinforce gendered identities, inadvertently resisting change and thereby reinforcing hegemonic masculine power and men as the ‘gatekeepers’ of professions. Commitment to long hours within the masculine hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* maintains the status quo in full-service restaurants and perpetuates gender inequality within the profession. Gender stereotypes are reinforced as male chefs can dominate high-status and full-service kitchens and leadership roles while female chefs orientate towards daytime service and low-status kitchens. This reinforces the hegemony of the masculine chef profession in full-service and high-status work environments. The salience of gender is no more apparent than in women’s biological differentiation from men. It is here that the social structures of society intersect with the organizational logic of long working hours in the professional kitchen to reinforce men and women’s identities in the chef profession and to perpetuate gender inequality in the chef profession. While there are examples of women who have been successful despite the challenges, work/family conflict is recognised and well documented in research as a significant
barrier within hospitality industry, as within other organizations (Claringbould, 2008; Kludt, 2016; Walsh et al., 2014).

**Workplace Interactions: Masculine Kitchen Culture**

Acker (1990) argued that workplace interactions within the organizational logic of gendered hierarchical organizations marginalises women through masculine work practices where patterns of dominance and submission can give rise to bullying and harassment. In the chef profession, the norms of workplace interactions contribute to gender inequality in the form of sexual harassment and gender-based bullying, while workplace rules, embodied in the *brigade de cuisine* system, reinforce inequality-producing interactions. This can result in women leaving the profession, enduring the bullying and harassment behaviour or emulating the behaviour, thus perpetuating gender inequality and maintaining the hegemonic masculine culture of the professional kitchen. This behaviour reinforces Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity characterised by aggressive masculine behaviour within the gendered stereotype of the ideal chef and perpetuating gender inequality.

**Sexual Harassment**

Sexual harassment is especially salient in certain occupations and industry sectors, particularly in sales (Collinson and Collinson, 1996; Kitterlin et al., 2016; Morgan and Martin, 2006; Yount, 1991) and restaurant work (Giuffre and Williams 1994; Lerum 2004). The literature indicates that sexual harassment remains an important consideration for many female chefs in contemporary kitchens (Fleming, 2017; Ram, 2015). More sexual harassment claims in the USA are filed in the restaurant industry than in any other; surveys conducted across thirty-nine states in the USA concluded that unwanted sexual behaviour and harassment was experienced by 60% of women and transgender workers and 46% of men, while in Nordic countries sexual harassment is widespread in the hotel and restaurant industry (Frye 2017; Harðardóttir, 2015; Restaurant Opportunities Centers United, 2014). The hierarchical ‘kitchen brigade system’ of
professional kitchen organizations, developed and evolved within a masculine framework, created a masculine work culture with an expected culture of aggression, bullying and sexual harassment. (Bloisi and Hoel, 2008; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007; Meloury and Signal, 2014). Research cites the cult of the individual and artistic temperament as causes of bullying and sexual harassment in kitchens (Johns and Menzel, 1999; Langan-Fox et al., 2007). However, as a gendered organization that was designed for men, Acker (1990) argued that sexual harassment is a constituent element of the culture within hierarchical organizations.

Within the chef profession, use of strict discipline was normalised as a work practice within professional kitchens. This practice ensured compliance within the authoritarian ‘brigade kitchen’ hierarchy permitting the chef to perfect his craft and attain success. Sexual harassment manifests itself in work environments where unequal power relationships operate within organizational hierarchies (Lerum, 2004). The hierarchical ‘brigade kitchen’ organizational structure is designed on patterns of dominance and submission. The culture of bullying within a gendered harassment framework is theorised by Meyer (2008, p. 34) as any “behaviour that acts to assert the boundaries of traditional gender norms: heterosexual masculinity and femininity”. Sexual harassment includes biased behaviours that have a negative impact on the target, or the environment, that are related to norm-setting and policing the performance of traditional (heterosexual) gender roles (Meyer, 2008). Forms of gendered harassment include heterosexual harassment, homophobic harassment, and harassment. The social constructs of hegemonic masculinity and femininity are at the core of much societal bullying behaviour (Meyer, 2008).

Research suggests that chefs are willing to accept and endure the demands of the hegemonic masculine culture that exists in the fine dining hierarchical brigade de cuisine system in order to gain the experience required to become an elite chef (Burrow et al., 2015; Meloury and
Signal, 2014). Research conducted on Michelin star chefs in Ireland and Great Britain (England, Wales and Scotland) identified the cyclical nature of abuse as a result of unequal power relationships in hierarchical elite kitchens where aggressive and violent induction practices form part of the socialisation process of young chefs by senior chefs in order to build-up the ‘macho’ character needed to survive in a Michelin-starred kitchen (Cooper et al., 2017; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018). This learned behaviour is repeated by inducted chefs on new entrants as they move up the hierarchy in elite kitchens where hegemonic masculinity is normalised and reinforced within hierarchical kitchen culture. Theocharous and Philaretou (2009) argued that the prevailing patriarchal ‘machismo’ attitudes and behaviours within professional kitchens in Cyprus generate a hostile climate that tends to discourage victims of sexual harassment, especially females, to proceed with reporting incidents.

Research carried out in secondary schools identified a cycle of hyper-masculine performance and insecurity linking traditional/hegemonic masculinity to gender-based violence such as bullying and sexual harassment while ensuring protection from punishment or accountability through cultures of silence and protection (Smith and Smith, 1998; Stein, 1995). The silence of bystanders, especially males, is commonplace as challenging the perpetrator threatens a loss of masculine status and opens the bystander up to becoming a victim of harassment and violence himself. Sexual harassment may therefore act as a tool to police appropriate ways of ‘doing gender’ in the workplace, and to penalise gender non-conformity (Benschop et al., 2012). Silent bystanders may remain silent, not because they support the behaviour, but because it is often a show of, and establishes, or maintains the perpetrators’ status at the top of the hierarchy (Land, 2004; Renold, 2002).

Ineson et al. (2013) found that sexual harassment is normalised practice within professional
kitchens where it is not taken seriously by masculine leadership, resulting in silence or compliance. In order to succeed, a chef must survive within this hierarchical masculine model; the recognised professional model for a chef. Within the hierarchical authoritarian model of the *brigade de cuisine*, respect and deference to seniority is expected where hegemonic masculine qualities are valorised. A culture of silence is reinforced where people are building careers, working within a tight team structure, fostering competition, and working long hours to become a great chef. Camaraderie needs to exist for the demands of the job, and has the potential to slide towards a chaotic environment of accepted abuse and harassment, supported by a recognised code of silence (Minsk, 2015; Pownall, 2017; Sanders, 2015; The Telegraph, 2008). Scholars who have examined hegemonic masculinity in a variety of disciplines increasingly suggest that the operation of these rules can actually encourage the perpetration of such violence (Kimmel, 2008).

Anti-discrimination legislation is deeply embedded in the legal systems of Western democracies. It is the legal protection for individuals and forms part of the Human Rights discourse (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2018). Theoretically, individuals can call upon this legislation to protect themselves against discrimination, bullying and sexual harassment in the workplace. However, for the most part it seems ineffectual in its abstractness when the specificity of certain work cultures is present, in this case hegemonic masculine kitchen culture. It appears that many female chefs feel disempowered to act against this behaviour. For many chefs, sexual harassment is an unavoidable part of professional kitchen culture, and little can be done to change it given the insidious nature and dominance of the hegemonic masculine kitchen. Therefore, women chefs ‘push through’, ‘keep the head down’ or exit the particular environment, thus limiting women’s progression within the profession. In this sense, the chef does not have the capacity to autonomously shape or change this behaviour in a kitchen. The inadequacy therefore of abstract anti-discrimination legislation to deal with
this behaviour is highlighted when the female chef’s ability to act is constrained by the
dominated masculine culture and the unequal balance of power. Baker et al. (2005, p. 129)
argue that “at both the conceptual and practical level the generative causes of inequality in
employment go unchecked and tend to be translated into problems of discrete acts of individual
injustice”.

Since 2014, both men and women chefs have been publicly acknowledging the power
structures within the hierarchical masculine kitchen that give rise to cultural issues of sexual
harassment and silence, reflecting similarities with research in a diverse range of professions
(Bishop, 2014; Ross, 2016). The feminist activist Me Too movement (#metoo) has begun to
influence the issue of sexual harassment in the chef profession as erstwhile celebrity chefs, the
embodiment of the ‘ideal chef’, have been publicly disgraced because of their behaviour
(Judkis, 2018a; Rosner, 2018a; Sanders, 2015). Significantly young male chefs are publicly
acknowledging their experiences of aggressive work environments based on hegemonic
masculinity. This hostile work environment is not welcoming to women chefs and indeed
increasingly not welcoming to many young men also (Gill, 2016). In Ireland, in 2019, a national
chef group, with membership of over 3000 chefs, the ‘Chef Network’, introduced a voluntary
chef’s charter, ‘Our Working Kitchen Charter’, which provided general guidelines on how
chefs should behave in a professional kitchen (see Appendix 5.1).

Women and gay men, their association with the feminine in opposition to the hegemonic
masculine construct of the ‘ideal chef’, are open to sexual harassment in the unequal power
structure of the hierarchal ‘brigade’ model of the professional kitchen. Research revealed by
the Construction Industry Council’s Diversity Report (CIC) into the male dominated
construction sector in the UK revealed that only 14% of employees surveyed were female and
that only 2.1% of those surveyed identified as lesbian, gay and bisexual (CIC Report, 2016, p.
This report indicated that the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) community experienced harassment at many levels in an industry that was masculine in culture (Barnard et al., 2018). The behaviour within kitchen culture is symptomatic of and reasserts the chef profession within the traditional masculine hierarchical framework in opposition to women and their association with the domestic, thereby maintaining the gendered nature of the 

bride de cuisine system and the male chef as the ‘ideal chef’. Successful women chefs who have endured this type of behaviour, and continue to endure it in order to succeed, become complicit in the reinforcement of the hegemonic masculine brigade system when unaltered behaviours remain unchallenged.

Cultural Symbols and Images: Awards & Representations
Acker (1990) contended that symbols and images through cultural practices reinforce socially and professionally gendered stereotypes that generate and perpetuate gender inequality. The following section considers how the cultural symbols of chef awards and media representation of chefs are factors that contribute to perpetuating gender inequality in the chef profession.

Chef Awards
The dominance and superiority of the male chef is maintained within the profession by their recognition through award systems. Within the professional gastronomic world, national and international competitions bestow much sought-after awards on the greatest chefs who represent the very pinnacle of the culinary world, thereby hailing them as the exemplars to be admired, revered, and emulated. Elite fine dining chefs are recognised for their superlative skills by the prestigious Michelin star awards system. In 2018, only six women chefs led restaurants that attained the coveted three Michelin star award status whereas the remaining one hundred and twenty restaurant winners in this category were led by men (Burton, 2018). In 2019, the 18th edition of the World’s 50 Best Restaurants Awards featured five restaurants led by women. Significantly, three of the women shared their restaurant’s head position with a man (Abend, 2019). The prestigious Le chef 100 best chef in the
world awards for 2019 featured just four female chefs (Fine Dining Lovers, 2018). In 2016, Northern Ireland chef Danni Barry received a one-star Michelin award, one of only four women to receive this award on the island of Ireland since Michelin stars were first awarded in Ireland in 1974 (Digby, 2017; Mac Con Iomaire, 2009). Barry followed in the footsteps of Myrtle Allen (Michelin award 1975-80), Catherine Healy (Michelin award 1986-89), and Kai Pilz (Michelin award 1996-2001) (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). Danni Barry and Jess Murphy won the Best Chef Award at the Restaurant Association of Ireland (RAI) Awards in 2017 and 2018 respectfully, the only two female chefs to do so since the Irish Restaurant Awards began in 2009 (Digby, 2017; 2018).

The Michelin Guide has come under severe criticism for its lack of diversity and recognition of female chefs (Tuder, 2017). Gender specific, ‘Best Female Chef’, awards are a recent addition to national and international gastronomic competitions. Many female chefs find this new development unsatisfactory and patronising as it has the effect of maintaining the gendered divisions within the culinary world by implicitly recognising women as different from and unequal to their male counterparts (Kludt, 2017). In Ireland, in 2016, the Restaurant Association of Ireland’s (RAI) culinary competition organizers came under severe media criticism for their all male judging panels and the lack of women winning culinary awards (Deseine, 2016; McNamee, 2016).

Awards are bestowed overwhelmingly on men, where it is suggested that women chefs, like their counterparts in other professions, are judged along gendered lines, revealing prejudice and implicit bias. Historically, the ‘ideal chef’ is embodied by a man within a masculine organization framework, which is carried through into the contemporary gastronomic world where men dominate competition panels, boards, and symposia, leaving them open to the claim
of implicit bias (Druckman, 2012). Implicit bias is the result of societal ascription to gender roles over time; these stereotypes become embedded in our psyche and we are unaware that we possess them. It is automatic and reflects the associations we acquire as we socialise into the culture in which we grow up (Zawaski, 2016).

Druckman (2010, p. 25) argues that men and women do not cook differently but are judged differently, along the gendered lines revealing prejudice and implicit bias. In an experiment a male and female chef cooked a six-course meal, each represented by two dishes sharing a themed ingredient. The panel had then to decide whether the food cooked was by the female/male chef based on the look and taste of the dishes, for example edible flowers suggested ‘female’, while precisely stacked and drizzled sauces meant ‘male’. Equally, when a chef’s gender is known, his or her ‘seemingly neutral dish’ was described using different vocabularies (Mettler, 2009). The panellist and cookbook author Gwen Hynam referenced the old cultural trope “women cook with the heart and men cook with the head- because women have hearts and men have brains” (Druckman (2010, p. 25). If a man prepares spaghetti Bolognese “it is described as ‘in your face’, ‘rich’, and ‘intense’ whereas if a woman prepares the same dish, it is said to be ‘homey’ comforting, ‘prepared with love’”. The former becomes an aggressive statement – ego, where the latter is a testament to home cooking (Druckman, 2010, p. 25).

Similar findings have been uncovered by researchers in the USA who found that code written by female programmers is rated more highly than code written by men based on code acceptance from other coders (Dockrill, 2016). However, this is lost when female programmers publicly identify their gender online. In fact, the acceptance of their contributions falls below the acceptance level of code written by men, once their gender is revealed (Dockrill, 2016). Dame Stephanie Shirley revealed bias within the information technology industry in her
A seminal Ted Talk on women in the computer science profession (Shirley, 2015). In a well-renowned 1952 Boston Symphony Orchestra experiment, women were judged equally with their male counterparts only when all identification of the gender was omitted including removal of their shoes (high heels indicate female) indicating that bias is unconscious and very difficult to counter in the professional world of work (Rice, 2013).

An in-depth analysis of the gender breakdown of the James Beard Foundation (JBF) Awards, an examination of the list of winners from 2009 to 2014 demonstrates an increase in the number of women receiving awards, with the exception of 2012 when the competition-judging panel gradually reached gender parity and the percentage of women (non-pastry) graduating from culinary programs continued to increase (Sutton, 2014). Significantly, women have far less success in winning competitions before they get to the semi-final stage, where judging panels are not balanced in terms of gender. The objective should be to guard against the claim of implicit bias by actively gender balancing these platforms; just as such attempts have been made in other professions (Goldin and Rouse, 2000).

**Media Representations**

Acker (1990) argued that cultural symbols and images reinforce social and professional gendered stereotypes through television and the press. The social and professional construction of the gendered skill of cooking is reinforced through media representation in contemporary society, further complicating the gendered understanding of the chef profession by reinforcing gendered stereotypes. A variety of culinary research in a diversity of food media platforms highlights the persistent association with women chefs and the domestic feminine sphere.

Contemporary culinary television shows use a well-established framework to promote traditional narratives about cooking, gender, and class (Druckman, 2012). This ‘traditional’ narrative, dating back to the 1940s and 1950s, can be identified as instructional cooking,
located in the kitchen space that both creates and affirms their identities through association with care work and the domestic sphere (Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012, p. 42). This narrative downplays formal training and the successful professional achievements of the female chef to create personas that fit into the traditional narrative of culinary femininity while offering the viewers a mode of domestic, nurturing femininity that, if embraced, promises to produce a sense of distinction, reinforcing the female domestic association with the consumer (Kimmel, 2008, pp. 237–257).

Harris and Giuffre’s (2015) analysis of print media in the USA, regardless of gender of authorship, reveals that male chefs received the lion’s share of reviews and profile pieces. Chefs’ roles were predominantly gendered; women’s cooking was described as “nourishing, pleasing, and preserving tradition”, whereas men’s cooking was described as “artistic, skilful, and innovative” (Harris and Giuffre, 2015, p. 47). Men were praised for their creativity and technique behind the dish, whereas women were complimented on the dish itself, focusing on words such as “elegant”, “simple”, and “tidy” as descriptors, which hark back to the domestic professional dichotomy (Harris and Giuffre, 2015, pp. 55–56). Johnson et al.’s (2014) research, based on a dataset of cookbooks written by celebrity chefs, uses ‘personas’ as an analytical tool, suggesting that culinary personas are indeed highly gendered and are organized around the traditional sexual division of labour, with a clear divide into “market and nonmarket work” (Johnson et al., 2014, p. 2). While a small number of women were identified in the hegemonic masculinity categories (chef artisan and self-made man), the overwhelming majority of women cookbooks were classified as traditional femininities, consistently associated with home cooking. This research clearly identified gender as the key way in which culinary personas are constructed and differentiated from each other. It suggests that masculine celebrity chef personas may serve to naturalise status inequities, aid understanding of cultural inequalities,
and limit opportunities for new entrants to gain authority in their respective fields, reflecting research by other academics on media and gender (Gill, 2007; Skeggs, 2005). Pastry is identified as a feminine role in professional kitchens and is reinforced through chef awards and cultural representations in the media. Therefore, it may be the case that women choose pastry as a legitimate/acceptable role, as they see their roles through the gendered lens of femininity as a result of these cultural symbols and images combined with the particularity of the professional hierarchical masculine kitchen.

While there are examples of professional women chefs on television – for example, Angela Hartnett and Monica Galetti in the UK and Cat Cora in the USA – these women are in the minority. It is arguable that some women have successfully navigated the professional chef space by becoming complicit in protecting hegemonic masculinity through on-set performance of ‘female masculinity’: emulating hegemonic masculine traits such as aggression, dominance of ego, and lack of caring and nurturing traits; even as they complicate the gendered narratives that such programs propagate (Halberstam, 1998). It is also the case that a move away from the authoritarian model to a more collaborative management style in professional kitchens can enhance women chefs’ possibilities of disrupting the stratification of roles as identified by Lane (2014).

**Organizational Logic: Non-Transparent Pay and Promotions Pathway**
The lack of transparency of pay and promotion pathways within the organizational logic of masculine professional kitchens is a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality. By enacting biased practices that value and reward male chefs as ideal workers, women encounter discrimination that results in unequal pay and promotion opportunities.

It has already been identified that men dominate head chef roles while women are identified with pastry roles. Statistics detailed above revealed the dearth of women in head chef positions
A 2010 *StarChefs Salary Report* found that female pastry chefs working in baking and pastry in the USA were paid 27% less than male pastry chefs even though they dominate this culinary field (Villeneuve, 2011). In 2011, a similar report revealed that while the gender pay gap was closing among male and female chefs, there was considerable disparity when bonuses were considered (Rummell, 2012; Villeneuve, 2011). Data revealed that the gender pay gap in London’s top hospitality establishments narrowed to 5.9% in 2018, compared to 9.7% in 2017 (Riley, 2019). Female chefs and kitchen employees’ salaries increased by an average of 24.4% compared to an average rise of 13.3% for male chefs, helping to close the pay gap among kitchen staff (Riley, 2019). Chefs are poorly paid in Ireland with many starting off on minimum wage, only reaching the average industrial wage of €39,000 when they reach leadership positions (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire 2016; McMahon, 2018). Research conducted in Ireland in 2014 did not reveal any significant pay disparity among male and female head chefs. However, there was a significant relationship between gender and the number of salary increases that head chefs had received, with male head chefs gaining more salary increases than females (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016).

**The Ideal Masculine Chef: Value and Worth**

Research suggests women chefs, are identified as ‘invaders’ because of their ‘femininity’ within the hegemonic masculine leadership style of the authoritarian historic *brigade de cuisine* model (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Male chefs who ascribe to the hegemonic masculine identity of the ‘ideal chef,’ as defined within the organizational logic, may not consider women suitable for leadership roles or worthy of equal pay as they do not conform to this ideal. Research on women in traditional male dominated engineering occupations reveals that during World War I, women replaced men in semi-skilled and unskilled work in engineering industries-institutional factories set up to put women through crash courses to raise the level of
professional engineers (Drake, 1920; Kozak, 1976). At the end of the war, these women were removed, and their special training stopped. Many were ejected from jobs as they were seen as diluting the power and status of professional engineers (Cockburn, 1992). Women may therefore be considered unsuitable to run a professional kitchen that operates within the classic *brigade de cuisine* system; “the organisation and its rituals are devalued if ‘even a girl’ can do them” (Britton and William, 1995, p. 15). An implicit bias or gendered subtext may exist against pay and promotion of women as it may be understood that they are not equal to their male counterparts or that they may dilute the power and status of the masculine ‘ideal chef’. To counter implicit bias against pay, Glassdoor's (2016, p. 4) research suggests “employer policies that embrace salary transparency” can help eliminate hard-to-justify gender pay gaps, along with helping to achieve balance in male-female pay in the workplace.

**Feminine Chefs: Lack of Confidence and Negotiating Skills**

A common criticism of women in all career choices is their lack of confidence in their own abilities, their negotiating skills with regard to promotions and salaries, and their overall perception of themselves when compared to their male counterparts (Warrell, 2016; Wharton, 2012). This is attributed to the gendered socialisation process which gives rise to ‘imposter syndrome’, which results in women never believing they are as competent as their male counterpart regardless of their abilities (Ballard, 2011; Young, 1980). Girls have historically been socialised to behave in a feminine way, known as ‘the good girl syndrome’ where girls are required not to be demanding, to be forgiving, accommodating and ‘ladylike’ (Engel, 2008). They are not socialised, as boys are, to have confidence in themselves and in their abilities (Young, 1980). Their identities are shaped by the gendered socialisation process and may become internalised, as Acker (1990) has suggested. Research suggests that this observed gender difference could reflect social factors, including women being socialised to feel this type of behaviour is unfeminine (being pushy or overbearing) if they negotiate (Babcock and
Laschever, 2003). While Bahn and Kahn (2016) suggest that it may be possible to enhance women’s negotiating skills and reduce the gender difference in negotiating, they also argue that it is also important to realise the limitations of what may be achieved by doing so. They contend that (2016, p. 44)

…negotiation is a form of bargaining and as such the outcome is influenced by the alternatives available to the individual. To the extent that women face discrimination in the labor market that lowers their wages relative to men’s, their expected outcome from the bargaining process will be smaller than for their male counterparts. Moreover, if, as we have seen may be the case, women who negotiate elicit negative responses compared to men, the gender difference in the prospective result from negotiating is further widened.

While it may be the case that women’s internalised feminine identities resulting in a lack of confidence in their abilities and negotiating skills, the literature also demonstrates that women and their work are not considered as equally valuable to their male counterparts in a profession that is defined as masculine. The clearly defined hegemonic masculine leadership styles within the organizational logic of the professional kitchen is set in direct opposition to the ‘feminine’ qualities of empathy, nurturing, collaboration, and interpersonal skills. Women chefs contend that they are not respected as equals, regardless of their qualifications, and are treated more harshly in professional kitchens (Becerra, 2016; Harris and Giuffre, 2010a). Verbal abuse, excessive harsh criticism, harassment including sexual harassment, and racism may reinforce the inferiority of female chefs’ status implicitly destabilising their confidence in their own abilities. Systemic masculine unequal treatment, in turn destabilising women’s confidence in their abilities or worthiness to possess such power, may reinforce gendered identities by self-selecting or implicitly accepting assigned gendered identities and processes (Connell, 1995;
Kelso and Brody, 2014). Some women chefs may find confidence in their abilities diminished due to unequal and unfair treatment and may be unable or unwilling to conform to excessive high demands or negotiate senior positions or pay rates. Women may therefore be less likely to put themselves forward for promotion or to negotiate pay rates implicitly believing that they are not good enough to fulfil head chef leadership roles or deserving enough to ask for increased pay rates. As a result, they may choose to remain in less senior roles, or legitimately identify the feminine pastry section as an accepted role within this model, away from the overbearing scrutiny of senior staff and authoritarian leadership of masculine head chefs. This, in turn, means that women chefs are less inclined to advance in the chef hierarchy and are less inclined to put themselves forward for leadership roles deeming themselves unsuited or unable to fulfil the job description as defined within the hegemonic masculine model thus perpetuating gender inequality.

**Society: Division of Labour, Domestic Food Work and Care Work**

Acker (1990) argued that socially constructed gendered stereotypes, as a result of the division of labour, reinforce gender inequality. This section examines how gendered understandings of domestic food work intersect with the professional realm to reinforce the gendered understanding of the chef profession, thereby further complicating gender inequality.

Men are increasingly taking on responsibly for homemaking practices in the domestic sphere suggesting fluidity of the gendered division of labour in contemporary society. Men’s increasing engagement with homemaking practices shapes masculine identities and transforms meanings of ‘home’, revealing a more nuanced and complex multiplicity of masculinities that undergo transformation within different social situations (Cairns and Johnson, 2015; Cox and Buchli, 2017; Gorman-Murray and Hopkins, 2014; Neuman, Gottzén, and Fjellström, 2017;
Swenson, 2009). Furthermore, research suggests that men in contemporary society in demanding careers are increasingly choosing more family friendly options in order to balance work and family (Walsh et al., 2014).

Meah’s (2014) research, based on a series of observations and interviews, uses the experiences of men and women undertaking food preparation to show how ‘doing gender’ in the kitchen is not binary. She recognises the ‘slippage’ of identities between different social spaces, such as the kitchen, and demonstrates the constraints of our current conceptualisation of masculinity and femininity. Research into Firehouse cooking in New York reveals firefighters masculinise the cooking process by using foul or misogynist language and performed behaviours in order to reassert their masculinity while performing a skill that is generally associated with women. Deutsch (2005) argues that for men, cooking in the domestic situation of the Firehouse, they need to draw from a different gender script to achieve respect when constructing their workplace family of firefighters. He further adds that the relationship between gender and cooking is complicated by particular contexts where people construct their work identities and their domestic lives (Deutsch, 2005).

O’Connell and Brannen (2016) found that while ‘slippage’ has occurred, mothers still contributed disproportionately to domestic food work. Women justify this pattern with reference to their partner’s lack of competence in some instances, while the underlying theme for mothers is one of responsibility and duty for this work, justifying this pattern with reference to their partner’s lack of competence in some instances. Research has identified the complicated reasons for the choices that women make in relation to family and care work. Firstly, many had not anticipated the difficulties of having to navigate family life with a demanding career when confronted with mismatched expectations of their male partners, who
had gendered assumptions of their family and caregiving roles (Ely et al., 2014; Grant Thornton, 2015; Stone, 2007). Secondly, some failed to identify the “moral imperative of duty and responsibility” for this work by virtue of the fact of being mothers (Lynch et al., 2008, p. 93). Scholars have been surprised by the persistence of social, economic, and political differences that have maintained the structural constraints of gender and class much more than expected (Adkins, 2004, p. 192; Johnson et al., 2014; Parsons, 2015). A 2017 study revealed the complex nature of egalitarian policies, where fewer of the youngest millennials, those aged 18 to 25, support egalitarian family arrangements than was the case with the same age group twenty years earlier (Coontz, 2017). O’Connor’s (2015) research of children in contemporary Ireland suggests that children continue to draw on “rather stereotypical ways of doing boy/girl” with/in relation to family roles that reinforce concepts of femininity and masculinity (2015, p. 105). Significantly, O’Connor (2015) points out that women’s roles as ‘bread winner’ in a family dynamic seems insufficient in challenging the gendered understanding of women and men’s roles in family settings possibly because women continue to carry out the majority of caring roles and duties in family situations.

In Ireland, research has demonstrated that from 2007 to 2011 the amount of time spent by men on unpaid domestic work and care work increased significantly, partly due to decreases in paid employment during the recession (Russell et al., 2014). Furthermore, when employment was considered, there was still an increase in men’s participation. However, Russell et al. (2019, xi) suggest that this trend indicates a “recessionary shock rather than a long-term change in men’s unpaid work”, that a decrease in income during this period may have resulted in more home cooking. In 2016, the amount of time spent by men on unpaid domestic work and care work had returned to 2007 levels when near full employment levels were reached (Russell et al., 2019). Significantly, Russell et al. (2019) demonstrate that having a partner, whether
employed or non-employed, increases time spent on housework for women. For men, having a partner who is not in employment lowers time spent on housework when compared to single men, suggesting that a traditional gendered allocation of housework persists in many households in Ireland.

Despite significant shifts in the cultural and material continuities between food and gender in the domestic space, important continuities persist demonstrating the maintenance of gender binaries even as men attend to cooking duties in the domestic setting. This reflects the persistence of socially and culturally central concepts of masculinity and femininity, i.e. hegemonic masculinity and femininity, directly related to the separation of the public and professional world from its opposite domestic private world when we consider food work (Cairns and Johnson, 2015; Deutsch, 2005; Meah, 2014; Meah and Jackson, 2016; Neuman, Gottzén, and Fjellström, 2017; Swenson, 2009). Considering the persistence of the gendered binaries in relation to food work, given that women and men participate in the public world of work, it is clear that the skill of cooking has maintained its gendered understanding both in the public and private sphere and is perpetually reinforced in both spheres by social and cultural reproduction on a multiplicity of levels. The misrepresentation and misrecognition of women chefs in the public sphere helps to maintain the gendered and unequal status in both spheres.

**Summary**

This chapter examined the literature using Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting processes and practices within her theory of gendered organizations and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity to uncover the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession. The literature revealed that the contemporary chef profession continues to be a male dominated profession. A number of themes emerged within the literature highlighting factors
that contribute to gender inequality: (a.) chef roles are stratified along gender lines where women occupy feminine pastry chef roles men occupy more senior masculine head chef roles; (b.) work environments are stratified where women tend to work in low-status daytime kitchens while men occupy more full-service and prestigious hotel and fine dining restaurants; (c.) women are paid less and have less opportunity for promotions than their male counterparts; (d.) organizational culture contributes to gender inequality through practices of hegemonic masculine bullying and harassment, adherence to long unsocial working hours, lack of access to maternity and paternity leave, lack of pay and promotion pathway transparency, devaluing of women’s abilities; (e.) for some women a lack of confidence mitigates against them to exacerbate gender inequality; (f.) the media’s representation of the chef profession reinforces gendered stereotypes when women remain associated with domestic feminine cooking and men are represented as professional masculine chefs; (g.) control and domination of chef awards by men reinforce male chefs as experts and gatekeepers of the industry; (h.) affective responsibilities including domestic food work and its association with the feminine remains wedded to traditional narratives and continues to be the preserve of women in society. This intersects with public representations in the media to reinforce gender stereotypes and many women feel morally bound to attend to the affective world, thereby reinforcing the socially constructed gendered understanding of the domestic realm.

There is a clear gap in the research, as the factors that result in gender inequality in the chef profession in the Irish context have not been investigated. This is the central research question of this dissertation. The themes identified within the literature will guide the interrogation of this question in the remainder of this dissertation. The following chapter lays out the methodology employed in this dissertation.
CHAPTER 6. METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodological design employed to interrogate the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland guided by the themes that emerged from the literature review. Chapter Two outlined the contextual framework for the dissertation demonstrating the way in which the rise of industrialism and liberalism in 17th century Western political thought led to the creation and advancement of the gendered chef profession in Western democracies, including Ireland. Chapter Three discussed the key concept of gender inequality while Chapter Four continued by elucidating the theoretical framework for the dissertation. In Chapter Five, an analysis of the contemporary chef profession employing Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations, supplemented with Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity, elucidates the complex set of interrelated structural, societal, cultural, and professional inequalities that continue to exist in contemporary Western democracies. The intersection of a myriad of contributing factors highlights the difficulties involved in addressing gender inequality within the profession. The lack of research on this topic in Ireland highlighted a gap in the research, while the themes that emerged within the literature framed the sub research questions of the dissertation. The lack of available demographics for the profession limited my ability to investigate the academic literature with regard to normative situations in professional kitchens and further helped to shape the sub research questions.

This dissertation seeks to address one MRQ: What factors contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland? There are a total of three objectives or sub research questions (SRQs) in this research. The survey was designed to address the three SRQs:

SRQ A: What is the socio-demographic framework of the chef profession in Ireland?
SRQ B: What is the gender composition of chef roles and chef professional work environments within the empirical data and does the gender breakdown reflect the degree of gender inequality within the profession?

SRQ C: What are the key issues that men and women chefs in Ireland consider to be barriers to gender equality and what are the key issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession?

This chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, an explanation of how my positionality influenced my choice of methodology is given. Secondly, the appropriateness of the transformative mixed methodology that grounds this research is presented with a justification of its suitability as a feminist methodology. Here an examination of the mixed methodology and the rationale for its suitability to explore gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland is examined, followed by an explanation of the multiple sequential triangulation process. The rationale for selecting a qualitative discussion forum, a combined quantitative and qualitative online survey and quantitative Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) graduation books as methods for the collection of data is given. Multiple sequential triangulation is explained. The chapter continues by discussing the research design and the data analysis methods applied, including limitations posed by each method. It concludes with a brief discussion on the ethical considerations when conducting research.

**How Positionality Influenced the Methodology**

Researchers are social beings who are influenced by past experiences such as belief-systems, attitudes and expectations (Campbell and Wasco, 2000). Researchers’ view and interpretation of their social worlds is also impacted by where, when, and how they are socially located and in what society. Gender, race, class, and other aspects of identities are “indicators of social and
spatial positions and are not fixed, given qualities” (Sánchez, 2010, p. 2258). The way a question is asked, based on the researcher’s social location, previous experiences, and history, may influence participants interaction, which may impact what is data generated (Campbell and Wasco, 2000; Smith 2005). Researchers also enter the investigative process with a set of assumptions and expectations pertaining to the outcomes of the study at hand. Consequently, knowledge is the product of a specific position that reflects particular places and spaces (Blix, 2015). While approaches to research, data collection, and interpretation are distinct parts of the research process, Jacobson and Mustafa (2019, p. 1) argue “these aspects become connected and intertwined when it comes to thinking about how the researcher’s positionality impacts their work”.

Closely linked to issues of positionality is the consideration of insider/outsider status. Researching professionals are in an uniquely privileged position as a member of an organization or participant in a process that they are studying. An “insider researcher” possesses intimate knowledge of the “community and its members” that form the subject of enquiry that are denied to external researchers (Hellwell, 2006, p. 482). Researchers argue that having an insider status might “glean many advantages including access, rapport and impact” (Hayfield and Huxley, 2015, p. 92). This is an advantage in terms of the cultural understanding of the organization they are studying. Conversely there are “hidden ethical and methodological dimensions of insiderness” (Labaree, 2002, p. 109) which demand that the researcher is particularly reflective. For example, it is important to consider the ability of researchers to adopt sufficient distance from their work environment and work colleagues to allow for valid and reliable evidence-based research to be conducted on them (Drake and Heath, 2011). The insider researcher’s privileged position and biased perceptions of the research topic must be acknowledged and considered when designing a research methodology
in order to create sufficient distance from the work environment and work colleagues to generate valuable evidence-based research (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2008). Furthermore, it is important to understand how participants may perceive the researcher and the research topic in order to design a methodology that can mitigate against unreliable data (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2008). Others have noted that outsiders might make different observations, and explore topics in more depth that an insider might overlook (Savvides et al., 2014). Savvides et al., (2014, p. 413) suggest “the insider/outsider status might in fact be quite fluid”.

Reflexivity requires researchers to be mindful of any personal factors that may impact the research process, such as their social identity, research goals and expectations, assumptions regarding gender, race, and class, and the political milieu of the study (Ahern, 1999). Understanding and being explicit about our position, particularly in comparison to the social position of our participants, helps us to better understand the power relations imbued in our research (Blix, 2015; Campbell Gregor, 2002). Power relations refer to the relationship between researcher and respondent and to the subject matter of the research itself (Day, 2012). This relationship provides an opportunity to be reflexive about how to address these power relations (Day, 2012). Explicitly identifying one’s social position in qualitative research is a mechanism to make us aware of our own assumptions and biases, considered an important step towards improving the rigor and trustworthiness of our qualitative work (Galdas, 2017). Furthermore, being explicit about our positions in our work allows those who read our work to better grasp how we produced the data (Finlay, 2002). Therefore, positionality is a useful research tool that allows the researcher to recognise what she is bringing to the research and critically helps her see the data in productive, insightful ways and immeasurably furthers the capacity to do creative analysis and theorization.
Having worked as a female chef in Ireland for over 25 years, the primary reason for undertaking this research stemmed from the researcher’s perception and experience of women’s chefs’ roles within this male dominated profession. The researcher adopted a feminist theoretical framework to review the literature revealing a number of factors the contribute to gender inequality in the male dominated chef profession. The researcher was an insider with privileged and unique knowledge, experiences and access to participants. While the researcher’s perceptions were based on personal experiences, they were limited to certain roles and work environments and did not reflect all women chefs’ experiences within the profession. Furthermore, as a feminist and a woman conducting gender inequality research in a male dominated industry, it was important to devise a methodology that would counter against the accusation of bias in the research as much as possible. Therefore, the methodology was designed to take into consideration these competing challenges: the researcher’s positionality, her perceptions of gender inequality based on her insider knowledge and how the researcher would guard against personal biases, how she may be perceived by participants in the research and finally by those reading the final knowledge creation piece. Owing to the complexity of the issues under consideration and the feminist perspective that frames the project, a transformative mixed methodology, wherein analysis through triangulation was integrated to investigate the Irish situation, was deemed the most appropriate.

**Transformative Mixed Methodology**

Transformative research aims to address power imbalances in society and is not value free (Sweetman *et al.*, 2010). The transformative paradigm is a research approach specifically purposed in addressing and redressing social injustice. Merten (2007, p. 212) argues that the transformative paradigm together with its philosophical underpinnings provides a framework that explicitly seeks to address inequality and injustice of marginalised groups in society and the power imbalances that causes marginalisation orientating findings towards actions that can
address these power imbalances to generate increased fairness in the social fabric. Merten (2003, p. 159) states:

Transformative … scholars recommend the adoption of an explicit goal for research to serve the ends of creating a more just and democratic society that permeates the entire research process, from the problem formulation to the drawing of conclusions and the use of results.

Mertens (2003) identified the central characteristics of the transformative paradigm as collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, rigorous methods being applied to both forms of data, and the integration of the two data sets by merging or connecting them sequentially, with one building on or extending the other.

Feminist researchers are concerned that values are part of all research and that the goals of inquiry should be directed toward social justice and addressing the human condition in our society (Olsen, 2005). Feminists situate the voices of those who have typically been marginalised, most often women’s voices, at the centre of their research (Minister, 1991). This research takes the feminist philosophical position that gender inequality exists in the chef profession in Ireland and seeks to identify the reasons for gender inequality with the objective of advancing a more gender equal profession; therefore, the research is not value free and the goal is orientated towards social justice. The objectives of this research therefore fulfil the transformative paradigm by providing a philosophical framework that focuses on ethics in terms of “cultural responsiveness, recognizing those dimensions of diversity that are associated with power differences, building trusting relationships, and developing mixed methods that are conducive to social change” (Mertens, 2003, p. 1).
Mixed Methodology - the best of both worlds
An enduring debate exists as to whether a positivist/post-positivist or a constructivist approach should be adopted when conducting scientific research (Feilzer, 2009). Within the philosophy of science, positivism is described as a standardised way of impartially observing behaviour, collecting and analysing data, developing theories, testing predictions, and interpreting results to uncover an absolute knowledge (Chalmers, 2013 Crotty, 1998). The post-positivist tradition comes from 19th century writers such as Comte, Mill, Durkheim, Newton, and Locke (Smith, 1983), and has most recently been articulated by writers such as Phillips and Burbules (2000). The term ‘post-positivism’ challenged the positivist tradition of an absolute truth of knowledge (Phillips and Burbules, 2000) recognising that “no matter how faithfully the scientist adheres to scientific method research, research outcomes are neither totally objective, nor unquestionably certain” (Crotty, 1998, p. 40). Post-positivism reflects a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes (Creswell, 2003, p. 7). Similar to positivists, post-positivists seek to understand causal relationships through experimentation and correlational studies while also supplementing with participants’ perspectives in many cases. Furthermore, post-positivists recognise that knowledge is tentative and imperfect hypotheses are not proved but simply not rejected (Creswell, 2009, p. 7).

Quantitative measures are based on a post-positivist paradigm which postulates that cause probably determines effect or outcomes thus the development of numerical measures of observation and studying behaviour of individuals in order to gain knowledge of the objective reality that exists “out there” in the world is of paramount importance (Creswell, 2009).

Conversely, qualitative researchers subscribe to the constructivist paradigm which asserts that reality is subjective and multidimensional while promoting the existence of multiple truths (Creswell and Clark, 2007). The constructivist paradigm recognises that knowledge is socially
constructed by people active in the research process, the researcher is informed by personal lived experiences and is not value free (Lincoln and Gubu, 2000; Neuman, 2000). Rather the researcher should endeavour to understand the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it (Schwandt, 2003).

Mixed methodology combines as a way of counter balancing each method’s limitations as discussed below.

**Quantitative Methods – the numbers game**
Burns and Grove (2005, p. 5) described quantitative research as a systematic process in which objective numerical data is used to “describe variables; examine relationships among variables; and to determine cause-and-effect interactions between variables”. Quantitative measures have many advantages when used within the context of social research. For instance, they allow the researcher to access large samples of participants, which enhances the generalizability of results to a wider population. When structured efficiently, quantitative methods can also be replicated using identical experimental conditions, which in turn allows for future investigation into the reliability and falsifiability of a study’s findings (Chalmers, 2013). Furthermore, quantitative methods allow researchers to utilise a variety of statistically standardised measures, which increase a study’s construct validity, which is the degree to which a test is actually measuring the construct/phenomenon that it claims to be measuring (Robson, 2002). Finally, they are extremely time and resource-efficient in that they may be distributed, completed, and analysed within a relatively short time frame (Coolican, 2004). However, quantitative measures also have some disadvantages. For example, information may be lost in translation when reducing data down to a numerical format. This has led to criticism that they produce shallow one-dimensional results which have little meaning when applied to the real world. Furthermore, the data produced by quantitative measures requires sophisticated statistical analysis, therefore small oversights and statistical errors during this process can lead
to the complete misrepresentation of results. Finally, the use of non-standardised tools such as self-report surveys and questionnaires threaten construct validity, and this can undermine a study’s entire findings (Shaughnessy et al., 2003).

**Qualitative Methods – digging deeper**

Qualitative measures focus on depth and meaning rather than quantity and structure and produce rich (often verbal) data that elucidates participant perceptions of the world by making enquiries regarding thoughts, attitudes, opinions, and beliefs (Robson, 2002). These methods are known for being flexible and diverse; enabling the choice as to how the data collection technique needs to be structured. They typically involve face-to-face contact with participants, making non-verbal participant cues accessible to the researcher as another source of data. Finally, qualitative methods, such as ethnographic observation, provide a unique insight into the lived experience of participants, thus allowing the collection of information regarding cultural, societal, and organizational norms (Robson, 2002). However, they also have several shortcomings. They tend to be time consuming which means that sample sizes are often substantially smaller than those utilised by quantitative studies. Results produced using small groups of participants are difficult to generalise to a wider population. As a result, qualitative investigation is frequently criticised for producing knowledge that is restricted and sample-specific (Shaughnessy et al., 2003). Finally, the replicability and re-testability of qualitative research using identical research conditions is not a viable option for qualitative methodologies given that they employ an unstructured approach and/or involve naturalistic observation. In the past, some members of the wider scientific community even argued that such methods produce results that are unreliable and un-falsifiable, making the knowledge they produce unscientific and flawed (Shaughnessy et al., 2003). Given the many advantages and disadvantages...
associated with both methodological approaches, choosing the appropriate data collection tools can produce quite the quandary for researchers.

**Mixed Methods Benefits Feminism Research**
In recent years, some social science researchers have advocated for a mixed methods approach which provides a middle-ground between constructivist and post-positivist schools of thought by adopting both methodologies to study the same social phenomena. For instance, Feilzer (2009) promoted a ‘pragmatic’ research approach which removes the “forced choice dichotomy between post-positivism and constructionism” and encourages the researcher to draw on a selection of quantitative and qualitative tools as a means of optimising knowledge production (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007, cited in Feilzer, 2009, p. 3). Many scholars now contend that the use of quantitative and qualitative methods is a more comprehensive way to study social phenomenon, in that they tend to cancel out each other’s shortcomings and produce multidimensional knowledge (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007). Feminist research approaches within sociology have linked feminist perspectives to mixed methods research and advocacy perspectives (Leckenby and Hesse-Biber, 2007; Nordenmark and Nyman, 2003; Sweetman et al., 2010). Nevertheless, it is important for researchers to be aware that the incorporation of qualitative and quantitative measures can produce contradictory findings regarding a single phenomenon. Therefore, the decision to implement a mixed methods design must be based on its suitability to the field of study, the feasibility of its implementation and, most importantly, its ability to generate knowledge that helps to answer the research question at hand (Johnson et al., 2007).

Feminist researchers in the 1970s and 1980s were opposed to quantitative research methods as it was identified with positivist scientific research that reduced women’s lives to a series of disconnected variables. Naples (2007) pointed out that the limitation of purists on both the
quantitative and qualitative sides of the research has increased awareness of the usefulness of both methods in recent years, in particular when both quantitative and qualitative methods are employed for specific research projects. Mixed methods can and should be used in the service of transformative social justice projects such as feminist research (Mertens, 2007; Sweetman et al., 2010). The underlying assumption of the transformative paradigm is the recognition that realities are constructed and shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, and racial/ethnic values. Power and privilege are therefore “important determinants of which reality will be privileged in a research context” (Mertens, 2007, p. 212). Mertens argued that a “qualitative dimension is needed to gather community perspectives at each stage of the research process, while a quantitative dimension provides the opportunity to demonstrate outcomes that have credibility for community members and scholars” (2007, p. 212). Transformative mixed methodologies provide a mechanism for addressing the complexities of research in culturally complex settings that can provide a basis for social change. As this research is concerned with the social construction of gender inequality in the chef profession with the purpose of identifying the factors that need to be addressed to advance gender equality, it was decided that the transformative mixed methods design was the most appropriate methodology to use for this dissertation.

A variety of methods have been employed by various scholars to interrogate gender inequality and other issues pertaining to the chef profession. Harris and Giuffre (2015) interrogated gender inequality using two different theoretical concepts – Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of ‘fields’ and Joan Acker’s theory of gendered organizations. Ferguson (2004) had previously used Bourdieu’s concept of ‘fields’ as a framework in her historical analysis of the development of haute cuisine in France. Harris and Giuffre (2015) employed a qualitative approach to their research by combining content analysis of chef-focused media with in-depth
interviews. Previously, Cooper (1997) also employed qualitative methodology using in-depth interviews of 130 chefs to interrogate gender inequality in the chef profession in the United States. A qualitative approach was used by Haddaji et al. (2017a) in their case study of six women chefs to identify the barriers women face and how they succeeded to achieve the chefs’ positions in Michelin star kitchens. Haddaji et al. (2017b) also employed a quantitative approach using a survey/questionnaire in their investigation of gender construction in haute cuisine. Single study research on chefs in general has employed a variety of independent qualitative and quantitative methodology; quantitative surveys were used by Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons (2007) to investigate the occupational stress of chefs, while Allen and Mac Con Iomaire (2016) collected empirical data on the profile of 170 head chefs in Ireland; Johnston et al. (2014) selected an inductive qualitative analysis of cookbooks to investigate how food celebrities’ culinary personas relate to social hierarchies. A qualitative methodological in-depth interview approach was used by Giousmpasoglou et al. (2018) to conceptualise how the occupational socialisation of young chefs is conducted in Michelin star restaurants in Great Britain and Ireland. Adopting a transformative mixed methods design brought an element of originality to this particular area of research inquiry as it was the first time both quantitative and qualitative mixed methodology was used when conducting research of chefs that was oriented towards social justice of gender equality.

**Rationale for Choosing Transformative Mixed Methodology**

Whilst the incorporation of qualitative and quantitative research methods may not provide the ideal investigative design for every social science research endeavour, the implementation of a transformative mixed methodological approach was deemed most suitable when it came to this dissertation. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2008, pp. 2–3) acknowledged that all methods are “hybrids, emergent, interactive productions”. Careful consideration of the factors outlined
above, together with research opportunities that emerged as the project progressed, helped inform the selection of a transformative mixed methodological design as the best fit for the present study.

_Quantitative Survey – gathering chef statistics_

The literature review highlighted the lack of research on the topic of gender inequality in the chef profession and, significantly, the lack of substantial socio demographics of the chef profession in liberal Western democracies. While national head chef figures were available in some counties as identified in the literature review (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; BLS, 2018b; ONS, 2018), comprehensive demographic statistics of the chef profession were not available in any liberal democracy. The dearth of demographics on the chef profession limited my ability to demonstrate statistical evidence of the existence of and/or the extent of gender inequality within the profession. An examination of the _Report of the Expert Group HEA National Review of Gender Equality in Irish Higher Education Institutions_ (HEA, 2016) highlighted the critical importance of collecting statistical data in order to present a factual representation of the gender breakdown of a profession. It was then decided to work towards collecting the demographics of the chef profession in Ireland as part of this dissertation to enhance the ability to interrogate the gender question in the Irish context. A quantitative questionnaire containing demographic questions was deemed the most appropriate method of collecting this data as recommended by Eurostat (2015) guidelines. Quantitative measures would not only facilitate access to a substantial sample of the chef profession within the time constraints approximated but would also enable the utilisation of standardised statistical tests, which would enhance the reliability and validity of the present study. Therefore, a comprehensive quantitative survey would yield new crucial empirical socio-demographic data that could identify the extent of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland for the first time while qualitative data would allow for nuances to emerge within the research.
Qualitative Survey – gathering chef opinions
Creswell (2009) identified a quantitative methodological approach as best suited to studying the contributing factors which influence decisions or examines beliefs. The objective of quantitative methodology is to identify underlying general patterns or associations, while also offering hypotheses and theories. Quantitative research is used to identify information by accumulating numerical data that can be turned into useful statistics. This research method is used to find out people’s opinions, attitudes, and behaviours. Quantitative enquiries often suit a larger sample population and can be explored through questionnaires, surveys, online polls, etc. Quantitative research is dependent on numerical data which has been collected and analysed. An arithmetical method of analysis is usually applied, and the results are then published in the form of graphs, tables, and figures (Muijs, 2011). This research is discovered through closed questions and does not allow for in-depth information. Benefits to creating a questionnaire include allowing for easy comparison when analysing the results and gaining large amounts of data. However, there are several limitations such as the lack of depth in the answers gained and being unable to find out the reasons behind their choices.

Qualitative tools are especially valuable when it comes to investigating nebulous and hidden phenomenon. When used in conjunction with quantitative measures, they provide greater substance and meaning to the overall research findings. The practicalities pertaining to participant recruitment, sample size and time constraints led to the conclusion that qualitative interviews were not a suitable data collection technique to implement with a sample of the general public. Shalin (2019) suggests that open-ended questions in online surveys can help to counter-balance these limitations and add a qualitative element to online surveys. Furthermore, O’Cathain and Thomas (2004, p.1) state “the habitual ‘any other comments’ general open question at the end of structured questionnaires has the potential to increase response rates, elaborate responses to closed questions, and allows respondents to identify new issues not
captured in the closed questions”. Thus, open-ended questions allow the respondents to “elaborate on their general experience of the overall topic of the survey” thereby potentially generating a more nuanced understanding of the topic of the survey at the analysis stage (O’Cathain and Thomas, 2004, p. 3). Gender inequality is a contested subject matter; therefore, allowing for comments within the survey permitted a better understanding of the issues that arose in the quantitative data, thereby allowing the identification of the converging, conflicting, and nuanced views of the respondents. The questionnaire design was informed by the questionnaire used to assess gender equality in higher education institutions in Ireland in 2015 (HEA, 2016). The initial version was subjected to two rounds of piloting, the revisions to the questionnaire being made based on the results of each pilot before launching the finalised questionnaire online in October 2016.

Qualitative Discussion Forum – gathering chef insights within the Irish context
During the course of this dissertation an opportunity emerged during a two day culinary symposium in Galway that offered the possibility of gaining valuable insights for the research in the Irish context. Therefore, it was reasoned that the inclusion of a participant observation of a discussion forum added a further qualitative element to the research that would help to provide new insights into the ways in which gender inequality is recognised in the professional sphere and serve as a useful method in situating the research within the Irish context before designing a questionnaire.

Participant Observation
“Group discussion is a means of collecting data from several people (who usually share common experiences) and which concentrates on their shared meanings” (Payne and Payne, 2004, p. 103). Participant observation helps qualitative researchers uncover diverse perspectives and develop an understanding of the interplay among them within any given community (Kawulich, 2005). Marshall and Rossman (1989, p. 79) define observation as “the
systematic description of events, behaviours, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study”. It provides the context for development of sampling guidelines and interview guides (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002).

Qualitative researchers accomplish this through observation alone or by both observing and participating, to varying degrees, in the study community’s daily activities. Participant observation always takes place in community settings, in locations believed to have some relevance to the research questions. In general, observation can be either: (a.) overt when the researcher makes her intentions and objectives known and obtains permission to observe a situation, or (b.) covert when the researcher becomes an insider where the subjects are unaware of the researcher's identity and consider him/her as a group member (Jorgensen, 1989; Stafford and Stafford, 1993). In between these two extreme roles, the investigator can assume hybrid observer roles, i.e. be an outsider or an insider to different degrees.

One of the main reasons for choosing the covert observational approach is to avoid unduly influencing the observed setting (Babbie, 1986). The data are also expected to be of greater value as the researcher can obtain more accurate information having been a member of the group for an extended period (Stafford and Stafford, 1993). However, this observer role raises ethical concerns, as the researcher is not honest about his/her real identity (Stafford and Stafford, 1993). Furthermore, the researcher may be so self-conscious about accidentally disclosing her true identity that she may fail to perform convincingly in the chosen role. Finally, the researcher may “go native,” i.e. the informants’ views become the researcher’s and thereby the observer role is violated (Gold, 1958, p.220).

Conversely overt observational methods avoid influencing the observed activities, keeping a distance to the observed interactions, thus approximating the traditional idea of the “objective” observer (Adler and Adler, 1994). This role is the common hands-off role where the observer
makes her intentions known and no interview is conducted. The method is distinctive because the researcher approaches participants in their own environment rather than having the participants come to the researcher. Generally speaking, the researcher engaged in participant observation tries to learn what life is like for an ‘insider’ while remaining, inevitably, an ‘outsider.’

Participant observation has a number of benefits as a qualitative methodology. Data obtained through participant observation serve as a check against participants’ subjective reporting of what they believe and do (Kawulich, 2005). Participant observation is also useful for gaining an understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts in which study participants live (Corbetta, 2003). It gives them a nuanced understanding of context that can come only from personal experience. Observing and participating are integral to understanding the breadth and complexities of the human experience.

Through participant observation, researchers can also uncover factors important for a thorough understanding of the research problem but that were unknown when the study was designed (Bachman and Schutt, 2007). This is the great advantage of the method because, although we may get truthful answers to the research questions we ask, we may not always ask the right questions. Thus, what we learn from participant observation can help us not only to understand data collected through other methods (such as interviews, focus groups, and quantitative research methods), but also to design questions for those methods that will give us the best understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Bachman and Schutt, 2007).

Conversely, participant observation has certain disadvantages. The main disadvantage of participant observation is that it is time-consuming. In traditional ethnographic research, researchers spend at least one year in the field site collecting data through participant observation and other methods (Allen, 2017; Kawulich, 2005). This is not practical for most
applied research studies, which necessarily require a shorter period of data collection (Allen, 2017; Kawulich, 2005). A second disadvantage of participant observation is the difficulty of documenting the data. It is hard to write down everything that is important while you are in the act of participating and observing (Allen, 2017; Kawulich, 2005). A third disadvantage of participant observation is that it is an inherently subjective exercise, whereas research requires objectivity (Allen, 2017; Kawulich, 2005). It is therefore important to understand the difference between reporting or describing what you observe (more objective) versus interpreting what you see (less objective) (Angrosino et al., 2000).

As this research evolved, an opportunistic discussion forum presented itself that situated the research within the Irish context. Here, participant observation where the researcher acted as an overt observer offered a unique research opportunity. Here the researchers’ intentions and objectives were made known and permission was obtained to observe a discussion group. The proceedings were recorded to identify any new issues within the Irish context that had not already been uncovered within the literature before designing an online gender equality survey for the chef profession in Ireland.

The key issues that featured in the discussion group and in the literature were then examined to establish the most relevant questions pertaining to gender inequality. An online questionnaire was deemed the most appropriate method to collect demographic data and issues pertaining to gender equality in the chef profession. The objective was to access as many chefs as possible in order to build a demographic picture of the chef population in Ireland. Several reasons informed the choice of the online survey methodology. Firstly, questionnaires have been successfully used in previous research to gain demographics of chefs and to assess chef’s opinions on issues pertaining to their profession (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016; 2017).
Secondly, questionnaires are easy to distribute online to chefs, who use social media as a way of communicating with other chefs, and chefs are prolific users of social media and online platforms (Glyying, 2015). Thirdly, this method provides the ability to reach a large diverse population of chefs in a cost effective and timely manner. Fourthly, it enables the ability to easily monitor responses to check for distribution through the online platform and finally it permits easy downloading of data into excel for data analysis.

Quantitative Graduation Year Books – gathering chef graduate information
Education featured as an issue within the Athrú discussion group. It was reasoned that having access to the culinary institutions’ graduation books might shed some light on this phenomenon in the Irish context. The researcher reasoned that quantitatively measuring the gender breakdown of the different culinary courses may help to supplement the research by identifying whether any gender differences existed. Time constraints and the complications of access to graduation books of all culinary institutions was a serious consideration here. On the other hand, the researcher had easy access to graduation books in her research institution - Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT). DIT is the largest culinary education institution in the state, therefore it was reasoned that an examination of the handbooks may glean some insights into the career paths of male and female graduates from this institution.

Multiple Sequential Triangulation

Multiple sequential triangulation has multiple phases but allows the theoretical perspective of the researcher to guide the study and determine the order of data collection (Sweetman et al., 2010). The results from both methods are integrated together at the end of the study during the interpretation phase when they are discussed in Chapter Eight. Mertens et al. (2010) stated that triangulation has many advantages such as strengthening the validity of the result if the
different methods of data collection lead to similar findings. For example, triangulation can be carried through different methods such as qualitative and quantitative designs, and through different scales to measure the same concept, when the correlation is high between these methods, this will lead to robust valid results. The objectives of the research project were addressed by employing multi sequential triangulation. The qualitative data was collected first, followed by the collection and analysis of quantitative data and finally an analysis of qualitative data within the survey. The results of the different methodologies were then incorporated into the discussion of gender inequality with reference to the theoretical framework.

**Research Design**

The study aimed to explore the extent of gender inequality within the chef profession in Ireland by collecting socio-demographic data. It also sought to explore gender differences in the perception of gender inequality and the key factors that contribute to and need to be addressed to promote gender equality in the chef profession. Data collection was carried out in three phases.

- **Phase 1: Discussion Group**
  - Opportunistic public discussion with women chefs in contemporary Ireland and issues that contribute to gendered inequality in the Irish context.

- **Phase 2: Online Survey**
  - Quantitative and qualitative questionnaires collecting socio-demographic and gender inequality data from a sample of the chef population.

- **Phase 3: DIT Graduation Year Books.**
  - Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) graduation years books for five academic years from 2012-2013 through to 2016-2017 and manually counted to supplement the analysis of chefs’ education in the survey.

Figure 3.1 below presents an overview of the methodology used.
Measures
The following section details the measures used in the methodology to inform the research findings.

**PHASE 1: Discussion Forum: Athrú**
The opportunistic discussion forum involved an examination of the experiences of women chefs working in professional kitchens in Ireland. This was an informal discussion forum of
forty participants, comprising thirty-six women and four men and took place over fifty
minutes. The researcher was a complete observer during the discussion.

Procedure and Recruitment
In July 2016, a two-day (18th and 19th July) conference titled Athrú, Empowering Women in
Culinary Arts in Ireland took place in Galway. The symposium sought to celebrate women in
the culinary industry in Ireland and to voice issues pertaining to women with a focus on
contemporary women chefs. The symposium was organized by a group of women in the food
industry, including chefs, in response to a robust criticism of the Restaurant Association of
Ireland (RAI)’s annual chef awards where women did not feature in any significant numbers
as winners in any regional category. Women in the food industry were prompted to act by an
article in The Irish Times where a culinary journalist strongly criticised the ‘macho culture’
and ‘boys’ club’ mentality of the chef profession that has resulted in women chefs’ poor record
at the RAI annual chef awards in May 2016 at both regional and national level (Deseine, 2016;
McNamee, 2016). Subsequent outrage by women and men chefs on the online platform
‘Twitter’ resulted in women chefs working in the Irish culinary landscape deciding to come
together to celebrate their work. Chefs, restaurateurs, educators, culinary journalists and
industry professionals gathered over the course of the two days. This symposium garnered a
considerable amount of media coverage and highlighted, for the first time, women chefs’
under-representation in the chef profession in Ireland (Regan, 2016).

Schedule

At this event, a fifty-minute open discussion took place on day two of the symposium where
women chefs expressed their views on the challenges they face in their profession. Possible
solutions were also proposed to address these challenges for women chefs and women in the
culinary industry in general. This presented a unique opportunity to uncover new information
prior to designing a national online survey. The discussion was directed by a facilitator, chef
Hilary O’Hagan Brennan (one of the organizers of the symposium), and was attended by approximately forty symposiasts.

**Analysis**

Previously, it has been noted that a limitation of participant observation is the difficulty in documenting data as it is hard to write down everything that is important while acting as participant (Allen, 2017, Kawulich, 2005). Therefore, the event was recorded, transcribed verbatim, and the responses were manually categorised according to themes using thematic analysis, as outlined in Table 3.1, to identify any new information that had not been revealed through the literature. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the discussion group as it is one of the most common forms of analysis in qualitative research as defined by Braun and Clarke (2006). It emphasises pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns (or ‘themes’) within data. It works well at highlighting similarities and differences across the data set and can generate unanticipated insights. Braun and Clark (2006) identified key advantages to the main analysis – flexibility, relatively easy to learn and use for inexperienced researchers while results are generally accessible to the educated general public. It allows for social as well as psychological interpretations of data and can be useful for producing qualitative analyses suited to inform policy development (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The analytic process followed Braun and Clarke’s (2006) framework, which sets out six systematic phases that must be implemented when examining qualitative data (see Table 3.1).

The thematic analysis procedure was followed as defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) and set out in Table 3.1. Key themes were identified and then compared to those that arose within the literature review to identify any new issues that were of significance.
## Thematic Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Analytical Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data Familiarisation</td>
<td>Transcribing data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading and familiarising oneself with the data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making notes of ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code Generation</td>
<td>Systematic coding of interesting and relevant information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locating Potential Themes</td>
<td>Categorising data per code</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Categorising codes into prospective themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collating all the pertinent information to each prospective theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic Review</td>
<td>Review prospective themes to ensure no data overlap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Review prospective themes to ensure they make sense in relation to the data set and the research question(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Check data for additional themes that may have been missed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme Definition</td>
<td>Name each theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Refine each theme so that only the specifics are included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Develop clear definitions pertaining to the meaning of each theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report Generation</td>
<td>Select information rich extracts for examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Review extracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Discuss findings in relation to research questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Situate findings within the current knowledge base</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5.1: Thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 35).**

**Limitations**

This symposium was a highly charged affair owing to the considerable public media and online discourse regarding gender discrimination of female chefs in the preceding months. Very few men attended, and those that did seemed to be positively disposed towards the symposium. However, extensive media coverage of the event, nationally and internationally, highlighted key challenges that women chefs universally experience in professional kitchens and was reflective of the findings in the literature review. In this way, it helped establish the theoretical
approach required. Equally, the diverse chef profile of those present, which included several
male chefs, educators, and media reporters resulted in diverse views being expressed,
disseminated, and discussed during the event. Important points were made which enabled
themes to be identified and compared with the literature in order to garner new information.

PHASE 2: Online Survey ‘Step up to the Plate’
This section focuses on the online survey, the component of the second phase of the measures
used.

Procedure and Recruitment
This is the first time that a national gender equality survey of this nature has been conducted
on the chef profession in Ireland or internationally. As a result, guidance was sought from a
national survey on gender equality conducted by the HEA in 2016: ‘National Online Survey
Irish Higher Education Institutions (HEA, 2016). Questions from this survey were examined
and adjusted for the chef profession. Demographic questions were guided by Eurostat (2015)
recommendations and Allen and Mac Con Iomaire’s (2016) research conducted on head chefs
in Ireland, where a survey methodology was used.

The survey was entitled Step up to the Plate: Equality in the Chef Profession in Ireland. The
questions were adjusted to reflect the findings in the previous two stages (literature review and
discussion forum) and designed specifically for the chef profession. The questions pertaining
to the survey are available in Appendix 6.1. Men’s voices did not feature to a significant degree
in the previous stages; therefore, the survey sought to attain a gender-balanced response. By
including men’s voices, the survey sought to address three objectives: firstly, to counter
accusations of bias owing to my positionality within the research, secondly to counter any of
my own biased perceptions because of my embodied experiences as a female chef, and thirdly
to identify the gender composition and the extent of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. In order to add to the qualitative nature of the survey, the survey also encouraged comments from respondents.

The survey was designed as follows:

a. Questions relating to the socio-demographic information of chefs (questions 1–8, 10, 12-13);

b. Questions relating to chef roles and work environments (14 and 15);

c. Binary response questions relating to gender inequality (9, 11, 17), a simple response (yes/no) was applied with open ended questions to allow further comment;

d. A unipolar five-point Likert scale was applied to gender inequality questions 21 and 23 to offer a range of answers to those questions relating to gender inequality. The advantage being that it allows for degrees of opinion, or no opinion at all, all of which can then be analysed with relative ease. An open-ended question at the end of each question gave respondents the opportunity to expand or clarify responses thus allowing for a degree of nuance that would otherwise be unavailable;

e. A unipolar five-point Likert scale was applied to question 22, relating to head chef leadership attributes with an open-ended question at the end of the question to allow respondents to elaborate on any attributes or to add any further information, thoughts or experiences.

f. The final, open-ended question, (24) allowed respondents to add any further comments that they considered relevant. Again, this sought to capture any nuances concerning the overall research project or more specific concerns, issues, or general comments that respondents felt strongly about.
There are three objectives or sub research questions (SRQs) in this research. The first page outlined the context and purpose of the survey. The survey was designed to meet the three SRQs as follows:

**Section 1:** Questions 1–8, 10, 12 and 13 dealt with the collection of socio-demographics of chefs pertaining to SRQ A. Respondents were asked questions in relation to age, gender, marital status, number of children, family background, education, employment status, and length of years in the industry.

**Section 2:** Questions 9, 11, and 17 dealt with the collection of data on the perceptions of gender inequality while question 24 allowed participants to add comments in order to allow the possibility of collecting nuances that were not possible within the overall questionnaire. By collecting data of the male and female chefs’ perceptions of gender inequality in the profession overall, in education and in their work environments these questions sought to further addressed SRQ C which sought to identify the key issues that men and women chefs in Ireland consider barriers to gender equality and the key issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession.

**Section 3:** Questions 14 and 15 dealt with the collection of demographic data pertaining to SRQ B when respondents were asked to identify their current working kitchen environment and most recent chef role that they held in order to identify gender differences and inequalities within each.

**Section 4:** Questions 21 and 23 were concerned with the issues that need to be addressed to advance gender equality, further addressing SRQ C by seeking to identify the key issues that men and women chefs in Ireland consider barriers to gender equality and the key issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession.
Section 5: Questions 22 further addressed SRQ C by seeking to identify similarities and differences in men and women’s understanding of leadership qualities required for head chef positions. Here the aim was to establish if any gender differences in understanding of leadership roles acted as barriers to, or issues that needed to be addressed to promote gender equality.

Piloting of Survey
A pilot testing procedure was initiated through a snowball sampling model where the questionnaire was pilot-tested among a small sample (eight chefs) in order to eliminate any faults or identify alterations that were required. This identified some concerns with the wording and the sequence of questions. The relevant changes were made and the questionnaire was subsequently piloted for a second time on a larger sample (sixteen people). The feedback identified a small number of concerns with one question which was then corrected. The questionnaire was then finalised for dissemination as an anonymous survey through the online networks and social media channels to the current chef population in the thirty-two counties of Ireland using the Survey Monkey platform.

Schedule
The research conformed to the Dublin Institute of Technology’s ethical guidelines, which requires researchers to preserve anonymity, confidentiality, and privacy (Dublin Institute of Technology, 2015). The survey was designed using Survey Monkey and was distributed online via emails and the social media platforms, Twitter and Facebook from October 2016 to December 2016. The online questionnaire was also distributed via the Chef Network Ireland and RAI websites, as well as various other chef forums to a diverse membership and also through various social media pages. Familiarity with the use of MS Excel as an analytical tool prompted the decision to analyse the survey data using MS Excel. The survey was closed on
the Survey Monkey platform on 02/01/2017. The data was then exported to MS Excel on 2/01/2017 and the original file stored in Dropbox where access was available via a protected password.

**Analysis**
The data was collected from two distinct jurisdictions: Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. This research focuses solely on the respondents from the twenty-six counties in the Republic of Ireland. The purpose here was to weight the survey according to the 2016 CSO statistics of the chef population, thereby presenting a more accurate representation of the chef population in the Republic of Ireland. The data pertaining to Northern Ireland was not analysed at this time. It is recommended that this data will be analysed at a later date and a comparison can then be potentially made between the two jurisdictions.

**Cleaning the Data**
An examination of the Republic of Ireland data was conducted and a process of cleaning the data was undertaken to identify any inconsistencies, contradictions, and invalid responses. On examination, a number of respondents had to be eliminated from the data analysis for the following reasons:

i. This research sought to acquire data from respondents who had previously or were currently working as chefs in Ireland. 15 female and 15 male culinary educators were removed as they had no experience working as chefs. Therefore, these 30 respondents did not qualify.

ii. Seven females and four male respondents who identified as not currently residing in Ireland were removed from the data. This research sought to acquire data from respondents who had previously or were currently working as chefs in Ireland. It was
not possible to know if they had ever worked as chefs in Ireland from their responses and they were therefore removed from the data analysis.

iii. Four female respondents were removed from the data; one was a food stylist with no chef experience while three others had only one month’s experience working as cooks in a café and had no culinary education. They were deemed to have negligible in-depth knowledge of the industry and were removed from the data.

In summary, the Republic of Ireland respondents originally totalled 520; the gender breakdown identified 255 male respondents and 265 female respondents. As identified above, certain data was deemed unusable and was eliminated. Issues with respondents included nineteen male respondents and twenty-six female respondents, who were removed from the usable data. This resulted in a total of 475 usable respondents, made up of 236 males and 239 females.

**Weighting the data**
The total number of usable respondents of 475, consisting of 236 males and 239 females, represented 2% of the chef population. There was an almost even frequency distribution (50% male and 50% female) of the auxiliary variable ‘gender’ in the sample. The CSO 2016 census statistics revealed that there were 16,349 males and 7,383 females in the chef population – females representing 31.10% of the chef population (CSO, 2016a). Therefore, when comparing the observed frequency distribution of the variable ‘gender’ with its population distribution from the CSO 2016 census figures it was found that there was a lack of representation of the national chef population with respect to this variable. This was of particular concern given that one of the aims was to establish the gender composition of both the chef roles and chef work environments within the demographics data. The over-representation of female chefs in the survey sample may have resulted in unrepresentative demographics of both the chef roles and chef work environments. Furthermore, the over representation of female responses to the Likert
scale questions may have resulted in an unequal representation of the issues that men and women chefs in Ireland considered barriers to gender equality within the profession and that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession in Ireland. Advice was sought from a statistician in Nova UCD who recommended performing a weighted adjustment to the data in order to acquire a representative sample of the chef population with respect of gender.

Weighting is a correction technique used where statistical adjustments are made to survey data after they have been collected in order to improve the accuracy of the survey estimates (Bethlehem, 2009). There are two main reasons that survey researchers weight their data (a) to correct for unequal probabilities of selection that often have occurred during sampling and (b) to try to help compensate for survey nonresponse (Bethlehem, 2009, pp. 249-261). As the survey was successful in acquiring a strong response from both men and women, the weighting process was not used to compensate for nonresponse. Weighing of this survey sought solely to address the unequal probabilities of selection where women were over represented in the survey sample in order to present a representative sample of the chef profession. A weighting adjustment was performed on the variable ‘gender’ to reflect the gender representation of the national chef population. This then permitted a comparison with CSO 2016 census demographics statistics of chefs in Ireland that had been released during the course of this research for the first time. The objective was to present results that were generalizable to the chef population in Ireland.

The CSO 2016 census statistics revealed that there were 16,349 males and 7,383 females in the chef population – females representing 31.10% of the chef population (CSO, 2018a). In order to ensure the survey data was reflective of the CSO statistics, a weighted adjustment was then
made using the auxiliary variable ‘gender’, ascribing a 1.388 weighting to male respondents and a 0.615 weighing to female respondents. This was exactly equal to the percentage of male to female chefs in the population. The weighted responses were then representative of the chef population with respect to gender.

Statistical testing was performed, and descriptive analysis was carried out (frequencies and averages) along with inferential bivariate analysis (t-tests, Pearson’s chi-squared test of independence). Statistical test results are available in Appendix 6.2. Sequential analysis was performed as follows:

1. Demographics of chefs for questions 1–8, 10, 12, and 13 were analysed and a comparison was made with available statistic from relevant 2016 CSO statistics. The results are reported in Chapter Seven.

2. Questions relating to gender inequality were analysed and are reported in Chapter Eight.

3. Demographics of chefs’ roles and work environments (questions 15 and 16) in the overall survey were analysed. The results are reported in Chapter Eight.

4. A more detailed analysis of chefs’ roles and work environments was then performed. This analysis focused on the four main work environments, as revealed by initial analysis above. The results are reported in Chapter Eight.

5. Likert scale questions were analysed. The results are reported in Chapter Eight.

The qualitative data (79 analysable comments from female chefs and 26 comments from male chefs) was imported into an MS Excel spreadsheet and manually analysed using thematic analysis to enhance the findings as employed for the Athrú discussion groups. The thematic analysis procedure was followed as defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) and is set out in Table 3.1.
**Limitations**
There were a number of limitations, such as time and difficulty in acquiring information from a broad spectrum of the chef profession with a balance of male and female respondents so as to reach a critical mass of responses in order to weight the survey and to allow the research to be a representative sample of the chef profession. The timing of the survey was vital in acquiring a large take-up as there was considerable public awareness that this research was being undertaken. The survey launch had been signalled at the *Athrú* conference in July 2016, and via a Twitter account specifically created for the dissemination of the survey.

One of the objectives of the survey was to collect data from a broad spectrum of chefs working in a diverse range of professional kitchens, such as fine dining, casual restaurant, café, hotel kitchens, industrial catering kitchens, etc. In order to reach a wide audience, the survey was distributed through corporate catering companies operating in Ireland. The uptake was monitored through Survey Monkey metrics and compared with research into head chefs in Ireland in 2014 in order to ensure that the collected data representative of the sample of the chef population (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016).

In order to complete the research within a reasonable timeline and to avoid respondent fatigue, an intensive online campaign was launched, and responses monitored through the Survey Monkey metrics. The metrics allowed assessment and management of the collection of data. Initial uptake was high, but after six weeks, response petered out. To encourage more responses and acquire a critical mass in order to weight the survey as a representative sample of the chef profession, another aggressive successful online campaign was launched. As December and Christmas social events approached, chefs were approaching their busiest period and would not be inclined to complete surveys promoting initiation of a final campaign to successfully
acquire a critical mass and gender balance of respondents. An examination of the responses via Survey Monkey tools revealed that saturation point had been reached by the end of December. The survey was closed on 2nd January 2017.

**PHASE 3: DIT Graduation Year Books**
During analysis of the qualitative data within the online survey, issues arose in relation to education. To further supplement the research methodology, Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) graduation years books for the five academic years from 2012-2013 through to 2016-2017 were accessed in DIT. Culinary arts courses were selected.

**Analysis**
In order to assess the gender breakdown of the each of the culinary arts courses in DIT, a simple manual numerical counting procedure was performed and entered into an MS Excel spreadsheet. Not all courses were offered in each year of the five years, while others had changed status from ordinary to honours level degree. Advice was sought on how best to represent the data. It was decided to combine all levels of the ordinary and honours level degrees, into one grouping in order to present an overall picture of the gender breakdown of culinary courses in DIT.

The courses identified were:

2. B.A. Culinary Arts combined (ordinary and honours levels).
3. B.Sc. Baking & Pastry Management (ordinary and honours levels).

**Limitations**
This section of the methodology offers only a limited analysis of the gender breakdown of culinary arts programmes. While DIT is the largest educational institute offering culinary arts
courses in Ireland, there are other culinary arts courses and chef apprenticeships available at various institutes nationwide. Therefore, the results are illustrative rather than representative of the gender profile of chef graduates of culinary arts programmes in Ireland.

The three phases of the methodology outlined above combined to form part of the multiple sequential triangulation process (see Figure 3.2 below).

![Triangulation process diagram]

**FIGURE 5.2 Triangulation process**

**Ethics in Research**

Creswell (2009) proposed that it is fundamental to protect the privacy of the research participants and that it is indispensable to protect the ethical issues that may occur in the investigation. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) described “the main aspects of ethics within research
to relate to informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy” (pp. 144–145). It is therefore essential to provide relative information to the volunteers to ensure that they are satisfied to consent to the participation in the investigation. It is vital to protect the anonymity of the volunteers by providing a confidentiality agreement which adheres to the objectives of the investigation. There are two distinct groups to consider: the discussion forum and the respondents to the online questionnaire survey. Informed consent procedures were therefore built into the discussion forum and questionnaire.

The *Athrú* symposium was a public event where any individual was permitted to record proceedings, including reporters; therefore, written consent was not required. All participants’ identities were anonymized, and the recordings were transcribed verbatim into MS Word and safely stored for the duration of the research project. Systematic thematic analysis ensured accuracy of reporting.

The purpose of the *Step up to the Plate* questionnaire survey was clearly communicated to the respondents on the first page of the survey. They were assured of anonymity and that the data collected would be used solely for this project. All means were employed to ensure the security and privacy of the data and the details of the respondents. The data was imported and systematically analysed and documented to avoid deception in the use of the data. The original files were stored in Dropbox where access was available via a protected password. The graduation book methodology was a simple numerical counting exercise that was carried out responsibly.

**Summary**

This chapter laid out the research methodology. The significance of positionality of the research was initially discussed. The feminist positionality reflected my embodied knowledge
as a female chef in Ireland and identified the research as not value free. However, the researcher’s position as an insider in the industry identified the need to be reflexive of personal biases and influenced the choice of methodology that would counter these biases. Furthermore, insider status identified challenges of how the researcher would be perceived by the research participants and their willingness to participate in research that may have been perceived as agenda driven. The choice of transformative mixed methods using multiple sequential triangulation analysis was then discussed. The quantitative and qualitative methods, their advantages and limitations were discussed and their suitability as a feminist methodology detailed. The rationale for choosing transformative mixed methodology as an appropriate methodology for this dissertation was then detailed. This methodology was chosen to reflect the feminist positionality while also considering challenges presented by my perceptions owing to my insider status as a female chef in Ireland. The chapter continued by discussing the specific quantitative and qualitative measures used in this dissertation, the discussion forum, the online survey and the DIT graduation year books. Multiple sequential triangulation was then addressed before giving the detail of the research design. Emphasis was placed on identifying new themes in the discussion forum, the survey design, the significance of pilot testing, the means by which the quantitative and qualitative data from the surveys were collected and analysed and any gender differences evident in the DIT graduation year books. The limitations of each method were outlined. Finally, the importance of ethics in research was addressed. The results of the research are discussed in the following two chapters, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight.
CHAPTER 7. EMERGING EVIDENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY

This chapter reports the results of the first part of the primary research by identifying the demographic composition and themes relating to gender inequality within the chef profession in Ireland. The qualitative results of the opportunistic discussion group, Athrú, is discussed and analysed to identify any new issues faced by contemporary Irish chefs working in Ireland that should be considered within the questionnaire. This is followed by the report and analysis of the first part of the quantitative and qualitative results of the first national gender inequality survey of chefs, Step up to the Plate, that was conducted in Ireland from October 2016 to December 2016. Each element sought to address key sub research questions in order to comprehensively analyse gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland:

Element 1: to identify any new issues for contemporary Irish chefs working in Ireland that should be considered within the questionnaire – addressed by ‘Athrú’.

Element 2: to identify the gender demographic composition of the chef profession in Ireland including length of years working as a chef and employment status - addressed by ‘Step up to the Plate, Equality in the Chef Profession’ survey.

Element 3: to identify any themes relating to gender inequality that emerged within the data - addressed by ‘Step up to the Plate, Equality in the Chef Profession’ survey. Reporting and analysis of the quantitative results of the Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) graduation year supplement the education results within the online survey.

Chapter Eight builds on this initial analysis by identifying the gender composition of both the chef roles and chef work environments within the survey data and by addressing the key remaining objectives of this research project before re-evaluating the theoretical framework, Acker’s theory of gendered organizations, in light of the findings revealed in the survey.
**Athrú Discussion Group – Education Emerges as a New Theme**

There was considerable overlap between the findings of the literature review and the themes which emerged in the Athrú discussion group: (a) aggressive masculine culture; (b) stratification of roles; (c) overlooked for head chef positions; (d) undervalued for the work that they did when compared to their male counterparts; (e) lack of role models and the media’s role in promoting female chefs; (f) female chefs’ lack of confidence; (g) not accepting invitations to symposia; (h) gender bias in chef panels and competitions; (i) corporate catering and industrial companies were considered by some chefs as having more equal work environments and less competitive and masculine cultures than fine dining and restaurant kitchens, all while being more conducive to the family lives of chefs.

One female executive head chef who works in corporate catering in a large company explained:

> I moved from the Michelin kitchen brigade to corporate catering for quality of life reasons. It was a Monday to Friday job which was important for family reasons, I have two children…. It is a very different model where diversity and inclusion are core principles.

This was an important theme; however, the researcher considered the lack of empirical data to support this claim as a very real constraint. Family life was identified as a crucial issue for some women chefs and also, interestingly for men chefs who wanted to be more involved as fathers and who were expected to be as much by their partners. All of the above-mentioned themes had already featured in the literature review.

Significantly, education emerged as a new theme when *stages* or internships (student work experience in professional kitchens) were identified as a problematic area for young aspiring
women chefs. Young chefs recounted bad experiences of masculine kitchens while on internships, which gave them a negative impression of the profession; as one chef in her late twenties commented, “I did two stages that were very difficult and had a bad effect on me, it’s about the type of culture in the kitchen.” Unpaid work was also identified as devaluing their skills and their sense of self-worth. This was identified as an expected feature of the restaurant industry in general. A distinction was made between established chefs who freely chose stages in self-selected restaurants in order to expand their experience on the one hand, and young students and early career chefs who had to be content that they had no choice but to endure such unpleasant masculine environments without any recourse to complain on the other. Although this is a broad area that would require further research, it was decided that it was important to ask a question that considered the issue of gender inequality in culinary arts education in general to try to get an overall sense of this issue within education.

*Step up to the Plate, Gender Equality Survey – Part 1.*

The results of the questionnaire survey are divided into five sections. This chapter reports and analyses the results pertaining to the first section that addresses the SRQ A of the research project by identifying the demographic composition of the chef profession with the survey data which includes education, the length of years working as a chef and both employment status and chef pay categories. The accuracy of the online survey is assessed by comparing the survey data with available demographic statistics from the 2016 Census, released by the CSO in 2018. The data is further analysed to identify any themes relating to gender inequality that emerged within the data to assist in answering the SRQ C. Reporting and analysis of the quantitative results of the DIT graduation year supplements the education results within the online survey. The statistics were both descriptive and inferential.
The Central Statistics Office (CSO) released its Employment, Industry and Occupation figures in January 2018 from the 2016 census which included, for the first time, comprehensive national demographic statistics for the chef profession in Ireland. These figures were released after the completion of the *Step up to the Plate* survey. The CSO figures for the chef population of Ireland from this data revealed that the number of chefs in the labour force (employed and unemployed combined) stood at 26,194 while the number of chefs at work in Ireland was 23,732. The gender breakdown of the working chef population was 16,349 males and 7,383 female chefs, a ratio of 2:1 male to female chefs (CSO, 2018a). The results of the *Step up to the Plate* survey were weighted with respect to gender to reflect the gender breakdown of the working chef population in the 2016 CSO census figures. This weighting mechanism was performed in order to present a representative picture of the chef profession in Ireland in two key areas: (a.) presenting demographic statistics that were representative of the chef profession in Ireland for the first time and (b.) gleaning information from questions related to gender inequality within the survey that could be applicable to the general chef population in Ireland.

The weighting procedure and rationale for its use is detailed in Chapter Five. Significantly, the release of the CSO demographics offered an opportunity to make a comparison between the relevant weighted survey statistics and the CSO statistics to evaluate the accuracy of the weighting procedure as a method for enhancing the representative of the chef profession in Ireland.

Statistical testing consisted of the means, standard deviations, chi testing for the independence of male and females, and T-tests conducted on selected demographics for gender comparing the variance of means. Reporting of tests are confined to relevant statistics while tables for all statistical tests are available in Appendices Four and Five. Graphs are used to represent the demographic data and are supplemented with tables underneath, detailing original gender frequencies, weighted frequencies and percentage representations to further enhance the
transparency of the analysis process for the reader and ensure accuracy. Gender is reflected as a percentage of each gender in graphs to accurately make gender comparisons.

**Nationality and Region of Residence**
The nationalities of the sample (n=475) were collapsed into three groupings, Irish, EU and non-EU, for ease of analysis. Figure 7.1 presents the breakdown of the nationalities of the overall weighted chef sample and the gender breakdown of the weighted sample.

![Nationality: gender breakdown of chef profession](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>weighted total</th>
<th>overall (%)</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRE</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>125.46</td>
<td>269.27</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>83.18%</td>
<td>85.36%</td>
<td>82.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11.69</td>
<td>43.03</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>11.53%</td>
<td>7.95%</td>
<td>13.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non EU</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.84</td>
<td>15.27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.29%</td>
<td>6.69%</td>
<td>4.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>146.99</td>
<td>327.57</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 7.1: Nationality: gender breakdown of chef profession**

Email correspondence with the CSO resulted in the acquisition of the 2016 census statistics for the number of Irish and non-Irish chefs working in Ireland, which are presented on following page in Table 7.1 (Casey, 2018).
This was the first time that this data was made available, and which reveals that over 41% of the chef population in Ireland is non-Irish while almost half of the male chef population in Ireland, 47.2%, is non-Irish and only 28.4% of the female population is non-Irish. These statistics reveal that the percentage of non-Irish chefs working in Ireland is significantly higher than the non-Irish respondents in the survey (combined EU and non-EU respondents, 16.8%). This is a limitation of this research. The low response of non-Irish may suggest that non-Irish chefs were less interested in the subject matter or, that certain nationalities may have limited English language skills and therefore were not comfortable taking the survey. However, the CSO did not provide a country breakdown of the non-Irish chef population at the time of writing. It is therefore necessary to await this detail before considering the extent of the validity of this reason. Research conducted on the head chefs in Ireland in 2014 returned a 25% response rate from non-Irish head chefs, which is considerably higher than the response rate of almost 17% of the non-Irish chefs in this survey (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). This indicates that the online survey did not adequately target the non-Irish chef population in the same way that walk-ins and recruitment carried out in the 2014 study (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016, p.117). This suggests that insufficient attention was paid to acquiring a better non-Irish representation in this survey, and, perhaps, a better monitoring of this cohort could have returned a better overall non-Irish response via the online methodology.

Nevertheless, this gender equality research interrogates the gendered organizational structure of the chef brigade system. This system has already been identified as the historically universal
organizational system of the chef profession in Chapter Two and remains in common use to this day. Therefore, many, if not most non-Irish chefs, similar to Irish chefs, would have trained in or worked in this system at some stage in their professional chef career and would be expected to have similar training and work experiences.

Apart from Dublin, which remained a separate group, counties of residence were collapsed into their respective provinces/regions. This follows the provinces/regions categorisation system of the CSO and research conducted on the head chefs in Ireland in 2014 (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). The gender breakdown of the weighted sample is represented in Figure 7.2 below.

![Region of residence: gender breakdown](image)

**FIGURE 7.2: Region of residence: gender breakdown**

The 2016 census figures revealed that a majority of the chefs, almost 30%, are located in Dublin city and county, 24.5% in Leinster (ex-Dublin), 26.8% in Munster, 12.8% in Connacht, and
almost 6% in the Monaghan, Donegal and Cavan region (Table 7.2). Figure 7.2 indicates that women chefs’ population is well represented in the Dublin, Leinster and Galway regions but less so in Munster and the Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal regions. This is an interesting finding and may suggest that these regions are more open to women chefs. When a comparison was made between the survey sample data and the CSO 2016 census statistics, it was found that the survey sample contained an over representation of chefs from the Dublin city and country region (4.5%) and a slight underrepresentation (0.17%–2.24%) of all the other regions, see Table 7.2 below (CSO, 2018c). While the survey statistics were not an exact representation of the regional demographics of the chef population in Ireland, they are reasonably reflective of the CSO national statistics. Furthermore, the weighted survey data presents a better representative sample for this demographic when compared to previous research studies that had been carried out for chefs in Ireland, where a much higher Dublin demographic was recorded when compared to all other regions (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). This highlighted the importance of having national census statistics to accurately assess pertinent issues within the chef profession in all regions. For instance, the shortage of chefs in Ireland is presented as a national issue and applicable to all regions while the chef shortage may be concentrated in particular regions (e.g. in the Dublin region or urban regions). The availability of national statistics allows a researcher to design a methodology that tries to access a representative cohort of the chef population in all regions to assess the nuances of the chef shortage in Ireland in the different regions so that more targeted solutions can be investigated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Step up to the Plate Survey</th>
<th>CSO 2016 Statistics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>34.45%</td>
<td>29.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Gender 1</td>
<td>Gender 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leinster (ex. Dublin)</td>
<td>24.35%</td>
<td>24.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munster</td>
<td>24.58%</td>
<td>26.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connacht</td>
<td>10.81%</td>
<td>12.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Monaghan/Donegal/Cavan)</td>
<td>5.81%</td>
<td>5.98%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7.2: Regions: comparison of weighted survey statistics with CSO statistics**

**Gender and Sexual Orientation – Lack of Diversity**

The survey results (n=475) were weighted with the 2016 CSO census statistics for the chef profession in Ireland with respect to gender. The gender breakdown of the chef population in Ireland in 2016 showed 69% male and 31% female chefs, a ratio of almost 2:1 (CSO, 2018a). While the number of chefs working in Ireland increased from 18,908 in 2011 to 23,732 in 2016, the ratio of male to female chefs decreased by just over 2% during this time (Farrell, 2018). The overwhelming majority of the chef population, both male and female, identified as heterosexual (90.33%), while 3.77% identified as gay/lesbian, 3.02% identified as other and 2.21% did not specify their sexual orientation (Appendix 2). These statistics reveal a lack of gender diversity with the chef profession in Ireland.

The literature review highlighted that homosexual male chefs encounter discrimination and harassment similar to female chefs as they do not conform to the idealised heterosexual masculine ideal of a chef, which is evidenced by research highlighted in the literature review and in hospitality magazine articles (Burke-Sarrison, 2018; Ineson, 2013). The LGBT community was very poorly represented in this weighted survey: a total of 33 respondents (15 gay men and 18 lesbian women), almost 7% of the sample survey identified as part of the community. There were no comparable national or international statistics available for the LGBT community in the chef profession to make a comparison regarding the accuracy of this cohort in the survey during the course of this dissertation. Nevertheless, as noted in the literature review, the *Construction Industry Council’s Diversity Report* (CIC, 2016, pp. 5–6)
for the United Kingdom revealed that 14% of the employees surveyed were female and that a total of 2.1% of the employees surveyed identified as lesbian, gay and bisexual. This report presented an overall picture of employees in a diversity of occupations within the construction industry. Nevertheless, the statistics demonstrates that the LGBT community industry has very low representation in this overwhelmingly male-dominated industry. In the Irish chef profession, another historically male-dominated profession, there is a much higher representation of females (31%) and a higher representation of the LGBT community (7%) in this weighted survey sample. However, the 7% representation of the LGBT community in the survey suggests that a small minority of chefs fall into the LGBT category in Ireland, suggesting, for the first time, a lack of gender diversity within the profession in Ireland. Though this dissertation focused on women in the chef profession, sexual orientation was an important question to raise in order to assess the development of gender diversity in the chef profession as further research on this will be carried out in the future.

**Age Profile**

The majority of the weighted chef sample (36.0%) fell into the 35–44 age cohort, which was then followed by the 25–34 age group (29.0%) and finally the 45–54 age bracket (18.6%) (Appendix 2). The average age of the weighted chef sample in the survey was 37.6 years, and the average age of the female cohort was 35.4 years while the average age of the male cohort was found to be 38.6 years (Appendix 3). The CSO figures for 2016 reveal that the average age of the chef population in Ireland is 38.4 years; therefore, the age profile of the population in the weighted survey is only slightly younger than the actual age of the chef population in Ireland (CSO, 2018b) and was reasonably representative of the chef population in Ireland. Gender was found to be highly significant when the chi squared testing was conducted on the sample ($x^2 = 19.684$, df = 5, $p = 0.001$). An analysis of the gender breakdown of the age categories as a percentage of the overall chef-weighted sample identified a higher percentage
representation of male to female chefs in all age categories with the notable exception of the entry level 18–24 age category where females were more highly represented by 1.5% (Appendix 2). No significance in a variance of means was found when t-testing was conducted (t(10) = -1.420, p= 0.092).

More Women Chefs in the Younger Age Bracket

When analysis of each gender was conducted the key theme that emerged was the much higher percentage of female chefs, just over 20.1%, in the 18-24 age bracket when compared to a mere 6.8% of the male chef population; there is significantly less difference in all other age categories (Figure 7.3). This may suggest that a high number of females have been entering the profession in recent years. Alternatively, the higher number of females in this age category may suggest that as women reach their late twenties and early thirties they may drop out to have children causing an over representing in this younger cohort of female chefs. Equally, while there was a higher percentage differential in the male chefs’ representation in the 35–44 age category, t-testing found no significance in the variance of means, suggesting that for women in their thirties who remain in the profession they seem to manage to remain at a similar rate to men. (Figure 7.3).

![Age profile of chef population: gender breakdown](image)
Marital Status and Family
The most common marital status category in the weighted chef sample (n=475) was identified as ‘married’ at 46.5% followed by ‘single’ at 25.6% and ‘co-habiting’ at 23.3%, while a very small percentage of the weighted sample, 4.2% and 0.4% respectively, were divorced or widowed (Appendix 2). The analysis of each gender identified a relatively even distribution between ‘single’ (33.4%), married (32.2%) and cohabiting (28.8%) in the female chef population (Figure 7.4).
The male chef population showed a larger cohort in the ‘married’ category (53%) while 22% were single and 20.8% cohabiting. When the ‘married’ and ‘cohabiting’ categories are combined, over 73% of male chefs and over 60% of female chefs are accounted for. A lower representation is accounted for by female chefs’ higher representation in the 18–24 age cohorts and single category as cross tabulation revealed. Therefore, while it is clear that a higher percentage of male chefs are more highly represented in the ‘married’ and ‘cohabiting’ categories, it is also true that a high percentage of females are well represented here.

**Women Chefs have Less Children**

Analysis of the number of children in the weighted sample (n = 475) shows that 45.6% of the chef population had no children while almost 54% have one or more children: 13.5% have one child, 23.2% have two children, 13.9% have three children, 2.9% have four children and 1% have five children (Appendix 2). The chi test results for independence indicated a high significance for gender ($\chi^2 = 82.234$, df = 5, $p = 0.00$). When each gender was analysed, over 60% of the female chef cohort had no children when compared to only 39% of the male population (Figure 7.5 below).
Just over 20% of the female chef population fall into the 18–24 age bracket as new entrants into the profession when compared to the mere 6.8% of male chefs, and are not expected to have children (Figure 7.3 above). This was verified by cross tabulating the ‘age’ and ‘number of children’ for females; it was found that 100% of this age cohort had no children. However, almost 94% of the male chefs in this age category did not have children and, therefore, the younger cohort only partially explains why almost 60% of the female chef population have no children.

Further cross tabulation revealed that a higher percentage of women chefs with no children are accounted for in all age categories. The most dramatic difference was revealed in the 35–45 age category as 45.5% of women chefs in the age bracket have no children when compared to the 23.6% of male chefs, see Table 7.3 below.

FIGURE 7.5: Number of children for chef population: gender breakdown
TABLE 7.3: Percentage of each age category with no children: gender profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>female %</th>
<th>male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>77.3%</td>
<td>68.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>17.39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.5 above also shows that there is a substantial difference between the proportion of women who have two children (16.3%) and the proportion of men who have two children (26.3%). The smaller gender differentials as the number of children increases may suggest that those who remain in the profession may have worked out solutions that allow them to balance work and family life.

Significantly, this analysis shows two important findings, namely that (a) there are more childless women at all ages than there are childless men and (b) there is a substantial difference between the proportion of women who have two children (16.3%) and the proportion of men who have two children (26.3%). These findings suggest that (a) for women having children at all makes it more difficult for women to participate in the industry than it does for men and (b) having two children makes it more difficult than having one or more than two children. This is further analysed when we examine the length of years in the industry for men and women later in this chapter.

**Education**

The educational achievement level of the overall weighted chef sample survey sample (n = 475) and the gender breakdown of the sample. The most common educational categories of the survey respondents were higher certificate (19.8%), ordinary degree/level 7 (18.5%) and higher degree/level (16.7%) while leaving certificate (10.8%), chef apprentice (11.7%) and masters/postgraduate (level 9) (10.2%) featured in relative equal numbers. Fetac (5.9%) was less represented, and 6.4% of respondents did not have any culinary education (Figure 7.6).
The CSO 2016 census education data relating to chefs in Ireland became available for the first time during the course of the research and is presented in Figure 7.7 below (CSO, 2018d). The CSO categorisation was different from that was used in the survey; therefore, the categories within the weighted sample survey were regrouped in a similar manner to the official CSO categorisation in order to perform an accurate comparison of the education demographic. These are presented in Table 7.4 on following page.
FIGURE 7.7: Educational attainment CSO (CSO, 2018d)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT</th>
<th>Survey</th>
<th>CSO 2016</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no formal/other/non stated/primary</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary education</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tech-chef apprentice /fetac/higher cert</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>40.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinary degree</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher degree</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masters/post graduate degree</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 7.4: Comparison of education statistics of CSO and sample survey data

It was apparent that the weighted survey sample respondents were less representative of the population: over 45% of the respondents have ordinary degree, higher degree or masters/post graduate degree education groupings whereas these categories make up only 12.1% of the actual educational attainment level of the chef population when compared to the CSO statistics (Table 7.4). Conversely, only 10.8% of chefs (8.2% male, 2.6% female) in the weighted sample survey occupied the secondary education cohort, whereas the official CSO statistics revealed that 25% of the chef population in Ireland were located in this educational category. This may signify an issue with the methodology where chefs with no formal education or secondary education were not appropriately targeted by the online survey. However, previous research on
the head chefs in Ireland employed different methodologies (email, walk-ins and recruitment) and also returned a similar response/uptake of 11.2% with regards to secondary level education (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). It may be the case that this cohort and those with no formal education may have felt intimidated by the survey, believing that they were unqualified to take part or could not engage with the subject matter of gender inequality. Language and possibly cultural barriers may have prevented an engagement by the non-Irish chefs who may have been included in the no formal education category. It is important to highlight the limitations so that researchers consider other methodologies to ensure a better response from this cohort of chefs in the future.

**Gender Differences in Culinary Career Pathways**

Analysis of each gender showed a high degree of variance within the educational categories and a different picture emerged, as can be seen from the line graph below (Figure 7.8). A higher percentage of the male chef population were located in the leaving certificate and chef apprentice categories when compared to their female counterparts (Figure 7.8). Female chefs, on the other hand, were more highly represented at the ordinary degree (level 7) and higher degree (level 8) levels when compared to the male population (Figure 7.8). By contrast, 12.3% of the male chef population in the weighted sample were much more highly represented in the ‘masters/postgraduate’ category when compared to the mere 5.4% of the female cohort. It appears that there are important differences in the educational pathways that take men and women into the chef profession. This is an interesting finding as it suggests that women chefs choose different career pathways to their male counterparts.
FIGURE 7.8: Educational attainment of chef population by gender

CSO statistics did not provide a gender breakdown for education at the time of this research. In order to gain an insight into the gender composition of culinary students and to help shed some light on the data within the weighted sample survey, data analysis was carried out on the graduation year books of the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology in the Dublin Institute of Technology during the years 2012–2017 to ascertain the gender composition of culinary arts graduates in this specific culinary education institution. While the Dublin Institute of Technology is only one of the educational institutions that offers culinary arts programmes, it is the largest culinary educational institution offering a variety of culinary programmes nationally and gives a snapshot of the gender breakdown of new graduates entering the profession. Therefore, it is useful to help understand or offer suggestions of trends or variability in the data collected through the survey for this research.
The key theme that emerged from analysis of the graduation year books of DIT was the clear gender difference in culinary courses that male and females undertook and graduated from. As can be seen from Table 7.5 below, female graduates are concentrated in the ordinary and honours degree courses in both culinary arts and in the culinary entrepreneurship degree programmes. Furthermore, female graduates are overwhelmingly represented in the baking and pastry management degree programmes. The hospitality industry is serviced by culinary arts and culinary entrepreneurship graduates whereas those from baking and pastry courses tend to work in bakeries. It is clear that graduates from the Dublin Institute of Technology culinary arts programmes were overwhelmingly females, with the exception of the 2013–2014 academic year, when all degrees were combined. It is also the case that female graduates dominate the culinary arts and entrepreneurship degree programmes during this period, which corresponds to the findings of this survey. This data, combined with the higher percentage of female chefs working in the industry between 0–5 years and occupying the younger age bracket of 18–25, suggests that females, as a percentage of their gender, are entering the profession in significant numbers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Certificate &amp; Higher Cert: Cul Arts Prof Culinary Practice</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA Culinary Arts (ord &amp; hon)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSc, Culinary Entrepreneurship</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSc Baking &amp; Pastry Management (ord &amp; hon)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>124</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>106</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 7.5: DIT gender profile of graduates 2012–2018**

Significantly, a higher number of males took the Certificate and Higher Certificate in the Professional Cooking course in all years from 2012–2018, with the exception of 2012–2013 and 2016-2017. The Dublin Institute of Technology does not offer chef apprentice programmes; however, it does offer a full time and part time Certificate in Professional
Cookery, similar to the chef apprentice programmes where chefs working in the hospitality industry can undertake this course through a ‘day release’ system. Chef apprentice education has historically been identified as a male-dominated area of education, as is the case in other professions (Ward, 2017). In 2019, all of the apprenticeship programmes continued to have a very low take-up rate by females (O’Keefe, 2019). Therefore, chef apprenticeship programmes or similar programmes may not be attractive training options for females, while culinary arts degrees may be a more legitimate way of entering the profession. In addition, there is an issue concerning apprenticeship programmes in general, wherein only 2% of school leavers take up this education pathway, which may reinforce the preference for degree programmes (O’Brien, 2017). In 2018, a new national culinary apprenticeship programme was launched to help address the chef shortage in Ireland, and special attention was given to attracting females into this programme (Careers Portal, 2018; Regional Skills, 2018). The success of this programme is not clear to date. This suggests that women and men take different education career pathways into the chef profession.

Attempts to Steer women Away from Best Career Path
When asked if the respondents found any issues related to gender inequality within the culinary arts education programmes they had undertaken, over 84% of the respondents reported that they had not. A gendered breakdown shows that 72% of female and 90% of male respondents did not find any issues. This is a high positive response from both genders. However, 13.7% of the female respondents identified issues when compared with only 4.6% of their male counterparts. When those respondents who agreed with, or were undecided on the existence of gender inequality in education were combined, 28% of females are accounted for, compared to only 9.6% of males (Figure 7.9).
Comments within this question elucidate the issues identified by females within the culinary arts programmes. The only theme that emerged focused solely on practical classes where there was a perception that lecturers were biased towards male students. This was articulated by respondents as a perception that lecturers did not recognise or believe that female students were as capable as their male counterparts in the hot cookery classes and so they were encouraged more towards pastry. One female, age 25–35, in an ordinary degree, level 7 course stated, “Some of our lecturers in practical classes look down on girls and tend to treat them as less capable than our male classmates and tend to be ‘surprised’ when we achieve an equal (if not superior) end result in a dish”. A similar view was also found by one female aged 18–24 in higher degree, level 8 when she stated, “Practical lecturers treating male and female students differently, underestimating the ability of female students” while a master’s postgraduate, aged 18–24, commented:
The hot major classes in culinary arts level eight programme ended up three quarters males despite having only a quarter of the year being male. Women through work experience even during tuition are directed towards cakes and pastry...it’s baffling.

By contrast, the male respondents had nothing of significance to say, other than that each student was treated equally, regardless of gender, and those who were interested in learning were encouraged, as evidenced by a comment from one masters/postgraduate aged 25–34:

… from my experience in college it does appear to be, that lectures encourage everyone to learn and take part and if they don’t want to learn, whether they are male or female, lecturers tend not to waste their time, but that’s only my experience, not sure what other courses are like.

Female comments suggest that lecturers steer females toward the more feminine career of pastry and away from the best career path of masculine hot section which ultimately leads to the more senior head chef roles in professional kitchens as identified within the literature (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). It is important to recognise that female graduates from the Dublin Institute of Technology for the period 2012–2017 overwhelming dominate the baking and pastry management degree courses, which reflects the wider social and cultural association of baking and pastry as a feminine craft as discussed in Chapter Two. Practical lecturers, male or female, may possess either unconscious or conscious bias when thinking about female career paths and thus inadvertently perpetuate the masculine nature and male hegemony of the profession. Culinary arts students specialise in areas as their course progresses. While pastry specialisation may result from their own personal choices, it may also be the case, as the comments suggest, that female students are encouraged into pastry specialisation in practical classes. As a result of the comments, further analysis was carried out on female respondents for each education category.
Gender Inequality Highest among Females with Least Education

It was found that the majority of females did not identify any issues related to gender inequality (Figure 7.10). However, the highest level of inequality was recorded by those who participated in the lowest level of culinary education courses. Over 35% of those of leaving certificate education and fetac level 3–5 programmes and almost 28% of the chef apprenticeship programmes identified gender inequality as an issue (Figure 7.10). Furthermore, over 11% in all of these three categories were ‘undecided’. This is interesting given that the lowest education categories are dominated by male students and are all three courses generally focused on practical culinary skills and service the hospitality industry with young commis chefs. It may be the case that females in these categories experience discrimination from lecturers who believe that they are less suitable or capable than their male counterparts to work in an industry where masculine qualities of toughness, strength and endurance are valorised and accepted normal practices of working in the industry (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Consequently, lecturers may discourage young female students from the masculine hot section and encourage them to the more feminine pastry section as comments in the survey suggest. This reinforces the notion that the chef profession is a masculine profession and young females are unsuited to it and possibly dissuaded from pursuing the hot section cookery. It is clear that the majority of female students in all other categories did not recognise issues related to gender inequality. However, it is important to acknowledge that a considerable minority of all education categories were accounted for when the ‘yes’ and ‘undecided’ responses were combined (Figure 7.10).
Issues relating to gender inequality in culinary arts programmes: Female responses

![Bar chart showing percentage of responses by gender and educational attainment level.](image)

**FIGURE 7.10: Gender inequality issues in education: female responses**

**Number of years in Industry**

Analysis of the weighted sample chef population (n = 475) found that males were more highly represented in all categories of the number of years in the industry with the notable exception of the 0–5 year category, where there is equal representation of 10.2% of each gender (Appendix 2). Chi squared testing for independence indicated a high degree of significance for gender ($x^2 = 28.59, df = 5, p = 0.000$). When t-testing was carried out to examine the variance of means for gender (female: mean = 24.4975, sd = 12.091; male: mean = 54.59, sd 21.69), a high degree of significance was also returned ($t(10) = -2.968, p = 0.007$). Analysis of each gender indicates a high degree of consistency in the 6–10 years, 11–15 years and 21–25 years
categories (Figure 7.11). Key differences are visible in the 0-5 years, 15-20 year and 26+ years categories (Figure 7.11).

![Number of years in the industry as chef: gender breakdown](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Industry</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>totals</th>
<th>overall (%)</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 years</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>48.6</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>67.3</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 years</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-20 years</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25 years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26+ years</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>105.3</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>147.0</td>
<td>327.6</td>
<td>474.6</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 7.11: Number of years in industry as chef: percentage of each gender**

Just over 33% of the female chef population have been working in the industry for 0–5 years when compared to a mere 14.8% of the male chef population (Figure 7.11). Cross tabulation with longevity in industry and age revealed that over 98% of females in the 0–5-year category fall into the 18–24 age bracket. This may suggest a numerical increase of young female chefs entering the profession in recent years corresponding to an increased number of females graduating from culinary arts programmes during 2012–2017 and potentially entering the industry as chefs. Therefore, an overall increase in the female representation in the 6–10 years bracket as these graduates progress through the industry would be expected. However, it may also indicate, as has been previously stated, that women drop out in their late twenties and early
thirties to have children resulting in a disproportionally high representation of women in the 0-
5-year category

*Less Women Chef Working for 15-20 Years*
Significantly, there is considerable variance in the male and female representation in the 15–
20 years category, as 22.9% of the male chef population were found when compared to a mere
16.3% of the female population (Figure 7.11). This is the time when chefs are in their thirties,
and for women, this is the time when family and children play a pivotal role in their career
decisions in the chef profession, similar to women in many other professions as previously
discussed in the literature review (Harris and Giuffre, 2015).

It has already been established in the family section above that women are more likely than
men to have no children and are less likely to have two children. The literature suggests that
the normalisation of long and unsocial working hours and expectation of total commitment to
the craft of cooking, coupled with social expectation of women’s responsibly for caregiving
roles, acts as a deterrent to entering the profession or having children in the first instance
(Lutario, 2010, Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Suggestions within the literature review and, to some
extent in the Athrú discussion group, identified the importance of the existence of a supportive
life partner in a demanding role or while working part time or choosing more family friendly
chef work environments, such as industrial catering kitchens in order to remain in the
profession (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). The literature revealed that women in their thirties
encounter difficulties in managing work responsibilities, particularly head chef roles, due to
the desire to have a family (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Women may also face more challenges
if they have a second child, while possibly balancing more senior work and caring roles, and
may find it difficult to fulfil and opt to leave. Men, on the other hand, do not have the same
social expectations and are therefore at an advantage in the chef profession. These suggestions
are explored further in Chapter Eight, when chef roles and work environments are analysed to
identify any gender differences that could help explain the number of children men and women have in the chef profession.

A cross tabulation of gender with the number of children in the 15–20 years category indicates that 43.6% of female chefs in this 15–20 years category have no children when compared to the 29.6% of male chefs. Furthermore, a considerably smaller percentage of female chefs, 20.5%, have two children when compared to almost 39% of male chefs in the cohort (Figure 7.12 above).

**FIGURE 7.12: Gender breakdown of number of children for chefs in '15-20' year cohort.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This does appear to be significant, as it may be the case that a second child impacts women more dramatically in their career path and, as a result, they may opt out of the work force. This may offer a possible reason for the decline in overall female representation in the chef profession.
profession during the 2011–2016 census (CSO 2018a). However, it is too early into the research to assume that this is definitively the case and this issue will be considered in more detail in Chapters Eight. Interestingly, almost 18% of female chefs in the 15–20 years cohort have three children, compared with a mere 7.4% of male chefs, which may also indicate that those who have been able to manage their career and family life through the 15–20-year timeframe can then remain in the industry in the longer term.

It may appear unsurprising that there is a much higher representation of males (26.7%) in the 26+ age category when compared to their female counterparts (12.1%), as the chef profession has historically been a male-dominated profession, and like other male-dominated professions, one would expect a much higher representation in this category (Figure 7.12 below). However, it may also be the case that if women drop out of the profession to have children, they may not return. This would impact male representation in the 26+ category. However, there was no evidence available to ascertain if there has been a shift in the proportion of women entering over time and that would help to disentangle these two possible explanations.

It is also worth noting that there has been a drop of over 2.5% in male chefs in the 11–15 years bracket and a much greater drop of over 7% at the 21–25 years bracket (Figure 7.11), which may suggest a degree of burnout in the profession at this stage of their careers due to the stressful environment in which they work and the lack of work-life balance (Rayner, 2017). It may also reflect economic cycles and/or growth for the sector. Chefs who have worked for 11–15 years would have been in their early career stage at the time of the economic crash in Ireland when many chefs lost their jobs. Chefs with 25–20 years’ experience entered the profession during the 1998–2003 period, which was a time of economic growth and may explain why they form a higher proportion than those who entered in the previous five years.
Employment Status
The employment status of the sample chef population was overwhelmingly located in the full-time salaried bracket, followed by full time hourly and part time hourly and self-employed. All other categories of employment status did not feature in any significant way. Less than 3% of the weighted sample was unemployed reflecting the demand for chefs in a booming hospitality industry in 2016 (Farrell, 2018). When chi squared testing for independence was carried out, a high significance for gender ($x^2 = 1037$, df = 10, $p = 0.0005$) was found. When t-testing for the significance of variance of gender (female: $mean = 13.362$ $sd = 15.907$; male: $mean = 29.779$, $sd = 52.445$) was conducted, no significance was found ($t (20) = 0.993$, $p = 0.166$).

Higher Percentage of Men in Full Time Salaried Positions than Women
Analysis of the data revealed that 54% of male chefs are in full time salaried positions while there are only 31.8% of female chefs in this pay category. A further 8.5% of the male chef population are found in the part-time hourly pay category while 20.1% of the female chef population are found in this category (Figure 7.13). When cross tabulation was carried out, it was found that almost 41% of females aged 18–24 (which is a higher numerical value than the male cohort in this age category) were accounted for. The higher female representation in the part-time hourly pay category and lower representation in the full-time salaried pay category reflected the higher percentage of females in this 18–24 bracket. It is also the case that 40% of the male chefs in this age category were accounted for in the part-time hourly category; therefore, it appears that new entrants, both male and female, are to a large extent employed on a part-time hourly basis. However, a significant percentage of female chefs are not accounted for in the 18–24 bracket. This category is further examined in Chapter Eight to consider whether there is any correlation between chef roles, part-time hourly employment status and gender.
It is also noteworthy that 22.6% of female chefs are employed on a full-time hourly basis while only 16.9% of male chefs are employed on this basis (Figure 7.13). Again, when cross tabulation was performed, a relationship was found between ‘full time hourly’ and ‘number of years working’ when over 40% of male and female chefs in the 0–5-year category were employed on this basis. As there is a higher percentage of the female chef population concentrated in the 0–5-year category, this explains why female chefs are more highly represented in the full-time hourly employment category.

As a percentage of their gender, male and female chefs are equally represented in the self-employed category at 10.6% and 10.5% respectively; see Figure 7.13 above. This is also an
interesting statistic as research within the literature has suggested that many female chefs opt for self-employment to allow themselves more freedom to balance their work and family lives on their own terms (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). This suggests that Irish women chefs, like other female entrepreneurs in other industries, are not risk averse and corresponds with recent research suggesting that Ireland has a good record for female entrepreneurs when compared to their European counterparts (O’Dwyer, 2018). Irish media has also been to the fore in encouraging women in the food industry by actively raising their profiles in recent years (Carrigy, 2017; Taste, n.d.). Nevertheless, the literature review indicated that women chefs are concentrated in daytime food establishments, allowing them to balance their family lives and chef career (Lutrario, 2010). Therefore, it is important to understand the type of restaurant businesses that female chefs, as self-employed entrepreneurs, set up when compared to their male counterparts to examine whether there is any gender distinction. This is further explored in Chapter Eight.

The significant themes that emerge from the analysis are (a.) more men than women are employed on a full-time salaried basis and (b.) more women than men are employed on a part-time hourly basis, and (c.) to a lesser extent, more women than men are employed on a part-time hourly basis. Male and female chefs are employed on an equally similar basis in all other pay categories of employment within this survey. Significantly, this survey did not gather any statistics on the actual remuneration/pay that male and female chefs receive for their work in each category, which is a limitation and will be further discussed in Chapter Eight.

**Summary**

This chapter, ‘Emerging Evidence of Gender Inequality’ presented the results of the discussion group Athrú, and part one of the demographics and qualitative elements of the online national survey, *Step up to the Plate*. It also presented the results from Graduation Year books from
DIT. The results sought to uncover themes of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. Education emerged as a new theme to be considered when analysis was conducted on the discussion group Athrú.

The online survey established a reasonably accurate gender demographic picture of the chef profession in Ireland when compared with CSO 2016 statistics, fulfilling the Sub Research Question A. However, it was found that education and nationality were less reflective of the national statistics, highlighting challenges accessing chefs with lower education and a diversity of nationalities.

Several significant gender inequality themes emerged when gender analysis was conducted of the results of the first part of the *Step up to the Plate* and the DIT graduation year books to assist in fulfilling the Sub Research Question C: (a.) a lack of gender diversity was identified within the profession when the majority of chefs identified as heterosexual (b.) women’s progression or longevity in the industry featured when a higher proportion of females chefs were younger while a higher percentage of male chefs were employed for 15-20 years when compared to their female counterparts; (c.) family matters featured as a theme when quantitative data suggests that having children at all is an issue for women, and having two children presents more challenges than having one or more than two children; (d.) education featured as an important theme when qualitative analysis suggested that gender bias within the education system was a possible cause of gender differences in chosen career pathways with evidence of more gender bias in lower education courses; (e.) pay featured when it was found that a higher percentage of male chefs are in full time salaried employment suggesting that women face challenges attaining full time salaried positions.

Chapter Eight, ‘Cementing Evidence of Gender Inequality’ builds on these themes by completing the analysis of remaining elements of the online survey to identify the factors that contribute to gender equality in the chef profession in Ireland and discuss the continued
relevance of Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations as a useful tool to help understand and uncover these factors.
CHAPTER 8. CEMENTING EVIDENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY

This chapter reports and discusses analysis of the results of the second part of the primary research that emanated from the online survey *Step up to the Plate*. The chapter begins by reporting perceptions of gender inequality and themes that emerged both in the overall chef population and subsequently in the most recent work environment. The chapter continues by enlisting Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting processes within society, culture and the organization to assess the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. Division of labour comprises one substantive section when gender differences in perception of gender inequality with respect to empirical findings in both workplaces and workspaces empirical findings are analysed and discussed; The chapter continues by enlisting Acker (1990) four remaining processes and practices: individual identities, workplace interactions, cultural symbol, and the organizational logic of an organization within the context of the empirical and qualitative comments that emerged within the survey. The chapter concludes with analysis and discussion of education and leadership. Each element sought to address key sub research questions in order to comprehensively analyse gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland:

Element 4: Gender analysis of responses to the gender inequality questions of the online survey in order to identify any differences in male and female chefs’ perceptions of gender inequality in the chef profession and significant themes—addressed by analysing responses to question nine and question seventeen of the online survey.

Element 5: Gender analysis of the empirical responses gathered within the online survey and a comparison with perceptions of gender inequality in order to identify the extent of gender inequality in both chef roles and working environments – addressed by analysing and reporting the responses to questions fourteen and fifteen of the online survey.
Element 6: Gender analysis of male and female responses to Likert scale questions in order to identify barriers to gender equality and those that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession – addressed by analysing and reporting the Likert scale responses to questions twenty-one and twenty-three of the online survey.

Element 7: Gender analysis of male and female responses within the survey in order to identify the qualities for leadership roles/head chef positions in the professional kitchen to identify any differences in the qualities selected by men and women chefs – addressed by analysing and reporting the Likert scale responses to question twenty-two of the online survey.

This survey collected data on a variety of daytime and full-service work environments, including cafes, bakeries, industrial, catering casual dining, hotels and fine dining kitchens. Analysis revealed that 90% of the chef population is concentrated in four key areas: industrial catering, casual dining, hotels and fine dining kitchens. In the following sections these four key areas are referred to as the four main working environments and constitute the main focus of the analysis.

Perceptions of Gender Inequality

This section discusses the themes that emerged within the survey data pertaining to chefs’ perceptions of gender inequality. The first theme revealed that a majority of women recognised the existence of gender inequality in the chef profession. Widespread existence of a misogynistic culture and the impact on career progression of socially ascribed caring and family matters featured as themes within the comments. Secondly, while only a minority of women recognised gender inequality in their most recent or current work environment the order is consistent for the four main work environments where the majority of chefs work. Furthermore, themes were replicated in all of the four main work environments that women had most recently worked in. Thirdly, further analysis revealed that there was a surprising relationship between women’s representation in main chef work environments and their
perception of gender inequality: hotels reported the highest perception of gender inequality, while fine dining kitchens reported the lowest levels of gender inequality. Finally, analysis revealed that there is a relationship between women’s representation in chef roles and their perception of gender inequality. Pastry chefs reported a high perception of gender inequality while chefs in leadership roles perceived gender inequality lower although this was not uniform. This section now discusses these themes and their significance in light of Ackers (1990) theory of gendered organizations and Connell’s (1995) concept of masculinity.

Men and women chefs perceive gender inequality differently
The survey sought to understand male and female chefs’ perception of gender inequality in Ireland by asking the question “Do you think there is gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland?” Clear differences in each gender’s perception of the existence of gender inequality was evident when more than half (56.5%) of female chefs perceived gender inequality to exist in the profession, while only 28% of male chefs indicated towards the same (Figure 8.1 below). Chi-squared testing for independence indicated a significant relationship between gender and perception of gender inequality in the chef profession ($x^2 = 52.82$, df = 2, $p = 0.000$).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION 9 RESPONSE OPTIONS</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>weighed female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>totals</th>
<th>overall (%)</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undecided</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
<td>22.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 8.1: Perception of gender inequality**
When question nine was analysed with non-heterosexual responses, it was observed that slightly over 60% of this cohort believed that gender inequality existed in the profession. Though this cohort amounted to a total of only thirty-three respondents, it is the first time that the LGBT community in the chef profession in Ireland has been surveyed. This gives some indication of the intersection of gender inequality and the broader LGBT community working in the chef profession in Ireland. The LGBT community previously featured in the literature, when gay men and their association with the feminine revealed they encountered harassment and bullying because of their nonconformity to the masculine model of the ideal chef (Burke-Sarrison, 2018; Di Francesco, 2017).

**Themes: misogynistic culture and socially ascribed caring roles**

Analysis of the comments to this question sheds light on the gender inequality issues that are central concerns for female chefs and a minority of male chefs. Female comments overwhelmingly concentrated on two overarching themes – (a.) the existence of a misogynistic culture reflecting Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity where female chefs are not considered equal to their male counterparts in a male-dominated profession, thereby resulting in gender discrimination in a wide range of areas, such as a lack of respect for women chefs in general and in their ability. This is manifested in female chefs not being afforded equal opportunities or equal pay for the same roles in kitchens, being stratified into lower grades and, in particular, into pastry roles with a notable lack of access to head chef roles. A normalisation of sexual harassment where male chefs use belittling and sexual comments towards their female colleagues was also reported. A *chef de partie* aged 18–24 working in an industrial catering kitchen captured much of the comments when she stated,

> As a female chef you are seen from the outset as less capable. In order to be seen as an equal you must work harder and produce better food than a male chef. Feminine female chefs are stereotyped as pastry chefs. This is unfair and there are lots of extremely
talented female chefs in Ireland that leave the profession over the constant sexual harassment and degradation of women in the kitchen as less than men, less capable, less intelligent, less hard, less qualified.

(b.) The significance of socially ascribed caring and family matters also featured when female chefs stated that they impacted their career progression. One female head chef (age 45–54) working in an industrial catering considered women’s the need to take time off for procreation needs and family an important gender inequality issue because it resulted in lack of women’s unequal access to leadership roles. Conversely men do not need to interrupt their careers in the same way. She commented, “… mainly in female chefs getting top jobs as they need time off to have families…”

Both themes reflect Acker’s theory of gendered organizations that has framed the critical analysis of the literature in Chapter Two (Acker, 1990). Comments from the male participants also identified these two themes, but to a lesser extent and concentrated on particular areas within the themes, identifying the overall lack of female chefs in the profession, the lack of respect for female chefs, their concentration as pastry chefs, and the dearth of females in senior roles. Sexual harassment featured to a lesser extent while family issues were identified. Comments from the LGBT community reflected the overall themes and no distinguishing themes emerged.

**Consistency of perception of gender inequality in work places**

No difference was observed in the perception of gender inequality when male and female respondents were analysed based on work environments. A majority of females in almost all work environments recognised the existence of gender inequality while a majority of men did not (Table 8.1). This suggests that regardless of the type of work environments, women encounter significant gender inequality issues. The only exception was found in the bakery setting, where only 38.1% of the females perceived gender inequality to exist. This suggests
that the more or less equal representation of male and females in this environment coupled with their stereotypical recognised suitability as pastry chef and lack of traditional *brigade de cuisine* hierarchy operating within this work setting combines to create a more equitable work environment for women chefs (Table 8.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>culinary education/school</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>café</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakery</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial catering</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual restaurant</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fine dining restaurant</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.1:** Percentage of men and women who think gender inequality exists in chef work environments

**Consistency in themes in current work places**

Comments by female respondents identified one overarching theme that was consistent with the comments recorded in question nine – the lack of respect and recognition both for their roles and for the work they perform. A female pastry chef (age 25–34) in an industrial catering kitchen commented,

… despite my experience and culinary education, I am never asked for input on the savoury food section. I am not called or considered a “chef”. The restaurant staff phone and when I answer they ask to speak to a chef, with reference to my male colleagues on the savoury section.

A female *chef de partie* (aged 18–24) working in a casual dining restaurant remarked, ‘I was not treated fairly for the work that I have completed as to male chefs…’ while a commis chef aged 35–34 in a hotel kitchen commented on the existence of a
… very macho environment, women treated like they know nothing, opinions not respected and I find there are less men and they do less work yet are employed in the higher roles, while the women are working the tougher jobs, and are more inclined to pull their weight and own up to any issues that come about. The men do the bare minimum yet taking home a bigger pay packet!

The general lack of women in kitchens was the main theme identified in male chefs’ comments. As one catering operations manager (aged 25–34) working in an industrial catering kitchen commented, “… there are not enough female chefs on our team… ”, while a head chef (age 45–54) working in a hotel kitchen pointed out that “… there are no problems, but there are no women in the kitchen, not by choice but only by circumstance”. Lack of respect and recognition for female chefs’ skills and work also featured as the second significant theme for males who identified issues within their work environment. A male sous chef (aged 25–34) working in a fine dining restaurant also commented on “… less respect [given] to female chefs”.

**Consistency in perceptions of gender inequality in current work places**

Significantly a notably higher perception of gender inequality in the hotel work environment is observed when compared to the other three main work environments (industrial catering, casual dining and fine dining) (Table 8.1). Furthermore, a lower perception of gender inequality was perceived in the fine dining work environment (Table 8.1). This was replicated in analysis of question seventeen which sought to identify any issues relating to gender inequality in respondents current work environments. While only a minority of females perceived gender inequality to exist in their current environment (21.3%) compared to what was reported in question nine (Figure 8.2), it is significant that the order is consistent for the four main work environments where the majority of chefs work. Female chefs working in hotel work environments indicated the highest perception of gender inequality at 37.3% while fine dining
kitchens fared fourth at 13.7%; casual dining and industrial catering were significantly higher than fine dining at 21.6% and 19.6% respectively (Table 8.2 below).

![Percentage of men and women who identify gender inequality in their current work environment](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q17 ANSWER OPTIONS</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>weighted total</th>
<th>overall (%)</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>115.6</td>
<td>288.7</td>
<td>404.3</td>
<td>85.2%</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
<td>88.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>147.0</td>
<td>327.6</td>
<td>474.6</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 8.2: Percentage of men and women who identify gender inequality in their current work environment**

The literature noted that full-service restaurants, particularly hotel kitchens and fine dining kitchens, posed the greatest challenges for women since they were identified as predominantly male-dominated environments with strict adherence to the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* system and the prevalence of hegemonic masculine culture (Campos Soria *et al.*., 2011; Haddaji *et al.*, 2017b). Therefore, it is surprising that the lowest level of gender inequality is recorded in fine dining work environments, when compared to hotels even though females are less well represented in fine dining kitchen (14.6%) than in hotels (18.8%) (Table 8.1, 8.2). Furthermore, lower levels of gender inequality in full-service casual dining kitchens suggest that there are considerable differences in the entrenchment of the *brigade de cuisine* within each full kitchen work environment (Table 8.1, 8.2). It is also noteworthy that women working in industrial
catering kitchens perceived a low level of gender inequality, both overall and in their current work environment, suggesting that this is a more equitable environment in which to work (Table 8.1, 8.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fine dining</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37.3%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual dining</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial catering</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>café/bakery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culinary education</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.2: Percentage of men and women who identify gender inequality in each work environment**

**Division of Labour in Chef Work Environments and Chef Roles**

Acker (1990) argues that gender inequality is reproduced in organizations through the division of labour: women are confined to lower status spaces and roles in workplaces and workspaces that reinforce gender stereotypes and maintain men’s hegemony within organizations. The literature review revealed that male chefs tend to occupy more high-status, full-service and elite kitchens while female chefs tend to occupy more low-status daytime service kitchens (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Lurtario, 2010). Analysis of the survey data confirms that this is also the case in the chef profession in Ireland.

Figure 8.3 shows the percentage of men and women in each of the chef work environments of the weighted chef sample (n=475). Chi-squared testing of independence indicated a significant relationship between gender and work environments ($x^2 = 20.6$, df = 7 p = .004). Work environments clearly fall into four main categories, ranking from the elite fine dining kitchen in descending order of importance in the work environments: fine dining, hotels, casual dining, and the broad industrial catering category (including industrial, independent catering and
hospital categories) (Figure 8.3). These four work environments totalled slightly over 90% of the work environments in which chefs worked and in which male chefs dominate (Figure 8.3). Analysis and discussion focus on the four main work environments in which the survey revealed the majority of chefs work. Gender is reflected as a percentage of each gender in graphs to accurately make gender comparisons.

![Percentage of men and women chef population working in each work environment](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORKING ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>male frequency</th>
<th>female frequency</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>totals</th>
<th>total (%)</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>missing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cookery school</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>café</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>industrial catering</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>106.0</td>
<td>22.3%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casual dining</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>110.6</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotel</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>104.0</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fine dining</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>107.6</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>147.0</td>
<td>327.6</td>
<td>474.6</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 8.3: Percentage of men and women working in each work environment**

**Workplace segregation**
The trend lines in Figure 8.4 (taken from Figure 8.3) provide clear evidence of work environment segregation when it was observed that there was a relationship between female representation and the status of the work environment. Females are decreasingly represented as you move from the low-status daytime industrial catering working environment (26.8%) to the higher status professional kitchens with the fine dining (14.6%) category, the most elite of
professional kitchens, indicating the least female chef representation (Figure 8.4). Conversely, the opposite is the case for men: male representation is at a high 26.3% in fine dining and at a low of 20.3% in industrial catering (Figure 8.4 below). Women’s perceptions of gender inequality is discussed with reference to these four work environments below.

FIGURE 8.4: Gender representation in four main work environments (taken from Figure 8.3)

*Fine Dining Kitchens: challenging the entrenchment of the brigade de cuisine*

Surprisingly, the lowest perception of gender inequality was consistently observed in fine dining kitchens (Table 8.1, 8.2). Furthermore, Figure 8.4 shows that fine dining kitchens have the least female representation of all four main work environments where prestige is lauded on chefs who occupy this space. This appears to contradict research which found that in Ireland, as in other jurisdictions, strict adherence to the traditional *brigade de cuisine* continues to be the norm with commitment to discipline and long hours prerequisites for entry and longevity (Cooper *et al.*, 2017; Giousmpasoglou *et al.*, 2018). Furthermore, research found that fine dining kitchens are sites of hegemonic masculine culture and are particularly unwelcome space of women chefs where they are poorly represented (Cooper *et al.*, 2017; Giousmpasoglou *et al.*, 2018; Haddaji *et al.*, 2017b; Lane 2014). The findings within the survey suggest that fine
dining kitchens in Ireland are more diverse in both size and model than previous research suggested and may operate a civic egalitarian model of management which may account for why women chefs experience lower incidences of gender inequality here (Lane, 2014). However male chefs’ comments in the survey suggest otherwise when a lack of respect for women chefs and the unsuitably of the overall environment for women in general in this work environment reflects previous research conducted in Great Britain and Ireland (Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018). As one male head chef (age 55–64) working in a fine dining restaurant remarked, “… the executive ‘head chef’ did not have much respect for women and I suspect that the overall environment would not have been very suitable/respectful of women in general…”

Research suggests that chefs are willing to accept and endure the demands of the hegemonic masculine culture that exists in the fine dining hierarchical brigade de cuisine system in order to gain the experience required to become an elite chef (Burrow et al., 2015; Meloury and Signal, 2014). Therefore, rather than challenging the entrenchment of the brigade de cuisine it is more probable that lower perceptions of gender inequality by women reflect a tacit acceptance of masculine practices as part of the normalised culture of survival for potential success in climbing the ladder to the highest status in the industry. Thus, similar to men in this work space, women recognise the need to endure and perhaps emulated this culture in order to succeed within high-status fine dining kitchens which offers the possibility of winning the coveted Michelin Chef Award which female chefs rarely attain. Women’s particularly low representation here means that they do not have access to anything like equal levels of opportunity or prestige with their male counterparts. Conversely, men remain the experts in the chef profession in Ireland.
Hotel Kitchens: brigade de cuisine and masculine culture entrenched

Female chefs recorded the highest perception of gender inequality in hotel kitchens, both overall and in their most recent or current work environment, despite being better represented here than in fine dining kitchens (Table 8.1, 8.2, Figure 8.4 above). Lane’s (2014) research of German and British haute cuisine hotel kitchens highlighted that many continued to work to the traditional authoritarian hierarchical brigade de cuisine as the industry standard. Campos Soria et al.’s (2011, p. 96), research conducted on hotels in Andalusia found that almost 100% of senior roles, including “main and second chef” were occupied by men and was indicative of a very high degree of vertical segregation of work in hotels based on gendered division of labour. Analysis of each of the roles in the hotel kitchens confirmed a clear adherence of the traditional brigade de cuisine and a large degree of gendered stratification within roles in Irish hotels, similar to Campos Soria et al.’s findings. Acker (1990) and Connell (1995) asserted that hierarchical hegemonic masculinity pervades organizations that are unequal. Harris and Giuffre (2015) found that this culture has serious implications for female chefs: they are less valued than their male counterparts, stratification of roles result in females occupying roles lower in terms of seniority (commis chef) or gendered chef roles (pastry chef) and they experience an overall lack of progression to senior roles. A female pastry chef (age 35–44) working in a hotel aptly commented, “… in all of the kitchens I have worked in women have been in the minority and I have only rarely seen a woman in more senior positions in kitchens”.

The survey findings indicated that men dominated in all traditional masculine leadership roles in hotel kitchens: male chefs occupy over 70% of leadership roles in the chef hierarchy - executive head chef, head chef, and sous chef roles (Table 8.3 below). By contrast, the majority of women are either confined to stereotyped feminine pastry chef roles (38.6%) or to lower status chef de partie and commis chef roles (45%) (see Table 8.3).
The Irish hotel work environment adheres to the traditional *cuisine de brigade* in hotels where men pervade all the senior roles indicating the existence of a hegemonic masculine culture where men are the ‘ideal chefs’ women are less valued and respected. One female pastry chef (age 25–34) working in a hotel kitchen commented that “… a lot of men who work in kitchens for years are very old school, they don’t like females knowing more than them or even worse, telling them what to do even in a position of authority”. Thus, it is unsurprising that the highest level of gender inequality is found in hotel kitchens. Adherence to the traditional *cuisine de brigade* and presence of hegemonic masculine culture are key contributing factors to gender inequality in the hotel work spaces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotel Chef Roles</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chef owner</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>executive head chef</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head chef</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchen manager</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sous chef</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastry chef</td>
<td>38.6%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chef de partie</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commis chef</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>99.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.3: Chef roles in hotels by gender**

*Casual Dining Kitchens: civic egalitarian model emerging*

The literature suggests that kitchens that operate a more civic egalitarian model and are potentially a more conducive and accepting work environment for women chefs working within them (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Lane, 2014). In Chapter Two, it was established that most contemporary restaurant establishments cannot afford the luxury of the large team of chefs that was historically required to staff the traditional *brigade de cuisine*; it would require too many people to do properly and is not cost effective (Cullen, 2012). Significantly, a lower perception of gender inequality was as observed in full-service casual dining kitchens (21.6%)
compared to either hotels (Table 8.2). Furthermore, women and men are relatively equal in representation here when compared to either of the other higher status kitchens (Figure 8.4). These findings may suggest that casual dining work environments have moved away from traditional hegemonic masculine model of *brigade de cuisine* and operate the civic egalitarian model where women are more equally valued and respected. This suggestion is expanded upon in the next section when work spaces are discussed.

**Industrial Catering Kitchens**
Research suggest that women choose more family friendly work environments to better balance work and their socially ascribed caring roles and family commitments (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Lurtario, 2010). Furthermore, women who desire to have a family may choose this work environment at the outset or may move from full-service restaurants at a time when they plan to have children (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Lurtario, 2010). Industrial catering kitchens reported low perceptions of gender inequality (19.6%) that were similar to casual dining kitchens and much less than hotels (Table 8.2). While the industrial kitchens may continue to operate the *brigade de cuisine* model, the organizational logic of daytime hours versus full time hours in the chef profession has the effect of stratifying women into the lowest status professional kitchens. Research suggests male-dominated industries and occupations are particularly vulnerable to reinforcing masculine stereotypes that make it even more difficult for women to excel (Scott *et al.*, 2018). Women are dominant in health and education and also outnumber men in the wholesale and retail trades as well as other service-related industries (EC, 2020; Catalyst, 2018). In Ireland, workers in the health and education sectors are more likely to be women than men, while the opposite is true for workers in agriculture and transport (EC, 2020). Similarly, the chef profession reinforces gender stereotypes when women are stratified into low-status industrial catering kitchens, and is a factor in perpetuating gender inequality within the chef profession.
Workspace segregation

Acker (1990) identified the division of labour in workspaces within a gendered organization structure as a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality. The literature shows that division of labour is a factor within professional kitchens where work spaces are spatialised into areas that are defined as masculine and feminine within the organizational logic. This reinforces gendered stereotypes of women’s separate and lesser role as pastry chef and men’s superior role as head chefs in the savoury or ‘hot’ section of the professional kitchen thus perpetuating gender inequality.

Figure 8.5 shows the gender breakdown of chef roles in the four main work environments in which chef in Ireland work. Gender (female mean = 14.699, sd = 11.684; male mean = 32.757, sd = 34.207) was found to be highly significant when chi squared testing for independence was conducted ($X^2 = 79.162$, df = 7, $p < 0.00$).

![Gender composition of each chef role](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chef Role</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted total</th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>female %</th>
<th>male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>commis chef</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastry chef</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chef de partie</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchen manager</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sous chef</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>78.9</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head chef</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>executive head chef</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>56.9</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chef owner</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>147.0</td>
<td>327.6</td>
<td>474.6</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 8.5:** Chef Roles: gender composition of each chef role
The division of labour is evident in the chef profession when female chefs are overwhelmingly underrepresented in the three main leadership roles (executive chef, head chef and sous chef) in the chef hierarchy while they are overrepresented in both stereotypical feminine roles: lower status leadership roles of kitchen manager, in pastry chef roles and lower status commis chef and chef de partie roles (Figure 8.5). This graph facilitates the discussion on gender inequality in chef roles below. Gender is reflected as a percentage of each gender in graphs to accurately make gender comparisons.

When male and female respondents were analysed based on chef roles, a difference was observed in the perception of gender inequality. The highest perception of gender inequality was recorded by women in stereotyped career ‘cul-de-sac’ pastry chef roles. Conversely female respondents occupying some of the more senior chef roles (sous chef, head chef, chef owner) perceived gender inequality to exist to a lesser extent than those in lower grade roles though this is not a straight line (Table 8.4). Respondents holding the stereotypical female role of kitchen manager perceived gender inequality to exist to a lesser extent than the overall perception but to a slightly higher extent than those in head chef roles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHEF ROLE</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>commis chef/chef apprentice</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>26.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastry chef</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>42.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chef de partie</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>23.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sous chef</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitchen manager</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>30.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head chef</td>
<td>47.1%</td>
<td>28.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>executive head chef</td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>35.14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chef owner</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 8.4: Gender inequality responses and chef roles by gender
Career ‘cul-de-sac’ of the Pastry Chef

It was observed that female pastry chefs recorded the highest perception of gender inequality (66.7%). It is also evident in Figure 8.5 that the pastry chef role (17.6% female: 3% male) is overwhelmingly dominated by female chefs. Cross tabulation of age and longevity indicates that the younger cohorts of pastry chefs, those working up to 10 years in the profession, are predominantly female pastry chefs (Tables 8.5 and 8.6 below).

### TABLE 8.5: Pastry chef: gender and age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 24</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>32.9%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 8.6: Pastry chef: gender and longevity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LONGEVITY</th>
<th>female (%)</th>
<th>male (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 yrs</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-20 yrs</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25 yrs</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 yrs</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The report by Equitable Growth (2017, p. 1) stated that “the evidence shows that occupational segregation based on gender occurs more because of assumptions about what kinds of work different genders are best suited for than because of an efficient allocation of innate talent”. These statistics confirm that the pastry chef specialisation is a female dominated area and a high percentage of new entrant female chefs are accounted for here. A female sous chef (aged 35–44) working in a fine dining restaurant confirmed these role assumptions, stating that “…women get pigeonholed, ah sure stick her on desserts”. These findings complement the
observations of previous studies that the pastry role is recognised as an accepted role for women within the masculine profession of the chef. The pastry chef occupies a separate space in the professional kitchen and results in women being stratified into the ‘cul-de-sac’ career of pastry chef (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Keohane, 2015).

Leadership Roles
It was observed that female respondents occupying some of the more senior chef roles in the chef hierarchy perceived gender inequality to exist to a lesser extent though this is not a straight line (Table 8.4). Interesting over 55% of executive female head chefs perceived gender inequality which is more or less consistent with the female chefs’ overall perception of gender inequality of 56% (Table 8.4, Figure 8.1). Conversely only 50% of sous chef, 47% of head chef and 45% of chef owners did so (Table 8.4). The stereotypical feminine kitchen manager role also recorded a higher perception of gender inequality than head chefs (51.5%) (Table 8.4).

The Expert Masculine Executive Head Chef and the Less Valued Kitchen Manager Roles
The executive head chef and much more common head chef roles are the key leadership roles in the chef hierarchy. The kitchen manager role performs similar management duties to the executive head chef role. However, it does not constitute part of the traditional chef hierarchy and is of lower status and has historically been recognised as an acceptable female leadership role.

While all leadership roles in the chef hierarchy are male dominated, the data shows that there remains little acceptance for women as executive head chefs, when they constituted on 3.8% of the female population whereas almost 16% of male chef population were accounted for here (Figure 8.5). Analysis confirmed that this role is mainly confirmed to hotel and industrial catering kitchens: male executive head chefs dominated hotel work environments whereas women executive head chefs were overwhelmingly concentrated in industrial catering kitchens.
The most senior role in the chef hierarchy in hotels is preserved for the ‘ideal chef’ who is a man, where hegemonic masculinity dominates. As one male head chef (aged 35–44) employed in a hotel work environment commented, “… head chef positions are definitely not as accessible to female chefs”. While women in industrial kitchens recognised gender inequality at a low percentage (19.6%) it is also the case that women executive head chefs in industrial kitchens reported a higher level of inequality than head chefs at over 55% (Table 8.2). It appears that women executive head chefs working in industrial kitchens experience gender inequality issues relating to their authority as leaders because they are recognised as lacking the legitimacy or seen as ‘invaders’ in this role because they are women in traditional masculine male role and in the lowest status work environment.

A much higher percentage of the female population are kitchen managers (13.8%) when compared to their male counterparts (4.2%) and are confined to lower status industrial kitchens (Figure 8.2). This reflects research in other professions when the proportion of women in senior management differs by role and reflects gendered division of labour (Grant Thornton, 2019). While 43% of human resources directors are women, only 17% of sales directors and 16% of chief information officers are female, suggesting that leadership roles continue to adhere to gender stereotypes (Catalyst, 2020; Duncan and Cassells, 2019; Grant Thornton, 2019). Kitchen managers perceived gender inequality higher (51%) than head chefs (47%) (Figure 8.4, Figure 8.5). While this is lower that female executive head chefs who also work in industrial kitchens, it appears that they also encounter resistance to their authority. These findings suggest kitchen managers encounter explicit or implicit bias because they are perceived to lack legitimacy or capability because they are women in the key leadership roles in the lowest status work environment.
These findings suggest that chefs believe women who attain the highest leadership roles of the masculine executive head chef and feminine kitchen manager are perceived as less capable than their male counterparts because of their gender and lack legitimacy in these roles because they are stratified as women leaders in lower status workspaces thus contributing to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland.

More Gender Diversity for Head Chefs
The head chef role, which most respondents of the survey occupied (n = 82), is the most common leadership role in the chef profession. Surprisingly, less than half (47%) of female head chefs perceived gender inequality to exist (Table 8.4). The literature suggested that a move away from the brigade de cuisine model to a more collaborative management style may result in the acceptance of women as capable leaders, resulting in less issues with gender inequality. Over 14.2% of the total female chef population are accessing head chef roles compared to only 3.8% for executive head chef roles, indicating acceptance for their legitimacy as leaders in these roles within some kitchen cultures. Figure 8.6 below shows that there was a high degree of variance in representation of female head chefs in each of the four main work environments when cross tabulation was performed. Chi-squared testing for independence was significant for gender and work environments ($x^2 = 69.2$, df = 3, $p = .050$). When t-testing for the significance of variance of gender (female: $mean = 0.0530$, $sd = 0.0302$; male: $mean = 0.197$, $sd = 0.063$) was conducted, significance was identified [$t(6) = -4.089$ and $p = 0.006$].

Figure 8.6 below indicates that the female chef population is well represented in industrial kitchens (35.5%) and surprisingly have better representation in casual dining kitchens (38.7%) suggesting easier accessibility to head chef roles in these sectors. The findings confirm that women are much more successful in accessing head chef roles in full-service casual dining kitchens than either hotels and fine dining kitchens. This adds further evidence that full-service casual dining work environments have moved away from the traditional brigade de cuisine to
a more civic egalitarian model of management, one that is more accepting of women and where women chefs are equally valued in senior positions. Conversely, the empirical data suggests that hotels and fine dining kitchens are more aligned to the *brigade de cuisine* model and hegemony of the masculine chef where women are less valued in general, particularly for head chef leadership roles, with fine dining kitchens being less so than hotels.

![Graph](image-url)

**FIGURE 8.6: Gender profile of head chef in each work environment**

Similarly, female chef owners (45%) report the lowest perception of gender inequality of all more senior roles which may reflect a respect and acceptance of legitimacy for their role as they combine ownership of the business with the leadership role of head chef role. While *sous chefs* are less well represented than head chefs and are better represented than executive head chefs, they perceive gender inequality to somewhere in the middle of both at 50%. It may also be the case that for those women lucky enough to rise to the senior roles of *sous chef* and head chefs there is a degree of satisfaction with their promotion and acceptance in performing their role.
Unequal pay and access to promotions
Gender inequality is manifest in unequal pay and promotions when the division of labour in work places reflects women’s lower value and work in organizations resulting in lower pay and lack of access to promotions (Acker 1990, 1992; ILO, 2016, Oláh, 2018; Woodfield, 2007). In Chapter Five is was argued that the lack of transparency of pay and promotion pathways within the organizational logic of masculine professional kitchens is a factor in generating and perpetuating gender inequality. By enacting biased practices that value and reward male chefs as ideal workers, women encounter discrimination that results in unequal pay and promotion.

Lower Grade Commis Chef and Chef de Partie: signs of promotion barriers
In Chapter Seven, progression or longevity in the industry featured as a theme when a higher proportion of female chefs were found in the younger age bracket, while a higher percentage of male chefs were employed for 15-20 years when compared to their female counterparts. It was suggested that higher number of commis chef roles can be accounted for by higher numbers of females entering the profession or that higher attrition rates account for higher number of women in this role. Cross tabulation confirmed that female commis chef roles are dominated by new entrant chefs. Figure 8.7 below shows that a higher percentage of the female chef population are commis chefs (18.8%) and chef de parties (15.1%) when compare to their male counterparts 8.1% and 12.7% respectfully.

![Gender breakdown of commis chef and chef de partie roles](image)

**FIGURE 8.7: Gender breakdown of commis chef and chef de partie roles (taken from Figure 8.5)**
The *chef de partie* role, while a junior position, has a degree of autonomy and responsibility for running a section in the kitchen and is an important role for progression in the chef hierarchy and this is particularly relevant for hotels and fine dining kitchens. To test this hypothesis the *chef de partie* role was analysed to see if there was any evidence of issues with promotions of women chef through the chef hierarchy. Cross tabulation with age and number of years in the industry found that a higher percentage of male *chef de parties* were younger; 70% belonged to only two age brackets – 18–24 and 25–34, whereas only 50% of female *chef de parties* are accounted for here. Furthermore, approximately 80% of male *chef de parties* have been working for up to 10 years in the industry, whereas only 58.3% of female *chef de parties* are accounted for here (Tables 8.7 and 8.8 below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 24</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 34</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 44</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 to 54</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 to 64</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.7: Chef de partie and age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years worked</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-5 yrs</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 yrs</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15 yrs</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-20 yrs</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25 yrs</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 yrs</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.8: Chef de partie and longevity**

These statistics suggest that male chefs access these roles earlier than females and possibly move up the chef hierarchy to more senior *sous chef* and head chef roles earlier than female chefs.
The highest percentage of female chef de parties were found to work in hotels (Appendix 8.1). The literature suggests that women chefs negotiate work-family conflict using a variety of the following strategies including adapting either work or family to make the two roles more compatible and this results in them remaining in less challenging lower grade roles for longer (Harris and Giuffre, 2010a; Holroyd, 2012). This may partially explain why almost 20% of female chef de parties belong to the 45 years and older age bracket and 25% of female chef de parties have been working as chefs for 21 years or more, whereas no male chefs are accounted for here. However, comments by survey respondents suggest that there are issues around women’s promotion when they are perceived as less talented and less capable. One male head chef (age 45–54) working in an industrial catering kitchen commented on “… male perception (wrong) of female’s ability to do the job”, while a female chef de partie (age 25–34) working in a hotel kitchen stated, “… men believe they are better than women, simple as that”. The domination of men in all senior roles in hotels confirms women’s lack of access to senior roles.

Lack of Transparent Promotion Pathways
There are no clear transparent pathways in the chef profession in Ireland, rather men dominate all leadership roles and this is particularly the case in hotels and fine dining kitchens. Theoretically, promotion is dependent on chefs’ skills and ability. However, lack of transparency in promotion pathways permits bias based on gender to influence the promotion of men and women in kitchens when women are less valued. As a female pastry chef (age 25–34) working in an industrial catering kitchen remarked, “… men think women should not be in a professional kitchen. They have less respect for women who they work with…”

Perception of women’s value and worth play a key role in determining their inability to access promotions in hotels and fine dining kitchens in particular. Male chefs in these hegemonic masculine hotels and fine dining kitchen work environments are more likely to hold
stereotypical views of women chefs as they identify themselves as breadwinners and women are nurturers. This results in believing women are less capable because of their gender and an assumption that all women will have children and are responsible for caring roles and are therefore passed over for promotion. This ensures that men are elevated to senior roles as ‘ideal chefs’ while women remain in the feminine pastry and lower status roles. In fine dining kitchens, the strict adherence to long working hours allows discrimination of women based on the possibility that at some time in the future may desire to have a family. The exceptions include women who have family heritage or single women who exhibit similar commitment or possible acceptance of hegemonic masculine practices as the literature suggested (Haddaji et al., 2017a).

These prerequisites and acceptance of them results in the system remaining unchanged and perpetuates gender inequality.

*Unequal Pay*

Acker (1990) has argued that women are more likely to be unequally paid in these work environments if they are considered unequal and less valued than their male counterparts. Equal pay is identified as the number one barrier to gender equality (87%) and the number one factor that needs to be addressed in order to support and advance women chefs’ careers (Appendix 8.2).

Most of the USA economy’s highest paying occupations are predominantly male while most of the lowest paying occupations are predominantly female (Equitable Growth, 2017; Hegewisch et al., 2010). In Europe, 26% of leadership roles in corporate companies are occupied by women with considerable variation among the member countries (EWOB, 2020). In Chapter Seven, equal pay featured as a theme of gender inequality when it was found that a higher percentage of male chefs are in full time salaried employment. Women were more highly represented in the part-time hourly category suggesting that women face challenges
attaining full time salaried positions (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). Within the limits of this survey no data was collected on actual remuneration of salaries or hourly rates of chefs in Ireland, therefore, it was not possible to assess if male and female chefs were paid differently for the same roles.

Glassdoor (2016) report claims that the main cause for the gender pay gap across all professions in the USA results from sorting of men and women into jobs that pay differently in both occupations and industries (Glassdoor, 2016). Executive head chefs working in hotels earn the highest salaries while also having the potential to earn bonuses (McMahon, 2018). The empirical data revealed that hotels are more unequal work environments, where men dominated all leadership roles and therefore have access to better salaries and to potentially earn bonuses. Furthermore, women are less valued within the hegemonic masculine culture of hotels which suggests women are unequally paid for the same work.

A 2010 StarChefs Salary Report revealed that while the gender pay gap was closing among male and female chefs, there was considerable disparity when bonuses were considered (Rummell, 2012; Villeneuve, 2011). Similarly, research carried out on the head chef population in Ireland in 2014 revealed that there was a significant relationship between gender and the number of salary increases that head chefs in Ireland had received, with male head chefs gaining more salary increases than females (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). The survey findings confirm that women dominate in the pastry chef role in Ireland. However, there is no guarantee they are paid equally as their male counterparts. A survey in the US found that female pastry chefs working in baking and pastry were paid 27% less than male pastry chefs even though they dominate this culinary field (Villeneuve, 2011). One pastry chef (age 35–44) working in a hotel kitchen suggested this to be the case in hotels when she remarked: “in all areas of kitchen it’s the boys club, men are treated and paid much better for same jobs”.

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To a large extent the chef profession operates within the private sector where individual employees negotiate their own remuneration. While hospitality recruitment agencies publish salaries of all chef grades, this information does not reflect the possibility of differentiation of salaries on the basis of gender or individual negotiations of salaries and possible bonuses between employer and employee. Furthermore, there is no legislation governing pay scales of chefs in Ireland and there is no specific unionised protection for chefs in the private sector.

Industrial catering kitchens and casual dining kitchens are not excluded here. A move towards more civic egalitarian models as in the case of casual dining kitchens or work spaces where women are more highly represented does not ensure equal pay. Connell (1995) argues that hegemonic masculinity pervades male dominated organizations and Acker (1990) endorses this view. As organizations evolve from traditional hierarchical models to more democratic models inbuilt implicit bias towards women in all male dominated work environments remains where they continue to be devalued for their work with discriminatory practices maintained. Similarly, in casual dining kitchens and industrial kitchens lack of transparent pathways allows implicit bias to be enacted when women remain less valued. Women’s equal pay is sacrificed as a legitimate cost saving mechanism in the low margin industry that seeks to cut costs to ensure profitability or survival.

Currently there is no viable solution that can allow for transparency on pay in the chef profession in Ireland, making it impossible to quantify the existence of a gender pay gap. Under the National Strategy for Women and Girls (2017), companies with more than 250 staff will be required to publish pay by gender. This will potentially allow evaluation of the gender pay gap for chefs working in large hotel chains and large corporate catering companies who have
staffing levels of over 250 people. As highlighted in the literature review, the chef profession is considered a low paying profession and it is completely unacceptable that women could be paid even less than their male counterparts for the same work (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). Given the widespread acceptance of the existence of gender pay inequality in many professions including the chef profession in the United States of America (USA) and in the United Kingdom (UK), it is hard to argue that this is not a very real issue within the Irish context (EC, 2020; Glassdoor, 2016; Jennings, 2018a, RTE, 2018; Burke-Kennedy, 2020). The findings in the survey reveal that the division of labour in chef roles and chef work environments is a key factor in generating unequal pay and portion pathways for women in the chef profession in Ireland.

**Gendered Identities: Work/Life Conflict**

Acker (1990) argued that within the organizational logic of hierarchical masculine organizations, individual identities that interact with the organization to reinforce gender inequality are internalised. The literature suggests that the normalised practice of overwork in male-dominated workplaces and the gender beliefs operating in the family and society combine to reinforce gender segregation and gender stereotypes of the chef labour market (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Lutrario, 2010).

In Chapter Seven, analysis suggested that having children was an issue for women, and having two children presented more challenges than having one or more than two children. However, when cross tabulation was performed with work environments and chefs with children, a more nuanced picture emerged suggesting that the organizational logic of long working hours is less significant in the Irish context for some work environments. Analysis of data confirms that the highest percentage (37.6%) of women with children were found in daytime industrial kitchens, corresponding with women’s representation in this particular work environment (Figure 8.4,
The findings broadly support the research that women chefs negotiate work-family conflict choosing more family-friendly daytime options by seeking work in establishments such as industrial food production kitchens.

**Casual dining kitchens more family friendly**

Analysis of the data found that almost 30% of female chefs who are parents are working in casual dining full-service kitchens while a much lower percentage of this cohort work in both full-service hotels (17.6%) and full-service fine dining kitchens (15.3%) (Figure 8.8 below). These findings further suggest that full-service casual dining work environments operate to a more civic egalitarian model of management, where women are more equally valued thus more accommodating of women specific child rearing needs. The literature also suggested that many women see their desire to have children as a real stumbling block for entry, and progression to senior roles or longevity in the industry as they cannot commit to the expected long hours in full-service restaurants while also balancing family and caregiving roles (Bartholemew, 1996; Cooper, 1997; Druckman, 2012). The survey findings revealed that the head chef is the most common leadership role in the chef profession in Ireland and is predominately found in casual dining kitchens (Figure 8.5 above). When cross tabulation was conducted for head chef (n=82) with children it was revealed that over 58% of female head chef with children and compared reasonably favourable with male head chefs (almost 67%) and contradicts the research mentioned above (Table 8.10 below).

Studies on work/family integration and facilitation consistently point out that the ability to schedule work flexibly and have control over work and home schedules is associated with greater job satisfaction, emotional well-being, and overall life satisfaction, as well as lower turnover intentions (Chapman *et al.*, 2013, Farrell, 2012). Head chefs with children in casual dining kitchens appear able to combine their leadership roles with family. This reinforces the argument that full-service casual dining work environments operate to a more civic egalitarian
model of management where women are more equally valued and their socially ascribed child rearing needs accommodated. This in turn leads to a more equitable work environment overall where women can access senior roles uninhibited by their desire to have a family.

![Percentage of each gender who have children in each work environment: gender breakown](image)

**FIGURE 8.8: Chef work environments: gender profile and children**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>female</th>
<th>male</th>
<th>weighted female</th>
<th>weighted male</th>
<th>female %</th>
<th>male %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19.68</td>
<td>47.192</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15.375</td>
<td>45.804</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9.225</td>
<td>43.028</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>23.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine dining</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7.995</td>
<td>51.356</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>52.275</td>
<td>187.38</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 8.9: Head chefs with children in Casual dining kitchens**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Head chefs Roles</th>
<th>No of children</th>
<th>% who have children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>58.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hotel kitchens and fine dining kitchens: unwelcome for women with children

The survey findings suggest that specific challenges exist in these two higher status work environments in particular for women with children. Furthermore, the survey findings revealed that men with children were unaffected, as there was a more even spread in representation for
male chefs in all work environments with a notable higher percentage of men in fine dining kitchens having children.

Significantly, Campos et al’s (2011) research in Spain found that horizontal segregation is more marked than vertical segregation in the hotel industry, when women tend to work in more stereotypical feminine roles in front of house or housekeeping duties while the kitchen is the preserve of men. This may also be the case in Ireland, although this would require further research. It is clear from this research that hotel kitchens adhered to the traditional brigade de cuisine model and were the most unequal work environment for women. As Connell (1995) noted, hegemonic masculine culture pervades work environments that are unequal. Traditional stereotypes are reinforced in hotels as women are less valued in general. Gendered assumptions of women’s responsibility for caring roles and their family needs are low down the list of priorities for management in hotel kitchens that subscribe to this masculine model. The organizational logic of hotels ensures a diversity of options for work shifts, meaning that women have the possibility of many options to accommodate their family needs. However, the findings demonstrate that women remain poorly represented in hotel and fine dining kitchens, particularly in senior roles. This research suggests that the adherence to the traditional brigade de cuisine model coupled with the hegemonic masculine culture that pervades hotel work environments is the key to understanding this anomaly. Conversely, men as the recognised breadwinners in hegemonic masculine culture are unaffected because this responsibility falls on women in society and by extension women in work environments. This reinforces the hegemony of men as leaders, experts and breadwinners in hotels and fine dining kitchens, thus reinforcing the masculine nature of the profession here while also reinforcing gendered stereotypes of women as carers and nurturers.
Fine dining kitchens: masculine hegemonic culture reinforced gender identities

Acker (1990) argued that hierarchical organizations are not gender neutral, rather they are inherently gendered as the work rules were originally designed for men as ideal workers thus masking the embodied nature of work. Cha’s (2013) research demonstrates that mothers are more likely to leave male-dominated occupations when they work fifty hours or more per week, but the same effect is not found for men or childless women. Figure 8.8 shows a notable higher percentage of men in fine dining kitchens having children while the lowest level of representation was recorded for women with children in fine dining kitchens (15.3%). Fine dining kitchens organizational culture demands a strict adherence to long working hours to gain expertise in the most prestigious of work environments. Women’s child rearing needs are ignored when fine dining establishments continue to adhere to long working hours as a prerequisite for gaining the coveted experience in the most elite of professional kitchens. Cha’s (2013) research further suggested that a culture of long working hours negatively impacts women’s entry into male dominated professions. The expectation of long working hours may also deter many women from entering fine dining kitchens in the first instance because dedication to long working hours does not make any accommodation for women who wish to have children in the future. The organizational logic of long working hours does not affect men because it was designed for them and childrearing continues to be identified as the preserve of women where career sacrifices are made. Men, as ideal workers, can commit to long hours unencumbered by domestic duties and caregiving roles resulting in the division of labour and the protecting the hegemony of men as elite chefs.

Maternity and Paternity leave
When barriers to gender inequality were analysed, almost 68% of female respondents considered a “facilitative attitude to maternity leave” a very important as a factor compared to
only 59% of male respondents (Appendix 8.3). Conversely only 61% of women and 54% of men considered a “facilitative attitude to paternity leave” a very important factor to barrier to gender inequality. Lower perceptions by men in both instances highlights the expectation by both men and women that women consistently have responsibly for child rearing in Irish society. However, the findings in this research show that women with children in casual dining kitchens are accessing head chef leadership roles much more readily than in hotels or fine dining kitchens. The findings demonstrate that the organizational culture within casual dining kitchens is more flexible and understanding of women’s specific needs. The findings suggest that women have therefore found solutions whether that be a supportive life partner or facilitative attitude to maternity and possibly paternity leave for men that helps break down the gendered understanding of family responsibilities.

Paternity leave is a support mechanism for women and a step in breaking down the gendered understanding of parenting roles in society based on the historical division of labour. A central aspect of gender relations within families is the division of labour over domestic tasks. While women progress in employment, they continue to carry the burden of domestic tasks. Furthermore, research has found domestic roles align with traditional thinking on masculinity and femininity even among couples where a woman is the primary or sole breadwinner and even in same-sex couples (Quadlin and Doan, 2018). O’Connor (2015) points out that women’s roles as ‘bread winner’ in a family dynamic seems insufficient in challenging the gendered understanding of women and men’s roles in family settings possibly because women continue to carry out the majority of caring roles and duties in family situations. In hotels and fine dining kitchen in particular, adherence to the *brigade de cuisine* and the presence of hegemonic masculine culture aligns with traditional thinking on masculinity and femininity when women’s socially ascribed caring roles of family are not accommodated. A male *chef de partie*
(age 25–34) working in a casual dining kitchen reflects this traditional view when he commented, “… personally I feel females only go so far in the industry as when they have a family they want to stay home with the child and don’t want to do the long hours anymore which is understandable”.

Hegemonic masculine culture in hotels ensures that male chefs in senior roles can choose men for senior roles while women are passed over for promotions or choose to remain in lower grade chef de partie roles for longer. Male hegemony results in the lack of recognition or acceptance of the importance of paternity leave as a barrier to gender inequality in hotels because men are chosen as ‘ideal chefs’ and do not recognise their responsibility as having equal responsibility for child rearing. This the effect of maintaining gender inequality in hotels.

In fine dining kitchens hegemonic masculine culture is manifested within the organizational culture where strict discipline and adherence to long working hours are prerequisites for entry and longevity ensures women’s caring roles are not accommodated. A female pastry chef (age 25–34) working in an industrial catering kitchen commented “I think the hours are unsuitable to family life and this may discourage some mothers from taking on more responsibilities in the kitchen or that head chefs do not see females in the kitchens as available as their male counterparts and maybe a male would be promoted ahead of a female chef”. Women may choose to work or move to daytime industrial kitchens or more family friendly casual dining kitchen to accommodate their family responsibilities. This reinforces the hegemony and identity of male chefs as experts in fine dining kitchens and women as the chief caring givers with responsibility for domestic duties. Furthermore, it reinforces women’s identities with lower status work environments within the profession. In order for many women to succeed in the chef profession in these two specific full-service restaurants they need flexibility and support structures to allow them to work long unsocial hours, build careers and access senior roles and break down the hegemony of men the organizational culture while job security is
important to help build a career without being penalised for taking time off for children (Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Keogh, 2018).

**Workplace Interactions: Masculine Culture Sexual Harassment and Bullying**

Acker (1990) argued that workplace interactions within the organizational logic of gendered hierarchical organizations marginalises women through masculine work practices where patterns of dominance and submission can give rise to bullying and harassment. Four issues related to kitchen culture behaviour and work practices: aggressive behaviour, challenging sexist behaviour, naming discriminatory practices, and elimination of the ‘boys’ club’ feature in the highest ten ranked issues as very important for both male and female chefs (Appendix 8.3).

**Sexual harassment**

The literature clearly indicated that workers are pressured into conforming to male behavioural norms in elite kitchens, where hegemonic masculinity prevails (Bloisi and Hoel, 2008; Murray-Gibbons and Gibbons, 2007; Simpson, 2014). This was observed from the comments in the survey of a female pastry chef (age 34–35) in a fine dining kitchen – “I am a female chef and people you work with, over and under, make jokes about being a woman in a kitchen and sexual comments towards you…”

Ineson *et al.* (2013) found that sexual harassment is normalised practice within professional kitchens where it is not taken seriously by masculine leadership, resulting in silence or compliance. A female pastry chef (age 18–24) working in a hotel highlighted the culture of silence where women are devalued when she opined, “… in the kitchen, men feel like they can treat you how they like because at the end of the day, kitchen sticks together”.

Significantly, 55% of female respondents considered a ‘review of the Escoffier brigade system’ very important while 38.1% of male respondents considered this issue very important as a
factor in supporting and advancing women chefs’ careers (Appendix 8.2). Benschop et al. (2012) argue that sexual harassment may act as a tool to police appropriate ways of ‘doing gender’ in the workplace, and to penalise gender non-conformity: a code of silence of bystanders, especially males, is commonplace as challenging the perpetrator as a loss of masculine status and opens the bystander up to becoming a victim of harassment and violence himself. This behaviour within the organizational culture reinforces Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity characterised by aggressive masculine behaviour within the gendered stereotype of the ideal chef and perpetuating gender inequality. Within the hierarchical authoritarian model of the brigade de cuisine, respect and deference to seniority is expected where hegemonic masculine qualities are valorised and this was in hotels and fine dining kitchens specifically. Continued adherence by hotels in Ireland to the brigade de cuisine where organizational culture includes induction, training and promotion of young chefs through the ranks of the traditional hierarchical brigade by senior chefs is wholly undesirable. This results in the reinforcement of the traditional hegemonic masculine hierarchical brigade model while also maintaining and perpetuating gender inequality in hotel kitchens. The organizational culture allows sexist behaviours to go unchallenged and where sexual harassment is likely to occur and is similar to findings on the occupational identity of chefs in elite kitchens (Cooper et al., 2017; Giousmpasoglou et al., 2018).

Again, this is not confined to hegemonic masculine kitchen cultures within hotels and fine dining kitchens as a male head chef (age 35–44) in casual dining identified “… too many sexual references or jokes!!” in the workspace. A move towards more civic egalitarian models as in the case of casual dining kitchens or in industrial kitchens where women are more highly represented does not ensure that sexual harassment is eliminated. According to a female commis chef (age 18–24) working in a casual dining kitchen,
Women aren’t as included in the workplace like men are. They talk amongst themselves and usually get bumped up quicker due to the males getting on with the male head chefs. Sometimes it’s hard to relate to the males when all they do is talk about football and which girl they’re having sex with now.

The simple fact is that all work environments are dominated by men in the chef profession in Ireland. Within the ‘gendered subtext’ of all professional kitchens, sexual harassment can continue and persist even in evolving work environments like casual dining kitchens and industrial kitchens where women are better represented.

Over 64% of female respondents considered ‘introduction of a code of conduct to address bullying, sexist comments and innuendos’ very important in addressing gender inequality. This is an interesting finding and may be explained by the influence of the #MeToo movement which has focused sharply on the sordid behaviour of celebrity chefs in the United States and their subsequent fall from grace (Fleming, 2017; Judkis, 2018a; Yagado, 2018). This has finally forced the chef profession to admit for the first time the reality of the existence of sexual harassment within the industry. In Ireland, the Chef’s Network, with a membership of over 3000 chefs, has unveiled its own Kitchen Charter for its members as a guide on how to behave and treat staff in the professional kitchen (Harford, 2018). However, this charter, while commendable, makes no specific reference to discriminatory behaviour based on either sex or race and is not enforceable in any way. Accordingly, it relies on the leadership commitment of the head chef/kitchen manager of each establishment and only applies to members of the Chef’s Network.

Women’s higher numerical representation as head chefs and their lower perception of gender inequality (47%) suggests that for some of these chefs they may be able to create a more equitable less masculine work environment by changing the organizational culture. Harris and Giuffre (2015) suggested that by ensuring a no tolerance policy for gender discriminatory
practices such as sexual harassment, a more gender equal work environment is created in which to run a kitchen and manage staff. This may partially explain the lower level of gender inequality perceived in casual dining work environments when female head chefs may be able to enact similar changes to organizational culture ensuring a less masculine work environment. However, Harris and Giuffre (2015) pointed broader cultural change is difficult to sustain within the profession when chefs can move to another kitchen where masculine practices of sexual harassment are tolerated or ignored.

**Cultural Images and Symbols**

Acker (1990) contended that symbols and images through cultural practices reinforce socially and professionally gendered stereotypes that generate and perpetuate gender inequality. Over 56% of female chefs considered the need for increased visibility of professional women chefs as role models for women in the industry as a factor supporting women’s careers which, in turn, helps challenge industry stereotypes (Appendix 8.3). However, there is a dilemma here as the empirical findings demonstrate. Women are pigeonholed into stereotypical career ‘cul-de-sac’ pastry chef roles in all work environments. The literature revealed that media representations of females as domestic goddesses influences society’s understanding of suitable roles for men and women in the chef profession and subsequently extends to students (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Furthermore, there is a reasonably high degree of representation of female head chef roles in casual dining kitchens, who can act as role models for women in the industry. Conversely, the empirical findings of this research show that there are very few role models of successful women in leadership positions in fine dining and hotel work environments in Ireland.

**Chef awards**
The literature review argued that implicit bias and lack of diversity on judging panels is a significant factor in elite fine dining chefs and restaurants dominance in the Michelin star
awards system and Restaurants Awards where very few women feature (Abend, 2019; Burton, 2018; Fine Dining Lovers, 2018; Judkis 2018b; Tuder, 2017). In Ireland, in 2016, the Restaurant Association of Ireland’s (RAI) culinary competition organizers came under severe media criticism for their all male judging panels and the lack of women winning culinary awards (Deseine, 2016; McNamee, 2016). Only four women have received a Michelin star on the island of Ireland since they were first awarded in Ireland in 1974 (Digby, 2017; Mac Con Iomaire, 2009).

Druckman (2012) argues that men and women chefs are judged along the gendered lines revealing prejudice and implicit bias when their gender in known. This bias, however, is removed when their gender is hidden. Similar findings were found when gender blind experiments conducted were conducted on computer code programmers and orchestra players (Dockrill, 2016; Rice, 2013). These findings confirm that all-male panels either implicitly or explicitly judge women differently and invariably choose the man as the expert. Irish women chefs are justifiably critical of all male judging panels and symposia etc. as men are invariably chosen as the experts in their particular speciality in the chef profession in Ireland.

Conversely, analysis of James Beard Foundation (JBF) Awards, confirmed that when competition-judging panels gradually reached gender parity, an increase in the number of women receiving awards was evident (Forbes, 2014; Sutton, 2014). This also corresponded with a higher percentage of women (non-pastry) graduating from culinary programs (Sutton, 2014). Significantly, women have far less success in winning competitions before they get to the semi-final stage, where judging panels are not balanced in terms of gender. This suggests that gender balanced panel play a significant role in bridging the gender disparity in chef awards. The objective should be to guard against the claim of implicit bias by actively gender
balancing these platforms; just as such attempts have been made in other professions (Goldin and Rouse, 2000).

Many women are also understandably critical of gender specific ‘Best Female Chef’ awards that maintain the feminine and masculine dichotomy within the chef profession (Fine Dining Lovers, 2018; Ho, 2016; Kludt, 2017; Rosner, 2018b). Others argue that these awards may be a necessary instrument in order to raise their profiles women and demonstrate that they are equally capable as expert chefs may help to bring about cultural change (Harris and Giuffre, 2015).

Raising women’s profiles is not a sufficient solution to addressing gender inequality without also acknowledging the challenges they may encounter or the positive positioning some women may have in the industry at the outset through family heritage (Haddaji et al., 2017a).

This research is helpful in revealing some of the challenges encountered and advantages afforded to some successful Michelin star women chefs. Successful women chefs with family heritage may not recognise that it allows positive positioning within the industry. This can present an unfair perception of attainability of success within the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* to women who are not in a similar position and leaves the organizational model unaltered. Furthermore, successful women chefs who emulate the hegemonic masculine characteristics of the ‘ideal chef’ perpetuate gender inequality by reinforcing the perception that success is possible within the hierarchal *brigade de cuisine*. For those few women who covet this award, there is an implicit acknowledgement that it is only attainable by progressing in Michelin kitchens regardless of the hegemonic culture that exists. Women must commit to the organizational logic of long working hours, remain silent in the face of sexual harassment and risk the high possibility that they will be overlooked for promotion even though they are as good as men. Success necessitates acceptances of this model.
Media representations
The literate revealed that public gendered representations of women and men chefs along the feminine/masculine and domestic/professional dichotomies by multiple television and newspaper media reinforce social and professional gendered understanding of the chef profession. Male chefs received the lion’s share of reviews and profile pieces while chefs’ roles were predominantly gendered; women’s cooking referred to the domestic whereas men’s cooking was described within a professional context (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Furthermore, contemporary culinary television continues to promote these traditional narratives about cooking, gender, and class (Druckman, 2012; Naccarato and Lebesco, 2012). Culinary media in Ireland and the ‘The Irish Food Writers’ Guild’ have a responsibility to seek out and promote women chefs as professionals in the industry. However, as the empirical findings of this research demonstrate, there are very few women in hotel and fine dining kitchens that can act as role models for women chefs. As a commis chef working in a fine dining kitchen commented “… no problems as such, but no female staff back of house…”

Education
In Chapter Seven, education featured as an important theme in perpetuating gender inequality: qualitative analysis suggested that gender bias within the education system was a possible cause of gender differences in chosen career pathways with evidence of more gender bias in lower education courses. Significantly, just over 56% of female respondents considered ‘including gender equality as part of culinary arts syllabus’ a very important factor in promoting and assisting women chefs’ careers, whereas only 44.9% of male respondents considered this issue very important (Appendix 8.2)

Pastry chef and expert chef
The empirical data clearly shows that women are overwhelming stratified into the ‘cul-de-sac’ pastry chef. The findings in this survey strongly suggests that there is merit to female students’ criticisms in the education of practical cookery classes where they stated that they were
encouraged into pastry cookery. Furthermore, these statistics suggest that the comments made by the female culinary students who perceived that they were stratified into pastry making in practical culinary classes may have credibility. This was substantiated by analysis of DIT graduation year books where pastry graduates were overwhelming female. Conversely, the lack of women in fine dining kitchens where the expert chefs in the profession are found supports the comments by chefs that women are discouraged from the ‘hot section’. This discouragement ensures that the skills of male chefs are encouraged and nurtured and perpetuates the hegemony of men as the ‘ideal chef’ here. Acker (1990) did not include education as a key factor in perpetuating gender inequality in work organizations. However, analysis of the data within the survey shows that it a contributing factor to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland.

Leadership, The Ideal Masculine Chef: Value and Worth

The final objective in fulfilling my central research question focused on identifying the leadership qualities that women and men consider necessary for a leadership/head chef role in a professional kitchen in contemporary Ireland. Male and female chef respondents identified ‘employer’s/head chef overall leadership on gender equality’ as the second most important barrier to gender equality (Appendix 8.4). Significantly, the gender profile of the head chef or kitchen manager was not overly significant in the ranked issues. Therefore, this indicates that head chefs’ and kitchen managers’ attitudes to gender equality is highly significant and correlates with Harris and Giuffre’s (2015) research: chefs’ leadership skills can address gender inequality issues around sexual harassment when they are committed to it. However, they also pointed out that behavioural change is sometimes temporary if the chef moves to another kitchen where a head chef is not concerned with issues, such as sexual harassment, related to
gender equality (Harris and Giuffre, 2015). Thus, leadership training might be required for all head chefs in the professional kitchen to understand and promote gender equality as part of cultural change within the kitchen.

The literature review identified authoritarianism as the main leadership model in the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine*. Leadership traits reflect Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity when strength, competitiveness, aggressiveness, and toughness were valued as ideal traits of the head chef and the use of strict discipline enforced loyalty and obedience among staff (Lane, 2014). The clearly defined hegemonic masculine leadership styles within the organizational logic of the professional kitchen is set in direct opposition to the ‘feminine’ qualities of empathy, nurturing, collaboration, and interpersonal skills. The empirical findings reflect a different understanding of leadership qualities within the chef profession when both genders identified the ability to handle stressful situations, good communication skills, professionalism, accountability and integrity as very important qualities (Appendix 8.4). These qualities strongly suggest a move away from the historic authoritarian model of leadership to a more civic egalitarian model in contemporary professional kitchens in Ireland. However, these qualities are vague terms and it is not possible to decipher chefs’ understandings of these terms or if there are differences based on gender.

Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity prevails to a certain degree when the more feminine quality of consideration for staff was ranked lower for men than women, which is concerning. Conversely, chef’s ability to deal with stressful situations was considered the most important quality for leadership. This is important to consider in the context of the work environments. Full-service work kitchens are stressful environments, particularly during service hours, when staff in the hot section come under pressure to cater for diners and meet the standards of the head chef. It has the potential to become chaotic when, for example, the
integrity of dishes is compromised by chef errors, dishes are delayed, or diners are unhappy with their meal. Lack of consideration for staff may result in more hegemonic masculine practices such as verbal abuse if the head chef prioritises the quality of food, their reputation, the diners’ expectations and the demands of the restaurant owner. It may be the case that male chefs are more likely to behave in this way during fine dining and hotel service hours because they are male dominated work environments and ascribe to the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* as has been suggested within the literature (Cooper *et al.*, 2017; Haddaji *et al.*, 2017b).

**Summary**

This chapter has reported and analysed the results of the second part of the primary research that emanated from the online survey *Step up to the Plate* in order to uncover the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. Initially perceptions of gender inequality were reported and themes within respondents’ comments identified. It was found that the majority of women chefs perceived gender inequality to exist in the overall chef population while a majority of chefs’ in most recent work environment did not. While only a minority of respondents perceived gender inequality in their most recent or current work environments the order was consistent for the four main work environments with the overall chef population. Hotels recorded the highest level of inequality while fine dining kitchens recorded the lowest level of inequality. When chef roles were examined, it was found that feminine pastry chefs recorded the highest level of inequality while head chefs perceived gender inequality to a lesser extent though this was not universal. Two main overall themes emerged in both the overall and most recent work environment encompassing the widespread existence of a misogynistic culture and the impact on career progression of socially ascribed caring and family matters featured as themes within the comments. The chapter proceeded by examining Acker (1990) five processes and practices and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity in relation to the empirical and qualitative data within the survey to
uncover the factors that contribute to gender inequality in the profession in Ireland. Education and leadership were the two independent topics that were finally discussed. The factors that contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland that emerged from this research are:

(a.) The division of labour: women are stratified into low grade work environments reflecting their unequal worth; women are stratified into low grade feminine ‘cul-de-sac’ pastry chef roles in all work environments and low-grade roles in hotels and fine dining kitchens; women are stratified into lower grade feminine kitchen manager leadership roles in industrial kitchens with a dearth of women in leadership roles in hotels and fine dining kitchens.

(b.) Lack of transparent promotion and pay pathways permits gendered assumptions of value and worth where women are paid less and denied promotions particularly in hotels where men are selected for all leadership roles and are able to negotiate pay and bonuses behind closed doors.

(c.) Stereotypical views of men as breadwinners and women as nurturers within the hegemonic masculine culture of fine dining and hotel kitchen result in women being denied promotions because of gendered assumptions of their care giving roles.

(d.) The prerequisite of strict discipline and adherence to long working hours within the organizational culture in fine dining kitchens deters women from entering in the first instance, or remaining when family matters come into play.

(e.) Sexual harassment and bullying are manifested in unequal power relations within hierarchical brigade kitchens where hegemonic masculine culture exists, in particularly hotels and fine dining work environments, creating an unwelcome and intimidating work environment. In addition, a gender subtext remains in all professional kitchens making it an important factor in all work environments.
(f.) Lack of gender diversity on chef panels, culinary competitions and symposia ensures implicit bias against women and ensures men are retained as the experts in the profession through industry awards mechanisms.

(g.) Inequality in the education system stratifies women in the ‘cul-de-sac’ pastry role while also discouraging them from the higher status and well-paid roles in the more elite kitchens, thus protecting the hegemony of the male chef as the expert and ‘ideal chef’.

(h.) Lack of leadership training for head chefs permits the continued acceptance of hegemonic masculinity within professional kitchens.

The following chapter concludes this dissertation by summarizing the research, outlining the methodological and research limitations, identifying the practical implications and contribution to the area of research before making recommendations for future research.
CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter concludes the first study on gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. The chapter begins by presenting an overview of the dissertation, identifying where the gap in the knowledge emerged, how the aims and objectives were achieved and the main trends that emerged in the findings. The chapter then outlines the contribution the dissertation makes to the body of knowledge, including the theoretical contribution, before the methodological and limitations of the project are evaluated. This is followed by areas that may be considered for future study, as well as practical implications and recommendations that have emerged as a result of the findings.

Chapter One explored the background to the research, introduced the aims and objectives and provided a brief overview of the remaining chapters. Positionality was also addressed, where details of how the researcher’s career as a chef of over thirty years initially awoke her curiosity about the challenges faced by women in a male dominated chef profession. Chapter Two contextualised the research by first examining the broader historical development of the chef profession within 19th century Europe and the foundational organizational model of the *brigade de cuisine*. This was then contextualised within 20th century Ireland and a discussion on the evolving organizational model within contemporary professional kitchens. Chapter Three elucidated the ways in which feminist thinkers, throughout the three waves of feminism, have advanced the theoretical understanding of the concept of gender inequality since the 19th century. This was followed by detailing the ways in which gender inequality continues to
manifest in contemporary society and the workplace. The theoretical framework and the rationale for its use were presented in Chapter Four. This included considering the distinction between perception and position, and examining a selection of feminist theoretical approaches that address gender inequality in work organizations. The rationale for selecting Acker’s (1990) original theory of gendered organizations and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity was discussed and evaluated. Chapter Five reviewed the literature by enlisting Acker’s (1990) and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity. Chapter Seven reported and analysed the first part of the quantitative and qualitative results of the survey, revealing the demographic composition of chefs with some caveats. Chapter Eight reported and analysed the empirical and qualitative data pertaining to chef roles and work environments revealing the factors that contribute to gender inequality.

A gap in the research emerged when it was that revealed that limited research has been conducted on women chefs. The research which did exist focused solely on female chefs in America (Cooper 1997; Druckman; 2012; Harris and Giuffre, 2015; Parkhurst Ferguson, 2004). More recently, research has been conducted in Spain on gender in professional kitchens (Campos Soria et al., 2011). To date, no substantive scholarly work has been conducted on gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland, nor was there empirical data available to assess the extent of this inequality if it existed.

The aim of this research was to expand the limited body of knowledge on women chefs by interrogating gender inequality in the chef profession, specifically within the Irish context. The main research question (MRQ) was formulated to address the aim of the dissertation: What factors contribute to gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland? To comprehensively answer this, three sub research questions (SRQs) were posed:
SRQ A: What is the socio-demographic framework of the chef profession in Ireland?
This question was answered by conducting the first national gender inequality survey of chefs in Ireland, *Step up to the Plate* from October 2016 to December 2016 and which collected demographic and empirical data on chefs in a broad section of the chef community in all work environments. This data was presented in Chapter Seven which analysed the first part of the quantitative and qualitative results and which revealed the demographic composition of chefs, albeit with some caveats.

SRQ B: What is the gender composition of chef roles and chef professional work environments within the empirical data and does the gender breakdown reflect the degree of gender inequality within the profession?
This was fulfilled by reporting and analysing the relevant empirical and qualitative data within the online survey, Chapter Eight. The analysis revealed that women chefs were particularly poorly represented in hotel and fine dining kitchens while women were over represented in pastry chef roles in all work environments and were unevenly represented in leadership roles in the four work environments.

SRQ C: What are the key issues that men and women chefs in Ireland consider to be barriers to gender equality and what are the key issues that need to be addressed to promote gender equality within the profession?
This was fulfilled by reporting and analysing the relevant quantitative and qualitative data within the survey in Chapter Eight. Critical factors included equal pay, leadership commitment to gender equality, elimination of gender stereotypes, access to paternity leave and elimination
of discriminatory practices. The findings were incorporated into the critical analysis of the survey in the overall discussion in Chapter Eight.

**Findings**

The analysis revealed the gender composition of chef roles and chef work environments for the first time thereby uncovering empirical evidence which showed the extent of inequality in chef roles and in the four work environments in which 90% of the chef population is employed. By enlisting Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organizations and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity, a critical assessment of the findings revealed the factors that contribute to gender inequality.

This study revealed that a number of factors contribute to gender inequality. One of the first to emerge, was the division of labour where women are stratified into low grade work environments and stereotypical feminine roles as pastry chefs and kitchen managers. Furthermore, the research found that a lack of transparent promotion and pay pathways contributed to gender inequality with women denied promotions and paid less, particularly in hotels. Long held stereotypical views of men as breadwinners and women as nurturers within the hegemonic masculine culture in hotel kitchens have resulted in women being denied promotions based on gendered assumptions with regard to their care giving roles. The prerequisite of strict discipline and adherence to long working hours within the organizational culture and logic of fine dining kitchens deters women from entering in the first instance, or remaining when family matters come into play. Sexual harassment and bullying are factors that contribute to gender inequality when unequal power relations in male dominated kitchens create an unwelcome and intimidating work environment. Lack of gender diversity on chef panels, culinary competitions and symposia ensures implicit bias.
against women while ensuring that men are retained as the expert in the profession through industry award mechanisms.

**Contribution to Knowledge**

This dissertation makes an original contribution to both culinary arts and equality research by providing a comprehensive gender analysis of empirically based evidence of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland for the first time. Furthermore, the study reveals the diversity of chef roles and work environments in which chefs work, and empirical evidence of varying levels of gender inequality in the chef profession. To date, international research on chefs has primarily focused on full-service work environments. This research is particularly significant as the first body of research that addresses the four key professional environments in which chefs work: industrial catering, casual dining, hotels and fine dining kitchens. Furthermore, the data from this pioneering research provides an empirically based reference for future scholars and offers the possibility of comparative analysis with other professions in the broader professional sphere, both at a national and international level, where empirical gender equality research is undertaken.

**Theoretical Contribution**

Acker’s (1990) theory has been successfully employed as a framework for analysing gender inequality in multiple professions. Researchers have contextualized the ideal worker in different sectors, industries, organizations, or functions (Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998; Kelan, 2010; Kelly *et al.*, 2010; Pas *et al.*, 2014; Styhre, 2012; Tienari *et al.*, 2002). All find an implicit masculinity in the norm that consistently constructs masculine work patterns as normal and legitimate. O’Connor’s (2014) research of gender inequality in higher education
institutions in Ireland highlighted the existence of a masculine organizational culture as a barrier for women’s progression within academic organizations. O’Connor (2014) argued that organizational culture is masculine, where competition, aggression, and focus on individual advancement are key drivers within the culture.

This dissertation revealed how gender inequality in the chef profession is manifested within Acker’s (1990) five interconnecting practices and processes where work environments and roles are aligned along stereotypical masculine and feminine lines. Significantly, an additional contributing factor, education, emerged from this study. Education does not feature in Acker’s five categories (a) division of labour, (b) individual identities, (c) workplace interactions (d) cultural symbols and images theory and (e) organisational logic. This suggests that education should be included along with Acker’s (1990) theory of gendered organisations when future scholars investigate gender inequality in other male dominated organisations or professions, to establish whether there is implicit or explicit bias in education streams for male and female students.

Inequality in the education system stratifies women while also discouraging them from the higher status and well-paid roles in more elite kitchens, thus protecting the hegemony of the male chef as the expert and ‘ideal chef’. Lack of leadership training for head chefs permits the continued acceptence of hegemonic masculinity within professional kitchens.

Morgan and Pritchard highlighted “the continued missed opportunities of neglecting female talent” and called on “female and male leaders to shape a gender-just future in hospitality study and practice by mentoring and holding hierarchies to account” (2019, p. 38). This is only possible when women’s perspectives are researched and a feminist analysis that can reveal the issues that are specific to women in male dominated work environments, is undertaken. It is illuminating that Acker’s (1990) original theory and Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic
masculinity were fundamental in elucidating the masculine processes and practices that operate in each of the four main work environments even though they are organizationally diverse. In fine dining kitchens women must comply with the organizational rules of strict discipline, commitment to long hours and hegemonic masculine culture. Hotel kitchens revealed the entrenchment of the hierarchical *brigade de cuisine* and the presence of hegemonic culture which ensures that men remain in power in senior roles while maintaining women in feminine or lower grade roles. Masculine practices of sexual harassment and non-transparent promotional pathways allow bias and discrimination against women ensuring unequal access to power and control. The findings also confirm that the highest percentage of women chefs is found in low grade industrial kitchens which suggests that they choose these work environments, move to them for family reasons, or that they are pushed out of less women friendly work environments. This demonstrates that the chef profession was designed for men, where masculine work practices and processes continue to operate to varying degrees that preferentially select them as the ideal chefs in the profession.

Moreover, the study reveals that by incorporating Connell’s (1995) concept of hegemonic masculinity into the analysis, an additional critical element is added that helped to uncover and explain the factors that contribute to gender inequality. Connell (1995) has been criticised for her concept of masculinity when it is argued that traditional masculinity is less relevant or too restrictive a concept to understand men in contemporary society (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). While she acknowledges the existence of a multiplicity of masculinities, she maintains that it remains relevant in contemporary society. This research argues that it is a very useful concept in understanding the inequalities within fine dining kitchens and hotels specifically. Hegemonic masculinity has the effect of stereotyping men and women along traditional lines and is a significant contributing factor to gender inequality.
Limitations

Some inaccuracies within the survey data became evident: the empirical data pertaining to the education demographic in the survey was found to be an inaccurate reflection of the corresponding demographic in the CSO data. It was found that over 45% of the respondents to the survey consisted of ‘ordinary degree’, ‘higher degree’ or ‘masters/post graduate degree’ education groupings whereas these categories make up only 12.1% of the actual educational attainment level of the chef population when compared with CSO statistics (Table 4.3). The limitations and suitability of employing an online survey as a method to access this cohort of chefs were discussed in Chapter Four. The non-Irish composition of the chef profession was acquired from the CSO via email to reveal that 47.2% of male chefs and 28.4% of female chefs working in Ireland were non-Irish. This contrasted with demographics data of the survey where only 15% of respondents were non-Irish. These statistics were surprisingly high and were not reflected in the demographic data that were collected in the survey. This information was only acquired in September 2018, almost twenty months after collection of the survey data was completed. It was also the first time that official census demographics on the nationality of chefs working in Ireland became available in Ireland. Nevertheless, the census data revealed the diversity of the chef population in Ireland which is not reflected in the demographic data of the *Step up to the Plate* survey. These limitations are addressed towards the end of this chapter.

Several other limitations emerged during this study. This project was limited by the lack of a feminist intersectional approach, failing to consider the intersection of race, ethnicity, class and nationality with gender when assessing gender equality in the chef profession in Ireland. Official census statistics of non-Irish chefs working in Ireland were acquired from the CSO at a late stage in the research project highlighting the low level of engagement of non-Irish chefs
with the online survey. As noted in Chapter Six, this highlighted the limitations of the online survey as a methodology to access non-Irish chefs’ perceptions and experiences of gender inequality in Ireland. Acker (2012) herself identified the difficulty in addressing the intersection of race and ethnicity in research suggesting that a separate study using ethnographic or case study methodology is best suited to answering questions about how intersectionality actually works to produce inequalities and which may be a way of overcoming this difficulty.

The limitations of the methodological approach of an online survey were reflected in the low response rate from chefs of lower educational attainment. This is an important consideration for any further research that is carried out on chefs in Ireland. It may be the case that this cohort and those with low levels of formal education may have felt intimidated by the survey believing that they were unqualified to participate or did not feel engaged with the subject matter of gender inequality. Language as well as potential cultural barriers may have prevented engagement with non-Irish chefs with low levels of education. It is important to highlight these limitations in order that future researchers consider other methodologies to ensure a better response from this cohort. As noted in the discussion above, data was not collected on the remuneration of chefs and it was therefore not possible to assess if men and women chefs are paid equally in Ireland for comparable roles.

Additionally, the weighted head chef survey population identified that females constituted 22.8% of the head chef roles in the four main work environments. This figure compares favourably with the USA when their national statistics for 2018 revealed that 22% of chefs and head cook representation was female (BLS, 2018b). No other comparable national statistics were available at the time of this research. Irish head chef representation in this survey was considerably higher than the research conducted in 2014 (Allen and Mac Con Iomaire, 2016).
This indicates that accessing a broader and larger cross section of the chef population and attributing a statistically representative weighting to gender in the methodology of this research may offered a more accurate calculation of the gender composition of chef roles in Ireland.

**Recommendation for Future Research**

Given the extent of the non-Irish chef population in Ireland it would be interesting to consider an intersectional research project to investigate whether ethnicity, race or nationality intersect with gender in Ireland should official census statistics become available to permit this. This research is the first empirical research to collect data on gender within the chef profession in Ireland and internationally. It is also the first body of comprehensive research on the four different work environments. Each work environment indicated the possibility of different and overlapping issues that require particular attention. It would be interesting to examine each specific work environment to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the issues within each one. The data pertaining to Northern Ireland was not analysed within this study. It is recommended that this data be analysed at a later date when a comparison can potentially be made between the two jurisdictions. It is further recommended that a subsequent gender equality survey be conducted within the industry at a future date to compare and contrast with the findings presented within this study.

Gender inequality has only recently been acknowledged within the chef profession in Ireland and internationally. The empirical findings of this research demonstrate for the first time the extent of gender inequality and the nuances within each of the four main work environments in Ireland. In order for the findings within the research to have any impact, it is important that they are publicly shared through culinary media and organisations to empirically demonstrate the existence and the extent of gender inequality in the four work environments. For example, a presentation to stakeholders in the hospitality sector such as the Hotel Federation of Ireland and Restaurant Association of Ireland, Euro-Toques Ireland and Chef Network to demonstrate
the empirical findings which show the degree, and the particular the intractability of gender inequality in hotel and fine dining kitchens is advisable.

Engagement with feminist and culinary activist groups is also recommended, to highlight the findings of this research and to further the conversation about gendered work environments and the issues that arise within them. This will help to increase public knowledge and comprehensive empirically based evidence of the relationship between the division of labour, the stratification of work environments and gendered work environments in Ireland.

A code of conduct for chefs to address bullying and sexual harassment was identified as a highly significant factor in supporting women’s career progression. An exploration could be conducted on possible ways to proceed and it may be beneficial to engage and consult with stakeholders in the industry such as the Chef Network, the Restaurant Association of Ireland (RAI) and the Irish Hotel Federation (IHF). This may encourage the various stakeholders to cooperate and draw up principles and standards of practice or codes of conduct within the industry as an initial first step.

Employing an online survey as a methodology had its limitations which have been addressed. Nevertheless, applying a weighting mechanism to the survey permitted a reasonably accurate representation of the chef profession based on gender to be made. It may be a useful tool to use in further studies when comprehensive census data is not available for professions in the private sector.

The findings suggested possible issues within culinary education. It is important that culinary institutions are made aware of the findings so that they can guard against bias towards female
students that had been suggested. Implicit bias training for lecturers may help to overcome implicit and explicit bias. Leadership training programmes could be explored for chefs that incorporate gender equality as a core principle. The Athrú discussion group highlighted negative experiences for female chefs of masculine culture while on internships. It is suggested that there should be robust discussion within education programmes of unacceptable practices and abuse of power. Students who experience such practices on internships must be encouraged as a matter of course to report this immediately back to their lecturers. A system must be put in place whereby feedback is communicated to the establishment. One of the potential consequences of not actively engaging with reported incidents would see establishments being removed from a college’s internship programme.

**Final Thoughts**

This dissertation provides the first study of gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland. Dissemination of the research to the RAI and an article in the Irish Times has raised awareness of gender balance on judging panels at culinary awards. At the Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, thanks to this research, the organisers are more aware of gender balance on panels and in fact in 2020 the first all-female panel of Irish chefs and hoteliers was held to discuss the impact COVID 19 was having on the industry. Continued and sustained dissemination of the research to all stakeholders will hopefully help advance gender equality in the chef profession in Ireland.
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Carrigy, A. (2017). ‘Meet Ireland’s top 20 food influencers who are shaping the way we eat’. *The Irish Independent* [online] 17 October. Available at:


https://www.doi.org/10.4135/978141298537


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Appendices
Appendix 5.1 Chef Network Kitchen Charter

OUR KITCHEN WORKPLACE CHARTER

We will...

BUILD A POSITIVE AND ENCOURAGING ENVIRONMENT

GIVING EQUAL RESPECT TO EVERYONE

Greet everyone, shake hands, speak to everyone on the team. Say Thank you and acknowledge a job well done. Be mindful of the way we speak to others. Have zero tolerance for discrimination or bullying.

ENCOURAGING COLLABORATION & CREATIVITY

Be approachable and open to ideas. Encourage Questions. Give everyone the opportunity to input.

CREATING A SAFE OPEN ENVIRONMENT

Give regular positive feedback. Ensure negative feedback is constructive and provides a learning opportunity. Make sure everyone understands they can ask for help and no one is afraid to make mistakes.

PROMOTE LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT

MENTORING & TRAINING

Be a mentor and encourage mentoring at all levels in the kitchen. Rotate roles in the kitchen and organise in-house staff training. Involve team in menu planning and dish development. Share knowledge, recipes and resources.

FACILITATING INDIVIDUAL PROGRESSION
Carry out staff appraisals. Recognise individual learning styles & needs, and help each chef discover their strengths. Invest in professional development & training to help chefs progress. Recognise when someone needs to move on and help facilitate this.

**ENCOURAGING EXPERIENCE**

Organise for staff to dine in other restaurants. Assist in arranging stages & chef swaps. Encourage chefs to travel at home & abroad.

**NUTURE CAMARADERIE & TEAM SPIRIT**

**CHEF NETWORK**

---

**OUR KITCHEN WORKPLACE CHARTER**

chefnetwork.ie

---

We will...

**BUILD A POSITIVE AND ENCOURAGING ENVIRONMENT**

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ENCOURAGING EXPERIENCE

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NURTURE CAMARADERIE & TEAM SPIRIT

BEING ONE TEAM

Build a positive relationship with front of house. Eat staff meals together. Acknowledge achievements as a team.

MEETING & COMMUNICATING WITH THE TEAM

Have regular team meetings where everyone can input. Carry out briefings pre & post service. Organise off-site team-building activities.

DEALING WITH ISSUES & CONFLICT
Manage issues as they arise but at appropriate times, don’t let issues fester. Deal with incidents discreetly, don’t unnecessarily embarrass a chef in front of other staff. Chat with the team after a tough service; don’t bring a bad feeling home.

**PRIORITISE WORK-LIFE BALANCE**

**BEING CONSIDERATE & RECOGNISING NEEDS**

Rostering that is fair & considerate: as far in advance as possible, two days off together. Listen to people’s needs - Be flexible and open to alternative hours. Consider ways to improve quality of life for staff: 4-day week.

**PROMOTING WELL-BEING**

Ensure staff take their breaks, holidays and don’t work excessive hours. Provide a place to eat and encourage nutritious meals. Encourage health & wellness activities and mental health awareness.

**RESPECTING STAFF’S PERSONAL TIME & SPACE**

When someone is off, they’re off. Organise handovers so everyone is up to speed. Compensate staff for time spent on training.

**GIVE BACK TO THE CHEF COMMUNITY & CONTRIBUTE TO A POSITIVE FUTURE FOR THE INDUSTRY**

**SHARING KNOWLEDGE & SKILLS**

Help organise or deliver workshops, masterclasses, industry talks. Offer, take part in, or send staff on stages & chef swaps. Advise and support fellow chefs.

**NURTURING THE CHEFS OF THE FUTURE**

Take on work placements or stages & provide structured learning opportunities. Promote a love for food & cookery from a young age: workshops in schools. Promote the career in a positive way and be a good role model.

Being an active & engaged member of the CHEF NETWORK Community

**BEING ONE TEAM**
Appendix 6.1 Step up the Plate Survey Questions

1. What is your age?
   18 to 24
   25 to 34
   35 to 44
   45 to 54
   65 to 64
   65 +

2. What is your gender?
   Female
   male
   transgender female
   transgender male
   prefer not to say
   Other (please specify below)

3. Which of the following terms best describes your sexual orientation
   heterosexual
   gay/lesbian (or "homosexual")
   bisexual
   other
   prefer not to say

4. What is your marital status?
   Single
   married
   co-habiting/partner
   divorced
   widowed
   Other (please specify below)

5. How many children do you have?

6. What is your country of birth? If country not listed please specify in 'Other' box at end of list.

7. In what county do you live? If not currently living in Ireland please specify in 'Other' box at end of list

8. What is your family work background?
   education, professional e.g medical, banking, engineering etc
   manual trades e.g. plumbing/carpentry, construction etc
   farming
   food industry
   service industry
   unskilled labour
   Other (please specify)

9. Do you think there is gender inequality in the chef profession in Ireland?
If you answered 'yes' please indicate the area which, in your view, is the most problematic in terms of gender inequality in the chef profession.

10. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   - Leaving certificate
   - Fetac Lev 3-5
   - Chef apprenticeship
   - Higher certificate (Lvl 6)
   - Ordinary Degree (Lvl 7)
   - Higher Degree (Lvl 8)
   - Masters Postgraduate (Lvl 9)
   - Other (please specify below)
   If not culinary related please specify below

11. Are there any issues related to gender equality within culinary arts education programmes you have undertaken?
   - yes
   - no
   - undecided
   I did not undertake a culinary education programme.
   If you wish, please elaborate on your response

12. What is your current employment status?
   - full time, salaried
   - full time, hourly rate
   - part-time, salaried
   - part-time, hourly rate
   - salaried contract
   - hourly fixed contract
   - casual hourly paid
   - self employed
   - no longer working in the industry
   - unemployed
   - Other (please specify below)

13. How many years have you worked/did you work in the industry?
   - 0-5
   - 6-10
   - 11-15
   - 15-20
   - 21-25
   - 26+

14. Please specify the most recent type of kitchen you have worked in?
   - fine dining restaurant
   - casual restaurant
   - industrial catering/food production kitchen
cafe
hotel
hospital/school
bakery
culinary education/cookery school
independent catering company (outdoor catering, events catering)
Other (please specify below)

15. What was/is your most recent/current job role in a professional kitchen?
   - chef owner
   - executive head chef
   - kitchen manager
   - head chef
   - sous chef
   - pastry chef
   - chef de partie
   - commis chef/chef apprentice
   - cook
   - culinary educator
   Other (please specify below)

16. How many kitchen staff (chefs, catering assistants, kitchen porters, kitchen managers) are employed at your most recent/current place of work?

17. Are there specific problems relating to gender equality in the professional kitchen where you were/are most recently/currently employed?
   - yes
   - no
   If you wish, please elaborate on your response

18. How many female kitchen staff (chefs, catering assistants, kitchen porters, kitchen managers) are employed at your most recent/current place of work?

19. How many male kitchen staff (chefs, catering assistants, kitchen porters, kitchen managers) are employed at your most recent/current place of work?

20. Have you ever worked with a woman head chef?
   - yes
   - no
   If you wish, please elaborate on your response

21. Please rank from the list below how important you consider each in addressing gender inequality in the professional kitchen work environment. Please rank all, tick one box only per column.
Options:
   - very important
   - important
   - moderately important
   - of little importance
   - unimportant
Categories:
  overall culture
  gender profile of
  head chefs/kitchen
  managers
  long hours
  supportive attitude to maternity leave
  non transparent promotion pathways
  (why does one person get promoted over another)
  elimination of 'boys club'
  equal pay
  timely rostering
  gender staffing targets

If you wish, please elaborate on any of your responses

22. From the list below, please rank how important each is as an attribute for a good leader/head chef in a kitchen. Please rank all, tick one box only per column.

Options:
  very important
  important
  moderately important
  of little importance
  unimportant

Categories:
  inspirational
  ability to delegate fairly
  professional
  decisive
  integrity
  considerate of staff
  passionate
  mutli-tasker
  stamina
  flexibility

If you wish, please elaborate on any of your responses

23. From the list below, please rank how important each is in supporting and advancing careers for women chefs in the industry Please rank all, tick one box only per column

Options:
  very important
  important
  moderately important
  of little importance
  unimportant
Categories:
  facilitative attitude to paternity leave
  job security
  gender balance (balance of men and women) on judging panels for chef and culinary competitions
  supportive life partner
  equal pay/starting salaries for men and women of all chef grades within the food establishment
  availability of women role models
  gender profile of head chef
  flexible working conditions
  easily accessible information about maternity leave/entitlements
If you wish, please elaborate on any of your responses

24. If you wish, please add any other comments you consider relevant.
### Appendix 6.2: Chi-squared Testing for Survey Data

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<th>INCOME</th>
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Note: The table above represents the chi-squared tests and p-values for various demographic factors including marital status, sex, age, education, income, smoking habits, and weight. Each column contains weight-related metrics such as weighted N, mean, and total. The p-values are calculated using chi-squared tests to determine the significance of associations between these factors.
### Appendix 7.1: Average of Chefs

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### Appendix 8.1 Gender Breakdown of Chef Roles in each Chef Work Environment
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<th>weighted male frequency</th>
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### Appendix 8.2: Ranking of Issues of Barriers to Gender Inequality

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<th>male very important</th>
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<th>male Important</th>
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<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
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<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>50.8%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>3.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
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<td>9. Challenging sexist behaviour</td>
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<td>13. Overall culture</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>1.7%</td>
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<td>15. gender profile of head chef/kitchen managers</td>
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<td>31.4%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
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<td>1.7%</td>
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<td>16. 'macho culture</td>
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<td>16.5%</td>
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Appendix 8.3: Ranking of Issues for Promoting Gender Inequality
Ranking

female

1

Answers
equal pay/starting salaries for men
and women of all chef grades

2
3

female

male

female

Very
Important

Very
Important

moderately moderately
Important Important Important
Important

male

female

male

female

male

female

male

of little
of little
Importance Importance unimportant

unimportant

87.03%

72.03%

8.79%

19.49%

2.93%

5.51%

0.00%

2.12%

1.26%

0.85%

ending discriminatory practices

74.90%

68.22%

20.92%

23.73%

2.93%

4.66%

0.00%

2.12%

1.26%

1.27%

job security

68.62%

51.69%

25.52%

36.86%

5.44%

7.20%

0.42%

2.54%

0.00%

1.69%

64.44%

52.54%

17.15%

22.03%

13.81%

5.93%

2.51%

5.93%

2.09%

5.08%

59.83%

47.46%

30.13%

30.93%

6.69%

13.14%

2.09%

4.24%

1.26%

4.24%

57.74%

43.64%

28.87%

32.63%

10.46%

16.10%

0.84%

4.66%

2.09%

2.97%

56.07%

44.92%

30.54%

35.59%

9.21%

13.14%

2.09%

3.81%

2.09%

2.54%

56.07%
56.07%

31.36%
45.34%

31.38%
21.34%

33.47%
31.36%

8.79%
17.57%

21.19%
14.83%

1.67%
2.51%

8.47%
6.36%

2.09%
2.51%

5.51%
2.12%

54.81%

38.14%

29.71%

36.44%

12.55%

15.68%

1.67%

5.51%

1.26%

4.24%

53.56%

44.07%

35.98%

41.53%

8.37%

10.17%

1.67%

2.54%

0.42%

1.69%

cultural change within profession
gender balance(on judging
panels) for chef culinary
competitions

50.63%

39.41%

36.40%

39.83%

10.88%

14.41%

1.26%

4.66%

0.84%

1.69%

50.63%

30.93%

27.20%

27.54%

15.90%

18.64%

3.77%

11.02%

2.51%

11.86%

48.95%

46.19%

36.40%

38.98%

13.39%

11.44%

0.42%

1.69%

0.84%

1.69%

15

inclusive culture
representation of women and men
in roles in kitchen and in business
organisation overall

48.54%

33.47%

35.98%

32.63%

10.46%

23.31%

2.09%

5.51%

2.93%

5.08%

16
17

mentoring schemes
gender profile of head chef

40.17%
38.08%

36.02%
27.12%

43.51%
30.13%

41.10%
25.00%

12.55%
16.74%

17.37%
19.07%

2.93%
8.37%

2.54%
11.44%

0.84%
6.69%

2.97%
17.37%

18

easily accessible information
about maternity leave/entitlements

28.03%

19.92%

30.54%

22.46%

24.69%

25.85%

8.79%

25.85%

7.95%

18.64%

5

introduction of code of conduct to
ensure bullying, sexist comments
and innunedos are no longer an
issue in the kitchen environment
challenging industry sterotypes of
chefs

6

availablity of women role models

4

7
8
9
10
11
12

13
14

including gender equality as part
of culinary arts syllabus
increased visibility of professional
female chefs in media
supportive life partner
review of Escoffier 'brigade'
system
faciilative attitude to paternity
leave

Appendix 8.4: Ranking of Issues for Leadership Qualities

Ranking

1
2
3
4

Q22
Ability to handle
stressful
situations
Organised
Good
Communicator
Professional
Responsible

11
12
13
14
15

Excellent
Leadership skills
Accountability
Integrity
Ability to delegate
Decisive
Passsionate
Considerative of
Staff
Inspirational
Creative
Multi-tasker
Handle criticsim

16
17
18
19
20

Good business
sense
Collaborative
Assertive
Stamina
Flexibility

5
6
7
8
9
10

very
Important

very Important

female

male

female

male

female

female

male

important

important

moderately
Important

moderately
Important

of little
of little Importance Importance

male

female

male

unimportant unimportant

90.0%
81.6%

89.0%
87.3%

9.6%
16.7%

10.6%
11.4%

0.4%
1.7%

0.4%
1.3%

0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%

88.3%
80.8%
76.6%

85.2%
79.7%
76.7%

10.9%
18.4%
20.5%

14.0%
18.6%
21.6%

0.4%
0.8%
2.9%

0.8%
1.7%
1.7%

0.0%
0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%
0.0%

0.4%
0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%
0.0%

76.2%
77.4%
70.3%
74.5%
62.3%
64.4%

75.8%
73.7%
72.9%
71.6%
71.6%
69.1%

21.8%
21.3%
25.5%
23.0%
35.1%
30.1%

22.5%
22.5%
22.0%
26.7%
26.3%
22.5%

1.7%
1.3%
4.2%
2.5%
2.5%
5.0%

1.7%
3.4%
5.1%
1.7%
1.7%
7.6%

0.4%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.4%

0.0%
0.4%
0.0%
0.0%
0.4%
0.8%

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0.0%
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0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%

75.7%
63.6%
59.0%
61.1%
57.7%

66.9%
66.1%
61.0%
60.6%
59.3%

20.1%
30.5%
34.7%
29.7%
36.4%

25.4%
25.8%
30.1%
30.9%
32.2%

3.8%
5.9%
5.9%
8.4%
5.4%

6.8%
6.8%
8.5%
8.1%
6.4%

0.4%
0.0%
0.4%
0.8%
0.4%

0.8%
1.3%
0.4%
0.4%
1.7%

0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%

0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.0%
0.4%

56.9%
59.4%
52.7%
51.9%
51.9%

59.3%
58.5%
56.8%
53.4%
53.0%

36.8%
36.0%
37.7%
40.6%
39.7%

33.9%
35.2%
34.7%
38.1%
36.4%

5.4%
4.6%
9.2%
7.5%
8.4%

6.4%
5.5%
7.6%
7.6%
8.9%

0.8%
0.0%
0.4%
0.0%
0.0%

0.4%
0.8%
0.8%
0.8%
1.7%

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293


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