

THE MODERN JOURNEYMAN: INFLUENCES
AND CONTROLS OF APPRENTICE STYLE
LEARNING IN CULINARY EDUCATION

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the shift from traditional on-site industry education (apprentice style learning) to tertiary education in academically-centred institutions, with particular emphasis on professional culinary education. With the deceptively seamless transition of numerous crafts and trades from their traditional apprentice/journeyman training and education schemes, into the tertiary education sector – from the late 1960s up until today – a crack had been created in the education process. The government had acknowledged that the possible ‘confusion’ and ‘drop back’ in traditional training schemes and apprenticeships had, to some extent, been a case of confusion or misinterpretation on the part of trade and industry and new trainees. Particularly, when the general comprehension of the ‘newly’ altered Education Act, New Apprenticeship Act and government-promoted shift of autonomous industry bodies to a centralised State controlled system had been largely ineffective, there was an observable decline in the traditionally mentored and educated crafts and trades.

The investigation extends beyond the recent ‘symptoms’ of changing government Acts, extensively developing (global) tertiary education and evolving industry education responsibility to explore the deeper influences and controls of change which have brought us to where we are today. This exploration will cover a diversity of education history, government policy, industry renovation and significant world events which have changed the path of the modern journeyman and professional craft and trade education. Within the New Zealand context, little research has been found or published on this particularly involved theme [the Modern Journeyman and professional culinary education], which, by its absence has contributed to a wide chasm of unanswered enquiries and uncertainties, which now needs to be investigated.

This treatise explores three key areas of ‘power and control’ within the arenas of politics, education and industry education. These are considered through the multi-perspective lenses of critical social science, existentialism and postmodernism. Specific attention is paid to the practical aspects of the evolving (culinary) Journeyman and the seemingly repetitive patterns of ‘power and control’ that have emerged from the multifarious disciplines and time-frames.

Throughout the development of Western European education and the advancement of craft and trade (knowledge and practices), there has been a question of value, ownership and 'privilege' attached to who, how, where and what can be taught and learnt. And in many cases the State has either stepped in to regulate the process - as a matter of civil duty, or has taken over the process - as a form of social and ideological control. In the case of the Culinary Journeyman, the New Zealand tertiary system and the shifting authorities of professional knowledge and practice, the price which may eventually be extracted for the targeted control of education practice (mentored/apprenticed learning) and professional knowledge development, may be more than the cost of an admission to a professional tertiary cookery course in the future.

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

“I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgments.”

Simone M. Emms: _____

Date: _____

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Illustration: "The Fool"
By Sarah Ovenall
From the Victoria Regina Tarot

In the development of the tarot, a mythic picture-book narrative or story was built around the journey of the Fool. In the course of his travels, through the 21 story cards (or major arcana) of the tarot, he was both witting and unwittingly an apprentice to life. As he slowly progressed along the path, mentors and masters – in the guise of lessons – would arrive when he was ready (and not before) to show him the way.

As legend has it, the Fool (the Journeyman) is both the end and beginning of life's lessons. Because by the time he recognizes 'what it is' he has actually learnt, he is already well on his way - to another new beginning.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Overview

The main purpose of this thesis is the identification of the modern-day apprentice/ journeyman¹, and the intersecting roles of politics, education and industry in his/her development. This chapter briefly discusses the relevant topics that will be covered in this paper and how they will be tackled. The main focus of this enquiry is based around the influences of socio-economic and political controls that have shaped 'traditional' craft and trade education, its transition into tertiary institutions and the depth and degree of effects, which have been exerted over the culinary profession in the process. The central theme is one of *power and control* – the power and control to shape the teaching/learning practices of trade and education professionals, the power and control to influence the changing shape of professional knowledge, and the power and control to regulate what knowledge is valued – and how a rate of exchange is put on it. The nature of this hegemonic hold has been revised with every change of social governance, industry advance, economic likening and *Force Majeur*. Yet, with each progressive change the apprentice/journeyman has appeared to have been valued no greater than an incidental part of the overall industry-education equation. Of late, however, both political and economic interests have compelled the Modern Journeyman to advance his/her education (foundational and advanced) in learning settings atypical to their profession challenging the very nature of the apprentice/journeyman process.

To date, the changes that have been made in the *Education Act 1989* and *Modern Apprenticeship Training Act 2000* have been the residual effect of many layers (and years) of socio-political power-plays and strategic economic enterprise and trade. In deciphering how these mechanisms have come about and how they have interacted with trade and craft education and industry in the past, it may be possible to forecast where they may lead the Modern Journeyman (and industry) in the not too distant future. This enquiry will be aimed at eliciting better ways to use the transforming system(s) of tertiary and trade education, and to identify what needs be absorbed from the past – to be used in the future.

¹ The etymology of the word 'journey *man*' had its traditional interpretation drawn from the 15th century description of 'one who, having served *his* apprenticeship to a handicraft or trade, is qualified to work at it for days' wages' (Onions, 1973, p. 1138). The original suffix of the word *man* represented the traditional gender segregation of the time period which the word was initially used in. Later usage of the term 'journeyman' (by Shakespeare's time) saw it applied more as a generalized description of activity, rather than as a gender-specific discrimination of a craft or trade practice. And it is in this sense of generalized activity - not discrimination - that this term is currently employed in this inquiry.

Introductory Comments

In both a literal and metaphorical sense, adult learners are ‘Modern Journeymen’ and travellers of life. When they enrol in any of the array of industry-driven, trade-focused, tertiary education programs they expect to acquire sufficient professional craft or trade knowledge to either access, or advance, in their profession.

This is particularly true in the culinary arts. Although the individual may appear to be holding only ‘a knife-roll and piping bag’ – implying a type of education that is somewhat pre-functionary, simplistic and geared towards the basic acquisition of skills of manual work – in reality there is much at stake. The modern culinary journeyman is only the most recent evidence of a complex configuring of politics, passion, power and influence which arises from a colourful and complex history.

Grounded in and developed from the historic ‘journeyman’ of Western Europe, the notion of the ‘Modern Journeyman²’ describes a competent tradesperson who has progressed from the point of professional ignorance to trade competence. Reaching the stage of ‘journeyman’ means that, the individual has reached a point of responsibility for their own continued learning, but significantly not to the point of being a master in the field. A journeyman consciously integrates on-going learning into their work. The rationale for continuing as a journeyman was to establish the credibility of knowledge and skill, and to progress on to become a master of the profession.

Thus the concept of the ‘Modern Journeyman’ encapsulates diverse *educational paths* chosen by capable people. Although it is a traditional term, it also encompasses current notions of adult education (such as, ‘life long learning,’ ‘up-skilling,’ ‘the knowledge wave,’ and ‘modern apprenticeships’). Metaphorically, it is used in this thesis to describe a life’s progress.

Also imbedded in the ‘Modern Journeyman’ concept is ‘apprentice style learning’ and its associated influences and controls. In the current New Zealand context, the ‘Modern

² In our current climate of ‘political correctness’ and homogenisation of gender and equality issues, there has been a tendency to focus away from gender-specific titles and towards gender-neutral terminology such as ‘traditional apprenticeship education’; the hope being to eradicate implied bias and unfairness. The ‘journeyman’ is one such gender-implied title. Choosing to use it is a deliberate choice because of its historic meaning and its metaphoric possibilities. In this thesis, the ‘journeyman’ and its derivatives are understood to include men and women.

Journeyman' is caught up in the widespread shift from traditional on-site industry education into the tertiary institutions. This has brought profound changes to professional culinary education, particularly in the professional ranks of master craftsmen and tradesmen able to pass-on their knowledge. Because of the interrupted apprentice-journeyman-master cycle, there is an impending shortage of master-less professionals with unrealised potentialities.

Interestingly enough, when professional cookery students start their foundational/introductory culinary education in the tertiary setting, sooner or later they are introduced to a 'Reader Digest' condensation of *popular* culinary history³. Predominantly, this history has been based around a few French chefs and their 'similar' cuisines of the 19th to 20th centuries. This has, however, inadvertently given the impression that the professional culinary arts and its formal education (before this time-frame) had been essentially nondescript possibly even, nonexistent in other sectors of society and geography. Yet, what this framing of culinary history has effectively done has been to politicize and overrate a proportion of knowledge (and its selective history) above all else. This thesis looks at the basis for selectively starting the *culinary clock* in this time period and how its association has contributed towards the processes of apprentice/journeyman education and training, including, how it may have factored in the paralleled stop-watch effect on the same traditions⁴ passing.

This thesis is an attempt to explain what, how and why these changes have come about within the traditionally mentored crafts and trades. This thesis draws on diverse literature to provide interconnecting pieces of education history, government policy, and industry renovation and focuses on 'significant events' that have changed the paths of the modern journeyman and apprentice style learning – especially in the area of culinary education. The thesis suggests that the intermingled structures of early colonial government and education, Western democracy and capitalism, and the evolution of craft and trade bodies have created an intriguing tapestry which may, when closely examined, foretell the threads and patterns of future trade and craft education.

³ In the current teaching texts, such as Ceserani, Kinton and Foskett's 'Practical Cookery' (2000) and Christensen-Yule and McRae's 'New Zealand Chef' (2002); *popular* culinary history has had its nascency from French Chef, Auguste Escoffier's era.

⁴ Traditional culinary knowledge and traditional apprenticeship education.

For the Journeyman process, there are other additional influencing dynamics which have contributed to its politicization and control. Of these forces there are aspects of cultural ideologies and values, political economics, issues of ownership and access also to be contended with. This investigation, as socio-politico-economic study of the Modern Journeyman and (as a further distillation of this concept) the Culinary Journeyman, takes a modest look at how this archetypical model has come about and how it continues to impact on professional culinary education in tertiary institutions.

The Rationale for this Research

With the rapid expansion of adult and tertiary education and the extensive shift of professional education to non-industry locales - in particular, in the traditional craft and trade-based professions; there has been little to suggest that much specifically targeted research⁵ had been done in these areas (or professions) previous to their transition. With this consideration in mind and with the current evolution of essentially master-less craftsmen and craftswomen, there is significant merit in examining this issue to a greater extent.

In the compact amount of research⁶ done in the last 10 to 15 years, examination was made of such areas as 'situated cognition', 'workplace learning,' 'kitchen and workplace sociology', and 'human capital theory' and 'economic rationalism' in the Australian higher education sector (Brown, Collins & Paul, 1989; Billett, 2001; Fine, 1995; Marginson, 1993). Where, the only notable exception to this international input has come from James Marshall and a small (but valued) group of researchers, who have endeavoured to explore the issues of 'politics, policy and pedagogy' in New Zealand - over the last decade (Benseman, Findsen, & Scott, 1996; Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall & Massey, 1994; Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins & Jones, 2000; Marshall, 2000; Smith, 2002). However, with what has been produced so far, there have been a number of cross-disciplines addressed, such as: education and industry, education and economics, education and policy, and education and politics. Yet, in the context of evolutionary (New Zealand) professional trade and craft education, tertiary institutions, and Culinary Journeymen of the 21st century; there is a gap in this area of understanding that needs to be addressed.

⁵ The rationale and mechanics of the learning methodologies, and the wide-reaching impact that this type of transition might pass-on to the professional communities at large.

⁶ Most of these studies were notably internationally-based.

For the most part, industry-based education and conventional tertiary education have been different sides of the same coin, with both sectors having effectively assumed the full responsibility⁷ of their respective domains. Where there had been intersecting junctions⁸, allowances have been made that have given the learner the opportunity to benefit from the two different types of ‘community of learning’. In shifting from traditional apprenticeship education to tertiary based/backed (professional) craft and trade education, a new shape and a new era of educational practice and knowledge has been born. Yet, rather than this being a phenomenon isolated to the New Zealand condition, it has instead been a growing global trend in a majority of Western-based tertiary education systems.

In embarking on this particularly unique (and largely untapped) area of enquiry, there are several important motives for doing so. Notably, the first objective is to elucidate where the Journeyman has come from. Particularly as, ‘points of view or myths order our perceptions, govern our attitudes and guide our actions’ (Hinchcliff, 1997, p. 28). And because, as Foucault (1970) proposed:

All knowledge is rooted in a life, a society, and a language that have a history; and it is in that very history that knowledge finds the element enabling it to communicate with other forms of life, other types of sociology, other significations: that is why historicism always implies a certain philosophy, or at least a certain methodology, of living comprehension ..., of inter human communication (against a background of social structures), and of hermeneutics (as the re-apprehension through the manifest meaning of the discourse of another meaning at once secondary and primary, that is, no more hidden but also more fundamental) (p. 373).

The next intention is to explore the impact of *new* education industries⁹ (which the Journeyman is now participating in) and the influence on the value of knowledge, the cohesion of knowledge, the practice/performance of specific types of knowledge, and the type of access granted to this knowledge. This is extremely important as the knowledge that is selected for transmission in this context is value-laden and purposely chosen for a targeted impact. In the

⁷ This is where the industry educators and tertiary educators have aligned their teaching and knowledge practices with their respective (but at times different) ideological, philosophical and political ‘cultures’.

⁸ Obligatory credential-based units of theory knowledge.

⁹ Within the new education industries, education has become the primary focus of economic practice and where the subjects that are taught are but a *smorgasbord* of consumable, quantifiable, chargeable products.

context of the State's influence and control of institutional and industry qualifications, through its New Zealand National Qualifications Authority (the NZQA), there are arguably deeper structures of 'unobservable mechanisms' (Neuman, 2003) at work which need to be unearthed and identified.

In addition to this objective, there is also good reason to examine the significance of promoted credentialism in professional craft and trade education, within the tertiary setting. This is because credentialism has now become the promoted 'value' of the education *artefact*, which has in turn promoted the 'power and control' of academic authority over the apprentice/journeyman and traditional industry-based education. This could, in a certain light be regarded as the State-sponsored myth-making of a re-invented (and relocated) craft or trade profession.

The Research Audience

The anticipated audience for this particular research will relate to three different areas of professional practice. The first sector is the academe who, out of sheer curiosity may wish to explore and debate a new area of educational development¹⁰, which has inevitably challenged the 'old guard' and has brought with it additional elements of State and industry managerialism and political control. The next sector is the tertiary educators/practitioners, who may wish to use this enquiry as a future springboard for their own academic investigations and who, may take this examination a great deal further than it has been taken thus far. The last audience is the industry educators/mentors who have been isolated by the traditional 'industry vs. academe' divisions. Where the industry educator/mentors' 'communities of practice' have been enclosed by their job-descriptions, their professional trade allegiances and (for many) their practical education in the traditional apprenticeship system itself. This inquiry may be for them a possible opportunity to cut through the 'academic tribal mysteries' (Becher, 1989, p. 22) and to see that we are all in the same boat.

¹⁰ This 'new' area of education development encompasses the introduction of cognitively-based apprentice styled education into today's academe.

Author's perspective

Like many others in the culinary arts and the hospitality industry, I arrived at professional cookery having already experienced many other interesting professions¹¹. So when I requested to do the traditional training, I was told in no uncertain terms that I was too old for the apprenticeship programmes. Fortunately, not all achievement and success is based on religiously following the rules, and whilst working in a remote tourist lodge in northern Queensland in the 1980s, an 'opportunity disguised as a disaster' struck. Without even knowing how to use the can-opener, I was flung into the resort's kitchen to cook and cater for 120 guests and staff. Having survived this 'baptism of fire' in a massive professional kitchen, I decided then and there that I had finally found a 'calling' worth responding to.

In the following decade, I worked in kitchens in Australia, England and France and in the process I was trained and mentored by a number of very hard-working, very dedicated *chef de cuisines* and their (often odd-ball) *sous chefs*. These unpretentious cooks and chefs gave me the opportunity to learn, work, and prove myself, and to rise through their ranks as they had until I too had succeeded in earning a number of 'head chef' and 'head cook' positions. Typical of professional kitchens and apprentice-style learning, this meant that I also had to 'buddy' new staff – to guide and train small groups. So, because I had taken on the responsibilities of managing and running professional kitchens, teaching was an inevitable, challenging, but usually enjoyable part of the job.

After 15 years in the industry, I returned to New Zealand, and took the unusual step of going back to school and completing credential-based professional cookery program's. I wanted to experience culinary education as a student. My rationale was that in order to teach more professionally and more seriously, I should really acquire a refreshed perspective of it. I obtained basic teaching qualifications, with a view to being more effective (not just interesting and entertaining) in the field of culinary education.

It was a rather humbling thing to do – to go back to school and experience education alongside the many young (and not-so-young) adults, particularly, as many of these individuals would have been the same kind of people, whom previously, I would have taken on as staff in my own kitchen(s). Although I was 'just another one of the 'throng,' who would be passing

¹¹ I entered this profession after having participated in retail and clerical domains, as well as in pharmaceutical research (where I worked as a draughtswoman, a quality assurance officer and complaints officer.)

through the doors of the institution for the semester, I did not find any scarcity in the knowledge or commitment, or even compassion from either the tutors or the institute. While I did not seek to find ‘holes’ or to criticise, I discovered what appeared to be a rather disassociated system of ‘wider’ learning, with non-specific outside influences obscuring the complexity of the subject itself. I wanted to understand these influences.

Chapter Themes

The predominate themes which recur through this these are:

- education;
- industry; and
- politics

These intertwining themes are both intriguing and challenging, as I propose that they interact within a defined cyclic transition across the three evolutionary epochs of the journeyman (see Table 1, p. 10). In the transition from one epoch to the next, the themes rearrange; what was a main theme or focus in one epoch, becomes the driving force in the next, and later becomes a goal. What emerges is a cyclic pattern of theme sequencing. In the current New Zealand context, these themes are evolving within an accelerated timeframe.

The first theme of the journeyman is ‘education’, which looks at the development and eventual division of various types of educational practices. It is a theme that is largely driven by politics (government or Statecraft), which promotes the ambitions and goals of industry, and its associated economic gains. In the first epoch, the focus of professional craft practices is mostly practical, and the many facets of social narratives and ‘community stories’ (such as, superstition, religion, and folklore) are also used to form and educate the journeyman.

The second theme is ‘industry’ which focuses on the development of industry (craft and trade) productivity and creativity, through targeted education and training. Industry has used a range of educational practices: from the traditional apprentice-mentored teaching styles of industry, to the more contemporary processes of tertiary education. Industry itself, has obviously

contributed greatly to its own training and education, but it has over time also participated in numerous State promotions¹² which from time to time has changed the nature of the industry.

The third theme is ‘politics’. This theme considers the shifting powers of industry and the historic Western European craft and trade ‘corporations’, and how they became the driving forces of politics. The politically influenced production of professional education – as a chosen object of barter and control – will be examined, alongside the transformation of the ‘trade and profession’ and the problematic redefinition of the ‘journeyman’.

¹² I suggest that many State-promoted education initiatives are a form of social engineering. In particular, when government targeted industry training courses have been used to generate new/alternative professional qualifications in areas, which have been deemed lacking (or requiring) of ‘new’ industry credentials.

Table 1: *Epoch of the Culinary Journeyman*

Epoch of the Culinary Journeyman			
Path of the Journeyman	Early Journeyman 1000BC – late 19 th Century	The Journeyman 19 th – 20 th Century	Modern Journeyman 20 th – 21 st Century
The Central Themes	Education Theory and Practice Context: Practical	Industry Practice Context: Practical meets Intellectual	Political Influence Context: Intellectual
The Objects and Tools of Change	Industry Practice	Political Influence	Education Theory and Practice
The Driving Influences	Political Influence	Education Theory and Practice	Industry Practice
The Philosophical Perspectives: Evolving Theories of ‘Power & Control’	Philosophical Theorist: <i>Machiavelli</i> Theory: ‘Power and Control’ by making one’s own rules	Philosophical Theorist: <i>Foucault</i> Theory: ‘Power and Control’ through social engineering	Philosophical Theorist: <i>Lyotard</i> Theory: ‘Power and Control’ through information technology and education

Central Research Questions

The research questions which will be addressed in the course of this inquiry are:

1. *What is a journeyman, and how did he or she evolve into being the 'modern journeyman' of today?*
2. *What is apprentice style learning, and what are the quintessential qualities of this type of education?*
3. *What is culinary education – yesterday and today?*
4. *What is the culture and community of the culinary profession, and how does this correspond with the (culinary) journeyman?*
5. *What is culinary education in a tertiary institution?*
6. *What are the influences and controls of culinary education, and how do these challenge or change culinary education – in industry and in the institution?*

Through these questions (both directly and indirectly), a number of assumptions will be endeavoured to be clarified and contested. Specifically:

1. *That culinary education is limited / or is becoming limited in the tertiary institution setting.*
2. *That tertiary education can fill the gap and make a difference in the craft or trade education.*
3. *That tertiary education has been able to previously address most of the needs of trade and professional education.*
4. *That culinary education has extensive areas of knowledge that are explicit, defined and suitably identifiable, and which can be taught in a tertiary institution.*
5. *That the various programmes of culinary education (external to the industry's own milieu) can be challenged and changed successfully.*

Theoretical Issues

Points of view or myths order our perceptions, govern our attitudes and guide our actions (Hinchcliff, 1997, p. 28).

It has been said that all enquiries need to be generated and pursued from a particular point of view and that without a specific foundation to come from, the information and data that is gathered, will be no more than a collection of undirected facts and figures. The ideas influencing 'The Modern Journeyman' draw together a number of philosophies that challenge

what is accepted (or taken for granted), in the restructuring of craft and trade education, the political influences in education and industry, and the re-branding or re-packaging of education for financial gain.

The theoretical approaches used in this enquiry will be integrated with Critical Social Science and Historical-Comparative methodologies, and will contain some of the selected aspects of Existentialism, Postmodernism and Critical Social Theory. Because of this thesis's overall discussion and argument, the method used to acquire the relevant data will be focused on the collection, discussion and critique of literature-based information.

In using aspects of existentialism, the notion of conventional sciences and the concept that there is only one correct way to develop and acquire knowledge and understanding is challenged. Existentialism interprets philosophy as an 'expression' or a 'creation' of a concept, rather than a flat science. It also focuses on discovering the influences and perspectives that are adopted, which affect self-consciousness and trigger the further actions or motivations. Existentialism is interpreting the macro and micro influences of time, place, individual and group – from a point where 'you step outside of yourself' and comprehend the interrelation of all parts and actions. The only catch to this is to not look for 'rules' or associations based on fixed theories or positivisms; as locking into one interpretation of an event may block alternative future insights or understandings.

Postmodernism challenges the assumptions made from 'grand narratives' or universal truths. It challenges the socially constructed norms that direct and control the course of events, both individually and culturally. Correspondingly to existentialism, it is a critical point of view that challenges the individual to take a 'leap into the void' of uncertainty, to expand their awareness of multiple truths, and to comprehend that all is not as it might first appear or first seem.

Conversely, from a postmodernist perspective, the situation that an individual's finds themselves in is reliant on their understanding (and buy-in) of the multiple 'rules' of the 'game' that they have chosen to play. However, for all intents and purposes these (games) are associated with 'grand narratives'¹³ similarly constructed on multiple truths and assumed rules of conduct. And yet, the difference between existentialism and postmodernism can be seen in

¹³ Jean-François Lyotard (1993) proposed that our comprehension and framing of our many social and cultural phenomenons has been through our acceptance of multiple universal stories and 'grand narratives', which we have not challenged but have instead accepted as 'truth'.

the rejection of assigned rules from one perspective, and the acknowledgement of rules and ‘truths’ - without embrace, in another.

Theoretical perspective/Epistemology

The epistemology inherent in the theoretical perspective of this research is one of subjectivism (see Crotty, 1998). That is, the theoretical knowledge base that truth and meaning come into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities of the world and our understandings of our subjective position within it (Crotty, 1998). This thesis draws upon a critical inquiry position, as the theoretical perspective for the research, can be said to be ‘born out of constructionism/subjectivism in so far as our perception of reality is constructed through our critical thinking. According to Freire (1996, p. 64) critical thinking is “thinking which discerns an indivisible solidarity between the world and men”. On reflection Freire (1996, p. 54) stated that “authentic reflection considers neither abstract man nor the world without men, but men in their relations with the world. Constructionism/subjectivism, that truth and meaning are connected to our engagement with the world, and critical inquiry, that critical thinking informs our perception of truth and meaning, form the context and rationale for undertaking this research with a critical-enquiry based methodology. A further useful organisational guide for readers wanting more detail about particular philosophical and theoretical perspectives (see Gutek, 2004).

A key aspect of the methodology used within this thesis is a regular use of seminal theorists to help explain – epoch by epoch – the major developments. These theorists play a considerable role in the deciphering of the specific events and timelines. In the ‘Early Journeyman’, Machiavelli’s (1961) theories of ‘Statecraft’ encapsulate the philosophies of ‘power and control’, which drive the multiple-political influences behind the practically promoted craft and trade education. As an extension of this theory, Foucault has followed through with a more complex, more evolved notion of targeted ‘social engineering’, which can be applied to the ‘Journeyman’. With a view to expanding society and the perceived standing of the individual, Foucault ground a number of his theories on the concept of economics and acquisition (in addition to ‘power and control’) being at the root of man’s motivations (Foucault, 1970).

In the epoch of the Modern Journeyman, Lyotard’s (1993) theories of ‘power and control’ and the guardianship of information technology have been explored. His theories have not only

revealed the controls of State and the struggle for economic riches and advancement, but they also exposed the features of ‘gate keeping’ that can disqualify many from full educational participation.

In addition to Machiavelli, Foucault and Lyotard, two other theorists are used: the ideas of Durkheim (1989) and Fukuyama (2002) suggest interwoven concepts of labour and structures of power as well as the individual’s desire for economic valuing and personal recognition. Reminiscent of early socialism and communism, Durkheim advocated for labour and power structures. In conjunction with his premise that man is simply ‘struggling for recognition’, Fukuyama sponsored the concept of liberal capitalism; he argued that ‘economic development and status’ is in fact one of the contemporary solutions to this ancient struggle.

Methodological Issues

Critical social science holds that knowledge is power. Social science knowledge can be used to control people, it can be hidden in ivory towers for intellectuals to play games with, or it can be given to people to help them take charge of and improve their lives (Neuman, 2003, p. 86).

Because of the involved nature of this inquiry and the literature-based path that has been chosen, a number of complementary approaches have been employed. Particularly as, the main thrust of this thesis is ‘what and who is the journeyman?’ and ‘how has he or she evolved (in conjunction with culinary education) in the tertiary setting?’ A wider-scope critical literature review and document analysis has been necessary. However, had a more traditional style of thesis and associated methodologies been chosen (for example: interviews, questionnaires, phenomenological observations and focus groups); the broader or bigger picture ‘explanation’ would have invariably been reduced to a short-term, situational enquiry – elucidating student satisfaction ratings and institutional performance measurements.

Yet, the very nature of critical social science, documentary analysis and extensive literature reviews has meant that a broader selection of subject areas have been opened to challenge and inquiry. And, in addition to this, the typically constrained nature of many ‘specialist’ areas such as: apprenticeship education, culinary education, tertiary education, education history, anthropology, sociology, philosophy and political science – have instead been opened-up and synthesized, to establish a more in depth and expansive picture of the ‘modern journeyman’ and tertiary culinary education.

So, because of the complicated nature of this subject matter, (and the large proportion of) literature and document-based analysis used, this particular approach has been deemed the most logical one to take. In this instance Brendan Duffy (1987) pointed out that, 'It [is] particularly useful when access to subjects of research is difficult or impossible' (p. 53). In addition to this observation, Neuman (2003) also noted that, 'Historical outcomes often require complex, combinational explanations, and such explanations are very difficult to prove in a manner consistent with the norms of mainstream quantitative social science' (p. 411).

Documentary Analysis

One method of data collection involved document analysis of the ERO publications, which Patton (1994) describes as written data, usually from documents yielding excerpts, quotations or entire passages from organisational records, official records or publications. In conducting documentary analyses the author was mindful of what other researchers had noted about this using this method and assessing the authenticity of documentation, for example:

Wellington (2000, p. 117), like Merriam (1998), poses a series of questions to assess documents including (which are quoted at length):

- Authorship: Who wrote it? Who are they? What is their position and their bias?
- Audience: Who was it written for? Why them? What assumptions does it make, including assumptions about its audience?
- Production: Where was it produced and when? By whom? What were the social, political and cultural conditions under which it was produced?
- Presentation, appearance, image: How is it presented? ... What 'image' does it portray?
- Intentions: Why was it written? With what purpose in mind?
- Style, function, genre: In what style is it written? How direct is the language? Is it written to inform, to persuade, to convince, ...
- Content: Which words, terms or buzzwords are commonly used? Can their frequency be analysed quantitatively (content analysis)? What rhetoric is used? Are values conveyed, explicitly or implicitly? What metaphors and analogies does it contain? What is not in it?
- Context/frame of reference: When was it written? What came before it and after it? How does it relate to previous documents and later ones?

Merriam (1998, p. 123) suggests the following procedures should be followed in documentary analyses:

- After assessing the authenticity and nature of documents ... the researcher must adopt some system for coding and cataloguing them.
- If possible written documents should be photocopied. ...
- By establishing categories early on for coding, the researcher will have easy access to information in the analysis and interpretation stage.

Furthermore, like Merriam (1998) and Wellington (2000) a number of other authors such as Scott (2000a, b) have analysed educational policy through the documentary analysis approach. I have drawn on this literature for providing an organisational map for this territory when perusing, documenting and analysing the raft of literature bases employed in this thesis. Unlike traditional theses which contain a theoretical/literature review chapter, followed religiously by a methodology chapter and then data chapters, this thesis is different in that each specific chapter is conceptualised within historical epochs of culinary developments and practices and each has its own self-contained literature review which guides its theoretical foundation. Furthermore, for novice researchers, I advise readers to consult Birmingham (2000) which provides a useful rationale and guide for reviewing the literature.

In essence the documentary analysis method was used extensively within this study, and it links clearly to the methods employed in policy and educational research (see Scott, 2000a, b).

Document analysis (in the case of this thesis) has fundamentally been the examination and assessment of literature (such as, books, newspapers, journals, periodicals, and magazines), public records (that is, government policy documents, ministerial announcements, Acts and amendments, and government publications) and accessible multimedia¹⁴ information. Where, '[its] approach is derived from historical methods which are essentially concerned with the problems of selection and evaluation of evidence' (Duffy, 1992, p. 53).

The historic-comparative feature of document analysis has been based on the appropriate (and necessary) categorisation, location, selection and scrutiny of documents; as well as its capacity to address 'bug' questions (Neuman, 2003). In numerous ways, critical literature reviews have also functioned similarly to historic-comparative document analyses, where there has been an extraction of relevant insights gathered from the overall meaning and significance of the text (under review). Ultimately, this contributes to the 'state of

¹⁴ Verifiable and reliable internet documents and radio and television interviews, public debates and forums.

knowledge' available for further interpretation and discussion, and for the possible formation of new concepts and theories. And as Neuman (2003) had previously argued:

[Social] reality has multiple layers. Behind the immediately observable surface reality lie deep structures of unobservable mechanisms. The events and relations of superficial social reality are based on deep structures beneath the surface of causal observation (p. 83).

Summary of ideas

Out of the ancient guilds have grown mainstays of modern society; most relevant to this thesis is vocational training, but local government, chartered companies, and unions also sprang from them. For the journeyman of earlier epochs, these different ways of organising were all bound together.

Key ideas include the concept and evolution of the 'early journeyman' evolving from many sources and whose journeys were necessary in order to learn from more than one master – not to follow one master for life.

Another key concept is that apprenticed education was a vehicle for other social issues, like community development, the division of labour, and the promotion of ideologies, of laws and of religion. The early journeyman helped define the 'power and control' ownership of the guilds and trade authorities. As part of this, the story of the early journeyman is the story of the struggle for control of valued knowledge. Alongside this is the attitude to craft and trade education, which saw the acceptance of personal responsibility for professional advancement being taken on by the journeyman himself.

Looking back to ancient Rome and Greece and moving through the next two millennia, the history of the journey can be understood in 19 steps (see Table 2, p. 17).

Table 2: *Chronology of the Guilds*

2000 BC (Rome and Greece) to 2004 (New Zealand)

1 The First Guilds Encompassing towns and collective communities			The Early Journeyman 1000 B.C. – Late 19 th Century
2 Specialised Trades Encompassed all members of an individual trade or craft			
3 Separate Trade Hierarchy Systems Broader trades further divided amongst themselves For example, white bread bakers & brown bread bakers			
4 Master Craftsmen’s Guilds Guilds established only for master craftsmen I			
5 Merchant and Trader Guilds Non-craftsmen organisations	6 Craftsmen’s Guilds Craftsmen independent from the merchants and traders		The Journeyman 19 th – 20 th Century
7 Chartered Companies And Corporations Big business	8 Master Craftsmen’s Guilds Established only for master craftsmen II	9 Journeyman Guilds First guilds independent of the master guilds	
10 Local Government Company and corporation members merge with prominent master craftsmen	11 Master Guilds Closed organisations for the wealthiest and most prominent master craftsmen III	12 Journeyman & Unions Some journeymen groups expand into unions	
13 Councillors & Justice’s of the Peace Overseeing apprentice contracts and enforced guild rules		14 Master Craftsmen & Master Tradesmen Guilds and Industry Bodies Overseeing craft & trade education and regulations	
15 State Government Establishes industry, apprenticeship & education acts	16 Trade Schools And Tertiary Institutions Supplements industries educational theory needs	17 Craft and Trade Guilds Contemporary industry bodies	The Modern Journeyman 20 th – 21 st

<p>18</p> <p style="text-align: center;">State Government</p> <p>Government forms the New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA) and then redirects the pathways of trade and industry</p>	<p>19</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Trade Schools And Tertiary Institutions</p> <p>Education providers attempt to remedy the gap created by the elimination of traditional apprenticeships</p>	
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1. The First (or nascent) Guilds were established in two paradoxical circumstances. The first¹⁵ was during the period 2000 B.C. to 31 B.C.,¹⁶ in Rome and Greece when Western Civilization was first starting to evolve. The next significant appearance was in the 5th century with the establishment of large-scale Trade Fairs,¹⁷ in Central Europe. Yet, between these nascence's there was a regressive period, which witnessed countless invasions, wars, collapses of ancient civilizations and catastrophic plagues.¹⁸ These decimated much of Western Europe before the start of the Middle Ages.

Yet, it was from this second nascence period that the first 'modern-day' Guilds emerged in the tenth century. These Guilds were collective or municipal communities and villages, who banded together to protect their combined crafts and industries from outside merchants and traders. In the 11th century these protectionist groups were later followed by one of the first manifestations of the early Merchant Guilds (Isaacs, 1981; Salt and Sinclair, 1957).

2. Specialised trades had begun to form their own Guilds in the 12th century. To a certain extent, this was due to increase and spread in population. These specialised organisations included all crafts and trades members (irrespective of age, level of expertise or ranking). The most notable associations of this time were 'The Guild of Bakers' who were formed in France, in the mid-1100s (Courtine, 1998; Isaacs, 1981); and 'The Wool Merchants' or 'The Woolsmen's Company,' or 'Merchants of the

¹⁵ Durkheim (1989) referred to these early Roman Trade and Craft Guilds as 'Corporations.'

¹⁶ According to Tarnas (2000), 2000 B.C. was the approximate period in which the Greeks began first to establish themselves in the Aegean. Leading up to 31 B.C, the Roman Empire finally established itself as 'a power to be reckoned with', replacing the Greek advances with its own. In contrast, Smith (1967) estimated the Greek colonisation at around 750-550 B.C.

¹⁷ These were the Trade Fairs of Champagne and Brie, in France; which had evolved long after the earlier Trade Fairs of Constantinople and Thessalonica (Salt and Sinclair, 1957).

¹⁸ The first strains of the plague came to Europe from China, with the merchant traders in 224 B.C. The spread of the plague eventually culminated in widespread sickness and death in 235 - 285 A.D., with the Barbarian invasions of Rome (Tarnas, 2000).

Staple' (Samhaber, 1963), who were emerging into major authority groups in England, the Netherlands and in Italy¹⁹.

During the reign of England's Henry I (1069-1135), the different Guilds and associations were formed and simultaneously, the State began to take an interest in their operation and management. This political interest culminated in the smaller Guilds being left to their own devices and the larger Guilds and Merchants being constrained by royal charter schemes in which the Crown transformed the larger Guilds and Merchants endeavours into something akin to modern State-owned enterprises. By the middle of the 13th century, the Royal (or Crown) Charters which had been granted to the 'Merchant Adventurers', had effectively tapped into a larger number of other, co-existing Guilds and trades (Isaacs, 1981).

3. Independent trade hierarchy systems began to evolve within the larger Guilds, which effectively provided for more craft specialization and development. While James (2002) and Civitello (2004) suggested that this took place in the 15th and 16th centuries, Salt and Sinclair (1957) proposed that the division had occurred earlier in the 14th century, with the resulting educational influences²⁰ contributing to the formation of England's 'Statute of Apprentices of 1563'.
4. In 15th century Western Europe, Master Craftsmen's Guilds were beginning to be established. These elitist organisations were to be the starting point for further divisions and breakaways from the original craft and trade Guilds. According to Salt and Sinclair (1957), the Master Craftsmen's Guilds were the first 'City Companies',²¹ and were originally known as 'Livery Companies' (due to their ceremonial clothing and ritual). In response, other smaller disaffiliated groups (such as the Journeymen), started their own associations, much to the displeasure of many Master Craftsmen's Guilds.
5. Merchant and Trader Guilds formed from particularly affluent Master Craftsmen, who were doing well enough to employ others to do their work, while they concentrated on

¹⁹ The Republic of Florence and the Republic of Genoa, was notably where the wealth of the Wool and Textile Merchants had, in part, financed the political (Machiavelli's) machinery of State and Church.

²⁰ With the promotion of various craft divisions over others, there had been an increased demand for more apprentices and journeymen. In some cases, this increase had contributed to unfair and dishonest apprentice contracts or 'indentures,' in the pursuit of expediency and supply.

²¹ The early City Companies had also included 'The London, City and Guilds Association'. A City Company that still continues offers its internationally recognized qualifications today.

business aspects. In spite of this hands-off approach to craft handiwork themselves, they still maintained a position over a number of Craft and Trade Guilds. Salt and Sinclair (1957) noted that Master Craftsmen were still regulating the, ‘training apprentices and newcomers, regulating wages and other payments, watching over the standard and quality of work being done, and controlling conditions of entrance to the trade or craft’ (p. 105).

At this point in time – in the 16th and 17th centuries – the Merchant and Trader Guilds came into their own with the increased profitability from trade, travel and overseas Royal Charters. As a consequence of the Guilds increasing preference for international trade²² and social gatherings, their focus on the administration of the Craft and Trade Guilds dwindled. Eventually the Government under Elizabeth I (1533-1603), took over the functions of the master and worker Guilds.

6. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Craftsmen’s Guilds were independently formed from the Merchant and Trader Guilds. However, these guilds were in a weaker position than they had been in earlier centuries. Historically, many of the Journeymen were reluctantly becoming wage-earners and were effectively being blocked²³ from becoming their own masters (Salt and Sinclair, 1957).
7. Being one of the earlier extensions of the Merchant and Traders Guilds, Chartered Companies and Corporations were essentially the ‘Big Businesses’ of the 18th and 19th centuries, However, as a consequence of their advancements, they held neither the obligations nor the close associations, which they had had with the earlier crafts and trades guilds. Nevertheless, the changes they were achieving were in line with the sweeping innovations²⁴ of the Industrial Revolution – from the 1750s onwards (Taylor, Wacker, and Means, 2001; Isaacs, 1981).

Another important aspect of these changes was the realization of ‘power, money and control’ for individuals and the rise of the ‘bourgeois’ or ‘mercantile class’. Previously

²² With the focus on companies like: The East India Company, The Russia Company, The Levant Company, The Hudson’s Bay Company, and The South Sea Company – and so forth.

²³ Closed workshops were emerging, nepotism within numerous Crafts and trades was becoming rampant, and political unrest overseas (in France) had made the Crown fearful of non-Government affiliated organisations.

²⁴ Through mechanisation, mass production and the obsolescence of numerous Trades and Crafts that were superseded by newer industries.

they have been outside the traditional seats of power – such as the Crown, State, and Church. As (Lewis Coser, 1984, cited in Durkheim, 1989) pointed out:

‘[W]hen towns had freed themselves of the nobles' yoke and the commune was formed, the craft guilds, which had preceded and paved the way for this development, became the foundation of the communal constitution [or in essence, the archetypal local body government]. Frequently the vote was taken by trades, and the heads of the corporation and of the commune were chosen at the same time’ (p. xlvii).

8. Master Craftsmen’s Guilds were reformulated again to cater for the evolving Master Craftsmen, from the earlier Craftsmen’s Guilds. Yet, in a decision reminiscent of events in the reign of Elizabeth I (see step 2 and step 5 above), they were nearly put out of action again by a Parliamentary Act of 1797, banning the swearing of oaths and allegiances²⁵ to anyone or any sect other than the Crown. This political situation was largely due to the Napoleonic wars in central Europe and the rising popularity of republican thinking. It was something, which greatly worried British Government figures (Salt and Sinclair, 1957) and high profile factions of the British Clergy.

In response to this ensuing threat, not only had the ‘banning of oaths’ been introduced, but widespread debate occurred about the limiting of general education for the poorer of society. In a number of cases this impacted on the education of apprentices and journeymen (Pounds, 1968). Numerous meetings were carried out in the late 18th century – early 19th century by Establishment figures, who had decided that any form of social rebellion would be tackled on multiple fronts. As Austin (1965) observed:

Conservative opinion, while seized with the need to suppress incipient rebellion, was convinced that education was exactly the wrong remedy to apply, and agreed wholeheartedly with the Bishop of London's conviction that it was "safest for both the Government and the religion of the country to let the lower classes remain in that state of ignorance in which nature has originally placed them" (p. 2).

9. Journeymen Guilds became more formally established during this timeframe. In many instances, they would become the foundation of contemporary Guilds and (in some

²⁵ This affected the oaths of Brotherhood, sworn by the various (craft and trade sectors and religious) Guilds.

- instances) they would also be developed into worker leagues²⁶ (Peterson, 1971). Yet, what had made them different from previous Journeymen associations was their deliberate autonomy from the hegemonic Master Guilds. Still, they remained restricted by the same laws and acts of Parliament, which shackled other trade associations and their oaths and allegiances. Because of possible prosecutions (using 18th century laws) for administering illegal oaths, the Journeymen Guilds or ‘Friendly Societies’ had to remain anonymous – or risk persecution (Salt and Sinclair, 1957).
10. Local Government in England and elsewhere in Western Europe was developed from Chartered Company and Corporation members merging with equally prominent Master Craftsmen to form new town and city councils, and boroughs.²⁷ And as a consequence, their naissance contributed to the public shift of numerous ‘landed gentry’ and royalty, from their ancient (and possibly even clan or tribal) seats²⁸ - in local town councils and in government.
11. Master Guilds were then distilled even further to include only the wealthiest and the most prominent Tradesmen, Craftsmen, and Merchants of the nineteenth century period. For most, this included the ‘new captains of industry’ and their second or third generation beneficiaries, of the Industrial Age. Or as Taylor, Wacker and Means (2001) defined it, the ‘Consumer Age’. They argued that:

The Consumer Age inappropriately thought of as the Industrial Age, which had its first origins in the beginning of the Age of Reason, became firmly established during the mid-1800s, and survived until the end of World War II. It was during the Consumer Age that we learned how to merchandise and how to trade. As that happened, the production and consumption of goods on a massive scale became the defining economic activity for the first time in human history. The process of manufacturing ultimately would be perfected to fill that goal, but it was the desire to own - and a liberation from a time when only nobility and few priests truly owned - that spawned the epoch (p. 182).

²⁶ These associations would eventually contribute to worker education, adult education, community colleges and ‘folk’ high schools (see Finsden, 1996).

²⁷ This was similar to the formation and practices of the Rotary Club, the Lions Club, and historically the Masons.

²⁸ Heredity-based seats of authority had been the custom of Britain’s original House of Parliament and its ‘seated’ Lords.

- For a number of Guild members, this meant entrance into private gentlemen’s clubs, honorary chairs on business and school boards, and a ‘paid for place’ within the Establishment. For many, this had also fated numerous Master Craftsmen into ostracized positions, which were distant from their foundational craft and trade associations.
12. As a result of social and political tensions and the intensification of mass industrialization, some Journeymen associations metamorphosed into unions. This occurred in Britain by the mid-19th century. However, in the United States, the general public's acceptance of unions had been much quicker. By the beginning of the 19th century, the United States had already had their first wave of unionism. In many contexts, unions were established along the traditional lines of early Western European ‘Master Craftsmen’s Guilds’ and functioned as a number of separate self-governing industry bodies (Salt and Sinclair, 1957). However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, a second ‘wave’ of unionism had emerged, which lead first to the National Labor Union in 1866 (Rice & Krout, 1991) and later to the American Federation of Labor in 1881 (Salt and Sinclair, 1957). In contrast, in the same period in Britain (and in a number of other similarly structured Commonwealth countries), Trade Union organizations were only just beginning to be legally recognized. In England, Acts were passed in 1871 and 1876 which protected unions and their members from being arrested jailed and in some instances deported ²⁹ for belonging to unlawful ‘criminal associations.’
13. Councillors and Justices of the Peace (as an extension of Local Government and the closed Master Guild’s members), were once again put in a position of overseeing and regulating apprenticeship contracts³⁰, as well as dealing with issues of employment and certification of journeymen. However, by the end of the 19th century, the lack of concern for individual’s rights became acutely evident with the growth of ‘work houses’ and ‘sweat shops’ (not uncommon in the United Kingdom, the United States,

²⁹ As was the case of six Dorset labourers, who became known as 'the Tolpuddle Martyrs' and whose criminal convictions (in part) were used as the basis for an eventual law change (Salt and Sinclair, 1957).

³⁰ This was a custom that had been previously practiced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by State and Crown governing/controlling bodies.

Australia and New Zealand). This became particularly obvious in the treatment of juvenile labourers. In Australia during the 1880s:

Factory owners, of course, were reluctant to lose the child labor they had, local boards composed of business men were loath to offend their colleagues by prosecuting, and bogus private schools, where a child could mark his attendance each day on the way to work, were not hard to find (Austin, 1965, p. 237).

For New Zealand, the situation was no better – in spite of the educational requirements of some Guilds (such as cookery, home economics, dressmaking, woodwork and farm craft) being incorporated into the general ‘primary’ and ‘high school’ curricula. Government and public body responsibility for the supervision of apprentice contracts was almost non-existent. Although there was a Government appointed Registrar of Unions, there were no specific educational supports for apprentices and journeymen from this office. Coney (1993) suggested that this situation was only exposed in the late 1880s through the efforts of the women’s suffrage movement and the vivid tabloid reports on exploited female and underage workers. A Government inquiry resulted – aptly named the ‘Sweating Commission’ - to investigate workplace abuses in the 1890s. As Coney (1993) reported:

Women in the clothing industry were usually paid far less than men, and they were often paid by the piece, rather than by the hour. Although the law said no person under 14 could work in a factory, 12- and 13-year old girls and boys were apprenticed, often on no wages (p. 25).

However, the general tide of Government concern was focused elsewhere.³¹ By the beginning of the 20th century the ‘free place’ system had been established in the New Zealand schools, providing limited education for school-age children and in theory, an avenue for a nationwide ‘classless’ education (Openshaw, Lee, and Lee, 1993).

14. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Master Craftsmen, Master Tradesmen, Guilds and Industry bodies began to develop more substance and cohesion. Innumerable social issues and much political angst were plaguing the industries, and the individual crafts and trades were beginning to take more control of their professions. This meant

³¹ Such as on the liquor Licensing Acts, Land Acts, public amenities, immigration and the development of the export trade.

resumed responsibility for their professional education practices and guidelines, the acknowledged legitimacy of their associations within their respective national and international fronts (politically, economically and socially), the establishment of their ‘modern’ trade schools and regulatory bodies, and the quest for a way to ‘control’ their industries (Salt and Sinclair, 1957).

This search for control was not a tranquil one. In New Zealand and in Australia, the struggle was as much about trade and craft autonomy, as it was about equal rights, a basic minimum wage, a 40-hour week, and the right to strike.

15. In New Zealand in the 1990s, Government once more stepped into apprentice-based industry training issues. This time the State³² legislated to incorporate industry education into the academic education arena. Chamberlain (2002) suggested that this may be linked to the financial restructuring of State-owned industry and the failure of many non-State industries to adequately employ those journeymen who had trained in their own apprentice education programmes. She reasoned that, ‘Under the old system industry effectively relied on government as a source of freshly trained tradesmen’ (p. 4). As a consequence of passing the *Industry Training Act* 1992, the responsibility for trades-based training was shifted back to industry. Yet, in quarters such as the Hospitality Association of New Zealand (HANZ) there already existed high levels of involvement in trade education³³ (Brien, 2003).

However, the resulting changes to industry and apprentice education were to then be followed by even more disruptions in the ensuing decades.

16. Trade schools and tertiary institutions extended their services to support the theory-based education needs of the wider community. Where previously academia had been out-of-reach of the broader trade-based industries (for example, the advanced culinary arts, bar and hospitality, multi-media and the visual arts, auto mechanics and aviation), a number of dramatic transformations were to happen which would to open institutional doors to a new breed of student. Of the numerous changes to take place,

³² This legislation had been enacted by Parliament, whilst under a Labour Government in 1989.

³³ The HACIT Board and HANZ had been responsible for the issues of ‘manuals, handbooks and the organisation of seminars covering security awareness, host responsibility, management training, and numerous wage and award schedules (Brien, 2003, p. 95).

three would be the most arresting. The first was the State sponsored abolition of traditional apprenticeship training and associated legislation. As a later Minister for Social Services and Employment noted 2002:

By abolishing [the apprenticeship act] in the minds of most people they abolished the system itself. So what we got for the next eight years or so was a complete collapse of the bridge from school to work for young people (Maharey, 2002, quoted by Chamberlain, 2002, p. 4).

The second was the establishment of a national qualifications authority and a series of newly crafted quality assurance and quality control criteria. At the time they appeared to have been modelled on an international quality assurance template - the ISO 9000.

The third change was the State's adoption of user-pays systems for funding tertiary education – systems which were not only endemic to New Zealand and Australia, but to the rest of the world (Marginson, 1993; Tomlinson, 2001).

17. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Craft and Trade Guilds were reinvented as contemporary industry bodies - Industry Training Organisations (ITOs). However, their reinvention was not something exclusively of their own making. In many instances, the craft and trade associations merged with other organisations. This was the case with the associations ³⁴ who had affiliated themselves with the Hospitality Association of New Zealand (HANZ). A major challenge was the funding system and its push for 'bums-on-seats' in the tertiary and technical institutes, and the apparently deafening 'silence' in apprentice training spheres (Chamberlain, 2002; Woodham, 2004).
18. In New Zealand, the State deeply influenced the pathways and practices of contemporary industry education, particularly challenging the traditional methods and values of tertiary education (Jordan and Strathdee, 2001; Chamberlain, 2002).
19. In 21st century New Zealand, trade schools and tertiary institutions have, in all but name, become the new Master Craftsmen and Craftswomen-Mentors of modern apprentices and journeymen. And because of this metamorphosis, there are some unusual obstacles facing craft and trade-based education. In spite of the legislative

³⁴ Including cooks, waiters and waitresses, barmen, hotel managers.

changes that set up the Modern Apprenticeship Act 2000, the fallout from previous years – when traditional apprenticeships were not vigorously promoted – has resulted in a deficit³⁵ of traditionally trained Master Craft and Trades people (Woodham, 2004). The deficits are in the knowledge and ability to pass on specific aspects of ‘artistry’ or ‘mastery’ (Schön, 1986), which must be practiced within an established/mastered, and authentic setting.

What the institutions now have to deal with is not only the repossession of an age-old system of education³⁶, but the state-enforced fragile redesigning of teaching-learning practices which were, I propose, never broken to begin with.

Issues of Identity

Citizenship is a concept which has afforded different types of industry access and participation to take place. Yet, it is ‘identity’ that has arguably made the biggest difference in a craft or trade profession. Identity is fundamentally more personal, more individual and is as much the clothing that is worn as it is the self-perception to which the individual ascribes to. In definition, ‘identity’ is a concept that provides the individual with an opportunity to ‘embody’ and embrace what they practice, both professionally and socially. In many instances citizenship could in fact be of a lesser importance than identity, because for an individual to connect with what he or she does, they must first identify with who they are and what they know - as opposed to ‘who’ they know³⁷.

It could be argued that, by ascribing to the identity of the ‘journeyman’ in this context, it might in fact make learning more fluid and more natural. However, because of the blurred lines of professional identity (see Fine, 1995), the redefinition of traditional job roles and responsibilities; individual craftsmen and craftswomen now have to be more proactive in their definition of their chosen career paths and identities. In the case of countless chefs and cooks who have made the transition from the ‘stove-tops’ to alternative culinary incarnations, there have also been an evolving sense of identity. Currently, these mainstream changes have been

³⁵ The deficit is not perceived to be the lack of credentialized individuals, but a lack of specifically acquired knowledge.

³⁶ Apprentice style education, was the universally practiced education of the early universities and schools (see Pounds, 1968; Lawson and Silver, 1973).

³⁷ Particularly, as knowing the head chef, doesn’t make you a brilliant cook.

in the direction of two expanding ‘peripheral’ professions: teaching and entertaining. For chefs who have become teachers, there has been a shift away from being a producer of ‘produce’ to being a producer of ‘knowledge’. For individuals who have become ‘entertainers’ and social commentators³⁸, as such, the shift has been even greater. When previously they were craftsmen and craftswomen their advancements were to that of ‘performers’, with their potential (or future) metamorphoses to that of ‘scholastic’ culinary journalists³⁹.

Yet, in seeking the identity (or ownership) of one of these specific areas of practice – entertainer, social commentator, journalist - new questions of ‘knowledge’ value and access are also raised. In particular, when the value of ‘public perception’ associated with some of the ‘peripheral’ professions have created numerous romanticized or idealized industry generalisations, which have had some negative effects on the profession. These obstacles have ranged from public perceptions of cooking being a job for the academically challenged. As Baum (2002) had suggested:

'Low skills' can be seen in terms of the actual technical requirements of the job - this is the most common interpretation - or as an indicator of the value that society places on work in the area of question (p. 344).

To a certain extent this has included some of the more traditional prejudices and divisions in labour, such as the gender-specific roles and professions – where ‘women are cooks and men are chefs’. To a large extent this type of discrimination has been permeated through numerous Western and Non-Western cultures, customs and practices; over an indefinite period of time. However, for the modern journeyman as times have changed, so have conventional identities and degrees of professional acceptance.

In a sense, the changes of identity and professional/public acceptance can be connected to a collaboration of significant social events and advances. And not the least of these have been the Women's Suffrage Movement, the Human Rights Movement, the introduction of travel guides (such as the 84 year old ‘Michelin Guide’), the promotion of culinary tourism (through locations and activities marketed as culinary destinations), the advent of television (the

³⁸ New Zealanders like Peta Mathias, Ray McVinnie, and Vic Williams have all been ‘seasoned’ chefs who have made the transition into social commentators.

³⁹ The most notable transition into this area has been that of the chef/food writer David Burton, who has written prolifically for the last twenty years – acquiring numerous writing awards and international accolades.

introduction of cookery programs and celebrity chefs), and the promotion of lifestyle articles (from the cookery columns of Elizabeth David and Aunt Daisy, to the commentaries of *Gourmet Traveller* and *The Cuisine Magazine*). Yet, in a majority of these circumstances, professional identities have largely been shaped and interpreted from the ‘outside looking in’.

In the case of gender and cultural connections and professional culinary identity, the transformation has seen the popularity of culinary tertiary education increase (see Shaw, 2002; Fine, 1995), as well as the recruitment of more women in professional kitchens (see Russell, 1997). But, on the surface, what has not improved has been that of the more clichéd industry stereotypes. These classifications have ranged from, ‘male’s are still being assumed first as head of the kitchen, or the Head Chef’, ‘that one culture⁴⁰ (or ethnicity) is still able to perform a specific talent better than another culture,’ ‘that large sectors of the culinary profession are still for the academically challenged’ (see Johns, 2003; Bray, 2004), or ‘that loud, aggressive, violent and intimidating behaviour is still prevalent in most professional kitchens.’⁴¹

However, in order to step beyond the diverse (and at times perplexing) issues of identity, there needs to be some attention paid to the ‘sociology of food’ and how it relates to modern culinary education.

Sociology of Food and Culinary Education

In most situations, the study of sociology has been limited to the practices of a specific group or social field. However, in the study of cuisine and its methods of production, it has typically been absorbed into larger areas of enquiry. And, this is where the individual characteristics of specific culinary arts have been pushed to one side - only to be observed as the ‘collective details’ that have signalled food availability, tool innovations, and collective social practices. Yet, as different the cuisines have advanced, they have become more independent, self-perpetuating and almost borderless. Where previously, individual cuisines had been dependent on their ‘fixed’ cultural and social customs, many have now progressed beyond these original sources (or centres) of conception. This can now be seen in the development and

⁴⁰ The cliché that ‘all French can cook’, or ‘only Belgium’s can make the best chocolate,’ or even ‘the best sushi chefs are only Asian.’

⁴¹ Ironically, there are still notices being run in most national newspapers, in the Job Vacancy section, which warns about human rights violations and adverse kitchen behaviour.

proliferation of ‘fusion’ foods, generic global produce, and the reinvention (or re-telling) of history and cultural origins through cuisine.

Yet, much culinary knowledge is still significantly affected by the traditionally accepted norms of society, in conjunction with its many unspoken conventions and regulations. In numerous situations society’s ‘rules’ have dictated such things as, who is permitted to cook, what is aloud to be consumed, what type of social taboos there are to be associated with specific foods and practices, what sort of religious and spiritual associations are to be made with particular foodstuffs, how and where traditional foods are to be sourced, and the type of treatment and valuing which ‘exotic’⁴² foods are to be given (see Civitello, 2004; Kluger, 2004; Sloan, 2004; Lyman, 1989).

In a most unexpected way, food and the culinary arts have also played an unusual role in the developing philosophies and practices of government and economics. Yet, in one context, the government has been interested in the establishment and maintenance of health and nutritional guidelines for the general public (see Coveney, 2000). And in another context, it has also been aware of (and active in) numerous contentious issues, which have related to the economic development and backing of ‘industrialised agriculture and food production’ (Duff, 1999, p. 77). In New Zealand’s (and Australia’s) situation, this has meant the promotion and consumption of local agricultural foodstuffs (both nationally and internationally) has been ongoing. And, it has also fated the population to numerous (hegemonic) ‘public service’ notices, on ‘what, why, where and how’ they should be eating. As Coveney (2000) observed this:

Educational strategies to improve nutrition and health were institutionalized as home sciences for girls in schools. And attempts at reforming the eating of masses along scientific lines became more common (p. 18).

Even so, for the most part this type of intervention and engineering had been fairly successful - as the public had fundamentally done what it had been told to do.

⁴² These foodstuffs have traditionally been either ‘prized’ or ‘repulsed’, such as Périgord Truffles or snake.

However, in the case of the United States, a compliant public and a master plan⁴³ to re-shape the domestic ‘wheat bowl’⁴⁴ and the American people, was economically viable in the long-term, but viable in little else. Yet, as Taubes (2002) had suggested, the gusto with which the government had sort to change the public’s buying, eating and cooking habits, had in reality, damaged the long-term health and shape of its people. And in addition to this, Taubes (2002) also noted that:

While the low-fat-is-good-health dogma represents reality as we have come to know it, and the government has spent hundreds of millions of dollars in research trying to prove its worth, the low-carbohydrate message has been relegated to the realm of unscientific fantasy (p. 1).

However, through the politicizing of food production, consumption and economics (on a global scale) there have been two key distinctions that have stood out. The first variation has been the alternatively promoted categories of fare between ‘primary’ domestic producers: specifically ‘wheat and soy’ in many larger Western economies, as opposed to ‘beef and lamb’ in the smaller Western and Non-Western competing economies. In particular, there have been characteristic differences between the two distinctive types of producers and how they have affected the diet and health of their respective populations. The second factor has been the impact that the various political influences have had, on the growth and development of their respective national cuisines; including the ultimate pressures that have been placed on the teaching and dissemination of food knowledge and practices.

However, in a more identifiably way the ‘social study’ of food, has itself also become a reflection of art – in both a visual, olfactory and in a gustatory sense. And in an unusual way, each culture has, through its arts⁴⁵ been ‘mirroring’ its developments in food and traditional dishes, with its development as a society and a people (see O’Neil, 2002; Schehr and Weiss, 2001). As O’Neil (2002) had remarked of Dr. Barbara Santich (an Adelaide University, Food Historian):

⁴³ Congress.

⁴⁴ The agriculture and farming industry had been made the main target for increased domestic production.

⁴⁵ As has been seen a numerous visual art displays in the last five years. For example, an AUT student’s bulk display of ‘ginger sponge kisses,’ which had been arranged on sticks – to create an illusionary ‘post modernistic’ garden (2000 – 2003).

Santich makes some very valid points, when drawing a comparison between the subject of gastronomy and that of art history. Particularly, with the observation that, when '[she] was reading a book on the history of art ... [she] thought if you could substitute the word 'cuisine' for 'art', you'd almost have the same book (p. 39).

And in a similar sense Schehr and Weiss (2001), have also described art and cuisine as sharing innumerable 'commonalities':

Modernist art and modern cuisine have a central trope in common: *invention*. Indeed, even simplification is a mode of invention. If there were to be a theorization of cuisine, it would constitute a theory of exceptions, nuances, refinements. Culinary taste would transform esthetics by redefining the limits of art within the human sensorium, and in doing so transform all previous relationships between the arts, and between the aestheticization of the senses. The gastronomic must no longer serve as a mere metaphor for the arts, but must take its place with the muses (p. 233).

In this respect, food, art and culture (society) have become indivisible. Nevertheless, there is still some debate as to whether or not 'cultural identity' and 'culinary knowledge' can really be claimed. As few cultures have been able to establish (to any great degree) that their 'original' cultural culinary knowledge has been theirs alone. In which, a number of writers suggested that, most cuisines were derivatives or fusions, which had ultimately come from somewhere else (see, Christensen-Yule and McRae, 2002; Ceserani, Kinton and Foskett, 2000). As Burton (2000) also pointed out, 'Any traditional cuisine you care to mention is a fusion to a greater or lesser extent' (p. xx). However, the exception to this notion – to this debate has been the 'fabrication'⁴⁶ and institutionalization of French cuisine. Where, after exploring the growth and embrace of French Food, Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) had discovered that:

Just as the European aristocracy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries spoke and wrote French, so too it "ate French" and relegated native culinary traditions to the status of poor relations. The culinary writers of nineteenth-century France found themselves in the enviable, and unique, position of working within a celebrated indigenous culinary tradition. The increasing centralization of French society and the attendant concentration of French cultural institutions - conditions matched nowhere else in Europe - further reinforced these associations between the nation and the elite cuisine (Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001, p. 26).

⁴⁶ In many instances the 'fabrication' of the cuisine had been the collective recognition of local/traditional dishes and the 'unrecognized' plagiarism of everyone else's cuisines – after being 'tweaked' to look French.

Languages of Food

Interestingly enough, this social/cultural identity with food and cuisine (and particularly its Frenchification), have also had many other implications for the languages of food. For the most part, there has been an assortment of metaphors and meanings, which have distinctly impacted on the craft, the profession, its education and the public's association with food. Primarily, this has ranged from the general language and comprehension of 'cooking instructions and recipes', 'professional kitchen and restaurant terminology'⁴⁷ (see Fine, 1995), 'aesthetic descriptions of taste, texture, color, and smell'⁴⁸ (see Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001), 'visual and artistic presentations (see Fine, 1995; Schnieder, 1997),' 'religious associations'⁴⁹, and 'culturally consuming activities and idioms'⁵⁰.

Even language of the 'menu', once traditionally written in 'French', now takes on a more contemporary in form - to that of the host country's tongue. However, other than the language of menu (or bill of fare), there is also the *style* of the 'dish' to contend with. Where even the 'dishes' time frame (for example, the 1960s and fondues, or the 1980s and Beef Wellington); its cultural origins (such as, Feijoas from South America and New Zealand, or traditional Cajun dishes from old Acadia and Louisiana); and its portion size (for instance, a selection of 'exquisite' miniature portions of a particular course on one plate is in the style of a *menu déguste* – tasting or sampling menu, or a thinly laid and artistically presented 'dish' is in the style of *nouvelle cuisine*) - all express an image and a nuance of the culinary voice.

Yet, as the different cultures, mix and exchange ideas, there is also an incorporation of multiple 'levels' of foodstuffs and food styles, which express the different 'social' levels of acceptability. Interestingly, in Burton's (2000), exploration of French colonial cookery he had attempted to identify the impact of the various 'culturally preferred' ingredients on food styles, and their influences on culinary acceptance. Of particular note had been the turn of events that Burton had witnessed, whilst doing his research in Europe⁵¹. At the time a major debate had erupted

⁴⁷ As an aspect of workplace enculturation.

⁴⁸ The associated language of 'smell' can be seen mirrored in the language of wine and perfume.

⁴⁹ An example of this has been fish on Fridays, Easter and hot-cross buns or Welsh cakes, or Christmas and Stollen or pithiviers.²

⁵⁰ This turn of phrases has included such things as, 'eating' Italian, French, Swedish, or Japanese.

⁵¹ September 1996.

between various prominent French chefs, as to what authentic French⁵² cuisine really was about and to who was really producing it. Yet, what had developed from this dispute, according to Ripe (1999) (another observer at the time), had been nothing short of ‘culinary ethnic cleansing’. As Burton (2000) had noted of the press releases at the time:

The statement went much further than a mere defence of French regional cuisine, condemning the globalization of cooking which threatens its very existence, and attacking certain chefs who 'wish to mix everything with anything on the plate to give the impression of innovation at all costs.' Reading more like a manifesto than a press release, it accused the experimenters of smothering flavours, of using spices to camouflage second-rate ingredients, sneeringly characterizing their style as *cuisine cache-misère* - a reference to an old-fashioned coat which buttoned up to the chin, its purpose being to conceal the wearer's lack of linen (p. xv).

However, the most significant of all the food languages is undoubtedly the ‘language’ with which it is taught. Primarily, this quadrant of knowledge provides the bridge between the lay-person and the professional, and the apprentice-journeyman and the master craftsman. It is also where the recognized language of food (and industry terminology) provides an access to more than just the industry itself.

Curiously, ‘French’ has been a common language in Western European culinary history for the last three hundred years or so. Still, there has been a successful interchange of alternative ‘culinary languages’, which have been based around Spanish, Dutch and German. For many centuries, millions of people have developed culinary practices that have been mostly in unison with the French; and who, have in turn been able to trade in a fairly ‘seamless’ repertoire of food customs themselves. However, in New Zealand’s current politically correct climate, it still needs to be questioned whether or not the promotion of a non-universal language⁵³ in place of a universal ‘culinary’ language - French, is going to be of any advantage to individuals (apprentices and journeymen) wanting to ply their trade on the international or overseas markets? Yet, realistically it must be argued that promoting a non-universal language in this context, is in the short-term supporting a ‘tokenism’ of the culture and people, and linguistically, ill-equipping the learners for a ‘world’ that just needs to be understood.

⁵² To add spices or to add herbs.

⁵³ For example, Te Reo Maori – see Christensen-Yule & McRae (2002). *The New Zealand Chef*.

According to Burton (2000), we are looking for excitement and originality in our food and this is something commonly understood to be achievable through the composition of ingredients. Yet, in what better way to make a statement about a culture and a people - than to let the dishes ingredients speak for themselves? As Burton (2000) observed:

What happened? Throughout the New World there grew the feeling that French cuisine might be caught around the neck by the noose of The Great Tradition. For all its refinement, people began to feel that it lacked excitement, healthiness and, above all, originality - all important culinary parameters in Australasia and the United States (p. xix).

Table 3

The Interwoven Themes of this Thesis

	Chapter 1. Introduction and Methodology	Chapter 2. The Early Journeyman	Chapter 3. The Journeyman	Chapter 4. The Modern Journeyman	Chapter 5. Looking Ahead
1. Politics	Personal Politics - Power and Control - Framing of Culinary History	Politics of Difference - Power and Control - Politics of Access	Political Agendas for Social Engineering - Power and Control - Politics of Religious Control	Political Control through Credentialism - Power and Control - Global Politics	Politics Reinvented and Redefined - Power and Control - New Paths
2. Education	Introduction to Sections - Education is contextualised: It happens within power structures that have agendas	Community Based Education - Idealised theories and concepts of Education	Vocational Education - Institutional Education - Changes in theory and practice of education	Commercial ('technical') education became more easily adaptable and profitable	Lifelong Learning and Communities of Learners

<p>3. Industry and Education: Industry-run Organisations</p>	<p>Industry education and the Epoch of the Culinary Journeyman - Chronology of the Guilds</p>	<p>Role of the Guilds: craft and trade guilds - Stewardship of craft and trade knowledge</p>	<p>Role of Guilds (Unions) - Educational industry bodies</p>	<p>Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) - Decontextualised professional knowledge</p>	<p>Education as Education and Industry as Industry - Their limited role in defining and providing education</p>
<p>4. Education Apprentice Style Learning</p>	<p>Definition of apprentice and situated learning - Education processes and pedagogies</p>	<p>Developing apprentices style learning and apprenticeships - Establishment of codes of practice</p>	<p>Re-configuration of apprentice education involving Industry, Education and State</p>	<p>Modern Apprenticeships</p>	<p>Evolutionary similarities and differences of apprentice style learning</p>
<p>5. Valued Culinary Knowledge and Education</p>	<p>Introduction to ideas of valued culinary knowledge - Culinary knowledge as a ‘tool’ of transmission - Fashion and Art</p>	<p>Knowledge embedded in relationships, geography, ‘authentic’ contexts, and situated **</p>	<p>French culinary knowledge - contextualized in New Zealand - Rise of celebrity chefs – giving status to both profession and domestic food</p>	<p>Issues of culinary knowledge development</p>	<p>Culinary knowledge as Celebrity, as Arts, as Tourism - Culinary education for sale – culinary knowledge as a cog within multinational production-line enterprise (The possibly ‘McDonaldisation’ of culinary education)</p>

<p>6. Valued Knowledge within a Community</p>	<p>Introduction to ideas and concepts of valued knowledge and community identity</p>	<p>Knowledge embedded in relationships, geography, ‘authentic’ contexts, and situated **</p>	<p>Knowledge for citizenship – Access to knowledge and community</p>	<p>Knowledge commodified and decontextualised - Valued knowledge and continuing issues of access</p>	<p>Community of Learners - Changing identity - Place-based knowledge</p>
<p>7. Force Majeur: Significant Changes and Events</p>	<p>Assumption: Culinary Education (and knowledge) is created and maintained within a changing world – typically war, famine, and natural disasters</p>	<p>Explorers and Trades - Changing social systems and sociopolitical agendas - The Printing Press</p>	<p>Travel - Colonisation - Recognition of human rights</p>	<p>Internet - Non-traditional migration (i.e. not in connection to colonising forces) - Great leaps in science</p>	<p>Globalisation – Homogenisation and diversification - Technology</p>

Outline of Chapters

Overview

The first chapter details the culminating aspects of education, industry and politics, and the forthcoming exploration of the (modern) journeyman. The second chapter shows a snapshot of the (early) journeyman's development and that of the recognized practices of apprentice style education. The third chapter develops the concept of 'education' shifting into more formalized settings, and the tumultuous periods of social revolution and political (State/religious) influence, which contributed to this. The fourth chapter provides an abbreviated description of the reinvented (modern) journeyman/ modern apprentice, and the global development of information technology and the entertainment media. The fifth chapter explores the cycles that have been covered in the previous chapters, and the revolving issues of 'power and control', citizenship, and the commodification of knowledge. These five chapters provide a basic foundation on the voyage taken to bring 'craft and trade education' and the archetypal journeyman to the tertiary institution's doorstep. They also offer an insight into the practices of mentored craft and trade education and the effects of external socio-political influences, on the nature of the culinary profession and culinary education practices.

Chapter 1: Introduction and Methodology

Chapter One introduces the concept of the journeyman, craft and trade education, the chronology of the guilds and it describes how these factor in the proceeding chapters. It highlights themes of identity, sociology and language, and their importance in forthcoming discussions on industry, education and political influence. The discussion on methodology is situated around the assorted interpretations of 'power and control' that Machiavelli, Foucault and Lyotard have explored (along with Durkheim and Fukuyama); and where each individual has formulated a theory on how and why – society, the State and the development of labour has emerged. The central focus is the interrelation of all aspects of educational practice, industry education, tertiary education and political control.

Essentially, it is suggested that the craft and trade education of the (New Zealand) journeyman/apprentice is inseparable from the historically evolving institutions of Western Civilization, and the cyclic trends of the *Culinary* Journeyman's Epoch.

Chapter 2: The Early Journeyman

Chapter Two details the creation of formalised teaching and learning practices that had been apprentice/mentor-based and endorsed by the small collective groups and early city states. It presents the theory that craft and trade education had been inseparable from the context and situation in which it was practiced. Where, throughout the education process, the connection between the individual, the community and the craft was indivisible. The discussion in this chapter also focuses around the practical and ideological notions of Machiavelli (and Durkheim), and the progressive dominance of a small propertied *intelligentsia* - over everyone else. The investigation then proceeds to look at the more sophisticated development of political control and influence over all knowledge and education.

The main contention of this chapter is that the development of the early journeyman and the concurrent expansion of the guilds were inseparable from the politics of power and control – and the evolution of 'economic man' and society as a whole.

Chapter 3: The Journeyman

Chapter Three follows the industry driven development of educational practices and new areas of knowledge, creativity and trade. In this chapter it is contended that (theoretical and practical) education had been used for 'secondary' purposes and that the pressures, which had brought this to bear were chiefly politically motivated and minded. This chapter's discussion evolves around Foucault's concept of engineered social conformity and making of the 'watcher and watched' as one in the same. Together with the use and advantage of dominance (and chastisement) and the playing of personal fears and superstitions to achieve desired ends. This chapter then continues to look at the development of schools and institutions, and their place and connection to the developing Journeyman and culinary education.

The central assertion of this chapter is that the journeyman's education had become specifically targeted and connected to the newly evolved industry-based communities, which

were in effect becoming part of the larger socio-economic and political movements of the epoch.

Chapter 4: The Modern Journeyman

Chapter Four examines the changing pressures of State and global politics (direct influences), and the unanticipated coercive intensity of the entertainment media (indirect influences), to drive education as a decontextualised commodity. It raises the point that ownership and access to knowledge and education is subjective and reliant on ‘time, place, position, economics and technology’; and has in some senses become ‘everyman or everywoman, for him or her self’. The examination incorporates Lyotard’s concept of controlling knowledge through technology, and how this notion has worked in with global politics, State management and some of the wider reaching aspects of economic reckoning. The Modern Journeyman considers the politicisation of industry and professional knowledge, and the ‘inadvertent’ development of production-line education.

The overall argument offered in this chapter is that the modern journeyman’s education had expanded into a practice of strategy (or *stratagem*), which had been exasperated by economic politics and culturally promoted narcissism – as a derivative of earlier evolved ‘conspicuous consumption’.

Chapter 5: Looking Ahead

Chapter Five returns to each of the three central themes – education, industry, and politics – that were raised in the previous four chapters. It also considers the current state of affairs of professional culinary tertiary education and some of the revolutionary changes which have contributed to increased global awareness and communication. Furthermore, it also focuses on the *new world order* or universal consciousness which is currently being fashioned on education and used to generate potential inventions (and futures), as well as rediscovered cultural roots. It proposes that cyclic lifelong learning is inevitable and desirable in an every changing, reinventing, culturally hybridizing world. This chapter’s discussion largely centres on Taylor, Wacker, and Means’s (2001) hypothesis that, in order to realize new potentials and futures we have to shift away from indiscriminately applying ‘old solutions’ to new challenges and problems – both individual, institutional, industrial and political. In Looking Ahead, the

synergy or synchronization of ‘educationally, industrially, and politically’ isolated parties is discussed and the possible innovation of ‘power and control’ issues are put forward.

The sheer breadth and depth of interrelated topics and headings that have contributed to the themes of the Journeyman and culinary education have been enormous. Yet, because of the scale of this subject matter and the limited time frame of this thesis, the amount of information amassed and findings documented has had to be severely pruned in order to fit the final submission.

There has been some incredibly ‘rich’, ‘dark’, and ‘textured’ subject matter that has only been touched on and which still deserves to be explored at some greater length (with more contributory voices to the discussion). The theme of the Modern Journeyman is an evolving one and it has issues that will not be neatly tidied up with the conclusion of a thesis or the passing of an *Education Act*. It is essentially integrated and interconnected with areas that many tertiary educators (who practice this type of craft and trade education in), would at first glance not deem as ‘part of their problem’ or ‘part of their concern’. However, as Parker Palmer (1998) had made the point that, what we are dealing with (in the context of interrelated parts of the whole) is in fact ‘a culture of disconnection that undermines leading and learning [and] is partly driven by fear’. Parker continues thus:

But it is also driven by our Western commitment to thinking in polarities, a thought form that elevates disconnection into an intellectual virtue. This way of thinking is so embedded in our culture that we rarely escape it, even when we try... (p. 61).

In many senses this is a related concern within each area of the ‘journeyman’s’ construction - politics, industry, and the academe - that has to be dealt with; and is well beyond the magic or ‘alchemy of [any] political slogan⁵⁴’ (Williams, 2004).

⁵⁴ Williams (2004) proposed that the ‘modern scientific method of rhetorical divination’, or the weighing-up or social forecasting of well-received ‘political’ positions - requires the careful coordination of phrases that are ‘feel-good’, ‘neutral’ and can mean a number of things.

THE EARLY JOURNEYMAN

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*Chapter 2***Introduction***Boundaries of Epoch*

The boundaries of this epoch are, in some contexts, overlapping with the margins of the next. For the ‘Early Journeyman’, the epoch is approximately from 1000 B.C. to the mid-late 19th century. The variances and commonalities between this epoch and that of the ‘Journeyman’ are found in the transition points of: ‘exploration and trade’ shifting into ‘colonisation’, ‘changing social systems’ being refocused into ‘the recognition of human rights’; and the blurred changeover in some areas of ‘traditional apprenticeship’ and the evolving spheres of ‘public or State education.’

Major Developments

The numbers of developments and advances, which have taken place within this time-frame, have been as broad as they have been varied. Yet, in many of the changes which have ensued, there have been three ‘major’ influences (basically, *Forces Majeur*) that have emerged pivotal for the ‘Early Journeyman’: the advent of early traders and explorers (who underscored the notion of ‘economic value and exchange’), the slowly shifting social structures (such as, feudalism replacing tribalism, or hereditary monarchy being superseded by liberal democracy); and finally, Johann Gutenberg’s invention of the (forerunner to the modern) printing press⁵⁵, with moveable metal type in 1455.

Key Insights Contained in this Chapter

The key insights in this chapter are that:

- Learning has always been in the company of others and in a place where there have been oral narratives, which has been co-ordinated with authentic practice.
- The introduction of the guilds signalled an acknowledgement of craft and trade knowledge having fiscal, as well as aesthetic worth.

⁵⁵ This was used to print the first Bible (42-lines per page) – the Gutenberg Bible.

- The early nascency of the culinary journeyman also established, at the start, what the ‘quintessential’ qualities of this journeyman were to become.
- The recognition and definition of professional knowledge politicised education and made it an object of power and control;
- And, with this factor in place craft and trade (culinary) education became a source of multipurpose ‘industry and education’ human development.

The Journeyman of this Era

The Early Journeyman Origins

The concept of the ‘early journeyman’ is an archetypal ‘everyman’ embodying the development and evolution of early education: from the culture-defining family and community-based education, to the acquisition of a professional craft and appropriate trade practices. This remarkable change in education and status occurred during this first ‘epoch’ of the journeyman. Yet the basic style of learning remained the same for these 2000 years: the early journeyman learned through apprenticeships with more skilled others.

Onions (1984) positioned the first use of the term ‘journeyman’ as occurring in the Middle Ages – about 1424.

From the Middle Ages onwards, the literature shows evidence of the ‘journeyman’ being clearly the second phase of a three part learning process: As Salt and Sinclair (1957) observed:

When the APPRENTICE had completed his term, and was qualified in his craft, he could seek employment as a journeyman - a word of French origin, meaning working and paid by the day. He was usually expected to stay on for a year with his own master; and, before he himself could be admitted as a master, he was called upon to prove that 'he was full perfect in his craft' and 'of good conversation and living'. He was also at times required to provide a sample of his work, or 'masterpiece,' as it was then sometimes called. These careful regulations were made to encourage a sense of responsibility, and to protect the public and the craft from unskilled workers who would discredit the trade (p. 143).

Despite the depth and breadth of this epoch (1000BC – 19th century), the early journeyman, was only at the nascency of his evolutionary development. Yet Durkheim (1989) maintained that either total success or complete failure was reliant on the ‘solidarity’ of craft and trade guilds, which Durkheim labelled 'corporations.' For most communities, this solidarity had

involved the shared education of apprentices and journeymen, the creation of contracts, rules, and regulations; and the development of self-governing ‘corporations’ or guilds.

Although these corporations met their earlier demise with the decline of the Roman Empire, by the Middle Ages, the re-emergence of the ‘corporations’ had been well underway. However, this time the corporations (or, as the guilds were known) had become notably more respected, and had a more dependable role to play in the budding new communities. There were now opportunities for craftsmen and tradesmen to function as equals, rather than opponents.

Durkheim (1989) speculated that:

The workman everywhere lived side by side with his master, sharing in his work 'in the same shop, on the same bench'. Both formed part of the same corporation and led the same existence. 'Both were almost equal to each other; he who had completed his apprenticeship could, at least in many trades, set up his own, if he had the wherewithal' (p. 292).

In addition to this, there were also new developments in the practice of Statecraft and in the practice of mercantilism, which were to have major influence on future trade and education. The first of these was the strongly politically promoted development of craft and trade. The second had been the creation and instigation of a better educated ruling class – the Frankish King, Charlemagne (742-814) instigated a compulsory education plan for the governing classes in late 780s Western Europe. This occurred largely because of the newly expanding political structures that had initiated increased, long-distance trading. At the same time the State had been able to actively promoting the establishment of schools and travelling masters. Previously, it had been customary for education to take place in a limited number of locations, this situation made education much more mobile and the type of knowledge taught, much more homogeneous. This was the case for Charlemagne’s push to get a better educated nobleman, more mobile tutors, and a more productive craft and trade class.

This type of State involvement meant that a certain amount of consistency was being instilled into the traditional trading practices, social customs, political procedures, and into the hierarchical of divisions of labour. Beyond the early development of Mediæval Western European society - typified by the many aspects of art, religion, invention, and illness – there

were also the influences of the expanding communities and multi-cultural migrations, the growing consumption of ‘new’ foods and luxury goods.

Part A - Education and Society

1.1 Education in this epoch / Context

Apprentice Style Learning in this Era

The ‘Apprentice-Journeyman-Master’ approach has its foundations in traditionally Western and Non-Western education; where knowledge has had a place and a value in the community. The educational base, which all cultures have shared, has been the teaching of ‘knowledge’ through a mentored/guided process (Reagan 2000).

Because of the predominantly oral nature of this education and the slow development of literacy (which has put the majority of early cultures into the ‘prehistory’ bracket), records on culinary education – rather than just its folklore and theory⁵⁶ – have been limited. In some instances, it may well be contended that the lengthy duration of teaching and learning in this area has meant that it was assumed that everyone understood how it was expected to occur.

The unofficial or ‘organic’ apprenticed education was widespread and not limited by the ideology or social structure of the community in which it has taken place; apprenticeships have existed within such diverse social structure as tribalism, feudalism, capitalism, communism, monarchism.

However, Lawson and Silver (1973) suggested that formal early apprenticeships did not exist beyond the town populations, and arose within the feudal social systems. Apprenticeships ... ‘did not apply to unskilled trades and hence the vast majority of labouring men. Some guilds (sic) specifically excluded villeins' sons, but in any case until 1406 they could no more be apprenticed than sent to school without the landlord’s permission’ (Lawson, 1973, p. 74). These formal apprenticeships were integral to the formation of the guilds – their rules and regulations laid down about the participation, duration, and outcomes of the apprenticeship.

The time duration of many apprenticeship systems was not static. It was affected by external factors such as disease, illness and mortality rates and the related affects of population

⁵⁶ The theories have included philosophies of eating, such as the ‘positive and negative’ of the early Greek period, the ‘Four Humors’ of the Mediaeval times, and the ‘Ying and Yang’ of the Chinese ‘Tao’ (See Civitello, 2004, p. 55).

expansion or decline. Economic reasons were also significant: the relative state of the profession within the commercial world and the expansion and development of commerce itself. Especially significant here was the effect of ocean travel and trade, trade and borough development, and international trade contracts.

During the Middle Ages, support from the Catholic Church impacted on how the guilds ran:

During the Middle Ages, the economy, which had been based upon the guilds, both merchant and craft, had maintained its position largely by the support of the Catholic Church which had insisted upon fair prices and had outlawed usury, or the charge of high interest rates. The church had actually permitted the loaning of money only when there was a shared risk rather than through interest charges - although apparently this restriction was widely violated. The churches also, theoretically at least, supported the idea that persons should own and desire only enough to subsist and that the worldly goods were not nearly as important as getting ready for the world to come (Pounds, 1968, p. 134).

Valued Knowledge Rests in the Situation

For most of this long epoch, education was based around the family, tribe and village creating a community of learning, which relied on common language and ways of thinking. According to Lawson and Silver (1973), education was a family affair ‘confined to the ancestral skills of farming and fighting, knowledge of the power of nature, and oral folk traditions about gods and heroes, demons and monsters’ (p. 8). This learning was largely informal in the sense of not being written down which tended to ground the relevant knowledge within relationships (Reagan, 2000).

The shift from oral education into written education included a change in the authority to educate, and access to the written word, which had for millennia been the domain of the Church. The combination of the invention of the printing press and the Protestant Reformation revolutionised literacy. As Lawson and Silver (1973) explained:

Clearly, long before 1500 education had ceased to be the effective monopoly of churchmen, purveyed and controlled by them. Literacy implied the ability to read or write in English rather than in Latin, and it was the possession of all sections of the lay public, in towns at least, though to an extent that cannot be measured. Here, in the existence on an enlarged English-reading (and therefore more open minded and critical) laity, we have one of the conditions that contributed to the causes of the Reformation (p. 85).

Along with the changing power bases⁵⁷ and the gradual devolution of the feudal surf/slavery system in Medieval Europe, the Church stepped in to be the ‘educator’ (Fletcher, 1961), as well as controller of the written word.

Initially, the Churches conducted their education so as to contribute to their own ranks - that is, to train priests. However, after the Church began to lose their political and social power, for many to hold on to their lands and property and supporting incomes, churches they had to do establish public schools and to visibly support the reigning monarchy (Austin, 1965).

Public or general schooling promoted the development of civic education, obedience and the reproduction of their distinctive philosophies. Pounds (1968) described this practice as a part of reproductive cultural transmission. Similarly Mansfield (2002) and Eisenstein (1998) had described this as the ‘simulacra of simulation’: the repetition of a cultural ideal, image, or ideology. Beyond these considerations, the school’s provision of ‘knowledge content’ was minimal. As Lawson and Silver (1973) noted in their study of the history of English education:

The purpose of the schools was simple - to teach children to read the bible, and, in Hannah More's words, 'to train up the lower classes in habits of industry and piety'. In 1791 the children of Lincoln were 'taught to read, to say the Church Catechism, and short Morning and Evening Prayers ... They are instructed in such plain religious truths as they can understand; such as will direct and fix their faith, improve their hearts, and regulate their manners.' Hannah More considered writing an unnecessary accomplishment for the poor, and this view was widely held. The Wesleyans particularly opposed the teaching of writing in their Sunday schools (pp. 239-240).

The mirroring of practices and preferences in educational methods and influences were inescapable; they were carried into all manner of schooling with every application of cultural colonisation.

For centuries, it was assumed that vocational education – cooking, sewing, gardening, child rearing and animal husbandry – was natural to pick up. Children would accompany a family member to watch them practice their craft; and at the same time they would have heard the associated stories and narratives. In the process they would have not only learnt the practical

⁵⁷ ‘In 800 Charlemagne was crowned by the pope in Rome, and from this date the Empire was styled the Holy Roman Empire, a title which survived until 1806’ (Fletcher, 1961, p. 257).

part of the task, but other values of their community would have been incorporated at the same time. This method was common in both Western and non-Western communities of education. As Jack Forbes reflected in his discussion on traditional Native American education philosophy:

What is the purpose of education? ... [I]t is not primarily the acquisition of specific skills or factual knowledge. Rather it is learning how to be a human being. That is, how to live a life of the utmost spiritual quality. A person who has developed his character to the highest degree, and who is on that path, will also be able to master specific skills. But if they don't have that spiritual core, they will use those skills to hurt other people.... So knowledge without the spiritual core is a very dangerous thing (Forbes, 1979, cited in Reagan, 2000, p. 89).

Later the changes of significance and focus in the education of the upper classes came about because of concepts of humanism which had been adopted in the 16th century Western European societies. Along with its change of learning emphasis in education, there were also the implications of access to a greater wealth of knowledge, through the printed word. Lawson and Silver (1973) reasoned that:

The new printing trade enormously enlarged its scope and potential so far as literate society in general was concerned. Teachers, their pupils and the reading public at large had access to a much greater range of books - on history, law, science, travel and religion, both English and in English translations - and not least in practical instruction manuals on writing, cyphering and vocational skills like pedagogy, husbandry, navigation, metallurgy and architecture. Informal self-education became possible as never before. The educated classes became book readers and new ideas and new knowledge was disseminated on a scale previously unknown, shaping public attitudes to problems of government, religion and society (p. 93).

Control of information was increasingly difficult to hold within one group. Sponsorship of craft and trade education meant that that education became a tool of exchange, control and barter. Subsequently, any formalised or contracted education (academic or apprenticed) brought with it more formalised restrictions, such as age, gender and class. In 16th century Britain government involvement was intended to be for the mediation and brokering of apprenticeship – the most common form of education at that time.

By the arrival of the 19th century, ‘poor houses’ were becoming prevalent in Britain and the education offered was of a vocational nature. In Britain, the parliament continued to pass

various Acts, such as the ‘1854 *Youthful Offenders Act*’- to place disobedient, abandoned or orphaned children in reformatory schools (that in reality were crude workhouses), which taught simple vocational skills and worked the children until they dropped.

In the context of early European education in New Zealand and Australia, the State and Church were closely entwined. In both Australia in the 1700s and New Zealand in the 1800s, (superficially) peaceable Church groups and missionary societies had travelled with many of the First Fleets and colonists. But Moon (1998) noted that amongst Governor Hobson’s (1840-1842) many problems in colonial New Zealand was a barrage of constantly opposing religious groups. It was not until provincial government acts, like the ‘University of Otago Ordinance 1869’ that the first State monitored schools came into existence. Murdoch, a School Inspector of the 1930s-1940s, also observed in his early records of school founding’s that:

Elementary education was not finally admitted to be a legitimate State service until the *Education Act* of 1870, and it was not until the Acts of 1902-3 that the secondary education was also treated as a proper object of large public expenditure (Murdoch, 1943, p. 6).

So for most of the 19th century, the link between church and education was not only normal, but acceptable. The shift to State control is – looking back across the broad sweep of this epoch – a relatively recent development.

1.2 Industry/Vocational/Adult Education

The Rise and Fall, and Rise and Fall of the Guilds – Industry and education encounter politics

In the 10th and 11th centuries, the first and most powerful guilds were the merchant and trader guilds which were established as the first charter and trading companies. Ocean travel coupled with trade was beginning to be exploited, exotic markets were opening up and expanding; anything and everything of curiosity was being bought and traded. Together, Merchant and Trader guilds controlled the burgeoning markets, regulated weights and measures, collected tolls and (somewhat later on) they were to negotiate legal ‘charters’ that bestowed ‘borough’ statuses on their towns (Burton, 2000; Salt & Sinclair, 1957; Van Otterloo, 2002).

The larger Guilds began to not only regulate the practices of their members; they actively ensured the accuracy and currency of any education which their apprentices and journeymen were receiving – especially for the higher technically skilled trades who required the knowledge of reading, writing and mathematics. For this reason, in many apprentice contracts of the 18th and 19th centuries, there was a clause stipulating a measure of prior schooling. As Lawson and Silver (1973) explained:

In the leaders of trades in London and the larger towns a seven-year term was normal by early Tudor times, boys being accepted at fourteen or so on giving proof of their literacy and paying premiums that varied according to the exclusiveness of the gild [*sic*]. Apprentices came from the middle social groups - substantial burgesses, yeomen, craftsmen and the younger sons of gentry - and in London they were drawn from all parts of the country. They were feed, clothed, housed and taught by their master in his own house and workshop, and often they formed a noisy, boisterous and even turbulent element in urban society (p. 122).

The Guilds to varying degrees demonstrated their active control over all facets of their trade education. This also meant that they had the power over all the ‘taught’ or ‘colonising’ ideologies – essentially, it had been a case of ‘who defines – decides’.

For the most part, the Merchant and Trade Guilds had a greater control over their own destiny, than many of the lesser significant individuals did. It was the Guild’s wealth, contacts, and influences that both attracted and repelled both the State and Church to them. On numerous occasions, the heavy spending monarchs would extract taxes and loans (that were never repaid). This was particularly true in Britain where ‘Charles I and Charles II, who were always short of money, also took money from the companies, sometimes openly and blatantly as forced levies or loans, and sometimes more politely in the guise of subscriptions to various objects’ (Salt & Sinclair, 1957, p. 106). For the Guilds, being needed and pursued by the large institutions meant that, they were in effect able to stay in control.

It was not until the introduction of a royal ‘charter’ (or license) on the trade and exploration of a country’s citizens, that a royal monopoly was effectively placed on the merchants and traders activities. This meant that a fee was payable to the crown on all subsequent findings and profits of the company’s voyages, and that at least one of the appointed company directors had to be a member of the royal family, or someone in government. The earliest of

these chartered companies was called the Company of ‘Merchant Adventurers’ and it was formed in the late 13th to early 14th century (Salt & Sinclair, 1957).

The majority of the merchant and traders guilds became increasingly secular and self-sufficient, and in most cases self-influencing. The evolution of their crafts and professions meant that changes continually had to be made to their education syllabuses. But, rather than building a smooth alliance between many of their communities and themselves; a number of the Guilds stood in a self-imposed exile where a type of self-sufficient elitism was flaunted. Numerous merchant and trader guilds later formed their own schools to provide tuition for their own children’s general education and their apprentices’ trade education. Initially, they only employed temporary grammar masters to teach the students, until the establishment of their more permanent schools (Lawson & Silver, 1973). As time advanced it was becoming clearer that knowledge had accumulated ‘power’ and ‘value’.

Directly and indirectly, however, religion and the changing ideological/political structures eventually influenced the guilds in their approach to formal education: belonging to the ‘right’ religious denomination – for example, members of the Guilds could not be a Catholic, and were expected to be Masons. However, before this period, guild-sponsored training was the ‘kind of education over which the Church exerted little or no influence’ (Lucas, 1972, p. 217).

So from the beginning of the Middle Ages, the merchant and traders guilds were powerful enough to survive and evolve; yet they remained the era’s ‘power mongers’ – both in front of and behind the scenes. In many ways they were dissimilar from the multinational, global corporations of the 21st century.

Amongst their lasting achievements is the rise of the petit bourgeois in the 18th and 19th centuries, countering traditional royal and noble bloodlines. But even centuries earlier merchants and their guilds were challenging and sometimes dominating monarchies and governments. The wool guilds and merchants of Italy were famed for their political manipulation. In the Low Lands (later Holland) in 1848 the power of the guilds led to them seizing many of the sovereign’s powers from the ruling monarchy, and eventually gaining control of their province (Van Otterloo, 2002).

Guilds for Craft and Trade

In contrast to the ‘highly technical skilled trades’ (like the goldsmiths, grocers, haberdashers, mercers, and merchant tailors), the traditional craft professions (such as husbandry, weaving, baking, blacksmithing, and gardening) were built around cognitively developed skills and knowledge that had been passed on orally.

According to Salt and Sinclair (1957), the Craft Guilds were arguably:

[One of the] most important economic organizations of the later Middle Ages, [a] craft guild consisted of all the skilled workers of a single trade, or 'craft', working together within a town. It was the offshoot of an earlier form of guild, the Merchant Guild, then known as 'Guild Merchant', which was a mixed association of all the qualified traders of a town, with special rights for its members to engage in wholesale trading and retail trading within the town on market days and at other times, without having to pay tolls or customs. There were a hundred towns in England with merchant guilds, of which the first was set up at Buford in Oxfordshire, as early as 1087 (p. 143).

The Craft and Trade Guilds also had closer ties with their local community, and in most cases were operating on a much smaller scale than the Merchants and Traders. This can be seen in the village bakers, market gardeners, blacksmiths (come dentists), milliners, millers. In a number of cases, regional restrictions developed – for example: lace making in Brussels, the production of Port in Spain, smoked fish from the seaport towns and village. Crops such as cotton, grapes and even cocoa beans were contained with specific regional and agricultural areas (Beckett, 2000).

The guilds were challenged and, at times, threatened by various significant struggles in their developing societies – yet ultimately, this led to growth and shifting powers within the feudal and monarchy systems the cultural and industrial revolutions, the advancements of travel and transportation, to the discovery of new sciences (for example, the weighing of air and gases, by Boyle⁵⁸ in 1663). This has also included, the sophisticated development of social customs (namely, eating with a fork or consuming a meal in public with both sexes at the table), and the intricate weaving of politics and faith into the respective social psyches.

But many of the different trades and crafts have also further contributed to their own expanding divisions of specialist knowledge. In most cases, these discoveries have been

⁵⁸ When water reaches ‘boiling point’ - the science that is behind this can be attributed to this man i.e. ‘Boyle’s Law’.

made in the course of their daily activities. And in some instances their discoveries have been lucky accidents, or as Bandura (2002) described it, as the process of ‘serendipity.’

‘Valued knowledge’ (including vocational knowledge) and the specialised and specific knowledge evolved in its own provenance.

In the case of the culinary profession, particularly in France, many of the guilds were divided up in accordance to the parts of the animal being cooked and used, and the specific cooking methodology being applied. For example, the bread baker would be in a separate guild from the pastry/sweet cook, and the pie baker would be separate from the cake baker. Thus the specialisation of knowledge dictated the guild affiliation and access to education.

In many instances, the stranglehold placed by the Merchants and Traders Guilds on the smaller guilds and practicing craftsmen, created new practices in their education and handling of apprentices. Often the dramatic changes in the ‘focus and priority’ of education had put at risk the creativity and artistry of the profession. For the craft guilds, this had been explicitly provoked by issues of protectionism, closed-shops, and the blocking of journeymen from their aspirations of being master craftsmen. Prior to this period, Salt and Sinclair (1957) described their education as being a part of ‘the golden age of the craft guilds’ (p. 17).

Two major revolutions – one after another – turned Guilds upside down, along with the economic and social worlds of Western Europe. The French Revolution in the 18th century particularly affected the French craft guilds that served the aristocracy. In particular, there were the wigmakers, dressmakers, toiletries and perfume makers and chefs (cuisiniers), to name but a few. Culinary guilds were amongst the casualties. As Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) pointed out:

... [The] Revolution set the restaurant on its modern course of development. By doing away with all restrictions on which establishments could serve what foods in what form, the abolition of the guilds spurred culinary competition and promoted a number of former chefs to the now exiled members of the aristocracy to put their culinary talents in the service of the general elite public (as opposed to a private patron) (p. 11).

The Industrial Revolution gave rise to new processes and new jobs. Apprenticeships were used to hire, rather than educate, young people working in factories. Supervision of

apprentices was problematic as the Guilds disappeared and Acts of Parliament supporting the apprenticeships were seen as impediments to the new industries:

As new industries arose during the INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION and the guilds continued to lose their influence, the Justices applied the Act of 1563 only to crafts named in it or being practiced when it was passed, and apprenticeship began to lose ground. When industry was expanding still further and becoming mechanized in the early 19th century, many of the old apprenticeship rules were thought to be a hindrance to enterprise, and in 1814 Parliament passed an Act abolishing the more important parts of the Act of 1563 (Salt & Sinclair, 1957, p. 17).

The Craftsman⁵⁹

The title of ‘craftsman’ had originally been used to show the individual’s identity and achievement. In the context of ‘practicing one’s craft’ it has also had connotations that have run deeper than most words have been able to imply today. For the most part, craft has denoted the artistic, creative ability of the individual and in some cases it has also implied the particular mystical, magical abilities of the early doctors and herbalists. It has also described a devotee or disciple of the trade, as well as depicting the professional execution of the trade. Conversely, it has also been a title that has been used as an accusation of craftiness and dishonesty. As Salt and Sinclair (1957) had observed, ‘Not all medieval workmen were reliable. “A medieval craftsman”, it has been said, “was not called a man of the craft for nothing” (p. 144).

The concepts that related to a craftsman’s identity have had some provoking theories attached to them. In particular, there have been assumptions which have related to the gendered nature of specific crafts and the actual accessibility of the crafts knowledge. In some instances, there has been the deliberate obstruction of outsiders wanting to join a certain craft or profession. In particular, when the individuals ‘face has not fitted’ the identity⁶⁰ of the profession or the preferred characteristics of the profession’s gate keepers, then their entry has been blocked. This type of ‘identity’ rejection was observed in Reagan’s (2000) study of non-Western educational practices:

⁵⁹ Again – gender-neutral terms are difficult to locate or to create – ‘craftsperson’? The use of ‘craftsman’ is chosen as the traditional term, but readers should mentally include the craftswomen in their mental picture of who is being referred to.

⁶⁰ This has been the case in many traditionally bastioned professions, such as nursing, cheffing, mechanics and law.

[Until] fairly recently the contribution of women to the Western education tradition were largely ignored, in part as a result of overlooking the contributions of specific individual women, but even more, by defining *education* in such a way as to eliminate from discussion what might be called the "reproductive" (as opposed to the "productive") aspects of education. Thus, although throughout virtually all of the Western historical tradition women have played the central role in raising children and in educating them, this was largely ignored in formal studies of the development of the Western educational tradition (Reagan, 2000, p. 5).

Interestingly enough, the craftsman exists within his claim of ownership – ownership of the knowledge, the skill, and the identity – the right to be given the right to know and to learn. Craftsmen and tradesmen instigated educational practices, long before the church and state stepped in. As a result education had to be purposeful and connected with the task at hand; it was not necessarily used as a means for social control – only the identification of craft and skill ownership.

Even before the formalization or institutional acknowledgement and promotion of the crafts and craftsmen – craftsmen controlled their own education and defined its purpose. In many cases the external control of crafts and craftsmen was superficial. This is possibly why many crafts referred to their 'brotherhoods'. This also demonstrated the slant taken towards apprentice/mentor learning. In many instances, political and economic survival relied on individual thinking. Failure arose when the groups be could conned by a single individual, such as Machiavelli's Prince.

Economically, the development of many crafts was spurred on by the Church and State patronage. However, it could be argued that the craftsmen could live without 'church and state', but the 'church and state' could not live without the craftsmen. This was particularly true of the stone masons, and the printers, who eventually replaced the *Scriptoriums* of the church (Lawson & Silver, 1973, p.123).

Yet, in Foucault's calculation of the economic 'why', he had not taken into account the involvement and sponsorship of craftsmen, by outside bodies; that would ultimately change the focus of their education and priority of their trade.

1.3 Culinary Education

Culinary Education in this 2000 year Period

The recorded history of culinary education for the 2000 years up to the late 19th century is mostly sketchy and incomplete. Many of the early treatises on food practices and customs involved wordy accounts of traveller's journeys, decisions about medicine, superstition, religious rites and customs, and the 'conspicuous consumption'⁶¹ of the early noble courts and houses (Germov and Williams, 1999).

One of the first of these accounts was the *De re coquinaria*⁶² (translated - 'Cooking Matters' or 'Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome'), a culinary manuscript written by Apicius – a (non-cooking) Roman citizen from the 1st century (A.D.). Food historian Linda Civitello (2004) ascertained that while there is more information about banquets because the wealthy and educated wrote them, 'information about other classes is sparse' (p. 42). Nevertheless, it took another couple of hundred years, before there would be any major advancement in the writing of cookbooks and culinary texts, by cooks and chefs.

Culinary education was initially taught informally. Advanced skills in cooking for large numbers of people, really only started to be required with the increase and centralisation of populations, and the development of make-shift kitchens – to cook for armies and hunting parties. It was these latter situations in particular that gave rise to specialised culinary knowledge and practical skills being incorporated into one key role.

Public appreciation of highly skilled, professional cookery did not develop in Western Europe until 1799, and the end of the French Revolution. The more widespread consumption of 'non-home' cooked food became popular in the 18th and 19th centuries with the opening of restaurants, coach inns, and 'high-end' public kitchens. Prior to this, the early Greeks and Romans had had inns, but their achievements were on a much smaller scale compared with what was to come.

⁶¹ 'Conspicuous consumption' is a concept which has been traced to the late 19th Century that had been used to show class and social distinction – in the form of food, clothing, luxury goods, as so forth.

⁶² Interestingly, this text was not translated out of Latin until after the invention of Gutenberg's printing press, in 1455.

In his research into French culinary history, and his biography on the life of the ‘celebrity chef’, August Escoffier (1846-1935), James (2002) observed that it was the combination of fashionable eating establishments and the growing availability of good chefs in the 18th to 19th centuries that lead invariably to the advance of culinary practices and the need for properly trained chefs.

So it can be argued that a serious interest in ‘food and cooking’ did not enter into Western European arena, until the feudal and monarchy hierarchies had been overthrown. Parkhurst-Ferguson (1999) suggested that it was not until the subject of food had been opened up for discussion and debate by 19th century food writers that it had actually taken off. And it is only in the context of ‘gastronomy’⁶³ where food has been turned into a selective social art. According to Parkhurst-Ferguson (1999):

Gastronomy as a modern social phenomenon is [really only] instituted in early-nineteenth-century France. It is ... [where] the culinary arts moved into public space and acquired a public consciousness that justifies identification as a "gastronomic field" (p. 6).

However, the development of professional cookery can be seen as something that is created both in and out of the kitchen. To keep pace with the popular trends of food and cuisine, many professionals (chefs, cooks and food writers) endeavoured to reinvent concepts of earlier dishes, which were previously widespread and popular; for instance, shifting from regional peasant dishes to elaborate dishes of ‘haute cuisine’ (still using the same ingredients in both), and modifying the differences with lavish table settings, expensive cuts of meat, the use of exotic spices, and food from the ‘New World.’ This in the past, would have been discussed and written about by the literate public, but it still would have had to of been learnt and fashioned by the apprentices, journeymen and master craftsmen in the kitchens. Good examples of this were the emergence of kitchen/household ‘how-to’ books, such as, ‘Beeton’s Book of Household Management’ (1859), or ‘La Cuisinière bourgeoise’ (1746).

Yet, it was not until the first institutional culinary training schools were established in 1883 that formal cookery education begin to reflect the contemporary form that it embraces today. As Lawson and Silver (1973) observed, institutionalised culinary education started in Britain,

⁶³ The study and appreciation of good food and wine – this extends to the detailed knowledge of the foods origins and ideal methods of production.

through the sponsorship of guild ‘conglomerates’. However, the culinary profession was not the only industry to benefit from this:

In 1880 the City and Guilds of London Institute was created, with Philip Magnus as its first secretary and organizing director, to encourage the teaching of practical subjects by conducting examinations. In 1883 the institute also opened Finsbury technical college, which became a model for future technical education, and from whose laboratories Armstrong propounded his new view of science teaching. Three years after the City and Guilds Institute was founded an Act of Parliament also required that substantial resources of the City of London parochial charities should be devoted to 'objects within the Metropolis', of which technical education might be one (Lawson & Silver, 1973, p. 347).

It could be argued that through this introduction of institutionalised education, apprentice style learning was about to be irrevocably changed. This is particularly true, as the thinking and reasoning normally associated with highly structured organisations (like, the Government and education), would invariably alter the approaches taken in the specific practices of teaching and learning: dominant ideology eventually permeates. With the institutionalisation of culinary knowledge, the knowledge and methodologies which had been situational and ‘practice orientated’ could be transformed into the more detached practices of academia.

The Education of Cooks and Chefs

Traditionally the education of cooks and chefs was through the apprenticeship system, thus a journeyman would have served an apprenticeship with a mentor or master craftsman (baker, pâtisserie, roaster, for example) who would take on an apprentice and teach them everything they knew. In exchange the young apprentice would work for little or no money; and their board and keep. In most instances, their culinary education would consist of a mélange of visual, olfactory and taste references, practical production skills, the use of specialised equipment, and, artistry and storytelling. The only difference in today’s culinary education would be the time taken to learn, the age of the individual student, the cost paid for the course, and the amount of knowledge actually maintained by the end of the programme.

The education of a professional chef has received some curious and at times harsh interpretations. Because of its practical content and physical nature, culinary education has been categorized as something for the academically challenged, or as the job to take when all else has failed. As Johns (2003) had noted in an interview, with Jeremy Schmid (a culinary

tutor), “I think some see it as a job to do when they can't do anything else" (p. 5). Yet, in other situations, it has been perceived as a highly fashionable thing to do, and something that might draw the participant, into the modern ‘celebrity’ glow⁶⁴ (see Fine, 1995; Johns, 2003; Kelly, 2003). Even as recently as the 1990s, this particular type of culinary prominence had been starting to be emphasised by local television personalities, like Peta Mathias.

To her, food is about excitement, to others it is just a meal. That’s what people watching her see, and they get excited about what she shows on the programme (Guy, 1998, p. 12).

However, professional cookery is an industry, which has also been drawn into some rather emotional perceptions (and clichés) of ‘an artist having to suffer for his or her art’. This has been reflected in the number of biographies and autobiographies, written about individual lives, lived in kitchens and the education processes that they had gone through (see James, 2002; Hennessy, 2000). Conversely, some of this can also fall into line with many of the more masochistic and sadistic tendencies, still found in many of the overseas⁶⁵ kitchens today. But arguably, the majority of this ‘suffering’ has had little or nothing to do with the early difficulties of nineteenth and twentieth century kitchens (such as, minimal kitchen technology, food and hygiene problems, and physical abuse). Alternatively, it may have more to do with the general attitudes, respect shown, kitchen relationships, duration of employment, and the hours that are worked.

However, the education of cooks and chefs has been approached from two different directions. The education of cooks has been largely ‘informal’ and has been in a ‘traditional’ sense been either, ‘learned by Annie’, ‘by mothers side,’ ‘tribal traditional’ and for most has been female influenced. Whereas, the education of a chef has been mainly formal and has been through a cognitively styled, ‘semi-militaristic’ apprenticeship, and predominantly male dominated.

⁶⁴ This has been associated with the current trend of television chefs and mass-media celebrity cooks, and it has been observed both nationally and internationally.

⁶⁵ In a few of the British and continental establishments there have been entrenched, long-term traditions of bullying and sadistic behaviour - in the kitchens.

Yet in both cases, these ‘educations’ have also involved some form of ‘myth making’ that have been used to initiate cooks and chefs in workplaces - to unofficially teach customs and habits (see Fine, 1995; Brown, Collins, and Paul, 1989).

Culinary education in a wider sense is an education which includes all of the senses. In this context it is largely inter- or multi-disciplined subject, which draws together aspects of art, design, nutrition, scents, tastes, and memory. However, it has also been exposed to bouts of pseudo-science and pseudo-logic in the various incarnations of culinary fashion and trends. And much of the initial or foundational knowledge was originally intertwined with the knowledge of ‘food as medicine’, in earlier times. In essence, a little bit of folklore, superstition, and religion had been intermingled with the basic education of chefs. Beyond the mechanical, practical knowledge of food and the kitchen, the education process has also taken on a more intuitive form – with the knowledge and experience, which is developed for taste, texture, smell, colour, composition, and food combinations.

However, much of the training and education which had been given, prior to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had predominately been brutal and harsh. In many cases, this was a combination of: the extreme heat of the kitchen, the alcohol abuse, and the frequent cases of carbon monoxide poisoning, the unsanitary working conditions and the physical abuse, had all taken its toll on the kitchen workers. As James (2002) had detailed, in his biography of the French chef - Auguste Escoffier,

It was stifling hot: one coal-fired range for the entrees; another for the sauces, the soups, the stews and the fries; and another with its turning spits - and all the doors and windows closed so that draughts did not cool the meals being dished up. Then there was the kitchen staff toiling, sweating and swearing in a frenzied turmoil to obey the *chef de cuisine* shouting and cuffing for obedience (James, 2002, p. 3).

In the nineteenth century, French chef - Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935), was to become one of revolutionizing forces in professional cookery education (and in the use of professional titles, such as ‘chef’ and ‘cook’). He, himself had been greatly influenced by his early experiences of kitchen life (in his uncle’s restaurant in Nice), his encounter with French military service in the 1870’s and in his early analysis of the ‘time and motion’ theories, of

Fredrick Winslow Taylor⁶⁶ (1856-1915). He was also curiously inspired by medieval methods of cookery⁶⁷, and the ‘modern’ inventions of his era (such as, the gas stove, the electric light bulb, the introduction of the automobile and the ocean liners). And towards the later part of his career, he was further inspired by the developments made in luxury tourism and ocean-liner travel.

However, from Escoffier’s illustrious beginnings, professional cooking has since taken some unusual twists and turns. This has possibly been due to his fame and the prominence of his fellow chefs of the day. The title of ‘Chef,’ has since been pursued as either an ‘advantage’ or a trophy; rather than as ‘just another translation or interpretation of a common kitchen title.’ In many cases, the titles of ‘chef’ or ‘cook’ have been used as a form of ‘selection excuse’ - for the full or partial instruction of a culinary qualification. Included in this process of singling out has been the differentiations placed between gender and job title, which have contributed to the many (previously) practiced inequalities⁶⁸ of formal education. Where, arguably, this may have had a lot to do with the attitudes and opinions of (past) individual master craftsmen and teachers, in industry (see Bray, 2004; Attar, 1990).

Initially, the title ‘cook’ was to indicate only the individuals who did the cooking in the kitchen (as opposed to the ‘kitchen hands’), so it was basically the title conferred to the job. However, as the spread of French cooking and French cooks were beginning to dominate many of the Western European cultures; the title ‘chef’ was then been used to identify the ‘head’ of the kitchen [Chef de Cuisine]. As opposed to just the cook (*le cuisinier* – male cook) or (*la cuisinière* – female cook). Oddly enough, the title ‘Chef de Cuisine’ has ‘traditionally’ only been applied to the senior male of the kitchen.

With the changes in ‘cooks’ titles and the introduction of different cooking methods (used in the cooking processes), the kitchen and its staff were also rearranged - demarcated. This demarcation of kitchen responsibility was to only become widespread and noticeable, after the French Revolution of 1789 and between the late 1880s - with the beginning of restaurants and high-class eating houses (see Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001; James, 2002).

⁶⁶ Whose work inspired Escoffier’s stream-lining of the professional kitchen.

⁶⁷ Which were the methods still being used in the kitchen, when he had started his apprenticeship.

⁶⁸ Sadly, in many of the previously ‘oppressed’ or discriminated individuals, this has given rise to some very defensive of aggressive behaviour.

Many owners of the better houses didn't keep their heads through the Revolution and good chefs became a drug on the market. They gravitated towards Paris and jobs in its restaurants which, once the fervour for *égalité* had died down, they were able to improve and popularise (James, 2002, p. 26).

Today, the terminology is fairly interchangeable. (Depending on your sensitivity and the 'personal opinion' you have of yourself, the term 'chef' and 'cook' is purely a matter of preference). However, in the U.S.A., and in some of the more credentialized countries, the difference between a cook and a chef is an individual's formalized training – a recognized qualification combined with a prerequisite amount of time spent in each section of a professional kitchen (see Fine, 1995).

Part B – Politics

2.1 Developments in defining and teaching/sharing valued knowledge

Foundational Knowledge

Knowledge foundational to crafts and trades was established through oral customs and handed down in an authentic setting. It was later legitimated through the appropriate guilds, in their rules of conduct, practice and quality control.

In its written forms, early 'foundational knowledge' existed only in a small number of historical records. While these were primarily the sales and commission records of merchants and wealthy estates, there were several personally published accounts by masters of the various trades. However, more often than not foundational knowledge had been wrapped in the master craft and tradesmen's narratives and had infrequently been put down on paper – until the arrival of the printing press. Yet, it is important to realize that, even though the earliest accounts of trade knowledge and practices were not written down, they are no less valid (Reagan, 2000).

The advent of the printing press and public libraries meant that knowledge could be shared outside the fixed relationship of mentor-apprentice within guilds. This happened as part of the wider opening up of knowledge which had always been the privilege of the Church and the elite. The guarding and controlling of knowledge had been blatantly obvious before the Reformation, when even simple access to the printed word of the Bible had been limited by law. As Lawson and Silver (1973) noted:

The access to the authorized English Great Bible was restricted by Act of Parliament in 1543, on a class basis so as to safeguard orthodoxy from promiscuous Bible study. Those specifically forbidden to read it were women, artificers, journeymen, serving men under the degree of yeomen, husbandmen and labourers (p. 85).

Foundational Knowledge was ultimately a commercial concern. The advent of books generated new educational opportunities and the availability of books challenged the notion that only specific trades or professions were entitled to the knowledge found in books. It was possibly because of this, that the printed word had been quickly controlled by the State, rather than by the guilds. It was also undoubtedly why many of guilds ensured that literacy was a requirement of the apprentice and journeyman's education.

However, it was not until much later, in 1823, that the progress of one guild - the London Mechanics Institute, would ultimately influence the education for all:

Following the same example set in London, Mechanics Institutes were founded in most of the industrial towns of Northern England in the 1820s, and regular publications began of what must have been one of the first of all educational journals, *The Mechanics Magazine*. The purpose of these institutes remained that of the Glasgow classes, "to supply at a cheap rate, to the different classes of community, the advantages of instruction in the various branches of science which are of practical application to the various trades or occupations" (Peterson, 1971, p. 203).

The Mechanics and Literary Institutes⁶⁹ brought about some of the most important changes in the accessibility of books and knowledge that the public was going to have. At this time many of the pioneering developments in industry and the professions, were beginning to be published; for example, the advances in chocolate chonching - a refining process in chocolate making, the condensing of milk, the manufacture of furniture, and the development of engines).

In the context of, Western European culinary knowledge and the trades, the recording of 'foundational knowledge' occurred through the treatises and reviews, written by gentlemen scholars⁷⁰ or the beneficiaries of wealthy sponsors (Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001).

⁶⁹ This later gave rise to the 'Libraries and Mechanics' Institutes Act' of 1908, in New Zealand.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, similar 'earlier' culinary treatises were written by Moorish Scholars in the 10th century (see Civitello, 2004).

It was not until the crafts and tradesmen became the focus of the wider public interest – as in the case of cookery and food – that there was a development in the writing of ‘craft related’ social commentaries in line with the growth of newspapers, journals and periodicals. As a result, in France and other parts of Western Europe observations about food and its preparation became a ‘spectator sport’, starting in the 18th century. One of the possible reasons the success of food writing is that food is something which everyone has had an opinion on.

Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) argued that because the majority of the population had been denied the experience of superior and elitist foods⁷¹, once the ruling classes had been overthrown, the previously denied commodities – such as good food, a new social hierarchy, and self-ownership – were immediately grasped.

The Politics of Definitions

To describe as ‘education’ the teaching/learning processes required for the work of a cook, is in a sense a political statement as it raises this knowledge – basic to human existence – to the level of all valued knowledge.

In his investigation of Greek culture and education, Pounds (1968) found a clear hierarchy of valued knowledge:

Plato felt that there were three different types of (free) men in the world.... The three kinds, he called "men of gold," "men of silver," and men of iron." The "men of gold" were the outstanding intellectuals who should be trained to become rulers. The "men of silver" were the courageous types destined to be the soldiers and guardians of the security of the country. The "men of Iron" were to be the artisans or the workers (p. 48).

It is the assumptions about ‘education’ and what it has meant to mean, and the assumptions about what the definition of ‘training’ is, which has created an invisible class system that has gone beyond the traditional perceptions of learning. As Hager (1998) asserted:

Historically, training has been viewed as the antithesis of education. It is only a slight caricature to say that training has been thought of as aimed at mindless, mechanical, routine activity in contrast to education which aims for

⁷¹ Consider Marie Antoinette’s (1755-93) famous last words, on her dietary advice for the general public: “If they have no bread, let them eat cake.”

the development of the mind via completion of intellectually challenging tasks (p. 35).

Pounds' (1968) explanation for the link between culture and education is the basic desire and need to impart knowledge, irrespective of the physical setting wherein the education takes place. He suggested that the reason for this achievement has been based on the combination of three elements: the culture has learnt how to learn, there is a collective recognition of culture, and that the knowledge of the culture is replicated in future generations:

[Whenever] an individual or group makes a deliberate attempt to produce in some individual or group a certain kind of desired type of behavior, this process is considered to be "education". It may or may not involve an institution called a "school" or specialized individuals called teachers (Pounds, 1968, p. 2).

2.2 Key Political Aspects of this Epoch/ definitions/ control of knowledge

However, both education (for the abstract thought) and training (for situational/contextual activity) have boundaries that cross. It is, as Schön had observed, in his investigation into 'artistry' in the classroom:

[N]o accident that professionals often refer to an "art" of teaching or management and use the term *artist* to refer to practitioners unusually adept at handling situations of uncertainty, uniqueness, and conflict.... The student cannot be *taught* what he needs to know, but he can be *coached*: "He has to *see* on his own behalf and in his own way the relations between means and methods employed and results achieved. Nobody else can see for him, and he can't see just by being 'told', although the right kind of telling may guide his seeing and thus help him see what he needs to see" (Schön, 1986, p. 16).

However, the concept of 'training' has had derogatory connotations attached to it suggesting something 'below' education or the academic.

Yet, in looking back at the origins of what are *now* academic subjects as well as those known as 'vocational' - all education had started in some form of apprenticeship where children learned from the more experienced.

Durkheim's (1989) concepts connect with the educational influences and practices of the 'early' journeyman, chiefly because of his attempt to demonstrate how there had been

‘change-over period’s’ in society, with regards to the division of labour (and the education of labour). He had done this through identifying the way society structured its rules and regulations. Explicitly, when society has functioned as a ‘united’ group (in a mechanical sense or in ‘mechanical solidarity’), Durkheim found that its laws had been penal and punishing, such as ‘an eye for an eye’. And in this particular type of structure, its rigidity has been carried into other areas of society, with respect to community hierarchies and the approach to education.

[It would be fair to say that this type of inflexibility in rules, regulations and laws, has also carried down into other organisations (including religious associations); which have mirrored the overall tendencies and attitudes of the times.]

However, when society has functioned as an interrelated group of ‘autonomous’ individuals, or as Durkheim (1989) had put it, as in ‘Organic Solidarity’; its rules and regulations have been compensatory and geared towards moral judgments, based on corrective measures. In a similar manner, Foucault, (1975, cited in Rabinow, 1991) also described society’s subsequential changing attitudes to prisons, punishment, and mental illness – and what society morally thought was the most appropriate thing to do in these instances). Where what is best for the individuals involved, is not necessarily something that is in direct connection with the ‘over-all betterment’ of the community. For example, when what has been considered necessary for the ‘repayment of a debt’ or the ‘compensation’ of a loss of some sort – has been used to replace the earlier alternative of imprisonment and corporal punishment. Essentially, these rules seek payment as opposed to punishment, which ultimately promote to different ‘morals and values’ approaches.

Durkheim (1989) had referred to this targeted valuing of individuals above the larger society, as the ‘cult of the individual.’ In this context, it can be clearly seen that the evolution of education (and type of thinking) has been focused on the ‘individual’; that has ultimately changed the type of approach taken to various teaching methodologies. Inevitably, it could be argued that in conjunction with the ‘selective’ valuing of knowledge (i.e. academic over practical) and the structure of societal rules and regulations – that the ‘cycle’ of learning (traditional apprentice education) was going to be inevitably affected.

Dionysian versus Apollonian Approaches to Education

Dionysian and Apollonian education approaches were classical interpretations based on Western European mythology. Yet, what made these diverse approaches so relative to today's current learning processes, was the fact that these concepts have been (and continue to be) embraced and encouraged by commercially-centred government and ministerial departments – education included. Essentially, Apollonian thought and reasoning was rigid, measured, hard, and unemotional; whereas, Dionysian thinking was meant to be creative, artistic, risk taking, mysterious, paradoxical, and emotionally deep contemplation. As Hinchcliff (1997) had observed:

The Apollonian model, after the god Apollo, has always been attractive to the Western mind. It is a philosophical mindset that perceives existence to be a rationally constructed cosmos. Interestingly, the term 'cosmetics' comes from the Greek word 'cosmos' meaning order from chaos. Order, control, structure, logic and reason are the governing virtues. Inconsistencies and mistakes are regarded as anathema. Weakness is not permitted. There is no respect for risk, subjectivity, inwardness, mystery, paradox or perplexity. Tight logical systems are crucial. Geometry is the preferred discipline. The closed circle is the perfect shape (p. 39).

With the State and the multiple institutions attempting to embrace both dogmas, they are in effect dooming one of them to fail. Operating in a paradoxical context only works when you fully understand (and can embrace) both sides of the competing philosophies. An incomplete or inconclusive grasp of one view means that the finer and possibly more salient points are going to be lost in translation.

However, the craftsman does not develop his craft in a void, as there are also outside influences⁷² which shape it. Foucault (1970) discussed these influences, which he believed shaped man's evolution – in particular his economic evolution. He argued that it was essentially man's perpetually 'consuming' nature, which promoted him to create and trade:

In fact, the human sciences are addressed to man in so far as he lives, speaks, and produces. It is as a living being that he grows, that he functions and needs, that he sees opening up in a space whose movable coordinates meet in him; in a general fashion, his corporeal existence interlaces him through and through with the rest of the living world; since he produces objects and tools,

⁷² These influences had mostly been of an economic nature.

exchanges the things he needs, organizes a whole network of circulation along which what he is able to consume flows, and in which he himself is defined as an intermediary stage, he appears in his existence immediately interwoven with others (Foucault, 1970, p. 351).

2.2.1 Aspects of Government Power

Education for citizenship is a form of deliberately structured cultural indoctrination, which has incorporated codes of social conduct and acceptable customs. However, many of these practices have been developed out of necessity, with the object of social, physical, and economic survival, peaceful co-existence, as well as a mutual form of communication. And ultimately, it is something which has been an enduring part of individual groups and community socialization processes.

Traditionally, citizenship education has also a part of ritual and ceremony which has allowed entry and participation, besides the limitation of admittance, in the smaller groups and societies. Within the trades and vocational work, conversely, education allowed a way into the community, but it didn't automatically grant citizenship (other factors were at work).

In many cases, education for citizenship has been fostered and practiced in all societies - Western and Non-Western. Generally, in earlier times this represented the opportunity to participate in civic discussion and decisions; that is if you qualified as a citizen – preferably a landowning, non-female, non-slave, male, who was born in the country of citizenship. In the situation of a Greek citizen, of about 2000 years ago, this would have afforded him the opportunity to listen to public forums and participate in civic issues.

In ancient times, people used rhetoric to make decisions, resolve disputes, and to mediate public discussion of important issues. ... [Rhetoric] helped people to choose the best course of action when they disagreed about important political, religious, or social issues (Crowley and Hawhee, 1999, p. 1).

But, it was not until the development of powerful principalities in Europe (in approximately the 8th century) and the surrounding countries, and the influence of empire building religions that education was perceived as a tool for developing broad social control. As time progressed, a new type of 'citizen' education evolved, which focused on the 'institutions' of

religion and politics. In this context, the differences between the citizenship lessons of early educators and the later, citizenship education of the feudal lords; would later be perceived as lessons of repression rather than expression.

In the context of trade and craft communities, citizenship education had been taught, in both an implicit and explicit context; in addition to being firmly associated with cultural and personal narratives. Early educators had principally taught to pass on the knowledge of their craft. When they conveyed any other type of information, it had been in the shape of social or community survival skills, and codes of conduct. In more contemporary apprenticeship education, this concept had also evolved; though it had not been anything like a ‘democratic’ citizenship.

In this sense, citizenship education was evolving within the framework of politics and religion. Later on, when this form of citizenship education (and its associated truths) had been planned and implemented, it was supported by these formal institutions. However, the differences between the citizenship lessons of early educators and the later, citizenship education of the feudal lords; would later be perceived as lessons of repression rather than expression.

The notions of ‘access and participation’ in citizenship, have been issues of gate keeping that have been consistent aspects of all cultures; in fact citizenship and belonging to ‘the group’ effectively allows admittance to the wider cultural education. Another view of ‘access and participation’ includes the assumption that the concept is connected to ‘equal opportunity.’ Spring (2001) had suggested that, the ‘Equality of opportunity means that everyone should have a chance to compete for positions in the labor market’. That supposedly, schools and ‘education will be the instruments for ensuring equality of opportunity’ (p. 12). Essentially, her inference had been drawn from the evolving capital – mercantile impact on political rules and regulations. Spring (2001) had also argued that:

The growing uniformity of the global culture involves an acceptance of definitions of equality and freedom, [which] are... focused on equality of opportunity and freedom to consume. [And so] the assumption is that all people will be motivated to compete for wealth. The phrase "equality of opportunity" means equal opportunity to accumulate wealth... [And where] the rules of the game are the only thing equal about equality of opportunity (p. 12).

Membership or citizenship is also connected to issues of ‘inclusion and exclusion’. Participation includes the access to entry, the access to knowledge, and the admission of different genders and cultures. Consequently, the denial in any educational or work context is also a denial of citizenship, inclusive of this denial is the refusal of respect and co-operation.

The denial of education has meant the denial of citizenship – particularly, women and people of different ethnicities e.g. the Negro’s of the American South and the stimulated growth of folk schools; the controversial education of the poor and working class; and later in the nineteenth and early twentieth century – denial of a ‘complete’ education – in order to keep people working on the land and in menial jobs.

Issues of citizenship have also been linked to the right to ‘participate’ and the right to ‘dignity’. Without either, positive or active education doesn’t really exist. Hodson (2001) had observed that,

Citizenship can be expected to be especially prevalent in normatively organized workplaces where a sense of organizational fairness serves as a foundation for commitment to the organization and for taking pride in one's work ... Additional indicators of citizenship in normatively organized workplaces include use of insider knowledge to facilitate production and loyalty. Taking pride in work and helping to facilitate production can be important component of working with dignity where the workplace allows (Hodson, 2001, p. 68).

In its many forms, ‘enculturation’ – ‘implicit’ citizenship education has been traditional practiced. It has encompassed the histories, stories, and provenances of the community; and has been traditionally practiced in both the Western and Non-Western education traditions. In most instances social enculturation has achieved what Charles Wright Mills had termed ‘sociological imagination’ – essentially, a common recognition of citizenship.

Charles Wright Mills coined the term '**sociological imagination**' to describe the way that sociological analysis is performed ... Interpreting the world with a social imagination involves establishing a link between personal issues and social factors; that is, being able to see that the experience of individuals may have a social basis. Therefore, when individuals share similar experiences, a social pattern emerges that implies that such experiences have a common, social foundation (Germov and Williams, 1999, p. 3).

In more contemporary history, some more unusual adaptations of enculturation have been the use of advertisements for ‘literal’ citizenship education and acceptance. It has been where the ‘education for citizenship’ has encouraged the promotion of numerous cultural stereo types; for example, the food and advertising industry in the United States have used patriotic symbols on food lines, geared to lure new immigrants to buy their goods (see, Bentley, 2004). Similarly, social homogenization can also be conducted through the dominant cultures adoption of minority cultures identity goods. As a parallel to citizenship and enculturation, Bentley (2004) observed in his essay on Tex-Mex culture and food that,

Because food is an extraordinarily powerful way to transmit ideas, power, and social status, the popularity of Southwestern cuisine can be convincingly interpreted as an act of cultural hegemony, an appropriation of borderlands foods in the hopes of neutralizing the power and the voice of the people, particularly Latinos, in the region (Bentley, 2004, p. 215).

2.2.2 Aspects of Social/Cultural/Media/Internet Power

Development of Industry and Education

The development of industry and education has been lead by the evolution of produce and merchandise – essentially economic trends. In the contemporary Western civilisations, it has become acceptable and necessary to produce mass-marketed goods for high volume consumption. However, it has been at some cost or trade-off. The mass production of traditionally small-scale, trade crafted goods has largely been at the expense of quality and taste, in exchange for quantity and visual (cosmetic) appeal; with ultimately the loss of fundamental knowledge. Essentially, this ‘loss’ has been connected to industrialisation and the replacement of ‘man with machine’.

Curiously, the industry is having a ‘renaissance’ where the master craftsmen’s traditional talents are now being required again. But, rather than this being a direct crediting of the industries developments, it has in fact been more attributed to the growth of culinary tourism and a fetishism of the ‘authentic’⁷³ (see Long, 2004; Eisenstein, 1998).

⁷³ Where Claudia Roden (1990) has also observed that, ‘There is a certain mystification going on and what someone called ‘nostalgic kitsch’. Some of the dishes which are revived never really existed’ (p. 4).

Where food is the focus of travel, as in gastronomic tourism, itineraries are organized around cooking schools, wineries, restaurants, and food festivals - in the case of Sardinia, this includes festivals celebrating the sea urchin, mullet, wild boar, chestnuts or torrone, among others. Food magazines and epicurean guidebooks, which have long celebrated the gastronomic opportunities afforded the mobile eater, orient the reader to particular foods, dishes, and cuisines, and their pleasures, their histories, and their locales. Often, these publications include recipes; and, whether read like a musical score or actually performed in the kitchen; such recipes prompt the culinary tourist to relive vividly remembered but ephemeral travel experiences in rich sensory detail, while still offering vicarious travel for the armchair tourist.

Even when food is not the main focus of travel, one must eat regardless of whether or not a memorable experience is the goal. Making experiences memorable is a way the travel industry adds value - and profit - to an essential service such as food. Indeed, tourism and hospitality industries design experiences, including culinary ones, within the constraints of the tourist's time, space, and means. They do this by making the world an exhibit of itself. A collaboration between highly self-conscious producers and consumers, culinary tourism is a space of contact and encounter, negotiation and transaction, whether at home or abroad (Long, 2004, p. xi).

The evolving ideologies of many global economically-focused cultures have continued to challenge this way of learning. The off-shoot of industry and educational advance has been the transmission and exchange of economic ideologies for community connectivity. Moreover, as these new social structures have developed out of the older Western European hierarchies, the value of knowledge, education and trade have also been re-evaluated. The earlier class systems which had originally identified who was permitted to learn what, changed with the developing proletarian politics' and societal groupings. Essentially, through this process, traditional ideologies were either successfully re-interpreted or discarded; nevertheless, there had been a protracted struggle between the 'old guard' and the 'new guard.'

Tradesmen and craftsmen of the 'lower middle classes', who came to New Zealand as colonists, operated initially with little or no available institutional education, until the mid to late 1800s. But because of their own personal learning experiences in their own craft education, they were able to conduct apprenticeship education in their new colony. Yet, the many who came from the deep-rooted class structures of Britain, and Europe, were really just wanting a fresh start; they were willing to work hard for it and train others who were willing to do the same (See Austin, 1965).

However, it was not until the later part of the nineteenth century that there was a co-development of education and industry, which could offer an ‘alternative pathway’ to individuals wanting entry into other professions and industries. As McKenzie (1987) had observed:

The second, and much more dramatic, development came with the introduction of the 'Junior' Civil Service Examination as provided for in the Civil Service Reform Act, 1886. This act, which was the brain-child of the Premier, Robert Stout, is worth considerable study because it, more than any other single piece of legislation, set the primary schools throughout the country on the road to being popular credentialing institutions. It established two principles of qualification for public sector employment, principles which could be readily generalised to the public sector and which were firmly based upon schooling qualification as opposed to personal sponsorship (McKenzie, 1987, p. 87).

What emerged in 1887, therefore, was a fully-fledged credentialing system by means of which the youth of New Zealand could become occupationally mobile. It was now that a good examination result could lead on that account alone to a job with some security and status (McKenzie, 1987, p. 91).

The next major development that roughly came at the same time as school ‘credentialing’ was the development and promotion of the Mechanics Institute. The Mechanics Institute had promoted and lobbied for: literacy and access to public libraries,⁷⁴ free-primary education, post-primary education, and technical teachers training college; in conjunction with the London City & Guilds, in the 1900s. The Mechanics Institute had initially evolved to assist with the advancing knowledge needs created by newly developed industries and markets, and where for the most part supported.

Yet, a number of conflicting issues have been brought to light with the joining of practical and theoretical education. One has been the place of schools to substitute or completely remove the profession from the equation – and totally dominate the profession’s training provisions, where the product of this education is questionable. The second issue has been the ‘objectifying’ of professional knowledge (both the practical and the theoretical), where rather than the knowledge being seen as an integral part of the specific profession; it is purely a ‘bartering’ commodity – between education industries and government departments. In 19th century, New Zealand, the only opposition there had been to ‘not’ offering vocational

⁷⁴ These libraries were basically within the United Kingdom, New Zealand and in a number of other Commonwealth countries.

education in the State funded free-primary schools; was that it would be effectively reducing the business of the privately sponsored user-pays high schools and colleges. As McKenzie (1987) had revealed:

Charles Browne, the author of the 1877 Act, had at that time been at some pains to point out that it was not the Government's intention to provide free secondary education for a boy whose vocation was that of 'honest labour'. He drew, in fact, a traditional distinction between primary (or elementary) schooling and secondary education, a distinction based upon differential access to knowledge depending upon one's social class, ability to pay fees, and ability to forego employment income (McKenzie, 1987, p. 84).

And last conflicting issue has been, how the practice of specifically separating professional knowledge (practical and theoretical) can ever be considered a good thing; particularly in the context of being able to legitimately do an applied craft or trade, when there is a valid need for both types of knowledge - before you can function with either.

However, the influences which have affected the development and growth of the 'Early Journeyman' and 'Apprentice Style Education', up until the late nineteenth century; cannot be identified as 'being the result of' one or two simple things. They have been the combination of many things:

1. The growing control of the political and State powers, and their web-like influences; who have craftily preformed a 'puppetry' with every member of their community – from the one's that have been aware, to the one's that have been in denial;
2. The interchanging 'power jockey's' of the Church and Merchant Traders, who each vied to have a ruling word (albeit, this was not in a democratic sense), in how everyone else was to conduct their business – where the final reward came down to percentages, and the choice between a 'place in heaven' or 'government charter';
3. The changing community ideologies – with their internally generated perceptions of 'self', and their ability to identify with 'collective' doable things of society;
4. And lastly, but possibly the most interestingly (and least investigated) has been the 'almost invisibly'⁷⁵ changing, ethnocentric mixing of people, the shifting landscapes of new counties, new towns, new identities – where everyone has (in one way or another) come from somewhere else.

⁷⁵The 'invisibility' is created when just skin tones are perceived, and all else is blended into 'otherness.'

Chapter 3

THE JOURNEYMAN

Introduction

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The Journeyman of this Era

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Chapter 3

THE JOURNEYMAN

Introduction*Boundaries of Epoch*

The boundaries of this epoch flow from the borders of the previous era of the ‘Early Journeyman.’ This epoch runs approximately from the early 19th century to the mid-20th century (more or less 160 years). The imprecise lines of this second epoch (of the ‘Journeyman’), have encompassed the uneven transition periods of guild and industry development (between the ‘old world’⁷⁶, ‘new world’⁷⁷ and the ‘Pacific Islands’⁷⁸), the inconsistent global politicization (or public discussion and position-taking) of human rights, the rights of women, minorities, and children, and the varying speed and effect of industrialisation on food and culinary practices – as well as its effect on the re-evaluation (and in some instances redundancy) of different craft, trade and professional ‘knowledge’.

Major Developments

The developments that have taken place in this epoch have included the influences and *Forces Majeur*, traditionally associated with exploits of travel and colonisation in the 19th and early 20th century; namely, the large-scale amalgamation of people and cultures; the revolution and rebellion of factions not wanting to merge; the transferral of socio-political structures, education practices and culinary customs; and the (eventual) emergence of new constructs of society. Included with these influences or *Forces Majeur* have been the

⁷⁶ This includes Western, Central and Northern Europe, the Mediterranean and the British Isles.

⁷⁷ The ‘new’ world encompasses the Americas and the numerous European-claimed nation ‘pantries’ of the 18th and 19th centuries – such as India, South East Asia and many of the new coffee, sugar, and cocoa bean producing nations.

⁷⁸ Campbell (1989) described this early Western development and colonisation of Australia and the Pacific Islands, as the ‘Austronesian Colonization’.

recognition⁷⁹ of human rights and equalities, which have emerged in the newly pioneered⁸⁰ countries and States.

Key Insights Contained in this Chapter

The key insights in this chapter are that:

- Education in this period had become intellectually based (and at times, calculating).
- In some instances the journeyman had become ‘invisible’ and quite possibly indistinguishable from the machinery of industry, politics and economics.
- Educational (individual and guild) independence grew from the recognition of ‘self value’ and evolving human rights.
- Culinary education had been (and still is) a paradox of knowledge and learning – where the basic or foundational knowledge that was used (professionally and domestically), had been indivisible.
- The *birth* (or grand narrative) of professional culinary education, had been universally recognised in Western cultures at approximately the same time;
- And, that this recognition coincided with the ‘big push’ from various cultural institutions that were attempting to homogenise the various learning, earning and playing fields.

The Journeyman of this Era

Theorists and the Journeyman

The 19th-20th century ‘Journeyman’ is the essence of ‘the practical meeting the intellectual’. The focus of this period has fundamentally been ‘industry and the practice of it’, and where the object and incentive for this end has been ‘political.’ This has actively been driven by the necessity to pursue ‘education,’ as a means to meet the needs of ‘industry and its practice.’

Many of the concepts which French philosopher, Michel Foucault mostly focused on had been based around the notions of ‘power and control’ – through the various epochs of time and in the multiple divisions of society and culture. In two of his well known studies – one,

⁷⁹ Fukuyama (2002) observed that, ‘The inherently unequal recognition of masters and slaves is replaced by universal and reciprocal recognition, where every citizen recognises the dignity and humanity of every other citizen, and where that dignity is recognised in turn by the state through the granting of rights’ (p. xvii).

⁸⁰ It had been argued that in countries where mass immigration had taken place, traditionally established systems of tribal or heredity governance were inevitably replaced with authority systems, which were more conducive to the newly established ‘majority’ cultures.

on the early history of punishment and prisons, and the other, on the origins of human reason and enquiry (or in his words, the ‘archaeology of human science’); Foucault presented an interesting twist on the concept(s) of the ‘creation and maintenance of power and control’, and the ‘underlying motivations of economic production.’ Using his analyses, the nineteenth and twentieth century journeyman (might be interpreted as) is an individual, who has been ‘socially engineered’ to direct his knowledge and education towards the needs of industry and economics, through the instigation of political forces (political acts of social control and organisation). In this context, Foucault’s concepts of power, control, and economics, might be similarly compared to Durkheim’s theories of ‘mechanical’ and ‘organic’ solidarity and the construction of labour divisions in society.

Durkheim (1989) had suggested that the evolutionary path of ‘society’ had been set in a revolving cycle, which had been governed by two main forces. The first force had been the ‘collective need’ of the group to prosper and survive, and the second, had been ‘need of the individual’ to have a recognised ‘individual’ identity and an acknowledged ‘value’. Durkheim had concluded that, these complimentary forces had ‘historically’ been rotated, in different civilization’s political and economic evolutions. He reasoned that, to best be able to isolate and identify a ‘particular’ evolution which a society had been going through – it was only necessary to look at the type of laws, rules and punishments, which the civilization had had in place.

Specifically, Durkheim concluded that the more a society had been connected to mechanical (collectivist) solidarity – where rules had been made for the greater good of the group, the more the rules had been geared to be repressive or punishing. Whereas, a functioning organic solidarity focused on rules and regulation which were restitutory, and which focused on ways to pay compensation for wrong doings (based on moral and emotional foundations) - as opposed to penal punishments; and had by rights mostly acknowledged the individual, but had ignored the group.

Much of the attention placed on politics and political manoeuvring, by either Foucault or Durkheim had recognized the controlling and transforming effects of the group or collective, on the individual. Where Foucault had argued that the control of the group had been through making the watcher the watched (‘the all seeing eye’), Durkheim had concluded that the power of the group had been in their pursuit of specialisation, and in

their acknowledgment of the individual (which he termed the 'cult of the individual'). However, in both instances society's need to evolve and develop had largely been achieved through its use of regulations and politics. In the case of the 'journeyman' in the nineteenth to twentieth century, 'politics' (a transforming collectivist consciousness) has been taped into by 'singular groups' – corporations, industries, religious organisations – who have sort to promote industry and economics through education.

This is where Foucault's slant on 'social engineering' (the panoptian, the Benthamite prison machine) fits in (see Foucault, 1977, for an analysis of Foucauldian principles of disciplining schools through accountability and assessment measures see Smith, 1998). By using education as the social conduit two major things have happened: education has ultimately promoted specific industries, and it has disseminated selective multiple collectivist ideologies. In this sense, Foucault's definition of *homois economus* - of individual economic want, coupled with the control of the 'individual' through their individualist thinking (Durkheim's organic solidarity) has been the resulting evolution, of the journeyman to date.

The consequences of Foucault's theory of control (the 'individual' controlled by the masses), with Durkheim's theory of the labour and society has meant that the revolving 'selection and elimination' of different elements of control [i.e. food, wealth, social services, war and communication], will inevitably lead to wider gaps of exclusion and inclusion in society. In a sophisticated sense, this has been an advance on Machiavelli's theory of: control and manipulation of 'key' individuals – who they themselves control, the group. It is also something which could be paralleled with Durkheim's analysis (and proposed 'fall') of the early corporations of the Rome Republic (see Durkheim 1989, p. xxxvii). In this instance Durkheim had claimed that, the excessive government control⁸¹ had quite literally contributed to the downfall of its own civilisation.

⁸¹ This excessive government control had been attributed to the corporations and guilds being 'looked upon as a public service for which the corresponding corporation [had] assumed the obligation and responsibility *vis-à-vis* the state' and which then 'swiftly degenerated into a state of intolerable servitude' (Durkheim, 1989, pp. xxxvii - xxxviii).

Part A - Education and Society

1.1 Education in this epoch / Context

1.2 Industry/Vocational/Adult Education

Guilds and Unions – Early Educators

Many craft and trade guilds were set up in response to harsh treatment and price fixing by merchant and traders guilds. Included in this unfair treatment were allegations of nepotism and unmerited accreditation of ‘favoured’ apprentices. Family ties and money were used to dishonestly award Master’s titles to a number of apprentices, whilst serving journeymen (who had honestly completed their time) were pushed to one side. This distorted the traditional employment and education scheme of many journeymen.

Arising from the guilds of the 18th and 19th centuries, trade education continued to evolve – with regional variations. In the United States ‘journeymen’ organisations eventually lead to trade unions. In Britain, there was an attempt in the mid to late 1800s to bring a halt to the journeymen associations, for fear of subversive behaviour and social uprisings. Government fears were largely based on political uprisings in central Europe, which were linked to guild and union-organised schooling ‘who’ represented overtones of political insurgency.

However, when the different guild’s unions were eventually established with some permanency, many of their political objectives⁸² overrode the traditional work of servicing the needs of apprenticeship education. This was not universal in every union, guild, or workers association, but it was prevalent enough to shift the focus of traditional apprentice-journeyman-master education. This meant that, in nearly every Western and Eastern European influenced culture, in the first half of the 20th century was to be shaken by strikes, new political movements, and a changing employment and educational landscape.

Meanwhile the Masters Guildsmen, driven by desires of status, set up some of the first privately-funded English Public Schools, which were to ultimately cater for the growing middle class.

⁸² Across Europe and in most of the Western influenced societies, many of the traditionally based guild ‘unions’ had become involved in the struggles, between some of the then ‘newly’ competing ideologies – Communism, Capitalism, Socialism; and so forth.

Revolution of Industry and Industry Bodies

The Industrial Revolution eliminated many of the traditional apprentice-learnt trades. But, it also provided the opportunity for new growth in traditional crafts. This progress was encouraged by the invention of new tools, new methods of production, new sciences and understanding, and new types of raw materials. As Emerson wrote early in the 20th century:

Our nineteenth century is the age of tools. They grow out of our structure. "Man is the mètre of all things," said Aristotle; "the hand is the instrument of instruments, and the mind is the form of forms." The human body is the magazine of inventions, the patent-office where are the models from which every hint was taken. All the tools and engines on earth are only extensions of it limits and senses. One definition of man is "an intelligence served by organs." Machines can only second, not supply his unaided senses. The body is a mètre. The eye appreciates finer differences than art can expose. The apprentice clings to his foot-rule; a practiced mechanic will measure by his thumb and his arm with equal precision: and a good surveyor will pace sixteen rods more accurately than any many can measure them by tape (Emerson, 1909, p. 440).

For many of these newly modified or reinvented trades, this meant effective de-skilling, so that within the workforce, the 'wherefores, whys, and what's' were largely lost. Production-line manufacturing removed the need for knowing the reasons for why things were being performed in a specific way, resulting in a reduction of wages and skilled craftsmen, as well as new 'bred' of journeymen who had little opportunity to become their own masters.

This was happening in different countries, including New Zealand. But during this epoch, there was also a strong rejection of some of the traditional class and governance systems of Britain and Western Europe. On a number of occasions 'traditional' social structures that had been accepted in the 'old' country, were rejected in the 'new.' As Murdoch (1943), a pre-World War II School Inspector, noted:

The technical high schools, as a result both of New Zealand's peculiar economic circumstances and of deliberate educational policy, have become a distinctive type. They are not trade schools, as are technical schools in the Old World, but high schools with realistic courses which are designed, in so far as they look to a vocational future, to produce adaptability and handiness rather than to give special trade preparation. Their general success and the increasing demand for technical and industrial skill have impressed on the high schools the importance of practical training, even for academic pupils; so that today the general public is more ready for a change in the nature of

secondary school training than it has ever been before (Murdoch, 1943, p. 51).

Establishment of Vocational Education in Schools

Vocational education is education that is focused on the acquisition of practical and theoretical knowledge, associated with a trade, craft or profession. However, interestingly enough, vocational education has only been defined and separated from traditional education since the advent of separate/preferential schools of Western education. Prior to this, nearly all learning or knowledge could have been said to have occupied a place in traditional learning. In the context of craft and trade education, learning went hand-in-hand with daily life. With the advent of the 19th century, most education which was available fell into one of two categories - it was academically focused, and mostly theoretical and abstract, or it was mentored or apprenticed and situational in context.

Essentially, vocational education incorporated everything that was necessary to learn about in a craft, trade or profession. In the case of the apprentice or journeyman, vocational knowledge and skill was the *raison d'être* or purpose for being. It was education that was specific, which contained the foundational knowledge and skills defining the craft or trade; and ultimately contributing to the creation of the master craftsman or professional.

The issues which affected and contributed towards the establishment of vocational education fell into four main areas: the expansion of literacy, the development of the State and Church schools, the evolution of 'new and re-invented' industries and unions, and the emergence of fiscally driven societies in the 19th and 20th centuries.

However, much of the 'modern' vocational education conducted in schools had emerged by the mid-19th century, after having developed through the sponsorship of specific organizations like: The Mechanics Institute, the London City and Guilds, and some of the early business men's associations. In the UK, this also included the activities of some self-promoting professionals, such as, Escoffier and the culinary training institutes (James, 2002).

Later, the establishment of vocational education in 'schools,' altered the 'playing field' for many of the different professions of the day. What had once been sacred or hidden knowledge or trade secrets, had now been put up for sale - beyond the industry's trade and craft environment. In many cases, it had been implicit craft or trade knowledge which now was being made explicit. Activities, which had not been previously explored or written

about, were being examined and recorded. Throughout these procedures practical applications of knowledge were to beginning to be generalized, standardized, and removed out of context. (There had been comparable similarities with the processes of the later established, government quality assurance authority - NZQA.)

However, tertiary-based ‘vocational’ education didn’t emerge until the 1880s and 1890s, in the United Kingdom; and in Australia and New Zealand, it came approximately twenty years later. Even at this point vocational training and education had customarily only been conducted in night school or small specialist ‘block’ units, or half day training courses – of so many hours duration. Where, this continued to be the standard practice for many conventional industry apprenticeships in New Zealand, from the 1900s up until the 1970s-1980s. Conversely, at the same time education and employment had been ‘consumed’ by generalisations: such as, women as cooks and men as chefs, young country men as farmers and wood workers, young country women as teachers and maids, young city men as secretaries and sales clerks, young city women as sales clerks and housekeepers.

Vocational education had also become about conveying the new and updated technologies of industry. Such as, the introduction of the first training ‘printing press’, in the early 1900s; accounting machines, welding units, convection ovens, computers and data projection units. This had produced the challenge in school-based education, of keeping abreast of technology and invention - or ahead of the ‘social lag’. The school and community relationship that has been identified by Pounds (1968) as being:

Two rather paradoxical theses: (1) *interaction* – [where] schools tend to reflect the society in which they are found; and (2) *social lag* - [where] schools tend to lag behind their societies, particularly in periods of rapid social change (p. 14).

The early promoters of this trend were the craft and trade guilds, religious and charity schools, and government departments (such as the sectors which focused on innovation and industry, colonial administration, social reform, and social engineering).

The schools involved in vocational education encompassed: the early Poor Houses and Poor Schools, Missionary Schools, early primary schools and later post-primary schools, early trade schools and community colleges.

However, the early Poor Houses and Poor Schools were focused on the rudimentary training and education that had been conducted at the simplest level. According to Lawson and Silver (1973):

Poor children too young to be apprenticed might receive instruction, in or out of the workhouse, in simple handicrafts like spinning, weaving and lacemaking at the expense of the parish. From this time the endowment of apprenticeship schemes became a common act of private benevolence, sometimes in connection with a parish charity school, the children being bound to specified trades, or to any at the trustee's discretion, after a period of elementary schooling (p. 123).

Yet in this context, being fully literate was not necessarily part of the programme, and in many instances, access to education was restricted on the basis of ideology and religion. This was particularly evident with the majority of school funding having had been private and connected with specific religious denominations (Austin, 1965; Griffith, Harvey, & Maslen, 1997; Murdoch, 1943). Another matter which was also connected to vocational education and literacy was the nature of its largely oral traditions. In most instances, many of the traditional crafts and trades had required only the bare minimum of reading and writing ability, to perform their tasks. With vocational education starting to incorporate more academic and theoretical knowledge (not to mention the burgeoning development of industry focused textbooks) literacy was quickly becoming a necessity. However Griffith, Harvey and Maslen (1997) maintained that lack of access to textbooks remained a limiting factor on vocational education as did gender, class, isolation, and political decisions by local and central government (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993; Murdoch, 1943; Simon, 2000; Webb, 1937).

1.3 Culinary Education

Culinary Education in this 160 year period

Formal culinary education existed in the form of apprentice contracts, and perhaps more significantly, as a result of the introduction of culinary education in primary, post-primary and tertiary institutions. However, for most individuals who went into kitchens to learn and ply a trade, from the mid-19th century onwards, culinary education was largely informal and haphazard in nature. One of the greatest hurdles was literacy. To attain and maintain culinary knowledge, especially recipes and techniques – the apprentice and journeyman had

to be able to read. In colonial New Zealand this had been a major issue as most domestic-cooking positions, were commonly occupied by a single, self-taught domestic (Coney, 1993).

Hartley (1963) a British food historian, noted the popularity in the mid 1850s of books advising the 'lady of the house' on practically everything required in the Victorian household. These books advised how to run a household, manage servants, and conduct life. However, later in the 18th century cookbooks appeared for the servant girl.

Hartley (1963) observed that that servants, it was assumed could:

... "[Read] and write enough to inform her mind". These textbooks [were] often sanctimonious, but they give instruction on how to cook; how to bath (daily in a tub, with a jug of hot water and a cold sponge); how to revive a black silk dress with stewed ivy leaves; how to turn a poke bonnet; how to write a love letter; how to have a baby; how to do "simple interest for a banking account" (on wages £8 per annum!) (p. 595).

This assumption of literacy was not well-founded. There was a push for free-education by the British government in the late 1800s yet because of the distance, country accessibility, and the invisibility of factory sweat shops, many individuals were barely educated. Despite the efforts of The New Zealand Company, and later the Crown, to be systematic in channelling 'desirable' individuals into the colonies, the problems of under education and illiteracy came with the immigrants (Moon, 1998).

Although reports of illiteracy are not unique to this period, Hartley (1963) described it as something that was commonplace (into the middle of the 20th century), and that the interventions to lift the overall education had only started to take effect, at the end of the 1800s. This helped to support the sale of locally published 'how-to-books' for the growing migrant population. One of the most popular of these books was *Brett's Colonists Guide and Cyclopaedia of Useful Knowledge* (Brett, 1883, cited in Leys, 1883). Brett (mayor of Auckland 1877-78) put together a DIY book on cooking, farming, medicine, and basic colony survival, which in many ways had been not dissimilar from Mrs. Beeton's earlier 'how-to' guide.

Beyond the initial hurdle of basic literacy, there were several problems which were indicative of the 19th and 20th century Western European societies and colonies. Gender – the sexist nature – of cooking status became entrenched during this time.

The instruction of basic culinary knowledge was predominantly targeted towards one gender. Although both a male and a female might competently produce an identical dish or menu, the female would be more likely positioned as a household domestic, while the male would be heralded as a professional chef. In the case of serving and domestic staff, this meant that skill and ability may have been equal, but the title and remuneration that they received was not. Thus title, status, remuneration and gender were linked.

As Coney (1993) noted, it was not uncommon in the early 1900s for female domestic staff to receive little or no pay (or recognition) and still be expected to work 16 hours a day, 6 ½ days a week. In many cases these individuals were the ‘chief cooks and bottle washers’, who would typically have to do everything on their own. In the case of the cooks who worked in the hotels and bars, the situation had been just as exhausting; while there may have been in general more help at hand and more opportunity to learn from the hospitality ‘community’ itself.

The first significant challenge to affect this area was identified as the ‘Yellow Peril’ (Brien, 2003). Within the wider community and within the Cooks and Waiters Union there were major concerns about the deluge of minimally paid, Chinese cooks, who were (allegedly) taking over the hotel industry kitchens.

Prior to this, the only other large scale disturbance to professional culinary education (excluding the wars, disease, and depression), was the winning of the women’s right to vote⁸³. However interest in cooking continued to grow and the visibility of women in culinary publishing was high. Bailey and Earle (1993) found that between 1890 and 1960, more than 90 per cent of the cookery books and instructional texts then available were written by women. Yet, despite the New Zealand women’s interest in food and professional cookery (as demonstrated through the number of books published), the actual numbers that had been getting into senior cookery positions, remained disproportionately small (Bailey and Earle 1993).

⁸³ Tuesday November 28th, 1893.

Home Economics and Cookery in New Zealand

Home economics was introduced into the late 19th to early 20th century Western school system. Initially, it was developed to teach young girls and women the foundational knowledge needed to run a household and cook in a kitchen (Murdoch, 1943).

Prior to school-based State-funded domestic and culinary education, several books were published articulating domestic process including cooking. While “Beeton’s Book of Household Management” (originally 1861, this edition, 1977) claimed to be the first such book, according to Simpson (1999) who argued that Eliza Acton’s *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (Acton, 1845, cited in Simpson, 1999) had in fact been the first authentic ‘contemporary’ instruction book, written for the then expanding European middle classes.

Interestingly, these two texts have provided some of the base foundations for classroom instruction in home economics and cookery education, in New Zealand schools. They also provided starting points for the later academic investigation into scientific aspects of food production and food science in places such as Otago University.⁸⁴

The difference between ‘home economics’ and ‘cookery’ was considered to be the divide between domestic ‘motherly’ culinary practices and the legitimate professional practices of the trade or craft. However, they remained linked as domestic cookery education made accessible formal pre-trade and pre-industry training and according to Simpson (1999) both were based on ‘stove technology.’ Both used the same utensils and had the same products, culturally connected foodstuffs, and as Simpson (1999) observed:

The cuisine which came to New Zealand with the nineteenth-century European immigrants reflected the techniques and scientific developments which made that century the most significant period of change in the history of food since Neolithic times. It was a cuisine fashioned by the cooking techniques appropriate to a stove technology (roasting, baking, and slow but thorough cooking). It took such aids as cookery books and the ready availability, at least in the towns, of many pre-made ingredients and some staples (such as bread) for granted. Underlying that was a knowledge however limited, of the science of nutrition which permitted the notion of food as fuel to become a primary perception among those whose responsibilities in the new land included educating the young and particularly

⁸⁴ Interestingly enough, home economics skills, including cooking, were not taught to school boys in New Zealand until 1975 (Bailey & Earle, 1993).

young women, in the practical skills they required to live successfully in their new land (Simpson, 1999, p. 121).

While ‘Home Economics’ (later ‘Home Science’⁸⁵) sauntered into the legitimacy of the university, and came under the protection of practical science, ‘Cookery’ was grounded elsewhere in the historic craft and trade guilds where the professional practices and economic influence were considered first and foremost.

Early New Zealand culinary education was directed towards clearly defined gender divisions. In the case of early ‘Home Science’ and ‘Home Economics’ education for girls was essentially domestic, with any progress beyond this being limited by the employment avenues offered by the trade colleges and universities. Few women became hotel chefs, and even fewer were being admitted into ‘home economics’ or food sciences in the universities (Attar, 1990; Bailey & Earle, 1993; Beeton, 1977).

Early interpretations of formal culinary education were largely gender bound. Male chefs had worked in professional kitchens in hotels, restaurants and resorts. Female cooks worked in domestic cookery positions and had spent a great deal of time, collectively (and occasionally successfully) pushing against the glass-ceiling. However, in the collective history of professional culinary education, the social and educational traditions of many different cultures have generally been dominated by just one gender (Coveney, 2000; Dornenburg and Page, 2003; Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001).

As the culinary subject became more focused and specialized, the divisions of culinary education also grew in the tertiary sector. Knowledge began to be valued disproportionately, in areas that had been associated with the academia (home economics and food sciences). Whilst other areas of food knowledge had been stigmatized by connotations attached to race and class-based attitudes about ‘getting ones hands dirty’ or a subject ‘suitable for the academically challenged or under achievers’.

⁸⁵ Its status as a science was somewhat contentious. Murdoch (1943) observed: ‘This course, imposed on the schools by a Department anxious to break with academic tradition, to provide a course of practical science training closely related to a girls’ probable future needs, was unhappily designed. It comprised a selection of physics and applied chemistry including hygiene and dietetics. Too formless and unsystematic to be a ‘science’, it is too technical and abstract for ‘home’ consumption (p. 131).

It could also be argued that, the more highly valued knowledge was appropriated during this epoch by the academia and universities, leaving the ‘lesser valued’ knowledge to the apprentice-master training schemes and (for the literate) the self-help-books.

Part B – Politics

2.1 Developments in defining and teaching/ sharing valued knowledge

2.2 Key Political Aspects of this Epoch/ definitions/ control of knowledge

Homogenise or Diversify Culinary Knowledge

The homogenization and diversification of culinary knowledge is effected by numerous far reaching and interconnected issues and factors. Specifically, these conditions emerge from the available food supplies, the predominate cultural food preferences, the cultural combinations or fusions, the religious or superstition influences, associated economic benefits, media and industry manufactured trends. This situation is also manifested in aspects of, food travel and food tourism, global cycles (Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Generation Now), and the political-emotional or conscience pressures, which individuals use to make a statement with (for instance, vegetarianism, G.E. free foods, free-range poultry, ‘Fair Trade’⁸⁶ foodstuffs, and dolphin-friendly harvested tuna – to name but a few). Yet as Germov and Williams (1999) had also noted, ‘If food choices were totally based on individual or natural preferences for certain tastes, few people would preserve with foods such as coffee or beer, which are bitter on first tasting. These foods are said to be an ‘acquired taste,’ and we ‘acquire’ them through repetition that is socially rather than biologically driven’ (p. 3).

Arguable there has been, in some cases, a pronounced reduction and homogenization of foods and culinary practices; which has been connected with the mass public consumption (or ‘McDonaldisation’) of predominantly homogeneous foods (white bread, reconstituted potatoes, processed meats, sauces and dairy confectionaries) - as found in the fast food industry. In some instance, this has contributed to a decreased awareness in traditional foodstuffs and methodologies, and a declined handling of many customary foods and

⁸⁶ ‘Fair Trade’ is an international fair trading partnership that has been set-up to monitor goods and produce coming out of third world countries and to ensure that for the ‘small’ farmers and individual producers - a fair price is paid for their labour and products. This was originally set-up by the aid organisation Oxfam.

cooking practices. However, in spite of the apparently overwhelming stance towards fast food (and the associated industries) being the sole ‘poster child’ for archetypal evil in a decimation of foodways, as hinted in Eric Schlosser’s book ‘Fast Food Nation: The Dark side of the All-American Meal’ (2001); there have been several other contributing issues which have begun to be highlighted. Yet as Fine (2001) observed:

Fast food is, certainly, a choice, and one's food choices ought to be personal matters ... [And yet, it is] the explosive growth of fast food restaurants over the course of the past several decades [that] should tell us something: Fast food does not always satisfy one's highest aspirations - much less the refined sensibilities ... But it certainly fills one's tummy passably well (p. 5).

In addition to the personal food choices that are made, there is the on-going restructuring and reprioritizing of society which also needs to be taken into account. Yet, it is this restructuring of society (and the rejection of fast food’s associated ills⁸⁷), which is now bringing food and culinary knowledge to the people; as has been illustrated by food trends, food tourism, and multimedia education-entertainment food journalism. Yet, this is only part of the restorative learning ‘equation’. In the professional culinary sense, to establish an adequate degree of understanding and comprehension, there needs to be a basic body of knowledge to begin with, such as ‘Classic French Cuisine’. And after this establishment of essential knowledge and skills or ‘operational knowledge base’ (see Fine, 1995), additional specialized aspects of knowledge can then be added.

To shift ‘thinking’ from a homogenized view of food to that of seeing the diversity and nuances in alternative styles and methodologies of cuisines; would arguably take more than what could be taught in a single classroom or a single kitchen, or even through a single mentor. However, an additional challenge (on the surface) has been created by the industry. With the present trend or swing towards promoting media ‘darlings’ or ‘star’ chefs, as opposed to the promotion of authentic (traditional trained) master craftsmen and craftswomen. It has almost been as if the celebrity status and clichéd⁸⁸ customary by-lines (uttering for example, ‘Fresh, local ingredients’, ‘only seasonal, high-quality produce’, etc.) have in some way been substituted for the hardworking, creative individuals in the back

⁸⁷ Obesity, diabetics, and wealth-created malnutrition, to name but a few.

⁸⁸ These are claims that ‘every man and his dog’ would make, yet the difference (beyond wilted greens and frozen imported fish) would only be spotted when working in the kitchen itself.

kitchen. Where, in another time-frame or decade, they would have let their craft and talent speak for itself - through inspired dishes.

As pointed out in a recent trade publication, the ‘contemporary’ craftsman and craftswoman, has for the moment become more of a salesman, self-promoter and multifaceted wheeler-dealer than ever before.

Increasingly, however, there is a revolution taking place in the media and the marketplace. Through their acute understanding of customers and ingredients, and in their zealousness in communicating their philosophies to the market through every media available to them - their restaurant menus, newsletters, and e-mail lists; their cookbooks; their media interviews; and increasingly, their own TV shows, radio shows, and columns in the press - leading chefs are educating customers about food. In turn, the same chefs are providing products - from dishes in their restaurants to prepared foods with national distribution - to meet the market's growing demand for quality (see Dornenburg and Page, 2003, p. 310).

Wherein, later developments in New Zealand education saw the eventual division (and favouring) of preferred ‘academic’ knowledge over ‘practical’ knowledge, as well as, the legitimisation of what could or couldn’t be taught in tertiary institutions. In many instances, this had meant that if a particular type of knowledge hadn’t warranted academic inclusion, it didn’t warranted further investigation or development. Conversely, at the same time in other places like the United States, specialised vocational education had also proceeded, but in a much different direction to that of the United Kingdom. Trade, craft, and vocational education in tertiary institutions, had only really begun to be developed at the end of the Second World War. When there was a legitimate demand for returning servicemen⁸⁹ to be retrained and enter back into the workforce. Prior to this, adult education (outside of a traditional university education) had been limited to a few community colleges or folk schools. Lucas (1972) observed that from this evolution there was a development, which had been unique to the American experience:

The transformation of professional training programs from non-institutionalized apprenticeship experiences to highly systematized academic course of study incorporated into the university structure (Lucas, 1972, p. 524).

⁸⁹ This had been in the form of the *Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944* (the G.I. Bill).

2.2.1 Aspects of Government Power

From Trade College to Tertiary Institution

In New Zealand professional culinary education made the initial move into the tertiary education sector, with the government's alteration of traditional apprenticeship conditions and provisions, in the 1980s. This also later coincided with the amalgamation of industry training boards and the formation of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA)⁹⁰.

Several things happened when the 'control' or 'ownership' of trade knowledge and the responsibility for teaching shifted from the traditional sectors. The 'knowledge' had to be reinterpreted into the 'language' of the new controls. Business language framed this new education - 'students' became 'clients' and 'educational institutions' became 'providers'. The creation of units involved a process of dissecting specific practical processes removed the element of the 'community of practice,' and created unrelated/unconnected units of knowledge.

However, traditional roles of 'mentor-master' were revised and found to be inapplicable with traditional tertiary institutions. The ability to learn autonomously was now more necessary than ever, but without having the traditional (full-time) mentors and models to follow – in a situated cognitively directed trade – made the autonomous learning now more 'hit and miss.'

Responsibilities and values were refocused and reprioritised to promote aspects of quality control and assurance, and to look for just the empirically checkable practices; promoted by new government policy. Knowledge had essentially been dissected and commodified. By the middle of the 20th century, nearly every Western influenced country and culture had pursued the trend of vocational education in schools for similar reasons, and many of these reasons were driven by economy (Foucault, 1970; Shaw, 2002; Simon, 2000).

The process of drawing culinary trade knowledge into institutions began when the London City and Craft Guilds amalgamated with several smaller trade and craft guilds and started

⁹⁰ *Education Act 1989*, Part XX, New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 248. Establishment of Authority (p. 222)

one of the first teachers training colleges for technical trades in London, at the turn of the 19th century (Lawson & Silver, 1973).

While craft guilds and unions initiated some of the first trade colleges (Lawson & Silver, 1973; Salt, 1957), it was the Mechanics Institute which was instrumental in wider reforms including the establishment of ‘free’ libraries. However, as educational researcher Peterson (1971) noted, there were other more pressing motives behind the early appeals for adult education:

The retrospective literature of the second half of the century shows again and again the unsatisfied longing for a liberal education which existed among the poor at this time, and which showed itself in the lengths to which exceptional individuals would go to get for themselves in later life what no school had given them. In answer to this genuine demand, and because the educated patrons of adult education fostered them, there grew up alongside or within the purely vocational Mechanics Institutes, Literary Institutes whose aim was more widely cultural (p. 203).

In the 1900s British passengers arriving in New Zealand talked about free education (advances made by the Mechanics Institute), political progress, new inventions and technologies, and the mechanization of many new machines. Together with its promotion of literacy, the Mechanics Institute significantly contributed to the establishment of many New Zealand libraries, which in turn confirmed its standing as one of the most popular education movements of the day (Griffith, Harvey, & Maslen, 1997).

Despite these developments in adult education, the trade-based education in New Zealand remained (with the exception of the obligatory ‘mini’ industry block courses and night classes) based on apprentice-mentoring and therefore resided ‘fairly and squarely’ with individual master tradesmen and associated guilds. This lasted until the State-promoted abolition of traditional apprenticeships in the 1970-80s which subsequently lead to a major break-down in the acquisition of traditional or foundational knowledge (Marginson, 1993; Woodham, 2004).

2.2.2 *Aspects of Social/Cultural/Media/Internet Power*

Global Influences on the New Zealand Condition

In New Zealand's education situation, there had been a number of combined factors (both historically and contemporarily), which had directed the general provision of education - with the most considerable of these influences being linked to the Colonial past; or 'lands of European settlement' (Fukuyama, 2002). With this association there had also been a considerable amount of additional 'baggage,' such as: transplanted legislative systems, a rapidly expanding egalitarian social system, 'approved' religions and belief systems, preferred types of social participation, targeted international trade and economic development. Essentially, it had not been as simple as arriving in a new land and being able to start life afresh, as practices and patterns from past places would continue to be replicated. And, there was also the 'minor' issue of not being the first ones there - to begin with. So right from the start, there was going to have to be some negotiation and compromise.

Initially, the 19th Century was the 'climax' for many of the exploring, colonizing, and trading empires. These trading empires had basically functioned through royal chartered companies, sending ships to establish trade links, between themselves and the 'newly' discovered commodity-rich cultures and countries (see Burton, 2000; Clyde, 1958; Samhaber, 1963; Smith, 1967). However, a lot of the earlier immigration had brought with it a strong mix of Western European cultural views and belief systems, with the most instrumental of these influences having come from the British, Dutch, French, and Portuguese explorers and traders. Nevertheless, it must be argued that the greatest of these influences had in fact been the lure of trade, economic development and the 'opportunity' to attain unimagined wealth.

What seems to have been overlooked or partially ignored in New Zealand's 'conditions' of establishment, which were to have later been transmitted into its 'conditions' of education, was the underlying impact of a collaborative State and 'Church'. In many cases, these collaborations were veiled, self-serving conspiracies, which had particular implications for the acquisition of land allotments⁹¹ and the pledges made for the provision of (native and colonial) education, and moral guidance. There also appeared to have been an eclectic combination of Western European assumed 'moral high ground', personal and institutional

⁹¹ In New Zealand and Australia, predominately in the nineteenth century, the British colonial government made provisions for missionary schools to be set up on government acquired tracks of land. (See Austin, 1965; Orange, 1987).

(Church and missionary) social climbing, conscience-free land grabbing, and enough papal ‘hell fire and damnation’ - to have lasted a life time.

To young men seeking solitude in which to search for God again, and a new society capable, perhaps, of perfectibility, New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century often appeared as a haven. To Arnold it was irresistible. His father had been attracted to these islands many years before - he had indeed brought land there - and everything that young Thomas Arnold read about them suggested to him that he might help to lay the foundations of a better, more fraternal society. In November 1847 he took passage in the *John Wickliffe* and five months later, at the age of twenty-four, stepped ashore at Port Chalmers. His disenchantment with New Zealand life was swift and complete, and the legal difficulties put in the way of farming his father's land and his frustrated hopes of directing a projected college at Nelson were only minor material causes of his disappointment. For to his sorrow Arnold found that colonial New Zealand was already taking on many of the forms of English society, that it was culturally barren and blatantly materialistic, and that when he tried to escape into solitude he found himself quite unfitted to pursue a life of solitary contemplation in its forbidding forests (Austin, 1965, p. 138).

Ironically, through the British Empire's colonization of Australia there had been the introduction and establishment of a large contingency of Catholic missionaries. However, in New Zealand's case, the establishment of religious orders had seemingly been more in the favour of: the Mission Society, the Wesleyans, the Protestants, and the remainder of the less prominent Churches and religions. This had been irrespective of the close ties, many of the Catholic priests and missionaries had built with the local Maori. Debatably, with the close proximity of Australia's and New Zealand's colonization, there had been some deep seated fears and suspicions, between the ‘competing’ Church organisations. [However, it must be asked: ‘What effect did this type of competition have on the nature, method, and quality of education that the clergy was responsible for imparting? Was this competition limited to the struggle for souls, or was the lure of land as equally enticing?]

As Paul Moon (1998) had indicated, in his research on the first Governor of New Zealand – Captain William Hobson; there had been a constant underlying mêlée between the opposing church groups, which had unfortunately out lasted the duration of his posting. Where the simmering conflict had frequently come to a boiling point, and where a selective ‘back-stabbing’ had not been something beyond the rivalry clergymen. In fact, there had been (to a point) great fears about an encroaching ‘Catholic Menace.’

There had been worries, especially stemming from the Protestant missionaries present, that the Catholic Bishop Pompallier, who was present at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, might exercise some influence over the chiefs and deter them from signing the Treaty. Henry Williams in particular was suspicious of Pompallier's intentions. Pompallier had requested from Hobson that it be announced that those Maori who had converted to Catholicism would still be covered by the protections offered by the Treaty. Hobson agreed and expressed his regret that Pompallier had not made known his wish earlier (Moon, 1998, p. 111).

Even as far back as the seventeenth century the scale of missionary and Church involvement in the trading and colonization of the 'new world', had changed very little. Fisher (1969) had discovered, there too had been some intriguing periods in the level of religious endeavour, which paralleled early European trading in the Philippines⁹².

In the absence of any spectacular wealth in precious metals or spices, so remote a region offered little scope for economic development even if the Spaniards had not been wedded to restrictive mercantilist dogmas. In these circumstances, therefore, the missionary activity of the friars, who by the 17th century included the Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans as well as the original Augustinians, tended to dominate the scene, and the Philippines, under Spanish rule has aptly been called 'the empire of the friars'. For the most part the economy was one of great landed estates such as the Spaniards had already set up in the Americas, and huge amounts areas were made over in this way to religious organizations and individual conquistadores (Fisher, 1969, p. 701).

The first offerings of Colonial education in New Zealand had been heavily influenced by the religious tenets and dogmas of the missionary teachers. Yet, despite these first influences it had been the religious schools who were the first to introduce 'literacy' to the people. However, before a more 'authentic' literacy was to have occurred (for the purposes of vocational education), the country had to wait a little bit longer. The first educational texts which arrived in New Zealand had been predominantly influenced by religion; as had been the subsequent texts, which had been first printed locally. As Griffith, Harvey, and Maslen (1997) had explained:

⁹² Ironically, the same systems that had been set-up to conduct international trade with the Americas had also indirectly impacted on New Zealand's own 19th century trade ventures. (See Fisher, 1969, p. 196).

The primary purpose of printing up to 1850 was to distribute the literature of church and state; it was one means by which these institutions advised and legitimated their presence (p. 24).

Most schools were established by churches or private individuals and privately run and paid for. In the 1850s provincial governments were given responsibility for education, but only Nelson and Otago set up education systems, and in 1858 Nelson abolished fee-paying in favour of a household levy. Reading was dependent on the reading books used in Britain which were brought by settlers, and [where]... the most widely used were the religious and didactic Irish National Readers. From 1867 New Zealand booksellers began to import the graded series of Royal Readers, published by Thomas Nelson of Edinburgh to meet the needs of the British Revised Code of 1862 which varied teachers' payment according to the examination success of their pupils (Griffith, Harvey, and Maslen, 1997, p. 212).

Education in New Zealand, over the next fifty years, had begun to be perceived as one of the keys to social freedom; as well as the 'cure-all' for all manners of social ills. However, this was not an exclusively held ideal by New Zealand's 'traditional to contemporary' proponents of education; it was a concept that had also been seized by other Western colonial countries. But, along the way this perception of value and values associated with education, as well as, what ever else it could be used for, had gotten a little sidetracked. By the time the 1930s -1940s had arrived, the '3 R's' also included 'flag-honouring'.

With the reintroduction of flag-honoring regulations by the Minister of Education, the Hon. M.V. Wellington, then imminent (1984), they felt able to assert that, 'During periods of economic recession, schools become major vehicles for the indoctrination of sets of patriotic ideologies, which promote the value of unity and loyalty in order to draw attention away from existing economic and social division'. Certainly prolonged economic recession during the twenties aggravated social and political divisions (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993, p. 125).

By using the budding State education system to create a more 'united' social identity (which had abet been in a rather mundane way), New Zealand colonial society had been consciously reinventing itself; and had (in doing so) become part of the twentieth century's emergent Western Capitalism movement. By the first and second quarters of the twentieth century, the Industrial Revolution had made a full impact on practically every economically developing and trading country in the world. Yet, the type of industrialisation and Capitalism which had emerged at this point had also been behind the same growing 'consumer' incentives, which had been used to steer the 'future' directions and provisions of

State and Trade education. As an extension of this theory it could be argued that New Zealand's heavily intertwined industries, educational bodies and politics had in fact become the 'full blown' supporters of the 'Consumer Age' (see Featherstone, 1991; Taylor, Wacker, and Means, 2001). Where 'consumerism' was now becoming more about the right to own, obtain, and exercise a buyer's choice in the market place; rather than about being in a more traditional context of - community connection and trade, mentored learning and holistic social development, or transparent governing bodies.

However, there have been several different views attributed to the notion of consumerism. Taylor, Wacker, and Means (2001) suggested that it was the ability to market and sell goods, which had been the ultimate deciding factor in mans' consumerism. Yet, Featherstone (1991) had proposed that it had been our changing perception of 'reality' which had ultimately influenced how we perceived consumerism today. Whereas Fukuyama (2002) had concluded that consumerism had been essentially a 'self-generated' desire, which had been displayed so as to attract recognition.

The Consumer Age inappropriately thought of as the Industrial Age, which had its first origins in the beginning of the Age of Reason, became firmly established during the mid-1800s, and survived until the end of World War II. It was during the Consumer Age that we learned how to merchandise and how to trade. As that happened, the production and consumption of goods on a massive scale became the defining economic activity for the first time in human history. The process of manufacturing ultimately would be perfected to fill that goal, but it was the desire to own - and a liberation from a time when only nobility and few priests truly owned - that spawned the epoch (Taylor, Wacker & Means, 2001, p. 180).

Yet in addition to this plausible assumption that we have moved into a stage of 'capitalism' (consumer capitalism), 'industrialization' (post-industrial or post modernity) which is sufficiently new and distinctive to warrant a new concept to redirect our attention, we must also face the possibility that it is not the 'reality' which has changed, but our perception of it (Featherstone, 1991, p. viii).

What the Consumer Age has done for the expansion and perpetuation of many traditional and contemporary crafts and trades (in New Zealand and overseas), has been both positively miraculous and direction changing for industry. But, it has also been harmful in many ways, particularly in the context of properly established, meaningfully situated craft and trade education. When many of the traditional craft and trade skills had been exchanged for mass

producing machines, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century; much of the emphasis on in-house training and education (in industry) had been moved from the Master Trade and Craftsmen to the State. At this time many had feared that, because of the birth of the machine and the reduction of craft skills that, the craftsman would become no more than a ‘machine-minder’ (Salt and Sinclair, 1957). And it was in this particular setting, that the government had begun to involve itself more with the guidance and regulation of apprentices and journeymen, trade educators, and the overseeing of State and Community training organisations. As a consequence of this, the legislation that had been connected to the supervision of education, employment, and labour, and the establishment of schools and universities was revised.

The French Condition

Several other points also need consideration. From the turn of the 19th century until the middle of the 20th century, culinary education was effectively split. Apprenticed education was the provenance of ‘professional cookery’ and predominately took place in hotels, big restaurants, bakeries, and institutions (schools, hospitals, government departments). It was also gender specific and tailored to the traditional practices of the early guilds. Conversely, culinary education which had been practiced in the schools - primary and post-primary – was not considered to be in the same ball park as apprenticed education.

With this new development of institutionally-based culinary education, the questions arise about what knowledge was valued, who decided and how it was taught: an identifiable culinary tradition needed to be defined. According to James (2002), the tradition identified was closely interlinked with the Western European aristocratic preferences of continental dishes, and had been widely promoted by the likes of Escoffier and Caesar Ritz – at the turn of the 19th century. Thus ironically this meant the adoption and substitution of multiple, traditional food cultures (in many different countries and nation-states), in favour of one foreign, historical established culinary practice: French Cuisine.

Long before it reached New Zealand’s shores, the ‘Frenchification’ of food and culinary practices was established in a number of Western European countries. In many instances the acceptance of French culinary practices had continued for so long that many adopted traditions were considered part of the evolving local food customs. Therefore, by the time

European cooking and food preparation arrived in New Zealand with the early the whalers and settlers, it had already been amalgamated (in its most rudimentary sense) with French cuisine.

With an adherence to the classically promoted style of French Cuisine and the popular endorsement of its civilizing qualities⁹³, the promotion of French culinary education (in many other colonized countries was to be expected. Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) observed that this popularity may have had an even earlier nascency than the movement of French citizens to the colonies. She suggested that the ‘Nationalisation of French Cuisine’ had been a two-fold creation of early patriotic food writers and a societal response to the French Revolution⁹⁴ and the ideal of egalitarianism:

The culinary writers of nineteenth-century France found themselves in the enviable, and unique, position of working within a celebrated indigenous culinary tradition. The increasing centralization of French society and the attendant concentration of French cultural institutions - conditions matched nowhere else in Europe - further reinforced these associations between the nation and the elite cuisine. Of course, France also had non-elite, regional cuisines, but other countries had only such cuisine (which is why Carême, like many of his ancient régime predecessors, was called to cook abroad) (Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001, p. 26).

In an interesting investigation into ‘French Colonial Cooking’, Burton (2000) noted that the French, when they were colonizing extensive regions of the ‘New World’, had absorbed ‘New World’ traditions. Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) proposed that this was the typical *modus operandi* of many French chef, cooks and gastronomes:

French cuisine [had not] lived in splendid isolation. Indeed, its "genius" lay in the strength of its capacity to assimilate foreign elements. Although French cuisine was "indisputably the first in the world," as Grimod de la Reynière recalled in 1806, it could become richer still by drawing on foreign foods. But appropriation also meant transformation, which is to say, "Frenchification." French cuisine would incorporate exotic foods "by perfecting them" (p. 28).

Despite the fact that most of New Zealand’s 19th century colonisers were primarily middle to working class’ European settlers, their food styles were deeply influenced by the

⁹³ To perfect different cuisines was also to ‘suggest’ a type of class or elitism, about the consumers of French Cuisine.

⁹⁴ This had been from the end of ‘the French Revolution and the First Republic’, which had progressed from 1799 and then up until 1814-15.

fashionable⁹⁵ French cooking of French chefs⁹⁶. Challenging the ‘French Condition’ – and challenging culinary conformity – was achieved through the re-emergence of previously discarded or lost ethnic cuisines of individual cultures. However, unlike the promoted ‘fusion’ foods of many innovative cooks and chefs, the re-establishment of ethnic foods has rested on the tracing of traditional/cultural family customs. Conversely, for the majority of New Zealand chefs this has meant that prior to ‘alternative’ ethnic cuisines being learnt, the first professional culinary embrace (or grounding) has still had to of been the ‘classical’ French kind.

In the case of many other nations, whose nascency has been built on greater cultural diversity and turmoil – like the United States, the orthodoxy of the ‘French Condition’ is already being challenged.

Wilson (2003) noted that this emerged from social issues:

... [Fueling] this resistance to culinary conformity was the interest in exploring and valorizing ethnic differences that began with the civil rights and negritude movements and blossomed under such mottos as "Black is Beautiful." White ethnics followed suit by rediscovering and perpetuating the foodways that their parents and grandparents were often all too ready to jettison in the process of assimilation. For counterculture youth eager to shed their WASP⁹⁷ cultural identity, ethnic grocery stores and restaurants provided sources of relatively cheap, simply prepared foods (p. 247).

In assessing the influences of the ‘French Condition’ alongside its effects on professional culinary education in New Zealand, there are essentially five major points to consider. The first influence is ‘cultural stratification’, whereby a class system based on social hierarchies produce demonstrations of wealth and consumption (such as, food, luxury goods, and selected social activities), in which the ‘French Condition’ is valued and promoted. This leads on to the second intertwined influence of ‘fashion and desirability’, which creates an

⁹⁵ Yet, the link between culinary education and French cuisine was further reinforced by the British industry training and Escoffier and other French chefs. According to James (2002) in the early 20th century, Escoffier advocated for a ‘cookery technical school for boys’ that had lead to the first British cookery school opening in 1910 in Westminster Technical Institute.

⁹⁶ This still continues today, with the French methodology being the selling point (i.e. branding) used to promote various chefs, restaurants, hotels, tertiary courses and culinary tourism. For example: Marco Perrier White, Gordon Ramsay, Peter Gordon, Neil Perry, and Simon Gault; to name but a few. However, whilst these chefs promote their cuisines as classical in the French sense, they also promote a deviation or ‘fusion’ of cuisines within their own culture, heritage, or life history. This is rather inspired as it allows them the latitude to ‘brand’ their fare and change it at will.

⁹⁷ White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

opportunity for the ‘machinery’ of consumption to be further expanded. The third influence is the contributing dynamics of ‘cultural migration’, driven by class-based consumption and fashion desires and economics; which is in part satisfied by travel, trade and colonization.

The fourth influence to follow this had been the *invisible* practice of ‘homogenization’. Initially, the homogenization had involved similar indigenous European cuisines and culinary practices; and had been the embracement of cooking methodologies, food preferences and accessibility, as well as societal and religious mythologies. However, with expanded cultural migration, homogenization had been a more subtle shift (not a blatant shift) of foodways and customs. In many instances, the subtlety of the change would have most been most typically been through the introduction of foreign crops or processed goods. In turn, local foods and cooking methods would have been either adopted or substituted according to necessity. As was the long-established ‘French’ custom which Parkhurst-Ferguson (2001) had described earlier.

From this point, the fifth (and final) influence is more evident and intentional, with the political and ideological ‘social engineering’ of the culture. This typically has been through the regrouping of residual cultures and societies to form one, and has incorporated ‘rules and regulations’ of expected practice. In many instances, this type of social engineering or societal regulation has cast a ‘public gaze’ over not only how an individual behaves, but what an individual has been permitted to put in his or her cooking pot. In New Zealand’s case, this has possibly saved a number of domestic animals from an untimely demise, and a ‘sweet and sour’ or ‘black bean sauce’. But it has also meant that many culinary changes now have to be made deliberately, rather than being left to the invisible stealth of homogenization.

Chapter 4

THE MODERN JOURNEYMAN

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Chapter 4

Introduction

Boundaries of Epoch

The boundaries of the ‘Modern Journeyman’ epoch begin approximately from the early-to-mid 20th century and then flow into the 21st century (up to the end of 2004). In this chapter a number of areas, themes and topics have intersecting margins, which have threaded their way through the earlier eras (of the ‘Early Journeyman’ and ‘Journeyman’) into the current time-frame. The major junctions have been between: the influences of ‘travel’ shifting into the potentialities of the ‘internet’; the transition from traditional ‘colonisation’ moving into ‘non-traditional’ migration; and the ‘scientific’⁹⁸ recognition of human nature’ expanding to develop capabilities in other areas of ‘scientific’⁹⁹ endeavour’.

Major Developments

The *Forces Majeur* that have affected the ‘Modern Journeyman’ in this epoch have essentially been through: the ‘new’ global communication medium of the internet¹⁰⁰, the worldwide drift of countless individuals and associated cultures – who have formed neo-tribes¹⁰¹ at newly established destination points; and lastly, there are discoveries and innovations in science, which are now being created as fast as they can be imagined. For the ‘Modern Journeyman’, this has meant the choice of either following the ‘race’ or leading the ‘race’. It has also meant that education is now unquestionably part of the package, needed to participate with.

⁹⁸ The development of psychology and other sciences of the human condition or ‘inner world’ – in particular Freud, Jung, Popper, Kierkegaard, Dewey, and Montessori.

⁹⁹ Information technology (internet, wireless communications), genetic engineering, DNA decoding, the microwave, etc

¹⁰⁰ Schlosser (2001) noted that: ‘The Internet at the heart of today’s “New Economy” began as ARPANET, a military communications network created in the late 1970s’ (p. 260).

¹⁰¹ Taylor, Wacker, and Means (2001) have proposed that current societies now operate an omnireality, which affords us the opportunity to join new groups – neo-tribes – that support us in the ‘ideals’ we aspire to.

Key Insights Contained in this Chapter

The key insights in this chapter are that:

- The Modern Journeyman now competes to learn and earn in a global market.
- In some respects knowledge and education have become part of the ‘armour’ in the battle to find recognition, acceptance, and employment.
- Culinary education (and the history of it) is not without baggage, particularly in the context of ‘what is authentic knowledge?’, ‘where is it authentic’ and ‘who has the right to teach it?’
- The Modern Journeyman’s education has been transformed (possibly even sloganeered) into ‘lifelong learning’ and made more political.
- It is now a question of ‘who controls?’ as opposed to ‘who actually knows best?’

*The Journeyman of this Era***The Modern Journeyman**

The ‘Modern Journeyman’ has now a lot more riding on his/her education, than ever before. And even for the experienced professional, there are additional pressures to be re-educated and re-trained, and to learn the ‘new’ interpretations of traditional and non-traditional knowledge’s and techniques. In effect, the journeyman now has to pursue his or her career with a greater degree of knowledge and awareness, than has ever been required before. And as a consequence of this, many of the notions and practices of ‘contemporary’ education, which had been previously unheard of (such as, globalisation, life long learning, modern apprenticeships, the education industry, and portable knowledge), have now become *de rigueur* for many adult learners and their educators.

Still, for this awareness to occur, according to Caldwell (2004), the individual needs to be more globally aware, wired or even electronically transfixed on what the rest of the world is really up to. In order to be able to make an informed choice, to either follow or abstain from another’s activities or practices. And in the case of the modern journeyman, this is particularly relevant to his or her further acquisition of tertiary education. Yet, included in

this notion of informed ‘take it or leave it’ choices, are the now ‘new’ options¹⁰² being presented by the *Modern Apprenticeship Training Act 2000*. By using a new (legal) label, on an obviously ‘old chestnut’, the amended education and training Act is now offering the trainee an opportunity to sign-up for something that is ‘vaguely familiar’, but in reality - disturbingly *not* so.

Where, once the Master Craftsmen and Tradesmen had guided their apprentices and journeymen (from beginning to end), now the *Modern Apprenticeship Training Act* has destabilised their traditional guidance, by transferring it (the guidance) to the State and associated tertiary institutions. This ‘change’ has meant the substitution of the original guild associations with government appointed bodies, the reshaping of proven ‘cognitive’ teaching methods to fit the academically focused tertiary system, the creation of a ‘predominantly’ government-measured qualification system (as opposed to a traditionally based industry system); and a process of (government-supported) industry guidance, which now produces ‘unit standards’ in place of Master Craftsmen and Craftswomen.

However, there have been an intriguing number of books, articles and writers that have brought into question and have challenged, many of the interwoven issues associated with today’s ‘Modern Journeyman’¹⁰³. Jordan and Strathdee (2001) have questioned the level of political control that has been exerted over adult education and Labour Unions, through the sponsorship of the government ‘Training Gospel’¹⁰⁴. Where, the rationale has been that increased skills and higher education would facilitate a higher income and an improved standard of living for the people. And where, Jordan and Strathdee have asserted that the ideological agendas, which promote the interests of business over the interests of the individual, would be subtly concealed. Moreover, they have also recognized that the targeted promotion of ‘education for enterprise’ would essentially establish adult and vocational education as an income generating scheme.

¹⁰² These options have presented a new type of employment/education contract and grading system, with Government mentors, middlemen and go-betweens; and ‘new’ business-centred terminologies rather than trade-centred terminologies.

¹⁰³ These interwoven issues of ‘education, industry, politics’ were previously proposed in chapter one as part of the ‘evolving’ Epoch of the Culinary Journeyman.

¹⁰⁴ A market-centred approach to industry training programmes, that provides homogenized and hegemonic vocational knowledge.

In a similar vein, Marshall (2000) had discussed the Ministry of Research Science and Technology's (MoRST) promotion of 'the knowledge economy'. In particular, he looked at how the targeted interpretation and valuing of knowledge had influenced the type of education that is now being taught and promoted. Marshall also described how the push for the 'knowledge economy' has meant that increased capital (income) is now reliant on increased knowledge and the promotion of the 'free market' economy; and where now the promotion of, 'knowledge'¹⁰⁵ has ... been replaced by skill and learning' (p. 194). In particular, Marshall pointed out how the governments desire to define knowledge¹⁰⁶ (as connected to the concept of the knowledge economy) had ultimately resulted in the 'overtly' simplified meaning and practice of knowledge – almost to the point of meaninglessness.

Yet, in Chamberlain's (2002) exploration of Modern Apprenticeships and the Modern Apprenticeship Act, the subsequent replacement of traditional trade apprenticeships with the more cohesive government-run apprentice schemes had been discussed. Where it was suggested that the original apprenticeship Act had in fact come to an impasse because of stringent government 'economic reforms' and 'industry deregulations'¹⁰⁷. Chamberlain also observed that, the majority of traditional apprenticeship education had been previously been left to the government to fund and manage. And where the supply of qualified apprentices had been created by the State owned corporations, where they (the corporations) were eventually cut or down-sized to reduce costs and build government profits – between the 1980s -1990s. Similarly, Chamberlain also suggested that because many industries¹⁰⁸ had in the past, left the bulk of their apprentice education (and their responsibilities) to the government – a number of these trades would predictably have some difficulties¹⁰⁹ 'picking up the ball' again.

Whereas, instead of focusing on responsibilities of apprenticeship administration, Billett (2001) has alternatively questioned the significance and fitness of today's adult and tertiary training programmes for vocational education. He has reasoned that the best place for

¹⁰⁵ Marshall had referred to the confusingly written 'New Zealand Curriculum Framework' (p. 196).

¹⁰⁶ 'Defining' in this sense had ultimately translated into the 'commodification' of the identifiable - saleable aspects of the specific professions in question.

¹⁰⁷ This had been created under the guise of Roger Douglas's Labour Party economic reforms, of the 1980s

¹⁰⁸ Plumbing, Fitting and Turning, Electrical Engineering, and so on.

¹⁰⁹ Lack of time, money, and available mentor/ trainers.

vocational education still continues to be in the workplace, and where the ‘extended vocational knowledge through guided learning’ (p. 68) is really only the most effective way to transfer cognitively-based skills and practices. Yet on reflection, Billett’s proposal could itself be similarly interpreted as a reinvented version of traditional apprenticeship training and apprentice style learning.

In contrast to this, Schön (1986) has taken Billett’s rather rigid notion of workplace education (being the only real or viable form of vocational learning), and has instead turned the focus of the *situational context* or the environment ‘being the educator’ - to the teacher or ‘practitioner’ repossessing the role. In his book, ‘Educating the Reflective Practitioner’, Schön has highlighted the processes of ‘reflection-in-action’ and ‘professional artistry’ - where the metacognitive skills normally developed in the traditional apprentice/journeyman settings¹¹⁰ are now encouraged to be further developed in the institutional setting. However, what makes Schön’s proposition so appealing is his deliberate focus on bringing the normally unspoken, metacognitive¹¹¹ learning methodologies into the vocational classroom.

Alternatively, Featherstone (1991) has explored the concept of ‘consumer culture and post modernism’ and its impact on creating or ‘making a common culture’ (p. 135) in society. Where the focus on life-long learning and cultural education has been subliminally laid down to members of society - on what they are to think, what to feel, what to want. Intriguingly, this notion of ‘consumer culture and post modernism’ challenges and changes a number of issues in apprentice style learning, institutional education, and culinary education. In particular, it transforms individual education into common cultural education; it establishes that the ‘institution’ has always influenced the education process; and it has also highlighted the social and cultural control that has actually been held over cookery and culinary education - Where society is at once a ‘symptom’ and a ‘reflection’ of its own cultural influence and programming.

Coveney (2000) has introduced Foucault’s notion of ‘governability’, in context with his research into ‘Food Morals and Meaning’. He has suggested that governability has been widely exerted over the ‘nutrition’ and ‘foodstuffs’ of most Western Culture’s, and that this

¹¹⁰ This had been normally associated workplace learning and mentoring.

¹¹¹ Schön (1986) had described this as a process of ‘reflection-in-action’ and ‘artistry’, which could also be thought of as ‘targeted lateral/creative thinking’.

has been clearly seen in the government's ability to bring into line (or conform) public eating, food acceptance, and culinary education. However, in contrast to Coveney's broad description of socially transmitted food preferences and learning practices, Taubes (2002) has put forward the notion that there have been distinct 'markers' of State-sponsored coercion. In a rather controversial piece, Taubes suggested that instead of there being widespread social and cultural customs at work, the stimulus for 'nutrition', 'foodstuffs', 'culinary education' and large-scale 'governability' may be no further away than the State or Federal Government's economic balance sheets. Taubes stated that a decision had been made by the American Congress in 1977, who had instructed the public health authorities to promote a particular dietary plan – 'Dietary Goals for the United States'. Instead of the dietary plan being based on some extensive scientific research (at the time), it was alternatively generated by several accountants and economists who had been specifically looking at the promotion of national agricultural concerns and national income generation.

From this eclectic data, several interesting things have been partially revealed. The first has been the value placed on knowledge as a source for economic development in the education 'industry'. The next has been the influence of the 'knowledge economy'¹¹² ideology and the effects of government economic reforms and Modern Apprenticeships, on this principle. The third has been the issue of either a 'location'¹¹³ or an 'individual'¹¹⁴ providing the apprentice or journeyman with what they need to succeed with. And the last matter (but not least) has been actual the amount of influence and control that society and culture really has had over the content-matter and the learning processes of culinary education – so far.

Analysis and Use of theorists

The theorists that are used to explore the 'Modern Journeyman' play a considerable role in the deciphering of the specific events and time lines. In the 'Early Journeyman', Machiavelli's (1961) theories of 'Statecraft' manage to encapsulate the philosophies of 'power and control', which drive the multiple-political influences behind the practically promoted craft and trade education. As an extension of this particular theory, Foucault has followed through with a

¹¹² The concept of the 'knowledge economy' is something which has been widely discussed by numerous writers (see Marshall, 2000; Peters and Roberts, 1999), who have used it as 'tool' for the analysis of educational policies and political power-plays.

¹¹³ The 'location' has either been the tertiary institutions or the traditional workplaces.

¹¹⁴ The 'individual' has been either: a teacher, a mentor, or a master.

more complex, more evolved notion of targeted ‘social engineering’, which can be applied to the ‘Journeyman’. With a view to expanding society and the perceived standing of the individual, Foucault has also built a number of his theories on the concept of economics and acquisition (in addition to ‘power and control’) - being at the root of man’s motivations. Followed by Machiavelli’s theories of ‘power and control and Statecraft’, and along side Foucault’s notions of ‘socially engineered and economically motivated individuals’; we then arrive at Lyotard’s (1993) theories of ‘power and control, and the guardianship of information technology’. In the context of the ‘Modern Journeyman’, Lyotard’s ideas are as equally important. They not only compound the controls of State and the struggle for economic riches and advancement but they now also expose a greater number of ‘gate keeping’ features, which have been set in place. Essentially, by creating ‘gate keeping’ features, which in the most negative sense, can disqualify the journeyman from full educational participation.

In addition to these three theorists, there have also been the thoughts and ideas of writers such as Durkheim and Fukuyama, who have interwoven concepts of labour and ‘structures of power’ with their observations about an individual’s desire for economic valuing and personal recognition – and ultimately have greatly contributed, to this discussion. Durkheim had advocated for labour and power structures, which were reminiscent of early socialism and communism. And Fukuyama had sponsored the concept of liberal capitalism, in conjunction with his premise that man is simply ‘struggling for recognition’. In which, Fukuyama (2002) argued that ‘economic development and status’ is in fact one of the contemporary solutions to this ancient struggle.

Part A - Education and Society

1.1 Education in this epoch / Context

1.2 Industry/Vocational/Adult Education

Modern Apprenticeships in the Classroom and Modular Courses

Describing ‘what a modern apprenticeship is’ is rather challenging, as it seems to be a notion which has changed with the political administration of the State, educational institutions, and industry governing bodies. In many instances, the ‘modern apprenticeship’ has been portrayed as the extension of traditional apprentice education and industry training. For many of the traditional trade and craft industries in New Zealand, the introduction of the *Modern Apprenticeship Training Act 2000* signalled the replacement of the somewhat transitory *Training Act 1992*; which itself replaced the original *Technicians Training Act 1967* and the *Apprenticeship Act 1983*. Yet, what this change of training and education regulations was aimed at was an exchange of time-based industry qualifications to graduated unit-based knowledge and skill-achievement qualifications. Yet, what it had mostly accomplished could be perceived more as an ‘annihilation’ of the apprenticeship system – rather than a saving of it. As Chamberlain (2002) reported the:

Current Social Services and Employment Minister Steve Maharey says, “By abolishing [the apprenticeship act] in the minds of most people they abolished the system itself. So what we got for the next eight years or so was a complete collapse of the bridge from school to work for young people (Chamberlain, 2002, p. 4).

An examination of the ‘before’ and ‘after’ training and apprenticeship Acts, shows few clues as to the long term improvement of benefits, for either the apprentice or the master tradesman /or craftsman. Moving beyond the most obvious changes of ‘time’ and ‘demonstrability of skill and knowledge’, there were further changes involving the added-input of government appointed mentors and apprentice coordinators, the accountability to (and from) Industry Training Organisations (ITOs) and the integration of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in the mix. However, what this change of Act does not go into is the retrieval of ‘lost’ knowledge and the replacement of eight years of master crafts

and tradesmen, who were not trained to continue on the variously affected¹¹⁵ industries. Nor does the Act go into the structuring and set-up of the various ITOs, in particular, the context in which many of the traditional guilds and industry training boards were merged (then ultimately swallowed-up) by government departments.

In the case of the Hospitality Standards Institute (HSI), there is now an organisation wholly focused on the identification of standards, based on units of knowledge that have been devoid from the more complex, situational contexts in which they would normally exist. But, regardless of this organisation being run for the ‘greater good’ of the industry, it is essentially not run by the industry. In spite of the reality that a proportion of its funding¹¹⁶ comes from the government, this suggests that there might be a certain amount of paradox and conflict in the establishment of industry standards. Additional investigation into the various ‘traditional’ food and hospitality boards and guilds, have revealed that prior to the Industry Training Act of 1992 and the government ‘Gazette’ recognition of industry-directed body corporate(s) - ITOs; organisations like the Hospitality Association of New Zealand¹¹⁷ (HANZ) had themselves previously assumed (full and partial) responsibility for a wide range of areas¹¹⁸ requiring the stabilization of standards and training (see Brien, 2002).

However, in light of the nature of the transition from industry-run to government-run Industry Training Organisations (ITOs), which had been approved by the Board of Education Training Support Agency (ETSA), and was under a new education structure’ (Brien, 2002, p. 131); a new type of ‘modern apprenticeship’ was constituted - that was distanced (in many senses) from the industry it supplied.

Adding to this intriguing concept of the ‘modern apprenticeship’ had been the establishment of new modular courses, for the further development of specialised and theory-based industry education. However, before this period there had been a number courses run for the training of craft and trade apprentices and the establishment of industry consistency.

¹¹⁵ Industries that were affected by the down-turn of apprentices, who would have in turn been trained to be the new master craftsmen and master tradesmen.

¹¹⁶ This funding is not static as it is based on established industry ‘support’ (purchased products* training manuals and courses).

¹¹⁷ This organisation had originally been known as the ‘Licensed Victuallers and Allied Trades’, and had been established in 1902.

¹¹⁸ The monitoring of these areas had been a part of the industries own/original hospitality and catering industry training boards.

The majority of these programmes had been conducted by the industry bodies and guilds themselves; yet, one of the few exceptions to this rule was the ‘early’ inclusion of cookery classes in primary and post-primary schools¹¹⁹. For the most part, many of the school-based cookery classes had been aimed at teaching domestic cooking, however, for many of the young women who were to enter into the ‘domestic service and cooking’ industry - it would have most likely been the only formal culinary education that they would have received.

Modular courses were later developed for industry, which took into account the contemporary needs of the trade and craft professions and those of the international¹²⁰ examining guilds and trade boards (see Shaw, 2002). Many of these courses supplemented the practical training given in industry, and were (and still are) held in the technical institutions and training colleges. Yet, what had added a major ‘twist’ to this traditional training and education situation had been the government’s introduction of the ITOs and the NZQA.

Effectively, overnight ITOs like the Hospitality Standards Institute¹²¹ (HSI) (who were not automatically granted government funding), began accumulating the freely offered industry-based ‘practice’ criteria’s – so as to establish a set of recognised ‘unit standards’ for industry, and to supply the NZQA with ‘authenticated data’ for the newly created qualifications system. In exchange for this ‘intermediary’ role the HSI was afforded the opportunity to create pre-packaged courses and manuals (using the industry acquired data), which would then be sold back to the industry. Then, once the record of course and manual purchases had establish the industries ‘support’ of the HSI, this registered ‘support’ would then be used to apply for government funding. Where, theoretically, by financial association, the HSI would in actual fact be rendering itself an unofficial player, in a sector of State government.

Modularised courses for modern apprentices have been based on the dissected unit standards of industry, as opposed to the ‘holistic’ or complex comprehension of situated industry practices. In this sense, the evolution of courses and apprentices (or modern journeymen) has been subject to government whims, industry fashions, and international

¹¹⁹ Cookery classes where first started in 1887 (see Murdoch, 1943, p. 35).

¹²⁰ The London City and Guilds examinations had been based around the staged/graduated development of the apprentice/journeyman’s knowledge.

¹²¹ For all intents and purposes they are in a government sponsored ‘Siberia’ – unacknowledged but accountable.

trends, which have turned the provision of education into a proverbial ‘cash cow’. In the context of the Hospitality and Catering Industries, the development of ‘advanced’ courses has led to a perverse establishment of education which appears to have satisfied government, but has stultified various sectors of industry (see Woodham, 2004).

1.3 Culinary Education

Culinary Education in this 100 year period

For the better part of the last 100 years, culinary knowledge and education has become one of the most prolifically written about subjects in the modern world. This has not only drawn attention to the cultures and practices associated with the various foodways¹²², it has also contributed greatly to the large number of food-related industries which have evolved in the last forty years (see Long, 2004).

Yet, what has been documented so far (in New Zealand) has barely touched the surface, in context with the culinary apprentice and journeyman’s transition from the traditional education practices to institutional methodologies. In many instances, apprentice style learning and practical culinary instruction have only been dissected and scrutinized from a distance. It has fallen either under the gaze of sociologists who have studied group participation patterns in classrooms or associated workplaces, or educational theorists, who have made comparisons between ‘popular’ teaching methodologies and the established ‘validation or invalidation’ of learning outcomes. It has also been analysed by ministerial agencies, in respect of its legitimacy or right of place in the tertiary or University setting (see Shaw, 2002), and it has been observed by ‘quality control and quality assurance’ production-line assessors, who have determine the check points or units standards of use-pays educational assessment.

Conversely, what seems to have been absent from professional culinary education and the ‘new educators’ (the training colleges, tertiary institutions and universities) has been the ‘modern journeyman’ himself; in spite of the many learner-centred policy directives – of the last twenty years. This omission has been largely hidden within the innumerable layers of

¹²²Culinary tourism, shifting populations, food movements (i.e. Slow Food), and ‘new’ technology based foods.

politics¹²³, which have affected education and industry, along with the reinvented identities of teaching/mentoring industry practitioners. The politicising and redirection of vocational education is particularly relevant, as the industries and educational institutions do not exist without the ‘individual,’ nor do they exist without the ‘modern journeyman’.

However, much of the literature on early traditional Western culinary education¹²⁴, in the last century, has basically come from either one of five sources. Early accounts have been linked to the biographies and autobiographies of cooks and chefs, records of settler and migrant cooking practices (see Burton, 1982; Simpson, 1999), notations included in School Inspector reports (see Murdoch, 1943), the printing of multiple-domestic cookbooks and women’s periodicals (see Bailey and Earle, 1993; Leys, 1883), and the minute importation of British-based Guild teaching texts (see Ceserani, Kinton, and Foskett, 2000; Daniel, 1965).

Yet from this point, the style and types of writing have gone from ‘shopping lists’ of famous patrons and obscenely wealthy surroundings, to colourful and descriptive narratives of ‘informal’ education gained through travel. Which have ultimately lead to the culinary treaties like: ‘Kitchen Confidential’, ‘A Cooks Tour’, ‘Bloody Delicious’, ‘The Devils Cup’, ‘The Man Who Ate Everything’, ‘French Colonial Cookery’, and so forth. Creating books, which have been as much as travel logs, as they have been about historical records of food techniques and preparations.

The formal texts on culinary education have, for the most part, taken the shape of basic culinary instruction manuals. In the context of New Zealand and international qualifications, in the last forty years there has really only been one text available – ‘Practical Cookery’ (Ceserani, Kinton, and Foskett, 2000); based on the London City and Guilds examinations (see Shaw, 2002). However, gradually as the different institutions have grown and developed, so too has been their need to provide texts that are more representative of their particular culture’s and industry, which they supply.

Yet, despite all of this, what has not essentially changed has been the foundational knowledge of Western European cookery. Where, the ensuing fashions, trends and times have also meant the addition of many other (new or alternative) cuisines and taste

¹²³ This had included the numerous political slogans and metaphors.

¹²⁴ This has been in the form of similar or identical culinary practices and training, which have been customarily applied to areas like New Zealand, Australia, the United States and Western Europe.

combinations. But, the situation which had been reached by the first half of the twentieth century saw the employment of specific tastes and cookery techniques used to identify culture and ethnic identity and heritage. It is now, where, the cultural assimilation and globalisation of people and cuisine has taken the ‘different’ and made it ‘common’.

In this context, it has not only been the migration of ‘new’ cultures into current cultures, but the adoption and transmission of ideas and practices by the many travelling ‘modern journeymen’ chefs; from around the world and back again. Previously, this type of twentieth century culinary transmission had been popularized by an English woman – Elizabeth David. Where, she had successfully introduced an eclectic mix of Mediterranean food styles and ingredients to a banally drab, post-war Britain, through a succession of published articles and books. Ironically, what David had achieved had not been that different from previous ‘historical’ adoptions¹²⁵ of food and culture; yet, what had made her work so important had been its influence on the public’s acceptance and adoption of ‘future’ international culinary practices – both professionally and domestically.

In more contemporary times, however, the changes that have influenced Western culinary education and eating have been generated far beyond Western Europe and the continent. Antipodeans like Peter Gordon (who popularized Asia-Pacific fusion food in Britain, in the 1980s-1990s); Meitta O’Donnell, and Stephanie Alexander (who highlighted and transformed migrant foods and cooking methods in Australia, in the 1970s-1990s); and Graham Kerr¹²⁶, and Hudson and Hall (who had put a ‘Kiwi’ perspective on the *then* interpreted ‘classic cuisines’). Excluding for the later ‘McDonaldisation’¹²⁷ of food trends in fast food establishments, hotels, restaurants, and many of the bulk catering industries; there has been a move towards the re-identification of ‘traditional foods’ and the birth of new cuisines, for instance: The Tex-Mex dishes of neighbouring America and Mexico (see Long, 2004), or Australasian Fusion and Pacific Rim food (see Burton, 2000).

Essentially, where ever there has been a bringing together of people, there has also been an integration of food styles and practices. In turn, this has contributed to the proliferation of

¹²⁵ The first recorded adoption of intermingled food trends had been those of the Romans, Moors and Franks (see Civitello, 2004.)

¹²⁶ The irony of this was Kerr’s and Hall’s British origins and up bringing.

¹²⁷ This was a trend that had only started to take hold in New Zealand, in the late 1970s.

cookbooks (written by professional chefs and cooks) that have been aimed at both the industry and layman. It has also bred a variety of cooking-teaching professional, who, for all intents and purposes is still only a ‘journeyman’; as realistically, they can only operate from a ‘limited’ knowledge of an emergent, infinite field. However, arguably by coming from a ‘classical’ or ‘French’ understanding of Western European cuisine, there is at least a recognized framework to start from (see Parkhurst-Ferguson, 2001).

What has also stood out in the literature has been the type of ‘value’ placed on the advancement of tertiary teaching practices, in culinary education. In New Zealand, very little has been written this issue, barring for the need for a teaching certificate in tertiary institutions and the promotion of ‘packaged courses and guidelines’ from the Hospitality and Standards Institute (HSI).

In a ‘nut shell’, the focus has been on (directly and indirectly): The qualification of institutional teachers and tutors; the promotion of government geared quality assurance and quality control systems, in the shape of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA); the promotion of re-training and up-skilling by government and economic bodies; the production and updating of more contemporary and applicable student texts (see Christensen-Yule and McRae, 2001); the promotion of ‘brands’ – school ‘brands’ and industry sponsorship, in addition to a New Zealand (cultural) brand of food and education; and last but not least, the re-writing of the training and education Acts¹²⁸.

There has not been a lot of attention placed on the complete, full, or continuous education of an apprentice or modern journeyman; rather the focus has been on segregated units of knowledge, which fit in with the ‘unit standards’ and ‘use-pays’ educational system. There has also been a steering away from the more traditional methods of mentorship and apprenticeship, in favour of ‘life-long learning’ metaphors. The active enlistment of long term Master Craftsmen (authentic tradesmen and tradeswomen) into genuine mentor positions, as opposed to public personalities, spin-doctors, or media-hounds; has not been widely assessed or analyzed. Nor has there been much exploration made of the culinary industry’s transformation into three separate spheres – service, entertainment, and the arts.

¹²⁸ This was to include new contracts, training subsidies, and monitoring bodies – *The Education Act 1989* (plus the subsequent amendments).

Culinary Education in the Classroom

The culinary education which is practiced in an institutional setting has had to travel a long way to get to where it is today. For the most part, the establishment of culinary education in the academic setting has meant that a broad number of areas and issues have had to be considered and dealt with. Possibly, in the same way that most ‘Western European’ subjects (or thinking) have been scientifically defined¹²⁹ earlier – particularly, when its properties and qualities have been identified and established, and its boundaries and delimitations have been recognized. For the most part this has entailed the establishment of a foundational knowledge-base, access to specialized industry knowledge (free of gate keeping), the development of teaching theories and curriculum, quality assurance and quality control systems, anticipated industry needs, and a relatively open access for learners.

However, beyond the establishment of basic cookery courses and supplemented industry information, there have also been the socio-political issues of: preferred teaching/learning methodologies (shifting from traditional apprenticeships to institutional courses), changing attitudes towards ‘a job for life’ and ‘lifelong learning’, the development of wider-ranging courses for apprentices and journeymen, which have in turn meant the reinvention of the subject (food and professional practices) and of the learner (from ‘traditional apprentice’ to ‘modern journeyman’). The influences of domestic and international economics have also impacted on culinary education in the classroom, with what Jordan and Strathdee (2001) have termed the government’s ‘training gospel’¹³⁰ for skill and vocational training – which has focused on specific areas of projected economic growth and targeted industries in the equation.

One of the major challenges in classroom culinary education, so far, has been the introduction of new communication technologies¹³¹ (i.e. the internet and the computer),

¹²⁹ This had been through the development of scientific rationalisation and theories of ‘modernism’ by Galileo, Descartes and Bacon.

¹³⁰ This has been perceived as a governmentally controlled training agenda, which has seen the substitution of traditional training bodies in exchange for government/institutional approval of programmes.

¹³¹ Specifically, these ‘new communication technologies’ have also included numerous hospitality programmes (kitchen management and kitchen auditing), which are now being used in many of the large international hotel chains. This is now a vital area necessary knowledge - should the student, apprentice, or journeyman have an ambition to be more than a ‘vegetable peeler’ or a rank-less kitchen hand.

where the development and expansion of technology has brought to light ‘new issues’ of access and knowledge ownership. And as Marshall (2000) has pointed out that,

[The] technology curriculum does not encourage students to raise themselves above the level of functional technology literacy. Just as functional literacy does not provide the 'tools' to question the structures that underlie it, nor does technology literacy, as envisaged in these documents, provide the ability to pose questions concerning technology (p. 201).

Other challenges have also been the added responsibilities of modern apprenticeship ‘theory and practical components’ and the overseeing of government quality control and quality assurance systems. Particularly, where the traditional culinary learning systems have been transformed¹³², the classroom curriculum’s have in-turn expanded to cover the additional educational responsibilities and industry short-falls.

Part B – Politics

2.1 Developments in defining and teaching/sharing valued knowledge

2.2 Key Political Aspects of this Epoch/definitions/control of knowledge

Methodologies of Preferred Culinary Practice

Although the methodologies of culinary practice can be divided into two separate areas – the methodologies and practices of industry, and the methodologies and practices of education – the priority of both is the same – the development and acquisition of what Bishop called the ‘operational knowledge base of work’ (cited in Fine, 1995, p. 30). This is the knowledge base which is obligatory for the individual to be able to function with in the workplace. This collective knowledge can be categorised into five key areas: the comprehension and mastery of relevant cooking processes and sciences; the use of trade tools and equipment; the understanding of the appropriate health and hygiene practices; the preparation and sequencing of dishes and menus; and lastly the use of appropriate behaviour, language and types of teamwork in the workplace.

Currently in New Zealand the main focus of this knowledge has been reduced down to the limited practice of basic cooking (as is the classically accepted style of the ‘French cuisine’),

¹³² *Modern Apprenticeship Training Act 2000*

and a nominal number of dishes. With the introduction of manufactured, high volume, pre-fabricated foodstuffs and highly-processed staple products, culinary methodologies have also adjusted. Germov and Williams (1999) argue that this has fundamentally altered the production of food:

The restriction of food choices by streamlined production processes, and the use of oil and salt to maintain appearance and taste throughout the production process, alters what constitutes a meal, how it is eaten, and what proportions of different ingredients are combined in the whole (Germov and Williams, 1999, p. 86).

As an extension of these technological advances there has also been a re-evaluation of preferred or valued knowledge. In particular, it has been where the promotion of prefabricated food has meant (in some contexts) a reduction in traditional culinary knowledge, in both the professional kitchen and in domestic cooking. By luring the culinary profession to rely on pre-packaged products, there has been an abandonment of 'power and control' - which many professionals had previously maintained through their specialized knowledge and skills, in the work place. As Fine (1995) observed, the industry and its reliance on convenience foods was transforming the role of the cook 'from skilled craftsmen to manual labourers - culinary de-skilling' (p. 28).

However, stepping beyond the issue of convenience products and their contribution towards a reduced 'pool' of industry knowledge; the valuing of culinary practices had also been affected by recent manifestations of 'Professional Cookery Education' (training courses). Which had been part of a Government targeted restructuring of industry and education, in key industry bodies and traditional qualifications (see Education Act 1989; Brien, 2003). The valuing of knowledge had been reinterpreted through newly prescribed (and quality controlled) 'unit standards', had in effect only identified the most rudimentary cooking processes in detail. Yet beyond this, the reorganized course assessments had been ill-equipped¹³³ to grade or quantify the 'quintessential' knowledge of professional practice. Subsequently, more attention had been placed on what could and would be graded, leaving the 'quintessential' and specialised knowledge to 'a free moment' or a tutor's discretion.

¹³³ It is not possible to give marks or qualifications to a process or sequence of unidentified activities.

2.2.1 *Aspects of Government Power*

Political Intervention into Tertiary Culinary Education

Political intervention into culinary education (in the last century) has only really been brought to light in three different occasions. The first occasion had been with the early inclusion of culinary education¹³⁴ into a traditional university curriculum. And from this, numerous questions and arguments were raised about the subjects' academic legitimacy and right to be included in such an important setting (Murdoch, 1943). Yet, the significance of this shift was to later be realized in the development of food science and food chemical/engineering, evolving into one of the more 'important' subjects of 20th century academic endeavour (Bailey and Earle, 1993). However, the politics which had been employed in this instance had been largely directed from outside of the university and had as much to do with the Women's Suffrage movement (Coney, 1993), as it did with the political¹³⁵ rejection of a 'class-structured high school system' (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993).

The second instance was the much wide-spread introduction of 'practical' vocational¹³⁶ culinary education into universities and tertiary institutions¹³⁷. Interestingly enough, the difficulties that were experienced in New Zealand, Australia and the United Kingdom, had also been similarly experienced in the United States. However, what had stood-out about this early introduction of culinary education (into the USA's tertiary education context), was the type of culinary 'incarnation' used to make the break-through with. At one point an educationalist, (Flexner, 1971, cited in Peterson, 1971), made numerous loud and bitter objections about the inclusion of non-technical subjects into graduate schools and universities. Flexner's main grievance had been, in his opinion, the creation of bogus or

¹³⁴ This has been in the form of dissected basic-sciences and advanced 'domestic economy' and 'home science' (Bailey and Earle, 1993; Murdoch, 1943).

¹³⁵ The rejection of 'traditional class structures had been associated with the New Zealand Labour Party of the 1920s-1930s.

¹³⁶ This had been the legitimate practice of starting to use real kitchens, authentic equipment and proper ingredients - to learn how to cook and to function in a professional manner.

¹³⁷ Domestic cookery education made accessible formal pre-trade and pre-industry training. This coupled with the apprenticeship training schemes, contributed greatly to the development of the modern journeyman. However, it could however, be argued that, 'Home Economics and Cookery' in the schools, added to the further institutionalisation of later advanced professional culinary education in New Zealand tertiary institutions; earlier institutional connections to apprenticeship education had been only supplementary to basic trade theory, and had not, up until then, attempted to address rudimentary foundational practices in the classroom.

hypocritical¹³⁸ degrees, which ‘brought nothing with it but an odour of pretentious hypocrisy. [And, where] such degrees were sort for their commercial value only’ (Flexner, 1971, cited in Peterson, 1971, p. 218). Flexner went on to further describe a number of degree theses (for example, ‘Some Sugar-Saving Sweets for Everyday’ [Ph.D., Columbus]), in which he felt were no guarantee of competence or ability in their related vocational fields.

In New Zealand’s tertiary and university situation, the only predominant criticism to emerge in a similar vein (as in the United States), was the Auckland Institute of Technology’s (AIT) transition from being a technical institute (polytechnic) to becoming a university¹³⁹ (Shaw, 2002). The central argument in this instance had never really been aimed at culinary education. Instead, the criticisms that were pointed towards the AIT were more along the lines of, ‘lower-level training’ then considered, an unsuitable undertaking for a prospective university to be engaged in.

However, what had possibly made the difference in the AIT’s bid for its university status (and in the inclusion of a recognized culinary curriculum ‘to boot’); had been its methodological approach taken to launching recognised degree qualifications - even before the establishment of its university title. As historian, Louise Shaw (2002) had pointed out, in her chronicles of the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), the actual ‘graduation’ or attainment of university status had quite literally been by Degrees.

The third situation of political involvement in tertiary culinary education has been some what more insidious. Where, intervention into culinary education has been through the State reorganization (and redirecting) of industry-centred teaching methodologies and institutional qualifications.

2.2.2 Aspects of Social/Cultural/Media/Internet Power

Education for Life/Lifelong Learning

First and foremost, ‘Education for Life’ and ‘Lifelong Learning’ is a concept about learning. It is also about changing and redefining, the perceptions and expectations we hold about life. And correspondingly, it is where the comprehension of a profession goes beyond the ‘finite’

¹³⁸ Degrees that had been were unconnected to ‘legitimate’ fields of research and study.

¹³⁹ 2000, January 1st.

boxes of knowledge and skill. Part of this concept is developing learning-to-learn skills and associated reasoning. Where ‘education for life’ is learning to ask questions, listen and then asking more questions. Consequently, apprentice style education could also be seen as a natural progression of this concept, through the nurturing of ‘an appetite’ for inquiry. In the case of the Modern Journeyman this is being achieved through the new or alternative mediums of education and learning.

‘Education for life’ is in part, a *macro* concept that is being promoted in *micro* situations. Ideally this might be interpreted as a concept driven by government and economic organizations; which in turn are influenced by the global expansion of information and knowledge capital, as well as the associated monetary gains. It could well produce elements of fear, control and struggle, in individuals who have yet to perceive continued education and self-development as a part of vocational and economic survival. Essentially, this alters the general opinion of ‘education ending when you finish school.’

Contributing factor’s to the State concept of ‘Education for Life’ can be found in a number of the OECD’s economic, industry, and education projections, for affiliate countries. This situation has been observed in the New Zealand government’s endorsement of ‘selected’ training organisations and targeted professions. (See Jordan and Strathdee, 2001; Henry et al., 2001; Kelsey, 1999) As Henry Lingard, Rizvi and Taylor (2001) had reasoned:

In economics, market driven-economy and in education where the "market logic is introduced, converting citizens into consumers, their relations with the state are now mediated by the concerns of their productivity and their contribution to the national economic growth" (Henry, et al, 2001, p. 67).

This endorsement of market-driven learning and education has seen the promotion (and proliferation) of ‘learning’ organisations in the 1980s-1990s. In particular, the concept of ‘learning organisations’ has been proliferated by individuals such as: Peter Senge, Stephen Covey, Warren Buffett, and Tony Robbins. These men promoted many ‘hybrid’ philosophies of business leadership and management, personal growth - coupled with ‘team participation’ exercises. Yet, in conjunction with this growing proliferation of business inspired, ‘individual’ philosophies of economic success, there has also been a tidal wave of how-to-books; which each in their own way have appealed to our individual egocentricities,

perceived popular business dogmas, and our collective¹⁴⁰ social values. And it was here, ‘over night’ that the concept of ‘Learning for Life’ had once again experienced one of its *many* incarnations and repackaging.

Conversely, Taylor, Wacker and Means (2001) had gleaned from their studies that this type of education could, in effect be pushed too far in two key areas. The first is through the delimited forecasting or projection of future achievements. They had hypothesized that by projecting an ‘ideal present situation’ into a ‘desired future position’; it would essentially be rejecting or blocking any advancement on a future yet to be envisioned. Interestingly enough, this proposition counters a number of Albert Bandura’s (2002) premises on the value of control, self-efficacy and anticipatory achievement. In the second extreme, education and learning (at times) also been based around a constant state of anticipated errors. A comparable, but unfortunate example of this concept had been the anticipatory measures taken by Cambridge High School (earlier this year), to counterbalance¹⁴¹ several low-scoring students in their government exams. Taylor, Wacker and Means (2001), had suggested that this is attributable to constant achievement pressures.

Industry also lives in pressure tense. The new practice of "anticipatory feedback" is built around telling employees in advance what mistakes they are going to make and then instructing them on how to avoid what would have been inevitable. In effect, anticipatory feedback takes the lessons of the past, projects them into the future, and asks people to act on them in the present (Taylor, et al, 2001, p. 85).

While many people, especially politicians, try to learn lessons from history, history itself shows that in retrospect very few of these lessons have been the right ones. Time and time again, history itself has proved to be a very bad predictor of future events. This is because history never repeats itself; nothing in human society, the main concern of the historian, ever happens twice under the same conditions or in exactly the same way. And when people try to use history they often do so not in order to accommodate themselves to the inevitable, but in order to avoid it (Evans, 1997, p. 59).

On the surface, between State and Education, there is a perceived amicable cooperation on this topic, whilst underneath there is an on-going struggle for power and control. In this context the ‘currency’ or ‘asset’ is knowledge, to contribute to capital growth and it is where

¹⁴⁰ These are the same ‘collective social values’ that Durkheim had suggested, swings in macro cycles – between the individuals ‘best’ interests, and the groups ‘best’ interests.

¹⁴¹ Essentially, this meant giving them the answers to the government examinations and getting them to memorize them.

‘big business’ is into ‘big business’ – not democracy. Furthermore, it is also where the government¹⁴² has now positioned itself. However, by establishing a conflicting role between the ‘voice of the people’ and the administration of social infrastructures, and being so unashamedly in the business of ‘big business’¹⁴³ - What else can the government controlled provision of education for profit be called? Answer: Big Business.

However, pushing aside the associated political issues, the concept of ‘education for life’ can be used as a tool of transformation, for the learners themselves to work towards a better future. In a sense, this is a concept that can be used to transfer the ‘power and control’ of learning, back into the hands of the individual. Where, this could be particularly relevant to the ‘learning to learn’ processes in higher education and the development of ‘artistry skills’ in professional practice.

Ideally, if the notion of ‘lifelong learning’ could be conveyed similarly, to that of the many non-Western concepts of indigenous education, more affirmative solutions to ‘lifelong learning’ may be found. (See Reagan, 2000; Cajete, 1994) Particularly as, what¹⁴⁴ is behind the sponsorship of an idea, is as just as important as the idea itself. Reagan (2000) had recognized that the differences between these learning approaches¹⁴⁵ (and ideologies), had been rather contradictory in their outcomes. He noted that,

The goal of most of modern education is to define all aspects of human teaching and learning to such a precise degree and with such technical proficiency that education can be totally controlled from entrance to exit by the vested interests of the modern industrial-technocratic-political complex. This conceptual orientation has become so much the orientation of modern education that the only real opportunity for deep holistic learning is when one exits the system intentionally or by accident or through failure (Reagan, 2000, p. 93).

But, perhaps the most illuminating of this ‘alternative’ (as in Non-Western) learning concept is Gregory Cajete. Where, his description of the process and practices of tribal education are

¹⁴² Parker Palmer (1998) made the point that there is ‘absurdity’ in the assumption that a ‘revolution’ or any other ‘major social change’ can genuinely emerge from such an institutionalised – self-perpetuating structure, like a government or State body.

¹⁴³ Government statistics have rated (Export) Education as one of the major capital generators, after Agriculture in New Zealand. In this regard a recent report by the Asia2000 Foundation (Asia2000, 2003, p. 2) estimate the economic impact of international students at \$1.7 billion, with the potential to rise to \$4-5 billion within the next ten years (see Smith, 2004).

¹⁴⁴ Essentially, these are the motives and ideology of the individuals and their associated cultures.

¹⁴⁵ Both, Western education and indigenous education has maintained its own distinct culturally accepted characteristics.

in effect more in-line with traditional apprentice-journeyman education and the modern ideal of ‘Lifelong Learning.’ He states that:

In tribal education, knowledge gained from first-hand experience in the world is transmitted or explored through ritual, ceremony, art, and appropriate technology. Knowledge gained through these vehicles is then used in everyday living. Education, in this context, becomes education for life's sake. Education is, at its essence, learning about life through participation and relationship in community, including not only people, but plants, animals, and the whole of nature (Cajete, 1994, p. 26).

Chapter 5

LOOKING AHEAD

Introduction

Part A – Looking Ahead

Part B – Cycles That Come Around

Issues of Knowledge and Power

Issues of Citizenship

Education for Sale – Selling New Zealand Cookery Courses

Part C – Possible Directions

Chapter 5

LOOKING AHEAD

Introduction**Part A – Looking Ahead**

To be able to look ahead, it is important that we can look back and comprehend where we have been, so as to understand where we are now heading. This is particularly true as the lessons that we have learnt (and continue to learn), have been of a cyclic nature. For the Early Journeyman, the learning and development period has possibly been the most arduous one of all and has in many senses, taken the longest period to cover the smallest distance. Yet, in comparison to this, the Journeyman's evolution has been at a much faster pace - developing with the growing populations, the changing structures of government and keeping up with the increased industrialisation of society. However, it has been the Modern Journeyman who has advanced the furthest. Where progress has been at its most vigorous and vibrant and profound (individual and cultural) transformations have been derived from the intellectual plane; which have stretched to encompass every aspect of professional practice, education, individual artistry and personal development.

Through the Early Journeyman, fundamental concepts of learning and educational practice were developed, which were in-line with the 'then' significant advancements in citizenship and community. For most, economic gain (and survival) had been the chief objective for participating in trade education, which had for the most part been driven by many 'direct' and 'indirect' political influences. The groups who had built and maintained their communities (i.e. guilds and craft associations), had established their own groups of political control and identity; which had in the long term contributed to on-going tensions between dominate cultural powers and authorities. For many of the trade associations the issue of control and power had been further reflected in the type of membership in their groups, and through their internally generated hierarchies and status systems.

Another important lesson that had been learnt in due course was the need for clear identification, transmission and control (ownership) of craft and trade knowledge. In the

context of cooks and chefs, this had also meant that privileged knowledge was to be confined to specialized groups - within the profession. For example, if an individual had been a house-hold domestic, who had also cooked, then his/her education would have been less significant (or contended) than a Pub cook. Conversely, if the individual had been an apprentice chef or journeyman in a prestigious hotel, his/her education would have then been deemed greater than that of an institutional cook's knowledge. The training and education from this epoch had basically reflected a type of favouritism, which had seen the 'more esteemed' segment of the profession (the chefs) being given more formally structured (professional) education; while the 'less esteemed' had been left to 'learn by Annie' and work it out for themselves – in spite of the knowledge needed being essentially the same.

Nevertheless, between the 'esteemed' and 'less esteemed' culinary professions, what had not altered greatly had been the traditional method of in-house training and apprentice style learning¹⁴⁶, which had remained largely unchanged for the last two centuries. What was also learnt from this period was that the development of industry (and its education) had, in fact, been a response to on-going social advancements and political 'demonstrations' of power and control. This particular state of affairs had been especially relevant with the State's regulation and promotion of certain apprentice and education systems¹⁴⁷ over all others (see Salt and Sinclair, 1957; Murdoch, 1943).

The Journeyman's lessons which had been learnt from this period had also followed the economic advances of industrialization and social engineering. In this period, knowledge and education had started to take on new and multiple meanings, and was beginning to be used as a vehicle for other things, such as: targeted gender divisions, partitions between 'high' (academic) and 'low' (practical) education, socially defined boundaries between 'legitimate' (professional) and 'inferior' (domestic) craft and trade practices, and taxonomies of class.

This period also saw the institutionalization of 'scientific' thinking and the promotion of State-approved belief systems and ideologies. For the Culinary Journeyman, there were also

¹⁴⁶ Essentially, these learning processes had been the same apprentice-journeyman-master educational practices, kept in use for the last 200 years.

¹⁴⁷ These had been the subjects and trades which had matched with various political visions for the country's future.

the authorized (historical) Western European culinary foundations¹⁴⁸, the socially accepted dietary systems (see Taubes, 2002; and Coveney, 2000) and the individual culinary distinctions; which had combined specific (cultural ethnographic) foods with traditions (for example, New Zealand with its ‘roast lamb’, ‘boil-ups’ and ‘pipi’s’). With these social and cultural culinary transitions, there were also teaching shifts from one area (or locality) of education to another. Where previously, apprentice style education had only been complemented by the institutions¹⁴⁹, it had now begun to evolve into other areas of higher and tertiary education.

In most cases, many of these changes had been in conjunction with the advances of industry, economics and State legislation. Yet, this adjustment also brought with it a carefully (government) orchestrated reinvention of trade and craft industries, as well as the reinvention of the Journeyman. It was where the control of industry knowledge and education processes, had basically meant the control of the industries themselves and of their future evolutionary advancements.

Yet, with the advances of industry, economics and State, there has also been a constant ‘reinvention’¹⁵⁰ of food knowledge and methods of culinary practice. In most instances, this reinvention process has focused on the same groupings¹⁵¹ of knowledge (over and over again) and has meant that each ‘new’ revival has required another new angle to be promoted in¹⁵². And as a result of this, the culinary arts have become a living aspect of society, culture and fashion.

For the Modern Journeyman, the lessons of this era have been more personalized and symbolic. Where education and career had been once something clearly defined, all is now up for reinterpretation as the traditional industry bodies (who originally prescribed the ground-rules and definitions) now no longer exist. Knowledge has also been re-valued and

¹⁴⁸ This has been the acceptance, in Western European culture, of classic French foundational cooking as the backbone of professional cooking today.

¹⁴⁹ Trade Colleges and Technical Institutes had traditionally provided the theoretical components of craftsman’s/craftswoman’s knowledge.

¹⁵⁰ This reinvention has come from the ‘narratives’ of dish creations, new-takes on food and cultural nascence’s, and new generations of apprentice/journeymen (journeywomen) passing through professional kitchens.

¹⁵¹ The twelve main methods of food preparation have been listed as: baking, roasting, grilling, shallow frying, deep frying, pot roasting, sautéing, poaching, boiling, steaming, smoking, and ‘en papillote’ (paper bag).

¹⁵² More recently, the ‘new’ angles have included: Fusion Food, French and Italian Provincial Cuisine, *Cuisine Minceur*, and Pacific Rim.

reassessed, and has been shifted from being merely an education for a profession – to an education for the sake of an education. And with this, there has also been a political promotion of continued learning and up-skilling, reflecting in part many of the ‘traditional’ and the non-Western attitudes to education.

Political intervention into industry education has effectively meant that the State has (by default) acquired control and management of numerous ‘education enterprises’. Arguably, if it had not been for the growing issue of profitability from tertiary and trade education (Marginson, 1993), the government’s intervention could have been perceived as a social service – for the good of the community. And so, with this shift of education supervision there has also been a shift in ‘attitude and approach’ to the traditional teaching methodologies¹⁵³ (including the ensuing qualifications and credentials), which has now become part of the government approach towards tertiary and trade education.

Another consequence of State involvement has been the promoted generalization of education, where, excluding for the necessary foundational knowledge that has needed to be taught, there has been the creation of credentialised master-less Modern Journeyman. (A Modern Journeyman, who as a ‘generalist’ has not had his or her boundaries pushed, only reinforced with more generalisation.) Particularly, as income-generating culinary education (a professional and non-professional culinary tourism of sorts) has marketed ‘specialisation’ as one of key the sales pitch’s for New Zealand culinary courses – at least through the marketable ideals recently promoted to international students.

Ultimately, the central lessons that have been learnt from this era have meant the management, ownership and control of industry knowledge has been just as important (or as profitable) as the practical operation of the industry itself.

Part B - Cycles That Come Around

In the introductory chapter a theory on the ‘Epoch of the Culinary Journeyman’ was offered, which expressed the growth and development of the ‘Early Journeyman’, ‘Journeyman’, and the ‘Modern Journeyman’ - through the changing cycles of education, industry, and politics. However, as time and thesis have progressed there have been numerous accelerated changes – even in the course of writing of this thesis. As a number of interesting developments have

¹⁵³ Teaching methodologies that fit more in line with workplace education, rather than institutional education.

occurred, in both the New Zealand and in the global contexts that has contributed to the Journeyman's changing cycles.

Human Rights and 'social justice' issues have become more pronounced in recent times, influencing many of the accepted industry practices and issues of individual dignity in the workplace and classroom. In numerous instances the 'identity' and uniqueness¹⁵⁴ of the Modern Journeyman has also been challenged, particularly, where the observance of 'political correctness' and issues of restorative justice¹⁵⁵ have all but homogenized him or her into a 'skilled worker', as opposed to a 'talented craftswoman or craftsman'. It might also be suggested that, these influences could be signifying the direction that society could be advancing to next. Durkheim (1989) theorized that society had been governed by two distinct types of justice system, which were of a cyclic¹⁵⁶ nature. Where, depending on the type of justice system that had been in practice at the time, there would have been a corresponding public attitude towards the type of industry and educational practices which were then on offer. If, for example the system was 'restitutive' then the collective social attitude would be to revere 'individuality' and individual craftsmanship. If the system was 'repressive' then the social attitude would be to value group achievement and the 'whole' being greater than the individual achievement.

Essentially, Durkheim (1989) had identified two types of laws - 'restitutive' or 'repressive' - compensatory or punishing. From which, he had suggested that two separate kinds of consciousness had been behind the 'diversely' developed themes of law. Specifically, where repressive or punishing laws (such as, 'an eye for an eye') had been established in communities, there had been a 'mechanical solidarity'¹⁵⁷. And in communities, where they had *esteemed* their individual's rights over the rights of the group, there were restitutive¹⁵⁸ or compensatory laws endorsing these beliefs. Yet, from the perspective of the 'Modern Journeyman' there have been some paradoxical contradictions in this cycle of social development. While, today's society have attempted to establish equality and fairness in all

¹⁵⁴ Each individual who chooses to be a Journeyman does so whilst retaining their own unique personal qualities.

¹⁵⁵ This is an over-compensation for an unfair advantage, so as to effectively level-the-playing-field.

¹⁵⁶ He suggested that when one system erred to an extreme, the response would be the other system then being introduced - until the first system had been replaced. Where, effectively the process would be like a swinging pendulum.

¹⁵⁷ This solidarity was based on the survival of a group.

¹⁵⁸ Specifically, restitutive laws were established to pay back what had been taken, or make similar restitutions in return.

levels of social order, there has also been a hegemonic push from ‘duelling powers’ (government and industry) to further regulate and control the workforce. For the Modern Journeyman this has meant that knowledge and education has had to be made more streamlined or universal. And it has also meant that the ‘consistency’ of knowledge and practice has had to be controlled from one central organization – in today’s current context this organization has been state government (with industry and the economy in the proverbial background).

In an intriguing demonstration of guided ‘political correctness’ and ‘anti-discrimination’, with the safety and well-being of many of today’s hospitality industry employees in mind, there have been an interesting series of government-backed advertisements¹⁵⁹ placed in ‘job vacancy section(s)’ of several major national newspapers. Commendably, these advertisements have targeted traditional areas of concern, such as sexual harassment (see Appendix A: Advertisement, p. 156), which were once in ‘epidemic’¹⁶⁰ proportions prior to the 1980s, in New Zealand and Australian kitchens. However, within many of the professional kitchens of today, this particular activity has for the most part been eradicated and no longer draws the same levels of concern that it once did. So now it must be asked, ‘How informed are these ‘powers that be?’’ As these advertisements portray and perpetuate a clichéd situation, which in the odd situation may still be true; but for the most part is a negatively ‘reinforced’¹⁶¹ government stereotype.

Other cycles have also emerged that have been equally politically charged, specifically, the new and expanding relationships between government and international economic organizations. Particularly, with Finance Minister Roger Douglas’s 1980s deregulation of trade and industry, and his rationalisation of the public sector contributing to the breakdown of modern apprenticeship education (see Chamberlain, 2002). This cycle is now being repeated again with today’s Labour Government and their forthcoming trade deals with nations, who severally undercut the monetary value of (targeted) professional trained craft

¹⁵⁹ These particular government-backed advertisements have been in conjunction with the Human Rights Commission, and have promoted the Sexual Harassment Helpline.

¹⁶⁰ Bourdain (2000), has attested to this type of industry ‘subculture whose centuries-old militaristic hierarchy and ethos of ‘rum, buggery and the lash’ make for a mix of unwavering order and nerve-shattering chaos’ (p. 3). And, in addition to this, Bray (2004) has pointed out that the (TV generated) current public perception of cheffing as abusive and violent has ‘soured’ the opinion of many people - who may have once wanted to enter the industry.

¹⁶¹ ‘Try not to think of the colour blue’ (Is it possible to *not think* of this colour, after you’ve been told not to?).

and tradesmen. In particular, the political folly at this time may be linked to the signing of a ‘major’ Trade Agreement with ASEAN¹⁶² (see Lewis and Lyall, 2004); which will include the deregulation of numerous domestic industries. This is extremely important as many of these industries may never be able to compete internationally (let alone train apprentices and journeymen) with such a ‘country-swallowing’ markets. Particularly, with those markets that will always be able to undercut our domestic production¹⁶³ - ad infinitum.

Another important cycle that has become more visible has been that of *the Culinary Journeyman*, him or herself. Currently, the Modern Journeyman’s central theme (Table 1, p. 10) is ‘Political Influence,’ this is now in the process of changing to ‘Education, Theory and Practice.’ Where the object and tools of change are ‘Education, Theory and Practice’, there is a shift to ‘Industry Practice’; and lastly, where the motivating influence is ‘Industry Practice’, this now changes to ‘Political Influence.’ What is actually driving this metamorphosis could be interpreted through a re-visitation of Machiavelli’s theory of ‘power and control’ - by making one’s own rules. The ‘new rulers’ of society (industry and economic organisations) are now starting to control and dictate what needs to be learnt, where it needs to be learnt, and who is going to control the strings.

Taylor, Wacker and Means (2001) (see Appendix B, Table 4, p. 158) described a parallel sequence of developing steps that, rather than mirroring the Culinary Journeyman’s Epochs, defined five different ‘Micro-Cultures’. These Micro-Cultures have been described as cycles or periods of: the Hunter-Gatherer, Agriculture, the Consumer, Knowledge, and the Age of Uncertainty. However, the ‘Micro-Culture’ in the ‘Age of Uncertainty’ had been described a series of stages, in which their ‘economic man’ had arrived at - and where, there had also been an interesting likeness to the epoch of the ‘Modern Journeyman’. The period of ‘Uncertainty’ had depicted the predominate social philosophy as being ‘an absorption of paradox’, work as being the ‘spiritual’ centeredness, travel as designed and fantasized through the ‘media’, the defining activity as being ‘dreaming’ or imagination, the chosen membership as being with ‘Neo-tribes’, the dominate resource as owning the ‘intellectual

¹⁶² Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

¹⁶³ I am not suggesting that New Zealand cut it self off from large-scale trade deals, as in the disastrous ‘Franco’ years in Spain, where the country’s economy shriveled and regressed because of isolation – only that we should protect our own trades, industries and vocational training institutions.

property’, the dominate individual as being the ‘storyteller’, intelligence as being an expression of ‘intuition’, and the visionary as being the ‘futurist’ or creative thinker.

As an interesting aside unlike the neo-tribes mentioned on the previous page, Becher (1989) refers to academics in their specific disciplinary domains as ‘academic tribes’ within ‘academic territories’. What is important to note here is the cultural basis of the academic disciplines and how each academic is reconstructed and how academic labour is being monitored, audited and assessed. This is increasingly true in Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of academic audits of research outcomes under the regime of the Performance-Based Research Fund (PBRF) which is a State-mandated assessment exercise on the quality of research undertaken by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) from their first assessment in 2003.

For the Modern Culinary Journeyman, the *philosophy* has been the ‘attempted understanding of paradox’, *work* has been ‘the re-embrace of culture’, *travel* has been ‘depicted or expressed on a plate’, the *defining activity* has been the ‘creation of art and craft’, *membership* has also been with the ‘Neo-tribes’. The *dominant resource* has been the ‘access to education and knowledge’, and the *dominant individual* has been similar to the ‘storyteller’ – but with leanings more towards the ‘narrator-educator’. *Intelligence* has been expressed as ‘intuition’ or the ‘aptitude to expect anything and everything’, and the *visionary* has been ‘the cyclic fashion or trend definer.’

Issues of Knowledge and Power

At the base of ‘knowledge and power’ is the changing shape of information. And, it is where contributory issues like value, ownership, production and credentialism also have a role to play. In Lyotard’s exploration of ‘information’ and its shifting shape from the ‘paper trail’ to the ‘information highway’, he not only stimulates questions about access, he also raises questions about the speed and volume of knowledge that is generated. In an interesting analysis of Lyotard’s philosophies and their correlation to education and the State, Marshall (2000) had noted:

According to Lyotard, education is no longer concerned with the pursuit of ideals such as personal autonomy, emancipation, or leadership, but, instead, with the means, techniques or skills that both contribute to the efficient

operation of the state in the world market and the maintenance of an internal cohesion and legitimation of the state. However this requires individuals of a certain kind - perhaps *easily governable* individuals (Marshall, 2000, p. 15).

However, in conjunction with this increased availability of information, is an amplified quantity and quality of data (multiplying upon itself in a concept of ‘quantum time’¹⁶⁴) that is available. Educationally, this now creates a situation requiring more selective discrimination of all data presented. With regards to the information’s intended use and its audience, it’s empirical, scientific, and holistic values; and its currency or applicability to the time frame. This can be seen in the evolution of Internet on-line reference sources and the growth of journalistic ‘live time’ news coverage. Ultimately, this changes the emphasis over what we value and draws us into another type of ‘consumable consumption’, which is pushing us into an accelerated development.

It could be suggested that already the knowledge boundaries have already been pushed to an extreme within our current technologies. Besides the advances of technology that need to be developed to supersede current technological limitations it may possibly be as Taylor, Wacker, and Means (2001) have speculated, something which will be created by visionaries, not economist’s. In this context of knowledge, the ‘futurist’ is really the essence or embodiment of past explorers, artists, inventors, and visionaries. Realistically no one organization or multi-national body is able to produce visions of the future - it this activity that is in the hands of individuals. However, in the end it will be up to the collective’s perceptions of the ‘original idea’, which will push it forward – not create it.

Another issue of knowledge and power is the ‘value’ and interpreted ‘ownership’ of current knowledge. This is an important point to observe in both education and industry, particularly as knowledge is treated as much a ‘product’ as it is treated a ‘tool’. From this perspective Lyotard (1993) suggested that, ‘the mercantilization of knowledge is bound to affect the privilege the nation-states have enjoyed, and still enjoy, with respect to the production and distribution of learning’ (p. 5). A consequence of this ‘privileging’ maybe the contribution it makes towards ‘credentialism’ or alternatively - the ‘educative’ production without a foreseeable productive end.

¹⁶⁴ The notion of quantum time is based around the Quantum Theory of Max Planck (Planck, 1900, cited in Whitehouse, 1983), where the concept of time is folded upon itself or ‘emitted and reabsorbed’. In the same way a snow-ball picks up speed as it rolls down a hill.

Early evidence of credentialism was seen in New Zealand (just prior to the 1930s), when Government Entrance Exam results - ‘credentials’ – were being used to obtain positions outside of government departments. McKenzie (1987) later defined it as being, ‘the birth of that well-known New Zealand phenomenon of using a particular entry qualification as a credential for other forms of employment’ (p. 92). However, Marginson (1993) disputes that the notion of ‘credentialism’ had been something, which had developed as a result of State interventions. As he had previously underscored:

The point is that the spread of credentials is not determined by shortages of skills and the needs of national economic development. Credentialism and the growth of education have taken place regardless of government policies on investment in human capital. What these policies have done is to determine the form which the expansion of education has taken, and its speed. The basic impulse to expand was already there (Marginson, 1993, p. 133).

In spite of Marginson’s rationale for excusing the government from any direct responsibility for their promotion of credentialism, there are still other concerns to consider. Particularly, the government’s encouraged collection of ‘credentials’ by full-fee paying overseas students. It’s promoted income stair-casing of State (and Education) employees, with a similar enticement to accrue credentials which may equate to more take-home pay - than to updated professional knowledge.

An alternative connection to knowledge and power (for the modern journeyman), is that of informal education or ‘enculturation’. Essentially, it is where a conscious and unconscious acquisition of ‘deeper’ social knowledge allows the individual to operate more successfully within the group. As an alternative view of enculturation, there is also the practice of ‘impression management’, which on the surface may appear unconnected to the processes of group integration (let alone vocational education); but is in fact something quite useful to recognize and even partially integrate (in a limited sense).

‘Impression management’ is basically the delivery of a performance, by an individual or a group, who selectively chooses to customize their interactions with a specific group (typically a dominant culture or faction). By gauging the targeted group’s fears, concerns, needs, and ideologies; and then using this information to manipulate their common environment - to their advantage. (See Reagan, 2000) In its most negative sense it is telling people what they

want to hear. In its most positive sense it provides ‘tools’ to access restricted ‘citizenship’. Specifically, if by understanding the foundations of this process, the modified application of it could be used to develop empathy and understanding – and to create an informed entrance into different communities of professional practice and education.

In an interesting study, conducted by Carol Silverman on the ‘Rom’¹⁶⁵ (or the gypsies) of the United States and Eastern Block Europe, she had explored the acclimatization and survival skills that had been developed by the Rom; which had enabled them to evoke an in depth understandings of their host culture’s habits and eccentricities. For the sake of cohesion within their small family groupings, clans and tribes, they had chosen to operate on the periphery of much larger societies, whilst remaining guarded about their culture and trading in ‘impression management’. As Silverman (2000) had observed:

When Gypsies interact with non-Gypsies, they have various motives for influencing the impression received. To lawyers, they may have interests in demonstrating their credibility as American citizens; to welfare workers, their victimization as an afflicted minority; to fortune-telling customers, and their spirituality. By controlling the communicative situation, they control what is perceived by the "audience." Gypsies are highly skilled in performance... Different performances are required for fortune-telling customers, for landlords, for truant officers, for welfare workers, etc. Various "impressions," "faces," or "identities" are managed by communicating highly selective information. Furthermore, Gypsies are highly skilled in face-shifting. Of course, this occurs in all groups and individuals, but the Gypsies have developed this process to an art, are quite conscious and reflective about it ... and have used it as a tactic for survival in hostile environments (Silverman, 2000, cited in Reagan, 2000, p. 168).

Arguably this concept of ‘impression management’ which is more significant to the issues of ‘knowledge and power’ and vocational ‘enculturation’ than might be first assumed. An understanding of this concept might also reduce the differences between authentic enculturation and authentic education, and the individual’s ability to understand and management their own learning environment. However, there is still a lot more research and analysis of this issue to do, before it could be safely implemented into a ‘Modern Journeyman’s’ course of study – let alone a national tertiary curriculum. Furthermore, because of this models currently interpreted form, the gaining of power and control through

¹⁶⁵ A historically marginalised society.

‘impression management’ would still be through ‘emotional manipulation’, which is not the same as creative, artistic or visionary inventive knowledge.

Issues of Citizenship

The subject of citizenship is a complex issue normally, but in the context of the culinary profession and tertiary education - it is even more so. Amongst the many things that citizenship is, it is also membership, unrestricted entry, access to ‘gate keeping,’ group ideologies, group metamorphoses, self-perpetuating¹⁶⁶ education. However, issues of citizenship for the modern journeyman are not linked to the traditional associations of his or her trade, or profession. The ‘traditional’ has been reinvented and divided, and is now controlled by ‘neo-tribes’ (See Taylor, Wacker, and Means, 2001) – the new ‘possessors’ of power and knowledge.

Before the question can be answered, as to ‘Who owns the knowledge? ‘Who controls the access to it’, it must be first understood that ‘who owns’ and ‘who controls the knowledge’ is also its gatekeeper and is, therefore, in a position to dictate the citizenship or access of the group to the knowledge. It is also where ideology, politics, profit and gain - can be both the means and the objectives of citizenship. Basically, it is best summed up in the adage ‘Who decides, defines.’

Infinitely, this idea has in one form or another been an issue of debate for philosophers and social theorists. For Machiavelli, citizenship had been interpreted as ownership and supreme right, which had also included responsibilities of sovereignty and State. In the case of Foucault, his theories had led him to believe that citizenship was part of an ‘engineered’, self-correcting, and self-observing society which successfully controlled individuals through their expectations. In Lyotard’s case, his perception of citizenship was also linked to that of its ‘gate keeping’ mechanism. Where, he concluded that, access to citizenship grows and perpetuates itself, while (by default) it continues to bar non-citizens and prohibits them from participation. Therefore, ‘failing’ for non-citizens would be the lack or omission of: ‘ample’ education, money, access, location, background, and possibly even gender.

¹⁶⁶ This ‘self-perpetuating’ education has encompassed history, identity and society values which have been handed down through the generations.

In the case of the culinary profession, ‘citizenship’ is scarcely an impartial practice. Reasons to include and reasons to exclude different individuals from a variety of work, skill and knowledge areas abound. In some cases, citizenship or belonging has been differentiated between formal and informally trained craftsmen and women; where according to interpretation employed - one was either a cook or a chef. As Fine (1995) had observed, in his study of four restaurant kitchens (in Twin Towns, Minnesota):

The distinction between cook and chef is real, and may provoke friction. Beyond this occupational division, cooks (or chefs) have different responsibilities and degrees of power and autonomy (p. 20).

Another interpretation of citizenship has been reflected in the exclusive, elitist or ‘high profiled’ trade echelons. Where a number of prominent individuals have (possibly unconsciously) elected to remain aloof from the majority of individuals in their craft; and where they have come to function more like self-styled, narcissistic industry advisors, rather than in the traditional context of craft and trade guilds. However, relatively little if anything has been formally observed or written about New Zealand’s higher culinary echelons. Yet, it is likely that because of our distance from others, our smallness of population and our even more diminutive (but ‘staunchly guarded’¹⁶⁷) industry association; we have ourselves contributed to our own information short-fall. Yet, in Fine’s (1995) investigation into kitchen culture and sociology, he was able to detail the proceedings of a similarly constructed industry organization - to that of our own. As he had noted of a meeting he had attended:

What might have been an occasion for chefs and cooks to socialize and discuss aesthetic and practical problems was primarily an opportunity for organizing charitable events and for cooking instructors to meet with institutional cooks, providing a network for students to find a niche in the job market. There was little recognition of shared or collective problems. The closest the group came to occupational debate was their desire for the certification of cooks - a boon for culinary training programs (Fine, 1995, p. 135).

Communities participate in larger communities. In the case of the restaurant industry, this larger community is not well organized. The temporal organization and competitive structure of the industry makes such a community doubtful, and the lack of a clear ideology that emphasizes sub-

¹⁶⁷ Entry into the New Zealand Chefs Association is based on subscription but restricted by nomination; and is not dissimilar from some of the entry and access practices of the early Masons.

cultural values also decreases the perceived need for such organization. No matter how strong the kitchen community, the overarching community is not evident. Small, locally run restaurants operate under the aegis of "pluralistic ignorance" ... whereby groups simultaneously face problems without awareness that others are confronting similar problems (Fine, 1995, p. 137).

Another interesting facet of citizenship is the interpretation and depiction of it through external groups, such as, the media, government, institutional education bodies, and tourism. This can to some extent lead a profession, trade or craft to identify with external images – as opposed to establishing or reinventing their own image. In the past, these interpretations would have contributed to the clichéd culinary ‘citizenship’ of luminary’s like, Grimod de la Reynière (1758-1838), Antonin Carême (1784-1833), Anthelme Brillant-Savarin (1755-1826). The more contemporary interpretations and imagery, now the portrays behaviour and practices of ‘citizenship’ as something which sits between British chef - Gordon Ramsey’s televised¹⁶⁸ kitchen outbursts, abusive language and narcissistic behaviour; and those of American chef – Anthony Bourdain’s fly-on-the-wall observations of multi-cultural culinary practices¹⁶⁹, consumption of stomach-turning food, and saucy tales of male virility and macho behaviour. This leads on to New Zealand’s own chef-extraordinaire - Peta Mathias, who defines culinary citizenship through her own ‘quirky’ brand of interviewing and personal narratives.

Issues of citizenship are still prevalent in the areas of trade, economic and education. And on numerous occasions one or more sectors have attempted to influence the other, in an attempt to generate some form of change or control. Conversely, the legitimation and recognition of citizenship might also be perceived as something, which ultimately, the dominant industry group has custody of with respects to entry, occupational roles, and citizenship of the craft. Yet, in some cases citizenship has been something which has also been brought and paid for like a ‘commodity’. This has in some instances contributed towards numerous displays of aggression, fear and confusion within the profession¹⁷⁰. Particularly, as this had been a practice which has in some sectors, been seen at work since

¹⁶⁸ This was the British television documentary-drama -‘Gordon Ramsey’s Boiling Point’.

¹⁶⁹ This was the American television documentary-drama -‘A Cooks [*sic*] Tour’.

¹⁷⁰ Separate guilds and unions were formed, laws were changed and over turned, and in some instances ‘closed shops’ were created to keep badly trained craftsmen out of the industry.

the turn of the seventeenth century (and onwards) around the world. As Salt and Sinclair (1957) had previously remarked:

For, there had always been two ways in which would-be entrants to the companies could qualify as members. The practice of the trade concerned was, of course, one way. The other was to be the son of an existing member, even though he followed a different trade. Thus, the son of a Vintner was eligible to become a Vintner too, even though he practiced as a lawyer, for instance (p. 106).

Education for Sale – Selling New Zealand Cookery Courses

Education for sale has become a highly emotive concept in today's current political climate. There have been numerous notions (see Jordan & Strathdee, 2001; Marginson, 1993; Woodham, 2004) about 'education for sale', which have drawn mixed reactions to the morals and ethics of a user-pays education system, its contribution towards institutional credentialism, its impact on the selling of cultural identity¹⁷¹ and knowledge. In the case of professional culinary education (inclusive of other traditional crafts and trades absorbed into the tertiary system), which has been disconnected or distanced from the industry; there are also questions of value and worth. 'Education for sale' challenges the values system of knowledge, by shifting education away from the position of being a 'social goods' (a foundational part of traditional vocational/community education), to being a commodity of power and control - and as a commodity, divided-up and sold to the highest bidder.

Liotard (1993) had made the point that one of the central objectives for contemporary education was that of 'mercantile' profit and the questioning of saleability. He suggested that:

The question (overt or implied) now asked by the professional student, the State, or institutions of higher education is no longer "Is it true?" but "What use is it?" In the context of mercantilization of knowledge, more often than not this question is equivalent to: "Is it saleable?" And in the context of power-growth: "Is it efficient?" (p. 51)

In more recent history, the development of saleable culinary education in numerous countries (U.K., U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand) has been fairly diverse. For the

¹⁷¹ Credentials can be associated with a particular culture or social group – as has been previously reflected in the 'packaging' of New Zealand education to full-fee paying overseas students, in the last decade.

majority of places ‘what’ has been taught, has not been as noticeable or distinct as ‘how’ it has been taught. The ‘what’ of professional culinary education has essentially been the common¹⁷² (or foundational) knowledge. In the case of the Britain, the development of saleable culinary knowledge has been relatively minimal with not much being done beyond the government supported trade colleges. However, with the exception of one or two ‘stand out’ providers (such as, ‘Le Cordon Bleu’ Cooking School, Raymond Blanc’s ‘Le Manoir aux Quat’ Saisons’ and so on) and a trifling number of small, provincial country houses, the majority of commercial cookery classes marketed¹⁷³ in the UK have inevitably be promoted for epicurean tourist market in Europe.

The United States, on the other hand, has quite possibly led the Western world in, both, professional and non-professional culinary education. In the United States, it is most certainly a multi-billion dollar business today. Arguably, the underpinning of this culinary (education) industry can be linked back to the establishment of the Culinary Institute of America (C.I.A.), which had been set up for the returned service men after the Second World War. Coupled with the more recent phenomenon of the ‘celebrity’ chef, newspaper and magazine cookery columns, and pay-tv – the machinery of marketable culinary education had been set in place.

In Australia, as in New Zealand, professional culinary education is shared between in-house industry trainers (mentors and masters) and tertiary institutions. However, in Australia’s current position, there has already been established (through a few ‘higher’ tertiary education providers) some high-calibre, academically advanced, cross-disciplined degree courses (O’Neil, 2002). Currently, they are in the process of further refining a number of their low-to-medium level (entry) culinary courses, in their TAFE system (Bray, 2004).

Up until now, New Zealand’s development of tertiary culinary courses has progressed in dual manner. In a number of the national tertiary institutions, there has been the extension and expansion of some existing ‘low level’¹⁷⁴ courses, and there has also been the further expansion and development of numerous Hospitality and Management courses to a Masters

¹⁷² This has been the adherence to French-based culinary practices and cooking methodologies.

¹⁷³ In numerous magazines and periodicals (e.g. *The Lady*, *Gourmet Traveller*, *The Times*, *The Observer*, etc) professional and amateur cooking classes have promoted France, Italy and Spain as their schooling localities.

¹⁷⁴ Level 3 and 4.

Degree. However, in this context, culinary education has still been treated fairly basically and perfunctory. In the case of these specific Master degree courses and their final objectives – of hospitality management – the practical side of culinary education has been authentic in institutional training, but, nominal in numerous instances and not fully intended for daily use in industry.

Interestingly enough, one of the most unexpected developments or off-shoots of ‘global’ professional culinary education today - and which has impacted on the respective culinary enrolments - has been the re-emergence of the ‘celebrity chef’. This is an event that has brought with it ‘shock, horror and dismay’ as well as ‘admiration, enthusiasm, and the odd bit of envy’ from practicing and teaching ‘mentor/master’ chefs. In an unusual way the celebrity chef has literally fed and contributed to the professional cookery schools and institutions, through a diversity of newspaper columns, reviews, television documentaries and entertainment programmes, books, magazines and films (for example, ‘Dinner Rush’, ‘Big Night’, ‘Babette’s Feast’, and ‘Like Water for Chocolate’, etc).

In Britain, the celebrity chef has in many ways turned professional culinary education into a spectacle – and an undisciplined horror story from a professional and a teaching point-of-view (for instance, Jamie Oliver’s and Gordon Ramsay’s ‘fly on the wall’ television documentaries); in many instances this has taken the emphasis off the food and culinary arts and has placed the attention on the *performers*. Yet, conversely, in spite of this misogynistic buffoonery and negative press, there has been an impetus for the not-so-famous chefs and culinary experts to emerge from the woodwork and attempt to rectify the damage. Rayner (2004) recently drew attention to this change of attitude and approach in a piece written on the shifting balance of genders and responsibilities in highly rated British restaurants.

Nevertheless, there have been more than ‘fertile grounds’ for the celebrity chefs in the United States. Particularly, in combination with cable television and The Food Network, and the highly promoted shows like ‘Iron Chef’, ‘Jacques Torres’ and ‘Emeril Lagassee’. This has, in a number of ways, further legitimatised an already strong, highly competitive, particularly sensitive, and largely paternalistic education *industry*. As well as further promoting (and possibly even further entrenching) some of the gender and equality issues, which different factions of the industry (and the human rights movement) have been struggling against.

Intriguingly, New Zealand's own celebrity chefs have more frequently been columnists, cookbook writers, sponsored presenters¹⁷⁵ of minute-long television advertising time-slots, or even the self-promoting chef(s) of large bankrolled restaurants (in either Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, or one of the resort-based hotels). Yet, as a result of their 'home-grown' charm and positioning, it could be argued that their impact on local (professional and amateur) culinary education has been subtle, possibly even permeable; particularly as what they seem to be transmitting is the 'normalcy' of New Zealand cooking – and not resorting to the ubiquitous takeaways of McFast-and-greasy.

There are, however, one or two drawbacks from this celebrity chef influence. In the case of product-sponsored promotions, there is a question to be raised about promoting deliberately dumbed-down, de-skilled products to students (new apprentices, journeymen and journeywomen) in tertiary institutions and schools. In Schlosser's (2001) book, 'Fast Food Nation', he observed that one of the main contributing factors to a cheap and easily replaced workforce was the use of 'assembled' food (not prepared food) and a preparation process that was fairly simple - 'Everything is just add water' (p. 69). In addition to this, Schlosser (2001) also noted that in the highly geared production-line¹⁷⁶ of commercial food:

The management no longer [depended] upon the talents or the skills of its workers - those things [had been] built into the operating system and machines. Jobs that have been "de-skilled" can be filled cheaply. The need to retrain any individual worker is greatly reduced by with ease with which he or she can be replaced (p.70).

In some of the local and national tertiary institutions, in recent times, there has been a generous donation of time and energy by numerous celebrity chefs. There has, however, in the process been the 'odd bit' of sponsored product promotion; which for the most part has been mostly innocuous. Yet, there have been some endorsements of 'just add water products', which, in the light of the institutions core curriculum objectives – to teach professional cookery, is somewhat at odds with the basic tenets of the school.

¹⁷⁵ These presenters have been, Allyson Gofton – presenter for Watties 'Food in a Minute', Jo Seagar – a publicity face of 'Chelsea Sugar', Annabelle White – author and promoter of 'Tararua' dairy products. The rare (or qualified) exceptions to this line-up have been Greg Heffernan – professional chef and spokesman of the Beef and Lamb Board, Simon Gault – professional chef and promoter of 'Rizzoli Olive Oil'.

¹⁷⁶ Intriguingly, the same theories that were used by Escoffier in creating a more efficient, sectioned kitchen and targeted apprentice training system – were also adopted by the fast food industry.

Part C Possible Directions

In the process of seeking to find the answers to the questions that were earlier addressed, at the beginning of this inquiry, a number of interesting things occurred. The ‘journeyman’, who was being sort, turned out to be the same (respect and tolerance needing) individual who was there at the beginning of the inquiry. And, when the context of ‘modern’ (as in modern journeyman) was considered in the equation, there were no ‘gaugeable’ differences between the basic mentoring needs of the early journeyman and those of the modern journeyman - except for *obvious* advancements in professional knowledge and practice. In the case of apprentice style learning - this was found to be a sophisticated (but professional) take on ‘learning by mother’s (or Annie’s) knee’. Something which, I am sure, few ‘burly’ professional chefs or cooks would care to admit to doing, with the only exceptions being that: ‘mother’ will not sack you for being late, nor will she work you 16-18 hours a day, or force you to work within a ‘hot, sweaty proximity’ to someone who screams ‘Order Up’ – every three to five minutes; and then still expects you to cook like an angel!

In revisiting the original research questions I remind the reader what these were:

1. *What is a journeyman, and how did he or she evolve into being the ‘modern journeyman’ of today?*
2. *What is apprentice style learning, and what are the quintessential qualities of this type of education?*
3. *What is culinary education – yesterday and today?*
4. *What is the culture and community of the culinary profession, and how does this correspond with the (culinary) journeyman?*
5. *What is culinary education in a tertiary institution?*
6. *What are the influences and controls of culinary education, and how do these challenge or change culinary education – in industry and in the institution?*

In terms of answering these questions I have found the following issues to have been of interest. I have deliberately organised my responses/findings to each of these question under the following themes.

The evolution of the modern journeyman (question 1)

For the most part, culinary education and the modern journeyman has essentially kept to the path of foundational French cuisine, with the interesting exception to the rule being that now it is more recognised as a type of ‘fusion’ cuisine (within/under its numerous ethnic guises). However, in the situation of the culinary profession there has appeared to have been a culture of *isolation* created around the ‘smaller scale’ practitioners, with the ‘larger’¹⁷⁷ more prestigious chefs, cooks, and mentors/masters - to have formed their own ‘tribes’ as it were.

The modern apprenticeship style learning (question 2)

In the case of ‘culinary education’ in the tertiary institutions, and the influences and controls which have prevailed, there are definitely still many non-transparent agenda, which have been at work (both globally and locally) - in government, economics and industry. Predominately, the authorities have (and continue to be) influenced by the various economic factors which have focused on the ‘macro’ issues rather than on the ‘micro’.

Culinary education: The progression, where to now? (questions 3 – 6)

In the case of the modern journeyman, this has meant that his or her *traditional* teaching/learning needs have, quite possibly, appeared ‘too low on the horizon’ and have been pushed aside for more commercial-driven expediency.

Yet, in spite of this apparent ‘David and Goliath’ scenario (in education and industry), there is still promise on the horizon – in the form of the ‘redevelopment’ of the culinary profession, through the global media and the ‘ever present’ traditionalists (mentor/masters) in industry - who want more than a conveyer-belt ‘McApprentice’.

Concluding Comments

This thesis has taken me on a fascinating journey of both intellectual inquiry and theorising within historical and philosophical epochs of culinary education. However, much more than this it

¹⁷⁷ Big business, big industry players – who are not necessarily rotund in stature.

has taken me on a personal traversing of the literature on this topic, to locate my own culinary experiences and history as a professional chef. This theorising, reflection and introspection has produced an academic thesis which I hope will be of interest in particular to the culinary profession of which I am a part. However, in a more personal sense it has added a greater appreciation for the teaching profession and culinary profession at large. It has also drawn a spotlight on the past and current hypocrisies in the following ways, although I note these are initial thoughts and issues rather than well theorised and researched positions.

1. The culinary teaching profession

The insertion of culinary education from an industry-base to one now located within the tertiary sector has acted in reductionist ways. For example, this ideologically-driven development is clearly linked to credentialising, commercialising and controlling the culinary sector which was essentially a private sector domain. It placed this education under the direct controls of both the academy and government-bureaucracies gaze (see Foucault, 1977). This new accountability and panoptican-style state sector management was also clearly linked to the government's strategy of commodifying industry knowledge and drawing it into the academy under the guise of the *knowledge wave* linking to increasing competition within the economy and supposedly driving up standards through assessment regimes determined both nationally by the NZQA and imposed on the new unsuspecting students I have called here the *Modern Journeyman*.

2. Reconstructing the tertiary-industry linkages

Whilst traditionally there have been linkages between industry and tertiary education providers in the areas of culinary theory – the new regime has made these both more explicit and more overtly controlling. For example, now industry is more obligated towards the tertiary providers than previously, whereby, industry knowledge is now approved through the tertiary sector accountability arrangements rather than through traditionally industry discussions and innovations. Furthermore, whilst there was initial consultation in the 1980s this has diminished, although it stills exist in intention in the need for consultation, in reality this has seldom occurred. Moreover, this has resulted in an 'atrophication' of innovation

and creative consultation between the sectors. It would appear that in the turf-wars over the domains of knowledge that the academy is clearly winning.

3. The industry’-government links and collusion around EFTS-based funding

This position is inextricably linked to the situation outlined above. Furthermore, it would appear that the evolved strategies were designed to both promote and protect standards in the culinary profession plus giving rise to increasing the coffers of the tertiary providers (note here these are vocational orientations, rather than academic, see Jordan & Strathdee, 2001). This has created employment opportunities for those in the polytechnic and now new university (such as AUT) sectors and diminished industry-driven apprenticeship education. Furthermore, the funding regime redistributes money from industry to the tertiary sector and in addition these TEOs providing educational ‘training’ and qualifications for graduates also attract funding per student both in terms of government EFTS-based funding arrangements, but also through the individual students personal contribution to their tertiary education in terms of tuition fees.

4. The re-creation/reinvention of the ‘modern’ apprenticeships and their unusual location in both industry and the ‘academy’

This situation creates tensions between the tertiary providers of education and the ‘employers’. For example, whilst employers have rather arcane and immutable ideas about what is being taught within the tertiary sector, in contrast the TEOs ‘educating’ the modern journeyman remain focused on what they believe to be the necessary requirements of culinary graduates – which may be at odds within the perceptions and understandings of employers.

5. A missionary and ideologically-driven reconfiguration of the culinary profession by credentialising it, whilst decontextualising it and making it accountable to the NZQA mandarins promoting unit standards.

The placement of culinary education within the domain of the academy has led to credential-inflation of graduates – much more is being expected of the modern journey man in stark contrast with previous epochs of culinary practices (see chapters three and four). The

change in both priorities and focus of the professional knowledge taught in tertiary institutions has led to academic notions of education being regarded as superior to practical and professional knowledge and domains. However, I note this is not a situation which is unique to either the discipline of culinary education, nor country specific to Aotearoa/New Zealand. This inherent tension between practice and theoretical knowledge is played out in other domains such as teacher and nursing education(s) – which have been relocated in tertiary education institutions, as opposed to the previous strategies of on-the-job ‘training’ in schools and hospitals. It would appear that the driving ideological force behind the relocation of culinary education from industry to the academy has been underpinned by economic imperatives, rather than the general needs of industry. In these tensions between the industry and the academy – it would appear that this ‘war of attrition’ has resulted in monetary gains for these tertiary providers, however I speculate that it has not raised the culinary standards overall, but has like other disciplines such as nursing and teaching created a generation of tertiary-educated chefs with student debt.

Extending this analysis – issues, questions and further research

In undertaking this research project I am now more convinced that the concept of today’s modern journeyman is significantly different to the journeymen of yesterday – which is understandable given the changes in the culinary education environment. However, more importantly whilst domain and scope of education has changed, conversely there has been no considerable change in their basic education needs. The tertiary environment has refocused education more towards academic requirements and achievements, such as theoretical and scientific dimensions of culinary knowledge. However, conversely I argue that the new graduate practical skill-set has diminished with the location of chefs within the academy – and that whilst they might be better equipped with academic knowledge they may be no better chefs in a practical sense than those educated via apprenticeships under former regimes of on-the-job training. At this point in time there might be no tangible, empirical evidence on which to base these claims – however I charge and challenge future researchers to undertake such investigations to uncover this widely held perception within the culinary industry.

This thesis has added to the domain of researched literature in the following ways:

- i. Previously there was a dearth of literature which examined this issue through documentary searches and analysis of culinary education of the new Zealand tertiary sector.
- ii. It highlighted the similarities between the New Zealand and Australian culinary tertiary sectors.
- iii. It drew new perspectives on culinary teaching issues between the northern and southern hemispheres in terms of Western culinary education, and finally;
- iv. From a literature perspective it highlights New Zealand's developments, both positively and negatively in the domain of tertiary culinary education.

Having completed this long labour of love (and at times hate) in terms of achieving the end of a research process (of this masters, or should that be, martyrs? thesis), where does this leave the author? It has been an interesting journey both academically and emotionally. However, I believe whilst controversial in nature – this research has captured my imagination in terms of further research. My aim is to further develop the themes of this thesis into other academic pursuits. I want to remain in the academic domain and write articles based upon this thesis and perhaps pursue the further intellectual endeavour of reconceptualising it as a book publication outlining both the philosophical and practical implications of culinary education as practised in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Some of this intellectual endeavour maybe undertaken by me individually. However, given often writing and its re-crafting is not a solo pursuit but the outcome of collaborative and collegial support, thus it is my stated intention at this point in time to co-research and co-develop this thesis into other outputs with those who have assisted and supported me.

I know that some reading this opus might be critical of the scope, focus and indeed its findings (or all three concurrently). However, given the eclectic forays in both the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of critical theory, postmodernist analyses and even, existentialism, it might find favour with those whose intellectual endeavours like both challenge and uncertainty.

Writing this thesis has certainly been both stimulating and frightening in terms covering unknown and unexplored terrain and location, however, I believe I have achieved a thesis that spans both the needs of academia – but more importantly expands the boundaries of culinary practice.

My challenge however, is for the next generation of culinary postgraduate students and academic staff, to actively engage in critique and theorising of the following unresolved issues:

- *Should the government of Aotearoa/New Zealand still require academic culinary education to be continued to be located inside the academy?*
- *What is the responsibility of the wider culinary profession and industry to re-address their educational needs, and who should be actively involved and consulted in such processes?*
- *Is the postmodern journeyman the next phase of culinary development? What are the needs of the next epoch?*
- *In what ways can this traditionally 'gendered' and hierarchically-driven profession be adapted to the needs of the 21st century to accommodate the visions of the emergent modernist-postmodernist culinary **JOURNEYWOMEN**?*

These are questions which warrant further research and investigation.

I believe the culinary industry is in an interesting, evolutionary and transitioning epoch, and I maintain that it will take visionary and practically-oriented leaders to regain its authority over its own educational needs – be they within or indeed more controversially outside the academies domain of influence. The task ahead for postgraduate students and academic alike is to chronicle these new developments alongside their industry peers. However, ultimately the challenges ahead require non-partisan research and inquiry, which do not result in sponsored pre-determined outcomes - which do not confront the status quo and continue the maintenance of locus of control which exist within the self-serving tertiary education institutions.

APPENDICES

APPENDICES 156

Appendix A: Advertisement – Male Chauvinist Chef 157

Appendix B: Table 4 – Macro-Cultures and Micro-Issues 158

APPENDIX A: *Advertisement***GENERAL SITS VACANT****MALE
CHAUVINIST
CHEF**

Who knows how to upset other staff. People will understand the pressure you are under, but you still must be able to spread untrue rumors about waiting staff that have turned you down when you've asked them out for a drink. As this is a position of power, you will be expected to abuse it when ever possible, making loud sexual comments at staff.

Of course not all chefs act like this, but if you're being harassed at work by one who does, you don't have to grin and bear it. If this sounds like a situation that you are already in, and talking to the offender or your employer won't work, call the Human Rights Commission Sexual Harassment Infoline 0800 4 YOUR RIGHTS (496 877) www.hrc.co.nz

**Human Rights**

COMMISSION

Komihana Tikanga Tangata

The New Zealand Herald
Employment Section
2000 - 2002

APPENDIX B: *Table 4 - Macro-Culture and Micro-Issues*

Micro issues	Hunter-Gatherer	Agriculture	Consumer	Knowledge	Uncertainty
Philosophy	Holism	Pantheism	Mechanical Causality	Complexity	Absorption of Paradox
Mission	Survive	Structure	Power	Well-being	Omni reality
Preoccupation	Survival	Reason for Being	Ascension	Quality	Immortality
Work	Group	Personal Labour	Service	Knowledge	Spiritual
Ritual	Hunt	Seasons	Day	Access	Singularity & Access
Travel	Foot	Natural Effects	Mechanical Propulsion	Jet Propulsion	Media
Weapons	Personal Strength	Eye to Eye	Remote	Mass Destruction	Surgical
Status Symbol	Offspring	Land	Possessions	Awareness	Events
Defining Activity	Hunting	Growing	Buying	Understanding	Dreaming
Recreation	Storytelling	Socializing	Belonging	Viewing	Being
Membership	Tribe	Family	Hierarchy	Networks	Neotribes
Physical Structure	Tent	Farm	Factory	Office	Theme Park
Dominant Resource	Territory	Fertilizer	Raw Material	Process	Intellectual Property
Dominant Person	Chief	Head of Household	Owners	Celebrity	Storyteller
Learning	Instincts	Cycles	Interactions	Scientific Method	Probability
Intelligence	Language	Literacy	Education	Creativity	Intuition
Visionary	Shaman	Priest	Ideology	Economist	Futurist

Source: Taylor, Wacker, and Means, (2001) *Visionary's handbook: Nine paradoxes that will shape the future of your business*. New York: Harper Business. (p. 180)

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