

**The compulcelebrity effect:
Upmarket chef proprietors and compulsory celebrity**

by

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Contents

Table of figures	iv
Table of tables.....	iv
Attestation of authorship.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Dedication	vi
Ethics approval.....	vi
Abstract.....	vii
Chapter 1 Mise en place.....	1
1.1 Preparation before service.....	1
1.2 Research aim and objectives	6
1.3 Research significance.....	7
1.4 Overview of methodology	7
1.5 Thesis structure	8
Chapter 2 The ingredients.....	9
2.1 Celebrity.....	10
2.1.1 The movie industry and the emergence of the star	11
2.1.2 Television: The celebrity enters the house.....	12
2.1.3 Celebrity and the internet.....	13
2.1.4 The celebrity expert	14
2.1.5 The ordinary expert.....	15
2.2 The westernised history of chefs, a culinary lineage, and celebrity.....	15
2.2.1 Marie-Antoine Carême	16
2.2.2 Alexis Soyer.....	17
2.2.3 Auguste Escoffier.....	17
2.2.4 Fernand Point, nouvelle cuisine and its practitioners.....	18
2.2.5 Marco Pierre White.....	20
2.2.6 Gordon Ramsay	21
2.2.7 Jamie Oliver	21
2.3 Culinary personalities on television	22
2.4 Chefs, celebrity chefs, and the cult of personality	24
2.5 Summation	25
Chapter 3 The recipe.....	27
3.1 Overview of the research	27
3.2 Qualitative research	28
3.2.1 Ontology and epistemology	29
3.2.2 Interpretivist paradigm.....	30
3.3 Grounded theory method	30

3.3.1 Constant comparison.....	31
3.3.2 Theoretical sampling.....	31
3.3.4 Theoretical saturation.....	32
3.3.5 The selection of research participants.....	32
3.3.6 Snowball sampling.....	33
3.3.7 Contacting the initial research participants.....	34
3.3.8 An overview of research participants.....	35
3.4 Data collection and semi-structured interviews.....	35
3.5 Data analysis.....	36
3.5.1 Memos.....	36
3.5.2 The use of NVivo and open coding.....	37
3.5.3 Focused codes.....	38
3.5.4 Categories.....	39
3.5.5 The core category.....	40
3.5.6 Writing up.....	40
3.6 Limitations of grounded theory method in this research.....	41
3.6.1 Reviewing academic literature before the use of grounded theory method.....	42
3.6.2 Ethics.....	42
3.6.3 Bias.....	42
3.6.4 Academic generalisability.....	43
3.6.5 Limitations of the research.....	43
3.7 Summation.....	44
Chapter 4 Service- the cooking.....	45
4.1 Upmarket chef proprietors <i>in situ</i>	46
4.1.1 Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector, social capital and eliteness.....	47
4.1.2 The media and upmarket chef proprietors.....	48
4.1.3 Ownership and individuality.....	50
4.1.4 The vocational identity of upmarket chef proprietors.....	50
4.1.4.1 Upmarket chef proprietors as chefs.....	51
4.1.4.2 Reputation.....	52
4.1.4.3 Upmarket chef proprietors and synergy with their restaurants.....	52
4.1.5 The financial need for a celebrity profile.....	53
4.1.6 Willingness to engage with the media.....	55
4.1.7 Upmarket chef proprietors and their environment.....	56
4.2 Upmarket chef proprietors and celebrification.....	57
4.2.1 Celebrity status before becoming a proprietor.....	57
4.2.2 Entry into celebrity.....	59
4.2.3 Luck.....	59
4.2.4 Awards.....	60

4.2.5 Developing celebrity profile	60
4.2.5.1 Knowledge as a celebrity generating tool	62
4.2.5.2 Free media.....	64
4.2.5.3 Buying celebrity.....	64
4.2.5.4 Self-generated PR	66
4.2.6 Choice of celebrity involvement.....	68
4.2.7 Celebrity through disinterest.....	70
4.2.8 The celebrification experience	71
4.3 Celebrity chef <i>fait accompli</i>	72
4.3.1 Am I a celebrity?.....	72
4.3.2 Rewards of celebrity	77
4.3.2.1 Does appearing in the media pay?	78
4.3.2.2 Engagement with aligned products for financial rewards.....	79
4.3.3 Social and political involvement and upmarket chef proprietors.....	80
4.3.4 Changes because of celebrity status.....	81
4.3.4.1 Pressures created by having a celebrity profile.....	82
4.3.4.2 Intrusion	82
4.3.4.3 Being a celebrity and the disconnect from burden.....	84
4.3.5 The celebrity norm	84
4.4 Summation	87
Chapter 5 The review	90
5.1 Habitus and the research	91
5.1.1 Compulcelebrity and celebrity society.....	96
5.1.2 Celebrity and upmarket chef proprietors.....	100
5.2 Celebrification: Celebrity generation.....	101
5.3 Media and celebrity production	105
5.3.1 Celebrity, chefs and television.....	106
5.3.2 Upmarket chef proprietors and the internet	107
5.4 Upmarket chef proprietors, commodification and the celebrity norm	108
5.4.1 Celebrity experts	109
5.4.2 Coolness/falseness	110
5.4.3 Upmarket chef proprietors and celebrity norm	111
5.5 Summation	113
Chapter 6 The washing-up	115
6.1 Reflections on methodology	115
6.2 Research aim and objectives achieved.....	115
6.2.1 Upmarket chef proprietors <i>in situ</i>	116
6.2.2 Celebrification.....	116
6.2.3 Celebrity chef <i>fait accompli</i>	117

6.3 Theoretical contribution.....	118
6.4 Recommendations for further research	119
6.5 Closing remarks	119
References.....	121
Appendix 1 Introductory letter.....	132
Appendix 2 Participant information sheet	133
Appendix 3 Consent form.....	135
Appendix 4 Interview questions example.....	136

Table of figures

Figure 1 The compulcelebrity process at large	45
Figure 2 UCPs in situ.....	56
Figure 3 The substance of compulcelebrity	87
Figure 4 Changing dynamics of culinary taste.....	93
Figure 5 Structure of the visibility industry	97

Table of tables

Table 1 Gault and Millau's Ten Commandments of nouvelle cuisine.....	19
Table 2 Ontology and epistemology positions.....	29
Table 3 Sources used to identify research participants	33
Table 4 Focused codes and their content	39
Table 5 Categories and their contents	39

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 (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements) nor material which to a substantial degree has been submitted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institute of higher learning.”

Signed: _____

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my children Riley, Felicity and Jake and in particular, my wife Jenny-Lyn, who sacrificed much and supported me, without complaint, throughout this research. Also Ian and Colleen Taylor for the encouragement and always being there, thanks.

Ethics approval

Ethics approval from Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) was granted on 17 May 2013, for a period of three years until 6 May 2016. The Ethics Application Reference number is 13/76.

Abstract

Using an inductive grounded theory methodology this research, congruent to grounded theories' intent, presents the development of a substantive theory of *compulcelebrity*. Coined by the author, the term 'compulcelebrity' is the compulsory acquisition of celebrity by individuals who, through entry and exposure to the conditions within their environment, become compelled to attain celebrity status. In the case of this research, the environment in question is that of upmarket chef proprietors (UCPs). Compulcelebrity was evident within the environment of UCPs as research participants discussed their actions, understandings and feelings as they denied their celebrity, admitted their celebrity, desired celebrity, used their knowledge to generate celebrity, arranged media participation at their opening events, admitted a financial need for celebrity, accepted the rewards of celebrity and, through the integration of celebrity duties into their everyday life, accepted and reinforced a celebrity norm. Compulcelebrity derived from, and was illuminated by, research participants' own descriptions of UCPs *in situ*, their celebrification, and of their celebrity as a *fait accompli*. Research participants discussed compulcelebrity predominantly through the narrative identifier of 'chef'. Thus, although UCPs acknowledged the need for synthesis between their celebrity activities and their restaurants, it was through their identity as chefs, and the culinary content they could provide, that they felt the media was interested in them. The interest from the media in UCPs further reinforced the connection between themselves, the media, the celebrity chef phenomena, and the celebrity industry. Furthermore, public interest in culinary content has created a demand for UCPs as celebrity figures which, in conjunction with their need for visibility and the media's demand for legitimate content, has resulted in UCPs' exposure to compulcelebrity.

Chapter 1 Mise en place

1.1 Preparation before service

In an age of near omnipresent multi-media channels, people around the world are increasingly aware of famous chefs. We watch them on television, hear them on commercials, read about them in magazines, in the gossip sections of newspapers, and see them standing shoulder to shoulder with high ranking social and political figures. Celebrity chefs' activities are no longer the reserve of the food section of magazines and newspapers; they now make front page headlines and feature on prime-time news. Increasingly, celebrity chefs generate headlines for their personal lives as much as their professional lives. They also propose, influence and lead social policy and change. They are often given the best seat in the celebrity house: prime-time television on which to promote themselves and their theses. No longer simply 'cooks', celebrity chefs are as recognisable as movie or rock stars and have penetrated the contemporary celebrity landscape to become an integral part of celebrity culture. Although it could be proposed that there have always been chefs with culinary celebrity their fame has never been as widely assimilated as it is today. Contemporary celebrity for the chef is the result of the public's interest in culinary entertainment (Hyman, 2008; Rousseau, 2012b) which has increased the demand for chefs as celebrity figures. The phenomenon of the celebrity chef as an expert who dispenses culinary advice is reflective of societies' growing reliance on celebrities and the increasing centrality of celebrity culture in everyday life (Kurzman et al., 2007).

Celebrity has origins in the 1920s Hollywood movie industry (Dyer, 1979; Kurzman et al., 2007). In the beginning, the identity of the movie industry's male and female actors, including those with leading roles, were largely hidden as movie executives' feared increased wages. However, because of public interest in the identities of silver screen stars, movie executives soon came to realise the value of promoting them. In some cases this resulted in the movie content becoming somewhat secondary to those who appeared in it (Dyer, 1979). Because of increased visibility, public interest in celebrities' private lives also increased. The resulting publication of information on celebrities' lives reduced the gap between celebrities as performers and celebrities as people (De Cordova, 1990). Through the advent of television, and in more recent times the internet, the gap between consumer and celebrity has been further reduced. Contemporarily, celebrities offer advice on politics, economics, and social concerns along with other more mundane topics such as fashion and what to have for dinner tonight (Furedi, 2010). While the dominance of multi-media exposure has increased the profile of

upmarket chef proprietors (UCPs), their status as celebrities is not new: historically, celebrity for UCPs is rooted in western culinary history and a number of pre-eminent culinary figures from that time.

Ferguson (1998, 2004) suggested the formation of the contemporary upmarket restaurant sector can be traced back to the change in social conditions caused by the French Revolution (1789–1799). The French Revolution facilitated the devolution of noble houses and the guild system. The revolution promoted urbanisation, a centralisation of the French government in Paris, and a wider distribution of wealth. Because of these conditions, demand increased for dining outside of the home. Chefs also became liberated from the constraints of pre-revolution France and were able to open their own restaurants, serving personalised versions of haute cuisine which had been previously reserved for nobility (Durand, Rao, & Monin, 2007; Ferguson, 2004; Ferguson & Zukin, 1998; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003). As a consequence restaurant proprietorship for chefs increased. Public restaurants also promoted competition, not only between businesses, but also between customers, who began to realise the social value of being seen at the ‘right’ restaurant (Ferguson, 1998; Mennell, 1996). As a result, chefs became valued for more than the provision of food (DeJean, 2015; Ferguson, 1998).

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, the chefs’ vocation was most influenced by August Escoffier, one of the pre-eminent practitioners of the time. Escoffier introduced the *partie* system which sought to streamline kitchen operations by using an industrialised structure, centralising operations and allocating specific areas to carry out specified tasks (Christensen-Yule, Neill, & McRae, 2013; Gillespie, 1994). Escoffier was also a prolific author and produced texts that codified the cuisine of the day and were widely referred to on all matters culinary. However Gillespie (1994) suggested that Escoffier’s culinary influence actually constrained the culinary industry: he posits that the combination of the social and economic conditions created by two World Wars, the Great Depression, and the lack of an alternative to Escoffier’s codified recipes meant the culinary industry changed little under after the end of World War II. After World War II, improvements in refrigeration, transportation and in the global supply chain reduced the influence of seasonal fluctuations and resulted in a new era of culinary innovation (Ferguson, 2004; Gillespie, 1994).

Fernand Point emerged as a seminal chef during the 1950s and 1960s and has been credited with the creation of nouvelle cuisine (Gillespie, 2001; Wood, 1991). Although Point was not the first chef to be a proprietor it is through him that contemporary upmarket chef proprietors (UCPs) has their genesis. As restaurant proprietors, chefs, including Point, gained a degree of

autonomy, fiscal responsibility, and the ability to own, direct and experiment with their style of cuisine (Lane, 2014). Point's success as a UCP was perhaps most evident when his restaurant became the first outside of Paris to be awarded three Michelin stars. Point altered Escoffier's codified recipes and focused on using fresh produce, reducing cooking times and lightening traditional sauces (Ferguson, 1998; Rao et al., 2003; Svejenova, Mazza, & Planellas, 2007). Nouvelle cuisine emerged against a backdrop of social change, protests over the Vietnam War, increasing economic prosperity and the avant-garde art movement (Gillespie, 1994; Rao et al., 2003; Wood, 1991). Nouvelle cuisine was identified as being part of the avant-garde art movement through its expense, exclusivity, and shared patrons. Some of nouvelle cuisine's patrons came from the ranks of the 'nouvelle riche' who sought to differentiate themselves from those with older, more established money, through conspicuous consumption (Rao et al., 2003). The demand for restaurants that served nouvelle cuisine increased the number of UCPs as well as the level of competition within the print media, particularly between journalists who held opposing views on its virtues (Durand et al., 2007; Gillespie, 1994; Myhrvold, 2011; Rao et al., 2003). The growing interest in nouvelle cuisine, chefs and UCPs, as well as their increased presence in the media, created the first era in which a multitude of celebrity chefs was not only possible but sustainable (Ashley, Hollows, Jones, & Taylor, 2004). It has been posited that the development of nouvelle cuisine and the promotion of its proponents are the origin of the contemporary celebrity chef phenomenon (Ferguson, 1998; Gillespie, 1994; Rao et al., 2003; Wood, 1991).

Contemporarily, the popularity of culinary entertainment as well as the possibility of culinary celebrity for a diverse range of individuals has been described as a "culinarization of the celebrity world" (Stringfellow, MacLaren, Maclean, & O'Gorman, 2013, p. 83). Furthermore, chefs have little choice but to take advantage of as many celebrity opportunities as possible. By doing so these chefs increase their chances of being successful because of the opportunities and rewards that media exposure can provide (Furedi, 2010; Hollows & Jones, 2010). This has resulted in chefs willingly participating in the celebrity industry. However, celebrity for chefs is not straightforward, as even when they become celebrities they are still expected to get "their hands extremely dirty, labouring in the filth of food. They are servants, on call for diners, at the same time they are artists, savants, gifted and famous creators who own their power" (Hyman, 2008, p. 46). This could create some confusion for UCPs as they may not have become proprietors to become celebrities but, because of their need for a celebrity profile in order for

their businesses to be successful, they experience ‘compulcelebrity’ and are compelled to develop their celebrity and therefore are exposed to celebrification.

As this research will show, compulcelebrity extends current academic theory on celebrification. Rojek (2001) suggested that celebrification is when individuals are transformed into celebrity figures through acting like and associating with other celebrity figures; while compulcelebrity is the compulsory acquisition of celebrity by individuals who, through exposure to conditions within their environment, become compelled to attain celebrity status. Thus compulcelebrity can have intrinsic as well as extrinsic effects, causes and results, one of which is celebrification. Celebrification results in celebrity for an individual and the “embodiment of subjectivity” by them (Driessens, 2013, p. 643). This is because celebrity is a bonding between “the spectacular with the everyday, the special with the ordinary...organised around the themes of consumption, success and ordinariness” (Dyer, 1979, p. 39). As celebrities, UCPs can, through the projection of their culinary skills, encourage consumption of their own and their sponsors’ products which also reinforces them as culinarily legitimate and successful. Based on my experiences detailed below, I contend that compulcelebrity for UCPs is a contemporary phenomenon. This is because of the acceptance of the chef as a mainstream celebrity figure, the evolution of technology, media interest in the chef, and the consequent need for UCPs to be visible to compete with others leaving them with little choice but to develop a celebrity profile.

For the past 30 years I have been involved in the hospitality sector as a chef, chef proprietor and culinary educator. I have experienced the pressures of restaurant ownership, the transferability of my own, and my restaurants’, renown (between restaurants and restaurant ventures), the ability to communicate with others through a shared culinary vocabulary, as well as the comradeship and competition within commercial kitchens. Involvement in the restaurant sector as a proprietor produces mixed emotions: the joys of success, the worries of failure, as well as the extremes of high energy and fatigue. In my experience to be a successful chef proprietor requires uncompromising dedication and focus, along with a knowledge of procurement, human resource management, financial controls, and public relations, while simultaneously maintaining culinary creativity. During my time as a proprietor I identified myself as a chef. In this way my self-ascribed chef identity defined my character and indicated to others my cultural, social and economic class. When I first began as a chef, in the early 1980s, few believed that being a chef was a worthwhile career choice. I was frequently asked “What are you going to do after you finish cooking?” As time progressed, opinions on the culinary profession changed and I am now frequently asked where I work, what style of food I

cook, if I know any celebrity chefs, and what my opinion is on exotic food ingredients and restaurants. Most people also want to know when I am going to appear on television. Little do they know that the generation of celebrity, for chefs, requires media interest, a so-called face for television, and other media friendly ‘talents’, none of which I believe I possess. The widespread belief by others that being a chef should have brought me celebrity is a sign of the times. It is also perhaps a reflection of my own missed celebrity opportunities and the fact that I may have missed, as Andy Warhol’s predicted, my opportunity to be “world-famous for fifteen minutes” (quoted in Hewer & Brownlie, 2009, p. 482).

It is notable that as a chef proprietor, I gained the attention of the culinary media after one of my restaurants won a regional wine and food competition. As a result, I was featured in magazines and restaurant reviews, and I was asked appear on television demonstrating a winning dish from the competition. I readily agreed, recognising the possibility that appearing on television would lift my culinary celebrity and my restaurant’s profile. However, in the time between filming and the airing of the programme the restaurant was sold and the media company refused to air the footage. I lamented this decision, recognising the lost media opportunity that had the potential to turn my ‘ordinary restaurant’ into an ‘extra-ordinary restaurant’ through the projection of me as a celebrity chef. However, life moved on and after eight years as a chef proprietor I entered the culinary education sector.

It was over this time, and in the pursuit of tertiary qualifications, that my interest in celebrity, the effects of celebrity, and celebrity chefs evolved. Over my career I have noticed the media images of the chef changing and becoming increasingly prevalent. In the early 2000s, I noted professional chefs being incorporated into television content that focused on providing culinary entertainment largely reliant on the projection of the presenter’s personality. Although initially I had little interest in following celebrity chefs, in the mid-2000s I, too, became fascinated by the shock, horror and idiosyncrasies of the initial television offerings of *Kitchen Nightmares* and *Hell’s Kitchen*. This resulted in my fascination with the acceptance by the mass media and the public of celebrity chefs with larger than life personalities such as Gordon Ramsay. His portrayal, in particular, of the way chefs behave (although extreme) struck me as singlehandedly liberalising the wider media and social world. Although I quite enjoyed this, some of my colleagues were not so impressed.

Over the last five years, especially within my tertiary study, I have found myself focusing on Auckland’s celebrity chef culture. I noted demand for UCPs as television presenters and judges. Particularly noticeable was the UCPs’ inclusion in lifestyle programming and the demand for

them as judges in locally produced, internationally syndicated prime-time television programmes. These programmes, although projecting the UCPs' personalities, followed an established formula of celebrity generation for their participants. With increased coverage UCPs, now recognised as celebrity chefs, were included within celebrity and gossip publications. Concurrently, these chefs began to take advantage of their status by promoting a wide range of sponsored products (culinary and non-culinary), and behaving in the same publicity-seeking vein as other celebrity figures. After further investigation, it became apparent that the majority of Auckland's UCPs were in one form or another included in the media and had celebrity profiles. These realisations formed the basis of this research as I pondered if UCPs' needed celebrity status to be successful, if they desired celebrity for themselves and, ultimately, what choices they had in the matter of celebrity.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

The remarks above show there are connections between the media, the media's need for content, as well as the celebrity industry, and the production of culinary celebrities. Because of these connections, there is a demand for easily recognisable culinary celebrity figures. Concurrently, there are rewards on offer for celebrity participants which may prompt UCPs to accept celebrity opportunities and status. The gap that this research seeks to explore lies between the centrality of celebrity in everyday life (Kurzman et al., 2007) and the effect of compulsory celebrity on individuals within the vocational sector of UCPs. It is therefore the aim of this research to establish a substantive, comprehensive overview of the celebrity experience from the UCPs' perspective. Celebrity experience is taken to be the total effects of celebrity including intrinsic and extrinsic effects of the environment, motivations, identity, wants, and needs of UCPs, the media and/or the celebrity industry. The research aims to also make a contribution to academic and social discourses on the role of compulcelebrity, celebrity, and celebrification within New Zealand's hospitality industry.

The research aim will be achieved by fulfilling the following objectives:

- Investigate compulsory celebrity attributes contained within the environment of UCPs and the effects thereof on UCPs.
- Determine if there are identifiable steps experienced by UCPs in the generation of celebrity.
- Form an understanding of UCPs' lives after they have achieved celebrity status.

1.3 Research significance

This research is significant because it will result in the development of a substantive theory of compulcelebrity. Compulcelebrity explains the compulsory acquisition of celebrity by individuals who, through entry and exposure to the conditions within their environment, become compelled to assume celebrity status. This research will extend academic knowledge on celebrity studies, an area of research increasingly important to academics because it has “a profound effect on knowledge, power and representation. This centrality is also bolstered by the fact that celebrity is a subject which cuts across disciplinary and media borders” (Holmes & Redmond, 2010, p. 7). As well as a focus on celebrity, its production and effects, this examination of UCPs and their experiences holds importance within the fields of: hospitality industry (theory and practice); sociological research (including media and celebrity studies); and business theory (particularly with regard to proprietorship and media visibility). This research also broadens academic research on the global hospitality industry and extends the work of Rowland (2010), who found that New Zealand’s hospitality industry, its history, and its participants, are the equal of many around the world. The research findings demonstrate the transferability and application of compulcelebrity to locations with similar hospitality and celebrity cultures.

1.4 Overview of methodology

This research follows Myers’ (2009) suggestion that theory produced should provide an understanding and explanation of a phenomenon (in this case compulcelebrity) from the research participants’ lived perspective. This required capturing participants’ subjective experiences with the effects of compulcelebrity and their resulting celebrity status. Qualitative methods were used for data collection through the use of semi-structured interviews. Grounded theory methods were used for data analysis as there has been minimal academic research undertaken in the subject area. The grounded theory processes of open, selective, and focused coding, along with constant comparison, allowed findings to “emerge from the data, and not from any preconceived hypothesis along a conceptualisation progression” (Díaz-Andrade, 2009, p. 52). The use of grounded theory method ensured that any research findings came solely from the thoughts and experiences of the research participants.

1.5 Thesis structure

This thesis comprises six chapters. This chapter has offered an introduction to the research, a brief self-reflexive statement, and an overview of methodology used. The reflexive statement chronicled my experiences of the media through my background as a chef and chef proprietor as well as illuminating my interest in the research topic and the origin of the research statement.

Chapter 2 provides a background to the research subject by presenting a brief history of celebrity, chefs, and their link to celebrity culture. A lineage of celebrity chefs is suggested which demonstrates how celebrity for chefs has changed over time.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological positioning of this research. A qualitative-grounded theory method based on ‘saturation’ was used to facilitate the inclusion of the thoughts and voices of research participants within the research findings. Twenty UCPs (two women and 18 men) participated in the research. I digitally recorded, transcribed and coded all the interviews which were subsequently coded. During this process, I produced memos that were used to link research findings (Urquhart, 2013), and constant comparison was used to identify relevant themes and to ensure theoretical saturation. Following this, and congruent to theoretical positioning, the main research categories were identified and the writing process commenced (Charmaz, 2000; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Urquhart, 2013).

Chapter 4 contains the research findings. This chapter focuses on an exploration of the environment of UCPs for any celebrity influences. Presented in this chapter are discussions on: Auckland’s upmarket restaurant sector; the engagement between the media and UCPs; the importance of a celebrity profile for UCPs; UCPs and the effects of celebrification; and how UCPs experience their resulting celebrity status.

Chapter 5 analyses the central themes of the research findings compared to relevant academic literature. This chapter includes discussions on compulcelebrity and relevance to the constructs of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) and celebrification (Driessens, 2013; Hewer & Brownlie, 2009; Rojek, 2001).

Chapter 6 is the conclusion. This chapter recounts the themes of the research by placing them within the framework of compulcelebrity. It concludes with recommendations for further research and closing remarks.

Chapter 2 The ingredients

This chapter outlines the background to the research which is illuminated by an overview of three inter-related phenomena: celebrity, the history of the chef's vocation and celebrity for chefs. Firstly, the history of celebrity is discussed from a westernised context including the emergence of celebrity and ordinary experts. Secondly, a lineage of culinary elite through which contemporary celebrity chefs as well as UCPs have links to preminent well-known chefs from the past. Thirdly, an overview of the emergence of celebrity chefs' is presented including a discussion on how their personalities are projected to attract consumer attention. The reason why this chapter is important to this research is that it illuminates the background of contemporary celebrity chefs as well as shows the basis for the acceptance of celebrity duties by UCPs.

From a westernised perspective celebrity for chefs is linked to the origin of celebrity: the Hollywood movie industry. Kurzman (2007) suggested that although the Hollywood movie industry has its genesis in the early 20th century it came to the fore as a result of the diminished capacity for movie production in Europe after World War II. Central to the celebrity industry is its consumers, the public. Interest from the public in all matters celebrity creates demand for and elevates celebrities' positions, adds value to their actions and leads to possible financial rewards for them (Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004; Turner, Bonner, & Marshall, 2000). Public attention to celebrity has also resulted in celebrities becoming trusted sources of information. This has resulted in the emergence of ordinary experts which, aside from offering guidance to the public, have given room for the celebrity industry to grow (Furedi, 2010; Turner, 2004). It is as ordinary experts, dispensing advice on food, that celebrity chefs have become popular celebrity figures.

Culinary history from a westernised perspective has its roots in French culinary traditions (Ferguson, 1998, 2004; Gillespie, 1994). There have historically been chefs with a culinary profile as evidenced through the lineage of pre-eminent chefs presented below. However, the prevalence of chefs as celebrities in contemporary times points to their value and position within the celebrity industry. One of the reasons that chefs have become popular celebrity figures is their presence on television. Rousseau (2012b) theorised that celebrity chefs have become popular celebrity figures because they provide "the best of two worlds when it comes to food: education and entertainment. Moreover, this combination gives consumers the freedom to choose one and ignore the other" (p.xii).

2.1 Celebrity

The moment in time that an individual became recognised as a celebrity is a matter of academic conjecture. Barry (2008) and Garland (2010) proposed there should be no temporal divide between contemporary celebrity and the more historic forms of fame, as they are only separated by the mechanisms available to promote predominant individuals. In contrast, others suggested that fame and celebrity occupy different temporal locations, as prior to the 20th century an individual could be successful, or famous, without acquiring (or enduring) an obligatory celebrity profile (Boorstin, 1961; Kurzman et al., 2007; Marche, 2010; Rojek, 2001; Schickel, 2000; Turner, 2004). Prior to the 20th century there was limited opportunity for an individual to become a celebrity; to become ‘well-known’ an individual would have to achieve fame within their chosen profession and “thereafter one may or may not become famous, a condition one might or might not enjoy, but assuredly one could regulate, so that it did not become a nuisance, or worse, actually begin to distort one’s personality” (Schickel, 2000, p. 23). Additionally, Marche (2010) suggested that the general use of the word ‘celebrity’ did not begin until after the invention of photography (circa 1830). Rojek (2001) posited that photography, as a new technology, became “part of the new ways of relating to strangers and promoting the self that accompany mass urbanisation, commodification and industrialisation” (p. 102). The use of photography coincided with advancements in printing technology and resulted in nationalised press which, for the first time, offered celebrity images to mass audiences to be consumed, with celebrities themselves in absentia.

As technology advanced, the emergence of Hollywood and the movie industry signalled the arrival of contemporary celebrity culture (De Cordova, 1990; Dyer, 1979; Gamson, 1994; Marshall, 1997). Due to their ensuing popularity, celebrity figures have become central to society and have penetrated contemporary life to include and reflect the majority of overarching social conditions (Braudy, 1997; Holmes & Redmond, 2010; Rojek, 2001; Turner et al., 2000). Indeed, celebrity, through its integration into everyday life, has been one of the most significant influences on 20th century society (Furedi, 2010; Turner, 2004). However, before a discussion on the wider effect of celebrity is presented a brief history of celebrity is offered through the three visual media of celebrity production: the movie industry, television and the internet.

2.1.1 The movie industry and the emergence of the star

With the decline of the European movie industry, as a consequence of the Second World War, Hollywood capitalised this gap to become the global centre of the movie industry (Kurzman et al., 2007). However, participants of the early Hollywood movie industry were not promoted and information about their identities was largely hidden. The movies themselves were silent and the majority did not carry credits. Fear of increased wages and decreased profits, along with the cinema industry's executives' naivety as to the value of their employees' draw-power, are suggested as reasons for this (Dyer, 1979; Schickel, 1999; Turner, 2004). As interest in, and demand for, biographical information from the general public increased, movie studios recognised the potential financial rewards of promoting a star's participation in a movie prior to release. Dyer (1979) posited that it was from this point on that the movie content itself may have become secondary to those who appeared in it. Furthermore the promotion of male and female actors had a two-fold effect, firstly, increasing their commercial value and hence financial rewards and secondly, giving the movie and celebrity industry a commodity to sell. Through the involvement of particular stars, the movie industry could procure funding as well as sell its product to cinemas and their audiences.

Stardom for early Hollywood actors may not have created the same social, commercial and/or media pressures felt by contemporary celebrities. It has been suggested that, as opposed to contemporary celebrities, movie stars in the early Hollywood era were able to separate their on- and off-screen lives. At this time they were perhaps understood by the general public as being separate from the characters they portrayed (Collins, 2008; Dyer, 1979). However, as studios recognised the commercial benefits of promoting their actors, new sectors such as public relations and promotions industries were created (Collins, 2008). Boorstin (1961) commented these industries were influential in the creation of the first celebrities, who became famous beyond their ability largely through the use of fabricated unrealities, or 'pseudo-events', reported in the media. A pseudo-event is an event that is "planned and staged entirely for the media, which accrues significance through the scale of its media coverage rather than through any more disinterested assessment of its importance" (Turner, 2004, p. 5). One of the first examples of a pseudo-event being used to increase a star's celebrity status was, in 1910, the deliberate false reporting of Florence Lawrence's (*The Biography Girl*) untimely death in a St. Louis trolley car accident. The following day Carl Laemmle, her agent, denounced the reported death as a vicious lie. Dyer (1979) suggested Laemmle, as Lawrence's agent, although not being entirely truthful, recognised the public demand for sensationalism where "public

demand (the star as a phenomenon of consumption) and the producer initiative (the star as a phenomenon of production)” (p. 10), resulted in increased exposure for its participants. The success of this method of publicity and the interest generated by the public marked the time where celebrity actions and gossip became legitimate news on its own (Kurzman et al., 2007; Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004; Turner et al., 2000). As interest in movie stars increased so did their earning capacity (Schickel, 1985). In 1916 Mary Pickford became the first Hollywood star to sign a one million dollar contract. This contract has been suggested as the critical point when the star and their agents began to take commercial advantage of the uniqueness of their product (Turner, 2004).

It was another 10 years before mainstream media became involved in reporting celebrity news and gossip. In 1929, Walter Winchell was hired by the New York *Daily Mirror* to write a weekly gossip column. Winchell’s column reported on “peccadilloes and imbroglios that had previously been concealed from public view. In doing so, he not only broke a long standing taboo...[he]...singlehandedly expanded the purview of American journalism” (Gabler, 1995, p. xii). Reporting such as Winchell’s, although deemed unrespectable, and hidden beside the movie reviews at the back of the paper, was at the same time popular (Schickel, 2000). The increased volume of information available on the stars’ activities and resulted in a new pastime for some; the investigation of the star/s’ veridical ‘self’. Rojek (2001) posited that the veridical ‘self’ is the real self, the *I*, while *Me*, is the ‘self’ that is presented to others. Thus, the public presentation of the ‘self’ is largely a staged activity in a bid to keep a significant part of the veridical self hidden (Goffman, 1959; Rojek, 2001). However, identifying the stars veridical self is difficult as their acting roles can result in them taking on some of the mediated persona of each new character. This, when interlaced with their glamorous and not so glamorous everyday activities in the media, resulted in a mixing of the “extraordinary and ordinary that continually renew both the star image and the audience’s pleasure in their consumption” (Collins, 2008, p. 102). As a consequence of stars appearing in the media as celebrities there was a reduction of the gap between the star-as-person and the star-as-performer (De Cordova, 1990; Dyer, 1979).

2.1.2 Television: The celebrity enters the house

Although there can be little question of the dominance of the Hollywood movie industry in producing ‘stars’ between the 1920s and 1940s, it was the introduction of television in the 1950s which nearly culminated in Hollywood’s economic downfall. Attendance at the cinema

fell, resulting in a corresponding drop in revenue. However, studio executives who recognised the possibility, and the fiscal necessity, adapted their modes of production to be compatible with the television format (Balio, 1995; Schickel, 1985). This created change in the projection of the stars' personalities. While the cinema stars' roles were largely narrative, thus creating an aura of distance, the television presenter directly addressed the audience, producing an air of familiarity. This brought about the inclusion of individuals, who could previously be perceived as ordinary, reporting or commenting on the concerns of the day (Bonner, 2003; Marshall, 1997). With the use of direct address and the inclusion of ordinary individuals, television became a source of trusted information and advice around everyday concerns and activities such as fashion, food, politics, and self-improvement (Lewis, 2010). Television's 'ordinariness' was further enforced by the advent of game show and reality formats allowing normal everyday individuals to partake in competitive televised events from which celebrity was a possible reward (Barton, 2009; Collins, 2008; Turner, 2006).

2.1.3 Celebrity and the internet

In the late 20th century the possibility for individual celebrity increased as the dominance of television as the only source of visual information and entertainment in the home ended. It was replaced, or complemented, by the emergence of the internet. Contemporarily there has been increased use of the internet for entertainment, and information gathering and sharing. Choi and Berger (2010) commented that the increasing interest in, and use of, the internet has resulted in a social environment where the measures of individual ambition, achievement and success have become increasingly benchmarked through a person's online profile. Thus, if an individual is successful in generating an online presence it becomes likely that they will also become known as a celebrity (Kurzman et al., 2007; Marshall, 2010; Rousseau, 2012a). The internet has resulted in the increased fluidity of contemporary society, where information is changed, commented on, and rapidly shared. Because of this celebrities and consumers have instant contact through social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. The internet enhances the opinion of the celebrity, allowing them to communicate with the consumer more rapidly and in smaller bites, thereby reducing the risk of appearing repetitive (Choi & Berger, 2009; Hewer & Brownlie, 2009). This ability, and in some cases desire, by the celebrity to inform the consumer of their every waking moment has not only allowed access by the consumer to the celebrity's life but has also elevated the celebrity's opinions. Through the internet celebrities can share their beliefs quickly, allowing them to comment on the concerns of the day and

appear informed and knowledgeable about a multitude of subjects. Because the internet allows instant access to and from celebrities and consumers, celebrities can interact with their fans, give advice, and lobby for political or social movements through commenting, sharing and reproducing information. Thus, celebrities have become experts on everything from mundane concerns of what to drink or eat through to offering comments on global crises. Choi and Berger (2010) suggested that this has resulted in “mission creep” (p. 316), for celebrities, whose original purpose of providing entertainment has expanded to include becoming a source of trusted information. However, it is this ability for instant contact, the transience of contemporary fashion and the celebrity as a purveyor of taste and information that has left the consumer more reliant on celebrity opinion than ever before (Stringfellow et al., 2013).

2.1.4 The celebrity expert

Historically, the gap between the ‘expert’ and the celebrity was more socially and publicly defined. So-called experts occupied high status positions and were reverently deferred to on matters of economic, social and/or personal importance. In contrast celebrities had higher visibility but were not required to have or to be seen as having definitive qualified expertise (Lewis, 2010). However contemporarily, experts through “the processes of populist ‘democratization’ and mediatization that have accompanied its growing commercialization have seen the authority of traditional experts become relatively weakened as more fashionable figures of authority, such as the celebrity, take centre stage” (Lewis, 2010, p. 582). The word ‘expert’ when used in this way is not only a noun but “an adjective that signifies that someone possesses the quality of attracting attention. So we have celebrity chefs, celebrity authors, celebrity fiction, celebrity diets, celebrity psychiatrists....Success in virtually every profession is associated with celebrity status” (Furedi, 2010, p. 493). These successful celebrity experts encourage consumption by offering what seems to be expert advice. Expert advice is important for consumption as available information could be overwhelming, subjective, inadequate, expensive, and time consuming to acquire. Consequently, consumers look towards celebrity experts not necessarily for their superior qualities or knowledge, but as a way of interpreting information (Chossat & Gergaud, 2003; Furedi, 2010). In addition to consumptive practices there has also been the proliferation of information available on everyday subjects. This resulted in emergence of celebrity figures as ‘ordinary experts’ (Furedi, 2010).

2.1.5 The ordinary expert

Turner (2004) posited that the integration of the so-called ordinary expert into celebrity culture has been a result of the advancements in technology, especially television and has been predominantly controlled by the celebrity industry. Rein, Kotler, Hamlin, and Stoller (2006) proposed that the celebrity industry has an industrialised structure which they labelled the ‘visibility’ industry. The visibility industry consists of eight interconnected sub-industries: publicity, communication, entertainment, representation, endorsement, legal and business services, coaching, and appearance industries. Evolving over time, the visibility industry is a result of the sub-industries’ inter-connectedness, and increased demands from business and members of the public for exposure and hence, visibility. The increased use of and accessibility of the visibility industry has, in some cases, lowered entry barriers for potential celebrities and provided room for the celebrity industry to grow (Gamson, 2011; Lewis, 2010; Turner, 2004).

Turner (2004) suggested that media organisations such as television companies, through the production of their own content, have been responsible for the integration of ordinary people into celebrity culture. Celebrities who are projected as ordinary experts are normally promoted as being special as well as ordinary. They are ‘special’ because they can be projected as having unique abilities and personalities. They are ‘ordinary’ because they face the same kind of dilemmas and disappointments as the general populace. These portrayals of the celebrity as simultaneously extraordinary and common have reduced the distance between celebrities and consumers (Furedi, 2010; Turner, 2004; Turner et al., 2000). This is especially true with the emergence of the ordinary expert from the entertainment/lifestyle sector. These celebrities are generally pigeonholed or grounded in a specific category or sector. Celebrity experts are normally reliant on their personalities which, when combined with their area of expertise, further define their roles and highlight their familiarity and trustworthiness (Bonner, 2003; Lewis, 2010). Chefs have become attractive to the visibility industry because as celebrities as they provide expertise and entertainment on a subject that is at once common and specialised (Hyman, 2008; Rousseau, 2012a; Scholes, 2011).

2.2 The westernised history of chefs, a culinary lineage, and celebrity

This thesis recognises that the westernised history of chefs holds its genesis in French culinary tradition. It is also linked to seasonal variances, prevailing economic conditions, immigration, overseas exploration and the introduction of new foodstuffs (Christensen-Yule et al., 2013;

Cracknell & Kaufmann, 1999; Culinary Institute of America, 2006). These changes and influences are evident through historical culinary literature by authors such as Taillevent (1310 – 1395), La Varenne (1615–1678), La Chapelle (1690– 1745), Marin (unknown 18th century), and Menon (unknown 18th century), who reflect the introduction and abundance of foodstuffs along with the culinary importance of the French court system (Iomaire, 2009). The publication of early culinary works may not have been about information assimilation or culinary celebrity for chefs or general populace but had more to do with the social and culinary capital of those who sponsored them (Ferguson, 1998). Hansen (2008) posited that the literal, social or culinary value of these authors to the wider chefs' community was limited because of poor literacy levels and the subservient nature of the kitchens of the day. Far from literary geniuses, chefs historically were largely portrayed as “comical, subservient figures” (Garval, 2013 n.p.). Ferguson (1998) argued that this portrayal of chefs had more to do with the mores of pre-revolutionary France than their culinary abilities. The French Revolution (1789–1799) brought about significant vocational, class and social changes for chefs and they became valued for more than just their work. Nevertheless it was in the service of the noble, rich and famous that Marie-Antoine Carême, the pre-eminent chef of post-revolutionary France, found employment.

2.2.1 Marie-Antoine Carême

Marie-Antoine Carême (1784–1833) was known as “The king of cooks and the cook of kings” (Kelly, 2003, p. 225). Like the majority of chefs of the time, Carême came from low-status beginnings. Carême was apprenticed to a well-known patissier Sylvain Bailly. Encouraged by Bailly, Carême developed his skills and rose to fame through his culinary skill, his architecturally-inspired confectionery centrepieces and because of the people to whom he was contracted, such as King George IV of England, Czar Alexander I of Russia, and Napoleon Bonaparte (Hansen, 2008; Revel, 1982). Carême was one of the first chefs to have elite social connections, if not to be considered a member of high society himself, and thus became one of the first celebrity chefs. Carême, through his publishing endeavours, provided an insight into his culinary techniques and endeavours (Ferguson, 1998; Myhrvold, 2011). The publication of his culinary works further reinforced his celebrity attributes and, not unlike contemporary celebrity chefs, Carême influenced others outside of commercial kitchens. Kelly (2003) suggested that Carême's influence came from the lady of the house who, while reading his work, directed the household kitchen to prepare his suggested meals. The meals, although not

directly prepared by Carême, carried his name and thus transferred his culinary capital to the food and its sponsor.

2.2.2 Alexis Soyer

Alexis Soyer (1809-1858) became well-known by establishing himself, and French cuisine, abroad. Soyer's first position in England was as the 'chef de cuisine' at the Reform Club in central London. Here he not only championed French cuisine but, introduced modern cooking appliances such as gas stoves and ovens. In 1851 Soyer left the Reform Club and opened an exhibition space called The Gastronomic Symposium of All Nations in direct competition with food outlets at London's Great Exhibition. Soyer had previously declined to oversee culinary operations at the Great Exhibition due to the fact that no alcohol was to be served. Soyer's venture was unsuccessful but it clearly demonstrated his desire for culinary innovation and autonomy (Blake & Crewe, 1978).

As well as being known for his culinary and commercial endeavours Soyer was also a philanthropist and author. Soyer established soup kitchens in times of famine and published recipe books for the poor, such as the *Modern Housewife* and *Shilling Cookery for the People*. Because of this it could be suggested that Soyer's celebrity profile came not only from his culinary endeavours but philanthropy and the popularity of his widely available and inexpensive culinary texts. Additionally, Soyer was an inventor, creating a portable cooking device to which he lent his name: the Soyer stove. This stove was used by the British Army in an effort to improve food quality at the front line (Hansen, 2008). Soyer also used his name and image to promote a line of convenience products which included sauces, pickles and drinks (Bullock, 2005). It is feasible that Soyer could be considered one of the first celebrity chefs to use his commodified image for commercial gain.

2.2.3 Auguste Escoffier

Auguste Escoffier (1847-1935) became the second chef (after Carême) who was known by a moniker that declared his culinary pre-eminence: "The king of chefs and the chef of kings. He was the undisputed culinary leader...redefining French cooking by reducing to essentials the elaborate structure of haute cuisine inherited from Carême" (Willan & Boys, 2000, p. 199). Aside from his culinary proficiency one of Escoffier's most enduring legacies was the introduction of the 'partie' system which became the basis of kitchen organisation. The 'partie'

system was hierarchal by nature and allowed for the identification of culinary leaders (Christensen-Yule et al., 2013; Cracknell & Kaufmann, 1999; Culinary Institute of America, 2006). This resulted in a system of celebrity by qualification and culinary celebrity for chefs who reached the position of ‘chef de cuisine’ (executive chef). Escoffier also authored several culinary focused works. His books, such as *Le Guide Culinaire* and *Ma Cuisine*, contained upwards of 2,000 recipes that codified the cuisine of the day and were suggested as “being the closest thing to a Bible that a professional chef could own” (Gillespie, 1994, p. 19). As a sign of continuing culinary importance and Escoffier’s enduring culinary celebrity, these texts are still in print and are used by professional and academic bodies to define French classical cuisine.

Escoffier (1997), although spending the majority of his working life outside of France, was stoically French and sought to promote all things French. He commented: “I was able to transplant over 2,000 French chefs all over the world, and I can say each can be likened to grains of wheat sowed in barren ground. France is today reaping the resulting crop” (p. 19). Escoffier’s prominence and promotion efforts have contributed to the enduring influence that French cuisine, and its culinary history, has had on westernised culinary history. However, not everybody looked on Escoffier’s codification and regimentation of food production as progressive. Gillespie (1994) described his influence as restrictive and officious, constraining individuality and innovation for chefs. Furthermore, Escoffier’s character was not above reproach: along with future business partner Caesar Ritz, he was dismissed from the Savoy Hotel for theft. The pair were accused of using hotel resources and premises up to the value £3000 (£500,000 in today’s money) to wine and dine potential investors for their new venture, the Carlton Hotel. However, (not unlike some contemporary celebrity misdemeanours) fearing the damage that their dismissal might do to the Savoy Hotel brand, the matter was dealt with privately. Thus, the commercial interests of the Savoy Hotel overruled socially acceptable behaviour and Escoffier’s systems and culinary legacy continued unabated (Levy, 2012).

2.2.4 Fernand Point, nouvelle cuisine and its practitioners

Fernand Point (1897-1955) became known as “the father of contemporary gastronomy” (Gillespie, 1994, p. 20). His restaurant La Pyramide located in Vienne, in the region of Isère, was the first restaurant outside of Paris to receive three Michelin stars (Cousins, O’Gorman, & Stierand, 2010). Point’s nouvelle cuisine, although based on Escoffier’s codified model, was hailed as an evolution of cooking techniques. Heavier starch-based ingredients were removed

and food was artistically presented on the plate by the chef. This removed the influence of service staff on the presentation of the chef's food and focused the customers' attention onto the chef (Gillespie, 1994). This style of cooking led to Gault and Millau publishing their 'Ten Commandments' of nouvelle cuisine, shown in Table 1 below:

Table 1 Gault and Millau's Ten Commandments of nouvelle cuisine

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1. Thou shall not overcook.
 2. Thou shall use fresh, quality products.
 3. Thou shall lighten thy menu.
 4. Thou shall not be systematically modernistic.
 5. Thou shall seek out what the new techniques can bring you.
 6. Thou shall eliminate brown and white sauces.
 7. Thou shall not ignore dietetics.
 8. Thou shall not cheat on thy presentation.
 9. Thou shall be inventive.
 10. Thou shall not be prejudiced.
-

Source: Adapted from Rao, Monin, and Durand (2003)

Rao et al. (2003) proposed that Gault and Millau published these Ten Commandments to differentiate nouvelle cuisine's practitioners from traditional French chefs as they sought to help "the public to appreciate the new logic and identity in French cuisine" (p. 816). The authors also recognised that other journalists had different views concluding that by endorsing nouvelle cuisine Gault and Millau were predominantly promoting their own Gault-Millau restaurant guide. Regardless, the era of nouvelle cuisine (1950s-1970s) coincided with vocational changes for chefs, whose role now included promoting their own cuisine, possibly as UCPs. This type of promotion resulted in chefs and culinary establishments no longer being seen as two separate entities (Ashley et al., 2004). Competition between the media's culinary journalists and their consequential promotion of chef proponents, and their restaurants, resulted in the first time when numerous celebrity chefs were not only possible but sustainable (Ferguson, 1998; Gillespie, 1994; Rao et al., 2003; Wood, 1991). Furthermore, nouvelle cuisine reinforced France's importance in culinary history and created a new celebrity system for chefs. Gillespie (1994) suggested that there was a replacement of the "bureaucratic *partie* system based on time-serving and the acquisition of skill being largely supplanted at the level of the entrepreneurial 'chef as star' by a system of personal association and mentoring" (p 21). Although there was little doubt of Point's culinary proficiency, the achievements of his protégés may have become more important than his own culinary endeavours (Myhrvold,

2011). Point's protégés included Paul Bocuse, the Troisgros brothers, Roger Verge, Michel Guerard, Louis Outhier, Paul Mercier and Alain Chapel (Rao et al., 2003). These chefs, and those influenced by them, assisted in the spread of nouvelle cuisine both in and beyond France. Possibly the most well-known French nouvelle cuisine chefs to emigrate to the United Kingdom were brothers, Albert and Michel Roux who commented that in London at the time "the food was poor and the service worse, all of which strengthened our resolve...it was still the culinary Stone Age, and we wanted to pioneer a change in the eating habits of the British" (Roux, 2000, p. 26). Although this statement by the Roux brothers may be a somewhat self-affirming it is also an example of the integration of French cuisine, its influences and techniques into the wider, westernised culinary world. Additionally, through the integration of local labour and indoctrination, culinary skills were transferred which created the possibility of culinary celebrity for the local populace.

2.2.5 Marco Pierre White

Marco Pierre White was one of the first well-known contemporary chefs who, although influenced by French chefs (including the Roux brothers, Raymond Blanc and Pierre Koffman), exhibited predominantly English culinary characteristics. White developed a fearsome reputation built on his uncompromising standards and demands on those who worked for him in his quest to achieve three Michelin stars. Because of this he became known by the moniker *enfant terrible*. In 1984, aged 33, White became the youngest person (at the time) to achieve three Michelin star status (Stringfellow et al., 2013). Ultimately, although he put enormous effort into achieving these stars, White also disdained the personal commitment required to maintain this status, handing back all of his stars in 1999. During the peak of his culinary powers, White (1990) also garnered attention by criticising other chefs, commenting that "ninety per cent of chefs in this country are just labourers. Their brains wouldn't fill a square inch of my kitchen....The catering world in Britain is like the French Foreign Legion; it's the last resort of the inadequate" (p. 12). He also had somewhat of a bad boy attitude towards consumers commenting, "You're buying *White Heat* (his first cookbook) because you want to cook well? Because you want to cook Michelin stars? Forget it. Save your money. Go and buy a saucepan" (p. 8). White does however soften his stance in his later book *Canteen Cuisine* noting "my aim in this book is to...teach people how to enjoy what they do in the kitchen....to perfect their skills" (p. 9). Stringfellow, MacLaren, Maclean and O'Gorman (2013) suggested that by softening his attitude White showed his increased desire to gain

empathy and commercial value from the wider population. Though, it was his promotion of convenience food, such as Knorr stock cubes, that has been criticised as selling out. White however, refuted such criticism insisting that “by working with companies like Knorr it allows me to stand onto a bigger stage and enrich people's lives....Michelin stars, they're my past” (quoted in Paskin, 2011 n.p.). White's comments show that personal philosophies surrounding what is, and is not right, regarding culinary legitimacy, culinary celebrity, and acceptable rewards can change as a chef becomes increasing successful and well-known.

2.2.6 Gordon Ramsay

Like Marco Pierre White, Gordon Ramsay was determined to achieve three Michelin star status. In his first restaurant post as executive chef, Ramsay achieved two Michelin stars for the restaurant, Aubergine. When Ramsay left Aubergine in 1998 to open his own restaurant, Restaurant Gordon Ramsay, his trials and tribulations were recorded and became a five-part television documentary series entitled *Boiling Point*. This was Ramsay's first exposure to the British public at-large, and his actions in the documentary were widely condemned. Although Ramsay at the time exhibited his normal ‘chef's’ behaviour he was criticised via the media “for his treatment of staff; much of it from within the industry” (Wright, 2006, p. 47). However, Ramsay was unapologetic, and he declared that he was not interested in the opportunities that his new celebrity status generated for him as he was first and foremost a chef stating “I'm not a celebrity chef. ‘I'm a cook, I enjoy cooking and I'm not interested in signing a multimillion pound deal so that I can conduct a kitchen from an office. I want to continue cooking” (cited in Scholes, 2011, p. 51). However, after achieving his third Michelin star, at Restaurant Gordon Ramsay, in 2001, Ramsay became more prominent in the media to a point where he has become “one of the most famous and recognized names in the culinary world” (Jones, 2009, p. 15). Although other contemporary elite chefs could be included in this discussion there is, perhaps, another celebrity chef whose journey is worthy of examination: Jamie Oliver, an individual whose seemingly natural chef's vocational progress was cut short by serendipitous celebrity exposure.

2.2.7 Jamie Oliver

Although Jamie Oliver's chef qualifications do not reflect traditional vocational achievement, he has arguably become the contemporary model of a successful chef. Oliver entered formal chef training aged 16, at Westminster Catering College. He continued a largely traditional

career path until aged 23 when Oliver, then a sous-chef at the River Café, was asked to stand in for an incapacitated colleague to demonstrate a salmon dish for local television. Oliver was immediately recognised as a potential media talent, and his initial demonstration led to a 15-episode television series, *The Naked Chef* (Rousseau, 2012b). The popularity of this series led to other television series including *Jamie's Kitchen*, *Oliver's Twist*, *Jamie's School Dinners*, and *Ministry of Food*. This further increased Oliver's profile and resulted in a well-publicised political campaign against fatty food in schools in both the United Kingdom and United States. Oliver garnered more media attention, as well as philanthropic praise, by training (and filming) 15 previously unemployed youths to run a new restaurant simply called '15'. Because of these endeavours Oliver has been compared to Alexis Soyer by Rousseau (2012b) who commented that he has become "increasingly philanthropic. Some would say plain interfering, but there is ample evidence that is not all unwelcome" (p. 47). Oliver's status as a social campaigner and celebrity chef is clear: he has been awarded a Member of the Order of the British Empire (MBE) for services to the hospitality industry and recognised as the world's favourite TV chef; he has won two British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) awards and has been credited with inspiring a pledge of £280 million from the British government towards improving school nutrition. Oliver, therefore, demonstrates that celebrity is possible for chefs and UCPs, and epitomises how chefs have emerged from below the stairs and onto centre stage (Lewis, 2010). However contemporary celebrity for chefs may not be too dissimilar from other celebrity sectors and, as such, may be dependent on the projection of their personalities and appearances on television.

2.3 Culinary personalities on television

Pre-1995, the majority of culinary television programming operated within a largely domesticated sphere, offering advice to the housekeeper and an audience perceived as predominantly women. Celebrity chefs such as Fanny Craddock, Julia Child, James Beard, and Delia Smith used mock domestic settings within a studio environment to provide culinary information to the viewer. This instruction was largely structured around recipes or culinary themes with little thought to its non-culinary entertainment value (Hansen, 2008; Scholes, 2011). However, from the birth of 24-hour food television in 1995, celebrity chefs and their representations of food have penetrated everyday life and altered the way in which consumers perceive food and the sustenance it provides. Television offers the opportunity for the consumer to engage with food, the presenter, and to consume the image of food without parallel

physical consumption. Indeed a consumer can watch their favourite celebrity chef beside a copy of his or her cookbook, while microwaving a ready-made frozen meal to eat (Fort, 1999). Television culinary programming can also engage with the consumer by giving them hope that they are able to become a better person through the “fantasy of transformation, the knowledge that we might or could make over the self...offer[ing] a glimpse of a world in which cooking could be a pleasurable activity” (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 184). Hansen (2008) suggested that food programming on television is a near perfect platform for media and associated industries to produce content as it is not only a portrayal of the real and unpredictable, it also provides the possibility self-improvement, all the while being relatively inexpensive to make.

The emergence of television chefs as we know them contemporarily has its roots in the emergence of 24-hour culinary programming on the *Food Network*. Reese Schonfeld, the co-founder of the *Food Network*, was one of the first to recognise the potential of food programming on television to attract an audience. After poor ratings attributed to traditional instructional programming, Schonfeld experimented with the inclusion of lifestyle elements and locations outside of the studio. This was done to encourage voyeuristic fantasy which could be reconnected back to food and the presenters themselves making culinary instruction as inoffensive as possible (Ketchum, 2005; Rousseau, 2012b; Wurgajt, 2005). Rousseau (2012b) referred to this as combining “the best of two worlds when it comes to food: education and entertainment. Moreover, this combination gives consumers the freedom to choose one and ignore the other” (p. xii). The popularity of the sector resulted in a “boom in television cookery which occurred in the 1990s amidst a wider boom in lifestyle programming” (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 171). Thus, if an individual, regardless of vocational training, was an aspiring celebrity chef, television provided a potential medium as it was “often most expedient simply to get on TV first; fame may or may not follow” (Hansen, 2008, p. 59). The contemporary effect of this type of entry into culinary celebrity means that only one-third of cooking show presenters on the *Food Network* have professional training. As a result, traditional indicators of professional culinary expertise, such as the chef’s uniform, are either not always present or are used by contestants or presenters who are not professionally experienced (Mitchell, 2010). It is from these points that the celebrity ‘chef’ and ‘celebrity’ chef are in competition and thus become more reliant on personality than culinary skills to attract attention.

2.4 Chefs, celebrity chefs, and the cult of personality

Gillespie (1994) suggested that celebrity chefs can use their personality traits to become successful through developing a loyal fan base who accept their culinary views or expertise with little qualification. He noted that their appeal as celebrity chefs is largely due to the use of the cult of personality. The cult of personality is an illogical attachment by a group of people to an individual who gives guidance and whose words are taken as an unquestioned truth (Rubins, 1974). By extension, celebrities are able to use their projected personalities to derive commercial value and financial reward through representing aligned sponsored products. Through the transfer of a celebrity's embodied meaning to a commodity the celebrity then becomes part of the commodity, providing a human element in the process of consumption (Boorstin, 1961; Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004). Gillespie (1994) suggested that celebrity chefs, and projections of their personality, are carefully managed by the celebrity industry. This includes financial and entrepreneurial advice and selectively aligned business partners and promotional activities aimed at increasing a celebrity's national and international exposure. One such individual who garnered fame and financial reward by exposing his dramatic view of the culinary underbelly is Anthony Bourdain (2000) through authoring a loosely biographical book, *Kitchen Confidential*, in which he used his persona and experiences in commercial kitchens to shock:

I spent most of my waking hours drinking, smoking pot, scheming, and doing my best to amuse, outrage, impress and penetrate anyone silly enough to find me entertaining. I was-to be frank-a spoiled, miserable, narcissistic, self-destructive and thoughtless young lout, badly in need of a good ass-kicking. (p. 91)

As brutal as Bourdain's comments are, they appeal perhaps because they are believable. As Ray (2007) suggested, Bourdain's writings may not be entirely inaccurate but "a mirror image of the sombre masculinity of the professional chef, played with swagger and sardonic irony. His act is as much a caricature of masculinity...a modernist celebration of the bad boy, a rock star mocking himself" (p. 60). If Bourdain is the bad boy rock star then it is another celebrity chef, Gordon Ramsay, who occupies the role of the fiend. Ramsay projects himself as an aggressive tyrant frequently swearing when things go wrong or not to plan (Scholes, 2011). Although Ramsay has been involved in domesticated culinary education through television series such as *Gordon Ramsay's Ultimate Cookery Course* it is through his abrasive, macho projections of the uniformed chef that he has achieved the most recognition. Indeed, his

uniform has been suggested as creating legitimacy and conveying expertise in culinary matters while at the same time giving Ramsay the opportunity to provide culinary entertainment by distancing himself from the domestic sphere (Hollows, 2003; Rousseau, 2012b; Scholes, 2011). Through his authority and prestige, along with his no-holds-barred portrayal of chefs and kitchen life, Ramsay has built a loyal fan base and, therefore, epitomises how the cult of personality can be used to attract interest. However Ramsay, Bourdain, White, Oliver and other well-known chefs such as Wolfgang Puck, Heston Blumenthal, Giada De Laurentiis, Emeril Lagasse, Mario Batali, Nick Stellino, Tom Colicchio, Bobby Fay and Todd English have emerged as celebrities in their own right and together represent the chef's vocation as a skilled job. Skills are at once common and extraordinary; which in an edited form are also entertaining (Rousseau, 2012b). In a New Zealand context there are multiple examples of professional chefs who could be, were or are recognised through their culinary feats in the mass media: Graham Kerr, Ross Burden, Monica Galetti, Simon Gault, Ray McVinnie, Peter Gordon, Sean Connolly, Michael Van de Elzen, Al Brown and Josh Emett, amongst others.

2.5 Summation

This chapter discussed celebrity as a contemporary westernised phenomenon with its origins in the Hollywood movie industry. Although Hollywood produced movie stars it was the public's interest in them as 'real' individuals which resulted in them becoming celebrities (Collins, 2008). Even so, celebrities of this era were somewhat distanced from their consumers as contact was limited and controlled by the movie industry executives. It was not until the introduction of television in the 1950s-60s that celebrities became increasingly prevalent in our everyday lives. Television (and subsequently the internet) allowed for familiarisation of the celebrity figure and an increase in the type and number of celebrity figures available to the public (Marshall, 1997). Celebrity experts emerged in the media who shared knowledge (real or imagined) with the masses and largely replaced traditional experts. In a bid to increase and diversify television coverage, ordinary experts were also introduced. This was a phenomenon largely created and controlled by the celebrity industry (Gamson, 1994; Lewis, 2010; Turner, 2004). This has resulted in the inclusion of chefs in the celebrity sector as individuals with something interesting to say, a provider of culinary instruction, or alternatively, through the projection of their personalities, as entertainers (Gillespie, 1994; Rousseau, 2012b).

The history of chefs was discussed through a culinary lineage which links contemporary celebrity chefs with pre-eminent culinary figures from the past. This demonstrated that

celebrity for chefs is not necessarily a recent phenomenon. However, the biographies of chefs in this lineage supported Gillespie's (1994) proposal that it is possible, in contemporary times, to gain culinary celebrity without the previously required time served qualification. The lineage of chefs suggested is not proposed to be the only possible lineage or to be an exhaustive list but does provide a means of examining vocational celebrity and how chefs historically have been exposed to, and obtained, culinary celebrity. Contemporarily celebrity for chefs is generally linked to their appearance on culinary themed television programming (Rousseau, 2012b).

The boom in culinary television programming occurred "amidst a wider boom in lifestyle programming" (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 171). This included the inception of 24-hour food programming on the *Food Network*. Scholes (2011) noted that as the popularity of culinary television increased so has the possibility of celebrity for chefs. Like their movie star counterparts, celebrity chefs can use their projected personality traits to appeal to the masses. The inclusion of professionally trained chefs on television has highlighted that they belong to a skilled vocation with celebrity status being possible internationally as well as in a more localised context. This makes the present more complicated than the past for UCPs because, with the centrality of celebrity in everyday life (Kurzman et al., 2007), they may experience the need for a celebrity profile. Further, it creates extra pressures for UCPs who may need to compete with others for visibility through the projection of their celebrity status, leaving them little choice but to pursue and accept as many celebrity-generating opportunities as possible. Therefore, as previously stated, the gap in the academic literature that the research findings hopes to fill lies between the centrality of celebrity in everyday life and the effect of compulsory celebrity on individuals within a vocational sector, UCPs.

Chapter 3 The recipe

This chapter includes a discussion on qualitative research methods, grounded theory and its procedures, limitations of the research, and the academic generalisability of the research. Before the research commenced, a review of the academic literature yielded limited material on celebrity and celebrification and how these pertained to UCPs. Because of this, the parameters of this research project were largely unknown and a qualitative research approach was chosen (Creswell, 2012). As there was a lack of existing literature, this research, its direction, and its findings, were reliant on data provided by research participants. Thus, the grounded theory method was chosen for its inclusive nature and for the way it allowed the findings to emerge from the data, not from a reliance on preconceptions of what the research findings might be (Díaz-Andrade, 2009). Additionally, the grounded theory method provided flexibility throughout the data analysis period with the use of open coding, focused coding, and theoretical category generation which allowed the sorting, re-sorting, grouping and re-grouping of data until theoretical saturation was reached. After this process the write up of research findings commenced. With the use of the grounded theory method I concluded that any theory produced would be “based on the systematic generating of theory from data, that itself is systematically obtained” (Glaser, 1978, p. 2). The use of the grounded theory method provided me with an established framework which I was able to use to introduce, analyse and organise, and to include new, pertinent and interesting areas of investigation which ultimately resulted in the development of the substantive theory of compulcelebrity.

3.1 Overview of the research

This research was conducted in Auckland, New Zealand’s largest city. Auckland’s restaurant/hospitality industry provides employment for 36,250 people with annual revenue exceeding \$NZ2.5 billion (Restaurant Association of New Zealand, 2013). Consequently, the restaurant sector is a significant contributor to Auckland’s regional economy. As well as economic importance, restaurants in New Zealand have “emerged as contributors to a nation’s cultural development...[which has] helped move cuisine into a position of high culture; as important in defining culture as theatre, music, literature, dance and art. Much of this development had to do with chefs” (Rowland, 2010, p. 228). Consequently, Auckland provided a suitable location for this research and, because of its cosmopolitan nature, facilitated the research findings’ transferability to other western locations with similar restaurant cultures.

As previously stated the aim of this research is to establish a substantive, comprehensive overview of the celebrity experience from the UCPs' perspective. The background of this research has connections with the celebrity and visibility industries, mass media, television, chefs, and celebrity chefs. There have historically been chefs with a culinary profile; however, the occurrence of widespread celebrity for chefs is a much more recent occurrence. Hence, of particular interest are the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of UCPs as they discuss the effects of compulcelebrity, their exposure to celebrification, and their resulting celebrity status.

3.2 Qualitative research

The choice of a quantitative or qualitative method is dependent on the parameters of the research (Gray, 2009). As noted above, the parameters of this research were largely unknown and, therefore, the findings would be largely dependent on data provided by research participants. Bryman and Bell (2011) noted that research which is dependent on data to inform and answer its research question should be undertaken using a qualitative research method. Further, a qualitative method was appropriate for this research as it did not seek to test a hypothesis. Dudovskiy (2015) posited that a hypothesis is a proposition, or set of propositions, offered as an explanation for an occurrence of some quantified group of qualified phenomena. This means a hypothesis is dependent on existent knowledge and would result in the adoption of a quantitative research approach. Because this research did not wish to test or make assumptions about a hypothesis, but rather 'wished' to explore a social phenomenon through the research participants' eyes, it was determined that the use of a qualitative research method would be most appropriate.

Qualitative research methods allow for a naturalistic approach, with the incorporation of similarities as well as differences within the research findings (Bryman, 1984; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A qualitative research method allows the inclusion of expressive data that may not be included in a quantitative method which "helps us to understand people, their motivations and actions, and the broader context within which they work and live" (Myers, 2009, p. 8).

3.2.1 Ontology and epistemology

A consideration in the selection of a qualitative research method was my ontological and epistemological position. We are reminded of ontological and epistemological positions in Table 2, below:

Table 2 Ontology and epistemology positions

Ontology Refers to assumptions made about the form and nature of reality through the study of being.	Ontology is realised through the world we live in and how sense is made of that world within the domains under investigation. Ontology is compounded and shaped by pre-understandings, history, culture, language and participant 'being' rather than through their 'knowing of being'.
Epistemology Refers to claims of how knowledge of reality is perceived by the actor.	Epistemology incorporates the interpretation of context and language within the co-construction of reflexive participation.

Source: Adapted from Bryman and Bell (2011) .

In relation to Table 2, Bryman and Bell (2011) suggested that ontology is about the “nature of social entities” (p. 20). An individual’s ontology is based on whether they believe there is an objective reality separate to themselves (objectivism) or whether reality is co-created through the actions and perceptions of social actors (constructivism). In this regard, I declare myself a constructionist. The authors also noted there are two contrasting epistemological paradigms, positivism and interpretivism. Positivists understand the world as external to the subjects of the study with a fixed reality. Interpretivists understand that there is no such thing as a fixed reality and that everybody experiences their reality differently. They also noted interpretivists consider that they and the research participants are interdependent in the discovery of new knowledge. Therefore, the authors suggested that research from an interpretative standpoint is both collaborative and subjective with research participants involved in the provision of data as well as assisting with the identification of new participants and research direction. As such data and information provided by research participants will be integral to the success of this research. It is from these points that an interpretive approach was decided on as the most appropriate paradigm through which to construct research findings in the present study.

3.2.2 Interpretivist paradigm

Research conducted from an interpretivist paradigm seeks to give meaning to life experiences that may alter, radically or otherwise, a participant's understandings and meanings that they ascribe to themselves and their experiences (Denzin, 2001). This research, through the investigation of the effects of compulcelebrity, allowed research participants to explore their feelings and provide narrative on how it affected them. This elevated the voices of the research participants to a primary position within the research findings as well as its structure and direction that the research took. As this research was from a vocational perspective, with all research participants being experienced UCPs, it was a discussion that they could all enter into fully, on their own terms, within their own vocational and social settings. This allowed me to gather rich data through the use of discourse guided by semi-structured questions which were extended by the research participants' input as they discussed their life experiences. Although I do not claim to have altered the research participants' understanding of themselves, as an interpretivist, I cannot say that I have had no bearing or effect on them, and their understanding of themselves, through a discussion on compulcelebrity. Berg (2009) commented that this acknowledges the human element in change and suggested that meaning is not defined by objects or events but through human interaction. However, I also acknowledge that meanings are not accidental or without history, as both experience and the events surrounding them are important in the production of meaning. As such, the use of interpretivist inquiry in this research is not particularly in the pursuit of facts but presents a social construction through a synopsis of participants' thoughts and feelings which give the research and its findings meaning (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

3.3 Grounded theory method

The grounded theory method was chosen because of its flexibility and inclusive nature. It is perhaps this level of abstraction which has led Ferris (2010) to recommend the use of the grounded theory method in celebrity research as it gives an account of what people "do, say and think about celebrity in their everyday lives" (p. 392).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) were fundamental in developing grounded theory. However, later philosophical divergence between Glaser and Strauss generated two distinct strands of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2011; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Hyde, 2000; Patton, 2002; Urquhart, 2013). Exemplifying this, Strauss and Corbin (1990) proposed sorting and organising

data through the use of a “coding paradigm and the conditional matrix” (Urquhart, 2013, p. 19). However, Glaser (1992) refuted the use of analytical models because he believed it would mould research findings in a predetermined style, restricting the data’s ability to speak for itself. Goulding (1998) proposed that “a point of departure between Glaser, who argues that this theory should only explain the phenomena under study, and Strauss, who insists on excessive use of coding matrixes to conceptualise beyond the immediate appeal of study” (p. 45). As this research focused on a specific phenomenon (compulcelebrity) and I sought flexibility and creativity in the conceptualisation of the findings (van Niekerk & Roode, 2009), the Glaserian model of grounded theory method was chosen. This resulted in the use of semi-structured interviews, memos, open coding, focused coding, theoretical sampling, and the subsequent production of categories and a core category, to aid in the production of research findings. Three fundamental aspects of grounded theory method are defined below: constant comparison, theoretical sampling, and theoretical saturation.

3.3.1 Constant comparison

Urquhart, Lehmann and Myers (2010) suggested that constant comparison is “the dynamic interplay between analysis and data collection – where relationships are built between concepts in an iterative manner” (p. 372). Constant comparisons’ repetitive nature ensures that data already collected remains alive and is at the forefront of the researcher’s actions throughout the analytical process (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Constant comparison ensures that the data builds upon itself through the various stages of data collection, coding and focused coding “putting the analytic pendulum in motion in relation to itself” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000, p. 504). In this regard, constant comparison was integral to this research because it allowed me to constantly review research direction, highlighted gaps in the data, and assisted in the process of theoretical sampling. Additionally, the process of constant comparison assisted me in the production of memos and the identification of poignant quotes that captured the essence of the research statement.

3.3.2 Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling entails the comparison of data already collected to the research aims and objectives from which inferences can be made about what data still needs to be collected. Although theoretical sampling happens in conjunction with data analysis, it is also part of the ongoing interview process as it guides the identification of new participants (Glaser & Strauss,

1967). Corbin and Strauss (1990) noted that theoretical sampling is an important part of grounded theory method as “it is by theoretical sampling that representativeness and consistency are achieved” (p. 9). The processes of constant comparison and theoretical sampling continued within this research until a core category emerged from the data and all codes were theoretically saturated.

3.3.4 Theoretical saturation

Theoretical saturation is reached when no new incidences of the data within the existing codes are discovered and no new codes are suggested by any new research data. Theoretical saturation in this research was deemed to have been reached after the data from 18 participants had been analysed. In accordance with Charmaz’s (2008) suggestion, at the point that theoretical saturation was achieved, theoretical sampling was used to test the validity of my understandings of the emergent phenomena by the inclusion of two more research participants. Post interview analysis of these two interviews did not return any new codes and as such it was determined that theoretical saturation in this research had been reached. At the commencement of research that uses grounded theory method, the number of participants required for theoretical saturation is unable to be defined. However, when it is deemed that the point of theoretical saturation has been reached data collection can cease and the researcher can be “empirically confident” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 60).

3.3.5 The selection of research participants

The criteria in the selection of research participants was their experience as UCPs. The reason for using UCPs is their close alignment to the success of their restaurants, their membership of the elite restaurant sector, suggesting culinary legitimacy, and the media’s interest in them. Over the past 20 years I have noticed that UCPs have been increasingly included in media content, with several having had prime-time television roles. What was of particular interest was that their media appearances were not necessarily in professional instructional roles. UCPs were often included in reality-themed competitive culinary programming, such as *Masterchef*, appearing as judges and guest judges with the occasional use their restaurants as locations for filming. This, increased their own and their restaurants’ exposure and resulted in further celebrity for them. What was not clear was UCPs’ opinions, uses, and need for a celebrity

profile. Sources, such as the media, restaurant rankings, industry awards as well as my own knowledge of the upmarket restaurant sector, were used to select research participants, as detailed in Table 3, below.

Table 3 Sources used to identify research participants

Source	Type of data	Reason
The researcher	Personal knowledge Identification of UCPs who have participated in television and were included in the media	Knowledge built up over a period of time immersed within the culinary sector, as well as the use of personal contacts to facilitate the research participants involvement
Industry awards <i>Cuisine</i> and <i>Metro</i> magazines	‘Of-the-year’ restaurant awards over the last 10 years	Indicated a level of exposure in the media and media recognition of their culinary ability
Restaurant rankings <i>TripAdvisor</i> , <i>New Zealand Herald</i> , and <i>Metro</i> top 50	Industry, media and publically judged restaurant rankings	Identified restaurants as successful and having a profile within the media and with the public
Research participants (snowball sampling)	Research participants’ knowledge of their colleagues	Research participants provided invaluable knowledge on other UCPs, and in some cases facilitated contact
Colleagues who held positions in the hospitality education sector	Discourse with colleagues on possible research participants	Use of their knowledge and contacts within the UCP sector

Participants were selected from information gathered from sources detailed in Table 3, above. Research participants were chosen in the belief that they would provide relevant data which would assist in the fulfilment of research aims and with research direction.

3.3.6 Snowball sampling

Snowball sampling is otherwise known as ‘snowballing’, ‘chain referral’ or ‘chain sampling’ (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Snowball sampling is particularly useful when the area of research inquiry focuses on a difficult-to-identify social group (Dey, 1993; Urquhart, 2013). Bryman

and Bell (2011) noted that snowball sampling occurs when a researcher makes “initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others” (p. 192). As a result, the numbers of possible research participants grow in much the same way as a snowball rolling down a hill. As the size of the sample group increases, it reaches a point where sufficient data is generated to result in theoretical saturation. Cousins, O’Gorman and Stierand (2010), for example, used the snowball sampling technique as a way of identifying upmarket chefs across Europe in their study on the origins and evolution of molecular gastronomy. Their reasons for using snowball sampling were not dissimilar to this research as they theorised that these chefs are likely to be members of the same network, they may know each other, and may thus be able to assist in facilitating contact.

In this research, snowball sampling was employed as a way of identifying UCPs who may be willing to participate in this research. The first three interviewees were known to me and contacted first by telephone, then email. After the appropriate formalities, they were interviewed. At the completion of the interviews they were asked if they knew any other UCPs who might be of interest to the research. Conducting snowball sampling after the first three interviews resulted in the identification of 12 further UCPs who were later approached to participate in the research. Reasons for the research participants knowing each other were diverse – some had toured New Zealand together when releasing cookbooks, two shared a common area at the back of their restaurants, several had written segments of books together, and others were known through industry activities such as awards dinners, culinary judging and their involvement in food festivals.

3.3.7 Contacting the initial research participants

As noted above, the three initial research participants were known to me and were contacted by telephone. After a brief explanation of the research, they were invited to participate. Upon obtaining their agreement, they were sent an introductory letter (Appendix 1), a participant information sheet (Appendix 2), and an interview consent form (Appendix 3). The potential participants were then contacted approximately a week later to confirm their willingness to proceed. These steps were undertaken to follow best practice and to allow the potential participants time to give their informed consent and to ensure that the process was aligned to Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee’s (AUTEK) requirements for research

participant consent, and so that the study would be “free of active deception” (Christians, 2011, p. 65).

3.3.8 An overview of research participants

As discussed in section 3.3.5, various sources were used to identify potential research participants. Care was taken during sampling to limit potential biases such as the inclusion of greater numbers of research participants from the same network, location, age bracket or gender. Research participants interviewed ranged in age from 25 to 68 years old. In total, 25 UCPs were finally invited to participate in the research. Four potential participants declined participation with one other becoming uncontactable. This provided 20 participants: 18 males and two females. The disproportionate number of men was not desirable or intentional but it does reflect the dominance of males as UCPs in the Auckland region. All research participants were located within a 30 kilometre radius of Auckland city. After their consent was obtained, the location of data collection was agreed on, and in-depth, semi-structured interviews were then conducted. However, one UCP who moved during the research period was interviewed by Skype.

3.4 Data collection and semi-structured interviews

Data were gathered using semi-structured interviews. The use of semi-structured interviews provided opportunities to broaden the focus of the research by encouraging participant input. Semi-structured questions allowed for deviation from the list of semi-structured questions to ensure that there was the inclusion, and exploration, of unanticipated data (Annells, 1996; Bryman & Bell, 2011). Throughout each interview, the list of prepared questions (example list in Appendix 4) was referred to in order to ensure that the interview covered all areas of interest and provided relevant data for later coding. Additionally, the list of questions, on occasion, was referred to in order to clarify the context of questions that were misunderstood or confused by research participants (Berg, 2009).

Interviews lasted for periods of between 40 minutes and two hours. In 16 cases, interviews were conducted at the respondent's place of work. Of the four remaining interviews, three were conducted in and around central Auckland, in mutually convenient locations and, as previously noted, one interview was conducted via Skype. As some interviews were conducted in working

restaurants, noise, interruptions and distractions meant some interviews were slightly disjointed. However, this was not considered to be a major issue within the interview process.

During the interview a digital recording was made of the research participant's answers. Although Glaser and Strauss (1967) discouraged the use of recording devices, the benefits of recording interviews, for me, centred around the transcription process and the ability to refer back to the spoken word. Additionally, I used a notebook as a way of recording omissions. This was to ensure that any subjects not fully explored at the time were able to be revisited at the end of the interview. At the conclusion of an interview, and congruent to grounded theory methods, data analysis began.

3.5 Data analysis

Data analysis is the interaction between the data and the researcher and is integral to any research process. The aim of data analysis when using grounded theory method is to give life to the participant's thoughts and feelings through abstraction in a process which allows the findings to develop from the data (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Charmaz, 2008; Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Díaz-Andrade, 2009). The semi-structured participant interviews provided the raw data from which analysis commenced. All interviews were transcribed by me during which time my thoughts on possible research direction and connections within the data were recorded as memos.

3.5.1 Memos

Memos were made throughout the research process. Initial memos were in the form of handwritten notations produced during and after interviews. These memos included aspects of the interview process such as the participant's reflective actions through pausing, their visible expressions of feelings and any other actions deemed noteworthy (Bryman & Bell, 2011). In agreement with Urquhart (2013), memos were generated during data analysis to record my thoughts on connections between data, codes and emergent categories. In this way, the generation of memos began with the first interview conducted and continued throughout data analysis and into the writing-up process.

Following the grounded theory method, care was taken to ensure that any memos produced were reflections of the participant's viewpoints; this ensured that any abductive views reached remained grounded in the research data (Blaxter, 2010; Mills, 2006). Corbin and Strauss (1990)

discussed how memos are an important part of grounded theory method because “if a research omits the memoing and moves directly from coding to writing, a great deal of conceptual detail is lost or left undeveloped” (p. 10). Memos also help in the writing-up process, particularly in the selection of direct quotes. An example of a memo generated during the analysis is offered below:

UCPs engage in generation of their own celebrity by catering to the media through giving away free product/calling the media when other celebrities are present. This means that there is an interaction between UCPs and the media and a two-way street where UCPs are able to contact the media as well as them knowing and being known by them.

This memo illuminated and extended the code ‘knowing media participants’. Through UCPs’ ability to contact media participants they may have been able to generate media coverage for themselves, while at the same time providing newsworthy material.

3.5.2 The use of NVivo and open coding

Data coding and the sorting of memos during this research was conducted using NVivo 10 software. Before deciding on the use of NVivo, consideration was given to several academic sources who warned against the novice researcher using a computer-based research programme as an analytic tool. Warnings were predominantly due to the complications of learning how to use a new software program which may detract from learning the steps of research itself (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Charmaz, 2008; Urquhart, 2013). However, I had some prior experience with the NVivo programme and throughout this research colleagues, with in-depth knowledge of NVivo, assisted me in understanding the program’s idiosyncrasies and features. However, there are several limitations of using NVivo for data analysis including Urquhart’s (2013) suggestion that NVivo is not, by itself, going to complete the data analysis process. Additionally, colleagues warned of the possibility of being stuck coding, timewasting and missing possible more abstract codes that may have been picked up while manually coding. Because of this, I did not rely on coding solely through the use of NVivo. After initial coding all research transcripts were printed in full and recoded manually. At completion of this step the codes and their contents were compared to ascertain if any data had been missed and to assist in the abstractive process.

After transcription and associated memoing, the first interview was uploaded to NVivo and the process of open coding began. As concepts were identified from the data, open codes were

formed and named to reflect their content. When naming the codes using the NVivo software, it prompted me for a descriptive memo pertaining to its content. Descriptive memos produced were later used to prompt me on the initial reason for the open code's name and to check for the relevance of new data before adding. Some of the descriptive definition of codes were also used later as memos in the research findings. Care was taken to ensure that open codes were reflective of the participants' thoughts and not overtly influenced by me (Charmaz, 2000; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Coding of the first interview yielded 24 open codes. At the completion of coding the initial three interviews there were a total of 43 open codes and after all interviews were coded there were a total of 59 open codes. NVivo became increasingly useful as the data analysis continued, enabling me to easily introduce new data into existing codes and create new codes. During this process and as part of the NVivo application several open codes were able to be accessed and viewed at the same time, allowing for ease of constant comparison, the reorganising of code contents and, if pertinent, the merging of associated codes. During this process, any memos created were recorded and stored along with the related codes. Another feature of the NVivo software was its ability to create hierarchical and subordinate groups. Through the use of this feature, open codes were able to be clustered and named, generating 'focused codes'.

3.5.3 Focused codes

During analysis of the research data, open codes were grouped together and/or merged if they had shared meaning or were related to emerging phenomenon. Charmaz (2008) commented that the process of 'focused coding' is an analytical tool for the researcher as it allows them to re-examine earlier data for implicit meanings, statements, and actions. When grouping and restructuring codes, those selected as focused codes are the ones that best describe what is happening within the data, and which are then named to reflect their content (Urquhart, 2013). In this research, and as Glaser (1978) proposed, not all open codes were forced to belong to a focused code. Open codes such as 'mediatisation', 'New Zealand', 'celebrification indication of', were maintained because of their potential to add context and richness to research findings. After data analysis had been completed there were 59 open codes reflected in 15 focused codes. Just as open coding led to focused coding, focused coding provided the important link to the development of categories used in the production of research findings. Two examples of focused codes which emerged during the research are presented in Table 4, below:

Table 4 Focused codes and their content

Focused code	Open codes ascribed
Celebrity	benefits, chef's influence, generation, generate untouchability, identification personal, legitimacy, other celebrity chefs.
Owner	different to chef, higher than chef, motivation to become a proprietor.

3.5.4 Categories

Initially, five categories emerged from the data contained within the focused codes. They were: 'celebrity effects on customers'; 'media shows UCPs'; 'owner'; 'reviewer'; and 'social media'. Further analysis and, as discussed earlier, the recoding of interviews manually, resulted in two additional categories: 'television' and 'restaurant'. Although these seven categories assisted with the abstraction of, and connection between, the focused codes, they proved too broad in context and did not fully reflect the aim of this research. Through the process of comparison, I came to realise that the existing seven categories overlapped with other categories. For example, 'media shows UCPs' and 'celebrity effects on customers' could be considered as an existing effect which UCPs had no control over and became UCPs *in situ*. During the next period of analysis, the seven categories were reorganised and renamed, reducing the number of categories to three detailed in Table 5, below.

Table 5 Categories and their contents

Category	Content
UCPs <i>in situ</i>	Highlighted the conditions that made celebrity possible, mandatory and/or other environmental factors such as an 'eliteness', 'changes over time', 'celebrity trendy', 'celebrity default because of owner', 'competition with other restaurants' and 'culinary capital/status'.
Celebrification	Illuminated the conditions through which celebrity was produced and included codes such as 'celebrity before owning', 'audition', 'luck', 'celebrity ambition', 'awards' and 'work developing a celebrity profile'.
Celebrity chef <i>fait accompli</i>	Included the effects of celebrification including, 'identity of the self as celebrity chef', 'denial of celebrity', 'changes through celebrification', 'intrusive/annoying', 'pressures/expectations', and results-based codes such as 'admitting', 'benefits', 'free media' and 'generation of new business'.

The three categories ‘UCPs in situ’, ‘celebrification’, and ‘celebrity chef *fait accompli*’ represent the findings of the research and assisted in the writing-up process through their organisational ability. It was through the above processes of coding and the emergence of categories that the creation of a core category for this research, ‘compulcelebrity’, was reached (Charmaz, 2000; Glaser, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Urquhart, 2013).

3.5.5 The core category

The emergence of a core category is an indication of the point when theoretical saturation is reached (Urquhart, 2013). Strauss (1987) posited that a core category “must be central, that is, related to as many other categories and their properties as is possible” (p. 36). Thus, a core category is formed from the key concepts of the data around an emergent phenomena. In this research, the emergence of the core category ‘compulcelebrity’ was a pivotal moment. Through the process of coding and the formation of categories, my understanding of the phenomenon I was examining changed. My initial focus was on the effects of celebrification on UCPs. My early impressions were that I was examining the ‘processes’ of celebrification. However, as the analysis of the data continued it suggested that celebrification as a process had compulsory elements and as such was ingrained within UCPs *in situ*. On further analysis, compulscelebrity explained the majority of research phenomena contained within the three research categories (Table 5), as when individuals became proprietors they were exposed to the conditions contained within UCPs *in situ*, because of which they experienced the celebrification process, resulting in them engaging with celebrity and its resulting positive and negative effects.

3.5.6 Writing up

Glaser (2012) reminds us that when a core category has emerged, memos are sorted and there is deemed to be theoretical saturation and then there is the readiness to write. He also advises that this readiness moment should not be overlooked, or by-passed, as there is a danger that through further abstraction and the prolonged seeking of data, the research will never be completed. The core category compulscelebrity reflected and linked the three categories of UCPs *in situ*, celebrification and celebrity chef *fait accompli*.

The three categories and their contents became central to the write up of the research findings because, although the phenomena contained within them were explained differently by

different individuals, the categories provided the structure to the writing up process. The write up ended with a discussion on the substantive theory of compulcelebrity. Great care was taken to ensure that the theory of compulcelebrity was grounded in the words of research participants in the hope that they would “be understandable to the subjects. If they are not, they are unacceptable” (Denzin, 2001, p. 84). This is what van Manen (1997) called the “phenomenological nod” (p. 27), where participants recognise their experiences in the research findings.

3.6 Limitations of grounded theory method in this research

Urquhart (2013) suggested that the limitations of grounded theory method include: exhaustiveness; its inability to be consistently replicated; incorrect use; and the existence of multiple approaches. The exhaustiveness of grounded theory method results from the amount of data produced and the abstraction of concepts being a tiring and laborious process for researchers. The inability to consistently reproduce findings may be because grounded theory researchers concentrate on real-world phenomena. As far as this research is concerned, it was based on the life experiences of UCPs, and it could be proposed that the findings of this research are in their own way uniquely variable. This limitation is acknowledged by Corbin and Strauss (1990), who proposed that “no theory that deals with social psychological phenomena is actually reproducible in the sense that no situations can be found whose conditions exactly match those of the original study” (p. 15). However, they also suggested that if the research was conducted again using similar research participants, data collection techniques and analysis, then a similar result may be possible, thus refuting the claims of lack of reproducibility. Existing and multiple techniques for grounded theory method have been noted above and researchers must make clear which strand of grounded theory method (Glaserian or Straussian) they intend to use. As discussed in section 3.3, this research has made use of the Glaserian model. Because of the multiple strands of grounded theory method, it is proposed that novice researchers who use grounded theory method need guidance and mentoring because the process is “not simple” (Annells, 1996, p. 177). In this regard, I was mentored by my primary and secondary supervisors who advised me on the intricacies of the grounded theory method.

3.6.1 Reviewing academic literature before the use of grounded theory method

Glaser and Strauss (1967) recommend that a literature review is not conducted before using grounded theory method. However, before this research was able to commence it was a requirement of the university's ethics processes that I undertook a literature review. This should not be seen as a limitation for this research, as it helped me analyse and categorise research findings. Dey (1993) suggested that having knowledge of relevant academic literature as a researcher enters the field results in them conducting the research with "an open mind not an empty head" (p. 299). Care was taken in this research that any theoretical influences from the conduct of the literature review were limited to ensuring that research findings were informed by the data derived from the research itself (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

3.6.2 Ethics

As part of the research process I applied for ethics approval, which was granted on 17 May 2013. As indicated in section 3.3.7, all of AUTECH's directives were taken into account when approaching research participant as well as when, processing, storing, analysing and presenting research findings. These included informing participants of the right of refusing to participate and of being able to remove themselves from the research at any time up until the data gathering stage was completed. Additionally, various procedural criteria were agreed to by me including the confidentiality of transcription, the location of research data storage, and the format of documents to be used during the research, such as: the introductory letter to research participants (Appendix 1); the participant information sheet (Appendix 2); and the interview consent form (Appendix 3). Along with any of the above-mentioned ethical considerations, my predominant concern follows Bryman and Bell's (2011) suggestion that, "participants should come to no harm which can include physical harm; harm to participants' development or self-esteem; stress; harm to career prospects or future employment" (p. 128). It is with these principles of ethical considerations in mind that this research was conducted.

3.6.3 Bias

Bias was a consideration in this research because of my aforementioned experiences as a chef, chef proprietor and culinary lecturer (Section 1.1). Although I paid careful attention to minimising the effects of bias, I considered my past experiences as an advantage especially in gaining access to research participants. Although I was not known to the majority of

participants, my introduction to them from other UCPs (through snowball sampling), as well as personal qualification, may have led to a level of professional respect and empathy resulting in a greater depth of research data. However, because of the shared background care was taken around any superficial qualifying comment such as ‘you know what I mean’ in order to ensure that research participants fully elaborated the meaning of their thoughts. In this way, I took great care to mitigate any preconceived ideas or inherent bias, as grounded theory method is reliant on the authenticity of the participant’s experiences and viewpoints being recorded, analysed and presented. Nevertheless, it has been proposed that attention to avoiding bias should not override the philosophical assumptions held by the researcher, as it is these assumptions that assist with guiding the research and its abstractions during data analysis and in the presentation of findings (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Charmaz, 2008; Goulding, 2005; Patton, 2002; Schwandt, 2000).

3.6.4 Academic generalisability

The findings of this research may have academic generalisability as their context derives from the social and cultural environments of commercial kitchens, the upmarket restaurant sector and celebrity. Palmer, Cooper and Burns (2010), in their research on the identity of professional chefs, came to the conclusion that these chefs share a common environment. Furthermore, academic research on culinary celebrities, including work by Rousseau (2012a, 2012b), Hyman (2009), Jones (2008), and Lukacs (2010), amongst others, position them as part of a global phenomenon. As such, the geographical location of this research may not be particularly significant as similar vocational and external social conditions could well exist for UCPs within other westernised locations. This is reflected in Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) suggestion that certain methods of quantitative research, such as grounded theory method, provide a world view of a phenomenon and, as such, have attributes that are generalisable.

3.6.5 Limitations of the research

A number of limitations in regards to this research, its methods and findings have been identified. By using a qualitative research method, the findings could have been affected by my own input, when I made analytical decisions regarding the sorting and categorising of research content and in the determination of the research direction. This could be the case in

this research due to my own bias from my vocational experience as chef, chef proprietor and culinary educator. However, because of the use of grounded theory method, including the reliance on constant comparison and the use of research participants' voices to guide data collection and analysis, this factor was hopefully reduced in significance. As this research is a reflection of data collected from 20 research participants, at a moment in time, in a specific research location, Auckland, New Zealand, any inferences beyond the findings of this research should be made cautiously.

3.7 Summation

This chapter presented the methodology that will be used in the research. The philosophical foundations of the research led to the adoption of an interpretivist epistemological position. The interpretivist approach places emphasis on interdependence between the researcher and the research participants in the discovery of new knowledge (Bryman & Bell, 2011). This resulted in the use of a qualitative research method and the adoption of the grounded theory method to sort and analysis data. Grounded theory method was chosen for its inclusive nature where the findings of the research would emerge from the data and not from any preconceived philosophies that the researcher may have (Díaz-Andrade, 2009). As Urquhart (2013) suggested, the objective of the grounded theory method is in the discovery of substantive theory which fully explains the phenomenon being examined. Further she proposed the use of memos, open and focused coding to sort, connect and organise data with a similar meanings. The focused codes are then refined into categories which after further analysis result in the emergence of the core category in the case of this research, compulcelebrity.

In total, 20 UCPs were interviewed during the course of this research. It is their voices that were critical in assisting with research direction and in the identification of new research participants. Every effort was made in the research findings to preserve the integrity of their responses and to accurately reflect the effects of compulcelebrity on them.

Chapter 4 Service- the cooking

As presented below, the findings of this research show that celebrity for UCPs is crucial if they are to be seen as legitimate and therefore successful. However, from their perspective celebrity may be more of a symptom than the result of a desire or need. This phenomena has been labelled ‘compulcelebrity’. As this chapter will show, individuals are subject to compulcelebrity as a result of becoming UCPs. Data provided by UCPs has resulted in three research categories, ‘UCPs *in situ*’, ‘celebrification’ and ‘celebrity chef *fait accompli*’ which will form the three sections of this chapter. These categories and their contents are the basis for the substantive theory of compulcelebrity.

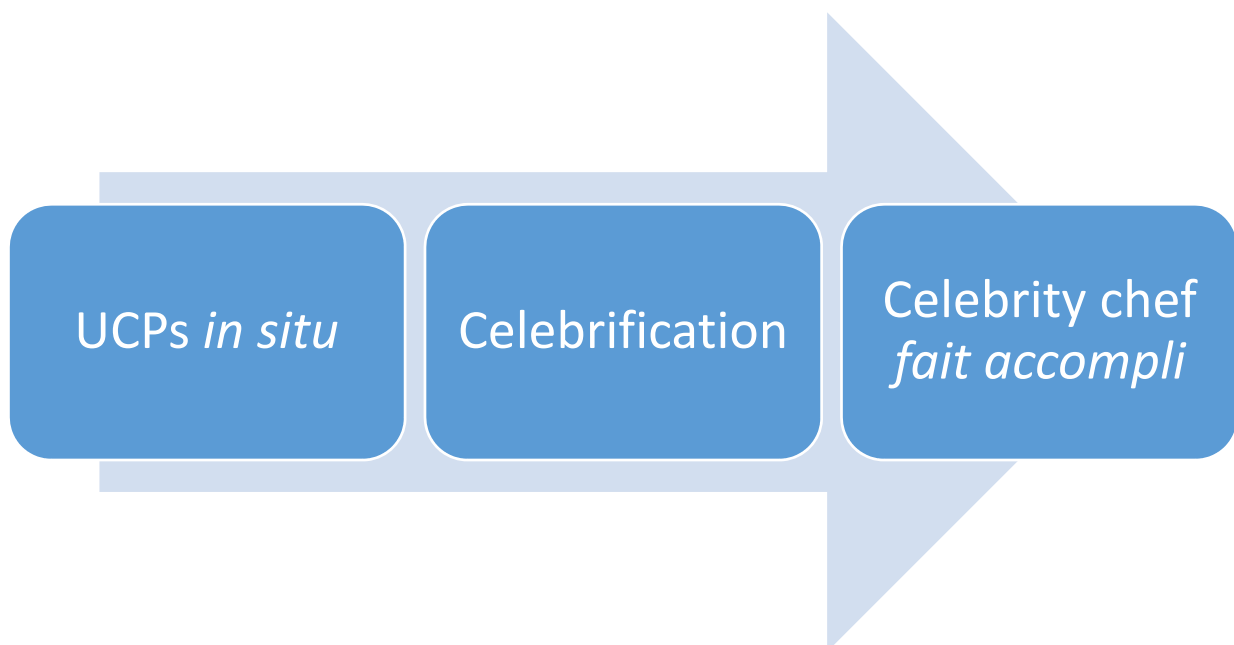


Figure 1 The compulcelebrity process at large

In Figure 1 the three categories are presented as a process. When the research commenced initial data suggested that celebrity generation is a result of the environmental conditions that UCPs experience. However as respondents discussed their experiences of celebrity and celebrity generation it became apparent that it was a much wider phenomenon. Through their observations they discussed both intrinsic and extrinsic forces which impacted on their exposure to, and the requirement for, celebrity. This became the basis for the first category, UCPs *in situ*. *In situ* is taken to mean UCPs ‘in place’, to describe events in their setting (Alexander & Holmes, 2006) reflecting the many forces and the lack of choice that UCPs have

in their exposure to celebrification. Thus environment and *in situ* may be used interchangeably during the remainder of this research to reflect forces that act on UCPs as their celebrity is generated.

As discussed above, the findings which reflect UCPs *in situ* are presented in the first section of this chapter. They emerged from an investigation into the environment of UCPs for compulsory celebrity attributes and the effects thereof. The discussion on UCPs *in situ* presented below is illuminated through UCPs' understandings of: Auckland's elite upmarket restaurant sector; their financial responsibilities; their vocational experiences; their need for celebrity; the demands of the media; and UCPs' willingness to engage with media participants in the provision of content. Because of these factors the effects of celebrification for UCPs' are shown to be difficult if not impossible to avoid.

Celebrification and its effects as experienced by UCPs are discussed in the second section of this chapter. Celebrification involves changes at an individual level (Driessens, 2013), the generation and regeneration of celebrity figures (Guthey, 2009) and the uptake of celebrity through acting like, and associating with, others who already have celebrity status (Gamson, 1994). As this research focuses on UCPs it is predominantly concerned with effects of celebrification at the level of the individual. This research is interested in how UCPs accept or reject celebrification, what determines whether they are excluded from or included in the media, and how their celebrity is generated. Although the process of celebrification is individually experienced, this research illuminates a sector-wide phenomenon through the commonality of the research participants' experiences.

A discussion on the third research category, celebrity chef *fait accompli*, is presented in the third section of this chapter and details the results of compulcelebrity on UCPs. The discussion in this section includes the research participants' thoughts on their identity as celebrity chefs, the rewards they have achieved as a result of their celebrity status, the use of their celebrity profile, and their experiences of associated celebrity duties expressed as celebrity norms. Following these three sections, a synopsis and conclusion of research findings is presented.

4.1 Upmarket chef proprietors *in situ*

The UCPs *in situ* emerged as a category by way of UCPs' reflections on: Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector; their interactions with the media; their motivations for proprietorship; their vocational identity; their identification as chefs; their need for a celebrity profile; and their

willingness to engage with the media. Thus, conditions described in UCPs *in situ* will be shown to be central to the UCPs experiencing compulcelebrity.

4.1.1 Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector, social capital and eliteness

Ten research participants discussed Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector's elite characteristics. As exemplified by Noah, respondents believed that Auckland has an upmarket restaurant culture: "Upmarket restaurants are in the top 10 percent which gives an automatic status." Miles expounded upon the attention bestowed on these restaurants as a result of this status: "Top restaurants influence a lot of other restaurants...everybody has been influenced from these top people." These respondents infer that operating within the upmarket restaurant sector results in UCPs having high status and an influential voice amongst their peers, other restaurant sectors and customers. However, not everybody can afford to experience UCPs' restaurants in person. Cameron reflected on this point and commented that, "High end restaurants are incredibly elitist and exclusive simply because they cost so much so a lot of ordinary people can't go to them." When asked why exclusiveness makes a restaurant sector elite Cameron remarked, "Rich people always have the power if you look at the Marxist, rich people have more choice, they have more power." Further, Cameron stated, "People that go to the elite restaurants...it's part of their capital, their culinary capital. The chef has got the skill and the knowledge about the food...food is capital." Dylan further noted class characteristics through his clientele and proposed that his customers were:

Very high class, for sure, and middle class as well, because there is a lot of foodies who are middle class and they will save up for a while and then go and celebrate their anniversary or birthday at a formal place. It's about \$160 or \$170 a head so it is not a cheap night out.

However, exclusivity and expense also results in extra pressures, expectations and demands on UCPs. Three research participants alluded to this, including Alex who pronounced upmarket restaurants are, "probably at the hardest most demanding spectrum of the industry, fine dining. People come here and pay \$44 for a main course, now they expect it to be spot on, and they're always looking for flaws." Although these suggestions highlight Alex's frustration in being judged by customers, Dylan praised the upmarket restaurant sector in Auckland as having:

a handful of restaurants that are really pushing in terms of the quality. They try and strive for the best...I think fine dining is probably at its peak at the moment in terms of the competition, in terms of the calibre of food going out of some of the kitchens.

These comments are somewhat self-congratulatory; however, Dylan also noted there must be value for his customers as “they’ve got to get bang per buck, value for money and still be really excited.” In combination, the above comments reflect the strength of the upmarket restaurant sector in Auckland, its elite characteristics, its influence, and the level of peer respect between UCPs within a competitive environment.

4.1.2 The media and upmarket chef proprietors

The media gives guidance to consumers through their production and promotion of culinary related content. Luke commented, this gives the media a degree of power over the culinary industry as:

the media is calling the shots...the media is almost like advising people these days...If you think about fine dining restaurants now in Auckland you can spend about \$250 for a degustation and how do you decide to go to one? First of all you go to the media.

However, 10 UCPs noted the media needs or uses UCPs to provide content and commercial returns. Cameron reflected on the commercial value of UCPs to the media noting that, “The fact is that the media seems to think that people are interested in it [culinary content] and it sells things, otherwise they wouldn’t do it.” According to research participants media also generate content by sponsoring competitions within the restaurant sector. Two culinary-focused magazines run this style of competition, with an upmarket restaurant usually the recipient of the major prize in the ‘of the year’ category. David, a regional judge in the San Pellegrino-sponsored World's 50 Best Restaurants competition, stated that this is because:

If you look around the world almost certainly it is the fine dining restaurants that win the really big accolades. And I can understand that because in terms of skill levels there’s a lot more creativity and a lot more skill trying to create an Al Bulli or a Fat Duck or Michael Meredith, without question there is...therein lies the craft that’s why the fine dining usually wins. Because they push boundaries, and they give you something you haven’t seen, or true excellence.

In addition to the benefits to the UCPs of winning or participating in these awards, there are benefits for the publications themselves. For example, Jack noted that magazine editions devoted to award results are vital to the publications’ fiscal viability because:

for *Metro* or *Cuisine* it's the only magazine that sells out...they need it. They put on a bloody dinner because they know it's worth their while in the long run. *Cuisine*, they'll fly people up from everywhere to go to an event in Auckland. So they know that it's good for them.

Jack's comment shows that these publications depend on these culinary-focused competitions because of the high level of public interest in, and consumption of, the media that produces this information. Further, these magazines are self-promoting by aligning themselves with the winners of their competitions - usually UCPs' restaurants or others from within the upmarket restaurant sector. However, this style of competition still influences UCPs *in situ* because of their willingness to compete and accept the rewards on offer. This relationship could be described as mutually beneficial: the media's need to have marketable content through connection with the upmarket restaurant sector, and the UCPs, need for media coverage. Members of the media also have a need to establish themselves and in doing so some may wish to be connected to others with legitimacy, such as UCPs. Elliot remarked:

They are all trying to write about the next big explosive cafe, restaurant, chef, which will elevate their status. You imagine if there is someone out there that wants to be a food writer as their profession, and they write about Alex, they write about Andrew [UCPs and celebrity chefs], that's helping them.

Elliot's observation reflects the self-serving goals of media participants to elevate their own worth by including UCPs in their culinary commentary. In addition to writing about UCPs, the media also contacts UCPs for comments on culinary issues of the day. Eight research participants mentioned that the media would regularly contact them for comments. Dylan stated that the "media calls me. People always call and ask you about what is your outlook is on this concept, or that concept, or what the new trends of dining are." When asked why the media contacted him and not a chef from a different style of restaurant, Dylan replied, "I think formal dining chefs have quite a high profile as compared to chefs who have a relaxed environment so I guess they'll always call people who they perceive as a chef with a profile." This comment is more than just profile, this comment is also about media using UCPs to construct reputable content, thereby reinforcing the mutually beneficial relationship between media and UCPs. Jack agreed commenting, "They try to sell papers by putting in good content." Luke took this further, observing, "They [chefs] are how they get people interested from a consumer point of view, when they read a magazine, oh he's the *Masterchef* guy oh, that's what he does, okay that's what I'll try." Luke's comment explains how the media commodifies the chef's image

to sell their product. As discussed below, the reasons why UCPs allow the media to use them for content may derive from the UCPs' attitudes prior to becoming proprietors.

4.1.3 Ownership and individuality

All the UCPs interviewed expressed a desire to own their own restaurant prior to becoming proprietors. Ryan suggested, "Most chefs out there want to own their own business. You ask any chef that is passionate enough they want to run their own restaurant." Others, such as Miles, explained the seemingly inherent desire to be a proprietor:

I was always my own man, I never work for anybody else. Everybody is different, I guess I am possibly more of a businessman...I say looking at it now most of these top chefs they own their own business so I guess it's fundamental, no, it is more [a matter of] dedication.

This desire for autonomy is echoed by Dylan who stated, "You have full control of everything that is going on and it's your vision that you are showcasing, not somebody else's vision." These comments highlight the feeling shared by UCPs that they are individuals, reliant on themselves for the success of their businesses. This reinforces the UCP's need for a celebrity profile to ensure their own and, by association, their restaurants', visibility in Auckland's competitive upmarket restaurant sector.

4.1.4 The vocational identity of upmarket chef proprietors

As indicated above, upmarket chefs have a desire to become proprietors in order to express their individuality and culinary identity. In this regard, all research participants were asked how they introduced themselves to others who may not know them. Nineteen UCPs identified themselves as chefs. Jack was the exception and commented that when filling out official documents such as travel documents, he identified himself as "a cook, and I always call myself a cook, that's all we do." Jack's observation indicates that UCPs' vocational identity is linked to task and labour. Alex furthered this point, stating, "I cook every night, I cook every day, I try and do the same hours as my boys in the kitchen, you know I run a section...management responsibilities are very much a distraction for my cooking." For Alex, culinary duties are his primary focus with the additional responsibilities of proprietorship being somewhat of an intrusion on his daily activities. This illuminates how UCPs perceive hierarchy rankings. While

some might argue that ‘proprietor’ is a more auspicious title than ‘chef’ or ‘cook’, UCPs did not agree.

4.1.4.1 Upmarket chef proprietors as chefs

Within their businesses, the UCPs’ provision of labour is as a chef; however, there is also a focus on UCPs as chefs from a business perspective. As Noah proposed, having an identity as a chef is important for UCPs because “Upmarket restaurants are all about the chefs.” Noah’s remark confirms that having a recognised, and therefore easily identifiable chef, is important for the success of an upmarket restaurant. One of the advantages that UCPs have over other non-chef owned upmarket restaurants is that they have an extra degree of commitment to their businesses in their capacity as chefs. Elliot explained the fortunes of a proprietor, who was not a chef, after his long-term executive chef (who had celebrity status) left:

look at [restaurant’s name] status, five years ago everywhere, now the name, the brand way down here [gestures] almost dead, gone. The chef’s gone, the person getting all the media, is gone...from an owner’s point of view having a chef who comes in and grabs all the limelight and the status and all the IP [intellectual property] and then leaves a year later is a very dangerous person to have around your business...I’m really, really against that.

Thus, as proprietors, UCPs provide culinary stability, protection and longevity during the period they are invested in their businesses. However, the media’s interest in UCPs (because of their culinary ability and marketability) may create issues for them, especially if ownership is shared with others. This problem was acknowledged by Alex, who owns and operates an upmarket restaurant with his wife:

Alex, chef at the [restaurant’s name] is fine by me. I’m happy with that as far as I’m concerned. Elizabeth and I run this business as a business. Obviously we have individual roles in the business but, and I do feel sorry for her as well because I seem to get the exposure. Everyone wants the chef. They want to see the chef on TV and all that sort of thing, which is bullshit because she does, probably, a better job than me or equally as good a job as me, which is a shame but that’s just the way it is.

Alex’s observation, apart from illuminating his desired media identity, shows that regardless of the ownership model the media’s attention focuses on the chef. He also reinforces that there is little choice in the matter and that the chef is paramount to the identity and identification of an upmarket restaurant.

4.1.4.2 Reputation

Six UCPs remarked it was important that through their reputation they were known to potential customers. They connected their reputation with customers knowing their name and the type and quality of culinary experience the customers could expect to receive by visiting their restaurants. By the customer knowing their name, they understood that this would assist in customer recognition of their restaurants and likely boost patronage. Dylan commented:

When people go out they want to go to some place where that place is known for someone, they can relate to going to that place. Some might go to Michael Meredith's place, people go there for Michael Meredith where some restaurants you go there for the experience all the fun element of the place rather than a celebrity chef.

This statement shows that the customer's need to know the UCP's name is sector driven, as confirmed by Aaron who noted, "Definitely people who are paying a lot of money for good food like to be familiar with the chef to a certain extent. Even if it is just knowing their names." The projection of UCP's as 'names' acknowledges they are imbued with class which can be used by customers to affirm their own class and taste. This further accentuates the need for UCPs to be visible and to have a celebrity profile to attract customers who are at the same time considering where, what and how to spend their money.

4.1.4.3 Upmarket chef proprietors and synergy with their restaurants

Because of their ownership position business activities may take on a personal importance to UCPs and become part of their identity. Owen noted that, "You are the person who created it, you are the person who is driving it. You and the restaurant are one." This sentiment was reflected by 12 other UCPs, including Alex, who commented, "The restaurant is the only reason why I would sell my soul to do the media stuff because this is our baby and that is the only thing that is important." As a result of the emotional and financial investment in their restaurants, UCPs recognise the need to choose carefully any promotional activity that would link them and their restaurants. Aaron commented on his experiences marketing himself and his restaurant and stated:

There has to be a grounding in the restaurant, I guess the other thing is, what is the reason for cultivating your persona as a celebrity chef? Is it a marketing thing? And I would say yes...then it has to be firmly attached to that restaurant otherwise the marketing thing is going to get lost.

Aaron highlights that the reason UCPs engage with celebrity is first and foremost to help ensure the success of their restaurants. Consequently, any celebrity exposure generated by UCPs that is not specifically linked to their restaurants is meaningless. This point was considered by William who, when recounting his reasons for appearing as a guest judge on *Masterchef*, noted the “focus is on me and it is linked to my restaurant...because my name is linked to my restaurant so if I become more famous it means I can get more customers.” Such comments reflect the synergy between the identity of UCPs and their restaurants, both of which are elevated by celebrity generation.

4.1.5 The financial need for a celebrity profile

Eighteen UCPs remarked on their need for a celebrity profile. The predominant reason given for this was their personal and financial commitment to the business. Logan explained that becoming a UCP meant, “putting everything on the line, and it’s not just your personal ideas and your recipes or your idea of hospitality, but everything financially, everything with your family and your partner, everything goes into that business.” This statement reflects the concerns of other research participants, who focused primarily on their financial commitment. As Ryan elaborated, “The reality of it is it all costs money, a lot of money.” This highlights the importance of financial success for UCPs and how it has ramifications far beyond their businesses. This point is not lost on Tyler, who stated, “At the end of the day the most important thing is the fact that you are making money otherwise I would be working as a chef for someone else.” Achieving the desired financial success would allow UCPs to maintain their autonomy and independence and to concentrate on the development of their culinary skills. This view was commonly held by Luke, Tyler, Ryan and Alex, with the latter explaining, “Let’s face it, without bums on seats, without them spending the money, there is no progression. There is no chance of you exploring or experimenting because you’re in that tunnel where you’re just trying to make money.” This shows that money and financial success not only influences UCPs in a business sense but has ramifications in their external lives, and their ability to have creative freedom.

All 20 UCPs indicated that their need for a celebrity profile was to attract customers to their restaurants. Typifying their thoughts was Adam’s comment: “You need some marketing or celebrity status with you because it helps awareness...when you became a chef proprietor that is essential to getting credibility, getting people through your door.” This theme of credibility

was further echoed by Jason who explained, “The more you can get through the media the more it is going to help you look like a legitimate, viable option to dine because most people listen to the media.” This blending of need, credibility and necessity by research participants reflects the importance of celebrity, as appearing in the media positions them as legitimate, authentic and as leaders in their field. Furthermore, UCPs who are not visible in the media may struggle because, as Aaron observed, “People see TV shows about chefs and *Masterchef* and all that sort of thing and anybody who is worth his salt is going to be well-known.” All of the above comments validate the contention that compulcelebrity is a factor within UCPs *in situ* and that having a media or celebrity profile is a mandatory part of a UCP’s marketing strategy. For this reason Cameron suggested that action and contact with the media is required:

if you want to be a really successful chef these days you’ve got to go out, you’ve got to schmooze the customers, you’ve got to talk to the journalists, you’ve got to have a PR. So you can’t just stand in the kitchen and do necessarily the food.

In other words, as previously demonstrated, being a proprietor and running a restaurant is only part of an UCP’s vocational role; it is also their vocational duty to engage with their customer base and the media. Ryan noted:

it is part of the job, you can’t just cook now, the media is just part of it...because the media can feature people more than you can....That’s the thing with the day and age now, media and everything you can’t hide from it.

Ryan, by mentioning the media and its supremacy over publicity generated by UCPs themselves, reinforces their need to engage with, and accept, the media as part of their everyday duties. Simply stated, the media is inherent to the experience of UCPs *in situ*.

One of the reasons that UCPs accept that they have a need for a celebrity profile is so they are able to compete with other restaurants in the upmarket restaurant sector. Because of this competitive environment the success of a UCP’s business may be reliant on them using their celebrity as a ‘chef’ to attract customers. Adam furthered this point by commenting:

You want people to know where you are. If you think you can just sit there, and think I’m good at what I do and people will find me, there’s just too many restaurants and most people just look at a restaurant as a restaurant. What’s different from him, to him, to him? “I’ve got disposable income where do I spend it tonight?” So celebrity chef status is really important for getting punters through the door.

Consequential to this Ryan remarked that “celebrity profile helps especially when everybody’s fighting for business. When you’re in this industry you know there’s a lot of restaurants right now and obviously the top end is what we are after...that’s where the media stuff works.” Ryan’s and Dylan’s comments reflect two compelling points. Firstly, there is a benefit to UCPs and their restaurants if they have a strong celebrity profile; secondly, there is a direct relationship between being in the media and being seen as a reliable, credible and trustworthy place to dine. Credibility and media visibility was discussed by six UCPs as an important factor in the customers’ willingness to dine at their restaurants. Ryan noted, “You can’t just sit back and think everything is okay you’re cooking...you need a media profile because it helps the business exposure and it gives it credibility, all those kind of things.” Likewise, Adam explained, “When you become a chef proprietor that [celebrity] was essential to getting credibility, getting people through your door.” These comments demonstrate how a celebrity profile helps build credibility and is a necessity for UCPs to be successful.

4.1.6 Willingness to engage with the media

Although the willingness to engage with the media has been discussed through UCPs’ need for financial viability and for them to be seen as credible, their willingness to engage with the media may also be ingrained in UCPs through their background as chefs. Owen noted, “It’s kind of what chefs do. They work hard, they go overseas and they come back, maybe they open their own place, they do a cookbook and then they go on TV.” David agreed, commenting, “It is a relatively new phenomenon, in the last decade or two. Where people like that and, see that [being a celebrity], as a career path.” Although this is a reflection of David’s and Owen’s own vocational pathways, in total 12 research participants discussed the opportunities that being in the media provided and their willingness to accept them. Elliot commented, “The media would always ring up. Can I have an interview? Can I talk about this? It was always ‘yes, when do you want it’, it was never a problem, I never put them off.” As Ryan noted, UCPs acknowledge that media appearances are important:

Nowadays you can’t just sit back and think everything is okay you’re cooking you have to get out because people want to know more of you, people want to know what’s behind you, the person or the restaurant. That’s why most chefs out there are pushing a little bit about themselves.

Ryan's comment demonstrates the environmental forces that act upon UCPs *in situ* and force them to engage with celebrity by publicly projecting their personalities and therefore their points of difference from other UCPs and their businesses.

4.1.7 Upmarket chef proprietors and their environment

The findings above reflect the effects of compulcelebrity on individuals as they enter the environment of UCPs. It shows how the media and the celebrity industry benefit from, and use, UCPs. Further, it illustrates how UCPs are willing participants in the generation of their celebrity status as they understand that having a celebrity profile will assist in their success.

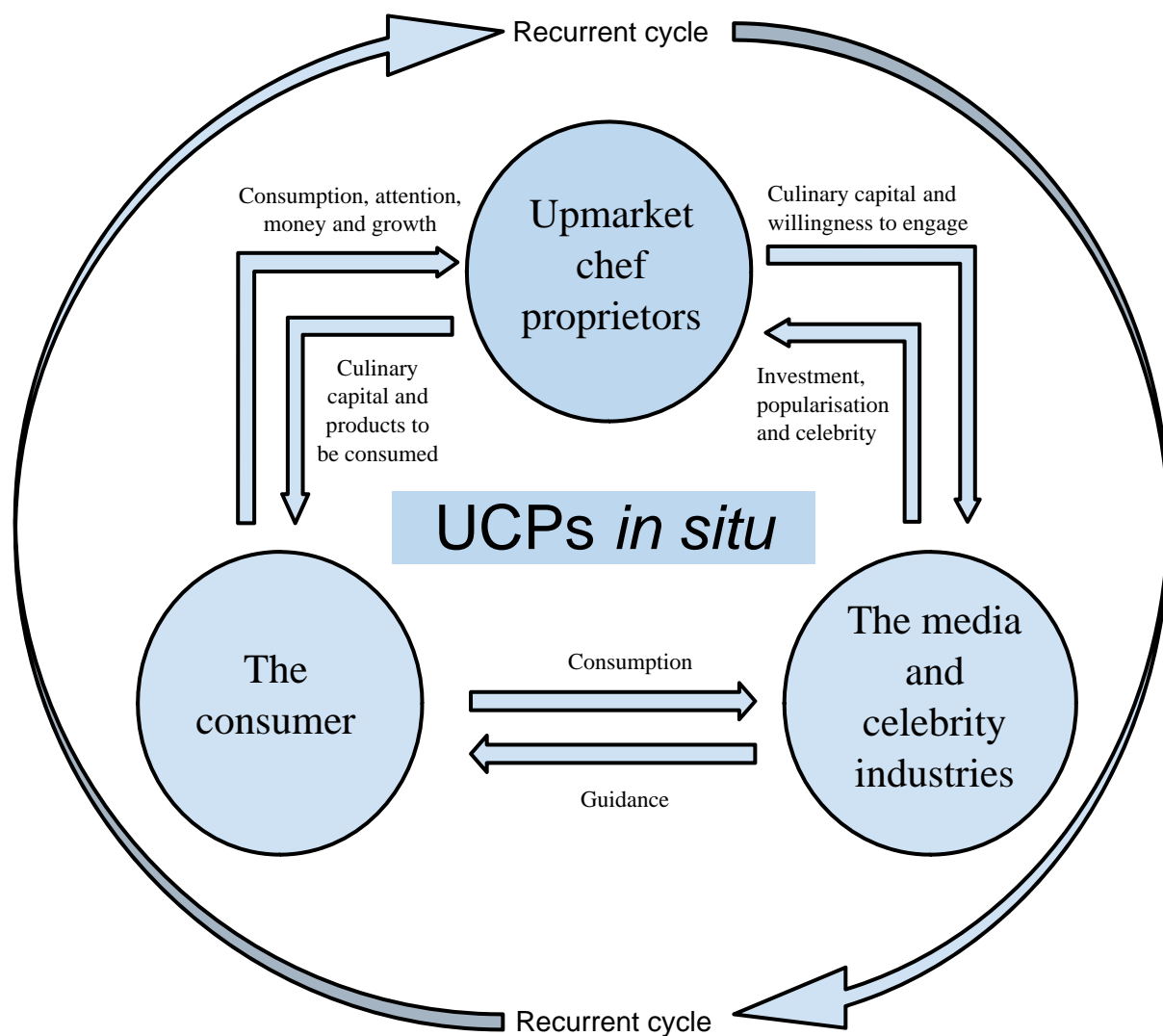


Figure 2 UCPs *in situ*

Figure 2 outlines the forces that act upon UPCs in their environment. The cycle is represented as a recurrent loop because the participants within the cycle, as well as their needs, are subject

to change. Compulcelebrity is experienced when individuals become UCPs *in situ*. As shown above the research participants believe media interest not only gives UCPs the opportunity to become celebrities but forces them to appear in the media. They understand that the media is a self-serving participant in UCPs' celebrity generation and that the media uses them to provide legitimate content and class assimilation. However UCPs also understand they need celebrity status and when it has been achieved it increases their legitimacy and assists them in attracting customers on whom they depend for financial viability. UCPs also noted the interaction between the media and consumers, with the media providing culinary guidance to the consumer. This further reinforces UCPs' need to engage with the media in an effort to increase their visibility and hence celebrity profile. Section 1 forms the basis of the substantive theory of compulcelebrity, as without conditions contained within the environment of UCPs *in situ* they may not be willing or compelled to develop their celebrity profile.

4.2 Upmarket chef proprietors and celebrification

The overview of UCPs presented in Section 1 has demonstrated the need that UCPs have for a celebrity profile. The acceptance of celebrity by UCPs was discussed by research participants as a natural progression of their careers. This means that UCPs, before becoming proprietors, could have already engaged with the media in the hope of increasing their celebrity profile as chefs. Driessens (2013) reminds us that celebrification does not start with a blank slate. Thus, UCPs experiences of celebrification, detailed below, do not start with a specific action; it begins with a discussion on their celebrity profile before they achieve proprietorship.

4.2.1 Celebrity status before becoming a proprietor

Six research participants discussed that it was an advantage to have some form of celebrity profile before becoming a proprietor. Ryan commented, "Celebrity definitely gives you a helping hand when you're starting. Your exposure to the media, absolutely because you need exposure to open." Before they became proprietors, UCPs would have traditionally worked for others, as chefs, in the upmarket restaurant sector. In Auckland at the time of this research there were a number of non-chef upmarket restaurant proprietors. Three research participants discussed that one central Auckland upmarket restaurant in particular had a record of

establishing its executive chefs as celebrities and that when these chefs left they became UCPs. Lauren commented that individuals who had worked as executive chefs at this establishment:

have left, and all of them have achieved a certain amount of celebrity status, gone off to open their own businesses...people want to work with him (the proprietor) because they see that, as a chef it's their chance of going out and getting their own business.

Lauren's observation indicates that by working in this establishment these chefs might be undertaking a vocational step, developing a celebrity profile, establishing a reputation in the upmarket restaurant sector, as well as developing contacts within the media. Two UCPs included in this research (Dylan and Ryan) had previously been executive chefs at this establishment. Dylan acknowledged that working there "got me a little bit more into the media and people watching what I was doing. So when I started here, for sure I had some [media profile]." While Ryan commented, "I think it worked [the success of his own restaurant] because I work for the right people, I build my profile." In addition to building their celebrity profile as chefs, there is also the possibility of UCPs getting to know members of the media before they become proprietors. Jack recounted: "The first time I had a restaurant, I was busy after the third or fourth week because I knew a few people like Alice Doyle (a well-known restaurant critic) and suddenly there was something written out there." These media contacts are then able to be repeatedly used to promote new ventures, as Elliot noted: "I knew a few people so when something opened you could pre-empt them and use them to help you help your business." When discussing the importance of celebrity before opening, one UCP emphasised the added importance for him of having an existing celebrity profile. William noted:

I am not Kiwi, if I can't establish myself it's like I am unknown here, so nobody know about me and I start to focus on running a restaurant in New Zealand, that time I must be selling my name...I tried to get customer for the owner but, for myself as well because I was already focus on my future to own a restaurant so that time I already had my responsibility for myself.

William's reflection indicates that while working for others he was already focused on building his celebrity profile to assist him later in becoming a successful UCP. All the above comments reinforce that if UCPs have a celebrity profile from their work as chefs then they have an advantage when it comes to building their profile after opening their own restaurants. Thus,

their existing celebrity becomes the starting point for their continuing and intensified exposure to celebrification.

4.2.2 Entry into celebrity

Celebrity is generated for UCPs as they become proprietors and enter the upmarket restaurant sector. Logan agreed, noting, “People say yes, you're a celebrity chef because you own a restaurant...I can see some parallels there between the restaurant owner, by default, becoming a celebrity. By default you're automatically going to be presented with those opportunities.” However, media opportunities may also need to be generated by UCPs, such as inviting the media to an opening event. This is potentially a pivotal moment for UCPs. Seven UCPs interviewed initiated contact with the media by extending invitations to their opening events in order to promote their restaurants. William noted that when he opened his restaurant he organised a “media function party. I invited lots of media, food writer from *Metro*, *Cuisine*, those sorts of people and I promote myself and my restaurant. My restaurant, my business style I don't want to spend not much advertisement fee.” William highlights his hope for a ‘give-and-take’ relationship where the media were invited to his restaurant opening and given the opportunity to produce content, while in return he hoped for free publicity. Noah took this one step further and proposed, “If you open a restaurant you've got to do it properly, you have to invite the right people, the beautiful people, the media, the food people and they will write about you if they like the place.” Noah's observation accentuates the need to impress the media and places the media in a position of importance, exhibiting aspects of a courtship relationship/ritual for the attention of the people holding celebrity generating power. Additionally, by their presence at such events the guests, media and UCPs themselves become established as members of an elite group with class synergies.

4.2.3 Luck

A celebrity profile for UCPs may not necessarily depend on their culinary skills, business acumen or abilities to engage with media. Indeed, five research participants asserted that luck was a component of generating celebrity. As Jack observed, “Luck, there are chefs out there that are so fucken good they get no kudos for what they've done. And then there's chefs that are good at talking when their ability is not as good. I reckon is just luck.” Additionally, one research participant, Cameron, reflecting on his own success, recalled his entry into the media: “I think it's luck, you've got to be able to have a few skills but, if they had not have come in I

don't know if I would ever have ended up here." Cameron's comments reflect the serendipity of being in the right place at the right time. Cameron had regular clientele who were involved in publishing culinary media and asked him to submit a magazine article. His article gained Cameron a highly rated journalistic award which created further demand for his writing and eventually made him a celebrity.

4.2.4 Awards

UCPs are able to generate publicity for their restaurants through entering and winning awards. Eleven respondents remarked that entering and winning awards was important for them from a business perspective. William reflected:

The first six months really hard to operate my restaurant, business not going well....to be honest after *Metro*, *Cuisine* we won the best Japanese restaurant after only open six months. Then we got so many customer. This was what I was aiming to do.

William's comment shows an element of pre-planning and highlight his focus on media awards as integral to his business plan. Awards come in several formats and are judged under different criteria. This means that either the UCPs themselves, or their restaurants, could be named as the recipient of an award. However, due to UCPs and their restaurants having a degree of synergy the UCPs celebrity profile will increase regardless of the award orientation. This point is elaborated on by Alex who commented, "We've won lots of awards and stuff like that so that probably gets your name out there and any time the [his restaurant's name] is mentioned it's Alex Turner so I guess the public is aware of that." There is also awareness, within the media, of potential or past award recipients whom they have sought for comment. Dylan remarked, "The media really look at us whenever the restaurant awards are going on." By entering and winning awards UCPs can generate ongoing publicity for their restaurants and celebrity for themselves.

4.2.5 Developing celebrity profile

For UCPs, the pursuit of celebrity can involve an element of labour including attending events outside of the UCP's normal schedule. Owen remarked, "If you're the owner you will spend your days off going to the events if you think that may lead to a story being written about the

restaurant.” When Elliot was questioned about the relationship between luck and his celebrity status, he commented:

Was I lucky? I don't think I was lucky. I used to work 80, 90 hours a week and put myself out there and I attacked every media [opportunity] that I could to write about me, and all the things that were attached to that, that gave me profile, and that gave me money to live.

Elliot and Owen's observations submit that the pursuit of media opportunities for UCPs is important enough that, despite their long working hours, many choose to generate celebrity opportunities in their personal time. However, Alex explained that work generating celebrity, for him, was working smarter not harder:

I don't see myself as a food show person who is going to go on stage and cook for 45 minutes to do a demonstration with some equipment. I don't feel like there's any worth to them [his sponsors] or any worth for that smaller audience...so I need to work out the best way to maximise the channels for me. Advertising and media you need to be smart. I don't need to be a travelling roadshow for Electrolux [demonstrating their cooking appliances] or anything like that and they know that. We are at the luxury end of the market and they've got a luxury product. We need to be clever. I think the magazines, the TV ads, are great and more corporate things where they can hit the target market much better with me as a person is a far better result to both parties.

This statement is an indication of Alex's position as a UCP and his consequent ability to elevate the type of celebrity promotion he chooses - while being paid by the company whose product he is representing. He also includes himself in the decision making process from his sponsor's perspective, showing that he is the one in control and holds the dominant position in the relationship. This shows the value of UCPs as product representatives and the way they can make demands similar to others with celebrity status. Alex's comments also point towards the eliteness of the UCPs' market sector. Because of the eliteness of their sector and their representative abilities UCPs could gain disproportionate celebrity exposure compared to chefs or proprietors in other restaurant sectors. Logan recounted an incident such as this:

People said, “I hear you're involved in Taste” [a three-day wine and food festival]. Well, actually I've committed to a 45 minutes demonstration, that's all I could commit to. I was asked to do it and I said no and the organisers said, “Is there anything you can do?” Well, I said I could do a demo...all of a sudden, I had people on the street saying “I hear you're going to be at Taste.” Well I can't be at Taste in the sense of having a restaurant, or doing food, because I have such a small team it would be an impossibility but, by default people thought I was at Taste. It is quite weird how that works, because, we are one of the top restaurants in Auckland,

you're invited to the event, I said I would do a demo and, then all of a sudden we got some quite good talk-ability out of it and it was good for us.

Logan's remarks show that people thought his restaurant had been an integral part of Taste over the three-day festival duration. This may give him more acclaim amongst his followers than if they knew his involvement was limited to a 45-minute demonstration. Logan's comments also highlight that the festival organisers used his presence as a marketing tool to place the event by association with his image as legitimate, relevant and up-to-date by including Auckland's elite UCPs. That being said the strategy appeared effective, with both parties achieving the desired publicity for their respective ventures. The examples above demonstrate the commodification of the respondents' status as UCPs, the transferability and marketability of UCPs' culinary status as promotional entities, and their value as figureheads of the best that Auckland's restaurant industry has to offer.

4.2.5.1 Knowledge as a celebrity generating tool

The culinary knowledge that UCPs possess gives them an advantage when it comes to generating celebrity. UCPs are able to be easily assimilated into the media because of the ability to project their culinary skills. As Jack remarked, "I'm a chef, the easiest way for me to get into the paper is through my cooking ability." Likewise, Cameron, when reflecting on his culinary knowledge and the way he uses it in his celebrity activities proposed, "I think anyone with huge knowledge and skill has an advantage, whether you are the best plumber in New Zealand or the best chef, or the best conductor; the more you know the better." However UCPs, when producing content for the media, might not necessarily be trying to project their culinary expertise. On the contrary, UCPs may simplify their recipes to make them easier for consumers to understand. Logan reflected this point and stated that when he wrote he:

keeps it quite achievable, homely for the general public to do. Recipes to make at home that are really simple. They are not restaurant recipes. That's sort of, almost, a bit of an unknown, to know how successful that is....I don't feel it really brings people into the restaurant but I do think it reminds people that Logan is here.

In his comment, Logan reflects on the level of success that his writing has in attracting customers but at the same time still reminds people that he is 'here'. Furthermore, it shows that the simplifying of recipes by UCPs is enforced by a media formula so their recipes are suitable for mass consumption. This is further evidence that UCPs are playing the celebrity 'game'.

This reiterates the importance that UCPs put on appearing in the media and a reflection of the theory that no publicity is bad publicity. Another UCP, Dylan, argued his regular appearances with his child in a food focused magazine were not about the style of food at his restaurant but was:

mainly for kids....It's just easier to shoot it at the restaurant but we make it really clear that it is food that we like to cook at home. It is not food like what we like to cook in the restaurant. It's just things that Nate likes to eat, it's not so much about the restaurant. It's just I'm a chef and a restaurant owner but, I'm a dad as well so I think it is everything together.

This is an example of how a UCP's life in the media can be a reflection of, or part of, their family life. This shows a naturalisation of celebrity duties within the UCPs daily life and although they may not set out to promote themselves through their families it is a consequence of this promotion. Interest from the media, in this regard, is in the inclusion of UCPs as an identifying tool as Dylan noted:

The magazine approached me to do a cooking thing with Nate every month, I was like yeah, why not, and I guess that's where the celebrity thing comes in and I guess people can associate things better when they see a known face.

Dylan's comment points to the media using him and by showing his image next to his child increased his child's legitimacy as a culinary commentator. However, even though UCPs may be aligned with others in this way or simplify their recipes for use at home, Cameron argued that this:

is just reorganising information to make it easier for people...there is a big difference between dumbing people down, which has connotations with condescension, inferior, superior all that kind of thing and merely organising information to make it easier so that they are successful and get social capital and look good, and eat good food.

Thus, it is Cameron's opinion that simplifying recipes so consumers can understand and use them, is just a way of making social and culinary capital accessible. Cameron's comment also indicates that UCPs, by simplifying their recipes, may not necessarily forfeit their elite culinary status in the act of creating celebrity for themselves. His observation also reflect the previously discussed needs of the media as they too participate in a competitive marketplace where it is a requirement to be as inclusive of different customer types as possible by dispensing broad and

easily understood information. However, these findings demonstrate that UCPs participate in the media as celebrity figures and understand the requirements and needs of the media.

4.2.5.2 Free media

Because of their status within the restaurant industry and the desirability of visiting their restaurants, UCPs understand that they have an advantage over others in attracting culinary writers. Jason stated: “Everyone wants to go to the fine dining, the best restaurant in town.” There may also be a focus on the UCPs’ restaurants because of their customers, as Noah commented:

The last I heard of the [another UCP’s restaurant’s name] was when the Stones went there, Keith Richards...he went there and they got a write-up but it wasn’t about food or anything it was just that he went to the [restaurant’s name]. So that gives them a bit of status somewhere doesn’t it?

Further to this was Lauren, who commented she would contact people she knew in the media if somebody of interest visited her restaurant. On the day she was interviewed she commented:

I thought Heidi Klum [a supermodel and media personality] was coming today, she was supposed to be coming at five o’clock...and I wouldn’t look for any money for that I’d have fed the whole entourage and given them the best wine and the best food out of the kitchen and I also would have called the press and told them that she was here.... When Beyoncé [a singer and actress] was here they were here in two minutes flat.

When asked why Lauren would not charge these celebrities while at the same time contacting the media she commented, “because the story goes everywhere...media endorsements, it’s never changed. I should think any good endorsements are good for business, you can’t buy endorsement.” This illustrates the transferability of visiting ‘A’ list celebrity’s status to the UCP’s restaurant, enhancing its reputation as well as the UCP’s celebrity and credibility. This is an example of the transfer of celebrity from high ranking celebrities to others reflecting a hierarchy of celebrity and celebrity generation through celebrification.

4.2.5.3 Buying celebrity

As shown above there are several serendipitous circumstances where celebrity generation or status may be the result for UCPs. However celebrity may also be a result of financial capacity

as Cameron stated, “is there more of an opportunity for a chef who is experienced? Who are really good at what they do? Not necessarily...often it can be about how much advertising you can buy for yourself.” Cameron’s observations show the generating a celebrity profile is easier if a UCP can strategically place themselves inside the media by buying media space. This then infers that the media will take greater interest in UCPs who have the ability to financially contribute to the media by purchasing advertising within their publications. UCPs are competing in the upmarket restaurant sector not just against other UCPs but against larger organisations who are able to spend more on promoting their chefs. Because of this, Nicholas suggested that certain magazines, when considering recipients of major awards, are:

money motivated and sales motivated so whatever is going to be trendy wins. I really do believe that if you saw how much money Sky City [a large casino and hotel in central Auckland] put into [name] magazine of course they will win something. They’re very stupid if they don’t at the expense of other people.

These comments suggest that there is a hierarchy of media coverage, where the more advertising an organisation can purchase directly correlates to increased free media coverage, promotion and recognition of these establishments and their members as superior to others. However this type of spending with the media may be beyond the financial reality for UCPs as Ryan observed:

In our days you’re competing against big companies that have X amount of money. All the chefs in the media, you can’t compete against that kind of cash so, if you look at what’s in the media mostly as companies of chefs so if you’re a company with X amount of dollars you can spend on advertising, why not. If you’re self-employed and do your own thing it is relying on your customers, you rely on yourself and the goodwill of what you’re doing.

Ryan alludes to the goodwill generated for his restaurant by his customers through ‘word of mouth’ as well as his own charitable activities with disadvantaged youth. However, even these activities are not free, as he regularly runs a charity night which may reduce his restaurant’s turnover, while at the same time increasing his expenses. Nevertheless, even though there is a financial cost to his charitable activities, he recognises that cost is outweighed by the increased exposure and celebrity such activities bring.

Eight respondents discussed how they have engaged public relations (PR) companies to increase their own and their restaurants’ exposure. This included William’s use of a PR representative when organising his opening event, as “he was connected with lots of the media

people...we need to pay money to him so he can contact the restaurant reviewer to be invited to the event.” Similarly, Miles remarked, “When I opened a friend of mine did all the PR [and did the] invitation for the opening...I paid him.” This demonstrates that UCPs are willing to pay for the media’s attendance at their restaurants opening events to ‘buy’ coverage in the media. UCPs also engage PR companies for more day-to-day matters. Dylan explained it is “easier just to go to the PR company and tell them what we’re up to...it just makes it a lot easier to have somebody act on your behalf.” Therefore PR companies are engaged by UCPs to become intermediaries between themselves and the media, to reduce the demands and workload of organising their celebrity and media activities. There is also an increasing acceptance of the use of PR companies by UCPs and others within the restaurant industry. Owen observed:

Most restaurants now have PR agents that work with restaurants, promoting them in the media. Just putting good food on a plate is probably not enough anymore....They all have PR agents so they’re all combing the media and if there is an opportunity to get their restaurant into the media then they will. It’s not by chance that you quite often see these restaurants in the newspaper commenting on something, it’s not by chance it’s their PR agents that have gotten them into that.

Owen’s observations confirm that PR companies can take the role of celebrity generators and if one is not engaged by UCPs then they may miss out on media opportunities. Apart from PR companies there are other ways of generating paid media content. Lauren commented, “You can probably pay the bloggers...you could use them and have relationships with the media that they generate.” Lorraine explains that bloggers have become part of the PR industry due to a change in the way that the media paid their staff as they “no longer employed reporters full-time but contract them, resulting in reporters needing to find different, less conventional ways to earn a living.” In this way bloggers become media-for-sale who, along with PR companies, create publicity that increases the profile of the restaurants and the celebrity of the UCPs who own them.

4.2.5.4 Self-generated PR

The internet, through the use of sites such as Facebook and Instagram, was discussed by 10 UCPs as one of the ways in which they would generate profile for their businesses as well as themselves. Through the use of Facebook and Instagram, UCPs were able to post pictures and stories about themselves as well as profile their businesses. The importance of the internet was

recognised by Luke, who noted, “Most people now find out what you’re cooking basically before you go into a restaurant.” Luke was typical of other UCPs and went on to reflect how he would invest time and resources into his social media profile:

The fortunate thing for me was my team was very young so are helping me a lot to understand how these things work and I allocated one of them to spend time with social media....We need to be talking to people with the food, we are not waiting for people to come to us. Now we come to the people, we put up the photos, we will talk about what we’re doing.

Luke’s observations reflect the ability of the internet to be part of a targeted marketing strategy for UCPs. The internet allowed him to directly communicate with customers through the projection of his food while at the same time contextualising his restaurant’s setting and philosophises. Self-reliance in promotion activities was seen as extremely beneficial especially when an UCP had an established internet presence and data base. Lauren explained:

We have a database of about 18,000 that has been collected here, any event we do we can sell it without having go out to the media It costs \$150 to send out an email to 20,000 people. My Facebook database, that's 7000....I find it’s really good at selling, [however] it doesn’t necessarily drive people in.

Lauren’s comment indicates direct marketing through the internet is important and is especially useful when marketing one-off events. However, she also indicates that it has its limitations as a day-to-day marketing tool. Therefore, there may be a need for UCPs to connect with their potential customers through traditional media channels, their personal contacts and knowledge of culinary focused media participants.

Seven research participants discussed that through their interaction with the media they have got to know members of the media personally. Dylan noted, “It’s someone you just know and you’ve known for so many years...not as friends but acquaintances or you have coffee with them once in a blue moon.” In agreement with Dylan it could be construed that knowing media participants is beneficial to UCPs. Elliot concurred, “I had a good network in the media, I knew a few people so when something opened you could pre-empt them and use them to help you help your business.” Additionally, when a restaurant is up and running, self-initiated media contact can be directly beneficial for UCPs. Logan commented that he has:

generated a little article or might have raised the story here there and everywhere...from a business point of view and when I had to get people through the door and to help push sales up I’ve had to talk to media. I had to really push my case by doing a press release....to ring people up and promote.

The willingness to engage with the media for the benefit of the business can be a little more planned as Alex commented: “I feel very responsible of my role now because I don’t want this business to go quiet. So I feel like a few times a year I have to pop myself in there somewhere to keep us busy.” The above comments indicate that UCPs are able to build their celebrity profiles through contact with the media, knowing media participants and by having an internet profile.

4.2.6 Choice of celebrity involvement

As indicated above, the choice of when to have media contact, in what form, and for what reason correlates with time served as a UCP as well as their ability to contact media participants personally. This is reflected on by William:

If I take the opportunity then that makes more opportunities, right? Maybe I get more opportunity than before but now I start to choosing opportunity. Used to be I can’t choose, I need to do it, everything, no choice. Because seriously I need free advertising to establish myself as a restaurant but, now, of course I want to take the opportunity as much as I can but now is the time for me to make a balance for my family and for my business life.

Alex, another established and successful UCP, agreed with William, and noted that he only had limited time to deal with media demands: “I swear to God I turned down 90 percent of the things that I do so only take 10 percent on. I try to manage my time as much as possible.” These comments show an evolution over time in the frequency of the media seeking UCPs as well as how UCPs’ attitudes towards media demands change. Furthermore with increased demand and opportunity comes UCPs’ ability to choose and accept media opportunities which generate and maximise celebrity exposure and decline those that do not. Alex also noted management of his celebrity exposure:

I made a conscious decision three years ago that I would start to explore certain things, so I decided that I would take on a brand ambassador’s role, and rather than do just little judging segments on *Masterchef* that I would actually do one whole episode.

This comment indicates not only the range and choices that Alex had of product representation and media involvement, but also his willingness to engage, and the pre-meditated planning of his celebrity exposure.

Fifteen research participants discussed that appearing on television was the best form of publicity. Owen stated, “When you’re an owner-operator restaurant to be on TV is the best business, free advertising.” The reason behind the importance of television is explained by Lauren:

By putting chefs on TV and making them judges they appear to be leaders in their field and whether they are, or not, can be judged in different ways. Whether, or not, they succeed in the trade is irrelevant to the fact that once they’re on TV, the TV is endorsing them as that they are experts. But that doesn’t necessarily mean they are but, to the general public they definitely look to be at the top of their game.

Lauren’s comment is reflective of the way that being on television increases UCPs’ legitimacy and their exposure to potential customers. All research participants discussed that television exposure was a definer of celebrity for the chef. Eighteen respondents also discussed they have had some television experience. Owen, who has had a degree of success on television, reflected on the change in his exposure outside of his restaurant. He commented, “by being on TV what is done is, instead of just being known in Auckland, as a person who owns [his restaurant’s name], you’re now known around the country as ‘that chef on TV’.” As David observed, the reason for this is:

A restaurant may be full every night but, you’re talking about 2,000 or 3,000 people a week. Put him on TV, on *Masterchef* on a Sunday night and he is reaching 700,000 and over a month that’s 2.8 million, it’s a no-brainer.

It is this ability to engage with several thousand people, through television, that six other research participants focused on. This included Alex, who agreed to appear in, judge on, and film an episode of *Masterchef* in his restaurant. He commented:

People see you on TV and that makes you a celebrity chef. I don’t know what the series numbers were for the last *Masterchef* but the one before, where we were on the second-to-last show of the series, I think they got 550,000 viewers with another 60,000 online, that’s massive. To put that in perspective, if you win *Metro* restaurant of the year you’re lucky if 50,000 people see that and they don’t sell 50,000 [magazines]. They might sell 25,000 copies of the magazine, so, you just can’t get that sort of exposure.

This statement highlights the importance for UCPs of television in building their celebrity profiles. It may also be the reason why UCPs allow television production companies to film at their restaurants with the hope of increasing their profile as well as the profile of their

restaurants. Additionally, Alex notes the differences between traditional print-based media and their premium restaurant awards (which he has previously won) and television exposure. Although print media awards, have been labelled as important, they pale in significance when judged against prime-time television exposure. Two research participants who have regular appearances on morning television felt they do not extract the same value from their television exposure as Alex. Logan remarked, “If you said to me honestly does *Good Morning* get people in the door, does writing for *Bite* get people in the door, no I don’t think it does.” This proposes that the benefit of being on television for UCPs is time sensitive. Jason elaborated: “TV is obviously a reasonably powerful tool, it depends when you’re on. I mean being prime-time *Masterchef* was very good for me.” Thus, the value of television for UCPs is shown to be dependent on the numbers and types of viewers reached. However, to appear on television, UCPs may need to undertake an audition process. Eight research participants discussed their experiences auditioning and all indicated a level of competition between UCPs for television opportunities. Owen recounted one such incident:

They rung up and spoke to my wife and said, “We want Owen to be the host of a TV show, [name of television series], new TV show blah, blah blah. Is there a chance he could come down and see us?” And she was like, “Yeah, I’ll get him to ring you.” So I rung up and said “Hi”, they said “When can you come down?” “Wednesday 10 o’clock.” They said “Great, see you Wednesday 10 o’clock.” And then this was Monday and that Monday night I went out and played some pool with some friends, some chef friends. They said, “Are you going to that interview for that new programme, [name of television series]?” I said, “How did you know about that?” They’re like, “We’re going at 11.” Another chef was like, “Oh yeah, we’re going at two.” Another chef was like “I’m going on Thursday.” And it was like all the Michael Meredith’s, it was all the best chefs and it was like, how many have they got? About 20 odd.

This reflects not only the media-driven competition between UCPs but, also the normality of celebrity opportunity within the chefs’ community. It also reinforces the willingness of UCPs to engage with the media production companies who are able to contact them for their own means and set up a competitive process, with the reward being a celebrity profile for the winning UCP.

4.2.7 Celebrity through disinterest

After the UCP has achieved a certain level of success media interest in them intensifies. At this point the generation of celebrity does not necessarily need proactive participation from UCPs.

It can be generated through disengagement as the media seek to engage with UCPs who through their disinterest in generating increased celebrity status become distinctive and more valued. Cameron observed:

You can't just stand in the kitchen and do necessarily the food, although you can if you are a [UCP's name], they all want to know about him....Because he does such great food and that place has got such a great reputation that the media has written about it and, I suppose, they help to create that reputation further than the people who eat there.

Cameron's observation indicates UCPs have the ability to build a celebrity profile through scarcity and disengagement in the media. This point is furthered by Logan who commented "people say yes you're a celebrity chef but I'm not really interested or looking out for it....I'm quite happy with where I am as being a chef." Additionally, not wanting to engage with the media may, in the long run, be beneficial to UCPs, as described by Cameron:

If you get somebody who says "I don't want to be in the media" then the media will want them but, you can actually control that because you can say no. But, in a funny sort of way, you can use not working the media...but, I don't think they're consciously, possibly doing it to stand out.

These comments indicate that a UCP's reluctance to engage with the media can generate further interest in them. Furthermore, it also indicates that UCPs, regardless of desire, have little choice but to be included in media content and to experience compulcelebrity.

4.2.8 The celebrification experience

It has been shown that chefs, before they become UCPs, may have celebrity status and contacts within the media. This was a starting point for their exposure to celebrification and their subsequent transformation into celebrity chefs. Other elements of celebrity generation were discussed as being beyond UCPs' control, such as luck and the results of competitions. However, UCPs were also shown as being able to be proactive in the generation of their own celebrity through using their knowledge, creating an internet presence, purchasing media and by making use of their contacts in the media for coverage. This showed UCPs as willing participants in celebrification, taking advantage of all celebrity generating opportunities until perhaps a level of celebrity status was reached. It was at this point that UCPs discussed that they generated more celebrity opportunities than they required, giving them the ability to choose. Further, as they became increasingly successful and demands for their celebrity

services increased they got to the point where they were able to generate celebrity from their apparent disinterest in and disengagement from the media. Thus it was shown that UCPs *in situ* underwent celebrification, a process that led to them experiencing celebrity status.

4.3 Celebrity chef *fait accompli*

Celebrity chef *fait accompli* as a category was identified because of the frequency of the research participants' discussions on their celebrity status as something that had already been completed, and of which they had little choice. UCPs' reflections on their existent celebrity status is important to this research as it proves the existence of compulcelebrity through the end result, celebrity status. The denial of celebrity by those who obviously have it is also important because it demonstrates that UCPs do not always embrace celebrity; that their status as a celebrity is not welcomed but has become part of their identity to themselves and others. Evident within this section are the results of compulcelebrity, including a discussion on changes because of UCPs celebrity status, rewards, celebrity duties, intrusions and their acceptance of a celebrity norm. The celebrity norm is established because, as UCPs become established and successful, and as they develop their celebrity profiles, they are no longer required to pursue celebrity opportunities with such vigour. This results in media opportunities being presented to established UCPs and, regardless of uptake, a further normalisation of celebrity within UCPs *in situ*.

4.3.1 Am I a celebrity?

One of the indications of UCPs experiencing compulcelebrity is whether or not they identify themselves as celebrities. For this reason, all research participants were questioned about their celebrity status. Sixteen research participants noted that they had undertaken roles where they could be described as celebrity chefs. However, celebrity exposure through their inclusion in the media was not necessarily correlated with their personal celebrity, as Dylan considered, "If somebody sees me in the celebrity column they think I'm a celebrity chef." When questioned further about the context of his comment, Dylan indicated that, in one instance, others had enquired about his appearance in a photomontage of celebrities in the *New Zealand Herald* (an Auckland-based, nationally distributed, daily newspaper) while attending a summer horse racing carnival. Dylan insisted that this was not an indication of his celebrity status and

reflected, “It might sound a bit weird but you get used to seeing those things. You don’t analyse it too much because you don’t want to take it to your head.” Further, Dylan, who had previously denied his own celebrity status, was asked about whether these appearances made him a celebrity. He responded, “I guess, when you are known as a celebrity but, then they connect you, a lot of them [the media] know you as a chef.” This comment indicates some confusion in Dylan’s understanding of his own celebrity status and that, by being a UCP, it is not unusual for him to have some form of celebrity exposure. Developing this further, and using television appearances as an indication of celebrity status, other UCPs made similar observations such as Lauren’s, who commented, “I’m happy to be involved in the TV programme because it’s for my restaurant, but, for my private life [laughs] it is easy to start conversations so, at a certain point it is good, but I am a little bit embarrassed.” This view is further reflected on by William, who noted that because of his celebrity profile he was able to:

make new connections, new friendships....If people think that I might be celebrity, because people will know about me that is why I can make that sort of friendship, then I really like it. Now I have many chefs as friends in New Zealand. That is cool.

Both William and Lauren indicate that, because of their celebrity status, contact with others is easier. Additionally, because they are recognised from their media appearances it provides them with opportunities to make friendships with others, including their peers.

The pronouncement of a UCP’s celebrity status may also come from others. Logan commented, “I’ve got a lot of friends who say you’re a celebrity chef, and so maybe, that’s the definition of a celebrity chef in New Zealand.” Others, such as Ryan, when considering his celebrity status, concluded, “I am in the public eye lots, I honestly do not know how I feel about being a celebrity, in the media. I think the term celebrity is probably overused with chefs.” Ryan’s observation demonstrates a level of contempt for the use of the term ‘celebrity’ when associated with his celebrity status. Furthermore, it reflects the commonality of the use of the term ‘celebrity’ when associated with chefs who have become known through the media.

Seventeen respondents denied that they were celebrity chefs. Denial of being a celebrity comes from the negative connotations of the word ‘celebrity’ for UCPs. When discussing celebrity from the perspective of others, UCPs have noted the falseness of the way the chef is projected as a celebrity. Logan lamented:

I do think at the moment there is massive, massive, massive focus and interest on how cool is to be a chef and I think that’s very well, but that is a load of crap because being a chef is not glossy and is not to make you rich and is not *Hell’s*

Kitchen and MKR (My Kitchen Rules) on the TV, that's just completely not what it is at all.

This comment was typical of others including Jack who stated, "Let's be honest...my personal gripe is they have *Masterchef* and they call the contestants after three months, a 'masterchef'. It degrades what we do." Jack's observation alludes to the falseness of celebrity. However, eight research participants, including Jack, have had judging or guest judging roles on *Masterchef*. As such, these UCPs have bought into the mechanisms of celebrity generation that they lament. This may indicate double standards or alternatively a deeper understanding and acceptance of the falseness of celebrity and their own celebrity generation. Cameron, who has previous involvement as a main judge on *Masterchef* commented:

When they win they think they are celebrity chefs. I remember when [the contestant's name] won. I looked at the director and she looked back at me and I laughed and said "He thinks it is real doesn't he?" And she said "Yeah." It's not real, it's TV!

Cameron indicates the level to which the contest winner buys into their newly created celebrity status. This may then give the consumer of this style of television programming the hope that one day they too can become a celebrity chef. In this regard, Emma noted that the frequency with which celebrity chefs appear in the media has:

affected the customers that they are the budding celebrity chefs as well. I think it's a load of shit to be honest, it's not reality is it, these so-called celebs you throw them into a kitchen, not so much like Simon Gault, he's a worker, like Ray [McVinnie, both UCPs and established celebrity chefs]. I've worked with Ray but, I think more so winners of competitions they don't realise what life is all about.

The reality of their vocational duties is one reason why UCPs deny their celebrity status. When it was suggested to Logan that he was a celebrity chef because he had a level of exposure in the media, he commented:

When you say, "Hey you're a celebrity chef." I still wash the freaking dishes at the end of the night, I still have to empty the bin so, I am a chef and the celebrity thing is...a bit different but, I feel where I am at the moment, yes I am a chef, and I've got a name, and got a restaurant, I appear on TV once a month, I do a bit of writing that's sort of where I'm at.

Logan's comment indicates that his identification as a celebrity is inconsequential while he still labours in his kitchen. Additionally, four UCPs did not directly admit their own celebrity;

however, they did contextualise it in relation to their peers. As an example Noah asserted, “I wouldn’t say celebrity status. I would probably say I’ve got some of the old school, I’ve got a bit of peer respect as a chef.” This denial of celebrity status extends to UCPs who have admitted celebrity, such as Owen who stated:

All I’m doing is what I’m doing in my kitchen but I’m just doing it in front of the camera. I’m no better than any other chef, no better, I just feel comfortable in front of a camera...People call me a celebrity chef all the time and is just like well, no, I’m just a chef that’s on TV. What makes a chef a celebrity? Being on TV? I guess it probably does but, I’m no different than what I was not on TV.

Thus, Owen is acknowledging the conflict of being identified as a celebrity by others while maintaining his own personal identification as a chef. Other UCPs, who have obvious celebrity duties, such as engaging in a publicity tour of New Zealand to promote books they have published, also deny celebrity. Emma commented, “I still don’t consider myself a celebrity chef. I think it’s because you’re not recognised every day. You wouldn’t walk into a supermarket, oh my God there’s Emma! No one would know you.” The above comments are an indication that, for UCPs, the label celebrity is externally applied. This point was reiterated by six participants, including Ryan, who submitted that others, “are always going to put a name on something, whether they call me a celebrity, I don’t care...that’s what people call you, you can never put a stop to what people are going to call you.” Ryan’s comment indicates that the label ‘celebrity’ is used to describe UCPs whether they like it or not:

I didn’t come into running my own business to become a celebrity, I did it because I was passionate about it, all that stuff came after it and I am still cooking at this stage. I have no intention of venturing into TV or anything like that....I didn’t create the restaurant to become that.

These comments point to Ryan admitting his own celebrity profile but also indicate a personal battle concerning his own celebrity noting:

I guess if I didn’t do what I do and the restaurant wasn’t here, would I have a profile in the media? Probably not, would I be happy with that? Probably yes...because I’m just a normal person. But with having a business you need a media profile because you need it, it sort of helps the business exposure and it gives it credibility all those kind of things. So for the business side yes, for myself probably not, I wouldn’t care I’d really just be a normal person and nobody would pay me any attention.

Ryan's comments indicates that he identifies himself as an ordinary person who would not have a celebrity profile if he was not an UCP. This also indicates a forced change of role and identity through celebrity, resulting in the gaze of others upon him. The gaze of others on UCPs may also increase as their celebrity increases. Cameron, who at the time of the research had a presence on prime-time television, discussed how in his interactions with others he got:

people calling me by name all the time, it is really disconcerting, are you calling me Cameron because you have seen me on TV or do you know me and I've forgotten you? That is quite disconcerting and I say, "Do I know you?" And they say, "No, no but we think we know you." I get that a lot.... 'We think we know you', that's what they want. I'm sure that must be what it is.

Cameron's comment indicates that the consumers of his celebrity feel they are in some way connected with him and have a right to know him. This familiarity, although not particularly comfortable for Cameron, also indicates that he is part of others' discourse within their daily lives.

UCPs have been affected by the image portrayed by celebrity chefs particularly through the medium of television. The frequency of the chef's image on television has led to an acceptance of chefs as celebrity figures. This also includes an acceptance of celebrity chefs' actions as typical of all chefs, including some of their less desirable personality characteristics. This, then, may be the way that the public expect UCPs to behave. Ryan expressed:

It's okay to be upset.... Because people always thought chefs were grumpy, fucken arseholes in the kitchen. Yelling, there is still some of that. But now it has become trendy, you see chefs now with jackets that are made to fit...chefs are TV personalities, I think the image of the chef is changed because you have to become, now you're cooking, you can still look good. You are supposed to work one hundred hours that you're still supposed to look that amazing, you can eat all kinds of food, they still look trim, it's not the reality.

This normalising of the unpleasant personalities that some chefs project shows that the public are accepting of the actions of celebrity chefs who exhibit antisocial behaviour so long as they are also entertaining. David remarked, "Whose Gordon Ramsay? He is certainly the most famous chef on the planet...whether you like him shouting and swearing and all that is irrelevant." Although research participants' might not project the unsavoury elements of their personalities, they may, like Gordon Ramsay, seek and reap reward from their celebrity profile.

4.3.2 Rewards of celebrity

Rewards by their very nature can be varied and have different value for different individuals. However, all research participants commented that having a celebrity profile has been beneficial. One research participant, Elliot, commented:

I've had my name in lights, I've had the limelight in the early days it did me well, it filled my restaurants, it made me a fair bit of money and enabled me to travel....One thing that always did, and I find that it does do now, if you got your name in lights a bit, you don't have any problems getting staff. People come and work for you all the time.

Elliot's comment illustrates that having a celebrity profile is of more use than that just attracting customers as others want to be associated with UCPs who have a celebrity profile. There are other rewards of a more personal nature, as Ryan remarked:

You get invited to a lot of media stuff....I guess I get invited to a lot of stuff overseas because of my reputation and the celebrity thing you get invites the voluntary stuff and every time there is a play on, a new play, you get invites and things like that.

Likewise, there is recognition of UCPs' status as chefs because of their increased visibility and celebrity profile. Owen commented that because of his celebrity profile he has:

met people I never would have met. I sat for dinner with John Key [the Prime Minister of New Zealand], I went for dinner in Tasmania. It was 200 of the world's influential foodies all invited to Tasmania, and I was one of them. I sat next to Heston Blumenthal - that would never have happened. He was like, "Hey Owen. I've seen you on TV, you're that [moniker] guy," and I was like, "Really?" You're that [moniker] guy that would never have happened. So yes it has, it has changed it a lot, pretty cool knowing that.

Elliot, Ryan and Owen all noted that the acceptance of the rewards from having a celebrity profile were beneficial for their business and their personal lives. Further, the rewards they received as celebrity chefs were exclusive in nature, placing them as 'insiders' in the celebrity sector. This demonstrates that UCPs are celebrities and that celebrity treatment being offered to them is normal.

Rewards also come from business opportunities generated while UCPs undertake their celebrity activities. In a sense, this could be described as looking for opportunities to gain further financial rewards while getting rewarded for their duties as a celebrity. Noah

commented that he “did a boat review in a boating magazine. What a lovely way to make money that was...there is a little bit of celebrity status in that, and of course I try and sell my business by doing anything like that.” The celebrity status of UCPs could result in them receiving accredited awards in the same way as other celebrity figures. Nicholas noted that one UCP who has a celebrity profile (and whom he has an intimate knowledge of) left school without qualification then 10 years later, “they give him a blue and that’s the highest thing you can get from the school. Fuck off they’re all full of shit so yes it has huge status now.” The incidences of celebrity recognition, awards and benefits above indicates that some UCPs, who have established celebrity profiles, are important public and celebrity figures.

4.3.2.1 Does appearing in the media pay?

Eight research participants discussed that when they appeared on television little or no remuneration was received. Lauren, who has had regular television appearances commented, “I did filming on TV3. I did cooking segments. I did lots of bits and pieces on TV. Of course they never wanted to pay you for any of that.” This was an experience shared by 12 research participants including Noah, who stated, “when you have done a bit of TV stuff they give you a little bit of training...you didn’t get paid so I stopped doing it.” Furthermore, as a UCP’s celebrity develops and becomes their profession, their attitude towards being paid changes. Cameron noted that now he appears in the media because, “I get paid, you do it for money, I am crystal clear in what I do, I have my private life and all this other stuff is for my family and my private life.” However Cameron also commented:

you don’t get paid much in New Zealand to make *Masterchef*...well you do actually, it’s good for business. I put my prices up and I get a lot more offers from people wanting me because I’m on TV, that’s it, it’s deeply shallow. It’s the way of the world. People want to know famous people because they are curious about them or whatever...you are never going to be rich just by being on TV, it’s all the other things you get.

Cameron, because of his celebrity status and the fame generated by being on television, is able to seek increased financial reward because of increased demand for his services. His experience demonstrates that the uptake of celebrity by UCPs can be a commercial decision and by participating in celebrity they increase their commercial value.

4.3.2.2 Engagement with aligned products for financial rewards

Businesses and external organisations seek UCPs as brand ambassadors in exchange for financial or other rewards. Although this not unique to UCPs they have noted they have to be careful when choosing which products to align themselves with. Alex explained:

It's always a compromise with branding but if you can get branding, so initially with Electrolux [Alex represents their upmarket kitchen appliances] I needed something for this room [his restaurant's private dining room]. Electrolux had no brand ambassador and some of the people I really respect and admire are brand ambassadors for them in Australia. I spoke to [Australian celebrity chef and UCP] about it he said they're great people to work with and their equipment is fantastic and it works so well for us here.

Alex's comment demonstrates calculated thought when contemplating rewards from his endorsement and representational opportunities. Further it demonstrates that elite chefs contact each other to discuss benefits and pitfalls of representing specific brands. This further advances the notion that celebrity representation duties and rewards are normal activities for UCPs. Alex's choice of remuneration was not in the form of money but product, and therefore was financially beneficial to his restaurant. Also, because this product was in use at his restaurant, it increased his synergy with the product, bringing it into his world and giving it legitimacy through his use. UCPs, by offering their image as celebrity chefs within Auckland's elite upmarket restaurant sector, have the advantage of choice when it comes to representational opportunities. Ryan remarked:

There are some stuff I'm aligned with that has to definitely not destroy your image. You have to align yourself with what you feel aligns with you. They're not going to approach you unless they feel that you align with them also. I'm an ambassador for Miele...I like the brand and I like to stand for it because it's a good brand. With things like that you always going to say yes to the things that work for you...I get financially looked after there is a certain thing is like that you get products, X amount of money and when you do events for them you are exposing yourself because normally people that are buying products like that they're at the high-end so it just goes with the flow.

Ryan's comment indicates that there is more than financial rewards for product sponsorship; there is synergy in promoting the product and, by association, promoting themselves. Alex, while recounting his product sponsorship duties, also reiterated:

The reward is the exposure, one page in *Cuisine* magazine will probably cost you 18 grand. I don't have the money to do that but, if they put a double page with me

cooking a steak and a pan with Electrolux next to it, something like that, with some quotes and stuff from me, or whatever, now that's 18 grand of advertising I've not had to do.

Alex mentions that his reward is his exposure without directly stating that it is advertising for his restaurant. This connection is inferred and further highlights the synergy between the celebrity duties of UCPs, their identification as celebrities, their alliances with their restaurants as figureheads, their willingness to sell themselves and their image, and the normalisation of this type of celebrity activity to procure rewards and to increase their own, and their restaurants', exposure.

4.3.3 Social and political involvement and upmarket chef proprietors

UCPs indicated that community groups and political movements have recognised their reach and appeal. This may be for various reasons including their ethnicity, a factor which Ryan commented on: "The celebrity thing means you get invites to do the voluntary stuff...I've done a couple of talks to young Polynesian and Maori kids just because they looking for somebody, somebody of that status." When questioned further about his ethnicity and his profile in the media Ryan elaborated:

They don't see cooking as a Polynesian thing it's not a job that we do....I do get asked, "What's it like being Polynesian and running a restaurant that caters for mostly 80 percent European?" I don't know how to answer that. I'm one of the cooks and that's it.

This is an indication of media interest in Ryan because of his ethnicity. This could also be construed as the media identifying UCPs' ethnicity other than Pakeha/European New Zealander as being slightly controversial, or, at the very least as an interesting point of difference for media consumers to ponder. However, Ryan's ethnicity may be beneficial as it gives him a point of difference within the media and it increases his celebrity profile. Further to UCPs' involvement in social causes is the promotion of UCPs' political views. Nicholas, when asked about his contentious relationship with some members of the media, commented:

Politics came into it from me, I, funnily enough, I don't belong to any particular political party, but everyone knows who I stand for because I do get very verbose and raise more money for the National party than anyone else in the country. But I don't belong to the National party which pisses everybody off because they think I'm a card-carrying member.

Nicholas's role of fundraiser on behalf of the National party was taken one step further resulting in unintentional media coverage when he banned the then Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark, from his restaurant. Nicholas recalled writing to her commenting, "I would rather you didn't come here I think [you are] ruining the moral fibre of our country. Margaret Wilson [a former Labour party appointed Attorney-General and Member of Parliament] has no right to change the constitution. I was so incensed about it." Although Nicholas's views and actions created media controversy, he admitted that the media has, "actually done it themselves. If they just left [his restaurant's name] alone and never used us we may have disappeared. I don't know, we would not be as important as we are." Nicholas's comments show celebrification at work and his change into a political figure through expressing his political views and by doing so courting controversy. These two subjects, race and politics, can galvanise the opinions of others and/or increase or decrease the likelihood of potential customers visiting a restaurant. However, at the same time, being in the media gives UCPs the ability to become a public commentators.

4.3.4 Changes because of celebrity status

Eight research participants commented that as their celebrity profile increased it changed their roles inside their businesses. Alex commented:

I came away from the stove...my customers come up to the pass, they want to talk to me, I can't talk to them when I've got lamb in the oven and we're away on four tables and stuff like that and I'm trying to organise the person next to me to do the garnish, so that was difficult...I think it helps being visible, I think is detrimental to my business, as a business plan, but I'm all about the contact.

Alex understands the importance of his celebrity profile and his consequent visibility and availability to his customers. However, Alex also indicates how his celebrity interferes with his business activities. Celebrity duties may result in UCPs having to be absent from their restaurants altogether. Logan commented, "Working with Air New Zealand [New Zealand's national airline] I was doing a lot more celebrity stuff. We filmed a TV series and there was the Air New Zealand Wine awards and meetings, a lot more times when I wasn't here." Additionally, Alex, who has just finished writing his second book and had periods of absenteeism caused by this and other media duties, commented:

Anything that takes me away from the restaurant, the restaurant suffers so you've got to weigh it up. If I'm not here in the kitchen then we won't book the restaurant to capacity so say we cut the numbers by 10 people or something like that that's a lot of money. You've got to counterbalance what you're doing.

These comments by Logan and Alex indicate that their celebrity-driven absence a direct cost on their businesses. However, at the same time it also supports the view that UCPs are conscious of the cost incurred from their duties as celebrities, how it will affect them and their businesses, and reflects their conscious thought when making decisions on their celebrity actions.

4.3.4.1 Pressures created by having a celebrity profile

Having a celebrity profile can result in expectations being placed on UCPs. One facet is the pressure experienced by UCPs as their celebrity profile increases and their customers' expectations grow. Ryan commented:

like anything in life there is always an expectation, something's been talked about so much, something's been raised so much in the media, there is a certain expectation that comes with that....If you're just a chef it doesn't really matter there is no more pressure on yourself to cook, just cook. But if you're a chef like myself [with a media profile] of course there's always a little bit of pressure.

Likewise, Alex agreed, as:

The more awards you get and the more accolades you get, the more pressure. I feel way more pressure now than I ever did because people's expectations are much higher. But to some degree that's the drive and that's the energy that keeps you going.

The statements show that UCPs are conscious of their celebrity profile. Expectations such as these then manifest themselves as UCPs' expectations of themselves. Thus, the pressure of expectation is both externally and internally generated and has been discussed as both a positive and negative result of their celebrity status.

4.3.4.2 Intrusion

Intrusion on personal time is a reality for UCPs because of their celebrity status. Nine research participants commented that they had experienced intrusion Ryan commented:

You go to certain places and you just get asked the stupidest questions and half the time you've just got to be polite as I can't be an arsehole....If you're out and you just want privacy and people come and ask you questions that's when it's annoying. You have to realise you are in the public eye and [they] might be just coming to say thank you, sometimes you're not even in that space and you just want to chill out.

Ryan's comment indicates a loss of personal space and time and that he is always on duty as a celebrity, watching his public profile. Some intrusive elements are because of the UCP's status within the upmarket restaurant sector. Jack explained:

I was trying to hide because every time I go into a restaurant and I don't even want to be noticed, I want to enjoy like everybody else and then he saw me...and all these fingers were being waved and suddenly all these plates turn up and suddenly I was like, the man, and I hadn't done anything because I'm in the industry.... They [his dinner companions] are all lawyers and doctors and suddenly I was on the same par as them and may make them feel probably better because they are associated with someone.

Although this intrusion was unwelcomed by Jack, he also indicates that it raised his status within the group he was dining with from-being a virtual unknown to the exalted position of celebrity chef. Further evidence of intrusion through celebrity is noted by William:

A couple of times my staff told me, "Chef last night you've been there and you meet this guy." "How do you know about this?" "Because I hear that from my friends." "Oh your friend know me?" "No, you've never met him, but, he know you so that's why." That to be honest is a little bit annoying.

Despite his annoyance, William's experience is, as noted earlier, reflective of general celebrity gossip where those of note are talked about with others as a topic of the day. However, some intrusions may be a little more personal, as Nicholas explained:

I find it very invasive when Audrey [his wife] gets it. I mean I got a very nasty one just recently over this National party thing and they put our address on the thing and we had TV cameras out there and [the media commented] his wife walks those stupid dogs at three o'clock every afternoon, well that's wrong, so I gave that to the police and they actually stopped it, and that's invasive however, if you open your gob you ask for it don't you really? That's part of it really.

Nicholas's experience of intrusion and the illegality of the media's actions are an indication of his celebrity status. However, Nicholas also accepts that his celebrity status and engaging with

the media can have undesirable results which are also somewhat expected by him. The experiences of the intrusiveness of having a celebrity profile may also lead to a change in the way celebrity is sought by, or viewed by, UCPs.

4.3.4.3 *Being a celebrity and the disconnect from burden*

Seven UCPs discussed that they had, over time, changed their approach to celebrity engagement, as Lauren noted: “There’s parts I just don’t like. I don’t want to go in some charity day. I don’t want to have appearances at demonstrations. You start to value your time more.” Lauren’s comments illustrate that after she has achieved celebrity status the requirements of celebrity have become intrusive to her. Lauren, when questioned further about her disinterest in celebrity, replied, “I am in the business of making money. Celebrity is a distraction from my business.” This indicates that having a celebrity profile does not offer adequate rewards to UCPs after they and their businesses have become successful. Another reason why celebrity may become less important to UCPs is their increasing confidence in their own ability and their observations of the cyclical nature of the celebrity industry. Ryan stated:

I don’t really care as much as when I was young. When you’re young you’re always looking for approval I guess, you’re being approved that you doing something worth doing. Now I like to say that I do it because I enjoy it and you know that you’ve seen it is the same cycle going round and round.

Ryan’s observation indicates that he no longer looks for external approval through the media and that it is enough for him to enjoy his position. This point is furthered by Alex, who stated, “I think a few years down the line it really doesn’t make any difference, it doesn’t matter what you win, how you get done. People already know that’s what you are.” Alex’s comment reflects that the way in which he appears in the media is of little concern for him; however, it also indicates that the media is ever-present within UCPs *in situ*.

4.3.5 The celebrity norm

UCPs’ normalisation of celebrity comes from their acceptance of a need for celebrity, and their acceptance of resultant celebrity duties in their everyday life. Some UCPs, such as, Ryan, noted that this was due to their accessibility, commenting, “Because this is open [kitchen] people come up and say hello and thank you for the meal...occasionally people asked for photos but

it's pretty normal." This normalisation of photographs being taken has been discussed by others, including Nicholas, who recounted:

I had a table last night and they were here because of me, they all want photographs so had to go and stand in having my photograph taken with them...(*How does it make you feel?*)...oh I don't mind because China is China and they will bring more so, that's actually me slutting myself, I'm just as bad as the rest of them, I'm a slut so we're all sluts.

Nicholas's comment demonstrates the normalisation of his duty as a celebrity, to stand and have his photograph taken with his customers and how it will result in more customers patronising his restaurant. The normalisation of celebrity, from a personal perspective, may also create some confusion as to the action and reactions of others when going about their daily routine, a point Jason recounted:

I don't know some people, I felt I've left a situation and gone home and thought that was a bit fucken odd and then I have sat there and maybe a week later thought oh I wonder if that is because of my profile and then dismissed it. There has been a couple of times, and then, I go oh, they're dicks because I'm the same I don't care who you are.

Additionally, Ryan commented that he did not know how he felt "about being a celebrity, in the media. I think the term celebrity is probably overused with chefs." Although this was previously discussed as a level of disdain that Ryan has for the use of the word 'celebrity' it also shows a normalisation of the word as a way of describing chefs and therefore UCPs. This point is further emphasised by Dylan, who stated:

Food has become very important for people and that's what it's done, and the restaurants have become very, I've heard that saying so many times, that chefs are almost like rock stars which you can take it or leave it, the whole thing but, I guess any business these days whoever is on the top of the game is almost like a rock star anyway.

Thus, celebrity, for Dylan, through his vocational achievements, is a given; however, his reaction may also indicate that celebrity duties are just part of his daily routine:

I can't talk for the public but if you see someone who is in the newspaper all the time or on the TV, someone's face you recognise, he becomes a celebrity chef. I think from that point of view if somebody sees me in the celebrity column they think I'm a celebrity chef...it might sound a bit weird but you get used to seeing those things but, you don't analyse it too much because you don't want to take it to your head.

Others thought in a similar vein, such as Jason: “It doesn’t bother me. I’m not that fussed from a personal point of view if somebody calls me a celebrity chef, yeah, whatever, I cook, I love food and if you want to call me that, it’s cool.” Cameron, too, commented, “It doesn’t worry me but I would never call myself a celebrity chef, you can call me what you like, I don’t care but I would never call myself a celebrity chef.” Alex also noted:

I don’t consider myself as a celebrity chef. I don’t consider myself a glamorous person, and all. I always see celebrity chefs using a little bit of glamour. I do think to myself well, I’m still a grafter and I feel very responsible of my role now because I don’t want this business to go quiet, so, I feel like a few times a year I have to pop myself in there somewhere to keep us busy and so people phone us.

Alex’s comments reiterate that there is a connection between the denial of celebrity status and work commitments. However, he also acknowledges that he is responsible for the success of his business and once again reminds us of his ability to choose when he will appear in the media and his level of celebrity commitment. This indicates a degree of celebrity normalisation for UCPs with little thought as to the way they appear to others. Work commitments taking precedent over celebrity activities is expounded on by David, who during his appearances on the BBC as a chef host of a well-known cooking series commented:

I wasn’t the Nigella or the full-time media person, where that is your career and those people possibly do have more time. They haven’t got to go into service they can sit there signing a few more books and all that because that’s their job. For those of us that are chefs first and the celebrity thing is second, you’ve got things to do.

Ryan supported David’s view of duty and vocational commitment, and commented:

First and foremost I was a chef and I wanted as an extension of myself to run my own business and that was it. That’s the full stop of it all. I didn’t come into running my own business to become a celebrity, I did it because I was passionate about it, all that stuff came after it, and I am still cooking at this stage. I have no intention of venturing into TV or anything like that so, I don’t know I can’t answer that because I didn’t create the restaurant to become that. I created it because I wanted my own business and I wanted an extension of myself to create within that.

For UCPs celebrity, its generation and effects, are secondary to the demands of their labour, cooking, and their duties of proprietorship. It is their focus on vocational duties which reduces,

if not eliminates, their focus on themselves as celebrities. Thus, throughout this research, any focus on, or admissions of, celebrity by UCPs have been situational: it occurred when they were describing circumstances where they were immersed in, or undertaking, celebrity activities.

4.4 Summation

The findings above show that compulcelebrity exists and is evident through UCPs' exposure to compulcelebrity and celebrification, resulting in their transition into celebrity figures. As discussed earlier an individual's exposure to compulcelebrity is a result of them entering UCPs *in situ*.

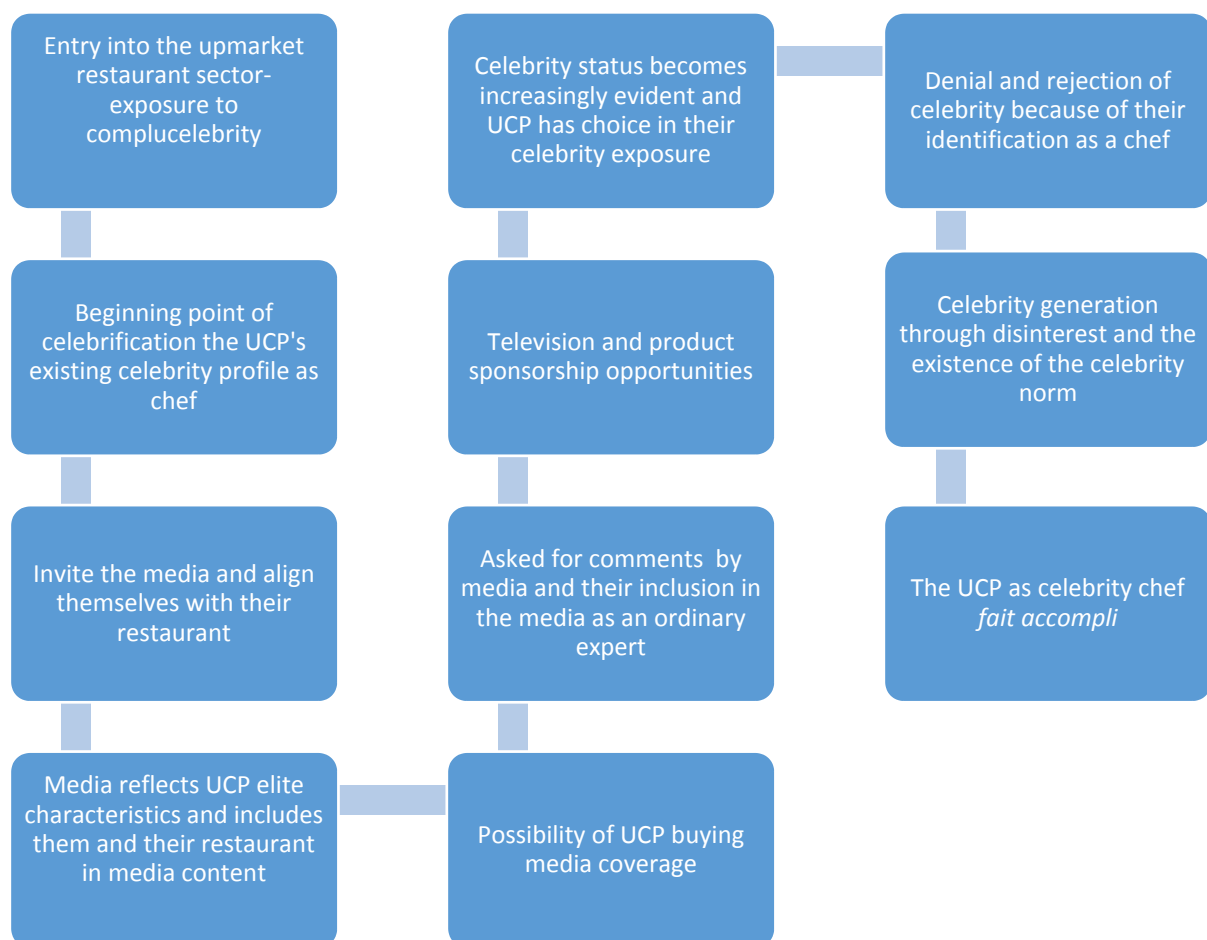


Figure 3 The substance of compulcelebrity

Taken from the research findings, the substance of compulcelebrity is detailed in Figure 3 above. Entry by the individual into the environment of UCPs results in them experiencing

compulcelebrity and celebrification and, as a result, celebrity status. Compulcelebrity has been shown as a contemporary phenomenon, experienced as individuals become UCPs *in situ*, where celebrity has become amalgamated into their everyday activities. In this way UCPs experience compulcelebrity as a norm, an expected result where celebrity duties and opportunities are not only accepted but expected.

The first research objective: to investigate compulsory celebrity attributes contained within the environment of UCPs and the effects thereof on UCPs, was fulfilled, as the research findings confirmed that UCPs' environmental factors acted as stimuli for celebrification. Conditions in the environment of UCPs included the elite characteristics of Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector, its competitive environment, financial demands, and media interest in UCPs. These factors emerged as research participants discussed why they would engage with the media and seek to develop their celebrity profile. This resulted in UCPs' acceptance of celebrification and associated actions which included a demonstrated willingness to engage with the media. This research has shown that research participants have experienced celebrification as a result of being UCPs *in situ*. It was through the exploration of celebrity forces on UCPs within their environment that the first research objective was achieved.

The second research objective: to determine if there are identifiable steps experienced by UCPs in the generation of celebrity, was achieved as a result of analysing the research participants' actions because of their exposure to compulcelebrity and their position as UCPs *in situ*. In the majority of cases, the research participants had a pre-existent celebrity profiles that was then able to be identified as the beginning points of their celebrification. Consequent stages of celebrification were identified, including inviting the media to opening events, awards, buying celebrity, self-generated celebrity, participation in the media through contacting acquaintances, direct involvement in the media through supplying and simplifying culinary information, auditioning for and appearing on television, and linking their restaurant's name to their celebrity activities. However, it was also shown that there was still the possibility of UCPs creating celebrity by doing nothing at all, reinforcing the compulsory aspects of compulcelebrity.

The third objective of the research: to form an understanding of UCPs' lives after they have achieved celebrity status, was achieved through the exploration of the research participants' understandings of themselves as celebrity chefs. This investigation uncovered the personal

philosophical disconnect of research participants' understandings of themselves as chefs and their understandings of what it is to be a celebrity chef. Research participants described their experiences of celebrity as external to their personal identities. Thus, they justified their celebrity activities through descriptions of vocational duties, as expected by them because of their status as UCPs. However, this was shown to be an illusion created by research participants because, as demonstrated by the research findings, the fact they were UCPs meant that the media would be interested in them and they would develop a celebrity profile.

The research participants' celebrity was evident in research findings as they discussed the effects of their celebrity profile such as rewards, their inclusion in social and political commentary, changes within their business, pressures, intrusion and the celebrity norm. Thus, compulcelebrity is demonstrated by the research findings showing that individuals, through being UCPs *in situ*, are compelled to become celebrity chefs. If these environmental conditions did not exist then UCPs would not experience the financial necessity for a celebrity profile or the competitive elements of Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector requiring them to engage with the media and a UCP such as Alex would not need to "sell his soul to do the media stuff."

Chapter 5 The review

As previously shown, compulcelebrity is inherent to the UCPs environment and results in UCPs becoming celebrities regardless of their intent. Following a process of inductive reasoning and analysis of research findings, a review of relevant academic literature was undertaken. This was in order to link generated theory with existing academic concepts. Therefore the goal of this chapter is to discuss the substantive theory of compulcelebrity as an academic construct and identify its transferability to other areas of possible academic investigation.

As shown below, Bourdieu's (1984) construct of habitus is helpful in understanding UCPs' motivations and actions through their exposure to compulcelebrity. Bourdieu's construct is extended to sector-wide ways of being and ways of knowing, particularly through UCPs' vocational identity as chefs. Palmer et al. (2010) suggested that for chefs, this vocational identity is long held. As becomes clear in the discussion below, UCPs' identity as chefs is crucial for their vocational success and in the development of their resulting celebrity status. Marshall (2006) noted that celebrity is embedded in all facets of culture, providing representations of, and information on, how to live. He also proposed that representations through celebrity are commercial in nature because of the commodification of a celebrity's images and actions. The theory of compulcelebrity broadens this understanding, showing how UCPs are required to engage in celebrity and thus 'sell' themselves to be successful.

Celebrification is discussed below as being embedded within the environment of UCPs due to the effects of compulcelebrity. Celebrification is the uptake of celebrity traits demonstrated by changes at the level of the individual (Driessens, 2013; Gamson, 1994). Thus the notion of celebrification is supported by compulcelebrity, though it is broadened by the 'real world' nature of the research findings. Celebrity generation is also discussed through the lens of technological evolution, including discussions on the emergence of television and the consequent emergence of ordinary experts (Bonner, 2003; Henderson, 2011; Rousseau, 2012b), and the ability of the internet to enhance communication with celebrities, including UCPs (Choi & Berger, 2009; Hower & Brownlie, 2009). As previously noted, in Chapter 2, technological developments further increase the ability of celebrities to offer their opinions and advice, and to grow their celebrity profiles.

5.1 Habitus and the research

Bourdieu's (1984) construct of habitus is useful for considering the effects of compulcelebrity on UCPs. He proposed that habitus consists of 'ways of being and ways of knowing' created from an amalgamation of historical acts, the origins of which are long forgotten. Ways of being provide structure from which individuals' actions should lead to expected results. Ways of knowing, in turn, affect the agency of individuals through the influences of accepted behavioural norms. Thus, the characteristics of habitus produce socialised norms and tendencies which guide ways of understanding appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. Bourdieu also noted that conditions of habitus are susceptible to challenge internally, through individuals or groups who challenge existing norms, as well as externally because of economic and/or social change. However, habitus is neither static in nature nor specifically restrictive. It can incorporate changes caused by challenges to its conditions which then result in modified habitus or, alternatively, the creation of new habitus. Bourdieu also proposed that individuals may not be aware of their habitus and can unknowingly interpret and experience it in different ways.

In this research 'unawareness' of habitus was evident in the way all research participants denied their celebrity chefs status. This was in contrast to their awareness of the reasons why they needed a celebrity profile: to compete with other UCPs and restaurants within the upmarket restaurant sector. In this way the research participants highlighted the more functional aspects of compulcelebrity. Celebrity-building actions were generally discussed as an extension of their vocational duties to maintain or increase their restaurants' profiles. Examples of these actions included the UCPs' pro-active contact and engagement with the media, including UCP's efforts to meet media requests for culinary information and other specialist content; and posting pictures and information online. Research findings showed that these actions were not specially undertaken by UCPs to increase their celebrity profiles and thus any celebrity status generated was suggested to be unintentional.

Bourdieu (1984) suggested that habitus, because of its accepted ways of being and ways of knowing, is able to be reproduced. Therefore individuals (such as UCPs), through their immersion in a habitus could expect consistent results from their actions. This may create surety for individuals whose actions should result in a positive or successful outcome. As an example research participants expressed that, through their culinary status, they would expect that customers know their names. This awareness would strengthen the UCPs' credibility as

chefs and produce a synergy between their own and their restaurant's names. Thus UCPs may feel a need to be in the media and to develop a celebrity profile to increase patronage at their restaurants. For UCPs this holds some similarities to Barron's (2006) proposal that for individuals to become successful celebrities, there is a personality contest where the public chooses and decides which media personalities will succeed. Although he focused on media personalities Barron's observations could be extended to UCPs' success within the upmarket restaurant sector. As research findings showed, the need for media visibility was acknowledged by UCPs, giving them a reason to engage with the media and thus confirming *compulcelebrity* as a factor within the *habitus* of UCPs.

As a result of their shared *habitus* experiences, UCPs may also share certain commonalities in their vocational experiences. These commonalities may include a shared perspective among UCPs that they have a specific place in the world and, as such, are members of a group. All the research participants expressed a universal belief in their personal, vocational and celebrity identity as chefs. This self-identification reflects Palmer et al.'s (2010) observation that a chef's work environment, the commercial kitchen, produces unique cultural characteristics, the immersion into which could be compared to membership of a religious brotherhood. The authors also noted that a commercial kitchen environment is synonymous with difficult working conditions, citing low pay, and long and irregular working hours. Such conditions demand from chefs a high degree of dedication, endurance and personal sacrifice. Because of this the authors described the commercial kitchen as a closed environment, where participants are insiders and all others are outsiders. As one of the participants in their research proposed, being a chef is "not just a job, it is a vocation, a calling; it is sacred work. A 'true' chef...never stops being a chef, just as an artist never stops being an artist or an actor stops being an actor" (p. 323). The reason for chefs' strong feelings of identification may come from their induction into the profession. Gordon Ramsay, celebrity chef and UCP, described these experiences as "obtaining the knowledge...this job was the pits when you are learning. You have to bow down and stay focused until the knowledge is tucked away...the weak disappear off the face of the earth" (as cited in Duncan, 2001, p. 10). This idea is important to a chef's development as it highlights the systematic transfer of knowledge in the gaining of cultural, social, and culinary capital until an individual can be accepted as a peer (Duncan, 2001). In this way, chefs hold a collective identity congruent to Polletta and Jasper's (2001) suggestion that collective identity "describes imagined as well as concrete communities, involves the act of perception and construction as well as the discovery of pre-existing bonds, interests, and boundaries" (p. 298).

This in turn encourages emotions for and between chefs, including belonging, mutual respect and empathy (Stringfellow et al., 2013).

Mutual respect was evident in the research findings in the way UCPs described the level of competition in Auckland's upmarket restaurant sector. One participant, Sid, noted that "fine dining is probably at its peak at the moment in terms of the competition, in terms of the calibre of food going out of some of the kitchens." In contrast to the quality of other UCPs' work, all research participants argued that those with a culinary celebrity profile but who were not vocationally trained were not representative of them. This is reflective of Bourdieu's (1984) theory that the norms of a habitus may be protected by its dominant members. As an example of the UCPs' disdain for non-vocationally trained celebrity chefs and the protection of their habitus, Jack stated: "My personal gripe is they have *Masterchef* and they call the contestants after three months, 'masterchef'. It degrades what we do." Jack's comment reflects his understanding of how other people view UCPs through celebrity representations of chefs on television. This illustrates the clearly defined boundary by UCPs as to who does and does not belong within the habitus of UCPs. Stringfellow et al. (2013) proposed that the popularity of the culinary focused celebrity sector and the mediated presentation of individuals who do, and do not, have vocational experience, creates a conflict between celebrity 'chefs' and 'celebrity' chefs. In their analysis, they predominantly focused on the celebrity sector, the rewards on offer through having a celebrity profile, and the forces of taste, popularisation and legitimisation, as shown in Figure 4 below.

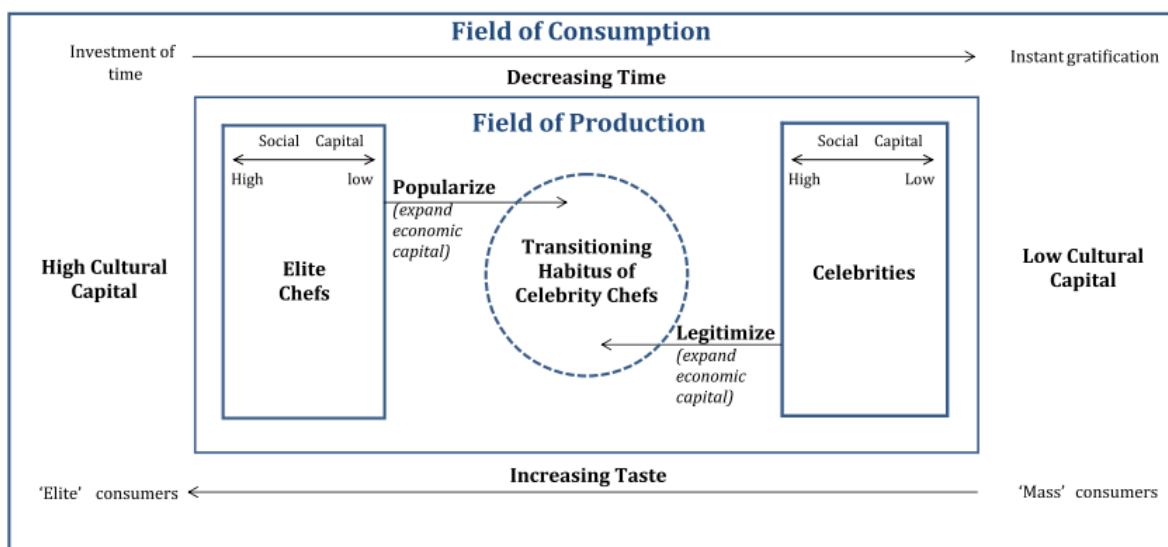


Figure 4 Changing dynamics of culinary taste

Source: Stringfellow et al. (2013, p. 82).

Stringfellow et al. (2013) followed Bourdieu's (1984) inferences that elite goods are characterised by scarcity and are used by the dominant class through conspicuous consumption as a marker of their class and social capital. Stringfellow et al. proposed that elite consumption is reliant on the availability of economic capital and the time needed to become educated about its nuances. Thus, the authors noted that fans and followers of elite chefs are characterised by their investment of time and resources in the pursuit of social capital, taste, and class distinctions. On the opposing scale are popularisation and mass production, which have connotations of lower social class, inferior taste, and instant gratification. Consequently, celebrities who display elite culinary characteristics can increase their culinary legitimacy as well as their social class. Conversely, elite chefs who engage with celebrity, and therefore mass production for financial reward, de-legitimise themselves through popularisation. Stringfellow et al. suggested that the movement of elite chefs towards celebrity and popularisation occurs because they are defending themselves against celebrity entrants who may otherwise fill a void within the media market. The reason why elite chefs may seek to defend their celebrity position is because of the possible rewards on offer through engaging with celebrity activities. They also observed that elite chefs who embrace celebrity and accept its rewards become popularised and risk de-legitimising themselves. Because of this they enter the transitioning habitus of celebrity chefs where celebrity 'chefs' and 'celebrity' chefs compete for the rewards on offer. Although Stringfellow et al.'s research did not specifically focus on the habitus of UCPs, it does create a point of divergence with the current research findings. Research participants in this study noted that they do not consider themselves celebrities. Thus, when providing information and simplifying recipes for the domestic cook through the media, UCPs proposed that they are simply making culinary knowledge easier for at-home cooks to understand. Research participant Cameron disagreed with the notion that by simplifying recipes elite chefs were being superior stating, "There is a big difference between dumbing people down, which has connotations with condescension, inferior, superior...and merely organising information." Thus, Cameron rejected the inference that celebrity activity creates issues of de-legitimacy or the loss of cultural or culinary capital. Furthermore, the research participants saw their own and others' increasing celebrity status as a marker of success, with the potential to attract customers to their restaurants. Lauren, Adam, Ryan, Owen, Noah and Dylan all contended that UCPs would have their legitimacy increased by appearing in the media.

By disagreeing with Stringfellow et al.'s (2013) legitimacy discussion, the research participants' observations broadened Fine's (1992) work on vocational judgement. Fine (1992)

proposed that workers from within the culinary profession judge each other, and their work, on production and aesthetic value. Therefore the quality of UCPs' culinary representation in the media and the quality of programmes on which they appear may be judged by others. However, research findings showed it was not the UCPs' celebrity representations, the quality of their television work, or whether they had increasing or decreasing legitimacy that was being judged by other UCPs, but rather their previous professional experience. This was reiterated by Emma as she identified UCPs with established celebrity profiles as workers. Furthermore, other research participants who are highly trained, vocationally-experienced UCPs who appeared on television denied their celebrity status because of the vocational tasks they undertook. Logan noted, "When you say 'Hey, you're a celebrity chef', I still wash the freaking dishes at the end of the night, I still have to empty the bin so, I am a chef and the celebrity thing is...different." Research participants thus agreed with Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) who suggested that in contemporary times, the highly mediatised environment, which provides culinary information (and therefore culinary capital) to the consumer, is enacted largely without class connotations of what is considered 'worthy'. The authors proposed that more important than the elite characteristics of a culinary field is the value the consumer finds in the information the celebrity chefs provide. Research participants agreed and concluded that elite chefs, by reorganising and simplifying recipes were, as Cameron proposed, "making it easier so that they [the consumer] are successful and get social capital and look good, and eat good food." It should be noted that although this work gives UCPs value as celebrities, their at-home fans and followers do not necessarily 'consume' UCPs or their products in the same way as customers who patronise their restaurants.

As discussed above Bourdieu's (1984) construct of habitus encompasses not only ways of being and ways of knowing but also class characteristics. He proposed that, just as individuals will defend the norms of their habitus, those with elite class characteristics will protect their class position by finding new means of consumption for which members of other classes, particularly members of the middle class will strive. In this research access to UCPs' restaurants was described as prohibitively expensive. However patronage attendance at UCPs' restaurants was also described as possible for members of the middle class, as Dylan suggested: "There is a lot of foodies who are middle class and they will save up for a while....It's about \$160 or \$170 a head so it is not a cheap night out." This infers that although UCPs will not discriminate on the class of their customers it is also evident that due to its expense regular patronage at UCPS' restaurants is predominantly the domain of the upper class. However the

findings of this research are also reminders that the upper classes are influenced by the media in choosing which UCP's restaurant to patronise. Therefore regardless of class, theirs' or their customers', UCPs have been shown to have little or no choice but to promote themselves as celebrities in order to remain competitive in the upmarket restaurant sector. As explained below, this mandatory or required characteristic of habitus has been named 'compulcelebrity'.

5.1.1 Compulcelebrity and celebrity society

Compulcelebrity is a *portmanteau* of 'compulsory' and 'celebrity'. Compulsory means a requirement, a mandatory and obligatory action (Alexander & Holmes, 2006). While a celebrity, we are reminded by Boorstin (1961), is "a person who is well-known for their well-knownness" (p. 57). This statement does not offer any prequalification for celebrity and indicates that an individual can become a celebrity just by being well-known normally because of frequently being seen in the media. This reduces celebrity to a simple equation: "celebrity = impact on public 'consciousness'" (Rojek, 2001, p. 10). Celebrities will also normally have a commodified value and thus, a celebrity is an individual who is "known by people whom he does not know...whose name has attention-getting, interest-drawing, and profit-generating value" (Rein et al., 2006, p. 17). In contemporary terms, Marshall (2006) suggested that celebrity figures are vital to society as they help us in:

understanding the contemporary moment. As phenomena, celebrities intersect with a remarkable array of political, cultural and economic activities to a threshold point that it is worth identifying the operation of a *celebrity culture* embedded in national and transnational cultures. (p. 6)

This statement indicates that celebrity culture has permeated all facets and levels of culture, and thus celebrity figures can represent all levels and aspects of society both nationally and internationally. This points towards celebrity culture as being an integral part of society, ingrained in everyday life. Rojek (2001) theorised that celebrities have become:

cultural fabrications...[and their] impact on the public may appear to be intimate and spontaneous. In fact, celebrities are carefully mediated through what might be termed chains of attraction. No celebrity now acquires public recognition without the assistance of cultural intermediaries who operate to stage-manage celebrity presence in the eyes of the public. 'Cultural intermediaries' is the collective term for agents, publicists, marketing personnel, promoters, photographers, fitness trainers, wardrobe staff, cosmetic experts and personal assistants. (p. 10)

This points towards the industrialisation of celebrity generation with the identification of many sub-industries. Rein et al. (2006) broadened Rojek's (2001) observations and submitted that the celebrity industry has taken on an industrialised structure which they have labelled the 'visibility industry'. They proposed that there are eight sub-industries that support the visibility industry, as shown in Figure 5 below.



Figure 5 Structure of the visibility industry

Source: Adapted from Rein et al. (2006)

Rein et al. (2006) suggested that the visibility industry has evolved over time and the amalgamation of its sub-industries is a result of public demand, the increased focus on visibility within the business community, diversification in the use of celebrity figures, the centralisation of celebrities in everyday life, and the increased sophistication of the industries themselves. However, the authors are quick to point out that not all sectors of society or the business

community will use the visibility industry and when they do they may not use all of the sub-industries shown above. However, as the contemporary phenomenon of visibility continues to spread, new sectors of the public and business community consistently make use of the visibility industry and its associated sub-industries.

Research findings show the predominant method of obtaining visibility for UCPs is through the communication industry, namely the print and visual media. However, research participants also recognised the importance of the publicity industry and the need to engage PR companies. This means that UCPs are aware of at least some facets of the visibility industry. As is consistent with habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), UCPs may know they are generating visibility but may not be aware of the structures of the visibility industry to which they themselves are subject. One reason is because they can act as their own public relations agents by inviting or encouraging media to their events and initiatives. Additionally, television and print media contact UCPs directly and offer them the opportunities within the communication industry. This, however, should not be seen as a limiting of the UCPs' involvement within the visibility industry to the communication industry. This is because as their celebrity status increases they may require a corresponding increase in services from the other sub-industries of which the visibility industry consists. Rein et al. (2006) proposed that the visibility industry produces value for its participants because its "function is clear: to design, create, and market 'faces' as brands and to produce and sustain them in all sectors" (p. 35). They reasoned that the ability of the visibility industry (and its associated industries) to produce and sustain 'faces' as brand representatives places it as a value-generating industry that derives profit from the very 'faces' that it designs, creates, and markets. Thus, one of the roles of the visibility industry is to be self-sustaining. Research findings show that celebrity for UCPs has predominantly derived from the communication industry, a sub-industry of the visibility industry. The communication industry includes newspapers, magazines, and television companies, all of which have been shown as having an interest in UCPs. Benefits to the communication industry's participants may be the inclusion of content generated by UCPs' activities, opinions, images, restaurants, and the use of their images as recognisable brands to help sell any content created. The demand for UCPs to participate in the communication industry helps explain why celebrity opportunities exist for them within the media.

If being well-known were the only requirement for UCPs to achieve celebrity status then several research participants would, by their own admission, fulfil this criteria. However, as noted previously, it is their personal identity as celebrities that creates consternation and

confusion for research participants. Research participants acknowledged that they gained celebrity status because of their media exposure, and they understand why they need celebrity-to be successful. However, they do not consider themselves celebrities. This further emphasises compulcelebrity in situations where, regardless of personal desire, UCPs have been attributed celebrity status. UCPs' celebrity is celebrity-without-intention but is generated through complicit interaction with the media with the objective of gaining the associated rewards. The inclusion of UCPs as celebrities, in this way, takes on the linguistic characteristics proposed by Furedi (2010), who commented that the term 'celebrity' is not only "a noun but an adjective that signifies that someone possesses the quality of attracting attention. So we have celebrity chefs, celebrity authors, celebrity fiction, celebrity diets, celebrity psychiatrists...success in virtually every profession is associated with a celebrity status" (p. 493). The "quality of attracting attention" referred to by the author has been shown in this research as not necessarily being inherent in the UCPs personal qualities but more to do with their vocational experience and their markers of legitimacy and class. This was illustrated through the participants' understanding how the media actively sought and used them for legitimate and saleable content.

It is because of the media's interest and inclusion of UCPs, as well as UCPs' willingness to engage with media, that compulcelebrity has been shown to be what Bourdieu (1984) posited as ways being and ways of knowing contained within the habitus of UCPs. Research findings demonstrated that compulcelebrity influenced UCPs into ways of thinking and acting which were accepted by other members of their sector as not just normal, but obligatory. This affirms that compulcelebrity is a fundamental force within the habitus of UCPs and UCPs *in situ*. This was clearly illuminated by Ryan who stated, "It is part of the job, you can't just cook now, the media is just part of it...that's the thing with the day and age now, media and everything, you can't hide from it." Alex elaborated, "The restaurant is the only reason why I would sell my soul to do the media stuff because this is our baby and that is the only thing that is important." These comments demonstrate the effect of compulcelebrity and show its penetration into the habitus of UCPs. Further evidence of compulcelebrity comes from UCPs' actions, understandings and feelings as they: invite the media; deny, admit and desire celebrity; use their knowledge to generate celebrity; are financially dependent on celebrity; accept the rewards of celebrity and, through the integration of celebrity duties into their everyday life, reinforce a celebrity norm. As such, findings of this research show because of the effects of compulcelebrity it would be difficult, if not impossible, for UCPs to avoid celebrification and

their resulting celebrity status. Further, findings of this research have shown that, celebrity is inherent to UCPs' success, even though the regulation of celebrity, celebrity contact and how they are portrayed as celebrities by others is largely beyond their control. However, when they have achieved success as UCPs and they are successfully placed as celebrities, in demand by the media, they may then resume a degree of control as they are able to choose between celebrity opportunities.

5.1.2 Celebrity and upmarket chef proprietors

As shown above celebrity and its effects are factors in the habitus of UCPs. How celebrity and celebrity figures have come to influence society is explained by Schickel (2000):

Over a century's span, the proliferation of information has had two main consequences. It has first of all created the need for simplifying symbols – usually people, sometimes objects – that crystallize and personify an issue, an idea, a longing. Ever more briefly as the flood of information, of competing stimuli, continues to mount, these figures help us to resolve ambivalence and ambiguity not only about these issues of the day, but about our own more private needs and desires. (pp.28-29)

In regards to Schickel's (2000) observations UCPs, because of their inclusion in the media, are used as simplifying symbols, particularly as indicators of class. Research participants accepted that members of the media can use the UCPs' class characteristics to increase their own class through writing about them. Writing such as this can have a three-fold impact: it can establish members of the media as valued participants of their vocation; signal their legitimacy amongst their colleagues; and increase their vocational opportunities. The use of UCPs in this way shows their value to media participants because of their elite status, their newsworthiness and their legitimacy. The value ascribed to UCPs as celebrity figures may be because "the distinction between celebrity and other kinds of social or political elite status is becoming less clear as the signs of celebrity drive out less powerful alternatives" (Turner et al., 2000, p. 11). Thus the source of celebrity is not as important as the characteristics they portray. UCPs therefore become value celebrity entities for media participants to be associated with as they have an inherent social position through their vocation status in the upmarket restaurant sector. In this way they may also be more appealing as celebrity figures as their status is associated with their labour rather than any pre-existent social elite position. Contemporarily, the increase in social standing of celebrities has resulted in them being representative of social and political

positions, having something interesting to say as well as being able to accept reward from their celebrity activities (Marshall, 1997; Turner, 2004; Turner et al., 2000; van Krieken, 2012).

5.2 Celebrification: Celebrity generation

The findings of this research have resulted in the development of the substantive theory of compulcelebrity. Compulcelebrity was shown to be a factor within UCPs *in situ*. As a result, the research participants were exposed to and experienced celebrification. Gamson (1994) first used celebrification to describe the transferability of celebrity traits. His research focused on American politicians who, in a bid to increase their popularity, appeared with, and acted like, Hollywood celebrities. This research does not specifically examine the connection between emergent UCPs and their association with established celebrity figures. However, research findings confirmed that UCPs use the celebrity of their customers if they are of interest to the media to increase the profile of their restaurants in the media. They also recognise the value of this transferable celebrity by not seeking remuneration for their services from qualified visiting celebrities and through the use of their contacts the media whom themselves are quick to respond. Furthermore, UCPs themselves have been shown to transfer some of their celebrity status and legitimacy to others with whom they are associated. As an example, Dylan acknowledged his appearances in the media with his child increased the child's legitimacy as a culinary writer. Research participants also discussed cultural responsibility, their charity work, and political affiliations. Their appearance in the media in connection with social or political causes was noted by research participants as resulting from their existing profile as celebrity chefs. Because of their celebrity profile members of the media were interested in UCPs' opinions and representations. Their visibility also led to further approaches from political and charity groups to assist and represent them. Thus research findings provided a 'real life' example of Boykoff & Goodman's (2009) observations that through celebrification there is the ability for celebrities to reflect some of their celebrity status onto social and political causes. This demonstrates that UCPs as celebrities are not dissimilar to celebrities in more traditional celebrity sectors, and if an issue of the day is slanted towards their area of expertise UCPs may well be contacted and even vaunted by the media.

Rojek (2001) broadened Gamson's (1994) original observation by proposing that celebrification is more than political, it is the mediagenic presentation of an individual's appealing attributes to increase their celebrity status. The fact that Rojek (2001) points to celebrification as being experienced individually, aligns with Krieken's (2012) observation that

“modern celebrity is by definition individualistic and meritocratic: it attaches to individuals not to collectives....it presumes the possibility of the attainment of higher visibility and greater recognition through individual attributes and talents” (p. 17). UCPs resonate as individuals throughout this research as they discussed celebrity predominantly as a means for their own ends. Research participants have noted their need for celebrity as a financial necessity fulfilled by greater media exposure and the consequent increase in their celebrity status.

Rojek (2001) submitted that celebrification is the mediagenic presentation of self and that there is a tendency for individuals to understand and present themselves in the way they believe to be correct, through filtered media presentations of charisma, beauty, and the success of others. This suggests UCPs who experience celebrification will behave in the way that they believe will be of the most benefit to them. They may consciously decide how to behave from media representations of other UCPs and relevant celebrities. The media presentation and uptake of other UCPs’ profiles has been shown to at least be within UCPs’ consciousness. This is exemplified by research participant Ryan, who said:

It’s OK to be upset...because people always thought chefs were grumpy, fucken arseholes in the kitchen. Yelling, there is still some of that. But now it has become trendy, you see chefs now with jackets that are made to fit...chefs are TV personalities, I think the image of the chef is changed because you have to become, now you’re cooking, you can still look good.

Ryan’s comment indicates that he has thought about the way he should present himself and the way others may perceive how he should act and look. Additionally, this indicates that others may accept unsociable behaviour from him. However, Ryan also suggests that regardless of behaviour UCPs are expected to project the image of the celebrity chef and carry their class characteristics. This is evident when research participants noted that a celebrity profile gives them legitimacy and that having legitimacy will attract customers.

Hewer and Brownlie (2009) noted that celebrification “describes what happens when the logic of celebrity is exploited as a mode of production in the service of marketing ends. In this sense, the cultural logic of celebrity is at the core of consumer society” (p. 482). The logic of celebrity is in this commodification of celebrity figures to produce value through selling their image or associated products. Thus, celebrification occurs when celebrity is produced with the intention of seeking value by commodifying the image of the individual and using that image to market associated products (Lewis, 2010).

Rojek (2001) posited that celebrity and therefore the logic of celebrity comes from “three major interrelated historical processes. First, the democratization of society; second, the decline in organized religion; third, the commodification of everyday life” (p. 13). Firstly, the democratisation of society increased information availability and personal choice, while at the same time it reduced the economic and social control of aristocratic organisations. Secondly, the decline in organised religion resulted in a new moral freedom where non-traditional figures were sought to give direction and decipher social change. Lastly, the commodification of everyday life gave the majority of actions, services and objects a commercial value. The author proposed that the result of these changes was the possibility of celebrity for willing individuals with the right attributes through the transfer of “cultural capital to self-made men and women...[resulting in] the ideology of the common man being elevated to the public sphere as the arena par excellence, in which the dramatic personality and achieved style inscribed distinction and grabbed popular attention” (p. 14). Turner (2004) broadened this concept and pronounced that “celebrity is the democratization of fame, but more importantly, it is fame commodified. That is, it is a symbolic form whose transmission and reception within a commercial media system renders it a cultural commodity” (p. 9). UCPs’ appearances in the media reflects their willingness to be commodified and sold as products that can be consumed either individually, in conjunction with their restaurants, or in alignment with sponsors products for financial reward. In other words, there are multiple points at which UCPs are exposed to celebrification and their resulting commodification as celebrity figures.

Lewis (2010) theorised that the “use of celebrity identities with specific skill sets to endorse related products and brands can be seen as representing an attempt by marketers to confirm the authenticity of both the celebrity and the brand” (p. 588). Research participants echoed the importance of synergy between themselves and the products they represented. They commented that, although some of the value to them was in the form of financial rewards, it was also important the product they represented aligned with their personal philosophies, their culinary status as UCPs as well the image of their restaurants. In this regard UCPs can be a product to be consumed through eating at their restaurants and customers can pass judgement on their efforts. Hyman (2008) noted when the diner eats at a celebrity chef’s restaurant the celebrity chef:

is critiqued, lambasted, joked at, his work alternately praised and denigrated. And often, he fails. In this way, the viewer, the diner, is made safe again...celebrity, then, works at once to create class for the chef and to fundamentally undermine it.
(p. 51)

This demonstrates that UCPs can be commodified and consumed by customers at their own restaurants, not just through their celebrity representations of others' products. Additionally, Hyman suggested that because customers have knowledge, both perceived and real, of a celebrity chef's product, they may feel entitled to sit in judgement. Research participants agreed and Alex commented that they operate at "the hardest most demanding spectrum of the industry, fine dining. People come here and pay \$44 for a main course, now they expect it to be spot on, and they're always looking for flaws." This means that the class of his restaurant, its expense and the elite characteristics are judged by his customers in relation to their perceived values. At the same time, because customers know his name, they are also passing judgement on him.

Driessens (2013) reminds us that celebrification "comprises the changes at the individual level, or more precisely the process by which ordinary people or public figures are transformed into celebrities" (p. 5). If celebrification is an indication of change within the individual then it could be suggested celebrification does not begin with a blank slate. As such the success, or otherwise, of celebrification may be caused by, or be dependent on, an individual's existent skills and physical characteristics (Driessens, 2013; van Krieken, 2012). These skills or characteristics do not necessarily need to be new or different as they are merged with, or reflective of, the "culture already operating numerous systems of representation, such as those relating to gender, race, sexuality and of course celebrity itself" (Bonner, 2003, p. 67). The beginning point of celebrification for research participants was their entry as proprietors into the UCPs *in situ*. They reflected how the celebrity they had before this, as chefs, was transferable to their new role and how their dependency on their identity as chefs was also pivotal in the generation of celebrity for themselves as UCPs. Change for them came in their role inside their businesses, so interaction with their customers and the fulfilment of celebrity duties were possible. They also experienced personal changes and expressed this through contradictions within their own celebrity identity, changes caused by the media's interest in them, and negative aspects of celebrity such as intrusion.

Driessens (2013) suggested that there is a difference between celebrification and celebritization. The author proposed "to reserve celebritization for the societal and cultural changes implied by celebrity. Celebrification, in contrast, comprises the changes at the individual level" (p. 5). Findings from this research cannot be definitive on this construct; however if there is a difference, then both celebrification and celebritization impact UCPs. The

sector of UCPs has been shown to be influenced by celebritization as the media seek to include them, and in so doing creates an environment in which celebrification is unavoidable. Furthermore UCPs, to obtain success, seek to be included in the celebrification process.

5.3 Media and celebrity production

The invention of television, and its ensuing popularity, resulted in the media's need for celebrities who had an air of familiarity and thus were able to directly address the audience about the problems of the day (Marshall, 1997; Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004; Turner et al., 2000). This increased the breadth and the type of individual who could be included as celebrity figures and as a consequence "turned celebrities into objects of mass consumption....Today's celebrity is not simply a well-known person but a product of a cultural industry devoted to the fabrication of interchangeable stars" (Furedi, 2010, p. 493). Because of this interchangeability and the need for celebrity figures to replace existing ones (including ordinary experts), contemporary media organisations have become sites of celebrity production. Previously, celebrity would have been "produced through a range of sports, news and entertainment contexts, or in response to approaches from publicists, promotions and public relations personnel, contemporary television in particular has introduced much greater vertical integration into the industrial structure which produces their celebrities" (Turner, 2006, p. 156). This was reflected in this research through the way that UCPs were included in the television sector as interchangeable celebrities, filling the roles of the presenters, judges, and guest judges on mainstream television programming. This interchangeability supports the proposition that the celebrity is a commodity to be invented, traded, discarded, and reinvented (Turner, 2006; Turner et al., 2000).

Rousseau (2012b) proposed that the inclusion of chefs in the media, particularly on television, has resulted in a commonly used prefix for the word chef, celebrity. Research participants agreed with her regarding the commonness of the use of the word 'celebrity' commenting that from their perspective, they found it unnecessary, if not annoying. When this aspect was explored further it led to the rejection of the label 'celebrity' by research participants and the suggestion that being called a celebrity did nothing for them. Even after evidence of their inclusion within the media was presented and the suggestion that they were celebrities made, UCPs rejected this label, predominantly because of their focus on their vocational duties as chefs. This points to a new category of celebrity, vocational relevance. Vocational relevance as a category of celebrity may fit alongside or within Rojek's (2001) three groups used to

classify the origin of an individual's celebrity: ascribed, achieved and attributed. Rojek goes on to define these categories suggesting that ascribed celebrity is when an individual acquires celebrity status through ascension or association, such as inheriting aristocratic bloodlines, being a member of an established 'well-known' (old money/political) family or by attaining/holding various important office (i.e. religious leadership). Achieved celebrity is when an individual becomes a celebrity as the result of their own skills or attributes, such as artistic or sporting achievements. Attributed celebrity occurs when individuals gain celebrity status by becoming recognisable in the media, being news worthy, or for serendipitous reasons. Vocational relevance as a celebrity group has attributes of all three other groups as it can be ascribed from culinary ascension within families or established culinary organisations, achieved through culinary endeavour, and attributed through the commonness of their image in the media. However, as this research showed it is because of UCPs mandatory need for celebrity regardless of its origin and through their exposure to compulcelebrity they can be identified as acquiring their celebrity because of its vocational relevance. This also indicates that celebrity for UCPs is part of their environment and although they may not reject the label 'celebrity' altogether they do not identify themselves as such. This indicates that UCPs are influenced by celebrity conditions within contemporary society which are best summarised by Andy Warhol's prediction that "in the future everyone will be world-famous for fifteen minutes" (quoted in Hewer & Brownlie, 2009, p. 482). Further enforcing this prediction by Warhol, in the latter half of the 20th century and beyond the possibility for individual celebrity increased because of the inception of television.

5.3.1 Celebrity, chefs and television

As shown in Chapter 2, chefs have historically had a degree of culinary celebrity. However, contemporarily, celebrity for chefs has been associated with the commodification and globalisation of the food industry, along with the increasing importance of the visual media in contemporary society (Bonner, 2003; Henderson, 2011; Rousseau, 2012b). Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor (2004) discussed the importance of television noting "television now plays an important role in mediating how we understand food, cookery also makes an important contribution to contemporary television culture" (p. 171). This suggests that culinary programming on television has two main roles: firstly, projecting the representations of food and food-meaning to the public; and, secondly, that culinary focused programming forms an important part of television content. This further reinforces the demand for, and necessity of,

UCPs as celebrity figures. The opportunity for inclusion on television is seen by research participants as having great relevance in the creation of their celebrity. Their television celebrity profile was connected to their need to attract customers to their restaurants and was identified as part of their marketing strategy. As a measure of television's importance, it was proposed that inclusion on prime-time culinary television was more significant in developing their celebrity profile than winning high-ranking print-based media awards such as 'of the year' competitions. Television has also been linked to elite chefs and their need to generate a niche within the "highly competitive restaurant scene in which there is an increased emphasis on marketing and public relations in order to produce 'celebrity' chefs associated with a unique culinary style" (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 173). This suggests that UCPs in a bid to achieve television exposure, are subject to competition from other UCPs because, as noted in 4.1.1, UCPs operate within a competitive environment.

When UCPs are able to secure appearances on television they consider it important to maximise the exposure. The projection of the elite chef's brand on television is paralleled by the branding of their aligned restaurant, which also creates further aligned marketing opportunities (Ashley et al., 2004). The synergy of UCPs' eliteness, their restaurants and their product endorsement activities were alluded to by 12 research participants, particularly in regards to their choice of products with which to be aligned. The goal of achieving marketing synergy between UCPs and their restaurants was evident in the way they allowed television companies to use their restaurants as settings for television productions. The disruption to their routine, the schedule of their restaurants and the lack of immediate financial reward for their labour was justified by UCPs in terms of the numbers of television viewers reached, and how they could not afford this kind of self-funded media exposure. Ashley et al. (2004) suggested that celebrity chefs, by allowing filming at their restaurants, "also marketed the experience of dining at their restaurant" (p. 178). Although it was unclear how many customers were attracted to UCPs' restaurants by their appearance on television, research participants agreed that this type of exposure led to more celebrity opportunities for them.

5.3.2 Upmarket chef proprietors and the internet

The internet has been used by research participants to directly market to and communicate with customers. It has been identified as a cost effective form of marketing enabling them to compete against companies with larger promotional budgets. The use of the internet has also been suggested as a valuable tool to attract media participants such as restaurant reviewers to newly

opened restaurant ventures. This would suggest an increased use of the internet for publicity generation and information gathering and sharing. The growing interest in, and use of, the internet has resulted in a media environment where the measures of individual ambition, achievement and success have become increasingly benchmarked through a person's online profile (Choi & Berger, 2010). Thus, the breadth and depth of an individual's exposure on the internet has become a qualification for celebrity (Rousseau, 2012a).

Engagement with the internet has benefits for the celebrity (including UCPs) as it allows them to communicate with consumers more rapidly, and in smaller bits, without the risk of appearing repetitive (Choi & Berger, 2009; Hewer & Brownlie, 2009). In this research, the use of the internet to communicate with potential customers was discussed as being 'frequent', including by UCP Ryan who used Instagram to post pictures daily of different aspects of his preparation and menu offerings which he hoped was of interest to his 'followers'. Such use of the internet is an indicator of celebrity possibility where, in congruence with Kurzman et al. (2007) and Marshall's (2010) observations, interest in an individual through the internet increases their celebrity profile. The research participants' use of the internet also indicates that they are communicating with their followers in much the same way as any celebrity would, normalising this aspect of their own celebrity-like activity with little thought except their desire to attract new and retain their existing customers.

5.4 Upmarket chef proprietors, commodification and the celebrity norm

UCPs have been shown to have similar commodified characteristics as other celebrity figures. Demand for UCPs as celebrities comes from their ability to be commodified, to have value for themselves but, more importantly, to be able to be traded by others (Marshall, 1997; Turner, 2006; Turner et al., 2000). It may be for this reason that Collins (2008) suggested "celebrity is the democratization of fame, but more importantly, it is fame commodified" (p. 90). Research participants exhibited signs of agreement with Collins's (2008) observation that the media system is a commercial enterprise and for the media to be interested in them they need to provide, be, or become, a saleable commodity. They do this by inviting the media in and becoming a media object in such ways as agreeing to be on television for little financial remuneration.

Collins (2008) also observed that celebrity can be a “cultural commodity” (p. 90). This may indicate that celebrity and the media that promote celebrity have become embedded into the centre of contemporary society. Couldry (2005) proposed:

If society has a centre it naturalizes the idea that we have, or need media that ‘represent’ that centre; media claims for themselves that they are society’s frame helps naturalise the idea, underlying countless media texts, that there is a social ‘centre’ to be re-presented to us. (p. 46)

Thus, the media creates a feeling of a shared space - the taking of the media audience through the celebrity to a place “where it is happening (in terms of style, culture or celebrity), to where decisions are made (in terms of political coverage) and so on” (Herbert, 2013, p. 37). Of course, one of the products UCPs offer is advice on the everyday activity of cooking. UCPs explained how they simplify recipes so that they are able to be used by the consumer. The ability of UCPs to engage with the consumer in this way increases their appeal across a range of media platforms. One of the reasons that chefs, and therefore the UCPs, appeal to the media is that they “have a competitive advantage when it comes to getting our attention given they combine the best of two worlds when it comes to food: education and entertainment” (Rousseau, 2012b, p. xii). It is because of this the UCPs’ inclusion in the media creates celebrity for them as well as a feeling of a shared space for individuals who consume their products.

5.4.1 Celebrity experts

UCPs celebrity comes from their ability to offer advice on food and its consumption. This places UCPs not as traditional celebrities, who portray the markers of eliteness, but, as “lifestyle celebrity experts [who] presents us with images and modes of advice embedded in, rather than abstracted from, everyday life” (Lewis, 2010, p. 585). The integration of the expert into celebrity culture has been predominantly controlled by the celebrity industry. It has provided space for the industry to grow and, in some cases, it has lowered entry barriers (Gamson, 2011; Lewis, 2010; Turner, 2004). Historically, the gap between the expert and the celebrity was more socially and publicly defined. Experts occupied high status positions and were reverently referred to on matters of economic, social and/or personal importance. In contrast, celebrities had higher visibility but were not required to have or to be seen as having definitive qualified expertise (Lewis, 2010). However, through the process of democratisation, and the mediatization of information, celebrity experts have become more fashionable than traditional experts. This has weakened the public’s need for, and opinion of, the traditional

experts, while at the same time, increasing the status of the celebrity experts, regardless of qualification, who have desirable media traits (Garnham, 1995). Celebrity advice is important for consumers as the abundance of information available can be overwhelming, not to mention subjective, inadequate, expensive, and time consuming to acquire. It is for this reason that consumers look towards celebrity experts, not necessarily for their superior qualities, but for their skills in interpreting and simplifying available information (Chossat & Gergaud, 2003; Furedi, 2010). UCPs can be labelled ‘ordinary experts’ because they dispense advice on a common everyday activity: cooking. Also in this role UCPs noted how they have been contracted by outside companies to represent their products. UCPs, by accepting their duties as ordinary experts and by representing products for financial reward are further normalising their celebrity activities and actions.

5.4.2 Coolness/falseness

The prevalence of the chef’s image in contemporary media has led to a sense that “chefs are important: it has transformed culinary professionals into creators of culture, capable of bestowing knowledge and coolness” (Hyman, 2008, p. 47). Research participants agreed with Hyman’s observations and, although UCPs did not attribute this coolness to themselves, they identified it as a characteristic largely placed on them by others. They commented that the contemporary celebrity of chefs and the vocation’s consequent elevation in the social sphere made them feel better in public when introducing themselves as chefs. There are however elements of falseness when professional chefs are projected as celebrities. Hyman (2008) noted that celebrity for chefs:

is all about work. His fame, in fact, is predicated on labor, and his success does not obviate the need for him to do real work: the diner, the fan, expects the chef to go to the restaurant every day, to sweat in the kitchen, and to craft the food with his own hands...The chef does not leave working-class labor behind when he becomes a kitchen star: instead, he threatens to erase the invisible boundaries between classes that we at once ignore and reify. The chef, after all, is about high and low all at once. Though the revised image of super-star chefdom may be, on occasion, pristine, chefs, of course, still get their hands extremely dirty, laboring in the filth of food. They are servants, on call for diners, at the same time that they are artists, savants, gifted and famous creators. (p. 46)

UCPs agreed with these comments through their recounting of their daily activities. Additionally, the suggestion that UCPs as celebrity figures are on call for diners has been broadened by research participants’ observations that they are obliged to accept customer

intrusions in their role as celebrities and the duties which go with it. Research participants also argued that there was an element of falseness in the mediated projection of the chef's work without the associated labour. Likewise Rousseau (2012b) proposed that the removal of the labour content of culinary television allowed the viewer a more entertaining product and disassociated them from their own labour in the kitchen. This removal of labour and the lack of understanding of the real work involved in being UCPs may make consumers feel as though they are more 'like' chefs. This was reiterated by Emma when she commented that the celebrity of chefs has "affected the customers, that they are budding celebrity chefs as well, I think it's a load of shit to be honest, it's not reality is it."

5.4.3 Upmarket chef proprietors and celebrity norm

The celebrity norm for UCPs has been discussed above through the prevalence of celebrities in society and their acceptance of celebrity duties in their everyday life. However, research participants still denied that they were celebrities even though they accepted that their vocational and personal time sometimes resulted in contact with others who identified them as celebrities. This, becomes a contemporary and 'real life' extension of Goffman's (1959) theory on the presentation of self in everyday life. He suggested that an individual, when interacting with others, hides their true self and hence performs for an audience. Through interaction with others, the individual represents the self, 'me', while having their own personal thoughts, 'I'. The author explained this concept in relation to the theatre where individuals have a frontstage and backstage personas. The front stage persona has an audience gazing on them while the backstage is somewhat more personal in nature. This acting also includes the way in which individuals react to the presence of specific groups of people and whether they consider them members of the audience gazing on them, or as their peers and thus interacting with them from a backstage more informal position. Goffman's theory has illuminated the reactions of UCPs as they identified members of the general public and non-vocationally trained celebrity chefs as outsiders. While their peers, through their mutual respect of each other, as well as their group identity as chefs, were seen as members of their backstage entourage.

In some regards the UCPs representations in the media may also allow the audience to view UCPs from a backstage position. Research participants noted how they have an acceptance of a degree of celebrity inherent in their role as UCPs. They also discussed their need to be in the media because, as Ryan stated, "The media can feature people better than you can." While this is an acceptance of UCPs vocational and celebrity duties, it may also be an acceptance of their

involvement in contemporary celebrity culture that has created a level of familiarity between the general public and celebrity figures. Hence, research participants recognised the desirability of the customer knowing the UCP's name. This familiarisation was seen as beneficial by research participants. Furedi (2010) agreed and noted:

Celebrities like Jennifer or Brad or Brittany are referred to by their first names. These are people that everyone knows or ought to know. This affectation of familiarity conveys the implication of the removal of social and cultural barriers between the celebrity and the consumer of popular culture and offers the promise of a relation of intimacy. (p. 494)

To highlight this intimacy, UCPs offered examples of customers approaching them to perform various celebrity duties. Cameron described his discomfort when acquaintances or strangers were overly familiar with him:

people calling me by name all the time, it is really disconcerting, are you calling me Cameron because you have seen me on TV or do you know me and I've forgotten you? That is quite disconcerting and I say "Do I know you?" And they say "No, no but we think we know you." I get that a lot, I get that a lot 'We think we know you', that's what they want, I'm sure that must be what it is.

This is an extension of Furedi's (2010) observations and refutes, at least from the perspective of UCPs and their consumers, Dyer's (1979) notion that "Celebrities represent what are taken to be people typical of this society; yet the types of people we assume characterise our society may nevertheless be singularly absent from our actual day-to-day experience of society" (p. 50). However, part of the ease of consumers identifying UCPs as familiar figures may come from the way chefs are presented in the media. Citing celebrity chefs Jamie Oliver and Bobby Flay, Hyman (2008) proposed that the frequency with which chefs appear on television and the culinary knowledge they impart makes them seem less daunting as professional figures. He suggested that they have embraced their wider social groups' participation in their programming and by including their 'mates' in culinary television shows, "the haute-cuisine chef becomes one of the boys, not so haute after all – just another dude obsessing over coals and gas with a beer in hand. He is an entirely knowable commodity" (p. 50). This identification of celebrity chefs in the media as familiar if not desirable friends is due to their sharing of understandable culinary knowledge. In this way they become similar to, if not a replacement for, conveyors of traditional culinary knowledge normally handed down by family and friends. This further increases celebrity chefs' familiarity to their fans and followers. UCPs are aware

of the customer's desire for contact even though it takes them away from their tasks at hand.

Alex noted:

I came away from the stove....My customers come up to the pass, they want to talk to me, I can't talk to them when I've got lamb in the oven and we're away on four tables and stuff like that and I'm trying to organise the person next to me to do the garnish, so that was difficult....I think it helps being visible, I think is detrimental to my business, as a business plan but, I'm all about the contact.

These aspects of celebrity contact have resulted in the extra work of celebrity duties into UCPs everyday lives; and instead of "mission creep" (Choi & Berger, 2010, p. 313) for the celebrity in society, the impact of the celebrity norm may have resulted in the mission creep of celebrity upon UCPs. This point is expanded by Lewis (2010) who proposed that "where once there was some ability to distinguish between the commercial world and the realm of artistic, intellectual and expert culture, these spaces of relative autonomy have now disappeared" (p. 591). These thoughts are also reflected in research findings where the commercial world and the need for representation figures has resulted in the commodification of UCPs. The commodification of UCPs has been discussed through their uptake of opportunities to endorse and represent aligned sponsored products. For the UCPs, the amalgamation of celebrity need, commercial realities, and the integration of the media and the visual industries as part of UCPs *in situ*, has resulted in them experiencing compulcelebrity and celebrification. Compulcelebrity extends Milner's (2010) suggestion that the production of celebrity is reliant on "a combination of social background, performance, PR and luck" (p. 387), to now include media need and vocational requirement.

5.5 Summation

This chapter has presented an analysis of the research findings as they compared to the existing academic literature. It was informed by the research participants' voices and reflects compulcelebrity their thoughts on UCPs *in situ* and celebrification, and their celebrity as a *fait accompli*. In this chapter, academic theories on habitus, celebrification, celebrity, celebrity chefs, and the media were used as a lens through which the substantive theory of compulcelebrity was viewed.

This research broadened Bourdieu's (1984) construct of habitus which included ways of being and ways of knowing, as well as class characteristics. Compulcelebrity was shown to be inherent to the habitus of UCPs as research participants discussed their need for celebrity, their

acceptance of celebrity duties, and their interaction with the media. This research established that UCPs viewed their celebrity status as important and confirmed it as a structure within their habitus. Research participants also recounted how they required celebrity status to be competitive with other UCPs and upmarket restaurants. One way UCPs generated celebrity was through simplifying their recipes for mass consumption. In so doing, UCPs largely ignored class characteristics and instead provided expert knowledge in an easily accessible form. Even so, they still hoped (and expected) that media visibility as UCPs would produce synergy between them and their restaurants. In fulfilling this expectation, UCPs could continue to attract customers and maintain the class characteristics of their businesses and patrons. The simplifying of content also increased UCPs' familiarity among the public and their appeal as celebrity figures. Thus UCPs provided a real world example of Naccarato & LeBesco's (2012) theory that consumers value relevant information more than the class characteristics from where it originated.

Compulcelebrity was shown to be an extension of current academic understandings of contemporary celebrity culture by building on three existing academic constructs. Firstly, that there is increased importance placed on being visible (Rein et al., 2006). Research participants described the requirement for media visibility as vital to their success. They noted that having a celebrity profile increased their legitimacy and through synergy with their restaurants resulted in their restaurants being seen as desirable dining destinations. This connected visibility with vocational success. Secondly, the projections and actions of celebrities are valued as representational (Rojek, 2001; Turner, 2004). The findings of this research support the UCPs' representational abilities as celebrity chefs by their previously noted involvement in social and political causes. Additional research findings showed the UCPs were able to represent themselves, their restaurants and sponsored products and thus accept rewards for their celebrity status. Thirdly, the opinions of celebrity experts are more valued than traditional experts (Lewis, 2010). This research extends Lewis' theory by showing that in reality, UCPs have not replaced traditional experts, for they exhibit culinary expertise and their lineage is a continuation of elite chefs as offered in Section 2.2. By commodifying themselves and simplifying their culinary information to be easily 'digestible' to consumers, UCPs have replaced their own markers of expertise and made themselves appear as ordinary experts. When viewed together, these constructs and findings reflect the compulsoriness of celebrity to ensure success in contemporary society.

Chapter 6 The washing-up

In this final chapter, conclusions from the research findings are presented. As shown above celebrity is a near-daily experience for UCPs. However, their celebrity duties were both scheduled and unscheduled. This means that celebrity actions for UCPs became part of their daily vocational duties, with celebrity opportunities both self-generated and offered by others. Further, this research shows that these conditions have created a celebrity norm for UCPs which confirms their exposure to compulcelebrity. This chapter also offers my reflections on the research methodology, discusses the limitations of this research, and outlines my recommendations for further research opportunities.

6.1 Reflections on methodology

The use of a qualitative method for data collection and analysis has resulted in a richness of research findings that would not have been possible through the use of a quantitative research method. Grounded theory method allowed for the inclusion of, and reliance on, the research participants' voices throughout data analysis, and the inclusion of direct quotes in the writing-up process. Furthermore, it was the use of constant comparison to achieve theoretical saturation which gave depth to the research categories and, hence, the findings.

The research concurs with Urquhart (2013) and Charmaz (2000) that the use of grounded theory method assists in establishing the legitimacy of research findings through analytical sorting of research data into codes, and their refinement into focused codes and then categories. Additionally, the use of grounded theory, particularly because of its processes including constant comparison, allowed me close contact with the data and to be immersed in the research process. In this way, I have actively been part of the research process and have, through deep connection with the data, developed an understanding of and feel for compulcelebrity and its effects on UCPs. From my perspective the use of grounded theory method was a systematic, thorough, inclusive, illuminating, sometimes frustrating, but ultimately rewarding process.

6.2 Research aim and objectives achieved

We are reminded that the aim of this research was to establish a substantive, comprehensive overview of the celebrity experience from the UCPs' perspective. This aim was achieved by fulfilling three research objectives: Firstly, by investigating the compulsory celebrity attributes contained within the environment of UCPs and the effects thereof on UCPs. Secondly, by

determining the identifiable steps experienced by UCPs in the generation of celebrity. Thirdly, by forming an understanding of UCPs' lives after they achieved celebrity status. The following sections explain how the findings of the research met these objectives.

6.2.1 Upmarket chef proprietors *in situ*

UCPs *in situ*, as a category, emerged from the data as UCPs discussed their experiences from within their vocational environment. It was determined that their experiences influenced the research participants' ways of thinking and acting towards the media and, hence, towards their own celebrity. During analysis of the research data, it became clear that there were several motivational influences that acted upon UCPs. Firstly, their immersion in Auckland's elite upmarket restaurant sector. The elite nature of this sector was proposed to have resulted in interest from the media and the inclusion of information that UCPs could provide. UCPs *in situ* was also shown to be characterised by in a competitive environment both between UCPs for celebrity profile, and between their restaurants, for customers. Furthermore, factors within the UCPs' business structure, including financial pressures and the need to 'legitimise' their celebrity profile, encouraged UCPs to engage with celebrity. These stimuli were noted by research participants as motivational factors to engage with the media and develop their celebrity profiles through celebrification. Research participants recounted the various ways in which they were approached by the media and how the media used them to provide content. However, these approaches from the media were largely accepted as an effect of their environment and as a necessity for business success. Another significant research finding was UCPs' self-identification as chefs when explaining or justifying their appearances in the media. This identification was intimately connected to their promotion of their restaurants, meaning UCPs had little doubt about why they engaged with celebrity. The conditions of UCPs *in situ*, as detailed above, resulted in UCPs awareness of compulcelebrity, their acceptance of celebrity activities and of celebrification as part of their vocational activities.

6.2.2 Celebrification

Driessens (2013) reminds us that celebrification does not begin from a blank slate. Research participants identified their status as chefs, their existing celebrity profiles, and their contacts within the media as starting points for celebrification. Celebrification was initially driven by the UCPs who, through their own contacts and/or their engagement with PR companies, invited the media to opening events in the hope of free publicity. Research participants remarked that

these actions were not in direct pursuit of celebrity, but rather were an attempt to expose their businesses through the media and to attract potential customers. As the research participants became established in their business activities, their interactions with the media increased.

The establishment of celebrification and its effects on the UCPs was pivotal to establishing the substantive theory of compulcelebrity. The research findings showed strong evidence of media interest in UCPs, as well as a desire from the UCPs themselves to generate celebrity profiles. This resulted in celebrity opportunities and uptake for UCPs, including appearances in print, broadcast and online media. Through these appearances, research participants experienced successful engagement across a range of media channels and degrees of celebrity, depending on such factors as desire, opportunity and luck.

6.2.3 Celebrity chef *fait accompli*

The objective to form an understanding of UCPs' lives after they have achieved celebrity status was met by investigating if research participants self-identified as celebrities. It was found that research participants have differences of opinion about their own celebrity status depending on the context of the discussion. This conflict about being a celebrity is reflected in Goffman's (1959) theory of 'self': showing one aspect of themselves to others, 'me', in this case their celebrity, while keeping their true 'self', 'I' hidden. As individuals, none of the research participants identified as a celebrity. However, when research participants reflected on their engagement with the media, and the associated opportunities, duties and rewards, most acknowledged their celebrity status. At the same time they noted the personal conflict between their identity as UCPs and their identity as celebrities. In this regard they used their identity as chefs as a buffer between their true self, 'I' and the self that others observed, 'me', during their celebrity activities. As an example, Owen commented, "I'm just a chef that cooks on TV." This, however, can be seen as verification that celebrity actions were both considered and unconsidered by UCPs. They may be considered as, by appearing in the media, they realise they are building a celebrity profile, but UCPs may do this with little consideration as to the possibility of generating celebrity for themselves. This indicates there is an awareness of the process and results of compulcelebrity and celebrification. However, at the same time, the activities or effects as a result of these processes may seem natural or inherent to UCPs. This resulted in an acceptance of celebrity and a celebrity norm as part of the experience of UCPs *in situ* and in their experience of being celebrity chefs as a *fait accompli*. The discovery of the

UCPs experiencing celebrity as an established socialised norm was pivotal to the discovery of the substantive grounded theory of compulcelebrity.

6.3 Theoretical contribution

The theoretical contribution of this research is the formation of a substantive grounded theory of compulcelebrity. The discovery of compulcelebrity extends academic theory on hospitality, habitus, celebrity, celebrification and personal identification. Bourdieu's (1984) theory of habitus was furthered through delineating its ways of being and ways of knowing within the habitus of UCPs. Evidence of compulcelebrity influencing the UCPs' ways of being and knowing lay in their actions, understandings and feelings as they invited the media, denied celebrity, admitted celebrity, desired celebrity, used their knowledge to generate celebrity, had a financial need for celebrity, accepted the rewards of celebrity and, through the integration of celebrity duties into their everyday life, created and reinforced a celebrity norm. As such, this research established compulcelebrity as part of the UCPs' habitus, which resulted in UCPs' mandatory exposure to celebrification and the resulting effects of their celebrity status.

Compulcelebrity emerged as research participants reflected on their need for a celebrity status and their understanding that they required media exposure to be successful. The compulsory element of UCPs' required celebrity profile was complemented, and perhaps intensified, by the research participants' feelings that the media sought and used them for content. This resulted in an environment where research participants felt celebrity was not only possible but also compulsory and unavoidable. This reflects Furedi's (2010) suggestion that "success in virtually every profession is associated with a celebrity status" (p. 493). This research extends the construct by showing that, due to the influence of compulcelebrity, participating in the sector of UCPs results in mandatory celebrity status. The level of celebrity experienced by UCPs may depend on the individual's desire for celebrity; however, research findings showed that they may have little control over their celebrity status, which is driven by interest from the media and the public at large. The UCPs' celebrity status can also be affected by the popularity of their media-projected personalities, their availability to the media, and their increasing visibility due to their vocational success. Thus, research findings reflected limited choices for UCPs, who either embraced celebrity and media opportunities or sought to minimise compulcelebrity's influence and impact on them. The findings of this research have also suggested other areas where a further contribution to academic theory may be possible.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

During the research several areas of possible academic interest were identified. The emergence of compulcelebrity as a substantive grounded theory lends itself as a vehicle through which to investigate other sectors of the restaurant industry, other vocations, and other sectors of society. This research, through its focus on UCPs, used the upmarket restaurant sector in Auckland as its setting in the discovery of compulcelebrity. However, there is little doubt that, due to the contemporary nature of this research as well as the penetration of celebrity culture in contemporary society, other locations or restaurant sectors would make interesting academic backdrops using the same research focus. Research such as this could include all levels of chefs, front-of-house personnel, non-chef proprietors, customers and even other vocational sectors. There are a number of vocations visible in the media for which the acquisition of celebrity status may not have necessarily been a primary focus for its participants but, as is similar to UCPs, is induced by contemporary celebrity culture and media conditions. A list of these vocations includes but is by no means limited to: doctors, lawyers, economists, meteorologists, academics and sports people.

This research has shown that UCPs have little choice but to engage with the media and become celebrities. However, the size of the celebrity audience required to become a celebrity created some conjecture amongst research participants. As such, the required size of the audience that consumes the object of their desire, ‘the celebrity’, may make another valuable area of academic investigation. Research of this nature points towards localised celebrity and the possibility of celebrity culture working in micro as well as macro environments. Areas of research such as those described above would add to academic literature and understandings on the continuing and increasing roles that celebrity and celebrity culture play in contemporary society.

6.5 Closing remarks

This research was inspired by my own immersion in the culinary profession. With these experiences I have had the privilege to work with and observe chefs with a dedication to task, creativity and passion for all things culinary. I include the participants of this research amongst those whom it has been a privilege to meet, converse with and in a relatively short period of time come to know and greatly respect. The discovery of compulcelebrity as a core category gave meaning to the research findings as it was able to explain the conditions that UCPs

experienced *in situ*, their celebrification and their status as celebrity chefs as a *fait accompli*. It is through UCPs' need for celebrity, as well as their projections in the media as valuable culinary commodities, that compulcelebrity will continue to be an influence for UCPs as long as celebrity chefs and culinary content create consumer interest and demand. This research has also informed my understanding of the contemporary importance of the study of celebrity and its transferability between different social, economic and vocational groups. The transferability of celebrity, and its ascribed value as being representational reflects contemporary society's conscious or unconscious reliance on celebrity figures for instant information, confirmation and gratification. Thus as the pace of life and technological innovation continues so will societies reliance on celebrity culture and the industries that produce it.

The author welcomes further academic investigation and challenge to the findings of this thesis. Indeed in the future the author himself may find occasion to challenge his findings especially when taking into consideration others lived experiences.

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Appendix 1 Introductory letter



Thank you for taking the time to read my letter of introduction.

My name is Scott Wright. I am undertaking research to produce a thesis in part fulfilment towards the Master's qualification in International Hospitality Management (MIHM). My background is as a professional chef, restaurateur and now culinary lecturer. I have identified you and would like to invite you to participate in my research because of your experience as a professional chef. The title of my research is

Celebrification of upmarket chef proprietors: A view from the inside

Celebrity effects may be many and varied. My interest is in the upmarket restaurant chef-proprietor's views on how the presence of the celebrity chef in the media has affected their vocational, personal and social life (habitus). A habitus is the environment which an individual operates within and is experienced differently by all individuals. Habitus includes history and traditions which may in turn be modified to create new environments.

If you are willing to participate in this research a semi-structured interview will be conducted at a time and place convenient to you. It is anticipated that the initial interview will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes. There is a chance due to the evolving nature of the research a subsequent interview, taking approximately 30 minutes, maybe also requested. You will be identified by name in the text of the research. In addition you will be acknowledged in the front of the thesis as a research participant and sent an abstract along with a PDF and/or a URL link to the completed thesis.

Your participation in this research would be appreciated however, please do not feel under pressure to participate, as participation is expressly voluntary and you can remove yourself without bias throughout the research data gathering stage. Upon confirmation that you are willing to participate a participant information sheet, along with a consent form will be made available to you.

Please indicate via return email (scott.wright@aut.ac.nz) your willingness, or otherwise, to participate in this research. Thank you for taking time to read this letter and please do not hesitate to contact me personally for further information regarding this research.

Yours sincerely,

Scott Wright
Culinary Lecturer
AUT University

Appendix 2 Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced:

3rd November 2014

Project Title

Celebrification of upmarket chef proprietors: A view from the inside

An Invitation

My name is Scott Wright and I am a Professional Chef and Lecturer working at AUT University in Auckland, New Zealand. I am undertaking research for a thesis as part of the Master of International Hospitality qualification. I would like you to participate in the research by conducting an interview, at a time and place, which is convenient to you. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time prior to the completion of data collection.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to produce a thesis as partial fulfilment of the Master of International Hospitality qualification.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You are being invited to participate in this research due to your experience as an elite chef as well as meeting some or all of the criteria listed below

- Experience as a chef-proprietor of an upmarket restaurant.
- A background of being a chef.

What will happen in this research?

This research will involve approximately 15 to 20 participants, with whom one or several interviews will be conducted. Interviews are anticipated to last between 30 and 45 minutes. Your information will provide data for this research and will compliment academic literature. In this way some of your thoughts may be quoted in the final write up. The thesis produced from this research will be submitted for examination in mid-2015.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There will be no undue discomfort or risk to the research participant.

What are the benefits?

The direct benefit will be to the primary researcher undertaking the research in order to present a Master's thesis for examination. This research will also contribute to academic literature in the field of hospitality with particular reference to the culinary profession. Other stakeholders such as participants, media organisations, and celebrity and/or professional chefs may also be interested in the research findings.

How will my privacy be protected?

Chef-proprietors who own upmarket restaurants in New Zealand are limited in number and as such may be identifiable to others with knowledge of the local hospitality scene. However, you will not be directly named in the write up sections of this thesis and you will be given a nom de plume. All information gathered during the research will be handled in a confidential manner. In addition you have the right of removal from the research at anytime throughout the interview or data gathering stages.

No outside agency other than the principle researcher and his academic supervisors will have access to the information provided. The interview will be electronically recorded and transcribed into a series of memos. The transcription if not performed by the principle researcher will be conducted under a confidentiality agreement. All information will then be analysed and given a series of codes to be compared to other participants' information. At the conclusion of this research personal information on participants will be securely destroyed after six years.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

Interviews are anticipated to last between 30 and 45 minutes. As the research progresses, you may be contacted again, as and when the need arises, to clarify information or be asked further questions. It is anticipated if a second or subsequent interview is requested it would last for approximately 20 to 30 minutes.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You will be given a minimum of 7 days to consider your participation in this research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Please contact me through email (scott.wright@aut.ac.nz), or by telephone, at my work extension (921 9999 ext. 8470). At your indication of agreement to participate in this research a consent form will be emailed to you.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

No personal feedback will be provided by the researcher at the time of the interview. However, information will be provided on the research outcome and research participants will be sent an abstract of and PDF or URL link to the completed thesis.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Telephone 9219999 ext. 8470

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Charles Johnson

Senior Lecturer

Faculty of Culture and Society

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17May 2013

AUTEC Reference number 13/76

Appendix 3 Consent form

Consent Form



Project title: Celebrification of upmarket chef proprietors: A view from the inside

Project Supervisor: Charles Johnston

Researcher: Scott Wright

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated: 3rd November 2014.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand I will not be identified by name but through descriptive content may be identifiable.
- ☐ I understand that during the interviews notes will be taken and it will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the abstract and a URL link to the research.

Participant's signature:

.....

Participant's name:

.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....

.....

.....

Interview Date:...../...../201...

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 17 May 2013

AUTEC Reference number 13/76.

Appendix 4 Interview questions example

What is your opinion of the celebrity chef?

At what level do you consider that a chef reaches celebrity status?

How do you feel that the popularity of the chef in the media has increased interest in local chefs?

What is your need for a media profile as an upmarket restaurant proprietor - Initially and now?

How do you feel when the media identify you personally?

How are you linked back to your businesses?

What pressures does appearing in the media place on you?

Have your media skills improved?

If I said to you; you are a celebrity chef how does that make you feel?

How does media interest in you change after has publishing a book or appearing on television?

How has the media discussed your personal background?

How do you feel when a close relation or friend appears in the media and you are referenced

What is the media writing about now restaurants or chefs?