Vol. 6 No. 2, pp. 101–116 May 2019

Canadian Food Studies La Revue canadienne des études sur l'alimentation

Original Research Article

Food Network's food-career frenzy? An examination of students' motivations to attend culinary school

Ryan Whibbs[a*] and Mark Holmes[b]

[a] Chef School, George Brown College, Toronto
[b] Gordon S. Lang School of Business and Economics, University of Guelph

Abstract

This research presents the findings of a year long study, undertaken between 2016 and 2017, seeking to understand the degree to which students are influenced to attend culinary school by food medias, social media, and the Food Network. The notion that food medias draw the majority of new cooks to the industry is often present in popular media discourses, although no data exists seeking to understand this relationship. This study reveals that food medias play a secondary or tertiary role in influencing students to register at culinary school, while also showing previously unknown patterns related to culinary students' intention to persist with culinary careers. Nearly 40 percent of this sample do not intend to remain cooking professionally for greater than five years, and about 30 percent are "keeping other doors open" upon entry into culinary school. Although food celebrity certainly plays a role in awareness about culinary careers, intrinsic career aspirations are the most frequently reported motivation.

Keywords: culinary school, social media, chefs, Food Network, motivation

*Corresponding author: ryan.whibbs@georgebrown.ca
DOI: 10.15353/cfs-rcea.v6i2.255
ISSN: 2292-3071

Introduction

In recent years, many journalists, chefs, and scholars have commented on the degree to which food medias and the Food Network have motivated individuals to attend cooking school. These diverse voices indicate that the traditionally high staff turnover rates associated with the foodservice industry are currently related to burnout generated during millennials' fleeting excursions into professional cooking, as part of mostly unrealized bids for fame (Sherman, 2015), money (Kummer, 2016), status (Pizam, 2016), and celebrity (Mintz, 2016). Although this may be true for some new cooks, published data regarding culinary school students is limited.

To the best of the authors' knowledge, this study is the first assessment of culinary students' motivations to attend culinary school. Our basic hypothesis was that traditional influence brokers (family, friends, secondary school teachers and guidance counselors) play a more important determining role than do non-traditional influence brokers (Food Network, Instagram, Facebook, celebrity chefs). This paper presents the development, deployment, and analysis of a year-long study conducted by the authors in conjunction with culinary students at the Chef School, George Brown College, Toronto. It seeks to understand the influences that led students to register in culinary vocational training. While food media does play a significant role in leading individuals to become culinary students, a more nuanced picture emerges under closer scrutiny.

Background

During the 1990s, the public became more aware of professional chefs through expanding food television programming. The Food Network, for example, began broadcasting in the USA in 1993, and in Canada in 1997. In 2000, the CRTC granted a broadcasting license (CRTC, #2000-217) for the Food Network Canada, and the network went live later that year. Since then, Americans and Canadians have had 24-hour access to a vast number of cooking shows that invite viewers into their kitchens to see chefs' secret recipes, behind-the-scenes operations, nightmares, and renovations. Most sources point to the emergence of the Food Network and the Food Network Canada as being one of the most important factors in increasing societal awareness of, and interest in, cooking (Baker, 2016; Hayward, 2018; Kummer, 2016; Meehan, 2016; Mintz, 2016; Pizam, 2016; Pratten, 2003; Sherman, 2015).

Although assessing the impact of the Food Network can be complex, the mechanics through which food celebrities attract and maintain viewers' attention has received some attention. Johnston et al. (2014) analysed the complex mechanics of this process, pointing to the colloquial yet informed "personas" of Food Network presenters that assist in creating solidarity and trust between the viewer and the star-teacher. Piper (2015) noted that the adoptive personas of Food Network celebrities must strike just the right balance to have credibility with viewers; hosts must seem both expert and familiar to create viewer affinity and increase the likelihood of

piquing viewer interest while maintaining credibility. Given that hosts are often chefs, it seems that a combination of their work histories, purported skill level, personality, style, and knowledge provide the backbone from which viewers can be assured of the hosts' credibility.

Some scholars (Matwick & Matwick, 2014) have already analysed the role of storytelling in increasing viewers' trust and interest in food shows, such as those of Paul Bocuse, Gordon Ramsay, and Jamie Oliver. In striking the right balance of stories and work histories, producers increase the chance that viewers will perceive the host as familiar, credible, trustworthy, and inspiring, thus increasing viewers' willingness to, as Piper (2015) noted, "try something new." Indeed, in the context of the present inquiry, storytelling of work histories is one of the most important aspects of food media's influence on culinary school attendance.

A large number of recent popular press articles suggest that culinary graduates think that by attending culinary school they will become an executive or celebrity chef. "TV is one reason. They all want to be Anthony Bourdain," said Chris Coombs, chef/owner of Boston Urban Hospitality. "The television era has warped the perception of how much work it takes to get from where they are to where he is." (Sherman, 2015, p.7). Regarding the power of food medias to draw individuals into cooking and, by extension, culinary school, Corey Mintz (2016) noted, "Students are lured into cooking school by television programs that idealize restaurant life with celebrity chefs. But working in a professional kitchen can be a tough slog." (p.1). Other journalists mention themes like romanticizing (Meehan, 2016) and glamourizing (Baker, 2016) culinary labour, and the lure of celebrity (Kummer, 2016) when explaining why culinary students enter cooking schools.

Beyond the popular press, scholars are increasingly turning their attention to cooking schools. Hertzman and Maas (2011) suggested that the dramatic increase in culinary schools and cooking programs is attributable to the rise of the Food Network, while Pizam (2016) suggested that a simultaneous revolution in public perceptions of the culinary trades aided the public in settling on culinary vocations with greater ease. Pratten (2003) noted similar increases in the popularity of cooking schools in the U.K. Although quantitative data supporting these assertions is not presented, they agree with the popular press.

Although culinary school might be seen as an entry pathway to the culinary industry, studies by Martin (2007) and Woolcock (2011) found that trainee cooks often have an ambivalent relationship with formal education. Woolcock (2011) found that Australian male trainee cooks reported a greater preference for skills-based courses over theoretical courses, even when these were related to vocational subjects. Martin (2007) found that Australian males are less likely to persist at culinary vocational training than their female counterparts, and that males were more likely to seek out "unconventional" training agents. In contrast, Martin (2007) found that female Australian trainees were more likely to persist with their vocational education until completion, with Woolcock (2011) finding that Australian females were significantly more aspirational in their future plans than males.

How students select vocations and vocational schools for cooking has had little coverage from scholars. According to Brown (2002), models illustrating students' vocational selection

processes are difficult to construct in a manner that adequately captures the complexity of the interplay between personal choices and external forces, while generalized descriptions are more useful. Mocetti (2012) found that family background had the strongest influence on vocational selection. Carless and Prodan (2003), on the other hand, found that previous exposure to a vocation did not result in increased career commitment, self-efficacy and job attainment confidence. Pratten (2003) suggested that motivations to enter the culinary industry may be based on a desire to become "a great chef" or to own a restaurant, although no data was supplied at the time.

A variety of hypotheses have been proposed regarding early-career culinary industry attrition focusing on individuals' personalities, management, and inability to meet career goals. Personal locus of control came to the attention of Hsu-I (2006) who suggests that post-graduation industry persistence correlates highly with individuals' who possess a high degree of recognition of internal locus of control. Conversely, foodservice workers with a high degree of external locus of control were significantly and negatively correlated with job satisfaction (Hsu-I, 2006). Kummer (2016) suggested that inability to meet high costs-of-living in major urban centers may influence culinary industry workers to search for more lucrative positions. Tongchaiprasit and Ariyabuddhiphongs (2016) found that by maintaining greater autonomy in ones' ability to create and innovate, cooks and chefs remain more satisfied for longer periods of time. Robinson and Beesley (2010) found that autonomy over the creative process was more important at different phases in cooks' careers, more important during early career phases and lesser in later, post-orientation career phases. Importantly, job stress and disorganization among management were found to be two more prominent factors than creativity in assessing job satisfaction (Tongchaiprasit & Ariyabuddhiphongs, 2016). Rowley and Purcell (2001) and Kang et al. (2010) suggest that it is ultimately management's ability to create a satisfactory culinary work environment and decrease labor turnover, rather than any relationship to food media or quest for celebrity.

Hypotheses

At present, there is no extant data regarding what motivates students to attend culinary school nor what forces might play a role in influencing that decision. It is logical to assume that, based on the literature, food medias play an important role in this decision, although the exact nature of that role and its importance in relation to more traditional influence brokers is not understood. Food media may be important in the culinary-school decision-making process, but is it more influential than secondary school faculty? What is the relationship between food media, secondary school faculty, and kin and friend networks? In order to provide clarity regarding this process, the researchers have divided their analysis into three primary hypotheses.

The first hypothesis is that non-traditional influences like food medias play a secondary role in relation to more traditional influence brokers like family, teachers, and personal

experiences when it comes to individuals electing to enter the culinary industry via formal education. “Traditional” influence brokers are defined here as kin and fictive kin networks: family, friends, and secondary school teachers and guidance counsellors. “Non-traditional” influence brokers are defined as food medias including the Food Network, the Food Network Canada, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and other similar platforms.

The second hypothesis is that those entering culinary school are certain that they want to be chefs. The degree of certainty about a future culinary vocation is not self-evident. Vocational schools prepare students primarily for industry culinary positions, although the popularity of cooking suggests that some students might attend simply to increase their culinary skills.

The third hypothesis is that students have misguided views of career-advancement timelines and remuneration norms. In many popular-press accounts, chefs allude to the existence of a trend of cooks leaving the industry. This trend is often mentioned in tandem with the notion of celebrity-derived wealth and status as driving culinary-school registrations. H3 tests the notion that culinary-school registrants have unrealistic expectations regarding future income and advancement possibilities, and that this might drive industry attrition.

Method

A mixed-method, multiple-approach design was used to address the hypotheses. Survey data were collected via a purpose-built questionnaire developed by the research team. A total of 62 questions were developed, requiring a combination of Likert-scale, true or false, matrix, and open-text answers. Survey questions tested eight general thematic areas:

1. Demographic and regional information
2. Personal culinary work or education history
3. General education history
4. Degree of certainty that respondents want to enter the cooking industry
5. Views on the importance of family, friends, teachers and guidance counselors in arriving at a decision to attend culinary school
6. Views on the importance of food television, food media, and social media platforms with food content (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) in arriving at a decision to attend culinary school
7. Views on pay, status, celebrity, advancement in the culinary industry
8. Future plans

To ensure content validity of the survey instrument, a two-stage review occurred. First via focus group and after via field testing by subject matter experts. Focus groups were consulted online and in-person by researchers and included peers in the areas of culinary arts and food studies. After having reviewed feedback, the team undertook minor revisions to ensure clarity of

some questions. Simple random sampling (SRS) was used to contact respondents, all of whom were students of George Brown College Chef School. The survey was administered during class time, during the first two weeks of class, via the online I:Survey platform with course professors facilitating deployment. Upon cleaning, 29 respondents were found to have answered less than 50 percent of questions, leading to 202 clean responses. Females comprised 46 percent and males comprised 54 percent of the population; no students selected genders outside of male or female. The data were then entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), scanned for completeness, coded, and analyzed using a mixture of frequency, cross-tabulation, and two-tailed t-tests. Degrees of influence have, for the purposes of this paper, been defined as: "primary," upper thirty-third percentile of rankings; "secondary," middle thirty-third percentile of rankings; "tertiary," lower thirty-third percentile of rankings.

Results

Hypothesis 1

When considering entering the culinary industry as a vocation, a combination of traditional and non-traditional influence brokers played a role in the decision-making process. The ability to tap into anticipated knowledge of culinary professors, family's knowledge of respondent's personalities and preferences, and the vogue of Instagram and photo-sharing sites were the primary influencers according to all respondents (Table 1). Food Network Canada and social media such as Facebook and Twitter ranked in a secondary position, at 3.3 and 3.1 respectively, while secondary school teachers and guidance counsellors were reported to have played a tertiary role.

In terms of age and gender differences, access to culinary professors was more important to those under 21 years of age ($p < 0.01$), than it was to those above 21 years old. Perhaps predictably, secondary school teachers and guidance counsellors played a more important role for younger respondents than they did for respondents above 21 years old. Family was an equally important influence to both age categories. Although the research team controlled for gender, no statistically significant difference was observed in terms of motivators to consider a culinary vocation.

Quite different results were elicited from questions regarding the purpose of attending culinary school (Table 2). Neither traditional nor non-traditional influence brokers played as influential a role as intrinsic motivations. Registrants to culinary school seemed to be primarily motivated by personal interests and employment goals. Personal goals such as wanting to be able to cook meals for family, friends, leisure, and satisfying an "emotional attachment" to food influenced culinary school registrants far more than anything related to food medias. Interestingly, food medias and the Food Network fell into secondary influencer rankings, given

that their average scores ranged between 3.0 and 2.7. Food media available online, including YouTube, Facebook, food shows, the Food Network, and culinary celebrity influencers all ranked below our primary influencers of personal and career goals. Yet, as in the case of vocational selection in general, food medias ranked above teachers. Interestingly, in terms of deciding to attend culinary school, kin and fictive kin networks occupied tertiary positions, below 2.5. This was a different outcome than that which was elicited by questioning regarding general family influencers on the decision to pursue a culinary vocation.

Table 1: Influencers for selecting a culinary vocation

Influencers to Enter Culinary Industry	All /5	Years in North America		Age		Gender		Years in North America	Age	Gender
		Under 3	Over 3	Under 21	Over 21	Male	Female	Under 3 vs. Over 3	Under 21 vs. Over 21	Male vs. Female
College culinary professors	4.0	4.2	3.7	4.3	3.8	4.1	3.8	.5 **	.5 **	.2
Family	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.1	3.8	3.9	3.9	.0	.3 p	-.1
Instagram and photo-sharing sites	3.4	3.7	3.1	3.5	3.3	3.3	3.4	.5 **	.3	-.1
Food Network Television	3.3	3.7	3.0	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.2	.7 ***	.1	.1
Facebook, Twitter, and other similar platforms	3.1	3.5	2.8	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.0	.7 ***	.2	.1
Secondary-school guidance councillors	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.9	2.4	2.7	2.5	.2	.5 *	.2
Secondary-school teachers	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.9	2.4	2.7	2.4	-.1	.5 **	.3

T-test = ^{p} p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Age and gender were the primary controls that proved richest with statistical divergence. Those under 21 years of age were more inclined to be influenced to attend culinary school in order to achieve intrinsic and extrinsic personal goals including satisfying the desire to cook well for family, friends, and while entertaining, ($p < 0.05$). As well, those under 21 were more likely to see YouTube videos and the Food Network as being influential ($p < 0.05$). Those under 21 found the notion of food celebrities influencing their decision to attend culinary school more influential than those over 21, ($p < 0.001$), with those under 21 ranking food celebrities as a secondary influencer, and those over 21 ranking them as a tertiary influencer. Although ranking as secondary and tertiary influencers, kin and fictive kin ranked differently in influencer status

among the two age groups, with parents, predictably, ranking as more influential for those under 21.

Within gender groups, a number of interesting patterns emerge. Females are much more likely to be influenced by their parents ($p < 0.05$). Males, in general, feel more strongly about the reasons for which they entered culinary school. In all areas where there was a significant statistical difference between the two groups, discounting parental influencers, males scored higher in responsiveness to variables, especially those which included intrinsic and extrinsic personal motivations: cooking for family ($p<0.01$), cooking for friends ($p<0.01$), and cooking while entertaining ($p<0.05$). Using culinary skills to benefit kin and fictive kin networks, whether in day-to-day cookery or entertaining, motivated males more than females. Additionally, females were generally less willing to commit to specific reasons for attending culinary school. Although not statistically significant across all categories, the trend was present in all influencer responses except parental.

Table 2: Influencers for attending culinary school

Influencers in Attending Culinary School	All /5	Years in North America		Age		Gender		Years in North America	Age	Gender
		Under 3	Over 3	Under 21	Over 21	Male	Female	Under 3 vs. Over 3	Under 21 vs. Over 21	Male vs. Female
I want to be able to cook for my family	3.9	4.0	3.8	4.1	3.8	4.1	3.7	.2	.3	.5 **
I want to run my own business	3.8	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.8	3.9	-.2	.1	-.1
I want to be a restaurant/hotel chef	3.7	3.7	3.7	4.0	3.5	3.8	3.5	.1	.5 *	.3
I want to be able to cook for my friends	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.8	3.4	3.8	3.3	.0	.4 *	.6 **
I want to be able to entertain	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.9	3.3	3.8	3.3	.0	.5 *	.5 *
I have an emotional attachment to food	3.5	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.5	3.6	-.3	.0	-.1
It seems fun	3.3	3.2	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.3	3.4	-.1	.3	-.1
Food media available online (eg. Youtube)	3.0	3.2	3.0	3.3	2.9	3.1	3.0	.2	.4 *	.1
Food Shows	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.1	2.9	3.0	3.0	.2	.2	.0
A perceived lifestyle	2.9	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.9	-.2	.2	.0
Food Network Television	2.8	3.0	2.7	3.1	2.6	2.8	2.8	.4 p	.5 *	.0
Parents	2.8	2.6	2.8	3.2	2.5	2.6	3.0	-.2	.8 ***	-.5 *
Culinary Celebrities	2.7	2.9	2.6	3.1	2.5	2.8	2.7	.2	.7 ***	.1
The popularity of cooking	2.7	3.0	2.4	3.0	2.5	2.7	2.6	.6 **	.5 *	.1
Friends	2.5	2.4	2.6	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.6	-.2	.4 *	-.1
Teacher	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.6	2.0	2.4	2.0	-.1	.6 **	.3
Non-cookbook food-related literature	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.2	.1	.3	-.1

T-test = ^{p} $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Hypothesis 2

Concerning the reasons that students decided to attend culinary school, a number of interesting patterns emerge (see Table 3). Only 81 percent of students claimed to be "totally sure" that they wanted to be a cook/chef. When asked whether or not they are "keeping other doors open as well," 71 percent of students responded in the affirmative. Perhaps even more surprisingly, more than one third (38 percent) of all respondents do not see themselves cooking professionally for more than five years. Those with previous culinary experience (37 percent) did not see themselves cooking professionally in five years. Those without previous related experience (40 percent) did not see themselves cooking professionally beyond five years (see Tables 3 & 4). Those who intended to complete more postsecondary education upon graduating from culinary school were less likely to be "totally certain" that they want to be a cook or chef (see Table 5).

Table 3: Rationale for attending culinary school

Desire to, and Rationale for Entering Culinary School	All	Years in North America		Age		Gender		Years in North America	Age	Gender
		Under 3	Over 3	Under 21	Over 21	Male	Female	Under 3 vs. Over 3	Under 21 vs. Over 21	Male vs. Female
I came to culinary school because I am totally sure that I want to be a cook/chef:	.80	81%	79%	83%	78%	80%	80%	1%	5%	0%
I came to culinary school to explore the idea of cooking as a profession, but I am keeping other doors open as well:	.71	75%	70%	68%	74%	71%	72%	5%	-6%	-1%
I came to culinary school because I believe that culinary skills will be important to my future since I aspire to a food-related career, but I do not intend to stay cooking professionally for more than 5 years after graduating:	.38	46%	32%	34%	41%	36%	40%	13% p	-7%	-4%

T-test = ^{p}p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

Table 4: Rationale for attending culinary school (education/experience)

Desire to, and Rationale for Entering Culinary School	All	Education		Previous Experience in Culinary Industry		Previous Experience Related to Culinary Industry		Education	Previous Experience in Culinary Industry	Previous Experience Related to Culinary Industry
		Degree or More	No Degree	Exp	No Exp	Exp	No Exp	Degree vs. No Degree	Exp vs. No Exp.	Exp vs. No Exp.
I came to culinary school because I am totally sure that I want to be a cook/chef:	.80	83%	71%	80%	80%	81%	80%	13% p	0%	1%
I came to culinary school to explore the idea of cooking as a profession, but I am keeping other doors open as well:	.71	72%	69%	76%	64%	75%	70%	2%	12% p	5%
I came to culinary school because I believe that culinary skills will be important to my future since I aspire to a food-related career, but I do not intend to stay cooking professionally for more than 5 years after graduating:	.38	40%	35%	37%	40%	49%	33%	5%	-2%	16% *

T-test = ^{p} p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

Table 5: Rationale for attending culinary school (future educational aspirations)

Desire to, and Rationale for Entering Culinary School	All	Intent to Obtain Another College Diploma after Graduation		Intent to Obtain University Degree after Graduation		Intent to Obtain College Diploma after Graduation	Intent to Obtain University Degree after Graduation
		Intent	No Intent	Intent	No Intent	Intent vs. No Intent	Intent vs. No Intent
I came to culinary school because I am totally sure that I want to be a cook/chef:	.80	72%	86%	80%	81%	-14% *	-1%
I came to culinary school to explore the idea of cooking as a profession, but I am keeping other doors open as well:	.71	64%	78%	75%	70%	-14% *	5%
I came to culinary school because I believe that culinary skills will be important to my future since I aspire to a food-related career, but I do not intend to stay cooking professionally for more than 5 years after graduating:	.38	36%	40%	38%	38%	-4%	0%

T-test = ^{p} p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.00

Hypothesis 3

The notion that students have unrealistic career expectations is true in some areas, but untrue in the areas of motivation due to goals of gaining food celebrity status. In terms of beginner salaries, the average culinary school entrant expects to receive an annual salary of around $20,000.00 CAD for the first three to four years, with the average respondent not expecting to receive around $30,000.00 per year until about four and a half years of experience (see Table 6). Based on current market rates as of April 14, 2019, line cooks working in Toronto receive, on average, $14.00 per hour, with the low end of the scale sitting at $14.00 per hour and the high end being $18.00 per hour (JobBank.gc.ca, 2019). Since the majority of jobs are minimum-wage, the *average* and the *low end* of the scale are the same. If we extrapolate based on the average wage, and assume a 40-hour work week, although unrealistically short for some working in the industry, current annual salaries within the Toronto region equal around $29,120 per year. Therefore, if we confine ourselves to the first five years of a recent graduate's career trajectory, the average individual has realistic remuneration expectations.

The difficulty seems to begin around years four to seven. By year seven, the average respondent expected to receive an annual salary of around $40-50,000.00. Given that it takes cook apprentices two years of part-time education and a minimum of 6,000 hours, or three years, of on-the-job training to become Red Seal journeyperson cooks, there is a longstanding notion in Canada's culinary industry that one is still quite junior in their career during years four to seven *after* having completed culinary school. Although sous chef promotions may occur toward the end of years four to seven, JobBank reports that sous chefs working in Toronto as of April 14, 2019, were being paid $16.00 per hour, on average (JobBank, 2017). Using the same extrapolation, this equals an annual wage of around $33,000.00. Executive chefs often have decades' worth of experience meaning that occupying sous chef positions can last for quite some time during one's career, well beyond seven years. Therefore, entry-level expectations are not unrealistic, but expectations of regular wage increases do become unrealistic around years four to seven, and highly unrealistic after that point. This expectation does not differ, statistically, based on the students' age, gender, or time living in North America.

In a similar manner, there appears to be an expectation of consistent, teleological increases in the number of years required to progress through the hierarchy of the kitchen brigade toward the position of executive chef (see Table 7). Students from all groups expected to become sous chefs within the six-year mark, although males expected it to take slightly longer to achieve executive chef status than did females. Especially problematic is that students do not seem to take into account the idea that many in Canada's culinary industry do not count culinary school as cooking experience, so students should be adding one to two years on to each of their estimations depending on their length of time spent in school.

Table 6: Expected wages based on tenure

Wage Expectation	All Years	Years in North America		Age		Gender		Years in North America	Age	Gender
		Under 3	Over 3	Under 21	Over 21	Male	Female	Under 3 vs. Over 3	Under 21 vs. Over 21	Male vs. Female
Less than $20,000/year	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.2	-0.1	0.1	0.2
$20,000-$30,000/year	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.1	3.1	3.3	0.2	0.3	-0.2
$30,000-$40,000/year	4.7	4.9	4.5	5.3	4.2	4.6	4.8	0.5	1.0 *	-0.2
$40,000-$50,000/year	6.9	7.3	6.5	7.3	6.5	7.0	6.7	0.8	0.7	0.2
$50,000-$60,000/year	8.6	8.9	8.4	9.2	8.1	8.5	8.6	0.4	1.1	-0.1
$60,000-$70,000/year	10.6	10.4	10.6	11.1	10.1	10.6	10.6	-0.2	1.0	0.1
$70,000-$80,000/year	12.6	11.6	13.2	12.8	12.4	12.8	12.3	-1.6 p	0.4	0.5
$80,000-$90,000/year	14.0	13.4	14.4	14.2	13.8	14.1	13.7	-0.9	0.4	0.4
$90,000-$100,000/year	15.4	14.8	15.8	15.7	15.1	15.5	15.2	-1.0	0.5	0.3
More than $100,000/year	17.4	16.9	17.6	17.6	17.2	17.8	16.9	-0.7	0.4	0.9

T-test = ^{p} p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

Table 7: Expected advancement based on tenure

Position Expectation	Years	Years in North America		Age		Gender		Years in North America	Age	Gender
		Under 3	Over 3	Under 21	Over 21	Male	Female	Under 3 vs. Over 3	Under 21 vs. Over 21	Male vs. Female
Executive Chef	12.0	11.4	12.4	12.1	11.8	12.5	11.2	-0.9	0.3	1.3
Sous Chef	6.5	6.4	6.6	6.6	6.5	6.8	6.1	-0.2	0.1	0.8
Red Seal Cook	5.4	4.5	6.1	4.9	5.8	5.3	5.7	-1.6 *	-0.9	-0.4
Line Cook (no red seal)	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.5	-0.1	0.3	0.1
Apprentice	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.0	0.9	1.3	0.2	0.1	-0.4
Other	4.5	3.2	5.5	4.0	4.8	4.4	4.5	-2.2 *	-0.7	-0.1

T-test = ^{p} p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001.

Discussion

Initially the research team suspected that secondary-school faculty played a more important role in the decision-making process of students than the popular press, who emphasize food media and celebrity, were attributing to them. This hypothesis was proven incorrect, and is rejected. While secondary-school faculty play a tertiary role, the role played by media is secondary in nature to the role played by personal interests, career goals, and the desire to share cooking with family and friends.

This research did confirm that those entering culinary school were there to be chefs (80 percent), although, as was suspected by the research team prior to the study, more culinary-school students were considering other employment areas than they were openly admitting to faculty. More than 70 percent of the population was "keeping other doors open," and 38 percent of the population does not intend to remain cooking professionally in five years. This is a highly transitory vocation, seemingly used as a springboard into other careers and vocations.

This research confirms that, while culinary students have early-career pay and progression notions highly reflective of reality, divergence occurs around years four to seven in that pay and position increases do not occur in such a neat, progressive manner. Celebrity and food media has only a secondary or tertiary role in motivating students to register at culinary school, and a negligible role in early-career occupational attrition. Assessment of *post facto* attrition from the culinary industry should not be based on numbers of graduates from culinary education institutions. A large proportion of students attending culinary school are uncertain of their reasons for enrolling in the program. Certainly, they are interested in food, but many do not have finite ideas regarding what to do with this interest upon graduation. It would be beneficial for culinary education institutions and industry chefs to work with students to develop informed, evidence-based career strategies that balance differing long-term goals in these respects.

Conclusion

Food medias do play a significant but secondary role in attracting people to the food industry and culinary school. However, respondents did not expect to become celebrities through entry into the food industry. Primarily, students are attracted by the idea of working with food because it satisfies intrinsic goals that are far more significant than their interest in food celebrity. In fact, it would seem that food media and its popularity is related to an intrinsic interest in food shared by many in wider society, rather than creating such interest.

In the future, the Food Network and television in general will become less important. Although the Food Network did play an important role in getting people to think about cooking school and culinary vocations, this was always a secondary or tertiary role. Further research should focus on what respondents hope to achieve by entering cooking school and what patterns exist in terms of long-term ambitions. Kummer's (2016) suggestion that further analysis be undertaken focusing on the impact of high cost-of-living seems especially pertinent in this regard. Future research should also examine the ability of variables such as increased compensation, benefits packages, meaningful professional development, education support, diversity strategies within the workplace, funded stages and other prerequisites to mitigate the outward flow of foodservice workers from high-skill culinary positions.

Acknowledgments: The researchers wish to thank George Brown College's culinary students and faculty for assisting in this research.

References

Antun, J. M., & Salazar, J. (2005). The impact of learning transfer outcomes on employed culinary arts graduates' perceptions of career success. *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology*, *4*(1), 75-87.

Baker, J. (2016, April 23). Colin Fassnidge tells of his rise to the MKR set and why chefs are 'the worst'. *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved from http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/

Brown, D. (Ed.). (2002). *Career choice and development* (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2011). *Occupational outlook handbook, 2010–2011 edition: Chefs, head cooks, and food preparation and serving supervisors*. United States Department of Labor. Retrieved from http://www.bls.gov/oco/ocos330.htm

Carless, S. A., & Prodan, O. (2003). The impact of practicum training on career and jobs search attitudes of postgraduate psychology students. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *55*(2), 89–94.

Dobson, R. (2003 July 13). Young chefs just can't stand the heat. *The Independent*. Retrieved from https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/this-britain/young-chefs-just-cant-stand-the-heat-95926.html

Government of Canada (2019). Government of Canada Job Bank. Retrieved from https://www.jobbank.gc.ca

Hayward, T. (2018, August 19). The rise and fall of the TV chef. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com

Hertzman, J. L., & Maas, J. (2012). The value of culinary education: Evaluating educational costs, job placement outcomes, and satisfaction of associate degree culinary and baking arts program graduates. *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology*, *10*(1), 53-74.

Hodges, N., & Karpova, E. (2010). Majoring in fashion: A theoretical framework for understanding the decision-making process. *International Journal of Fashion Design, Technology and Education*, *3*(2), 67–76.

Hsu-I, H. (2006). Understanding culinary arts workers: Locus of control, job satisfaction, work stress and turnover intention. *Journal of Foodservice Business Research*, *9*(2/3). 151-168.

Johnston, J., Rodney, A., & Chong, P. (2014). Making change in the kitchen? A study of celebrity cookbooks, culinary personas, and inequality. *Poetics*, *47*, 1-22.

Kang, B., Twigg, N. W., & Hertzman, J. (2010). An examination of social support and social identity factors and their relationship to certified chefs' burnout. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *29*, 168-176.

Kim, S. W., Brown, K. E., & Fong, V. L. (2016). Credentialism and career aspirations: How urban Chinese youth choose high school and college majors. *Comparative Education Review*, *60*(2), 271-292.

Kummer, C. (2016, July). The great cook shortage. *Boston Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.bostonmagazine.com/

Martin, B. (2007). *Skill acquisition and use across the life course: Current trends, future prospects*. National Center for Vocational Education Research. Retrieved from www.ncver.edu.au

Matwick, K., & Matwick, K. (2014). Storytelling and synthetic personalization in television cooking shows. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *71*, 151-159.

Meehan, S. (2016, July 12). Simmering issues: Baltimore restaurateurs search for creative solutions to kitchen labor shortage. *The Baltimore Sun*. Retrieved from http://www.baltimoresun.com/

Mesch, B. D. (2012). The influence of extracurricular foodservice work experience on culinary graduate industry experience. *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology*, *10*(1), 19-39.

Mintz, C. (2016, February). Is cooking school worth the time and cost? *The Toronto Star*. Retrieved from https://www.thestar.com

_____ (2016, August). Good cooks are quitting the kitchen, and that's bad news for your favourite restaurant. *Toronto Life*. Retrieved from http://www.torontolife.com

Mocetti, S. (2012). Educational choices and the selection process: before and after compulsory schooling. *Education Economics*, *20*(2), 189-209.

National Occupational Classification (2016). Chef. Government of Canada. Retrieved from http://noc.esdc.gc.ca/English/noc/ProfileQuickSearch.aspx?val=6&val1=6321&ver=16&val65=chef

National Occupational Classification (2016). Cook. Government of Canada. Retrieved from http://noc.esdc.gc.ca/English/noc/ProfileQuickSearch.aspx?val=6&val1=6322&ver=16&val65=cook

Piper, N. (2015), 'Jamie Oliver and cultural intermediation'. *Food, Culture and Society*, (*18)*, 245–64.

Pizam, A. (2016). The changing social status of chefs. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *59*, 116-117.

Pratten, J. (2003). The training and retention of chefs. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, *15*(4), 237–242.

Robinson, R. N., & Barron, P. E. (2007). Developing a framework for understanding the impact of deskilling and standardisation on the turnover and attrition of chefs. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *26*(4), 913-926.

Robinson, R. N., & Beesley, L. G. (2010). Linkages between creativity and intention to quit: an occupational study of chefs. *Tourism Management*, *31*(6), 765-776.

Robinson, R. N., Solnet, D. J., & Breakey, N. (2014). A phenomenological approach to hospitality management research: Chefs' occupational commitment. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *43*, 65-75.

Rowley, G., & Purcell, K. (2001). 'As cooks go, she went': Is labour churn inevitable? *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *20*, 163-185.

Sherman, E. (2015, August 9). Restaurants are facing a serious chef shortage. *Fortune*. Retrieved from http://fortune.com/

Tongchaiprasit, P., & Ariyabuddhiphongs, V. (2016). Creativity and turnover intention among hotel chefs: The mediating effects of job satisfaction and job stress. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, *55,* 33-40.

Woolcock, C. (2011). To what extent does studying to become an Australian trade-qualified cook prepare culinary students for further education? *Journal of Culinary Science & Technology*, *9*(4), 228-246.