Media images and the gendered representation of chefs

Beverly (Shih-Yun) Chen , Alison McIntosh , Candice Harris & Warren Goodsir

View supplementary material

Published online: 03 Jul 2020.

Submit your article to this journal

View related articles

View Crossmark data

Media images and the gendered representation of chefs

Beverly (Shih-Yun) Chen*, Alison McIntosh, Candice Harris & Warren Goodsir

School of Hospitality and Tourism, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland, New Zealand
Correspondence: beverly761112@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT: Images portrayed in online media may influence societal perceptions of chefs, with the potential to perpetuate gender segregation in the professional kitchen. Little scholarly attention in previous research has been given to the examination of gender and images in hospitality media. This article aims to fill that gap through an exploration of how online hospitality media may socially construct the gendered nature of the chef profession. The visual research method — the use of images to learn about the social world — was used to analyse 315 images collected from lifestyle magazines accessed online, food event websites, hospitality and restaurant industry-related websites, cookbooks and cooking equipment websites in New Zealand. Specifically, images depicting male and female chefs were sourced and analysed in relation to their gender representation. The findings revealed a marked difference between the portrayed images of male and female chefs. Not only did female chefs feature less frequently in the images, they were also predominantly portrayed in more domestic settings, with feminine aspects emphasised. The potential implications of these results are discussed, including the reinforcement of gender stereotypes underpinning segregation in the chef profession.

KEYWORDS: female chefs, gender segregation, magazines, male chefs, metaphors, visual research

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL: Online supplementary material is available at https://doi.org/10.1080/22243534.2020.1790202

Introduction

Within the chef profession in the Western world, men appear to outnumber women. Statistics show that only 18.5 per cent of Britain's top chefs were women (House of Commons. The Business, Innovation and Skills Committee, 2013). In Australia, statistics from the New South Wales region reported the chef profession as one of the top occupations for gender segregation, where 21 274 were male and only 4 385 were female (Women NSW, 2012). The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics found only 20 per cent of chefs and head cooks were female (Harris & Giuffre, 2015). In New Zealand, being a chef was one of the top 20 occupations for males in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015). This gender imbalance is echoed through the executive chef roles. For example, a 2017 study investigating the top 50 ranked restaurants announced in New Zealand's *Metro* magazine concluded that, out of the 50 restaurants, only nine featured female executive chefs. This figure dropped to five restaurants in the 2018 Top 50 list (*Metro*, 2017).

Previous research similarly attests to male domination in media publications. Painter and Ferrucci (2017), for instance, argue that women are underrepresented in media and are often depicted in traditional feminine roles when they do appear. Importantly, the media are considered a dominant force in shaping discourse on matters of public importance. A review of the literature shows that this is the case for the influence of media, for example,

on career options and self-esteem (Kennard, Willis, Robinson, & Knobloch-Westerwick, 2016), gender equality (Mitra, Bang, and Biswas, 2015), political leadership (Schlehofer, Casad, Bligh, & Grotto, 2011), and violence against women (Sutherland, McCormack, Easteal, Holland, & Pirkis, 2016). Previously, it has been surmised that women remain underrepresented in media images associated with the chef industry, although this remains to be empirically confirmed (Kludt, 2017).

Some previous studies have revealed male chefs' dominance in the profession through articulation of the wage gap between male and female chefs (Kludt, 2017; Lutrario, 2017), and the stereotyped portrayals of male and female chefs in cookbooks (Johnston, Rodney, & Chong, 2014; Matwick, 2017). In cookbooks, female chefs were portrayed as caregivers and domestic workers; male chefs were linked to masculine traits such as having scientific knowledge, professional skills and hardworking success (Johnston et al., 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to consider the media's role in the production or reproduction of gender norms. As such, this article provides exploratory insights into how online media portray chefs, and whether or not male and female chefs are represented differently. This information, while exploratory, can be useful in considering how the media may serve to perpetuate visual discourses around gender in the chef profession, and the wider implications of this on perceptions and experiences of the chef profession as a career choice for men and women.

Literature review

A substantial amount of previous research has addressed the influence of the media. Coombe and Davis (2013), for instance, view media as a resource for social change because of its ability to influence an individual's beliefs. Thus, media have been examined for the potential influence on teenagers' religious and spiritual identity formation (Mullikin, 2006), tourist behaviour (Williams-Burnett, Skinner, & Fallon, 2018), as well as wider public issues, including violence against women (Sutherland et al., 2016), representations of policing (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007), nursing and midwifery (McAllister, Downer, Hanson, & Oprescu, 2014). Media have also been found to play a significant role in the formation of an individual's gender role and behaviours. For example, it has been suggested that media may have an influence on how an individual views their physical characteristics; for instance, women's thinness (Fernandez & Pritchard, 2012), and men's mental health (Scholz, Crabb, & Wittert, 2014). Previous studies have also shown a direct correlation between images in magazines and how female viewers envision their future, notably in relation to planning for children amid career plans (Kennard et al., 2016; Knobloch-Westerwick, Willis, & Kennard, 2016). The media have also been found to influence lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer issues through only portraying stereotypical representations (McInroy & Craig, 2017).

Notably for this article, previous studies have suggested a link between stereotypical representations in media and career choice. For example, suggesting links to career choice and performance, Eagleman and Geurin (2015) identified stereotypical portrayals of male and female gymnasts in the media during the Olympic Games, and Painter and Ferrucci (2017) found differing depictions in the representations of female journalists in television programmes. Both Mavin, Elliott, Stead and Williams (2016) and Wright and Holland (2014) have similarly illustrated how the media portray women's leadership stereotypically. Mavin et al. (2016) analysed the media presentation of famous female leaders and found women are less likely to be positively portrayed in leadership positions. Similarly, Wright and Holland's (2004) study of media portrayals of the former prime minister of Australia, Julia Gillard, found that media perpetuate the gender stereotypes and further constrain female political leader's development. Therefore, as the media are found to be a powerful societal tool that has the potential to shape individuals' beliefs as well as their career choices and performance (Kennard et al., 2016), it also seems important to consider how the media represents gender in portrayals of chefs and the wider impact for the chef profession.

Most previous studies tend to agree that the media perpetuate a stereotypical representation of gender roles that reinforces traditional views of gender roles. In general, male chefs are predominantly shown as masculine, intellectual and technically talented professionals, while female chefs are feminine, warm, and caring domestic home cooks. This has been examined in the contexts of social media (Clarke, Murphy, & Adler, 2016), and television cooking shows (De Backer & Hudders, 2016). In a study of celebrity cookbooks, Johnston et al. (2014) reported that male chefs have the image of being professional and skilled, while female chefs are portrayed as sexually attractive, feminine and motivated by self-satisfaction. Similarly, Matwick (2017)

found that celebrity female chefs' cookbooks reinforced gender stereotypes by emphasising female chefs' caring and domestic characteristics and ignoring their professional backgrounds and business acumen.

There is also an argument that women challenge stereotypical views and engage in jobs that are considered more suitable for their counterparts (Statistics New Zealand, 2015; Vezich, Gunter, & Lieberman, 2017). In order to fit with the perceived standards and social stereotypes accepted for traditionally male jobs, it is argued that women, for example, may start employing more masculine speech strategies in an attempt to sound like men (Madichie, 2013; Harris & Giuffre, 2015; Matwick, 2017), or taking on aggressive male characteristics and competitive interactional styles (Bartholomew & Garey, 1996; Harris & Giuffre, 2010). This situation has also been found in the professional kitchen. The professional kitchen is known to have a hierarchical system to classify the different roles and responsibilities of individual positions (Starbuck, 2015). In New Zealand, as elsewhere in the world, male chefs tend to dominate the kitchen, especially the top management roles, such as executive chefs and head chefs (Brownell, 1994; Blayney & Blotnicky, 2010; Harris & Giuffre, 2015; Statistics New Zealand, 2015). Therefore, the chef is socially considered a man's job. As a consequence, female chefs often suffer due to the pressure to conform to the culture of professional kitchens (Feit, 2000). In this male-dominated environment, female chefs have been found to engage in certain gendered characteristics and behaviour. Previous studies have found that female chefs sometimes hide their femininity in order to gain acceptance as a chef, for example, by assuming a masculine appearance, such as having a manly haircut, have less or no facial expression, and wearing no makeup (Harris & Giuffre, 2009; Druckman, 2010; Best, 2012).

It is important to note that many scholars consider gender to relate to an individual's behaviour, rather than to their biological sex attributes (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2016). Wright and Holland (2014) suggest gender is a constructed idea and ideal, which emerges from social processes of interactions. Differing gender ideals for men and women tend to shape an individual's own behaviour and their expectations of others. In a wider context, Kram (1985) stated that women are often considered fragile and weak in a social and physical way, and as peaceful, passive and emotional; whereas men are generally associated with words like "strong", "assertive", "leader", "tough" and "brave". Åkestam, Rosengren, and Dahlen (2017) consider that when using certain attributes to differentiate and portray women and men, these gender attributes are gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes can be problematic and disadvantage women as they may lead to expectations and judgements that restrict opportunities (Murphy, 1998; Åkestam et al., 2017). As Meyerhoff (2014) explained, women are often featured with characteristics including being weak and not competitive and this may limit their career development, constructing inadequate power and resources for women in the domestic economy, and further creating a division of labour. Therefore, differing media portrayals of male and female chefs could be contributing to gender stereotyping causing male-dominated segregation in the professional kitchens (Harris & Giuffre, 2009; Wright & Holland, 2014; Matwick, 2017).

Methods

As this study explores the use of images depicting male and female chefs portrayed on online media, a qualitative methodology employing visual research methods was applied. Visual research relies on the use of artistic media to produce and represent knowledge (Banks, 2001; Patton, 2002). The data of visual research can include, but are not limited to, film, imagery, drawings, paintings and sculptures. In this research, online images were used to explore the differences between the ways in which male and female chefs are portrayed (Brotherton & Wood, 2008). Online images provide a relevant source of data for this research because they are able to produce social meaning, reflect social understandings, and reaffirm power asymmetries and socially constructed gender patterns (Scollon, & Wong Scollon, 2003; Vezich et al., 2017).

A total of 315 online images representing both male and female chefs were analysed, taken from lifestyle magazines, food event websites, hospitality and restaurant industry-related websites, cookbooks and cooking equipment websites, and news websites in New Zealand. The images were obtained by entering the keywords "chef", "female chef" and "woman chef" in the Google search engine. A search engine was applied because it is a free tool that enables access to a large amount of data and is ideal for information searching on the internet (Khiste, Veer, & Maske, 2011). While there are differing definitions of chefs (Harris & Giuffre, 2015; Orido, 2017), and there are also different types of chefs, such as executive chefs, sous chefs and pastry chefs, this research focused on female chefs in a more general sense.

Through this data collection method, the researchers collected online images of those who were considered to be "chefs" as presented by the media and publishers, accessed through the particular search engine. The data consisted of images of chefs published over a 20-year period from 1998 to 2018. The data collection stopped when the same images continued appearing during searches. Table 1 shows the types of media and sources that the images were collected from. The sources were lifestyle magazines (30%), food event websites (28%), hospitality and restaurant industry websites (26%), cookbooks and cooking equipment websites (8%), and news websites (8%). The media used as sources are well established and popular among public readers and viewers. These media sources target a broad online audience, including those who are interested in food and food preparation, industry-related websites whose purpose is to provide both industry professionals and non-industry

TABLE 1. Data collection sources

Source	Number of images
Bite magazine website	23
Viva magazine website	25
Dish magazine website	27
Good magazine website	5
Noted website	13
Food show website	55
Heart of the city website	34
New Zealand Restaurant association website	3
New Zealand Chef association	9
Hospitality business industry website	32
Restaurant and café industry website	38
Cookbooks and cooking equipment websites	26
News website (*Stuff* and *New Zealand Herald*)	25

viewers with formal information about the industry, food event information websites for attendees, as well as the readers of online newspapers. Sources of media not accessible online were not included in the research. The aim of this research was to consider images accessible to the public online, noting the rapid increase in internet activity and resources worldwide over the last twenty years (Internet World Stats, 2019).

Tinkler's (2013) five lines of enquiry were applied to analyse each image. The five steps in the analysis process were: (1) identifying basic details; (2) scrutinising the image; (3) examining the material evidence; (4) conducting contextual research; and (5) reflecting on the meaning of the image. Analysing the basic details of each image involved identifying the background to the image, including where it was collected, where it was published, and its purpose. Scrutiny of the image required detailed and repeated investigation into various aspects of the image. This included, for instance, examining the features of the photo: the pose and posture of the chef, what was shown of them, their appearance and what they were wearing, their facial expression, the props included (if any), the use of lighting and colour, and what meaning these elements were trying to convey to viewers (Tinkler, 2013).

Analysis of the material evidence involved identifying whether the image is paper-based or digital, which Tinkler (2013) suggests has implications for how images can be used and what they mean to people. Analysis of the context included analysing the historical and cultural aspects of the image. The final part, reflection on the meaning of the image, involved interpreting what the image potentially means to the imager, the viewers and the people in the image, and the possible implications of the image's meaning. As Tinkler (2013) considered that all five lines of enquiry overlap and there is no definite sequence when examining each image, the five lines of enquiry were revisited multiple times, involving a process of weaving back and forth between each line of enquiry. The results of the data analysis are presented below, accompanied by example images to illustrate the key findings of how the online images may socially construct gender in the chef profession.

Results

Analysis of the online images found that images of female chefs were under-represented overall. Of the 315 images collected, female chefs only featured in 79 (25%) of them. Predominantly, the images only featured one chef; just two images featured two chefs. This finding serves to highlight the prominence of the male chef in media images. Data analysis also revealed differing purposes for the images. Among the images presented in the food magazines, not surprisingly, images of chefs were commonly displayed next to recipes to promote the dishes and/or the sale of the cookbook. Similarly, the presentation of images of chefs in industry news and magazines served to advertise newly opened restaurants. The industry-related websites used images of chefs when announcing and congratulating the winners of awards and recognitions. Food event websites, such as The Food Show, used the images of chefs to promote an event or cooking tools that were on sale. Thus, the purpose of the image became apparent from the analysis.

Significantly, differences in how male and female chefs were portrayed in the images were identified. In terms of location, the analysis revealed that most images of female chefs featured

them in a home kitchen, while male chefs were either featured in a commercial kitchen or in a restaurant (Figures S1–S4).

In terms of the food presented, the food or dishes female chefs were shown to be preparing in the images were mostly home-cooked meals, whereas the images of male chefs focused on them preparing restaurant dishes (Figures S5–S8).

Background elements such as fruits, flowers, and some home decorations were displayed in the female chefs' images. In contrast, the male chefs' images were relatively simple (Figures 9–12). Notably, most of the images of male chefs were posed portraits, with fewer capturing them preparing or presenting dishes.

In relation to attire, most of the images were found to present the female chefs dressed in feminine clothes rather than in professional uniforms such as chef jackets, while almost all the male chefs were shown wearing their chef jackets or uniforms (Figures S13–S16).

The facial expressions of male and female chefs were also found to be presented differently (Figures S17–S20). Most female chefs were presented smiling, while male chefs displayed a more neutral facial expression and, quite often, they also had their arms crossed over their chests.

Of note, there were some exceptions (Figures S21–S24). In the images, published more recently between 2015 and 2018, women's skills were more frequently presented in a commercial kitchen environment. In this period, few male chefs were portrayed as home cooks or in domestic kitchens. The study found two female chefs were presented in their chef uniform and preparing food in a professional kitchen, and four male chefs were shown in a domestic kitchen portraying a home environment during 2015 to 2018. Although these remained exceptions to the majority of images analysed, they were seemingly taken for different purposes and different audiences, such as for the cover for a recipe book, to celebrate the grand opening of a new restaurant, or to promote cookware and advertise events. Future research may therefore wish to consider the influence of media purpose and intended audience on the gender representation of chefs in online images to further the findings presented here.

Discussion

The results of this study have provided some support for previous studies that have found that women remain underrepresented in media (e.g. Painter & Ferrucci, 2017), and instead highlight the dominance of men in the chef profession. The results also provide further evidence that, when they do appear in media images, women are often depicted in domestic settings and traditional feminine roles. The potential implication of this is that the media images reinforce the assumption that women's primary responsibility is in the domestic kitchen, thus perpetuating gender stereotypes in the profession (Bartholomew & Garey, 1996; Druckman, 2010; Matwick, 2017).

Depictions of female chefs with facial expressions with warm smiles and positioned in domestic settings emphasise and further reproduce the stereotypical gender attributes of women. Bartholomew and Garey (1996) suggested that smiling facial expressions create an impression that women gain satisfaction and pride when serving and caring for their families. This corresponds with the argument that women tend to be portrayed in either a sexualised or domestic manner when

featured in media (Painter & Ferrucci, 2017). Similarly, Knobloch-Westerwick et al. (2014) found that the media portrayal of women largely supports traditional gender stereotypes and predominantly depicts women with more emphasis placed on their physical attractiveness and sexual desirability, or in roles of motherhood and homecare. While feminine traits were prominent among the images of female chefs, the results also go some way to show that the images do not depict women's strategies to challenge gender norms in the profession, such as by hiding their femininity (Harris & Giuffre, 2015). The way in which women chefs may engage in disrupting gender norms in the professional kitchen is a worthwhile topic for future research.

The stereotypical portrayals of gender in online media images may generate negative outcomes. Matwick (2017) states that stereotypical representation may gloss over women's culinary expertise. Moreover, Åkestam et al. (2017) in their study of advertising and its effects found that advertising stereotypes affect how consumers evaluate the messages in the advertisements. In their quantitative study, they found correlation between audiences' perceptions and level of stereotypical portrayals; traditional portrayals of women were perceived by their audience with a negative attitude. In contrast, "femvertising" (advertisements that promote products and services and at the same time inspire and empower women through images and messages from professional female-talent, received positive feedback from the audience. Behm-Morawitz and Mastro (2008) similarly found stereotypical portrayals in teen movies and their association with negative stereotypes around gender roles and female friendships. As such, stereotypical portrayals tend to have negative impacts and limit the "aspirations, expectations, interests and participation of women and men in our society" (McKenzie, Bugden, Webster, & Mischa, 2018, p. 33).

In contrast, the images of male chefs with uniforms and chef hats send a message that men have the dominance and authority in a professional kitchen, and that the kitchen is predominantly a masculine place. Johnston et al. (2014) have confirmed that the chef uniform and chef hat not only emphasise that a professional kitchen is a place of skilfulness and craftsmanship, but also indicate that the role requires hard work and that the titles and positions need to be earned. The portrayal of male chefs in uniform in this research suggests that men continue to dominate in kitchens and the hats are a symbol of "authority and knowledge" (Jones, 2010); while female chefs are in casual dress with no hat, which shows that their status in the kitchen remain less significant (Matwick, 2017). These portrayals serve to reinforce men's dominant and women's subordinate positions in the chef hierarchy. Moreover, the depiction of male chefs with their arms crossed and with more neutral facial expressions could be seen as a way of symbolising that professional knowledge and skill are linked to traditional masculine chef roles (Johnston et al., 2014). Having one's arms crossed is also a protective-defensive stance by male chefs to show that they are the "ruler" of the kitchen (Lefkowich, Oliffe, Hurd Clarke, & Hannan-Leith, 2017). Similarly, the majority of the male chefs' images were portrait poses taken in or outside of commercial establishments. This lends support for Johnston et al.'s (2014) finding that men are showcased for their dominance in the professional kitchen.

Overall, the results of this exploratory research provide evidence that images used to portray chefs in online media represent male and female chefs differently, and that these

portrayals might reproduce and reinforce stereotypical concepts of gender. In sum, female chefs were depicted in relation to domestic cooking and caring for others, and women's traditional role of taking care of the family and home was also reinforced in the images. The historical construction of women as domestic caregivers has been widely established (De Backer & Hudders, 2016). Scholz et al. (2014) highlighted that problematic portrayals can reproduce stereotypes and worsen stigmas. This has wider implications for the way the chef profession is perceived and experienced as a career. Indeed, scholars have attested that images have a strong influence on perceptions and career choices (Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Schlehofer et al., 2011; Kennard et al., 2016; Painter & Ferrucci, 2017). As such, there may be a case to be made that stereotypical images may indirectly discourage women from seeing the chef profession as something they can belong to, and may not accurately reflect the potential gender challenges that occur in hierarchical professional kitchen.

Conclusion

The chef profession is highly gender segregated, and so far, males have dominated the industry. Stereotypical female characteristics such as being soft and non-competitive have arguably put women in an unfavourable position in the professional kitchen. Due to the important role of the media in shaping public perceptions, this gender inequality is potentially perpetuated and reinforced by media portrayals of the chef profession. This research provided an exploratory analysis of gender portrayed in online images published in the New Zealand media and how they potentially socially construct the roles of male and female chefs. The main results were that media tend to predominantly portray women as domestic cooks and men as professional chefs, and reinforce gender traits, notably of femininity and masculinity. Such problematic portrayals could serve to reproduce inequalities and exacerbate the existing gender segregation in the chef industry.

Results of this research, while exploratory, lend some evidence to suggest that existing social hierarchies are still being reproduced through media portrayals, which can influence the perceptions of people both in and outside the chef industry. There is thus a greater need for awareness of the power of problematic portrayals and the possible implications. Opportunities for further research include cross-national studies, understanding the impact of stereotyped portrayals on the experiences of male and female chefs, and the replication of this study in other professions.

References

Åkestam, N., Rosengren, S., & Dahlen, M. (2017). Advertising "like a girl": Toward a better understanding of "femvertising" and its effects. *Psychology & Marketing*, 34(8), 795–806. https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.21023

Banks, M. (2001). *Visual Methods in Social Research*. London: Sage.

Bartholomew, P. S., & Garey, J. G. (1996). An analysis of determinants of career success for elite female executive chefs. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*, 20(2), 125–135. https://doi.org/10.1177/109634809602000209

Behm-Morawitz, E., & Mastro, D. E. (2008). Mean girls? The influence of gender portrayals in teen movies on emerging adults' gender-based attitudes and beliefs. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 85(1), 131–146. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900808500109

Best, M. (2012). Should there be awards for female chefs? *The Age*, (Melbourne), 5.

Blayney, C., & Blotnicky, K. (2010). The Impact of Gender on Career Paths and Management Capability in the Hotel Industry in Canada. *Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality & Tourism, 9*(3), 233–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/15332845.2010.487014

Brotherton, B., & Wood, R. C. (Eds.). (2008). *The Sage handbook of hospitality management*. London: Sage.

Brownell, J. (1994). Women in hospitality management: general managers' perceptions of factors related to career development. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 13*(2), 101–117. https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4319(94)90032-9

Clarke, T. B., Murphy, J., & Adler, J. (2016). Celebrity chef adoption and implementation of social media, particularly pinterest: A diffusion of innovations approach. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 57*, 84–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijhm.2016.06.004

Coombe, J., & Davis, S. N. (2013). Gender differences in the influence of television on gender ideology? TV hours and attitudes toward employed mothers 1988–2008. *International Review of Modern Sociology, 39*(2), 205–223.

De Backer, C. J. S., & Hudders, L. (2016). Look who's cooking. Investigating the relationship between watching educational and edutainment TV cooking shows, eating habits and everyday cooking practices among men and women in Belgium. *Appetite, 96*, 494–501. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appet.2015.10.016

Dowler, K., & Zawilski, V. (2007). Public perceptions of police misconduct and discrimination: Examining the impact of media consumption. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 35*, 193–203. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2007.01.006

Druckman, C. (2010). Why are there no great women chefs? *Gastronomica, 10*(1), 24–31. https://doi.org/10.1525/gfc.2010.10.1.24

Eagleman, A., & Geurin, A. (2015). Constructing gender differences: newspaper portrayals of male and female gymnasts at the 2012 Olympic Games. *Sport in Society, 18*(2), 234–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.854509

Feit, R. (2000, May 5). The Whole Woman. Why is the cooking industry a male-dominated sport? *The Austin Chronicle*. https://www.austinchronicle.com/food/2000-05-05/77058/

Fernandez, S., & Pritchard, M. (2012). Relationships between self-esteem, media influence and drive for thinness. *Eating Behaviors, 13*, 321–325. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eatbeh.2012.05.004

Harris, D., & Giuffre, P. (2009). "Oh, there's a woman in the kitchen!": How elite female chefs are changing the culinary industry. Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, San Francisco, California. http://ezproxy.aut.ac.nz/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=sih&AN=54430556&site=eds-live

Harris, D., & Giuffre, P. (2010). "The price you pay": How female professional chefs negotiate work and family. *Gender Issues, 27*(1–2), 27–52. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-010-9086-8

Harris, D., & Giuffre, P. (2015). *Taking the heat : women chefs and gender inequality in the professional kitchen*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

House of Commons. The Business, Innovation and Skills Committee. (2013). *Women in the work place. First report of session 2013–2014*. London: The Stationery Office Limited. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmbis/342/342iii.pdf

Internet World Stats. (2019, March 14). *Internet Growth Statistics 1995 to 2019 – the Global Village Online*. Internet World States, Usage and Population Statistics. https://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm

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. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2014.10.001

Jones, S. (2010, June 8). Chef Hat – History & Facts. *The reluctant gourmet*. https://www.reluctantgourmet.com/chef-hat-history/

Kennard, A. R., Willis, L. E., Robinson, M. J., & Knobloch-Westerwick, S. (2016). The allure of Aphrodite: How gender-congruent media portrayals impact adult women's possible future selves. *Human Communication Research*, *42*(2), 221–245. https://doi.org/10.1111/hcre.12072

Khiste, G., Veer, D. K., & Maske, D. B. (2011). Role of search engines in library at a glance. *ResearchGate*, *1*(2), 86–91.

Kludt, A. (2017, November 20). 28 pie charts that show female representation in food. *Eater*. https://www.eater.com/2017/11/20/16595308/female-women-representation-in-food

Knobloch-Westerwick, S., Kennard, A. R., Westerwick, A., Willis, L. E., & Gong, Y. (2014). A Crack in the Crystal Ball? Prolonged Exposure to Media Portrayals of Social Roles Affect Possible Future Selves. *Communication Research*, *41*(6), 739–759.

Knobloch-Westerwick, S., Willis, L. E., & Kennard, A. R. (2016). Media Impacts on Women's Fertility Desires: A Prolonged Exposure Experiment. *Journal of Health Communication*, *21*(6), 647–657. https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2016.1153757

Kram, K. E. (1985). Improving the mentoring process. *Training & Development Journal*, *39*(4), 40–43.

Lefkowich, M., Oliffe, J. L., Hurd Clarke, L., & Hannan-Leith, M. (2017). Male body practices. *American Journal of Men's Health*, *11*(2), 454–463. https://doi.org/10.1177/1557988316669042

Lutrario, J. (2017, March 11). Survey finds imbalance between male and female chefs. https://www.bighospitality.co.uk/Article/2010/02/24/Survey-finds-imbalance-between-male-and-female-chefs

Madichie, N. O. (2013). Sex in the kitchen: Changing gender roles in a female-dominated occupation. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, *18*(1), 90–102. https://doi.org/10.1504/IJESB.2013.050754

Matwick, K. (2017). Language and gender in female celebrity chef cookbooks: cooking to show care for the family and for the self. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *14*(5), 532–547. https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2017.1309326

Mavin, S., Elliott, C., Stead, V., & Williams, J. (2016). Women managers, leaders and the media gaze: Learning from popular culture, autobiographies broadcast and media press. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *31*(5/6), 314–321. https://doi.org/10.1108/GM-05–2016–0105

McAllister, M., Downer, T., Hanson, J., & Oprescu, F. (2014). Transformers: Changing the face of nursing and midwifery in the media. *Nurse Education in Practice*, *14*, 148–153. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nepr.2013.07.011

McKenzie, M., Bugden, M., Webster, A., & Mischa, B. (2018). Advertising (in)equality: The impacts of sexist advertising on women's health and wellbeing. *Women's Health Issues Paper*, *14*, 1–40.

Metro. (2017, April 3). Announcing the *Metro* Peugeot Top 50 Restaurants 2017. https://www.metromag.co.nz/food/food-restaurants/announcing-the-metro-peugeot-top-50-restaurants-2017

Meyerhoff, M. (2014). Gender performativity. In A. Bolin & P. Whelehan (Eds), *The International Encyclopedia of Human Sexuality* (pp. 1–4). Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118896877.wbiehs178

Mitra, A., Bang, J. T., & Biswas, A. (2015). Media freedom and gender equality: a cross-national instrumental variable quantile analysis. *Applied Economics*, *47*(22), 2278–2292. https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2015.1005822

McInroy, L. B., & Craig, S. L. (2017). Perspectives of LGBTQ emerging adults on the depiction and impact of LGBTQ media representation. *Journal of Youth Studies, 20*(1), 32–46.

Mullikin, P. L. (2006). Religious and spiritual identity: The impact of gender, family, peers and media communication in post-adolescence. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, *29*(1), 178–203.

Murphy, S. T. (1998). The impact of factual versus fictional media portrayals on cultural stereotypes. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 165.

Orido, C. O. (2017). Challenges faced by female chefs in the Kenyan hospitality industry: A study through an African oral tradition of storytelling. Master's thesis, Auckland University of Technology. http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz/handle/10292/10626

Painter, C., & Ferrucci, P. (2017). Gender games: The portrayal of female journalists on House of Cards. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(4), 493–508. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1133251

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd edn). New York: Sage.

Schlehofer, M., Casad, B., Bligh, M., & Grotto, A. (2011). Navigating public prejudices: The impact of media and attitudes on high-profile female political leaders. *Sex Roles*, *65*(1–2), 69–82. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199–011–9965–9

Scholz, B., Crabb, S., & Wittert, G. A. (2014). "We've got to break down the shame": Portrayals of men's depression. *Qualitative Health Research*, *24*(12), 1648–1657. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732314549020

Scollon, R., & Wong Scollon, S. (2003). *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. London: Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203422724

Starbuck, L. (2015, October 28). The kitchen brigade. *Lucky Peach*. http://luckypeach.com/the-kitchen-brigade-eric-ripert-auguste-escoffier/

Statistics New Zealand. (2013). *2013 Census QuickStats about education and training* (p. 29). http://www.stats.govt.nz/Census/2013-census/profile-and-summary-reports/qstats-education-training.aspx

Statistics New Zealand. (2015). *Women at work: 1991–2013*. http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/Women/women-occupation.aspx

Sutherland, G., McCormack, A., Easteal, P., Holland, K., & Pirkis, J. (2016). Media guidelines for the responsible reporting of violence against women: A review of evidence and issues. *Australian Journalism Review*, *1*, 5–17.

Tinkler, P. (2013). *Using Photographs in Social and Historical Research*. London: Sage.

Vezich, I. S., Gunter, B. C., & Lieberman, M. D. (2017) Women's responses to stereotypical media portrayals: An FMRI study of sexualized and domestic images of women. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour, 16*(4), 322–331. https://doi.org/10.1002/cb.1635

West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society* 1(2), 125–151. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243287001002002

Williams-Burnett, N., Skinner, H., & Fallon, J. (2018). Reality television portrayals of Kavos, Greece: Tourists behaving badly. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing, 35*(3), 336–347. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2016.1261757

Women NSW. (2012). Why increase the participation of women in trades? http://www.women.nsw.gov.au

Wright, K. A. M. & Holland, J. (2014). Leadership and the media: Gendered framings of Julia Gillard's "Sexism and Misogyny" speech. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *49*(3), 455–468. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2014.929089