Lost Opportunities and Wasted Skills: Learning Experiences of Apprentices and their Attrition

Portfolio

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Signature of Student:

Date:
Acknowledgments

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I am also pleased that my principal supervisor Dr Tony Holland retained his goodwill towards me during my efforts to come to grips with this portfolio research and doctoral writing. His patience and experience helped me greatly though the many years of this ‘Doctoral’ journey at UTS. Furthermore my secondary supervisor Dr Ann Reich performed a central role in the final stages of this research through her astute but ever kindly critical analysis of my research and writing. My other ‘critical friend’, Rosalind Carter was invaluable for her keen eyes and ever worthwhile suggestions as was my dear friend Megan McDonald who provided experience and knowledge with regard to my academic writing. Finally I also would like to thank AVETRA and NCVER for giving me the opportunity to present papers on my research findings and the warmth and collegial support of AVETRA members. They were always willing to assist with helpful advice for a novice researcher, such as myself. The research has been expertly edited by a professional editor Dr Guenter A. Plum who provided copyediting services, according to the guidelines laid out in the university-endorsed national guidelines: ‘The editing of research theses by professional editors’.
Portfolio Structure

This portfolio consists of a meta-statement and seven artefacts, each with their own page numbers, table of contents and references. It is an assembly of distinct artefacts, written for multiple audiences connected by the Research Study and bound as a single thesis. Each artefact has been separated by a coloured page to delineate it from the following artefact for ease of retrieval and reference. After much deliberation the final structure of this portfolio is offered as the clearest solution to a composite research study.
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Glossary of Terms used in this Portfolio

ABS: Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACCI: Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry
ACTU: Australian Council of Trade Unions
AVETRA: Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association
CBT: Competency Based Training
CEO: Chief Executive Officer
DEEWR: Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
GTO: Group Training Organisation
MCEETYA: Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
MCVTE: Ministerial Council for Vocational and Technical Education
MEGT: Trade name for Group Training Organisation; Melbourne East Group Training
NCVER: National Centre for Vocational and Education Research
OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
R&CA: Restaurant and Catering Association
RTO: Registered Training Organisation
TAFE: Technical and Further Education
TVET: TAFE delivered Vocational Education and Training
VET: Vocational Education and Training
Meta-statement
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Abstract

The rate of attrition of apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship and dropping out of a trade altogether has long been a concern for both industry and government (DEEWR 2008; Knight & Karmel 2011). Attrition amongst commercial cookery apprentices is one of the highest, where more than 60% leave within their first year. Low pay and unsociable hours have often been cited as reasons why many apprentices reassess their career choice (Pratten 2003a; Pratten & O’Leary 2007). However while these conditions are difficult to change, many apprentice chefs leave through poor treatment and the lack of opportunity for learning, rather than the physical demands of the job. The purpose of this study is to investigate learning opportunities for apprentice chefs and their influence on retention. This study further examines the inter-relational dynamics of enriched work practices and learning and its influence on apprentices’ motivation.

Apprentices will bring expectations to their apprenticeship from sources external to their workplace and VET. These sources may be from programs on television and the internet (Bonsal 2007), school VET programs (Smith & Wilson 2002a, 2002b) or weekend casual work in local restaurants (Fuller & Unwin 2004; Hodgson & Spours 2001). The origin of these expectations may be an idealised notion of what it means to be a chef but a prevailing motivation to cook for a living. This study examines what motivates apprentices to complete their apprenticeship and qualify in a very challenging industry.

Two stages were developed in this investigation where the findings of the first stage informed the progression to the second. Stage one investigates apprentices’ motivation and attrition from a broad spectrum of industry stakeholders where qualitative data was collected in order to gain insight into the viewpoints of key individuals. The Stage One Report Industry and VET was disseminated in order to seek feedback and enrich the data. Conference papers presented during the study also acted as conduits for feedback. Stage two then progresses the study through interviews with successfully qualified apprentices and their nominated mentors to capture the voices and perceptions at the core of this problem. The Stage Two Report Industry and VET was published and disseminated for feedback, again to enrich the data together with a final conference paper. The resultant findings present evidence of generational shifts in apprentices’ expectations of their learning and work practices in the workplace. The sociological implications for workplace reform may require effective industry and VET changes for the next generation of apprentices. Recommendations have been generated for the industry and VET to apply in practice for the retention of apprentices.
Chapter One – The Portfolio

1.0 Introduction

This meta-statement explicates the research agenda, summative argument and original contribution to scholarly knowledge and research practice. It is a description of the research methodology, the portfolio artefacts, their purpose, relationship and significance. The purpose of the meta-statement is to articulate the study’s position within current research, enlarge knowledge in the field of the research and link all parts of the portfolio. It also expounds the progression of portfolio construction for the Research Study, this being done by means of discussion of its methodology, contribution to professional and academic audiences and by providing the rationale for the portfolio artefacts. The meta-statement also outlines its contribution to the specific field of knowledge and practice, and demonstrates the doctoral nature of the portfolio further elaborated through its artefacts, which are explored in this document.

This Research Study investigates the attrition\(^1\) and retention\(^2\) of commercial cookery apprentices in NSW, Australia and explores where solutions might be found to improve their retention. Statistical evidence has repeatedly shown that commercial cookery in the hospitality industry has one of the lowest apprentice retention rates across all industries (National Centre for Education Research 2012a). The key research question of the study is:

- What contributes to commercial cookery apprentices’ attrition and retention?

The subordinate question is:

- What workplace learning opportunities and learning supports contribute to commercial cookery apprentices’ retention?

An exploration of experiences and perceptions of individuals from the hospitality industry and vocational education and training (VET) sector was employed in the development of this Research Study. Research participants were selected from a broad spectrum of stakeholders involved in the design and implementation of commercial cookery training together with apprentices who had graduated. This research proposes that it is through examining

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\(^1\) Apprentices and trainees who drop out of their training before the completion

\(^2\) Apprentices and trainees who complete their contract of training
apprentices’ expectations, workplace learning experiences, task identity and attitude to tasks that a more coherent understanding will be achieved of what influences apprentices to serve out their apprenticeship.

A two-stage Research Study was developed where the outcomes of the first stage were distilled, used as a basis to consult with key industry stakeholders then informed the generation of the problem and research design for the second stage. Stage one investigated many negative aspects of the industry and the VET sector and their influence on apprentices’ attrition. It also investigated apprentices’ training to explore the tripartite relationship between apprentices, industry and the VET sector. The questions underpinning stage one are:

1. How does the current training of apprentice chefs impact their high rate of turnover in the hospitality industry?
2. How do we positively identify the critical factors impinging upon this outcome?
3. How do these factors affect apprentices’ learning?
4. What general principles and conclusions can be drawn from this research for the benefit of wider key audiences, such as non-hospitality based industries that employ apprentices and trainees?

Stage two went on to further investigate influences on apprentices to complete their apprenticeship. This second stage employed the methodology of interviewing graduated chefs about their work activities and their satisfaction with those activities. This research then draws on Vroom (1964) and Porter and Lawler’s (1968) research on motivation as well as Hackman and Oldham’s (1974) work on motivation and enriched work practices. Billett’s (2005) ‘Work activities and interactions’ table, on work practices, formed the framework of the questions utilised in this second stage of the study. The research also examined the extent to which senior or supervisory personnel in the workplace or VET teachers affect apprentices’ motivation and retention. To summarise, the three questions for stage two, formed from the stage one conclusions and additional literature, are:

1. What expectations do apprentices bring to their workplace that contributes to their retention?
2. What learning support assists apprentices in their retention?
3. How do work practices contribute to their retention of apprentices?
Industry and VET Reports summarising the findings of each stage were sent to key individuals who were either consulted or interviewed in the advancement of this research. An innovative component of the research design was that an accompanying request was made to the recipients for feedback on aspects of the findings to date. This action resulted in significant verbal and written responses to establish a feedback mechanism to enrich the research data. Selected quotes from the feedback are utilised in the Findings chapter of this meta-statement. Furthermore four conference papers drawn from this Research Study were presented at Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association (AVETRA) and the National Centre for Vocational and Education Research (NCVER) conferences in Australia and subsequently published by NCVER. The conferences likewise provided opportunities for comment from VET researchers and academics as well as representatives of government bodies attending those conferences regarding the research findings. Requests to access and utilise selected conference papers were made by VET managers and other early VET researchers which further generated verbal and written feedback.

1.1 The Meta-statement

This meta-statement is organised into five chapters:

- The portfolio
- A selective review of the literature
- Methodology
- Findings
- Conclusion.

Chapter One introduces the Research Study and artefacts explaining the rationale, context and direction of the portfolio. Figure 1 illustrates the position of each artefact in relation to the two-stage Research Study. Chapter One also reveals the significance of each artefact to this Research Study and how early publication of findings to both industry and VET practitioners afforded opportunities to communicate to key stakeholders. Each artefact is briefly described and their position shown as a means of communicating to three major research audience groups of academe, VET and industry.

Chapter Two is a selective review of the literature and a summation and expansion of the literature reviews of the stage one and the stage two research literatures in the Research Study.
and has three subsections which are:

- VET research
- Workplace learning
- Motivation

The Stage one research literature review in the Research Study focuses on the history and background of apprenticeships in Australia and to examine key elements related to apprentice attrition. Wenger (2009) argues that vocational learning is a social construct that is acquired through activity in a context that has meaning for the learner and the ability to change not only the way the learner perceives himself or herself but the community in which they act. A thematic understanding of ‘place’, ‘theory’, ‘learning’ and ‘understanding’ was utilised to link textual discourses to present an insight into current and past thinking with respect to this research. Apprentice chefs coalesce as members of their team when afforded time and support to learn skills that are meaningful, valued and acknowledged by their community.

The Stage two research literature review in the Research Study focuses on the literature of motivation to explore how meeting apprentices’ expectations of their learning and consequent motivation is the key to retention. It is argued in this research that the profile of a ‘stayer’ is an apprentice motivated to endure the physical demands of a kitchen in service consistent with their goal to become a chef. It is also argued that cooking is a creative process and will attract individuals looking for a career that fulfils that need (Horng & Lee 2006). Therefore being afforded opportunities for inventiveness or creativity is a strong motivational force in retaining an apprenticeship.

Chapter Three of this meta-statement is a summation of the methodology of the two research studies. This portfolio research brings together two studies connected by a shared question, with the findings of the first leading to the development of the second. The lens of enquiry was subsequently focussed on apprentices’ activities informed by two theoretical models of enriched work practices and motivation (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976) and apprentices’ expectations of work practices (Porter & Lawler 1968; Vroom 1964). Stage one participants were thirteen stakeholders from industry and training organisations, including recently graduated apprentices, were interviewed utilising thirty semi-structured question items to inform the study. The stage one participants included the following:

- A food consultant, chef and restaurant owner
Three Executive Chefs, from ‘4/5 star’ establishments, in Sydney
A Food and Beverage (F/B) Manager and former chef
The Head of Hospitality Studies in a college in London.
Two managers from TAFE in NSW
An apprentice field officer and former chef
Four commercial cookery apprentice graduates.

Stage two continued a qualitative–interpretive and empirical–analytic investigation to classify individual experiences and perceptions of the various stakeholders within VET and industry in order to identify shared beliefs and divergences of perspective. The participants for stage two included:

- Ten commercial cookery apprentice graduates
- Six employer/supervisors of apprentices
- Three commercial cookery TAFE teachers.

Chapter Four is a summation of the findings of stage one and stage two of the Research Study and has nine subsections. It presents the key findings of stages one and two with supporting data from interviews and feedback from the reports. The nine subsections are:

- Attrition and its causes;
- Expectations and motivation;
- Disposition to cope with the job;
- Enriched work practices;
- Given support;
- Training others;
- Mentoring;
- Training and support;
- Factors limiting learning support.

Chapter Five presents my conclusions to this Research Study and recommendations for further research.
1.2 The portfolio artefacts

Introduction

This portfolio encompasses multi-faceted areas of enquiry presented as separate artefacts linked by the overarching research pursuit of identifying what contributes to an apprentice chef’s retention. The artefacts contribute and expand the research on apprentice attrition and retention beyond its contribution to the academic literature. It does this by opening spaces for exchange of ideas with industry, VET practitioners and academics researching apprentices and workplace learning. By expanding the scope and direction of a more traditional doctorate (Boud & Lee 2009; Malfroy & Yates 2003) it now reflects a more ‘creative’ industry-focused approach to doctoral discourse (McWilliam et al. 2002; Usher 2002). As a professional doctorate it is empirically positioned to evaluate the ‘real life’ experiences of a broad range of key individuals impacting the central question of this study. Its strength is its capacity to demonstrate the breadth and significance of the research to address both the academic community and ‘a range of professional practice communities’ (Lee & Clerke 2008, p. 17). Components of the portfolio listed below relate to a specific audience(s), defined for its contribution to the academic and/or professional spheres. Each artefact, their development and contribution to the portfolio have been identified and described below. These artefacts acted as conduits for communication with a broad spectrum of individuals who make significant contributions to theory, policy or practice of VET, industry and apprenticeships. Their early publication and dissemination afforded the Research Study a quality of openness and legitimacy as tools for informal assessment of the research through eliciting feedback and comment. Depicted below (Fig. 1) is a schematic of the portfolio and the location and contribution of its artefacts to the study. This diagram illustrates how each artefact is linked within this research portfolio and the target audience of each artefact. It visually depicts how this Research Study engaged multiple audiences from industry and VET practitioners as well as academics and VET researchers in its investigation. Furthermore (Fig. 2) also illustrates the progression through the two stages and a brief description of their purpose. Through careful analysis of the stage one findings thus far the stage two research questions are then advanced to progress the study through interviews with additional participants and further question items. This meta-statement summarises this two stage Research Study by way of convention with a further table of contents, abstract, introduction, a selective review of the literature, a summary of the two research methodologies and findings. This is with the
purpose to link this multifaceted portfolio as a coherent argument with an overall conclusion and recommendations for further study.
Fig. 1: Portfolio artefacts: locations and links to each other
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portfolio Artefact</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Purpose and Audience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Research Study</td>
<td>Stage one of the research reports on the experiences and perceptions from a broad spectrum of stakeholders involved in the design and implementation of both formal and informal training. This is with the view to augment an understanding of the lives and training of apprentice chefs and their relationship with both industry and VET. Stage two of the research is a distillation of the stage one findings and centres the investigation on apprentice chefs and their work and learning experiences. This second stage examines how the workplace supports apprentices to retain their apprenticeship. It is focused on workplace learning and motivation theory in order to explore; ‘what works’ in retaining apprentices.</td>
<td>The audience of this research report is academic supervisors and examiners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximately 52,000 words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage One Report, Industry and VET</td>
<td>The industry and VET reports are summaries of both stage one and stage two research findings. They were written and presented in a format that could be accessed quickly by their intended audience. They were disseminated soon after the initial findings to allow feedback from interested parties to enrich the research data.</td>
<td>The main audiences of these two reports are VET practitioners, hospitality industry bodies and employer representatives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18,132 words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage Two Report, Industry and VET</td>
<td>The conference papers were developed from the research findings and written for the three main audiences of this research. These too acted as mechanisms for feedback to support or dispute the findings thus far.</td>
<td>The main audiences of these conference papers were VET research academics and practitioners and representatives of government and employer bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13,299 words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four Conference Papers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approx. 5000 words each</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meta statement</td>
<td>A formally structured discursive argument that draws together the artefacts of this portfolio research to produce a coherent analysis and conclusion.</td>
<td>The audience of this meta-statement is academic supervisors and examiners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximately 39,000 words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 2: Portfolio artefacts: their description, purpose and audience
Artefact A.1 – The Research Study

The Research Study is a scholarly exploration of interconnected areas of enquiry linked to research questions on VET training, industry and workplace learning of apprentices. Its purpose was to investigate aspects of their VET and workplace learning that would have contributed to their attrition and consequent retention. Its function is to present qualitative empirical research findings and literature on the attrition of apprentices and describe the methodological and theoretical framework of the study. It is centrally positioned in the portfolio and is the genesis for artefacts A2, A3, A4, A5, A6 and A7.

Stage one took a broad approach to the investigation of apprentice attrition in order to explore the history and context in which apprentices work and learn. It reported findings on the experiences and perceptions of thirteen industry and VET stakeholders, who design, implement and operate in both the workplace and training of commercial cookery apprentices in the hospitality industry. Therefore it afforded both context and background to the research and presented aspects of apprenticeships in commercial cookery that influence apprentices to quit the industry altogether. This research revealed that apprentices are seemingly more knowledgeable of industry practices than in the past and will therefore enter the workplace with some expectations of their apprenticeship.

Stage two of the research was developed out of the stage one findings to examine the relationship between their learning, motivation and subsequent retention. Literature on motivation theory (Porter, Lawler & Hackman 1975; Porter & Steer 1973; Vroom 1964) formed the framework of the second stage of the research. Stage one findings were distilled and directed stage two to explore the type of activities in which apprentices were engaged in the workplace and their views associated with those activities (Hackman & Oldham 1974). Graduated apprentices were interviewed to examine the types of activities afforded them during their apprenticeship and their attitude towards those activities. Billett’s (2005) ‘Work activities and interactions’ table on work practices formed the framework of the interview questions. Those apprentices were asked to nominate an individual from their workplace or VET who had made a significant impact on their retention. This study examined the link between apprentices’ activities and motivation to understand how some apprentices serve out their apprenticeship in an often extremely demanding industry. It broadened the investigation to explore psychological and social aspects of workplaces that nurture, support and mentor apprentices’ learning to afford them positive and rewarding experiences in the workplace.
Artefact A.2 – Stage One industry and VET Report

The Stage One Industry and VET Report is a summary of stage one of the research; written for industry and VET policy makers and practitioners to familiarise them with the emergent research findings of this study. Its function is to present the findings the stage one in an accessible format. The report was distributed to selected research participants in this study together with other key industry and VET stakeholders’ midway through this research in order to air the findings. Feedback from the report contributed valuable qualitative data to this Research Study. This report was further presented to a round table conference on apprentice attrition in 2010 at TAFE NSW- Northern Sydney Institute. The Australian Navy were also keen to discuss my research findings as they were concerned with the transition of their apprentice chefs into commercial businesses at the completion of their time in the Navy.


Findings from stage one were presented to a significant national conference on vocational research; the Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association (AVETRA) in Adelaide, 2008. It was written during the early stages of the research in order to broadcast aspects of the research findings to VET researchers. This paper explores changes in industry and the workplace that now require VET providers to consider their role in industry skills shortages and how they respond to pressure from government and industry groups to address the need for effective training. Training organisations, such as TAFE and industry need to consider carefully how they respond to government reports on critical skills shortages within the industry (ACTU 2004; McKenzie 2004). The paper argues that a gap has developed, over the past decade, between the formal training delivered by VET organisations and the training requested by employers. Further the paper argues that employers revealed time and financial pressure as a common response why they are unable to provide adequate workplace training. A request was made to utilise and reference this paper by an industry and VET forum on ‘Apprentice Attrition’; TAFE NSW-Northern Sydney Institute in 2012.

This paper was also presented to a significant national conference on vocational research; the National Centre for Vocational Research (NCVER) in Launceston in 2008. It reports on stage one research findings on skills shortages to present a comparative analysis of a conceptual basis for learning in the workplace. This paper asserts the contribution workplaces make to employees learning is significant and supports earlier research that this is through the contextual identification of work activities in authentic settings (Lave & Wenger 1991). Boud and Middleton (2003) more importantly argue that the role of supervisors can have an enormous impact on the learner’s ability to achieve competency. However stage one research data shows little support from some employers, to advance the learning of apprentices, asserting managers and supervisors have insufficient time to train an apprentice in the skills and knowledge required. It further indicates that some employers and supervisors lack the requisite skills or ability to adequately train an apprentice. A request was also made to utilise and reference this paper by an industry and VET forum on ‘Apprentice Attrition’; TAFE NSW-Northern Sydney Institute 2012.

Artefact A.5 – A Recipe for Change: Managing the learning of Trainee/Apprentice Chefs at work (http://hdl.voced.edu.au/10707/47961; co-authored with Roslyn Carter)

This co-authored, refereed paper was written and presented to the AVETRA conference, Surfers Paradise in 2010. The co-author, Rosalind Carter is also a part-time doctoral candidate in education employed by TAFE NSW as a senior manager. Her doctoral research is on investigating the role of a manager as a facilitator of informal ongoing work related learning. Due to overlapping areas in our research it was agreed that it would be mutually beneficial to collaborate on presenting a conference paper with the focus on supervising and managing apprentice chefs. The data for this paper is from my research but both Rosalind and I contributed equally to this paper and she gave unequivocal permission for it to be an artefact in this portfolio. It presents aspects of the stage one findings through an investigation of apprentice chefs and how supervising chefs create learning opportunities for them at work. The paper cites some of the issues influencing the learning relationship between apprentice
chefs and their supervisors. It builds on previous work in the fields of trainee and apprenticeship learning and is framed by workplace and situated learning principles. This paper discusses the significance of chefs as managers and supervisors in the workplace and retaining apprentices.

**Artefact A.6 – Stage Two Industry and VET report**

The Stage Two Industry and VET report is a summary of stage two of the research; written for industry and VET policy makers and practitioners to familiarise them with final research findings. Its fitness for purpose was to present the Research Study in a more accessible format. It was distributed to selected research participants, together with other key industry and VET stakeholders, towards the final stages of the research in order to elicit comment, feedback and communicate findings and enriched the data. This report was requested by an Australian Navy Warrant Officer responsible for catering to inform the training of their apprentice chefs.

**Artefact A.7 – Motivating Apprentice Chefs to Stay the Course: Understanding Expectations (http://hdl.voced.edu.au/10707/5381)**

This paper was presented to the AVETRA conference in Melbourne in 2011 during which an invitation was made by a lecturer in Adult Education at Victoria University to re-present it to a group of students enrolled in the Master of Adult Education degree course. It was subsequently added to the students’ recommended reading list for that course. This refereed paper draws upon stage two data compiled from interviews with ten graduate chefs and their nominated mentors regarding their experiences of apprenticeships and training. The emergent research found that the learning experiences of apprentices and their relationships with supervisors and the workplace is a significant factor when deciding to either remain or drop out from their apprenticeship. This paper proposed that successfully qualified apprentices were afforded learning and work experiences that met both their intrinsic and extrinsic needs. This was affected, in no small part, by a clearer understanding from trainers and supervisors that today’s apprentices are now more informed of industry practices than their predecessors with subsequent heightened expectations of their apprenticeship.
1.3 Rationale for the research

Commercial cookery apprentices’ employment and training has played a part in my professional life for more than thirty years from commencing an apprenticeship in the UK to my subsequent roles as chef, employer and part-time Technical and Further Education (TAFE) teacher. During that time I have observed significant social and economic changes occurring in the hospitality industry and VET, both in Australia and the UK. A key change is that information dissemination through print and electronic media have now made facts concerning chefs and cooking more accessible to all. Work practices, recipes and cooking methods, once the preserve of the expert chef can now be accessed on YouTube and in magazines. Furthermore VET courses are now accessible in a multiplicity of forms, whereas in the past they were only available through long-term 3 apprenticeships. Fast-tracked pre-apprenticeships, full-time 4 traineeships and school students enrolled in VET hospitality courses are all pathways to becoming a qualified chef. VET is no longer the preserve of TAFE as other VET providers and high schools all now teach vocational courses.

Commercial cookery training provides a ‘brush across the tree tops’ of industry practices, offering apprentices a range of cookery skills to learn from buffets to à la carte. This approach to VET better serves apprentices’ general education, employability and opportunities for job transferability within Australia and overseas. However many small employers perceive VET as often too broad and unconnected to their particular branch of the industry (Smith et al 2005). Furthermore employers are questioning the efficacy of competency based VET with regard to the new training packages (Smith & Brennan Kemmis 2010) as well as increased on-line teaching (Roberts 2008) and workplace assessment thus reducing time spent in the classroom.

However many businesses are currently failing in their tri-partite agreement to provide apprentices with adequate workplace training often citing time and staff levels as a reason. A decrease in the ratio of senior chefs to apprentices has the consequence of less time for them to spend assisting apprentices with their learning (Fuller & Unwin 2002). Support for

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3 A system of training regulated by law or custom which combines on-the-job training and work experience while in paid employment with formal (usually off-the-job training). The apprentice enters into a contract of training or training agreement with an employer which imposes mutual obligations on both parties

4 A system of vocational training, combining off-the-job training with an approved training provider together with on-the-job training and practical work experience. Traineeships generally take one to two years and are a part of the Australian Apprenticeships system.
apprentices’ learning in many workplaces is further diminished when the employer or supervisor is less qualified than the apprentice. Furthermore businesses utilising a disproportionate amount of pre-prepared or pre-cooked foods means a reduction in workplace learning for apprentices’ employed in those businesses (Teese 2005).

It was in this transmuted environment of the hospitality industry and VET practices that I considered the implications of these changes for commercial cookery apprentices and my role as an employer and educator. A postgraduate degree in education assisted in shaping my thoughts regarding these concerns around apprentice chefs’ work and learning. It also enabled me to structure the research of apprenticeships and establish where to focus the lens of inquiry across a large and diffuse industry. An exploration of current practices and perceptions of the hospitality industry and VET was commenced to investigate what influences apprentices’ retention. It was to this end that I began this enquiry starting with small pilot studies by informally questioning TAFE colleagues and chefs regarding apprentices, the industry and VET in Australia. The Research Study questions were then developed from these conversations and were the beginning of this research enquiry. Further to a matter of clarification with the use of the term ‘trainee’ or ‘apprentice’ in this research, apprentices, employers and VET practitioners interviewed made little distinction in their use. They often used the term trainee to describe an apprentice being trained as distinct from traineeships. As this research is primarily focussed on the workplace activities of learners and their relationship with employers and supervisors this distinction was not perceived as crucial.

1.4 Context

The context of this research is commercial cookery apprenticeships in New South Wales (NSW), Australia, drawing on qualitative data of apprentice training in the UK. This research proposes that understanding the complexity of the hospitality industry and the challenges apprentices face in retaining their apprenticeship will afford a clearer picture of their work and learning. It also proposes that apprentices’ learning to become chefs is not an unequivocal process. Their training not only requires them to be competent in the necessary foundation skills for operational tasks but also learn to successfully negotiate the complex operational and interactional dynamics of busy kitchens.
Apprentices commencing work in a commercial kitchen are expected to work in a team, focussed on a common goal of fulfilling the requirements of that establishment and their customers (Hager & Johnsson 2007). A multiplicity of meals is a subtle exercise in timing, skill and knowledge of cooking times for them to be ready simultaneously. It is essential that when cooking to order chefs and apprentices are focussed on their own task while remaining alert to the progress of others in the kitchen. This is to ensure that a table of customers will all receive their meals together, cooked to the required optimal state, temperature and presentation. Apprentices furthermore, would also be expected to adapt to the particular work practices of individual hospitality businesses. Small businesses would require speed and adaptability, fine dining restaurants would expect high level skill and precision, while large function centres want uniformity of production and promptness of delivery. Apprentices and chefs would commonly move from one establishment to another, in Australia and overseas in order to gain experience of these diverse workplace practices and build their skills.

Catering in Australia
In Australia at the end of June 2007\(^5\) there were 13,987 cafes and restaurants employing 145,546 people. Industry statistics show that small businesses predominate in the industry with 67.5% employing less than ten persons (ABS 2008). The main source of income for cafes and restaurants is meals consumed on the premises accounting for 65.2% or $6.329 billion (ABS 2008), this being despite small businesses working on a very small profit margin averaging $4465 per business for the year (Allan Consulting Group 2007). Restaurant and Catering Australia (R&CA) (2010) submitted a report to the Government Productivity Commission (2010) citing ABS 2008 figures on the dominance of small businesses in the industry.

\(^5\) Latest ABS statistics available on cafes and restaurants
Karmel and Roberts (2012) argued that for general apprentice retention across industries, the size of a business is a factor in apprentice retention. Employers with at least twenty five apprentices have much higher apprenticeship completion rates than small employers (Karmel & Roberts 2012). Knight and Karmel (2011) also report that contract completion rates vary according to the number of apprentices the employer has: 45% for those with 1–10 apprentices and 55–58% for those with more than 10. Fuller and Unwin (2011) note that features of an organisation such as size, ownership and culture will affect how they operate and consequent workplace expectation of employers toward employees.

Furthermore the Restaurant and Catering Australia report (2010) also cited 2008 ABS figures showing the dominance of a large casual and part-time workforce in the industry.
Fig. 4: Employment classification: cafes, restaurants and caterers in Australia R&CA 2010

Cafes and restaurants in the hospitality industry are also generally characterised by a large casual workforce accounting for just under half (47.4% or 68,941 people) of all employment in the industry (ABS 2008). Permanent full-time employees accounted for under a quarter (21.1% or 30,724 people) of all employment, while permanent part-time employees accounted for 17.4% (25,306 people). Collectively, qualified and other chefs/cooks accounted for 21.1% (30,709) of all people employed (ABS 2008). The industry is also acknowledged as being one of the most vulnerable to economic downturns with high staff turnover rates (Duncan, Scott & Baum 2010; Swallow 2012).

Significance of the hospitality industry

The value of this research is timely and noteworthy with hospitality as one of the top five growth industries in Australia (Australian Government Initiative 2007b; Leiper 2004) compared to a declining manufacturing industry (Anderson 2000; Kosturjak & Wilson-Smith 2004; Mahmood 2008). Tourism and hospitality related industries are also some the world’s fastest growing (Barron 2008) accounting for 10% of global employment and drawing a large

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6 ABS statistics available on cafes and restaurants
employee base from a broad educational and cultural spectrum (Baum 2002). Moreover the hospitality industry has a level of education attainment amongst the lowest of any industry with approximately 65% of workers having no post school qualifications compared to 40% averaged across other industries (Restaurant and Catering Australia 2008). As such the hospitality industry is an important employer of early school leavers and migrants with low levels of English language skills, affording them an opportunity for employment and a pathway to qualifications and better job opportunities. There is also a perception amongst many service workers in the hospitality industry that it is not considered a ‘career’ but more of a ‘stop gap’ (Duncan, Scott & Baum 2010). For chefs, however, the industry affords many opportunities to take up positions around the world in order to build their portfolio of skills and progress their career (Birrell, Rapson, Dodson & Smith 2004; Duncan, Scott & Baum 2010; Parkhurst- Ferguson & Zukin 1998).

**Attrition in the trade**

Apprentice chefs in the food trades are identified as having one of the lowest completion rates among industries (Australian Government Initiative 2007a; Bonsall 2007; DEEWR 2011; Knight & Karmel 2011; National Centre for Education Research 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2012a; Robinson & Barron 2007). This has been a problem for government, industry and VET for some time with numerous reports of increasingly high levels of apprentice attrition and skills shortages amongst the trades (DEEWR 2008; Department of Training and the Arts 2007; Department of Education Science and Training 2002; National Centre for Education Research 2001, 2002). The industry’s current response to skills shortages is to lobby the Government to allow more ‘457 work visas’ for chefs from overseas (Department of Immigration and Employment 2012) and increase temporary or casual labour to fill the current skills gap. Many employers are now electing to increase overseas and casual labour rather than invest in training an apprentice with the requisite skills, only to lose them prematurely (Miletic 2011; Restaurant and Catering Australia 2008). Miletic (2011) writing for The Age online (16 April) reported that it is unsociable working hours and difficult conditions are also driving apprentices and chefs out the industry. These conditions together with lower standards of training and a growing disproportionate population increase wanting to eat out have created the nationwide shortage. The solution for many employers is to fill their
kitchens with overseas people, particularly from the Indian subcontinent as one way out of the current problem.

However there are still many enthusiastic individuals currently motivated to initiate an apprenticeship in cooking. Although seemingly adequate numbers regularly enter the industry early drop-out rates are high (National Centre for Education Research 2012b; Robinson & Barron 2007). This situation persists in spite of an increasing interest in school based VET hospitality courses with young people (Smith & Wilson 2002a, 2002b) and considerable financial incentives from two federal governments over the last decade (MEGT 2012; Smith 2002a; Smith & Wilson 2002a, 2002b).

Past research identified that chief amongst the causes of attrition of commercial cookery apprentices were ‘poor pay, and long, unsociable hours working weekends and public holidays’ (National Centre for Education Research 2001, p. 30). National Centre for Education Research (2001) also revealed the negative aspects of the industry as a key influence causing many apprentices to reassess their choice of career. These negative aspects included commercial cookery apprentices having one of the lowest pay rates across all industries, consisting of a mere $6.51 per hour for the first year, rising to $7.64 per hour in the second and just $9.49 per hour in third year. School students working part-time at a ‘McDonalds’ restaurant earn a higher rate of pay of $6.87–$8.25 per hour with less skill and responsibility required of them compared to an apprentice chef. First year apprentices, living away from home in expensive urban centres, would find these pay rates inadequate without taking on extra work. Apprentices are regularly working fifty to sixty hours a week which concerns many VET teachers regarding the quality of their learning. On the 21st of September 2003 John Lethlean reported in The Age online concerns from educators and employers that the attrition of young chefs from the restaurant industry has become a serious problem. He went on to report that rather than training and nurturing young chefs many restaurant operators are simply exploiting them as cheap labour.

Karmel and Mlotkowski (2010) found that addressing the issue of low pay and hours of work will impact those apprentices driven to retain or quit their apprenticeship by such concerns. However the issue of pay and work conditions for apprentices have been well documented by previous research findings and are in the remit of government and industry agencies. This research finds apprentices generally place a greater emphasis on workplace relations than pay and conditions (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001).
The cost to VET and industry

The cost to VET and industry of apprentice attrition across all trades is substantial. Not only is the cost in monetary terms with the waste of time and resources in training an individual and then have them leave before completion, but also the consequent loss of skills to industry. Apprentice attrition reduces the value that Australia potentially obtains from its expenditures on apprenticeships and traineeships and ‘the return on investment that employers make’ (Knight & Karmel 2011, p. 113). Past and present Federal Governments have made significant financial incentives for employers and advocated more flexible training arrangements to try and keep young people in the skills pool (MEGT 2012; Smith 2002a). These measures will go some way to address apprentices’ low pay and reduce apprentice churn (Pratten 2003a; Pratten & O’Leary 2007; Theage.com.au 2003). However over the last decade leaders from both ends of the political spectrum have promised funding as a way out of the skills shortage but it appears to have little impact when it comes to apprentice completion. The Howard Government’s commitment to improving skills for all Australians was via a promised $10.8 billion contribution over four financial years to vocational and technical education (2006–2007 to 2009–2010), including $2.5 billion in 2007 (Hospitality 2007).

The Gillard Government’s response to national economic and industry needs for skilled employment (Australian Workforce and Productivity Agency 2012) was to promise increased amounts of money for vocational training. Government will invest $7.2 billion over the next five years to support the skills system, plus an additional $1.75 billion to support deep and lasting reforms to Australia’s national training system (Commonwealth of Australia 2012). Furthermore additional reforms to strengthen the apprenticeship system would include a $100 million ‘Accelerated Australian Apprenticeships Package’ to support the teaching of high quality, competency-based trade training. This is together with $101 million for more effective support for apprentices and employers (Commonwealth of Australia 2012). Government funding subsidies may go some way to assist many apprentices with their expenses particularly those living away from home in expensive urban centres (Ball 2004; Snell & Hart 2007a) and may also attract more young people to consider an apprenticeship in commercial cooking when pursuing a trade (Misko, Nguyen & Saunders 2007). Toner (2005) however reported that in 2004 industry did not perceive increased financial incentives or flexible VET arrangements as the most decisive factor to take with regards to an apprentice. Less than one in twenty firms suggested government incentives was the single most
important reason for taking on an apprentice. Only one in a hundred thought of flexible VET arrangements as an important reason for taking an apprentice (Toner 2005). This suggests that other factors may play a role in apprentices’ retention and attrition.

**Trades are poorly served**

Trades are often perceived as restrictive when discussing general education and careers (Crawford 2009). To acquire a specific set of skills means that a future career is therefore fixed. Trades are often given little purchase by schools career advisors as future work is not seen as assured as in the past. Broad trans-occupational skills are advocated as workers are now expected to take more responsibility for their progress and adaptability in a fast changing workplace (Misko, Nguyen & Saunders 2007). There has been a decline in many traditional skills as technology replaces trades that were once seen as inviolable, but there is not yet a computer able to hammer a nail on line (Crawford 2009) or for that matter prepare, cook and serve a meal. Crawford (2009) maintains that having a manual skill entails: ‘A systematic encounter with the material world, that gave rise to the natural sciences, where knowledge was acquired through pragmatic engagement’ (Crawford 2009, p. 21).

More importantly when addressing the skills shortage is that there is a general decline in the popularity of many trades, in part due to a perception by society that working in a trade is hard, and often dirty work for the less academic person (Misko, Nguyen & Saunders 2007; O’Reilly-Briggs 2010).

**Changes to VET in Australia**

Rapid changes to work have also necessitated VET to engage in a vigorous dialogue with industry and employers in order to investigate and respond to the needs of the changing workplace (Beddie & Curtin 2010; Confederation of British Industries 2012; Rittie & Awodeyi 2009). The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) published a report entitled ‘Skills for a Nation: A Blueprint for Improving Education and Training 2007-2017’ (ACCI 2007) stating that TAFE graduates fail to meet the expectations of more than half of businesses. Of the 1337 firms surveyed 44.9% said TAFE graduates had met their expectations. Only 38.1% agreed that TAFE teachers had up-to-date industry skills (Peterson
& Birg 1988). Snell and Hart (2007b) argue that high rates of non-completion among apprentices and trainees are due to the lack of training and poor regulation of quality standards. Negative perceptions of formal learning still persist with some employers who would often rather poach an experienced worker from another firm than take a recent graduate trained in an institution (Finegold 2010). VET in Australia finds itself under increasing economic pressure in meeting the respective requirements of government, industry and workers (Hawke 2002). Matching of supply and demand should ideally emphasise interdependence, rather than ‘either’ dependence or independence, as a basic strategy in the planning of the training needs of all parties, including the apprentice (Smith 2002b). Contemporary VET is under pressure to be more efficient in a demand driven market as opposed to an inefficient and overly bureaucratic supply driven public provision (Coates et al. 2010; Connell & Yates 2001).

**Generational changes and expectations**

Generational changes with regard to the use of information technology (IT) and access to the web has resulted in apprentices now having more informed expectations of their work and learning procedures than their predecessors (Furlong & Cartmel 1997b; McCrindle 2006, 2008). It is argued that dissatisfaction with apprenticeships can often be traced to a possible mismatch between employers’ and apprentices’ expectations of their apprenticeship and workplace learning (Cullinane & Dundon 2006; Gow et al. 2008; Rousseau 2001). Dumbrell and Smith (2007) cite a number of studies that capture student recommendations for increasing retention and completion, one of which is ‘a clearer articulation of expectations of an apprenticeship’ (Dumbrell & Smith 2007, p. 16). According to literature on motivation theory, recognising apprentices’ expectations and affording opportunities for them to be met will result in a more satisfied and motivated employee (Porter & Lawler 1968; Porter, Lawler & Hackman 1975; Porter & Steer 1973). Hackman and Oldham (1974) also argued that enriched work practices perceived as having value imparts both opportunities for learning and positively motivate employees towards their workplace. That is, when apprentices are given a variety of challenging tasks that are also perceived as valued, they will be more satisfied and motivated towards their employment (Harris & Simons 2005). More importantly the literature indicates that apprentices as employees stay in organisations where they feel they are learning and progressing in their careers (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008; Snell & Hart
Literature on employee and apprentice attrition also shows that employees who have a positive relationship with their employer will also wish to retain their apprenticeship (Smith 2001; Smith et al. 2009; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). Wherever apprentices are employed however, in large hotels or small cafés there are commonalities of experience for particular work practices that could be both intrinsically rewarding and valued and therefore influence apprentices’ retention.
Chapter Two – A Selective Review of the Literature

2.0 Introduction

This study draws upon and contributes to two main bodies of research; that is VET and workplace learning, as they relate to apprenticeships. A review of the literature has been developed to frame the research and identify gaps for which this study is making a contribution. Areas of inquiry describe general facets of learning in the workplace and correlate VET research and learning of apprentices as they translate it to their workplace. This research fills a gap in qualitative research studies on Australian apprentices framed as a considered approach to investigating apprentices’ learning. In particular it explores the tripartite relationship between apprentices, VET and their workplace, their expectations and motivations to serve out their apprenticeship. Its significance in the field of literature of apprentice chefs is through interviewing apprentices, employers and teachers thus building a more coherent picture of commercial cookery apprenticeships. This research explores not only the relationship between apprentices and their employers and VET but also the context of their workplace. This research seeks to contribute to the literature of apprenticeships in Australia through a better understanding of commercial cookery apprentices’ learning, career satisfaction and consequent retention in the industry.

This overarching literature review for the meta-statement is organised into three sections to reflect the two stages of the research relating directly to the principal research questions. Section 2.1 reviews VET research as it applies to apprentices in order to construct a more coherent understanding of apprentice chefs, their learning and its impact on their satisfaction and subsequent retention. It also reviews how changes to VET and the industry have had an effect on apprenticeships and arguments questioning competency-based training. Section 2.2 reviews apprentice learning in both the workplace and VET to examine the social nature of learning in the workplace and the importance of support for apprentices’ learning. Section 2.3 reviews the motivation literature of expectations of apprentices and how they have been influenced by generational, attitudinal and technology changes. The literature related to identity formation through work activities and the relational dynamic of apprentices’ disposition have also been investigated to link them to apprentices’ motivation and retention.
2.1 VET research on apprenticeships

Figgis (2009) opens her report on professional VET practice by quoting Schon’s description of VET theory as being situated on high hard ground overlooking a swamp.

The high ground is the place of theory and, one might add, of policy. The swampy lowland is where practitioners—here vocational education and training (VET) practitioners—meet the learners. It is where the skills, knowledge, and attitudes they wish to see instilled in learners are (or are not) acquired. (Figgis 2009, p. 6)

It is in this swamp that commercial cookery apprentices are learning the skills and knowledge for them to graduate and achieve proficiency of practice. There is considerable research on VET focussing on general apprenticeships, much of it being surveys together with an abundance of valuable NCVER statistics. Significant researchers such as Smith (Smith 1999a, 2002a, 2002b, 2008; Smith & Bush 2011; Smith et al. 2009) and Snell and Hart (Snell & Hart 2007a, 2007b, 2008) have spent many years working in the field of apprenticeships and traineeships in Australia. They have researched apprentice attrition, training packages and pre-apprenticeships, to name a few examples of their areas of interest. However qualitative research of apprentice chefs that utilises interviews to build data is lacking and in the main involves surveys of adult chefs in the workplace. Hager and Johnsson (2007) undertook a small case study interviewing chefs as part of a larger report on collective learning. Lee-Ross (1999), Kang et al (2010), Bloisi and Hoel (2008) and Robinson and Beesle (2010) investigated chefs’ satisfaction utilising quantitative surveys and Robinson and Barron (2007) sought to develop a framework for understanding chefs’ attrition. In the UK, Pratten (2003a) and Pratten and O’Leary (2007) engaged in research regarding the shortage of chefs while James and Hayward (2004b) investigated their learning culture. These examples are a snapshot of some of the research on general apprenticeships and chefs drawn upon in this study. I chose the literature of Australia and the UK as the Australian literature bore directly on my research area, and the UK research had a close cultural affinity with that of the Australian and was familiar to me.

Commercial cookery apprenticeships, once the territory of young (predominately) male school-leavers is now available to all ages and genders of trainees motivated to become chefs or seeking formal qualifications. This student body of trainees and apprentices (Curtain 1994; Karmel 2006) is keen to obtain maximum benefit from their course and expect more relevant
and accessible information than their predecessors (Brooks 2004; National Centre for Education Research 2001). New apprenticeship and training schemes in TAFE (Ray 2001b) have had an important impact on training, reflecting changes in VET as school students can now initiate school based apprenticeships in commercial cookery (Beddie & Curtin 2010; Hospitality 2007). VET in commercial cookery was once only acquired through a long process of measured instruction of a traditional apprenticeship (Huddleston 1998; James & Hayward 2004b; Snell 1996) but is now more accessible (Ambler et al. 2010; Dziuban, Moskal & Hartman 2005). Many young people are not as interested in going through the ‘time serving’ of traditional trade training than in the past (ACTU 2004; Misko, Nguyen & Saunders 2007; Toner 2003), with a resultant increase in non-trade, shorter traineeships (Smith & Bush 2011). Furthermore VET can now no longer be defined as a distinct sector as many secondary and higher level institutions deliver vocational courses to a broad age range of students (Beddie & Curtin 2010). VET in the hospitality industry has never been more significant as small employers, in particular, currently struggle to provide all but minimal training for apprentices (Cully & Curtain 2001).

However the VET sector has been criticised as not only unable to keep up with current industry practices but also new thoughts on adult learning practices. Furthermore the VET sector has endemic organisational problems in so far as only small inroads can be made towards meeting all employers’ expectations. Snell and Hart (2007b) exposed fractures in the relationship between industry and the formal training delivered by VET. The current attitude from VET policy makers is that there is a need for vocational education to adjust to globalisation and the free market where changes in the nature of work and technology are now requiring more specialised skills. With a rapidly aging working population leaving industry and the influx of new generations of employees entering as apprentices Misko (2010) questions how VET will respond. The changing nature of work and learning necessitates vocational educators reassessing how to sustain their learning. Darwin (2007) found little research has occurred about how such change may occur while Chappell et al (2003) maintains that this is the result of limited exposure to new developments in educational paradigms. Chappell et al (2002) reported earlier that:

In contemporary Australian VET, teachers are expected to develop appropriate pedagogical strategies in response to learners’ needs, abilities and circumstances. The new Australian VET system focuses on outcomes rather than learning processes and in
many ways the journey to vocational competence is now regarded by many as less significant than the arrival, with the quality of the journey largely left to the professional competence of the teacher. (Chappell et al. 2002, p. 7)

Chappell and Hawke (2003) proposed that organisations must respond to pedagogical changes. One of the more significant changes in the VET environment is that it is now catering to life-experienced adults. It is in this contestable arena of VET and workplace learning that Boud and Solomon (2010) assert that VET research has never been more important. VET research needs to inform all parties of the changes that are occurring and their implications for industry and VET practitioners. Meanwhile Scheeres et al (2010) challenge traditional VET paradigms and maintain that there needs to be more research on the relationship between the worker, their work and learning, arguing that:

Learning has shifted, or at least disturbed, more traditional discourses of education and training in the context of work. As such, the shift has opened up exploration of work/learning and worker/learner links. (Scheeres et al. 2010, p. 13)

Nonetheless VET pedagogy has advanced to become more learner centred, work centred and attribute focused (Cullen et al. 2002; OECD 2003). Smith (1999a) goes further to argue that the role of VET would be better placed to develop independence in apprentices to develop their own learning needs. Although some employers are critical of VET, there is evidence of a persistent aspiration from workers for transferable qualifications from TAFE/ VET (Hawke 2002; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). The nature of chefs’ learning is that they will often move establishments to expand their skills and knowledge and having transferable qualifications is a definite advantage. Employers demanding an overly instrumental means–end connection made between workers’ knowledge and skills and their performance at work is therefore problematic for chefs. VET as it stands at the moment delivers a breadth of education to apprentices as opposed to just delivering skill sets requested by individual employers.

While there will inevitably be a requirement for specialised skills there is a growing body of evidence that the changing and more complex dynamics of the workplace now require broader and more sustainable capabilities from their employees. There is a need for higher level thinking capabilities from workers with respect to diagnosis, critical analysis,
interpretation and meta-analysis in the workplace, seen as necessary in the transforming context of an increasing knowledge based economy. As Chappell et al (2003) stated:

The knowledge required by the contemporary economy is different from the knowledge that has occupied traditional education and training programs. Current thinking emphasises knowledge constructed as practical, interdisciplinary, informal, applied and contextual as theoretical, disciplinary, formal, foundational and generalizable. (Chappell et al. 2003, p. 8)

Employers also expect VET to teach apprentices attributes defined as ‘employability skills’ determined by industry to reflect the concept of being ‘work ready’ (Sheldon & Thornthwaite 2005). The conceptual basis of general attributes of apprentices, such as literacy, interpersonal skills, communication and team work is critical to their employment as well as personal attributes such as independent problem solving capacities. This is often in concert with the development of ‘soft skills’, such as effective communication, through interactions with customers and colleagues (Beddie & Curtin 2010). Both Hager (2003) and Meyer (2003) argue that there is no single, simple form of learning, which necessitates VET to re-assess its approach to apprentice training. However in this general mix of market forces and economics the aspirations of the individual learner have been subsumed by the needs of the labour market economy (Blom & Clayton 2002).

The dominant paradigm of VET is one that atomises the training process into discrete components of competency drilled into the trainee, whereupon completion they achieve a standardised assessable outcome (Cornford 2004). Formal training of apprentice chefs, off site, is dependent upon drill and practice to achieve proficiency in the skill set of tasks in order to replicate a predetermined, summative assessment. This is due to the fact that Competency Based Training (CBT) is the current training method in Australia. CBT was adopted because VET needed to become more responsive to the needs of industry (Loveder 2005). However Loveder (2005) argues that this was not only out of a concern for a national training system but as a response to the need for global, economic competitiveness. There were reports that clearly show skill levels of the workforce were linked to the future prosperity of Australia (Allen 1994; Gruen & Stevens 2000). Hawke (2002) argued that while training in Australia has had to respond to rapid global economic and social change, VET found itself at the mercy of economic rationalism and policies. Hawke’s concerns were echoed by others who also challenged the limited value of CBT for both trainee and industry
A decline in standards was observed in some trade areas subsequent to the introduction of CBT (Mills & Cornford 2002). There has furthermore been a significant volley of criticism levelled at the application of a behaviourist concept of performance (Ashworth 1992; Schofield & McDonald 2004). This is encapsulated in the view that performance is complex and cannot simply be reduced to lists of attributes and as Dall’alba and Sandberg (1996) assert, performance is an entity formed through the experience of the task or work.

Hager (1993) advocates a more holistic approach to the development of a level of measurability, while Velde (1999) among others, argue that performance is embedded in the context of work and students’ interpretations of that context. Many employers view an over-emphasis upon outcomes performance, in the training setting as undesirable. Employers do, however want their apprentices to have effective problem solving skills achievable through a sound theoretical underpinning of knowledge. Hager (2004) questions whether formal training, usually taking place in a classroom, remote from the workplace can provide the knowledge needed for the remainder of an individual’s working life. There is little to suggest that this method of learning is currently responsive to the needs of the apprentices working in a diffuse industry with differing levels of skill and knowledge. Hager (2004) also supports the idea that learning is a process as this view of learning emphasises the significance of context as well as the influence of cultural and social factors. It is holistic in that it points to the organic, whole-person nature of learning, embracing individual dispositions and abilities. There is increasing awareness among industry organisations that a worker will need ongoing and updated knowledge and skills to maintain, not only their current position, but also any future positions.

2.2 Workplace learning research

Another area of literature relevant to this study is workplace learning research. This study has raised important issues about how apprentices learn at work, having implications for their retention. Recent research of learning for apprentices has been identified as not an independent activity but a social process (Horng & Lee 2006; Vygotsky 1978). This is particularly significant for this research as kitchens depend on employees working in accord (Hager & Johnsson 2012). Furthermore, apprentices learning unfamiliar techniques and skills are not necessarily informed through instruction from novice to expert (Billett 2002c; Fuller & Unwin 2003a; Senge 1990) but more importantly through their engagement with others in
their workplace. Learners participate in communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991) as it is here their knowledge is applied (Billett 1994b; Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989) and has relevance.

Workplace learning, as an interactive, participatory practice has become an important focus for organisational development (Lave & Wenger 1991) when investigating how workplaces afford opportunities for learning. The theory of situated learning is that learning is viewed as part of all activities where the learner gradually moves from the superfluous to knowledge via social interaction within the life world (Lave & Wenger 1991). Learners participate in communities of practice where mastery of knowledge and skill require novices to move towards full participation in the socio-cultural practices of the community. Understanding and knowledge of the world of work is acquired via multiple interactions through peripheral participation in a social context. Billett (1994b) argues that even solitary activities are grounded in a social process and that formal learning is also contextualised and therefore linked to a social process.

Learning is a function of relationships between people and in conditions that bring people together to organise a point of contact that permits specific information to assume relevance. Learning is traditionally perceived as measurable, on the assumption that it is a ‘possession’ of individuals and can be ‘found inside their heads’ (McDermott 1999, p. 292). Wenger (1998a) argues that without points of contact, without the system of relevancies, there is no learning and little memory, as learning is acquired in the various conversations in which an individual takes part. Workplace learning is situated and contextual giving rise to ‘a learner executing tasks and solving problems in an environment which reveals the various intended uses of knowledge’ (Billett 1994b, p. 1). It is domain specific knowledge in complex thinking and comprises the social basis of learning (Billett 1994b; Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989).

The theoretical development of situated learning emanated from what is now commonly accepted, that learning is a social process (Horng & Lee 2006; Vygotsky 1978). Sustained research over the last twenty years within cognitive psychology has revealed the significance of domain specific knowledge to expert performance (Glaser 1989). Billett (1994b) describes the appropriation of knowledge as the process of constructing meaning from socially and contextually defined knowledge. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that ‘increasing participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world’ (p. 49). It is here the individual structures understanding and relevance through the lens of previous
experiences and brings coherence to their learning. McIntyre (1993) argues that effective workers’ learning should be meaningful and contextual and linked to the employer’s expectations. Although learning in kitchens should be reciprocal, where both novice and expert learn from each other, there is always a power imbalance. Problem solving is a shared requirement for co-participation and cooperation and rejects modes of didactic instruction or negative indifference to learners. Vygotsky's theories of; ‘the more knowledgeable other’, inform collaborative learning, suggesting that group members should have different levels of ability so more advanced peers can help less advanced members.

The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86)

However, control over apprentices’ learning in the workplace ultimately rests with the trainer to decide if the novice has displayed the requisite skills and knowledge. It is these social and cultural practices that influence organisational work practices. Individuals, the setting or place of work, the economic needs of the organisation, as well as the physical set up of the work area, all affect an employee’s ability to move through their ‘zone of proximal development’ (Vygotsky 1978, p. 84).

Cornford and Gunn (1998), challenge the efficacy of much workplace learning as they found that not all workplaces are able to deliver equally effective learning experiences for apprentices. In the situation where the apprentice receives full training in the workplace, questions arise as to the ‘breadth’ and quality of their learning outcomes (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005). Fuller and Unwin (2003b) investigated expansive and restrictive apprenticeships to find that apprentices’ experience of workplace learning can range from being afforded opportunities to learn and understand the business from all angles to being lessened to just learning to be profitable workers. They state that a restrictive apprenticeship does not allow apprentices time to reflect on what they are learning whereas an expansive apprenticeship will help produce employees who can contribute to many areas of business success throughout a worthwhile career. As Government and industry increasingly promote the workplace as sites for more structured training employers will be expected to afford apprentices increased opportunities for learning however, many employers are not necessarily the best advocates for apprentice learning. For many commercial cookery apprentices, the
particular world of workplace learning may not always be a vast realm of positive experiences (Cornford & Gunn 1998). Kitchens are subject to the same economic pressures with staff levels as any other industry, and the outcome for many commercial cookery apprentices is often one of diminished learning opportunities. There may also be situations where the community of practice is weak (Cornford & Gunn 1998) or manifests power relationships that seriously inhibit entry and participation. As Lave and Wenger (1991) argue, there is an acknowledged risk of romanticising communities of practice as not all are positive.

Learners’ explicit concerns are not necessarily reflected in employers’ actions. The employers have an economic imperative to get the learner ‘up to speed’ and producing, rather than taking time to understand why learners are doing a job in a particular way. Billett (1993) cites an example where workplace learning fails the learner as there is obviously a great diffusion of workplace settings in which apprentices learn.

You’re probably shown the quickest way to do the job, but not the correct way. They show you the shortcuts not knowing why you’re doing what you’ve been told what to do; and didn’t understand what the job was all about, I just done [sic] the job. (Billett 1993, p. 126)

The case is argued for a continuation of combined off-the-job and on-the-job training to give apprentices the breadth and quality required (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005). Apprenticeships and traineeships that involve a combination of off-the-job and on-the-job training, whereby practical skills and an underpinning of knowledge about these skills are developed, is still seen as the most effective form of vocational training (Schofield 1999a; Smith 1999b; Strickland et al. 2001). Snell and Hart (2007b) maintain apprentices are less likely to withdraw from training when these requirements are met. There are questions challenging VET institutions such as TAFE as to whether skills learned ‘off site’ are effectively able to be transferred to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991). However even though the cognitive responses may not be immediately recognised, all new knowledge absorbed eventually develops understanding. Maintaining a good balance of on-the-job and off-the-job training however, is one of the major challenges for employers and training organisations.
The diverse nature of the hospitality industry exemplifies the complexity of investigating patterns of commonality with apprentices’ workplace learning experiences particularly for those employed by small employers. The span of workplaces in the industry also creates complexity in the analysis of apprentices’ learning. Boud et al (2003) argue that an exclusive focus on ‘communities of practice’ may limit workplace learning, given the complexities of the workplace. Underpinning knowledge is crucial for developing skills in the apprentice, and proffers the capacity to apply their learning to a much broader range of tasks than prescribed by a particular workplace. Billett (1993) maintains that at the start of a learning experience it is necessary to address conceptual (propositional) knowledge, which helps develop understanding. Apprentices are increasingly moving towards the need to improve their skills and knowledge ‘lexicon’ to encourage ownership of their environment. Participation at work is a reciprocal process of engagement in and learning through work however individuals are permitted or elect to participate in the workplace to both construct and refine their learning.

How then do individuals learn from each other and how important is the role of the supervisor in an individual’s learning? This seems merely implicit in situated learning literature, in not being regarded as an important component of situated learning theory and located in the sociocultural context affecting learners. Apprentices have stated that they want to learn a diversity of skills and receive some level of support throughout their training (Strickland et al. 2001). But the power dynamic of supervisor/novice can have an enormous impact on the learner’s ability to achieve mastery. Boud and Middleton (2003) argue that the very person who is nominally expected by organisations to foster learning in the workplace, the workplace supervisor, ‘may be unable to do so effectively because of the structural constraints of their role’ (2003, p. 194).

Boud and Middleton (2003) more importantly argue that the role of supervisors can have an enormous impact on the learner’s ability to achieve competency. Hughes (2004) has suggested that apprentices may have difficulties trusting supervisors to facilitate their learning. This is due to supervisors’ formal role in surveillance of staff and the need by individuals to portray themselves as competent workers. Furthermore supervisors with little knowledge and ability themselves will place apprentices at a distinct disadvantage with the quality of their learning. Snell and Hart (2008) reported criticism levelled at on-the-job training, particularly with employers with a low ratio of qualified staff to apprentices. They cite a common complaint, mainly from those working in small workplaces, was the lack of
qualified staff to provide the training (Snell & Hart 2008), whereas Beddie and Curtin (2010) challenge the effectiveness of solely on-the-job learning, questioning its ability to provide the breadth and depth of training offered in VET.

This research is concerned with the quality of learning for commercial cookery apprentices and the lack of support for their learning throughout the industry. These concerns suggest that informal learning processes may often obstruct the development of understanding particularly in situations where the tasks are concealed from the learner. Kitchens are complex, socially interactive and interrelated workplaces operating through individual chefs and apprentices needing to work in accord (Hager & Johnsson 2007). Cultural tools of language and signs both determine and develop their thinking in that language and knowledge define perceptions at any given moment (Wertsch 1991; Wertsch & Hatanoa 2001). Activity in kitchens involves the mutual contribution of memory in the environment and such activities are goal directed where goals are shaped by the particular circumstances of the workplace (Billett 2002b). These shared cognitive and social concepts combine to transform the individual’s process of decision making, and are fixed and cannot be separated.

2.3 Motivation Research

This research argues that the motivation of commercial cookery apprentices to serve out their apprenticeship is an important factor in their retention particularly in light of the challenging nature of the industry. Other influences for their attrition have already been cited in this research drawing upon such examples as the structural conditions of the industry versus apprentices’ low income and long, unsociable hours. However apprentices motivated to take up apprenticeships in commercial cookery today, do so in the knowledge of these conditions but with expectations of countering these negative aspects of the industry. That is, they accept that it is primarily an industry that offers opportunities for creative endeavour, supportive learning, reward and acknowledgement for endeavour and satisfaction with their employment. The literature asserts that work motivation is strongly linked to behaviour and is a sound indicator of performance. This is of particular interest to this research in that commercial kitchens often expect apprentices to perform at high levels of sustained, physically demanding work often with little extrinsic reward. It is in this light that I explore the literature on motivation theory to frame this research in order to identify what part motivation plays in apprentices’ retention.
Major theories of motivation are;

- Equity Theory, created by John Adams where individuals compare themselves with their peers to see if they are being treated equitably.
- The Two Factor Theory, created by Frederick Herzberg where individuals are motivated by achievement, recognition, meaningful work, responsibility and opportunities for growth and development.
- The Hierarchy of Needs Theory, created by Abraham Maslow where individuals need a series of conditions met to progress to self-actualisation.
- The Three Needs Theory, created by David McClelland where individuals have three basic needs of achievement, affiliation and power.
- The Goal Setting Theory, created by George Odiorne where individuals are motivated when they participate in setting challenging goals for themselves.
- Finally Expectancy Theory, created by Victor Vroom where individuals are motivated when they expect their effort will succeed in creating a particular outcome and that outcome is meaningful for the person.

Exploring motivational drives in employees has been a fundamental building block in industrial and organisational psychology (Cregan, Bartram & Stanton 2009). Pinder (2008) asserts that work motivation is ‘a set of energetic forces … to initiate work related behaviour and to determine its form, direction, intensity and duration of the work’ (Pinder 2008, p. 10).

In the early literature of motivation Tolman (1959) discusses the behavioural aspects of motivation which contrasts with some of the more static content theories of motivation (Segal, Borgia & Schoenfeld 2005). Both Vroom (1964) and Porter and Lawler’s (1968) expectancy theories of motivation assert that the ultimate motive of every human act is a preference for the option with the greatest positive reward (Porter, Lawler & Hackman 1975). These theories are invoked in this research to elucidate the decision-making process that subjects utilise to determine whether or not they are motivated towards a given situation or task; that is whether they persist with their situation or abandon it (Chiang & Jang 2008).

Motivated apprentices seek out tasks that provide satisfaction and perceive their work environment in terms of its intrinsic value to them (Amabile et al. 1994; Eccles & Wigfield 2002; Lawler & Hall 1970). Highly intrinsically motivated individuals seek work that provides this type of satisfaction (Gow et al. 2008), and see their work environment in terms of what is likely to be personally satisfying (Amabile et al. 1994). They also need to know their efforts are valued as apprentices should be provided with feedback and information...
about the results of their efforts (Deci, Koestner & Ryan 2001; Sansone & Harackiewicz 2000). Moreover an apprentice’s satisfaction with his or her workplace learning and progress are key factors in their retention (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). These authors found more importantly that an organisation’s ‘learning climate’ of creating and using knowledge to enhance competitive advantage consists of three components, namely a commitment to learning, open-mindedness and shared vision (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008, p. 7).

Individuals currently aspiring to be chefs now have a greater understanding of the challenges of working in a commercial kitchen but are still motivated to take them on (Brefere, Drummond & Barnes 2009). Thus many young people have more informed expectations of their nominated career path than their predecessors. They tend to stay longer in full time education (Fuller & Unwin 2004; Horng & Lee 2006; OECD 2009; Wenger 1998b), are able to access school vocational courses with the required work placement and often participate in after school and part-time work (Hodgson & Spours 2001). Individuals entering workplaces also bring with them preconceptions and expectations based on their understanding of work and employment relationships (Chivers 1971; Drew 1987; Horng & Lee 2006; Sennett 2008). Sennett (2008) asserts expectations as a set of obligations, privileges and rights whereas Horng and Lee (2006) describe expectation as the power of perception and the values held by both parties. Expectancy theory has had much empirical support over the years (Tien 2000; Vansteenkiste et al. 2005), where it is employed to understand the decision-making process that individuals use to determine whether or not they are motivated towards a given situation or task (Chiang & Jang 2008). Expectancy theory does not necessarily define what motivates the individual but as a process theory, it helps describe and explain how behaviour is directed, energised, sustained, or stopped. Whether the employer views an apprentice as just obligated to fulfil the labour needs of their workplace or if he perceives an apprenticeship as a time for learning will impact apprentices’ perception of their apprenticeship. According to Guest (2004), the employment relationship is a two-way exchange in which it is often an individual’s sense of the other’s unmet obligations, from both employee and employer that can result in a more negative response to the workplace (Rousseau 2001).

Furthermore the notion of the apprentice as a novice entering the workplace in order to learn all they need to know solely from the more experienced expert is now being challenged (Fuller & Unwin 2004). Older and more experienced trainees and apprentices bring prior
work capabilities to their new workplace (Karmel 2006). There have also been growing numbers of school students working part-time at the weekend and in the evening, thus entering the workforce better informed (Fuller & Unwin 2004; Hodgson & Spours 2001). Alongside them are school students entering an apprenticeship with increased time spent in education. It is now generally held that young people today are leaving school later than their predecessors and are better educated (Fuller & Unwin 2004; McCrindle 2006; OECD 2000). Furlong and Cartmel (1997a) argue that when young people enter the workplace they have already developed a set of skills, knowledge and attitudes which render the term ‘novice’ almost meaningless. An individual’s characteristics, their disposition, motivation and interest are clearly integral to the ways they learn to perform tasks (Billett 1996; Prawat 1989; Tobias 1994). Apprentices with a passion and commitment for the job are more likely to succeed in becoming a chef (Pratten 2003b). Working as a chef necessitates a particular disposition (James & Hayward 2004b; Pratten 2003a) to withstand the discipline and exacting conditions expected of many commercial kitchens. The personal disposition that an apprentice chef brings to the workplace is an important component of their success (James & Hayward 2004a; Silva 2006) as it is in the workplace where workers develop their identity within their work group and are identified by the practices they adopt (Billett 1993; Billett 2001b; Billett 2006). An individual’s experiences in their workplace will not only shape their expectations and values (Duffy & Dik 2009; Hodkinson & Bloomer 2002) but they in turn will bring values and attitudes to their workplace to become agents for change (Bies et al. 2007; Ogbor 2001). Bourdieu (1986) has shown that social and organisational structures and individuals are interrelated in that both are part of their habitus and part of their work environment. Workers are both socially embedded and defined by their occupations and work practices.

### 2.4 Conclusion

The first stage of this research has approached the problem of high levels of attrition in commercial cookery through an examination of the research literature of apprenticeships, workplace learning and VET. It has also made a selective exploration of literature on the hospitality industry and VET in Australia to provide both a context and to situate the apprentices in question. At the completion of stage one, this research again examined the literature of motivational influences on apprentices’ satisfaction and retention of their apprenticeship. This research will contribute to a further understanding of a small but significant facet of apprenticeships, that of commercial cookery apprentices.
Chapter Three – Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This research was framed by a two stage study where the first stage informed the methodology of the second stage in order to investigate where to focus the lens of enquiry in such a broad and diverse diffuse industry. Stage one approached the question of apprentices’ work and learning across a wide spectrum in order to investigate recurrent themes. It was through analysis of the stage one data together with feedback generated through the dissemination of the stage one artefacts that pertinent themes emerged. Analysis of these interviews revealed areas of convergence and divergence between apprentices, their industry and VET. Artefacts in this portfolio study also afforded opportunities for feedback to enrich and expand the data. This analysis generated the methodology for stage two with the best opportunity for applicability across the whole industry and VET.

Participants interviewed in this two stage study disclosed experiences as apprentices, employers and teachers and problems encountered in their industry and VET. The questions were designed and administered to encourage reflection upon the participants’ own apprenticeship experiences to review alongside current practices. Interviewees were chosen as representative of individuals who have achieved success in their field, from successfully qualified apprentice chefs to now making contributions to industry and VET. The questions also explored whether early life experiences were integral to their enthusiasm for cooking and if early work experiences had left a positive memory.

All research participants had a comprehensive knowledge of the industry and VET or had recently completed their training as an apprentice (see Figs. 6 & 7). Consequently although the sample was small (32 in total), the information gathered was rich and from participants actively engaged in either employing or training apprentices or had recently completed their apprenticeship.

A diagrammatic representation of the two study process, and its link with the over-arching Meta-statement, is outlined in the following Figure 5.
Fig. 5: Schematic of methodology and research progression of this study
3.1 Methodology for the Stage One research

The stage one study advanced a series of questions to gather empirical data for analysis along with significant literature. An interpretive research methodology was employed to advance a social enquiry into understanding how people grasp, understand, and classify events (Crist & Tanner 2003; Heidegger 1962; Lacity & Janson 1994). Bar-Tal (2000) argues that social constructs bring value judgments to experiences together with a strong desire to make sense or to define experience as relevant or irrelevant. The use interpretive analysis of the stage one responses was employed to allow emergent trends and areas of perspective convergence and divergence to become clearer. This process was implemented in order to develop relevant and authentic responses to the question responses (Strauss & Corbin 1990). Questions were designed to identify changes in the industry and VET likely to influence the current high-level of attrition amongst commercial cookery apprentices. Data generated from interviews with key stakeholders from VET and industry was analysed by way of the grounded theory of Glaser and Strauss (1967) to sort and codify participant responses. The data was analysed one sentence at a time and coded to determine where responses from the subject samples converged or diverged. Statistical data relating to the hospitality industry and apprenticeships together with the literature of social psychology, workplace learning and industry framed the qualitative empirical data in the analysis. The questions underpinning stage one are:

1. How does the current training of apprentice chefs impact their high rate of turnover in the hospitality industry?
2. How do we positively identify the critical factors impinging upon this outcome?
3. How do these factors affect apprentices’ learning?
4. What general principles and conclusions can be drawn from this research for the benefit of wider key audiences, such as non-hospitality based industries that employ apprentices and trainees?

The stage one question items and coded analysis of the responses are in the appendices of the Research Study.

- Stage one research questions: Appendix 1
- Stage one coded interview responses: Appendix 3
Thirteen stakeholders from industry and training organisations, including recently graduated apprentices, were interviewed utilising thirty semi-structured question items to inform the study. The participants used to formatively inform the study were selected as best representing a wide range of stakeholders who had achieved success in areas relating to the hospitality industry and training in commercial cookery. All participants responded to a series of questions about their industry and VET experiences and imparted thoughts on current industry and VET practice. This was in order to develop an authentic profile of the industry and VET and thus obtain a better understanding of the domain and practice of the participants and evaluate apprentice attrition. Depicted below is a table illustrating the gender and employment profile of the stage one participants together with the interview method and the time taken to interview them.
### Stage one participant interview table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Job title of interview</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Interview type and approximate duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AH/M</td>
<td>M/F</td>
<td>F/B Manager and former chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney, North</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 55 minutes 6551 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CK/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 80 minutes 8765 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JC/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 55 minutes 6525 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 60 minutes 7090 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Chef / Consultant / Business Owner</td>
<td>Restaurants in Sydney and Singapore</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 35 minutes 3912 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DG/F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Assistant Director of Tourism &amp; Hospitality</td>
<td>TAFE NSW</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 30 minutes 3267 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Director Hospitality Studies and Commercial Cookery</td>
<td>Technical College, London</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 60 minutes 6881 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JH/F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Field Officer and former chef</td>
<td>Apprenticeship Centre, Sydney</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 30 minutes 3229 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SW1/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Former chef and Head Teacher of Commercial Cookery</td>
<td>TAFE NSW</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 55 minutes 6448 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 35 minutes 3768 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KM/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Cafe in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 35 minutes 4042 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS/F</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Email response as she was in South America at the time 1551 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 35 minutes 3812 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 6: Stage one interview participant table**

### 3.2 Methodology for stage two research

This second stage study developed an additional questionnaire designed to identity relationships between apprentice expectations and management practices that influence retention:

1. What expectations do apprentices bring to the workplace that influences their retention?
2. What types of support are apprentices given to assist in their retention?
3. Do apprentices who are given enriched and valued work tasks complete their apprenticeship?
Stage two continued a qualitative–interpretive and empirical–analytic investigation to classify individual experiences and perceptions of the various different stakeholders within VET and industry in order to identify shared beliefs and divergences of perspective. It was designed to investigate the significance of and relationship between early expectations, enriched activities and employer support with respect to apprentice retention. The basis of the questions for apprentices in stage two was developed, in part through the findings of the Lawler and Hall (1970) and Oldham, Hackman and Pearce (1976) researches on the relationship between job characteristics, and also on expansive learning (Engestrom 2001a; Fuller & Unwin 2003b) as related to intrinsic satisfaction. The stage two question items and coded analysis of the responses are in the appendices of the Research Study.

- Stage two research questions: Appendix 2
- Stage two coded interview responses: Appendix 4

Recently qualified apprentices were selected for the study both through a Group Training Organisation (GTO) in Sydney and through approaching personally. This was done so as to identify factors of their work and learning that influenced their motivation to complete their apprenticeship. Twenty apprentices originally agreed to be part of the study though ten apprentices eventually participated. The interviews for the GTO apprentices were conducted over the phone to afford a degree of anonymity and control for the apprentices as I was unknown to them. Furthermore the nature of their work meant they would be working odd hours and long shifts making it difficult to find a time and place to conduct a face to face interview. They were also asked to nominate a supportive individual from their formal training or workplace who had positively influenced them to complete their course. The aim in gathering additional industry and VET data was to examine the coalescence of responses from industry and VET practitioners as nominated by apprentices as being positively influential, with the responses from participants in stage one. This step was intended to investigate whether the general requirement for industry and VET was fundamentally at odds, or in accord, with the needs of apprentices. Consequently six employers and three VET practitioners were interviewed for the research. A series of questions, developed by Billett (2005), was employed to examine apprentices’ attitudes to their task activity and satisfaction.

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7 An organisation that employs apprentices under a training contract and placing them with host employers. The GTO undertakes the employer responsibilities for the quality and continuity of the Australian Apprentices’ employment and training, including payment of apprentices’ wages.
Data from apprentices who had retained their apprenticeships was then analysed by way of a framework of their engagement in enriched work practices and subsequent motivation (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976) and satisfaction with their apprenticeship (Porter & Lawler 1968; Vroom 1964). Depicted below is a table illustrating the gender and employment profile of the stage two participants together with their interview type and duration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials/Sex</th>
<th>Job title of interview</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Ratio of chefs to apprentices</th>
<th>Interview type and approximate duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AS/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney, North</td>
<td>6 chefs-3apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 20 minutes-1700 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BP/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Blue Mountains</td>
<td>6 chefs-4 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 15 minutes-950 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Blue Mountains</td>
<td>5 chefs-4 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 15 minutes-755 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MO/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Club in Sydney, west</td>
<td>12 chefs-8 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 20 minutes-1050 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MB/F</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>5 chefs-4 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 15 minutes-650 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TM/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>7 chefs-2 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 30 minutes-1500 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AO/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>10 chefs-3 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 25 minutes-750 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney, west</td>
<td>3 chefs-2 apps</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 25 minutes-1300 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VAP/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>4 chefs-1 app.</td>
<td>Face to face and taped 30 minutes-650 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YH/M</td>
<td>Graduated apprentice chef</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney CBD</td>
<td>5 chefs-2 apps.</td>
<td>Phoned and taped 30 minutes-1100 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SL/M</td>
<td>Head Chef/Employer</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney, east</td>
<td></td>
<td>Face to face and taped 40 minutes-2050 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KH/M</td>
<td>Head Chef/Employer</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney, CBD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Face to face and taped 15 minutes-850 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM/M</td>
<td>Sous Chef</td>
<td>Club in Sydney, west</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phoned and taped 35 minutes-2600 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FO/M</td>
<td>Head Chef/Employer</td>
<td>Catering Co. Sydney, CBD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Face to face and taped 40 minutes-2050 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LH/M</td>
<td>Sous Chef</td>
<td>Hotel in Sydney, North</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phoned and taped 10 minutes-550 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS/M</td>
<td>Head Chef/Employer</td>
<td>Restaurant in Sydney, CBD</td>
<td></td>
<td>Face to face and taped 25 minutes-1500 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM/M</td>
<td>TAFE teacher</td>
<td>TAFE NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phoned and taped 35 minutes-2050 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS/M</td>
<td>TAFE teacher</td>
<td>TAFE NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Face to face and taped 30 minutes-1800 words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LS/F</td>
<td>TAFE teacher</td>
<td>TAFE NSW</td>
<td></td>
<td>Phoned and taped 50 minutes-2900 words</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 7: Stage two interview participant table
3.3 Limitations of the methodology

The employment of face to face interviews to obtain qualitative data is a lengthy process and takes time and resources to set up, especially if they are not all in the one place or country. This technique will also trawl many minutes of responses that are not necessarily pertinent to the question at hand. The taped interviews were faithfully transcribed employing Glasser and Strauss’ (1967) theoretical model for analysis. However although the resultant sum of participants in this Research Study is quite small it is information rich. A survey would have provided a greater number of participants but less rich data for analysis. Furthermore asking successfully completed apprentices and chefs their opinions in what they personally experienced why apprentices quit cooking altogether is a qualitatively valid method of gaining an overview of negatives in the industry.

Furthermore apprentices signed up by a GTO are more easily able to change employers if they are dissatisfied with a particular employer but still retain their apprenticeship. GTO’s also provide pastoral care (Smith & Bush 2007) acting in the role of the supportive employer. Apprentices who are directly-employed may find it harder to find suitably supportive employers and leave the industry altogether. However the findings in this study are applicable across the hospitality industry whether applied by a formal arrangement of a GTO or a supportive employer. This research investigated the possibility of new solutions to reduce the attrition of apprentices and required an ample amount of information rich data to analyse. The findings are applicable to apprentices motivated to become chefs and not necessarily for individuals just looking for a job. Existing quantitative data on apprentice attrition already proposes useful indicators of why apprentices in general do not serve out their apprenticeship. In conclusion this study is illustrative of the industry and VET and not necessarily generalizable across all the hospitality industry as a whole but is applicable to individual apprentice chefs working in both large and small businesses.

3.4 Conclusion

Le Compte and Preissle (1993) suggest qualitative research is more concerned with description than prediction, induction rather than deduction, and its methods are multimodal to describe and create key concepts and theory generation. The key concepts of this study were generated in stage one so as to inform the direction of stage two of the research, which created the theoretical model to examine the retention of apprentices. Qualitative empirical
data from Stage one informed Stage two and revealed young individuals as being more informed about commercial cookery than in the past. Therefore a proposition for this study was that the motivated individual wishing to undertake an apprenticeship in cooking would start from a position of expectation about future work activities and the extent and nature of their learning. Furthermore a significant factor for focussing the research on the apprentices’ task activity, satisfaction and motivation was in response to the complexity of workplaces in the hospitality industry employing apprentice chefs. Both the Stage one and Stage two studies utilised transcribed response data employing coding procedures (Babchuk 1997) developed through analysing the data (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Thirty two individuals across the industry participated in this research providing in-depth engagement and information rich interview data. Eleven qualified chefs responsible for kitchens of up to thirty staff who employ and train apprentice chefs. Six educators of apprentices involved in the VET course content and teaching. Fourteen recently graduated apprentices from diverse employers, some small some large but all completed their apprenticeships and were keen to pursue a career in cooking. This was together with an apprenticeship field officer who trained and worked as a chef participated in the study. She is responsible for signing up commercial cookery apprentices and acting as an advocate for both apprentices and employer concerns. As a final point, additional stakeholders from industry and VET proffered valuable feedback on the research findings at each stage, to further enrich the research data. It was through the analysis of this data and the initial findings of workplace learning, VET and motivation that now inform this meta-statement.
Chapter Four – Findings

4.0 Introduction

The findings of this study address the key research questions:

- What contributes to commercial cookery apprentices’ attrition and retention?
- What learning opportunities and learning supports contribute to commercial cookery apprentices’ retention?

4.1 Attrition and its causes

Stage one of this study focussed on the attrition of commercial cookery apprentices and its causes. Skills shortages for commercial cookery and the low level of retention of apprentices have been on the Australian national agenda for at least the past decade (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001; Stromback & Mahendran 2010). These shortages are aggravated by high turnover (intra-occupational) and attrition (inter-occupational) rates (DEEWR 2008; Fuller et al. 2003; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2011b). The DEEWR (2008) reports other complex factors for general apprentice attrition that have been attributed to apprentices failing to complete their apprenticeship, namely:

- Dissatisfaction with their employer;
- Disinterest in the apprenticeship and career path;
- A lack of work effort or interest by the apprentice;
- Abuse in the workplace (DEEWR 2008).

Stage one findings found to have contributed to attrition:

1. Apprentices have expectations of their employment and learning however soundly based, in part due to changes in the age and education of apprentices as well as their increasing access to information of industry practices. However their disposition to cope with kitchen life will affect their ability to serve out their apprenticeship.

2. A poor relationship between apprentices and their supervisor and/or their relationship with their co-workers is a predictor of the likelihood of an intention to quit. Apprentices in kitchens feeling unsupported and undervalued will not serve out their apprenticeship.
3. Workplace learning in kitchens has been severely criticised by all the participants in this study, their experience being it is generally patchy at best and non-existent at worst.

4. Employers that underutilise the learning skills of apprentices through allocating them only menial tasks will cause them to become demotivated. This is also significant when only purchasing pre-prepared food thus diminishing the motivation of apprentices.

5. The current economics of the hospitality industry with apprentices’ low wages and not only long work hours but working Saturday nights, Christmas day etc. will contribute to the rate of apprentices’ attrition.

6. VET is still seen by some employers and apprentices as unable to deliver the most current skills and knowledge training needed for the industry.

Findings 1–4 will be addressed in Section 4.2 and Section 4.3 of this study and finding 6 will be discussed in Section 5 with recommendations for further research. The finding 5 on wages and conditions of employment have been discussed and recognised as an important factor for some apprentices. Statistical evidence and factors pertaining to apprentice chef wages and conditions of employment have been discussed in Section 1.4 and will be addressed in Section 4.1.

Gow et al (2008) describes job stress and its relationship to psychological well-being and turnover among bosses/supervisors and co-workers were all found to be significant predictors of intention to quit (Begley 1998; Harris, James & Boonthanom 2005; Kirschenbaum & Mano-Negrin 1999; Morrison 1997). Smith, Oczkowski and Selby-Smith (2008) and Snell and Hart (2008) both argue that relationships between employer/employee and opportunities for learning are a key contributor in the rate of attrition. Furthermore the influence of factors such as pay and conditions on general apprentice attrition has been found significant in research on apprenticeships across industries (Karmel & Mlotkowski 2010; Snell & Hart 2007a; Snell & Hart 2008). However this research found that apprentice chefs’ wages combined with the demanding conditions of employment were a significant feature of employment and a critical influence in their attrition early in their apprenticeship. Although this Research Study finds the factors of wages and conditions of employment contribute somewhat to some apprentices’ attrition these two factors can only be addressed through
changes to industry practice and IR regulations. However it is important to first acknowledge them in this research.

**Wages**

Snell and Hart (2008) report that only 16% of their survey respondents cited wages as a reason for quitting their apprenticeship however this research found there are exceptional conditions of apprentice chefs’ employment that exacerbate a tendency to quit. Not only do they have one of lowest wages across industries, their conditions of employment are also some of the most demanding. Individuals contemplating a career as a chef must first decide whether they will accept the pay and conditions on offer as discussed earlier in this research. Furthermore apprentice chefs also now include older individuals (Karmel & Mlotkowski 2010) who may be living away from home and would find the cost of living expensive on a first year apprentice’s wage. Cully and Curtain (2001) also report the greatest level of agreement across trades for apprentice attrition was poor pay and being ‘treated as cheap labour’ (p. 28).

> Not getting paid properly for those longer hours, realising I can get eight hundred dollars a week stacking shelves at ‘Woollies’ and I’ve got to go and work in this place as an eighteen year old for fifty to sixty hours a week and all I get is three to four hundred dollars for it. (Apprentice chef PM12)

> Apprentices are paid a shocking wage; commercial cookery is no longer a course for just 16yr old students; the minimum wage is not enough to live off if you were to support yourself in Sydney as a student. (Apprentice chef PM11)

> You are always hearing that the pay isn’t matched to the job. Money is always a factor. The majority of chefs, I know, work long hours in hot kitchens, loads of pressure for little money. (Apprentice chef, PV10)

These concerns were echoed in the interviews conducted with hospitality trainers in the United Kingdom (UK). Award rates for apprentice chefs do not reflect the changing types of apprentices now employed, work expectations of employers and the cost of living.

> The bottom line in London is if they don’t earn enough, they can’t live because food is expensive, travel is reasonably expensive and accommodation is hugely expensive. If you’re not paying people sufficiently well for them to have any kind of margin where
they’ve got a bit of spare cash to spend on entertainment or to spend on recreation then people’s motivation levels will go down and they will look for ways of enhancing that.

In this country we have an issue that some jobs have traditionally been seen as low paid and that’s where it should remain but I think if you want skill and you want longevity, if you want motivation and you want people to remain in the industry it is in all our interest to get that right because if we get the pay right, the conditions right, people then won’t leave the industry. (Head of Hospitality training UK Paa11-14)

It would appear from this research that although pay alone is not the most significant reason for apprentices quitting, when poor pay is aligned with exacting work conditions then the potential for an apprentice’s early attrition is further exacerbated.

**Conditions of employment**

TAFE teachers interviewed in this study were aware of the pressures placed upon apprentices by their employers to work longer hours. They cite many occasions where apprentices arrive to class exhausted after having worked sixty hours that week, not finishing their shift until one a.m., to start their class at eight a.m. Apprentices in this study also recounted similar concerns regarding apprentices’ conditions of employment:

> Apprentices are working 40, 50, 60 hours a week sometimes. They come into class, they’ve just had it. By that time, half of them don’t care. A lot of them miss their classes. We had a lot of people drop out because they couldn’t do classes and keep up their jobs as well. (Apprentice chef Pdd27)

> I just think people [employers] take advantage; they are becoming more and more greedy they want more and more for less pay. The conditions have gotten worse because the business owners have squeezed more and more out of the staff. You are doing more work in the same amount of hours. (Apprentice chef, PW24a, 26)

Some employers also perceive apprentices as only workers rather than learner/workers preferring to recruit second and third year apprentices, in part to employ apprentices already trained in the rudiments of the workplace in order to save time and money. This will possibly inculcate them more quickly into their particular work system. The difficulty in many
apprentice/employer relations is that the former aspires to be well-trained and the latter hankers after a good-value labour proposition (Robinson & Beesle 2010). As the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of a Group Training Organisation (GTO) reported:

Some businesses see training as an investment, whereas small operations would possibly simply see apprenticeships as ‘cheap’ labour. Employers still seem reluctant to take on first years; the vacancy board here has no end of vacancies for second and third year apprentices but few employers wish to take on first years. (Feedback from the CEO of a GTO in Sydney)

Furthermore current reduced levels of senior staff to monitor apprentices’ training were commented on by a manager in this study as affecting the quality of training for many apprentices:

When I started in kitchens we had eighty chefs; by the time I left that kitchen we had thirty five chefs. So I think having that structured training is lost so when it comes to ‘on-the-job’ training now you are very much on-the-job. So I think for a number of reasons it’s harder for the senior chefs, the trainers, to spend that time developing the junior chefs in the kitchen, again you lose that skill. Then again for those senior chefs, the training is somewhat lost. You get to the point that no one is actually training the trainers. So you are losing that side of it. I think that skill is dying and it’s hard to get that back. (F/B Manager, PJ1)

While apprentices are attracted to the creative life of a chef, employers are more likely driven by the demands of the job and meeting deadlines and budgets, expecting novices to simply follow in their wake. Lanning (2011) in the UK questioned many employers’ motives for taking on an apprentice and stated that: ‘While there are many examples of good apprenticeships in England there is too often a focus on meeting employers’ immediate skills needs’ (Lanning 2011, p. 8). Colley (1996), Cornford and Gunn (1998) and Robinson and Ball (1998a) found that an employer’s needs of just taking on an apprentice as an employee, subsume the learning needs of apprentices. Apprentices wanting to learn and progress in their career will have different expectations of an employment relationship to that of an employer.
4.2 Retention: Voices of the Stayers

The key findings of this study from interviews with apprentices who completed their apprenticeship, employers and trade teachers clearly show that apprentices with a positive relationship with their employer and disposed to the life of a chef serve out their apprenticeship. Furthermore as mentioned earlier, this study found apprentices are now different learner/workers with particular aspirations for their employment and learning. They initially have expectations of a job that will afford them opportunities to learn new skills in a supportive environment, practice those skills and be acknowledged as contributing to their workplace. It is in such workplaces that this research found that when apprentices’ expectations are met they are motivated to retain their apprenticeship.

Stage two findings found to have contributed to retention:

1. Expectations of apprentice chefs with their work and learning can have their genesis from a range of sources. Working with friends or family businesses after school, part-time work, pre-apprenticeships or the electronic media and internet.

2. Apprentices need to have the disposition to cope with a job that requires them to work long hours, weekends and public holidays with demanding work regimens for low pay.

3. Apprentices want opportunities to learn new skills and techniques and make a creative contribution to the workplace.

4. Apprentices want to be assigned valued tasks, not just menial work and acknowledged and valued for being a contributing member of their workplace.

5. Apprentices want learning support from their workplace and in turn shown trust to take responsibility and demonstrate skills and techniques to others.

The key factors found in this study that supported retention were:

- Expectations and motivation to stay
- Disposition to cope with the job
- Enriched work practices
Expectations and motivation to stay

This study found there is a clear link between prior expectations and the motivation of apprentices to complete their apprenticeship. This finding is supported by Vroom (1964) and Porter and Lawler (1968) in their research on work expectations and motivation. Meeting the expectations of a new employee is not about accommodating their possibly ill-founded perception of their new workplace. Nor is it about changing the workplace to suit those newcomers at the expense of other workers already established in a routine. However, anecdotal evidence shows many apprentices are currently more informed about workplace activities than in the past (McCrindle 2008). They commence their apprenticeship with knowledge and expectations of expansive learning opportunities. The findings of this Research Study also support the argument of general apprenticeships put forward by Fuller and Unwin (2004) that challenges the notion of ‘novice’ and ‘expert’:

I’ve worked at places where the chefs are pretty open and when I came up with ideas they’d put them on the specials board. I’ve had that in a few places because the head chef has had that much work that coming up with a new recipe or a new menu item is hard because apart from doing his job he has to look after the whole place. If I came up with some ideas he would try them out for a week or two and then from there he would make a decision. (Apprentice chef TE1)

All members of the workplace would at some time be ‘learning’, a new recipe, a new process, the development of a new idea, familiarising themselves with a strange environment, section or just renewing old knowledge. It is not always the domain of the new apprentice to be the ‘learner’ and there will be times when they will be ‘expert’ in their given tasks or responsibility, passing on tips and experience to ‘old timers’. This research supports Fuller and Unwin’s (2004) argument that apprentices make a contribution to the workplace from the outset:

We learn from each other; we did a little bit of experimentation after the meal service and tried different ways of cooking and presenting a dish. I enjoyed that. (Apprentice chef TE1i)

This research found that successful apprentices and chefs commencing their apprenticeship with some initial knowledge of industry practice had gleaned it from a variety of sources. It
was their starting point of interest in becoming a qualified chef, and may have been through weekend or casual kitchen work:

I love to cook; the first job I had was in hospitality washing pots as a part time job, while I was at school in the kitchens. (Apprentice chef PF1L)

Or through friends or family members in the industry:

My brother was in it and I used to say to my brother I wouldn’t do that job, that’s not a real job and I went and did a part-time job with him and from then I said; I think I like this and fell into it and cooked. (Ex Chef PF1e)

I had a few close friends whose parents owned restaurants so I threw myself into washing dishes and then looked at the chef over my shoulder. (Ex Chef PF1f)

Accessing commercial cooking sites on television or the internet (Bonsall 2007) would also be a major source of information. This research found similar responses from participants with regard to why individuals take up a career in commercial cookery:

I think they watch TV and think that this is a great industry. (Ex. Chef PF6)

I think they want to emulate some of the things they see in the media; we have a very strong media presence now with cable television and main stream television; you’ve got some big personalities that are being promoted and done some stuff for promoting the industry. There is a lot of interest in food, cookery, commodities, travel; this sits very well in people’s minds as a leisure activity; some of those people, as young people will see the kind of life, the vigour and will want to be a part of it. Actually some of those people in school may not have achieved a great deal, in terms of academic achievement but they’ll still have a spark and it will ignite an interest and its then up to us to direct that and to modify it to make sure that it’s realistic. (Head of Hospitality training UK Pf6)

There has been significant growth in cookbooks and food magazines, together with life-style programs on travel, cooking and celebrity chefs on television. A virtual explosion of recipes and culinary techniques, once the province of the ‘expert’ is now accessible through newsagents, bookshops and the internet. Gilmore (2010), reports that young people are also currently more computer literate than their predecessors. This is supported by The Australian
Bureau of Statistics (2012) report on internet use in Australian homes which reveals nearly three quarters of Australian households have broadband. More importantly, this study clearly shows that apprentices who stayed out their apprenticeship had a passionate love of food and cooking as a major key to their decision to take up commercial cookery.

I think for a kid to leave school and take a huge step and become an apprentice cook, I think that is quite a big ask. They know that there are pretty low wages. They also know that there are going to be very long hours, very hard work but they have to be pretty keen and motivated to go to that. (Ex. Chef PF9c)

This research found that employers’ understanding of a passionate or committed employee is often at odds with apprentices’ expectations of their apprenticeship. Many revealed that they placed a greater importance on such attributes as good time-keeping and uniforms. They also perceived apprentices’ learning and assimilation into their particular workplace culture should in the main be initiated by the apprentice. Employers responded to the research question regarding their expectation of apprentices in their workplace stating:

I’m looking for passion, keenness to learn, to give it a go, to spend that time in doing it. I also think that a young chef should come in their own time. (Ex Chef PT4)

It’s very important he is here half an hour before his shift. In the kitchen fifteen minutes before his shift, ready to go. (Ex Chef PT4a)

A young chef has to be enthusiastic and willing to learn. Not be tardy. I guess wanting to follow the rules, just having the right attitude. (Ex Chef PT11)

The first thing I expect is a full uniform, fully cleaned, hat on the head, everything ready to go and then I would outline that he needs a couple of knives and outline that it’s very important he is here half an hour before his shift. (Ex Chef PT12)

An apprentice needs to be job ready and have a keen attitude and a keen interest. I want to see the same approach (to work) in three months or six months down the road. Not to be rocking up a week later at five to nine, a week later he should be rocking up at eight-thirty still, ready for the job. (Ex Chef PT21)

Employers in this Research Study tended to focus on their ideas of disciplined workplace behaviour as an outward sign of a commitment to the job. They perceived a lack of these
attributes as a poor work attitude rather than a lack of motivation. However, although attributes of punctuality, cleanliness and having the ‘right’ attitude are fundamental in a commercial kitchen, this research found, as stated earlier, apprentices expect to learn skills and knowledge. They perceive their apprenticeship as an opportunity for growth and learning, supported by their employer as stated below:

I want to learn skills to do with my trade. I want to learn kitchen operations and for chefs they want to learn about ingredients and food and cooking methods. (Apprentice PA10)

For me I’d like to learn everything about it but I don’t know if everyone is like that. I’d like to learn about the ingredients and how they are grown. I’d like to know the best way to cook them so you can bring out the flavours, the different flavours and combinations. Also the way kitchens are run, the whole operation of the kitchen. It helps me in my cooking to know the whole thing, understanding the whole rather than just pieces. (Apprentice PA11)

Apprentices want skills and they want high level skills and they want the opportunity to practice high level skills. They want recognition where they deserve recognition. (Apprentice PA16)

In summary this study found apprentices’ expectations of their apprenticeship began from number of sources; for example, weekend work in a restaurant, friends and family in the industry or the internet and television. When choosing cooking as a career it appears that they all wanted opportunities to learn more about cooking and not just have a job. They also expected to eventually have opportunities to demonstrate their skills and gain recognition for their efforts.

**Disposition to cope with the job**

Another important factor in this research of an apprentice’s ability to retain their job is the apprentice’s disposition to cope with the job as supported by prior research (James & Hayward 2004b; Pratten 2003a). These findings are heightened in the exploration for solutions to apprentices’ retention due to the nature and conditions of working in a commercial kitchen. The profile of a ‘stayer’ was found to be an apprentice able to endure the
demands of working in a kitchen in service and relate it to their goal of becoming a chef. They are not afraid to engage in robust, challenging work, as long as the rewards meet their expectations:

I guess I really loved eating; I loved food, just being curious about food. I know some chefs get off on the adrenaline rush, they’ll be out somewhere eating and they’ll see that intensity in the kitchen and think I’d love to be in there, experiencing that intensity and regimented, controlled chaos. (Apprentice chef PF1b)

Chefs and apprentices are often expected to cope with performing under pressure as part of a team in busy, stressful environments. There are also physical demands placed on apprentices to stand for long periods, lift and carry heavy pots and boxes of produce in often hot environments. They are also expected to develop a ‘thick skin’ against criticism which can come from either within the kitchen or later in their career, from customers. One apprentice gave his account of working in a kitchen during a busy ‘service time’ as both exciting and frustrating:

I think, during service you get the whole adrenaline rush and away you go. When service is finished you’re back to normal again. I get frustrated sometimes, I get annoyed, sometimes I swear and carry on but then after I’ve finished I feel I have accomplished something, but I still go back the next day and do exactly the same thing. (Apprentice TJ5a)

This point of an apprentice’s disposition to cope with the job was clearly echoed by the Head of Hospitality Training in the UK:

I think the negatives are bound up in that first out of college experience, where it’s tough, it’s arduous, it requires great stamina, with low wages, they (apprentices) are not getting out like people working in other environments and the comparison between their lot and their peer group is sometimes difficult. (Head of Hospitality training UK PV25)

Alternatively, there is this comment from one apprentice regarding ‘disenchantment’ with their choice of career, possibly due to a lack of understanding of what was expected:
Yes, I guess I’ve seen people take on cooking jobs and be enthusiastic until they realise how hard it is; how much pressure. Then they feel stuck and bad attitudes set in. They’re just doing a job and start to cut corners, they don’t care at all about what they’re doing and it reflects in what they produce. (Apprentice chef PS12)

The manager of the Group Training Organisation (GTO) who facilitated the apprentice participants in stage two of the study provided feedback on this issue. He advocated a more rigorous initial induction process for apprentices whereby apprentices would have a clearer understanding of the expectations of the workplace and VET. He believed that the re-introduction of pre-apprenticeships was one route to that clearer understanding. This is in part to ‘acclimatise’ apprentices to their nominated career but also to give them foundation skills to make them more ‘attractive’ to employers:

The pre-apprenticeship used to be an effective way of finding out whether a young person would like to be a chef. We are using a similar concept of Cert II completed in four weeks for new recruits to grow apprentice numbers but it is getting harder to recruit apprentices. Interviewing prospective apprentices would uncover their knowledge of the industry to ascertain whether they had any practical experience. Interviewees that only know the industry through TV are offered a couple of weeks work experience in a kitchen. (Feedback from the CEO of a GTO in Sydney)

Dumbrell and Smith (2007) also argue that pre-apprenticeships are an effective filtering method and provide learning skills to students, claiming that it will give them a better understanding of the industry and training:

A better understanding of the destination industry and what an apprenticeship in that industry entailed, provided a filtering mechanism to divert unsuitable candidates, and provided learning-to-learn skills in an environment different from school. (pp. 32–33)

Further to the matter of disposition of apprentices, this study found that feedback from the Australian Navy revealed a more stringent recruitment process for apprentice chefs with particular regard to their ability to cope with the job. The implication of this approach was that the new recruit would have a clearer understanding about their decision to become an apprentice chef in the Navy before signing up.
Recruits are interviewed for their psychological ability to adapt to the life that is expected and they are informed at the recruitment stage of the naval culture. So it would seem that attrition should not be through the shock of the workplace as would happen to civilian, hospitality trainees. When applying to join the Navy the new applicants are sent home to find out and research as much as they can, with the internet, about the Navy prior to signing up. The information out there though, is very broad and paints a positive picture of life in the Navy but is short on specifics in that it doesn’t discuss much about the down-side of the career such as it can be a lot of hard work. (Naval Chief Petty Officer feedback to the Stage One Report)

Furthermore apprentices working in commercial kitchens are expected to work in accord with all members of that kitchen brigade8 (Hager & Johnsson 2012). The disposition of apprentices to engage in learning opportunities provided by the workplace is central to understanding their motivation to work in a kitchen team and in effect, their retention. However as Billett (2001b) states, they need to find meaning in activities and work afforded for them to participate:

On a Sunday because we had less staff and if we were busy we still did the same amount of stuff so a lot of the time, I had to do three sections like I had to help with entrees and then move onto mains and desserts when that got busy so I had to do a bit of everything at once. (Apprentice chef Ti1)

When you work on the grill, which is one of the hardest things because you probably get slammed with 50 steaks at one time and you need to make sure they are cooked to order, like well done, or rare, need to go out at the same time when on the same docket. You might have 50 other dockets. (Apprentice chef Ti1f)

In the beginning it was a lot of pressure, I thought I was going to break under the pressure, but later when I started getting better (improved) and faster it became so much easier. I became more confident in myself. (Apprentice chef Ti16b)

Sansone and Harackiewicz (2000) maintain that individuals are motivated to engage in an activity because they are interested in and enjoy the activity. Apprentices in this research

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8 Kitchens were traditionally classified as brigades, designed on a military model, with specific jobs structured into sections to allow complex menu items, involving multiple members of the team, to be achieved within the minimum time.
were passionate in their choice of career as they understood it often entails many years of commitment and hard work before they reap any rewards of large incomes or esteem for their effort. A challenging workplace was viewed by apprentices in this study as a platform to demonstrate their ability to cope and build skills and become more confident. This research found apprentices become bored and dissatisfied if their jobs were too simple and unchallenging. Lee-Ross (1999) proposed that work must be challenging, requiring the use of skills and knowledge if the individual is to stay motivated. These theories based on ‘need satisfaction’ have had an important influence on motivational research and have offered a better understanding of attitudes of people at work.

**Enriched work practices**

Hackman and Oldham’s (1974) research on enriched work practices supports findings in this research that individuals afforded opportunities to engage in enriched and valued tasks are more motivated in their job. Apprentices in this study all remembered examples of tasks that occasioned a sense of pride and connectivity with workplace:

Some of the more difficult things, like making tortellini for example, so getting to do that and doing a good job were always good. (Apprentice TB1)

I remember once I made antipasto and I used up bits of left overs in the cool room and put an antipasto plate together, it looked quite pretty and the customer said it was the best antipasto he had eaten. (Apprentice TB1c)

My pizzas got a lot of positive feedback. The customers would tell the waiter to compliment me. I know I made that. Most of the chefs were happy. I did not get a reward but each day I got more approval. (Apprentice TB1e)

This research clearly demonstrates that apprentices positively engaged in creative decision making in their workplace, and when provided with opportunities to realise their ideas, were more inclined to develop a stronger affiliation with their workplace community. This point was made by employers in this study regarding what their apprentices told them.
A lot of them mentioned about being passionate. They enjoy eating food, playing with food, creating food, I think that’s the most important side, that creative side but that does get lost today. (Ex Chef PF1a)

I think most chefs have a creative mind and that can get squashed. Its development is a lot slower and they get bored easily. (Ex. Chef PF2d)

A lot of the guys come back with “I love food”. Some of them said they love the creative side of it. They love to be able to create something and get that feedback from a customer. They really enjoyed what they did. (Ex. Chef PF1)

One key feature of many Australian restaurants is that they now afford more opportunities for innovation and creativity amongst their chefs. There is less reliance on a formulaic European tradition of ‘Haute Cuisine’. Many now reflect cultural shifts in Australian eating habits with lighter, more innovative dishes. Innovation and creativity however, is not just the manipulation of shapes, textures, colours and flavours. Nor is it the interplay of diverse ingredients but a more complex process underpinned by learning, experience and confidence (Brookfield 1987). The creative approach that a chef takes to find a solution to a cooking problem or conceptualise new ideas and their production justifies this attribution (Birdir & Pearson 2000; Lee-Ross 1999) as creativity can assist a chef ‘to conceptualise new products, processes and systems’ (Birdir & Pearson 2000, p. 208).

Horng and Lee (2006) report that for many individuals being creative is a strong motivation when choosing careers that fulfil that need. Apprentice chefs in this study commented on being afforded opportunities for inventiveness or creativity as a strong motivational force in retaining their apprenticeship.

Definitely; I was always encouraged to try new things and try new skills and work with different ingredients and if I couldn’t, like we didn’t have the budget at work, a couple of chefs bought me cook books. The Chef would always say to me go and do that; think of something we could run as a special. (Apprentice TO2)

The owner decided what went on the menu, not the head chef. They had to make sure the owner approved the menu but we used to trial new dishes. We changed the menu

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9 Haute Cuisine refers to a style of cooking created in France and culturally accepted in the West, as the height of refined eating. This style of menu with classical dishes was universally employed by five star restaurants and hotels around the world. Chefs trained in ‘haute cuisine’ are then able to transfer their skills and gain employment around the world, similarly with classically trained musicians.
daily, even between lunch and dinner. I made pizzas, I used to come up with ideas to make them look better, to make them look fuller. (Apprentice TO2b)

Robinson and Beesle (2010) noted that when an organisation supports creativity among workers then higher job satisfaction and work commitment are the resultant. The interview sample for their study ranked creativity more highly than working conditions added to which;

There is a clear relationship between creativity and both organisational and occupational satisfaction. (p. 765)

This study also found that hospitality businesses need to maintain a creative edge to accommodate the changing expectations of customers (Pratten 2003b). Shalley, Gilson and Blum (2000) and Robinson (2007) assert that when organisational factors are supportive of creativity and are allied to opportunities to be creative then the result is higher job satisfaction. As one apprentice in this study commented on their opportunities to be creative in their workplace:

It was really positive from the kitchen; when I created something good I shared the idea with the rest of the kitchen and we tried it and if the customers liked it they put it on the menu. (Apprentice chef TO6)

Chefs will continue to learn and develop new ways of cooking and presenting all manner of food throughout their working life after their initial training. That may be from designing menus to re-interpreting classical dishes or just deciding small adjustments to the cooking and presentation of a meal. Chefs and apprentices will often move from one employer to another in order to build those skills and experience. Every establishment will have their own set of recipes with differences in presentation of meals, some subtle some dramatically different, ways of working and size of teams. This may be more obvious when an apprentice or chef moves from a small business in a regional town to a large urban business or vice versa. Chefs who relocate overseas may also have to cope with working in a different language, different cultures and unfamiliar foods in their pursuit of knowledge and skills. Two chefs in this study remembered their first move to build their skills and knowledge.

When I first started it was pretty scary. I worked in a little restaurant in Nelson Bay, it wasn’t that fantastic, then I went to Japan, I lived in London, I lived in France.
In London I’ve never been in a kitchen where there are 22 chefs that are so hungry, (ambitious) ever. That was the most terrifying and amazing feeling. (Ex. Chef PH11a, 11f)

I think it’s very important to get a broad range; with regard to myself I worked in small cafes then I worked in the H. (Hotel) there were buffets going on there, there were functions going on there, there were weddings going on there, a la carte, fine dining so there was a big range of things going on there so you get a broad range of the industry. I think it’s very narrow minded of apprentices to stay in the one place for four years training and see one thing and one view only. I think it’s important that they move around and get a broader scale of what’s around them. (Ex Chef PC6)

Participants in this study all agreed that it is important for apprentices to be given opportunities to learn which would maintain motivation in the workplace. Chefs responding to the question of task activity, learning and motivation for apprentices reflected on their practice:

Are you making it interesting enough for them while they’re here, more than anything, training them and keep them interested? You’ve got to keep a little bit of interest as a priority when running a restaurant. (Chef PV2)

However it was acknowledged that there will be occasions when apprentices would be required to complete more mundane tasks. This is an acceptable part of any job as long as they are also learning and are not only asked to complete low value tasks.

Are you feeding them with enough knowledge or are you just using them to do veg. An apprentice will only stay with you for a period; you’d want to make sure you give them the training needed for them to move on (Chef PV3)

I think it’s one of those industries where if you go into a small place you are very limited. You get some young lad who’s just come out of school that’s getting into the trade and they (the business) have got seven entrées and seven mains and seven desserts and they are bored in six months. (Chef PV16)

This research has shown a clear link between task activity and satisfaction as discussed earlier. Hackman and Oldham’s (1976) theory identifies five measurable characteristics of
jobs, cited in the methodology chapter, that when present, improve employee work motivation, satisfaction, and performance. One of these characteristics is autonomy; that is, ‘The degree to which a job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out’ (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976, p. 395). This research found that apprentices who served out their apprenticeship when trusted and given responsibility tended to respond positively to their workplace. Apprentices in this study were also asked when they were expected to show initiative and given appropriate levels of responsibility early in their apprenticeship, trusted to successfully accomplish requested tasks with minimal supervision.

I was in charge and I did have to do the ordering and things like monitoring the fridge temperature and things like that; I had to make sure they were done. (Apprentice chef TG3a)

My responsibilities were stock rotation for entrees and desserts and keeping those fridges clean, make sure the sections were prepped up well. That was my responsibility then everyone shared with receiving orders and putting away orders (stock). (Apprentice chef TG4)

Writing a prep list for the next day, making sure the fridges were wrapped up at end of the night. I loved it, I enjoyed it. It felt like this was my section so I had the responsibility of working on a section instead of with someone else. (Apprentice chef TG3d)

I didn’t mind the responsibility, I felt good being trusted to do the jobs that my chefs had taught me as and as an apprentice, being trusted. (Apprentice chef TH3)

Yes, being trusted in your ability to be able to do it. It made me feel pretty good about it. (Apprentice chef TH3b)

Other apprentices in this study stated that they took responsibility for their learning as they perceived that it was necessary to be pro-active if they wanted to achieve their goals of becoming chefs.

I pushed – if you want to get anywhere in this industry you’ve got to push. I went to the chef and said “I want to go on the grill and he said alright”. I pretty much worked in my
section and then I ran to the other section, watching how they cook, using my initiative to learn. (Apprentice TO4)

There were a few times in the pastry we made all our own petit fours (small sweets for coffee) and we could come up with our own ideas and just try them and if the chef liked them (he) would use them in the restaurant. That was always good. I had seen people do them and I’d say can I have a go. You can watch me to make sure I do it properly but how about I have a go at that. (Apprentice TE1)

Apprentices working in small businesses often found that as they rose in the ranks with increased experience they were then regularly asked to work autonomously.

Yes on Sundays I was left in charge a few times because the other chefs had their day off, that was just the way the roster worked; I was in charge of the kitchen. (Apprentice chef TH1)

Furthermore this research found that being given responsibility builds skill and experience for apprentices in positive work environments and will generate opportunities to demonstrate their skills.

After a period of time, I was given the responsibility to try new things – try things out and see if they work. It was really positive from the kitchen, when I created something good I shared the idea with the rest of the kitchen and we tried it and if the customers liked it they put it on the menu. (Apprentice TO3e)

I’ve worked at a lot of places where the chefs are pretty open and (when I came up with an idea) they’d put them on the specials board. I’ve had that at a few places because the head chef has had that much work that coming up with a new recipe or a new menu item is hard because apart from doing his job he has to look after the whole place. If I came up with some ideas he would try them out for a week or two and then from there they would make a decision. (Apprentice TE1d)

I was thrust into the role of looking after things quite early and basically looked after the bistro and a little café. I was just thrown in the deep end, entrees and desserts. Two months after that I was running that section entrée and dessert, doing function work and prep service. I also did pastry and lunch and breakfast and loved it. (Apprentice TA3a)
Being given responsibility or taking responsibility, for many of the apprentices in this research was viewed in a positive light as symbolic of their employers’ approval of their workplace learning and maturity. However apprentices interviewed were also asked when they were ever responsible for training more junior apprentices and their thoughts on being a trainer. Responses to that question have been discussed in the next chapter 4.3 in the paragraph on ‘training others’. This question also reflects Fuller and Unwin’s (2004) argument of ‘novice’ and ‘expert’, as discussed earlier when the trainee becomes the trainer. Moreover expertise in kitchens is contextual where new recipes and staff movement create a mutable environment for even the most experienced of chefs.

4.3 Learning and Learning Support

This research has found that the quality of learning and learning support for apprentice chefs is critical for their retention. Apprentices interviewed in this study who had served out their apprenticeships all emphasised positive workplace learning experiences as the key to their motivation to continue their apprenticeship. Further to earlier discussions in this study their learning was supported and assisted by their workplace which was of significant importance in the early stages of their apprenticeship. Their learning was also through guidance from more experienced employees, allowing the apprentice to access desirable skills and knowledge and also contributing to the efficacy of the kitchen team. Billett (2001a) states the importance of collaborative and guided approaches to workplace learning, an important component of which is enabling learners to be guided by more expert workers, including mentors and coaches.

The key factors found in this study underpinning learning support were:

- Mentoring
- Training and support
- Training others
Mentoring

This study found the mentoring of novice apprentices was an important element in building a positive relationship between them and their new workplace. Both employers and apprentices cite the importance of apprentices not only being trained up but also understand how to work in a team.

We like (chefs and apprentices) to have individual skills but often it’s (more important) getting them all together in the same place, drawing their individual abilities and getting together as a team. When they do that we get more than the sum of their individual parts. If apprentices understand how other people do their work and can fill in when things go wrong, then they can cope with many of the problems and contingencies that we have to deal with (in a kitchen). (Ex. Chef PU11)

I found you can only work in a kitchen if the team likes you, it’s a job where you can have a restaurant where you could dream of working, but in the end unless the team wants to work with you, it’s very hard to achieve what you want. (Apprentice chef TH6)

Apprentices in this study cited examples of not only being instructed but also mentored by more experienced chefs and apprentices until they could achieve the necessary level of proficiency.

The good chefs are able to explain and show examples, give you the responsibility, they think you are able to handle. They’ll allow you room to move but they’ll always be there to keep an eye on you. Good chefs can tell quite quickly at what level you’re at and how much responsibility they can give you, they can nurture that. They’ll know how quickly to move you up or stay on a certain section before you move to a new section. Working with you, encouraging you but not making you feel special everyday but when you do something good then taking the time out to say, well done, good effort and also not being scared to pass on their knowledge. (Apprentice chef PJ13)

These same apprentices reported that senior workers often took new recruits under their wing. This was particularly important for the novice during the early stages of their apprenticeship to help guide and support them through the complexities of work practices. This also afforded
first year apprentice chefs opportunities to try new skills and practice learned tasks in a supportive climate.

I am recently out of school and I’ve never done this before, I don’t know what I’m doing, is there anyone going to help me with my apprenticeship, how to do your job and survive in the workplace. (Apprentice PA26f)

The chefs would come in with different ingredients and say have you used this before and I’d say no. We’d go through them together and sit down after work and go through recipes and books and ingredients just to show me new things. I wouldn’t see it if I wasn’t in the industry or if I hadn’t worked in places like that; I wouldn’t get that at home they are only things you would get working in a commercial kitchen. (Apprentice TO3)

Female apprentice chefs often require extra support in what is essentially a male dominated industry. Many have had to overcome perceptions of being unable to withstand the hard work and pressure of a commercial kitchen. They were often subjected to situations that would test their resolve to stay in the industry. This was until they challenged their employer as reported below, changed jobs or gave up eventually quitting their apprenticeship altogether. However although the female apprentice eventually ended up with a positive result I find the actions of her chef questionable, showing poor leadership of his team.

I had a girl apprentice who was working in a restaurant, who got no respect. You can imagine a kitchen full of men with a one female. The kitchen hand used to push her around. She got to the point where she was ready to leave and I just told her to confront her Head Chef and say I’ve had enough, I’m an apprentice, I can do this job, give me the respect I deserve. She did that and the following Friday she came into class, over the moon. He had been waiting for her to say that for two years. (TAFE teacher PZ36)

Feedback from the Stage Two Industry and VET report brought this issue to light in recruiting and retaining female apprentice chefs. One initiative to address this issue has been developed and implemented by TAFE NSW to offer external mentoring support for female apprentices. The TAFE mentor program was developed to partner young female apprentices with a leading chef to provide support and motivation thus hopefully assisting in their retention.
TAFE has put in place mentoring programs that directly connect with the new apprentice and their work life. There was an acceptance of the fact that the industry is one that imposes many pressures upon an apprentice, through unsociable hours and demands of kitchen life. They are able to talk to someone, away from their workplace, who has experienced many of the same difficulties of being a first year apprentice, assists them through the early transition from school to work. ‘Tasting Success’ is an example of a TAFE initiative to support young female chefs through pairing an apprentice with an established chef. This is in part as a response to the fact that there are few female chefs, in part due to the very masculine character of many kitchens and the physical demands of the industry. It is also to promote the idea that a female chef can aspire to a position of leadership in an industry that has almost no women in an executive role. (Feedback from a TAFE manager to the Stage Two report)

The cultural dynamics of individual workplaces however, differ across the industry from small pub bistro kitchens of just two or three staff to large international hotels with hundreds of staff. How an apprentice chef manages this initial ‘shock of the new’ will often depend on how welcomed and supported they feel when faced with unfamiliar or confusing tasks to perform.

At that time I thought I wasn’t suitable for the job but the head chef was really nice and after service he was very nice; he’d tell everyone what’s going on, not to worry, everything’s fine. It gave me the confidence to do the job. It was a way I could keep up. (Apprentice Ti6)

Yes, what I felt was that when I felt not very good and I lost my confidence, the head chef could always see and just told me not to worry. (Apprentice Ti6a)

Young individuals aspiring to become chefs will not have had much experience of working with adults in a team environment. For commercial kitchens working in accord with the rest of the kitchen is the cornerstone of effective meal production. This study found that employers who nurture and support their apprentices will assist in their ability to overcome their initial concerns and help build a sense of belonging.
I think it’s very important that head chefs take young staff, particularly enthusiastic staff, under their wings and nurture them, by nurturing those young staff you will get that team feel out of them. (Ex. Chef PU3)

They may come in thinking it’s just a job but before long they grow to experience the problems and the dramas and the stresses when things go wrong and how we all talk about it. You are liaising with everybody so it’s not a job where you can be quiet and not communicate. (Ex. Chef PU26)

The Head Chef was really enthusiastic and built a good team around him and we had a very strong band in and out of the kitchen. When you started to feel the work was getting you down, he would perk you up. Coming across chefs who are passionate keeps me on my toes. (Apprentice chef PH7d)

Spencer (1999, p. 5) states that mentoring is, ‘a one-to-one relationship between a more experienced and a less experienced employee, based upon encouragement, constructive comments, openness, mutual trust, respect and a willingness to share’. It is also a supportive relationship that assists the less experienced to become more experienced and gain confidence. Thus mentoring can be seen as another factor in contributing to retention.

**Training and support**

Training and support of apprentice chefs, as discussed earlier, are essential facets of novice apprentices’ learning especially in the early stages of their career. It not only gives them the skills and knowledge to become an effective member of their team but also helps guide them through the complexities of kitchen culture. This research has shown that working in a busy, stressful environment is a challenge for most chefs; however for an unprepared novice the ‘heat’ of kitchen life can be overwhelming. Apprentices’ training is principally conducted in their workplace, as that is where they spend most of their time, but also at a TAFE or RTO. TAFE must now share funding with private RTO’s whereas in the past it was the sole provider of off-the-job training. This research has shown that these two facets of the tripartite relationship can play an important supportive role for apprentices, thus contributing to retention.
A skilled chef is extended beyond the bounds of an individual producing a meal for a customer, to the collective sharing of skills and knowledge in their workplace. This is achieved by assisting apprentices with the learning procedures that are unfamiliar, non-routine or difficult and thus unlikely to be learnt through purely informal practice (Chivers 1971). The value of this kind of assistance is not just restricted to apprentices, as experienced workers also observe and listen to others as a way of keeping up with the changing requirements of their workplace (Billett 1993; Penland 1984). Training and coaching new generations of apprentices and sharing information is an important facet of kitchens if they are to operate effectively as a team (Hager & Johnsson 2007). Apprentices in this study expressed the importance of having a supportive individual to assist their learning:

When I was an apprentice I wanted to get more skilled and experienced. I wanted to work with someone who was nice and teach me. I would have preferred that someone looked round to see what I was doing if it’s right or wrong. Then after that they could recommend ways to fix the problem. Sometimes I couldn’t remember the whole process; one or two steps were missing, so I lost it. (Apprentice chef TF7a)

The sort of things you need someone there to show you until you’re comfortable doing it. I just got shown what to do, I just checked if that was fine and if it was fine then kept going if everything was ok, then I didn’t have a problem with it (Apprentice TF5)

Yes actually, there was a new guy as part of the training so he kept an eye on us with everything we did. They wanted to make sure you were doing the right thing. Basically it helped because if you made a mistake he just corrected you. (Apprentice TF7)

The quality of apprentice learning is dependent on the kinds of activities they engage in and the level of support and guidance afforded them. This research found that it is primarily the support and knowledge of more experienced workers that provide the most significant contributions to the apprentice learning. Support in the workplace may encompass a range of formal or informal processes, hypothetically lead to greater job satisfaction and productivity. Employers might provide support through the provision of resources and through assistance in managing workloads. Co-workers may provide support through practical or emotional support in times of job stress. This research found however, that apprentices working in small businesses as only workers were afforded few opportunities for learning new and challenging tasks and were eventually becoming demotivated. This outcome may also arise in big
businesses where an apprentice’s learning can be lost to the needs of the organisation as observed by one employer in this study:

My concern would be the actual process of training qualified chefs isn’t at a level I think it should be at; they are low paid and thrown into menial tasks, and they don’t progress. In some of the bigger places, they become the gofers. The guys don’t get the same training we got; I think it’s the time and money; I don’t think enough time can be put into it. Most places are so budget-conscious that there’s a huge amount of processed food which is taking all those skills away; there’s no need for all those skills anymore; costs are so tight, a lot of corners are being cut, things are being brought in. (Ex. Chef PV11, PV12b)

The goals of an organisation and that of an individual apprentice are ideally compatible, so as to yield the best outcomes for both stakeholders. Just as the goals and praxis of educational institutions frame their purview and activities, they should also be in step with the goals and practices of workplaces (Hall & Sharples 2003; Scarpato 2002). However this research found concerns from VET regarding their role in the employer/VET paradigm with regard to the skills training of apprentices. This is due in part to some employers unwilling or unable to provide a learning environment for the apprentice and placing the responsibility for their skills training with TAFE.

Essentially apprenticeships were set up for the employer to do the practical and the colleges to teach the theoretical aspect supplemented with practical skills. Now they’ve got this idea that we’ve got to teach them the practical skills to prepare them for the workforce. An employer has an apprentice for 32 hours a week. We were teaching the ‘why’ and the boss was teaching the practical. This is how you cook. (TAFE teacher Pcc6i)

A difficulty in the past has been the persistent perception of a ‘gap’ between the goals of the employer and the aims of vocational education; however, this perception has only persisted due to the manner in which theory and practice have been conceptualised. As Carr and Kemmris (1986) point out, the assumptions of theory and practice are that theory is ‘non-practical’ and practice is ‘non-theoretical’ (p. 113) but although they are carried out by different practitioners, they share common aspects. Theory guides the organisation’s activity in the workplace but it is also dependent upon the practice framework as they are inevitably,
the two voices of an on-going dialogue regarding apprentices, their learning and the importance of their retention in the hospitality industry.

There is still a perception of ‘them and us’, TAFE and the industry; they don’t know what they’re talking about and we know what we’re talking about and vice versa. The thing I hear is that TAFE is backing away from teaching the skills of the trade, the basic skills of the trade. I’m disappointed that a lot of guys don’t want to send their kids to TAFE; I think the skills they’re learning are not [relative]sic to the industry (Ex. Chef PV18, 18c)

There are a lot more small restaurants and small cafes than there are large hotels that have a full brigade. I always say that it’s not our choice, or is not up to us, to tell a student where they may or may not work. We should be offering as much skill and knowledge as we possibly can, because the more skills and knowledge you have then they can make that choice as to where they work in an RSL club or wherever, but we don’t train someone to just work in an RSL club, we don’t train someone to just work in a café or a fine dining restaurant. (TAFE teacher PP16)

Furthermore large organisations usually have more facilities to provide a structured training program for apprentices but small businesses are dependent on the individual skills, ability and willingness of the individual chef.

Large organisations are more structured in their training, but smaller organisations depend on a good chef, that’s willing to train. (TAFE teacher Pi24)

Stage two of the research asked graduate apprentices to nominate an individual from their apprenticeship that, from their perspective was influential in their retention. Three nominated TAFE teachers as playing a positive and supportive role in their retention. Those TAFE teachers consequently responded to questions on apprentice learning stating that they want to instil a good understanding of the industry and the skills.

Not only do they want to learn good job skills, they want to learn to liaise with other people in a similar area and learn about other organisations. They want to get a good insight into the industry and obviously the skills that they need to work in the industry. (TAFE teacher PA7)
They would enrol in the course wanting to become successful and learn as much as they can. I’m sure they’ve got good expectations and high expectations of TAFE. When you enrol in something you do it for your future and you do it to get better and so that’s why you go into it. I just think they expect to get the tools that they need to fulfil the job that they do. (TAFE teacher PA10)

This research found that trainers or supervisors, whether in the workplace or in formal training who take it upon themselves to play a supportive role for individual apprentices are now more necessary than before with increasing numbers of small businesses. This is also true of larger businesses with reduced staff levels and little time to monitor the learning of their apprentices. Consequently, as discussed earlier the role of the apprentice as ‘novice’ is only true for the early stages of their apprenticeship. As they progress through their learning with support and guidance it will not be long before they become ‘expert’ in aspects of the expected tasks. Apprentices in the stage two questionnaire were asked whether they were responsible for others and all cited examples of being asked to train and guide new recruits. They responded positively; that being trusted to take responsibility for a more junior apprentice and share knowledge of work practices and acquired skills was again a strong indicator of their value in their workplace.

Training others

Apprentices in this study would often assist younger novices in the cultural norms of the workplace as well as many fundamental cooking skills. For the novice apprentice, being afforded supportive learning by a more senior apprentice has the advantage of passing current, relevant knowledge to assist the novice’s transition into an unfamiliar and sometimes confusing workplace.

When we did eventually get a few more apprentices at R. (Hotel) it was my job to step up and show these guys what to do as there might not have been a chef there to show them or the chef was busy doing other things. I liked it. I got responsibility. I like teaching people. I liked showing the other apprentices what to do and being in charge. (Apprentice TH2)
I’ve trained apprentices when I ran a section; I’ll train whoever is coming up in the ranks. I enjoyed doing it, if they were capable and asked questions; had a bit of common sense. I enjoy teaching people what I’ve learned. I learn a lot from apprentices too. A lot of first years know things that I didn’t know and I know things they didn’t know so it works both ways. (Apprentice TH2d)

So it was, “come on Andy it’s your go, you have to show him what to do. Here’s the prep list, and here’s what you have to do today”. Normally I would try to give first year apprentices as much work as possible but I always made sure that they always did something different each day so they were not repeating the same work over and over again. (Apprentice TH4)

We had a young apprentice coming and it was my job to teach him how to make things like pizzas, do the cold larder and show them how to grill a steak. I felt really good, I felt I was part of something, like part of the whole kitchen, I liked the responsibility; it made me feel good at the end of the day. (Apprentice chef TH2h)

Apprentices who take on the role of training less experienced individuals are by virtue of this relationship learning to communicate effectively. In effect they are learning to be better managers and have a deeper understanding of the task at hand through ‘unpacking’ each step. They may implicitly follow some of the precepts of ‘Coach Job Skills’, as learned by apprentices in Certificate III. However an important aspect of the relationship between the experienced and less experienced can be that of an informal mentor. As discussed earlier the relationship between apprentices and their employer is a key predictor of whether an apprentice will retain their apprenticeship. This is also true of their relationship with their colleagues (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) and established apprentices can help facilitate the novice in their induction into the workplace. Furthermore the Australian Industry Group (AIG) cites mentoring support in the first hundred days of an apprenticeship as critical in embedding a positive attitude in the apprentice and their consequent retention. (Australian Industry Group 2007):

It is important that all new apprentices should receive immediate mentoring support to prepare them for what will be an unfamiliar workplace environment and to provide ongoing support for their professional development. (p. 29)
The report states that a mentor is an integral component of a new apprentice and should take a personal interest in the apprentice’s development, develop a rapport, provide feedback and be a good role model. A mentor should also explain how an apprentice can develop a good relationship with other workers, take time to instruct and allow time for practice. Furthermore provide variety with tasks and give apprentices recognition (Australian Industry Group 2007).

### 4.4 Factors limiting learning support

The key factors found in this study limiting learning support for apprentices were:

- Apprentices only asked to complete menial tasks;
- No time to train;
- Pre-prepared food products and fewer skills in the workplace;
- Relationship between apprentice and their workplace.

#### Menial Tasks

As discussed above, not all learning that takes place in commercial kitchens is positive for apprentices and in accord with best practice. A number of employers see apprenticeships as a form of ‘cheap labour’ and not as an investment in developing skills for mutual benefit (Robinson & Ball 1998b; Stern 1997). However all workplaces have tasks perceived as menial or less rewarding; traditionally these tasks were allotted to employees paid to do them or failing that the youngest in the workplace hierarchy; the new apprentice. This study found that for some employers there is an expectation that apprentices will accept these tasks as their due.

The one I had to do, pretty much all the time was washing up. Although they never told me I was going to be doing that at the beginning, I ended up washing up and cooking. I felt really bad, I felt used. (Apprentice TC2e)

Look, I think the industry … has a lot to answer for. There’s a big shortage of chefs here in Australia, especially in Sydney that I know of and the shortage is due to the fact that they’re not getting trained properly … and if people were to spend that quality time and give them that proper training rather than throwing them in the corner. It’s very
important that you stimulate their minds; it’s very important that you challenge them
every day; it’s very important that you tell them that they can do something …I was
told you’ve just got to believe in yourself. (Apprentice Pi11)

Passionate apprentices, enthusiastic at the commencement of a career in commercial cookery
are more likely to leave because of lack of opportunity for learning and development, than the
physical demands of the job. Feedback comments from a senior manager in VET stated that
apprentices will accept the physical and psychological demands of the job as long as they feel
they are learning and valued by their workplace.

There is agreement on the findings that apprentices expected to only do only menial
work will become demotivated and that a solution needs to be agreed upon within the
first year. Employers who are too slow in affording opportunities for an apprentice to
move into more rewarding work will eventually lose them. They need to be given
responsibility but also the skills and knowledge to be successful in those more
responsible tasks. An example is of a first year apprentice, in a five star establishment
being allowed to make a dessert for a special dinner. The fact that this establishment
had a very high standard to maintain but allowed a relatively inexperienced apprentice
to make a dish that would be going into the restaurant showed both a trust and boldness
from the chef which paid off with a delicious dessert and a motivated apprentice. The
respect afforded apprentices will affect their motivation to learn and progress within the
industry. (Feedback from a VET manager to the Stage Two Industry and VET report)

Apprentices afforded opportunities to build a more structured contextual overview of
required tasks will gain insight into organisational goals as well as their own individual goals
and personal satisfaction. This research found that satisfaction with their employment and
workplace is a key to apprentices’ retention.

**No time to train**

This research found that the training requirements of apprentices are not always compatible
with the immediate needs of employers, some of whom may have little insight or adequate
appreciation of the future direction of the industry. Padma (2012) recently reported in *The
Australian* newspaper on the latest rise in employers unwilling to take on and train an
apprentice. They stated that employers don’t have the resources or the time to train as they did before the global financial crisis and the numbers of apprentices keep dropping amid ongoing economic uncertainty. The report goes on to further state that in the trade and service industries, apprentices are the first to go when times get tough; they’re the most expendable and despite being the lowest paid, they require more time for training than an experienced employee.

Employers today have reduced corps of employees who would have traditionally overseen novices’ learning. This is in part due to skills shortages in the industry and the concurrent difficulty of recruitment and retention of qualified trades-persons.

It is becoming a really big problem; I think it’s terrible for the industry, I really do; it’s destroying the industry. I learnt this from the hotel because the budget got squeezed; tighter and tighter for the kitchen that made solutions to employ kitchen hands and cooks to do the cooking with no training. (Apprentice Chef PN3)

I think that so much knowledge is lost. The less professionalism there is in the industry, the less actually qualified chefs there are, the worse the food becomes and the more used to that food customers become and it all goes downhill. (Apprentice Chef PN3b)

This study found that apprentices learning and absorbing unfamiliar procedures and tasks need time to become familiar and practice to become proficient. The smooth running of any establishment requires apprentices to understand the importance of time and disciplined performance (Pratten 2003a) as well as skills learning. However in some small businesses there is often little opportunity for apprentices to gain the structured learning and practice required.

**Pre-prepared food products and fewer skills**

One outcome for many workplaces with little time and resources is to buy in only pre-cut meat, filleted fish and ready-made cakes and so on, which are also a consequence of reduced staff and skill levels. Skilled tasks that were once learned by apprentices in their workplace are now given over to large production centres which severely diminish their learning. The flow on effect for apprentices expecting a learning environment will be disappointment as expressed by one participant in this research.
(Some) apprentices are probably missing out on a lot of things because they definitely think they know that already. The reason why that’s happening is because a lot of restaurants are keeping staff levels low because restaurant prices haven’t really gone up. Because of that, a lot of the top restaurants around Sydney now are using frozen produce to save money and they have smaller teams. (Ex. Chef PX6)

Employers reducing time and skill levels needed in the workplace through the extensive purchase of ready-made products was also commented on by a VET trainer in this study.

I had an apprentice working at a chain restaurant and they get everything pre-cooked; – even the steaks. So the apprentice just has to heat it up. Their hollandaise sauce comes in a packet. But that chain employs these kids as apprentices or trainees, gets a nice bite from the government but then tries to say that they need that apprentice to stay at work as he doesn’t need to learn what you are teaching him today. (VET trainer PQ17)

This concern for apprentices’ workplace learning and the conflict between the inevitability of industry economic needs versus apprentices’ learning is echoed in the UK.

Interesting to read about the impact of the deskilling process in some kitchens where a manufactured product is bought to speed up processes, or to reduce the need for that particular skill … [It is] interesting also the point about some head chefs only gathering experience of a particular, and narrow, range of skills or commodities. (Feedback from Head of hospitality, UK to the Stage One industry and VET report)

Robinson and Barron (2007) support the findings of this study in that the over use of pre-prepared convenience foods in a kitchen will dilute the skills acquisition of apprentices and negatively affect their learning.

**Relationship between apprentice and workplace**

Another contribution to limited learning support is a poor relationship between the apprentices and their employer. Gow et al (2008) reported that a poor relationship between an employee and their employer or supervisor is one of the best predictors of intention to quit.
This Research Study found that a consequence of a poor relationship between the employer and their apprentices is a perception from the employer that apprentices don’t want to learn.

From a senior perspective all you get is that apprentices are crap these days. None of them care about the job. They all want to be executive chefs in their first two years. They don’t want to learn. They don’t want to grow. (Ex. Chef PV3)

Apprentices in this study also cited incidents where their chef’s concept of training an apprentice is to be loud and aggressive as though this will activate more speed and efficiency. It often had the opposite effect causing the apprentices to lose confidence and become unhappy with their employment.

A chef’s idea of being loud is being aggressive. I think a lot of chefs in the industry have gone that way. It’s all forgotten at the end of the shift but they’ve just screamed at 2–3 people who have just lost all confidence and aren’t happy in the job anymore. (Apprentice chef PV21b)

If you’re an apprentice and you’re a young kid and somebody screams at you on a daily basis, and you’re doing long hours, usually for low pay, what are you going to do? (Apprentice chef PV21c)

Workplace learning of apprentices is often dependent on the ability of their trainer to explain many hidden facets of a task, such as what to do in the event of a breakdown in the task activity. This will depend on the trainer’s ability to communicate effectively with the apprentice using the precepts of training where they first explain, show them, watch them perform the task and provide feedback. As discussed earlier most of an apprentices’ training occurs in the workplace and not at TAFE with professional trainers, cognisant of training precepts. Employers and supervisors are in effect workplace trainers, but how they engage in this task is dependent on their individual ability as cited below by both an apprentice and a chef.

I don’t think a lot of chefs have those communication skills. They can cook their brains away. They are incredibly talented but they can’t communicate with their staff. And I’ve worked with a lot of them. They are the best chefs but they never take no for an answer. (Apprentice chef PK12c)
I think, as we were talking before about communication skills I think everybody should do something in that line, interpersonal skills, they would be treated better. I think it would work for everybody especially the person in charge of the kitchen. They may have great skills in the kitchen during their job of cooking but without the other little things it doesn’t quite fit. (Ex. Chef PK11)

Many kitchens are not always models of social or organisational support (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006) and this study found that there was limited resolve from many employers to actively support apprentices’ learning (National Centre for Education Research 2001). There are indications that managers and supervisors now have insufficient time to train apprentices in the skills and knowledge required. Employers providing opportunities for apprentices to learn new skills and practice those skills in their workplace, taking time to instruct and support them will contribute to their retention. However, many are short of the requisite skills and management ability to facilitate effective learning for the apprentice. A further consequence of this situation is to reduce the skills needed in the kitchen by buying pre-prepared food thus limiting the learning of apprentice training in those establishments. Finally the role of employer as trainer is critical in the learning of apprentices and the effectiveness of individual workplaces to afford a learning environment for apprentices. No matter how little time and resources a workplace has, this research found that if an apprentice has a poor relationship with their employer and workplace, and does not feel they are supported and learning, they will not stay.
Chapter Five – Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

This research investigated the high attrition rates and low retention rates of commercial cookery apprentices in NSW, Australia. The research was located in the fields of apprenticeships, and learning and VET more broadly. Significantly it draws on other bodies of literature to refocus the research on apprenticeships to include a focus on learning at work. Areas of investigation included workplace learning (Billett 1996, 1999, 2002a; Fuller & Unwin 2004; Lave & Wenger 1991), motivation (Deci, Koestner & Ryan 1999, 2001; Porter & Steer 1973; Vroom 1964), linked to enriched learning (Hackman & Oldham 1974) and expansive learning (Billett 2001c; Fuller & Unwin 2003b). Key personnel in VET, both in Australia and in the UK, Executive Chefs as employers and managers of apprentices and graduate apprentices were all interviewed. They responded to semi-directed open questions on their experiences and perspectives of commercial cookery apprentices, their apprenticeships, the hospitality industry and VET. Their taped responses were transcribed and coded in order to form a clearer picture and deeper understanding of apprentice attrition and retention. Following initial interviews and data analysis, early results were documented and presented at VET conferences around Australia. Reports of Stage One and Stage Two findings, as they concluded, were published and disseminated to key personnel in both industry and the VET sector. Copies of the reports were also sent to selected participants in this research and other parties interested in commercial cookery apprentices’ attrition and retention. This afforded the research an important secondary feedback mechanism to test the data analysis and inform the progress of the research to researchers in the field of apprenticeships and VET, the VET sector and the hospitality industry. The results of this study indicate that there are elements of apprentices’ learning and employment that will potentially influence apprentices to serve out their apprenticeship.

This research found that the key factors contributing to attrition and retention are:

- The present profile of commercial cookery apprentices differs from the past with regard to age, educational achievement and experience. The apprentices have often acquired knowledge and some have experience of cooking and commercial kitchen work practices before they commence their apprenticeship, and this had prompted their interest in becoming a chef. They commenced their apprenticeship from a more
informed position than in the past, having certain expectations of their work and learning. Thus, workplaces that provide a supportive learning environment that meets apprentices’ expectations will present a strong motivation for them to serve out their apprenticeship.

- Apprentices given only menial tasks and treated as ‘cheap labour’ will become demotivated and re-assess whether to serve out their apprenticeship. Apprentices want opportunities to learn and practice skills that afford satisfaction. This study found apprentices given challenging tasks that are both rewarding and valued by their workplace will be more attuned to their workplace and more motivated to serve out their apprenticeship.

- This research found it is important, particularly in the early stages of their career, for apprentices to have an informal mentoring relationship to reduce the likelihood of them ‘falling off the edge’. Apprentices who work in an environment that supports and guides their learning will have a better relationship with their workplace and colleagues and more positive feelings towards their apprenticeship. This is particularly important for apprentices in small businesses as there may be little opportunity to discuss concerns about multifarious work practices, personal welfare or gain feedback and advice.

- Apprentices respond positively to being given responsibility and perceive it as a sign of trust from their employer which in turn builds their confidence. This may take the form of being in charge of a section, creating a menu item or training a more junior apprentice. Apprentices in this study found that these workplace activities, working autonomously and passing on knowledge, helped their learning and motivation in their workplace.

- Finally the pay for apprentice chefs is one of the lowest across all industries and their requirement to work in an industry that often operates shifts over seven days a week, sixteen hours a day including public holidays, will discourage all but the most committed. This research found that it takes a particular disposition for an apprentice to survive and succeed in commercial cookery. Young persons who view cooking as light entertainment will find employers’ financial and business priorities supplant their expectation of work life as expressed by television. The industry places an expectation on apprentices to withstand many economic, physical and psychological demands, particularly in the early stages of their apprenticeship. However this
research found that for those passionate and committed apprentices going into the industry with their ‘eyes open’ much can be done to retain them.

5.1 Uniqueness of this research

Studies of apprenticeships have mainly focussed on attrition, examining multifarious concerns expressed by all parties regarding why apprentices leave before completion of their apprenticeship (Callan 2005; Cully & Curtain 2001; Karmel & Misko 2009; Karmel & Virk 2006; Snell & Hart 2007a). The studies have mainly used quantitative statistical analysis or surveys to obtain data (Ball 2004; Misko, Nguyen & Saunders 2007; National Centre for Education Research 2011b). In contrast this research used qualitative methodology to generate rich data on the perceptions of apprentices, employers and educators relating to factors which assist in the retention of apprentices. Furthermore, this research was unique in that unlike other studies which focus from one standpoint (Ball & John 2003; Chappell et al. 2003) it examined apprentices’ attrition from three perspectives; industry, VET and apprentices. This approach was adopted as the fundamental premise of this research was that apprentice attrition was an interlinked, complex issue. Examining the workplace alone or VET would not proffer adequate information. Due to the diverse nature of the hospitality industry it was felt there would be little value in comparative statistical data analysis across industry to investigate apprentices’ work and learning. This research is unique in that it approached all key stakeholders; the industry chefs and managers, training institutions, their teachers and apprentices. Further, unlike the other studies of apprenticeships and attrition (e.g. Gow et al. 2008) this research captured the voices of apprentices who had completed their apprenticeship and explored the experiences of their apprenticeship. Another interesting approach taken in this study was to ask apprentices to elect an individual from their work or training institution they felt had made a positive and supportive contribution to their retention. The interviews with these staff/educators elicited very interesting insights into the factors influencing retention.

Furthermore another unique element of the study was that key personnel in the UK engaged in apprentices and hospitality training, were also questioned in order to gain their perspective of how Australia’s concerns with apprentice chefs paralleled concerns in the UK. The results indicated that there were commonalities across the UK and Australia both from the
interviews of industry leaders and the VET research (Fuller & Unwin 2011) on work and learning.

5.2 Significance and contribution

This research is positioned in the field of VET and workplace learning in relation to apprentices’ experiences in both the workplace and VET. This research shows clearly that apprentice chefs are subject to multifarious experiences originating from the workplace and VET. Consequently it is in part how apprentices view those experiences that will determine whether they stay or quit their apprenticeship. Fuller and Unwin (2011) argue that there is a gap in workplace learning theory exploring ‘the causal relationship between forms of management and employees experiences and outcomes’ (p. 8). It is through investigating the relationship between apprentices’ expectations, work practices and learning that this research will contribute to understanding more about apprentice motivation and their subsequent retention. This research has made significant contributions to the field of apprentice attrition and retention, namely:

- It contributes somewhat to research of the high level of apprentice attrition across a diffuse industry with both large and small businesses;
- It contributes to the literature of apprentice attrition and retention to include a broad range of key individuals giving them an opportunity to air their perspectives;
- It focussed the lens of enquiry on the apprentices themselves to give them a voice in regard to their workplace and learning;
- It shows that apprentice retention does not necessarily involve a financial burden on employers and thus has a greater chance of being taken up by small businesses.

The hospitality industry has often challenged solutions which have focussed on the needs of large organisations which are not necessarily applicable to the small employers. The industry spans a broad band of businesses and enterprises which consist of commercial catering institutions, airlines, hotel chains, resorts and the like. These big businesses all compete for chefs and apprentices alongside suburban, family owned cafes and five star restaurants. Apprentices and chefs are nomadic by nature, in that they will change jobs regularly in order to build skills and experience as well as pursuing opportunities for financial and status
advancements. This study, in contrast with many other studies of this topic, built this diversity into the design of the study.

This study is significant as it investigated where solutions might be found across the whole industry rather than just one particular type of business as chefs often move from one establishment to another. It is also significant in that these research findings are centred on the apprentices and can be applied from the smallest business employing one chef and one apprentice to a multinational hotel chain with scores of employees. Other research studies suggesting financial or industrial relations recommendations across industry may not have the required effect of retaining apprentices in small businesses. This qualitative research offers implications for all types of hospitality businesses including small or family run businesses to make significant changes to their apprentice retention with little financial impact.

This research is also significant in that it approached the question of apprentices’ attrition from a broad perspective as opposed to a focus on the end factor. It stated the importance of the tri-partite relationship between apprentices, industry and VET when investigating solutions to the high level attrition of apprentice chefs. Furthermore it broadcast the thoughts of apprentices as to where they perceive solutions might be found and examined in detail their feelings and attitudes towards their work and learning. It also broadcast in a qualitative way the views of industry leaders, VET practitioners and managers and employers.

Furthermore this study foregrounded the contribution of learning to the retention of commercial cookery apprentices. It focussed on the importance of learning at work by using workplace learning literature and uncovered that the ‘stayers’ worked in learning conducive environments. This was found to encourage them to learn and they supported it through passing on their learning and retaining their original passion for the industry. This study’s approach to highlighting the learning and enriched work practices (outlined below) is also supported by Talent Management research (Cappelli 2008; Lewis & Heckman 2006).

Today, of course, employees can pick up and leave if they don’t get the jobs they want inside and the most talented among them have the freedom to do so. (Cappelli 2008; p. 7)

The literature confirms that organisations benefit greatly from continual nurturing and growth of capable employees as opposed to the loss of their skills to the industry through attrition.
Businesses across all industries are finding it increasingly difficult to attract, develop, and retain skilled workers. Talent management theory reinforces the benefits of organisational focus on training capable people and developing them into dynamic, motivated contributors to the company’s process.

Finally this study makes a significant contribution to the research of apprentices by linking enriched work practices with retention. Focussing the research on apprentices’ activities and their motivation towards their work affords opportunities for employers and the main actors in VET to view the problem of apprentices’ attrition across all industry. The uniqueness of working as a chef, requiring them to operate long hours, in stressful environments while at the same time being creative and solving problems is a challenge for most individuals. This research focussed on how the motivation of apprentices to sustain their employment in such an environment is generated and maintained in order to seek answers as to what contributes to their retention.

As an educational doctorate by portfolio the study has also made a significant contribution to the practical field of the education of commercial cookery apprentices. This has been achieved through the distribution of results at each stage and using a feedback process to influence the next stage. Key stakeholders in the field have both influenced the direction of the study and benefited directly from it by being able to adopt its findings in workplaces and TAFE colleges.

### 5.3 Recommendations for further research

Although this study has highlighted new approaches to the study of commercial cookery apprentices and provides new insights into factors influencing their retention, it also opens other areas and approaches for further study. For example, having the opportunity to track a group of apprentices from their recruitment to graduation would provide rich data on the factors contributing to their retention or attrition. A longitudinal study that investigates at what point an apprentice decides to quit and whether a combination of events or one trigger caused them to leave, would further the key outcomes of this study. It could contribute to our understanding of indicators in their work and learning that need to be addressed and what is ‘best practice’ for their retention. Further research could also include an exploration of the relationship between TAFE and other RTO’s and employers, particularly those in small
businesses, with their best practice having been under scrutiny in this research. TAFE is still seen as a valid educational enterprise in so much as it provides an opportunity for apprentices from diverse workplaces to share experiences as well as gain an education.

The traditional model of TAFE training is still valid as TAFE offers camaraderie and the opportunity to benchmark when apprentices are together in a TAFE kitchen to compare different workplaces etc. … there needs to be consumer awareness through education as to the value of apprenticeships and the amount and value of the work. (Feedback from the CEO of a GTO, Sydney)

However as VET shifts further away from the classroom and into workplace assessment, it is now even more imperative for TAFE and other RTO’s to build a better relationship with employers taking on apprentices. This is particularly important for the hospitality industry, made up of mainly small businesses where apprentices’ learning and welfare can sometimes become subsidiary to the business needs of the employer. Developing a dialogue between employers, apprentices and TAFE may further assist solutions for apprentices’ retention. TAFE is already beginning to address this issue as noted in feedback from a manager in a VET institute:

TAFE now has a close association with employers to expose them to the broader range of courses now available. This is in response to industry requests over the years to offer courses that fit in more with industry needs rather than as happened in the past where TAFE would determine much of the structure and delivery of those courses. This is about entering into a dialogue between industry and TAFE for the benefit of the apprentice and the employer which both supports the apprentice’s learning and is also flexible enough for the employer to maintain their business and retain the apprentice’s employment. TAFE meets with employers to help them understand the new forms of delivery and teachers are going into the workplace to promote changes within TAFE. (VET manager feedback to the Stage Two industry and VET report)

Further research could investigate how the tripartite relationship of industry, VET and apprentice can achieve mutually satisfactory goals of best practice and subsequent retention of apprentices.
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The Research Study
Abstract

This two stage research study investigates solutions to apprentices’ high level attrition where findings of the first stage informing the question items and progression of the second. Stage one of this research revealed negative aspects of commercial cookery, such as low pay and unsociable hours may influence many apprentices to reassess their career choice. However, it also finds that others are more likely to leave as a result of poor treatment and the lack of opportunity for learning and development than the physical and pecuniary burdens of the job. Thus the second stage investigates common factors in workplace learning for successfully completed apprentices. It examines the activities of key individuals – senior or supervisory staff in the workplace and vocational teachers – and the effects of their activities upon apprentice retention. The research explores and analyses aspects of an apprenticeship to determine how positive workplace activities and the learning experiences of apprentices affected their satisfaction and motivation to stay.

This study proposes that apprentice chefs commence their career with degrees of expectations of those workplace activities and the relationships within them (Horng & Lee 2006; Jenkins 2004). These expectations may come from an idealised notion of what it means to be a chef however the consequence will impact their cognition and motivation. This study then seeks to identify the significance of early expectations, enriched activities and support in influencing apprentice retention. Literature on workplace learning, motivation and job-satisfaction theory (Billett 2001c; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976; Porter & Lawler 1968; Vroom 1964) informed the methodology of the second stage of the research. The sociological implications for workplace reform may well include industry changes for the next generation of apprentices about to enter the workforce. The implication for vocational education is the challenge of acknowledging changes in the dynamic inter-relationship of an apprentice and their workplace and how it can make an effective contribution to the tripartite learning relationship.
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Chapter One – Research Context and Orientation

1.1 Introduction

This research encapsulates a two-stage process of an investigation where the outcomes of stage one inform the generation of the problem and research design for stage two. Stage one of the research reports on various experiences and perceptions of a broad spectrum of stakeholders involved in the design and implementation of hospitality commercial cookery training. It also sets out to build a better understanding of the lives and training of young people and the relationship of these individuals to both industry and Vocational Education and Training (VET). Stage two advanced from the analysis and distillation of findings from stage one to progresses the study through interviews with successfully qualified apprentices and their nominated mentors to capture the voices and perceptions at the core of this problem. To sum up this research explores possible factors determining why successful apprentices complete their apprenticeship so as to examine whether facets of their apprenticeship, identified as positively impacting their retention are transferable.

The question underpinning this research is:

How does the learning environment of commercial cookery apprentices significantly impact their decision to retain or quit their apprenticeship?

1.2 Rationale and design of the study

This research study is designed to afford industry and VET information on the research findings at the conclusion of each stage through industry and VET reports. Information is disseminated in an appropriate form to audiences other than academics in a timely manner to generate feedback and comment from key industry and VET stakeholders. Conference papers presented throughout the period of this research impart finding to academics and VET researchers in order to encourage comment and enrich the research. As a professional doctorate it will engage not only with academe but also industry bodies and VET practitioners.
The progression of the research study is illustrated below:

- Chapter One: Research Context and Orientation
- Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework and Related Literature for Stage One
- Chapter Three: Stage One Methodology
- Chapter Four: Stage One Findings
- Chapter Five: Summary of Stage One Findings
- Chapter Six: Conceptual Framework and Related Literature for Stage Two
- Chapter Seven: Stage Two Methodology
- Chapter Eight: Stage Two Findings
- Chapter Nine: Conclusion

1.3 Introduction to stage one

The intention of stage one is to develop an understanding of the organisation and culture of the hospitality industry and the delivery of workplace training for trainees and apprentices. It also seeks to describe current practices and experiences of VET from the perspective of the practitioners and their impact on hospitality industry stakeholders. Understanding the milieu in which apprentices work and learn will provide greater insight into how learning is afforded. It will also offer a more coherent understanding of the work and training background in which apprentices function and the key stakeholders in their tri-partite relationship with work and VET.

Question items were developed from pilot studies and conversations with both industry and VET personnel regarding the particularly high attrition rate of commercial cookery apprentices. A series of in-depth interviews then took place with 13 stakeholders from leading restaurants and hotels together with senior personnel in VET and recently graduated trainees and apprentices resident in Sydney and London. The interviews comprised a series of semi-directed questions regarding the current state of the hospitality industry and training programs for its trainees and apprentices. They explored the participants’ thoughts and experiences from their various domains of operation with respect to the socio/cultural context in which the new apprentice transacts their learning.
1.4 Research objectives for stage one

Stage one of this research seeks to explore the composition and effectiveness of both workplace and VET learning of the hospitality trainee aligned with the ability of industry and training organisations to support the development of a productive, skilled and creative employment future for the trainee/apprentice. It also seeks to identify factors in workplace learning and VET of current commercial cookery trainee/apprentices that may impact their decision to remain or withdraw from their apprenticeship. The rationale to identify both ‘off site’ and situated learning structures and strategies is that those structures and strategies, adopted by industry and VET have the greatest impact upon the learning of the new trainee or apprentice. The research objectives are as follows:

1. To identify areas of participation and dissension between industry and VET, in order to present solutions for a positive learning environment for the trainee.
2. To identify a sociocultural profile of the new trainee/apprentice and their learning to assist industry and VET in developing strategies to support their apprenticeship and employment retention.
3. To identify principles of workplace learning that may underpin successful strategies when developing workplace training and its coterminous relationship with VET and trainee/apprentices.

1.5 Research questions for stage one

The questions underpinning this stage of the research include:

1. How does the current training of apprentice chefs impact their high rate of turnover in the hospitality industry?
2. How do we positively identify the critical factors impinging upon this outcome?
3. How do these factors affect apprentices’ learning?
4. What general principles and conclusions can be drawn from this research for the benefit of wider key audiences, such as non-hospitality based industries that employ apprentices and trainees?
1.6 Introduction to stage two

Stage two continues to investigate individual experiences and perceptions of the various different stakeholders within VET and industry in order to identify shared beliefs and divergences of perspective. From analysis of stage one findings six key points emerged which were translated into questions to progress the study in order to investigate where solutions might be found to apprentices’ attrition. A further review of salient literature was embarked upon and new qualitative question items generated for additional participants.

The participants for stage two included:

- Ten commercial cookery apprentice graduates
- Six employer/supervisors of apprentices
- Three commercial cookery TAFE teachers.

This research study now proposes that attitude and satisfaction will affect learning outcomes, so it is argued that for sociotechnical systems to work effectively they must be substantially congruent with one another. The development of work systems and the systematic progression of job improvements link the worker with the task. Learning experiences of apprentices and their attitudes towards the requirements of particular work situations appear to be related to their access to workplace experiences and the quality of their participatory practices (Billett 1999, 2005). Therefore it is important to identify specific aspects of the work environment that cause dissatisfaction if job improvements are to lead to improved satisfaction and desired levels of retention.

Central to understanding learning in the workplace are the tasks or activities in which individuals engage at work. These activities are variously familiar (routine) or novel (non-routine) where, according to Lee-Ross (1999), both kinds of activities require individuals to engage in thinking and behaviour processes, from which they can consolidate and organise their knowledge. Although Government and industry reports¹ acknowledge aspects of a commercial cookery apprenticeship of concern to VET and chefs for some time, such as

¹ There is an abundance of qualitative and quantitative research data on early attrition available, employed to inform the analysis of this research (Ball 2004; Ball & John 2003; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2000b; Snell & Hart 2008).
unsociable hours and low pay, this research focusses upon workplace actions and influences that result in positive outcomes for the apprentice; in short, ‘what works’.

1.7 Research objectives for stage two

There has been considerable research into organisational behaviour, such as relationships between the properties of an organisation’s structure and the psychological, attitudinal, and behavioural responses of individual employees (Billett 2001c; DEEWR 2008; Middleton 2000; Pinder 2008). However, organisational psychology theories, such as that of Herzberg (1966, 1968), address the interdependence between work and the organisation but fail to identify the specific circumstances under which employees respond positively. It is in part, the organisational structure and the expected activities and responsibilities that affect the characteristics of an employee’s tasks; these characteristics, in turn, affect their motivation.

A new employee entering an organisation must learn the cultural values of that workplace to attract the employer’s approval and the acceptance of the team. Furthermore, organisations that attract employees with particular attributes also develop particular practices and ‘cultural values’ that define that workplace (Stromback & Mahendran 2010, p. 65). But a new apprentice may also bring their own values and expectations of their apprenticeship and employment to that organisation. What is not always acknowledged is the significant shift in apprentices’ expectations through a plethora of ‘job-specific knowledge’ (Hargittai & Hinnant 2008, p. 605) now available in the media which they also bring to their workplace.

The research objectives are as follows:

1. To identify how expectations of work practices and developing an understanding of inherent motivational forces assist in shaping the quality of apprentice learning.

2. To identify how apprentices’ enriched work practices and subsequent learning contribute to their retention rates.

3. To identify how workplace learning support influences apprentices’ learning and subsequent motivation to stay out their apprenticeship.
1.8 Research questions for stage two

The questions underpinning this stage of the research include:

1. What expectations do apprentices bring to their workplace that contributes to their retention?
2. How do work practices contribute to their retention of apprentices?
3. What learning support assists apprentices in their retention?

1.9 Background to the research study

The history of apprenticeships in western economies has served as a barometer of the vicissitudes of national economies with their concomitant fluctuations in the demand for skilled labour (Cameron 2001; Hall & Sharples 2003; Scarpato 2002). There has been an overall decline in employer interest in providing on-the-job training, which contributed to a significant drop in apprenticeship numbers throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Pratten 2003a, pp. 40–41). The Kirby Report (1985) proposed that a system of traineeships should be developed to address the needs of young people entering the workforce prior to completing Year 12, particularly in areas of low skill, such as retail and hospitality. It recommended entry-level training from certificate I/II to include certificate III/IV to address high levels of youth unemployment (Snell & Hart 2007a). While there was an unprecedented rise of traineeships from 8,000 in 1994 to 126,000 in 1999 (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2000a), traditional apprenticeship numbers rose by a mere 7,000 and it would not be until 2004 that numbers attained the levels of the early 1990s (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2005).

Between 1991 and 2000, the apprentice training rate declined by 16 % in comparison to the period 1980–90 (Toner 2005). This decline equated to the loss of one year’s apprentice intake every six years. Statistics released by the National Centre for Education Research (2005) addressing apprenticeships confirm that apprentice and trainee numbers generally have continued to decline. The report states that, as of the 31 December 2004, in-training numbers were estimated to be down by 4 %. Australia faced a shortage of more than 200,000 skilled workers over the next five years to 2010 and a deficit of 240,000 workers by 2016 (Rudd et al. 2007, p. 4). Gow et al (2008) furthermore found that, Australia wide, apprentices are now abandoning apprenticeships at an unprecedented rate:
The literature has suggested that the reduced training rate [of apprentices] was a result of a number of factors: demographic changes to the proportion of young people in the workforce; rising school retention rate; increases in the tertiary education admissions; low income for apprentices; and the privatisation and corporatisation of utilities affecting funding for apprentice training. (Gow et al. 2008, p. 100)

Since 1992, a more open and equitable intake has dramatically changed the profile of the student body in traineeships and apprenticeships. They are now more accessible to people of all ages in Australia, and are no longer restricted to school leavers (Karmel 2006). These changes in the profile of the ‘new’ VET student can be traced to the delivery of the National Training Reform Agenda (Curtain 1994). Also the 1992 ‘New Apprenticeship and Training Schemes in TAFE’ had an important impact on training (Ray 2001). Changes in the types of students now enrolling in traineeships reflect changes in vocational education. School students can now begin a school-based apprenticeship in commercial cookery or at a Technical College that goes some way to meeting industry requirements to become a chef (‘Australian Government support’ 2007). The Howard Government committed $10.8 billion over four financial years to vocational and technical education (2006–2007 to 2009–2010), including $2.5 billion in 2007 (‘Australian Government support’ 2007). There has been a need however, for vocational education to adjust to globalisation and the free market where changes in the nature of work and technology are now requiring more specialised skills. Furthermore the dynamics of the workplace have dramatically changed as a higher proportion the working population near/reach retirement age than ever before and the influx of new generations of employees entering as apprentices.

In 2002, the National Skills Initiative commissioned a report (Department of Education, Science and Training 2002), to enquire into skill shortages. Six industry areas were selected, one of which was commercial cookery. The report found incongruity between VET and industry when identifying impacts on the current skills shortages (Worland 2003). The report stated, however, that training is not only of enormous benefit in enhancing the skills base of the workforce, but that it is also a key to retaining workers. Current research on worker retention indicates that a positive learning climate in the workplace is the strongest factor, more than any other, in reducing the level of employee turnover and increasing the utilisation of employee skills (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). That does not simply mean that training alone will affect retention, but rather, it emphasises the extent to which an
organisation affords employees opportunities to engage, learn and develop through their work.

1.10 Lost skills

In 2000, National Centre for Vocational Research (2000a) produced a report, ‘Australian apprenticeships: Facts, fiction and future’ that found apprenticeships had expanded beyond the traditional trades and now reflect the societal structure of the Australian labour market – but there is still a requirement to align skills needs in industry as delivered by VET (National Centre for Vocational Research 2000a). Of particular concern, however, are the various discordant groups laying claim to solutions to the skills loss through attrition. In 2004, the Australian Industry Group released an electronic report (‘Skill shortage solution challenged’ 2004) suggesting solutions to the skills shortages, including a reformed VET system delivering skills required by industry. The reported stated that:

79 per cent of employers of all sizes are concerned about their ability to recruit employees with appropriate skills. For large employers, this figure rose to 82.5 per cent.

Improving employee skills is vital if Australia is to meet the challenge of the ageing workforce.

The availability of suitably qualified employees has become the number one constraint on future investment decisions for the first time in 14 years.

Providing direct encouragement and incentives to employers to address skill shortages, sets a challenge for business to increase commitment to training and for State and Federal governments to accelerate reform to vocational education and training.

Skill shortages together with new patterns of employment, new kinds of work and work organisation and new ideas concerning skills, knowledge and learning in industry, dramatically increase the need for further reforms to the VET system.

A reformed VET system, delivering the skills required by industry in a flexible responsive manner, will play a significant part in addressing skill shortages. Reforms will increase the skills of individuals and the productivity of industry. (‘Skill shortage solution challenged’ 2004)
The challenge for this research however, is the identification of long-term retention needs for apprentices as opposed to mere short term gains for employers.

Some skill shortages can, and do, exist at most stages of the business cycle in skilled occupations, but what varies is their extent at different stages. Skill shortages are often evident in industries and occupations with modest or subdued employment growth, or even in situations of overall employment decline; Australia, however, may be entering a changing cycle of supply and demand. As consumption of particular products and services transforms or declines so does demand. Furthermore, Australia is, in the broad, experiencing a significant period of social and industrial change. Richardson (2007b) questioned whether there really is a skills shortage. She reports that there are sufficient trained individuals with skills, but they are choosing to opt out of demanding industries or trades such as cooking. Statistical evidence reveals that hospitality training has a full quota of trained chefs, although that hasn’t translated into long-term retention in the industry. Current research has also found that the quality of training is a significant indicator of whether an apprentice or trainee decides to withdraw from training (Snell & Hart 2007; Snell & Hart 2008). There is concern that problems exist with the quality of training and that improvements need to be made if attrition rates are to be reduced (Richardson 2007a). Snell and Hart (2007), writing on the quality of VET and a possible link with attrition, quoted a Commonwealth Government representative on the current standing of hospitality training organisations in Australia:

I am hearing from the training organisations that there is a heck of a lot of hospitality stuff being offered, particularly at certificate 2 level – every second kid leaving school has a certificate 2 in hospitality – but it is not making them employable … they are not necessarily being told upfront that this won’t get you in the door of a willing employer. (Snell & Hart 2007, p. 505)

Aspects of change within VET where training is delivered fully on the job has brought to light concerns regarding the narrowing of skills, most particularly a loss of general, transferable skills that would offer the trainee or apprentice opportunities within the industry for advancement. Moreover, problems concerning complete on-the-job training and the lack of transferable skills are also highlighted by other observers (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005; Cooney 2003; Schofield 1999b; Schofield 2000; TAFE 2000), who conclude that trainees only learn things specific to that particular workplace and lack the ‘underpinning knowledge’ to apply skills in a different environment.
1.11 Early attrition and its impact

Government and industry reports state that around about 50% of tradespeople are no longer working in their trades and that, of these, about half never use their trade skills. The remainder is split evenly, where skills are used either weekly or occasionally (DEEWR 2008). The most recent set of figures, published by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research (2011, p. 9), reveal completion rates for food-trades workers are the lowest of all trades investigated, at only 29%. The rate of attrition is 45.1% within the first year, rising to 60.9% within the second year. Skills shortages for commercial cookery have been on the Australian national agenda for at least the past decade (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001; Stromback & Mahendran 2010), with higher than average skill shortages, labour turnover and hard-to-fill vacancies at every level (Cheng & Brown 1998; HtF 1999).

Many rationally provided reasons given by apprentices and employers for early exit from apprenticeships relate to factors generally difficult to predict, such as a profit downturn in a business, closure of the employer’s business, or acceptance of a ‘better’ job offer. Such factors may be difficult to prevent. Statistical evidence regarding occupational turnover and attrition in commercial cookery as well as apprentice incompleteness seems to suggest a lack of commitment from both employers and apprentices, where commitment and occupational satisfaction are shown to be positively correlated (Harris & Simon 2005). Certain factors can be identified and thus addressed, however. They include conflict with the employer, perceived poor wage levels, disinterest in the apprenticeship and career path, a lack of work effort or interest by the apprentice and abuse in the workplace (DEEWR 2008). Job stress and its relationship to psychological well-being and turnover among bosses/supervisors and co-workers were all found to be significant predictors of intention to quit (Begley 1998; Harris, James & Boonthanom 2005; Kirschenbaum & Mano-Negrin 1999; Morrison 1997; Gow et al. 2008). However, a strong commitment by an apprentice embarking on a career in cooking has been found to be a significant predictor of retention (DEEWR 2008).

Employers are finding it hard to fill positions with skilled workers as greater numbers choose to leave as a result of vocational burnout, family or social pressures (Price & Mueller 1986; Zohar 1994). These shortages are aggravated by high turnover (intra-occupational) and attrition (inter-occupational) rates (DEEWR 2008; Fuller et al. 2003; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2011). There is the added pressure on the hospitality industry
to find and retain staff due to increases in a variety of hospitality venues, all requiring staff to prepare and cook food. These increases are in part due to changes in the economy, with a decrease in manufacturing and an increase in service industries (such as hospitality), and the growth in Australians choosing to ‘eat out’. Food and wine in Australia are a large component of both international and intra-national tourism, as there is increasingly a rise in general interest in eating out and gastronomy (Australian Industry Group 2007). The skill, dexterity and creativity involved in producing meals using food produced in Australia by Australians is culturally important and inextricably linked to national and economic identity (Harris & Simon 2005). Primary industries, represented by wine producers, cheese manufactures and salmon farmers, for example, benefit by having their produce showcased to the world of international tourism. It not too much of a leap to state that gastronomy and commercial food production are not only important as draw cards in the global tourism market but they are also important expressions of a nation’s identity.

According to Snell and Hart (2008), the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry Survey found that many small, medium and large employers were concerned about their ability to recruit employees with appropriate skills (Human Resources 2004). With an economic growth rate of 3–4%, Australia faces a shortage of more than 200,000 skilled workers over the next five years and a deficit of 240,000 workers by 2016 (Rudd et al. 2007). Moreover, small and large businesses have now drastically cut back on staff levels in response to increased costs and competition in order to remain viable (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008; Casey 2003), placing time and operational pressures on existing employees in many commercial kitchens to outsource some food production. The impact on apprentices’ learning in many of these establishments is that of their commodification as a cheap source of unskilled labour. Fewer school leavers are willing to embark upon training or to remain as an apprentice chef in situations where they are treated inequitably and provided little opportunity for learning and career progression. Fewer staff has meant that supervisors and managers have less time to spend on workplace training of the highly motivated apprentice chefs who are willing to tolerate the arduous demands of the workplace. There are also fewer opportunities for expert guidance from other qualified members of staff in the workplace due to their own increased workloads.

A report on the state of the industry in 2001 (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001), challenged both VET and employers to examine practices in the training of
The report highlighted an apprentice attrition rate of 57% within the first year of training, and an industry where 40% of chefs leave the job within five years after qualification. In addition, there is evidence in this report that a divergence has developed between the training needs of the hospitality industry and the training delivered by VET, requiring further investigation:

Training has an enormous contribution to make. But the value of training is not always or easily perceived. It is often difficult to discern what the real training requirement is. In many cases, it is the employers as well as the employees who require training. (National Council of Vocational Education and Training, p. 13)

Some training authorities see employers as a key issue in apprentice retention, and some employers see the quality of training as a key issue. From an industry point of view, it is of great importance that the bar for assessing competence should be set at a proper height. (National Council of Vocational Education and Training, p. 30)

40% of apprentices are aware of others having difficulty getting time off for training. (National Council of Vocational Education and Training, p. 30)

The quality of training and the relevance of training are both important issues. Insufficient attention is often given to minimising the gap between the outcome required by the students and the input provided by the teachers. (National Council of Vocational Education and Training, p. 37)

Businesses, which are purchasing educational services to improve productivity, profitability, job satisfaction, etc., need to learn how to ensure that they get value for money. Unless they provide the brief and monitor the service, they are in effect, abdicating responsibility and giving the education provider “carte blanche” to decide and influence what the outcomes will be. Employers do this at their peril. (National Council of Vocational Education and Training, p. 37)

1.12 The hospitality industry

The hospitality industry is a leading employer in Australia and in international tourism (Commonwealth of Australia 2011a) and compared with many other modern industries, remains more reliant on the use of human capital than automated production processes and
technologies (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001; Australian Industry Group 2007). Statistically, it employs workers from the broadest range of educational, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Tourism is a large, global industry that has enjoyed strong growth. There were almost 715 million international tourist arrivals worldwide in 2002. This is 22 million more than in 2001 and 690 million more than in 1950. The World Tourism Organization predicts that the number of international arrivals worldwide will increase to nearly 1.6 billion by 2020. With only around 3.5% of the world’s population presently taking an international holiday or a trip per annum, there is good growth potential, especially from the expanding middle classes of Asia. As is the case in most service-dependent western economies, the tourism industry contributes greatly to the economy, as manufacturing has been transferred offshore due to lower labour costs. Statistics show that the tourism and hospitality industry with food and beverage service, together with Australian primary producers of food and wine, affect our daily lives in significant fashion. For example:

- In 2005–06, tourism employed 464,500 compared to less than 100,000 in the mining sector
- The industry is highly labour dependent; hospitality-related businesses take 24 workers to produce $1,000,000 annual revenue as opposed to the mining sector, where it take just two workers to generate the same revenue
- It employs a high percentage of young people 15–19 years of age, twice that of the average for all other industries
- Persons 20–24 are also over represented (at 13.4% compared with 10.1% for all industries)
- Only 29.3% of the workers in the industry are over 45
- In 2001–2002, only one third of small businesses (employing 20 persons or fewer) provided structured training for their employees compared to 70% of larger businesses
- More than 88% of businesses in the café, restaurant and accommodation sector have fewer than 20 employees (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2008; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001; Australian Industry Group 2007).
Characteristics of the hospitality industry create difficulties for industry-wide strategies in that it comprises of a broad spectrum of businesses. Those businesses could be small cafés employing a single chef and a single apprentice to large international hotels and tourist resorts employing scores of chefs and apprentices at different stages in their careers, as examples. Bonsall (2007) suggests that apprentice chefs working in such a diverse range of situations – restaurants, clubs, pubs, hotels, airlines, etc. – would not necessarily have a commonality of work experiences within the ‘hospitality industry’. The initial research study (2007) revealed an industry of largely loose associations, without a unifying professional body, polarised by a broad spectrum of diverse workplace cultures. Hawke (2008) makes the point that there is no real commonality in Australian workplace relations as not all employers or businesses are the same. The complexity of this industry is further exacerbated by a multiplicity of establishments managed by employers who may not have had the benefit of formal training. There is, furthermore, no formal licensing of chefs (as with plumbing or electrical trades) that imposes minimum standards of practice and qualification of its members.

1.13 Some industry statistics (ABS 2008)

- A large percentage of the hospitality industry’s food and beverage outlets are small businesses that employ fewer than 20 employees at any one time, and many of the employees are casual.
- At the close the 2007 financial year, there were 50,268 people employed by catering businesses.
- Catering businesses were characterised by a large casual work force, accounting for more than half (58.5% or 29,383 people) of all employment.
- Permanent full-time employees accounted for over a quarter (28.1% or 14,128 people) of all employment, while permanent part-time employees accounted for 10.1% (5,078 people).

Commercial cookery is a significant employer within the industry (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001), given that it provides one of the broadest employment opportunities both in regional and metropolitan Australia. Its employment base has a wide cultural, educational, language and gender employee mix. In Australia, service industries are currently very important economically as well as contributing to economic
transition as the country follows many other western economies from manufacturing to a more service-led economy. Service industries, like hospitality, however, have retained a certain stigma as recruiters of low-skilled, non-English speaking, casual and student staff.

The problem of providing and retaining trained staff for the food industry is, however, ongoing (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001), and current research has found that it has not kept up with demand. The Hospitality Training Network (HTN) recently reported a national shortage of chefs in Australia, estimated to be around 54,000; their member organisations have vacancies for 100–150 apprentice chefs consistently all year round (Bennett 2012). Burrow, writing about ‘the looming skills shortage,’ referred to a research paper on skills shortages (Toner 2003) that presented statistics showing a shortfall of 130,000 skilled workers by 2009 (ACTU 2004). Burrow claimed that in over a decade there could be a $9 billion loss to the economy as a result of denying young people the opportunity to take up a substantive earning capacity through secure employment (ACTU 2004). Garnaut (2004) reported in the Sydney Morning Herald the previous Commonwealth government’s stated solution to this critical situation, prior to their loss in the polls, was to promise $725 million in TAFE and employer subsidies (Garnaut, J. 21 September 2004).

The on-going employee shortages in the hospitality industry (ACTU 2004) imply that employers and managers now have less time to spend training apprentices through increased workloads. There are also indications that managers and supervisors not only have insufficient time to train an apprentice in the skills and knowledge required but many lack the requisite management skills and ability to facilitate effective learning for the apprentice. Past research has also revealed limited resolve from many hospitality industry employers to actively support the apprentice’s learning (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001). There are a significant proportion of employers in the hospitality industry that have a poor reputation for not allowing apprentices’ time off for training. It was reported that 40% of the participants knew of others having difficulties with accessing VET and workplace relations (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001, p. 30). Moreover the industry in general now consists primarily of small businesses employing a large percentage of casual staff with few requisite qualifications (Casey 2003). Snell and Hart (2008) found, when interviewing non-completing apprentices, that experiencing problems with training was the second most cited reason for why they decided to drop out. Feelings of being left on their own and uncertain as to where they might seek advice and assistance were
a serious matter for many interviewees. A 19 year old female apprentice chef who did not complete her training, when asked about her work experience, said:

… we were just left there, when my understanding was that I would have thought that since I wasn’t qualified … I should have a qualified person with me – that never happened … I trained people, you know, in my first, second year. (Snell & Hart 2008, p. 58)

Paradoxically, this is an industry that constantly expects skills and inventive solutions from its employees and needs to regularly adapt to changes in styles and variety to maintain a competitive edge in a highly competitive market. Many commercial kitchens, however, offer little acknowledgement of the innovative skills and hard work of their employees. This is particularly true for apprentices, perceived as having little contribution to the kitchen production and often treated as ancillary or, worse, just a form of ‘cheap labour’ (Snell & Hart 2008, p. 47). The long-term training and education needs of apprentices are not always compatible with the immediate needs of the employer, who may have little insight or adequate appreciation of the future direction of the industry. New developments in food manufacturing and customers’ increasing awareness of global culinary trends, as well as the complexity of running a food business, may inflict a heavy burden on the small restaurant owner. Consequently, the prioritisation of the learning of their apprentices is often far lower than the financial imperatives of maintaining the survival of the business in a highly competitive market with low profit margins.

1.14 Training a Chef

Commercial cookery is one of the most transient and least stable of industries, as chefs constantly move from one establishment to another, and businesses open and close on an almost daily basis (Duncan, Scott & Baum 2010; Swallow 2012). A chef will often move on after a period of employment to find other establishments in order to learn new techniques or work with a reputed chef as a means of upgrading their skills and knowledge (Gergaud, Smeets & Warzynski 2011). Tourism and hospitality is a global industry that affords opportunities for chefs to take up positions in most countries in the world2 in order to build their resume and experience (Birrell et al. 2004; Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin 1998).

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2 It was commonplace in Australia that an Executive Chef would have had overseas experience (TAFE teacher)
Many qualified chefs have also chosen to leave the commercial kitchen altogether and move laterally within the industry to take up careers in food and equipment sales, management or teaching (Robinson & Barron 2007). The dictates of a busy and stressful workplace can eventually take its toll on an individual (Rowley & Purcell 2001). The sheer physicality of the job, which may require standing for up to ten hours a day and working in a hot kitchen, can exact a high price on a fit young body, let alone one reaching middle age (Cornford & Gunn 1998). Career shift is a common factor in many physically and mentally demanding trades, sports and professions, such as nursing, due to a person’s incapacity to continue (Kang, Twigg & Hertzman 2010; Stromback & Mahendran 2010). However the most recent research on skills shortages has shown that there is not so much a shortage of skilled workers as a failure of qualified individuals willing to stay in their profession and practise their skills (Richardson 2007).

Individual skills in a kitchen are extremely important as the nature of cooking for large numbers means that each must play their part. A customer’s dining experience is the sum of the work practices and abilities of all members of a team. Head chefs in large organisations are highly dependent on the collaborative skills and abilities of their teams in the production of dishes. The fact that many restaurants are also open all day, often six days a week, means that there will be times when they are not able to be there to supervise. On those occasions, they would be reliant on their team to prepare and cook the dishes to the requisite standard and quality without their supervision. Poorly communicated instructions or a team without the requisite skills can easily damage the reputation of a business, resulting in loss of customers. Consequently all members of the team have a vested interest in their establishment functioning optimally and communicating effectively in order to produce dishes that will gain the approval of their customers and the critics.

Moreover, restaurants and food businesses are now subject to the vagaries of style and fashion in food and dining due, in part to the influence of the media and increased trips by Australians overseas. Further to that customers now have a greater awareness of a diversity of dining and eating choices and higher expectations of the quality and enjoyment of their meal. So a chef will not only have to make sure that the style and content of the food produced meets the expectations of a more knowledgeable dining public but also do it within budget. The process of financial management, producing cost-effective dishes of an exceptional standard in an agreeable work environment is not a simple task. Costs are never far from a
head chef’s mind as food is an essential, but expensive and perishable, commodity. Should a dish fail to please a customer and is sent back, or is spoiled in its production, then that loss is debited to the general operation of that kitchen. Wages for skilled staff are an expense to be borne but paradoxically the cost of a first-year apprentice chef is one of the lowest of all trades. Consequently the function of an apprentice chef is now a far more integral component than in the past as they are expected to make a greater contribution in the preparation and cooking of meals (Reyes-Perez de Arce & Dissing Halskov 2011, p. 43).

Common to all commercial kitchens, whether large or small, is the preparation and cooking of food. This process must follow certain guidelines to comply with food safety standards and be in accord with food types and customer requirements. (Certain vegetables, for example, can be prepared and cooked well in advance but other fresh foods, such as fish and chicken, need shorter cooking times prior to being served.) Kitchen tasks fall within the responsibility of one individual or section or are explicitly directed by a supervisor in response to the daily demands of the service. The sequence of these tasks is:

- Ordering of food supplies
- Receiving and checking food supplies
- Sorting and storing dry, fresh and frozen foods
- Preparing foods for cooking or service
- Cooking
- Clear up and cleaning

Who decides when these tasks are delegated and executed depends on the organisational structure of the individual establishment. Tasks and responsibilities required of a commercial kitchen apprentice may range from basic cleaning, sorting and arranging refrigerated stock to being responsible for a section of the kitchen during service.

An apprentice being given tasks beyond their capability has been found to be counter-productive (Billett 2002b). Their failure to successfully complete an allotted task due to lack of skill or knowledge may result in the apprentice losing confidence and becoming demotivated. It is important that the apprentice develops confidence and self-efficacy – especially a core belief in their contribution to the organisation’s work practices – early. Bandura (1982) proposed that self-efficacy and confidence are directly linked to an ability to
organise and execute a given course of action, to solve a problem or accomplish a task. Consequently the disposition and significance of such work practices afforded to the apprentice will have attitudinal and motivational consequences for the apprentice (Billett 2001; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976).

The modernisation of training in occupational skills has meant a change to age limits, time serving, training to agreed standards and, ultimately, broader opportunities for adults to acquire and improve skills. This shift from an input-led system to an outcomes-based method has fundamental implications, both in defining content and in the application of education and training methodologies. Providing access to different models of learning offers opportunities for personalised trainee or apprentice learning with competencies aligned with an individual. But a major difficulty for current competency-based education and training is that the competencies are not aligned with an individual’s learning; instead, only the tasks required to achieve competence are defined (Hyland 1994). Yet an individual’s characteristics, dispositions, motivations and interests are clearly fundamental to the ways in which they learn to perform tasks and, therefore, they are also integral to understanding how knowledge and skills are constructed in the workplace (Billett 1996; Prawat 1989; Tobias 1994). It should also be acknowledged that, due to the variety of individuals now enrolling in apprenticeships as a result of their being opened up to people of all ages and both sexes, there is no one ‘type’ of apprentice. Given also that there is no single category of employer (Hawke 2008) or workplace, an apprentice must, moreover, learn to develop the confidence in their abilities to adjust to the multiplicity of transitional imperatives encountered during their working life.

The workplace is not merely a loci of activity, as it is here that workers also develop their identity within the group and are identified by the practices afforded them (Billett 1993; Billett 2001b; Billett 2006). James and Hayward (2004) writing about ‘becoming a chef’ state that the personal disposition of an apprentice is an important element in their success:

Developing the personal disposition and characteristics needed to become a full participant in the social practices is seen as important as developing the technical skills. (James & Hayward 2004, p. 236)

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3 An individual’s efficacy expectations are the major determinant of goal setting, activity choice, willingness to expend effort, and persistence. (Eccles & Wigfield 2002, p. 111)
Ideally, apprentices would engage in work practices that both challenge and stretch their intellectual and physical skills. It is by means of these challenges that an apprentice develops and advances skills and knowledge that, in part, establish their identity within the workplace (Cullinane & Dundon 2006). It has been shown that an individual’s identity is both defined by their workplace and beyond it, as external experiences also frame expectations and values (Hodkinson & Bloomer 2002). Experiences of cultural practices within a community of practice generate values and attitudes by which individuals are not only changed, but in turn determine their influences. Workers cannot step outside social structures that are simultaneously part of their habitus and part of work and the workplace. Bourdieu (1986) has shown conclusively that individual and organisational structures are interrelated. The proposition that work and identity are linked through work practices is now a truism in the cultural history of the English-speaking world. Traditionally, it was by virtue of working as a baker, smith, carpenter or cook, that individuals were named and identified by their work practices. Workers are thus socially embedded and defined by their occupations and work practices, yet simultaneously distinct from their workplace community.

This is similarly the case for an apprentice entering the workplace, bringing to it, as they do, a cultural autobiography that determines their choice of career. Apprentice chefs now have a greater understanding of their nominated career path than their predecessors. We know this because of the mass saturation of cooking and documentary programs on kitchens and the working lives of chefs (Bonsall 2007). Young people are now more knowledgeable than their predecessors and will spend longer in full-time education, often well beyond the age at which they could leave school (Horng & Lee 2006; OECD 2009; Wenger 1998b). They may have already obtained knowledge of the industry through a school-based, vocational cookery course including a period of work experience or they may have spent a year at TAFE completing the first semester of a Certificate III. Changes to the apprenticeship system have also opened it up to all ages; older apprentices initiating a career change are bringing previous work experiences to their new workplace (Karmel 2006). Prior educational attainment now affords opportunities to a mature-age apprentice to fast-track their apprenticeship and progress more rapidly than in the past. An apprenticeship has always been perceived as a career choice for the less academic individual or early school leaver. However stage one of this research revealed that individuals from a broad spectrum of age and educational background are now choosing to take up cooking. Furthermore, part-time work appears to be a common experience for many teenagers wanting to earn a discretionary
income (Billett 1998). As previously stated, the research data revealed that many apprentices acquired their passion for cooking through a casual job as a kitchen hand at weekends or after school.

1.15 Research implications

VET is currently at a crossroads in Australia in the field of education and employment (Chappell & Johnston 2003). As is the case in many other developed nations, its role has been increasingly challenged by successive governments and perceived of less significance than other funding priorities. But the value and benefit of supporting training and learning for apprentices and trainees by employer, government or non-government organisations reaches beyond the confines of a limited resource of an employer or an employee. The trained individual actively transfers their knowledge and skills to support and assist other trainees and staff, thereby enhancing the knowledge and skills capital of that organisation to increase their competitive capacity (Hughes 2004). There are increases in the skills and knowledge capital of the workplace as all staff, therefore, become more accomplished and able to contribute more productively to the organisation in an increasingly competitive environment. It is the relationship of the complex interdependencies between an individual’s thinking, acting and learning that shapes their development within the organisation and their relationship to their work and community of practice (Kolb 1984; Lave & Wenger 1991).

Nonetheless the learning process, for many individuals, is more often than not taken for granted (Saljö 1979) as implied views of employers and VET generally lack the critical reflection necessary for facilitating the learning process. The current dominant paradigm of the VET model is one that atomises the training process into discrete components of competency drilled into the trainee whereupon completion they achieve a standardised assessable outcome (Cornford 2004; Harris 1995). Apprentices’ learning is currently dependent upon drill and practise to achieve proficiency in the skill set of tasks in order to replicate a predetermined, summative assessment developed by VET. In Hager’s (2004) opinion, there is presently a need to develop a discourse to scrutinise an apprentice’s learning: to identify it, instead, as an implicit, socially connected and dynamic activity that accommodates the learner in their learning, in contrast to summative units of competency developed as a generic unit of measurement for a national curriculum. Furthermore, the
changing nature of work and the current sociocultural influences upon an apprentice have had a significant impact upon how training and learning is perceived by both employer and apprentice. To construct new models of learning, Hager et al. (2004) suggest it must first be acknowledged that adult learning theory accommodates difference, that not all adults learn the same way or under the same conditions, and that new metaphors of learning can proffer guides to accommodate the learner in the new workplace (Hager 2004; Robert & Simons 2004).
2.1 Introduction

This review of the literature identifies interrelated areas of inquiry in order to examine and describe general facets of formal and workplace training and to correlate VET and situated learning of apprentices as it translates to their workplace. Articles were selected with regard to commonality of themes to facilitate an understanding of the social and historical context of the research. A thematic understanding of ‘place’, ‘theory’, ‘learning’ and ‘understanding’ was utilised to link textual discourses to present an insight into current and past thinking with respect to this research.

The history and nature of Australian apprenticeships is both evolutionary and revolutionary, from their ancient inception as a master/apprentice model to our current understanding of a traineeship (Hawke 2002). Workplace training developed through a series of social and structural changes brought about by the need for a national standard and more accountability from VET in the 1990s to its current form. Thus, training in Australia has had to respond to rapid global economic and social change but, as VET has endeavoured to keep abreast of current changes in industry, it has found itself at the mercy of the economic rationalism of industry (Hawke 2002). The reactive response from government came to a head in the 1990s when Australia, along with the rest of the western world, faced a global recession and the gradual decline in nearly all its major export markets for agricultural products, mineral resources and manufactured goods (Allen 1994; Gruen & Stevens 2000). Paul Keating, the then-Prime Minister, referred to it as ‘the recession Australia had to have’. Governments, employer groups and unions joined forces to reform VET, concluding that a ‘smarter’, well-trained workforce would be of benefit to all stakeholders. Subsequent reforms, which incorporated changes to VET to better serve the economic needs of Australia, were developed in a climate of economic rationalism in a belief that there was a clear link between skill levels and future prosperity. There was reluctance by employers, however, to invest in the training of their workforce, as many viewed vocational training as fragmented and unrealistic given that each State had developed its own curriculum that was of lengthy duration to achieve a qualification and out of touch with industry needs. For this reason, national competencies were developed through consultation with industry groups to develop skills and knowledge
that were transferable across the nation and that could be delivered and assessed flexibly at sites other than large government institutions.

Hawke (2002) makes little judgement in his writing as to the value and efficacy of this model of vocational education in Australia for the learner, providing only an objective description of the economic needs of industry and Government. That is not to say that the two are not coterminous, but recent history and investigations undertaken by this researcher cast doubt upon whether apprentices are receiving the quality of training mooted as needed for economic prosperity when competency modularisation was first developed. This concern has been echoed by others who also challenge the limited value of competency vocational education for both trainee and industry (Cornford 2000; 2004; 1997). The advent of the ‘knowledge economy’ has meant modifying extant concepts of work as high-performing organisations develop skilled workforces in conjunction with new concepts of skill, knowledge and learning. Expectations are now for the learner to develop an androgenic connection with their knowledge production. The place of that learning is also changing, with a major component of it occurring in their workplace (Lave & Wenger 1991). The focus of this research is to examine how individuals learn rather than the content or process of teaching and the extent to which what is learnt is learnt informally.

An investigation into the amount and quality of workplace learning acquired by cookery apprentices in the New South Wales hospitality industry (Cornford & Gunn 1998) sharply brings into focus how links to the site of learning in the workplace have changed as a result of the economic and technological revolutions (Ainley 1993). In the past, traditional apprenticeships have provided the groundwork for the development of expertise and high levels of skilled performance and problem solving skills (Cornford & Anthanasou 1995). But changes in industry meant a failure, in the past, of the formal VET delivered at TAFE, which was perceived as not reflecting the changes occurring in the workplace. It appears that the rapid changes in technology and skills knowledge mean training providers need to apply themselves more assiduously to maintaining relevance and currency in knowledge and skills. It also appears that many acquired skills fail to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991), and there is a general concern that many apprentices are not provided ample opportunity in their workplace to practise and consolidate skills learned in the classroom (Cornford 1996).
2.2 Vocational education and training

Vocational education and training (VET) affords skills and knowledge for work through a national training system that consists of a network of eight State and Territory Governments in co-participation with the Australian Government, along with industry, public and private training providers, collaborating to provide nationally consistent training across Australia. Industry sector involvement in curriculum planning is both extensive and an important aspect of the development of the training packages that inform the industry skills required and VET competencies. By means of this co-participation of industry and the Department of Science Education and Training (DEEWR), the employment and labour-market needs of the various VET programmes can rationally be taken into consideration.

Apprenticeships and traineeships that involve a combination of off-the-job and on-the-job training whereby practical skills and an underpinning knowledge about these skills are developed is seen as the most effective form of vocational training (Schofield 1999a; Smith 1999b; Strickland et al. 2001). In the situation where the apprentice receives full training in the workplace, questions arise as to the ‘breadth’ and quality of their learning outcomes (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005). Underpinning knowledge is crucial for developing transferable skills in the apprentice, and offers the capacity to apply their learning to a much broader range of tasks than prescribed by a particular workplace. Apprentices and trainees prefer a mix of on- and off-the-job training whereby they learn a diversity of skills and receive some level of support throughout their training (Strickland et al. 2001). Research indicates that apprentices and trainees are more likely to remain motivated and are less likely to withdraw from training when training meets these conditions (Snell & Hart 2007). Maintaining a good balance of on-the-job and off-the-job training, however, is one of the major challenges for employers and training organisations.

Research has exposed fractures in the relationship between industry and the formal training delivered by registered training organisations (RTO). Matching supply and demand should ideally emphasise interdependence, rather than either dependence or independence, as a basic strategy (Smith 2002) in the planning of training needs of all parties, including the apprentice. Both TAFE and other VET providers, furthermore, have endemic organisational problems that mean only small inroads can be made towards meeting all employers’ expectations, a situation that has led to negative reports, such as those referred to at the beginning of this paper. This is partly due to the diversity and complexity of employment at the present time.
compared to the large employer groups of the past and an inherent culture of technical training that does scant justice to – and barely reflects – the work of smaller employers. The frustration expressed by teachers is not so much about an unwillingness to offer more flexibility in course content but the burden of bureaucratic and administrative requirements. This creates long lead times to change when addressing employer expectations. The Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) published a report entitled ‘Skills for a Nation: A Blueprint for Improving Education and Training 2007–2017’ (ACCI 2007) in which it stated that TAFE graduates fail to meet the expectations of more than half of businesses. Of the 1337 firms surveyed, 44.9% said that TAFE graduates had met their expectations. Only 38.1% agreed that TAFE teachers had up-to-date industry skills (Peterson & Birg 1988).

One of the more significant changes in the VET environment is that it is now catering to life-experienced adults who are keen to obtain maximum benefit from their course and expect more relevance and accessible information than their predecessors. This might lead us to presume that individual teachers need to be responsible for their own on-going learning to remain up to date with not merely industry changes but also new epistemologies in adult learning (Pillay & Elliott 2001). A general criticism levelled at some permanent VET teachers is a perceived dependence on undergraduate learning to carry them through their teaching career and their limited exposure to new developments in educational paradigms (Chappell et al. 2003). Chappell et al. (2002) reported a year earlier that:

In contemporary Australia, VET teachers are expected to develop appropriate pedagogical strategies in response to learners’ needs, abilities and circumstances. The new Australian VET system focuses on outcomes rather than learning processes and in many ways the journey to vocational competence is now regarded by many as less significant than the arrival, with the quality of the journey largely left to the professional competence of the teacher. (Chappell et al. 2002, p. 5)

There is evidence of a persistent aspiration from workers for transferable qualifications from TAFE VET (Hawke 2002; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008), but the current Australian TAFE/VET model finds itself under increasing economic pressure in meeting the respective requirements of government, industry and worker. Hawke (2002) reported:
As public funding has declined one consequence has been that part-time and casual teachers are a very significant part of their workforce. (Hawke 2002, p. 9)

Much of vocational curricula and teaching has been traditionally based on an apprenticeship model, centred on the acquisition of definable skills by guided instruction, reproduction and independent practice. While arguably there will inevitably be a requirement for specialised skills, there is a growing body of evidence that the changing and more complex dynamics of the workplace now require employees to have broader and more sustainable capabilities. The Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR), the ACCI and the Business Council of Australia (BCA) have currently developed definitions of employability skills (sometimes referred to as ‘soft skills’) demanded by employers from their employees as the need for higher level thinking capabilities with respect to diagnosis, critical analysis, interpretation and meta-analysis is seen as necessary in the transforming context of an increasing knowledge-based economy. Chappell et al. (2003) stated:

The knowledge required by the contemporary economy is different from the knowledge that has occupied traditional education and training programs. Current thinking emphasises knowledge constructed as practical, interdisciplinary, informal, applied and contextual as theoretical, disciplinary, formal, foundational and generalisable. (Chappell et al. 2003, p. 8)

There is greater flexibility needed in course curricula, which creates increased demands for teachers to communicate more effectively and to work more collaboratively between themselves as well as between departments to improve the information exchange on all levels (Senge 1990). Chappell et al (2003, p. 8), reporting on the future educational needs of Australian education and training, also refers to a previous work of Senge (1994), in which a number of commentators criticised education and training providers, particularly with respect to the adequacy and utility of content.

For some time, educational theory has argued that learning is an active construction of knowledge and skills of learners (Dewey 1916). That is, it is context dependant and socially mediated and situated in the ‘real world’ of the learner. Contemporary VET pedagogy is now becoming more learner centred, work centred and attribute focused (Cullen et al. 2002; OECD 2003). In many ways, a learner-centred approach to pedagogical practice constructs learners as active agents in their own learning and not merely recipients of other people’s
knowledge. Learners become participants, contributors and elaborators of their knowledge and skills, which are always socially mediated.

It is the individual who is increasingly the architect and builder responsible for developing their own skills. The demands of new organisational structures are for workers who can manage their own learning and can adapt their skills and learning capacities to flexibly meet the changing demands of work. Chappell and Hawke (2003) proposed that organisations must also respond to market changes through flatter, more flexible structures and that employees, too, must respond in flexible ways as new techniques are introduced, new collaborations formed and new competitive challenges faced (ILO 2002).

This research questions the conceptual basis of general attributes of apprentices, such as literacy, interpersonal skills, communication and teamwork, as well as personal attributes, such as learning styles and independent problem-solving capacities. Some of these suites of skill attributes are reflected in a set of defined ‘employability skills’ determined by industry to reflect the concept of being ‘work ready.’ An overly instrumental means-end connection made between workers’ knowledge and skills and their performance at work fails to appreciate that workers asked to do things differently are also being called upon to be different workers and that there is no single, simple form of learning (Hager 2003; Meyer 2003).

Many commentators on the ‘new economy’ point to the need for a ‘new’ workforce capable of responding to ‘new economic times’ … in order to compete in the ‘new economy’, countries require a more highly skilled workforce capable of contributing more than their labour to economic activity. New economy workplaces require new kinds of people with new knowledge, skills and dispositions. (Chappell, Hawke & Schofield 2002, p. 5)

Commercial cookery training has a tradition of a work-centred approach to learning: the formal learning for commercial cookery students takes place in a training kitchen where the teacher simulates the working environment not only in terms of a practical skills focus, but also through continuing emphasis on industry standards and expectations. But the role of the VET teacher should not just be that of a ‘quasi-employer’, and would be better to go beyond the constructs of training packages and module outcomes and assessment to develop the apprentice/learner as ‘an independent, autonomous individual’ (Smith 1999, p. 65).
2.3 Becoming competent

The purpose of examining competency-based training (CBT) in this research was firstly to illustrate its concept and structure and, secondly, to explore various challenges to its effectiveness as the primary mode of VET in operation in Australia today. CBT was developed and unilaterally implemented as a modularised method of assessing vocational skills and knowledge to offer flexibility to industry, in that trainees can build competencies as and when required to achieve a national award. CBT had its inception in the training reform agenda that occurred in Australia during the late 1980s and 1990s and transformed the way VET organisations (such as TAFE) approached training to become more responsive to the needs of industry (Loveder 2005). Loveder (2005) reports that CBT was adopted not only out of a concern for a national training system but also as a response to the need for global, economic competitiveness and the perceived need to use the formation of skills as a major thrust of the economy. In Australia, the theoretical underpinning of CBT has behaviourism at its core: overall performance is assessed as being reducible to a set of discrete, individual, observable behaviours that can be considered, observed and measured separately (Brady 2006). This atomistic approach breaks down the skill and knowledge required by VET (as agent for industry) into a list of goals that the learner must successfully achieve to complete the outcome and pass the module.

The developed training packages were to include not only competency standards but also qualifications covered for a particular industry, together with the assessment guidelines and components that describe learning strategies, assessment resources and professional development material (Robinson 2000). The literature attests that, in CBT, the performance of a student is assessed against a predefined and clearly measurable standard. That is, “assessment is based on what learners can do rather than the course they have done” (Misko 1999). Assessment must furthermore now incorporate specifications and the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values required to prove competence, and identify more generic competencies, such as language, literacy and numeracy skills as well. The most controversial element of CBT was to shift the focus away from curriculum content and standard amounts of time in each level of training (Loveder 2005), assessing only the specific competencies required in each case.

Reports, including the first report from the Australian Parliament – Senate Employment Workplace Relations and Education References Committee (2003) ‘Workplace Relations and
Education Reference Committee 2003 ‘Bridging the skills divide’, have clearly indicated that the current VET policies in Australia are not meeting Australia’s skill needs (Cornford 2004). A decline in standards in some trade areas was observed subsequent to the introduction of CBT (Mills & Cornford 2002), and a report from the Business Council of Australia came to the same conclusion regarding policy failure. These reports argued that Australia adopted CBT because it saw it as a solution to its concerns about the low skill levels and productivity of the workforce, and challenged its universal validity, given that the UK had already moved beyond CBT because it was not offer solutions to skills shortages.

A major flaw in the development of CBT was that politicians and representatives from business, industry and the unions were involved in the process of policy making and debate when CBT policy was formulated, while teachers, who were to deliver this new training model, were excluded (Cornford 2000). Previous research revealed that VET teachers were critical of CBT, especially when delivered to full-time trainees and high-school based VET hospitality trainees who have minimal workplace experience. Research indicates that many teachers have been uncertain whether what they are implementing is CBT, as it is difficult to define competence.

There has been a significant volley of criticism levelled at the application of a behaviourist concept of performance (Ashworth 1992; Schofield & McDonald 2004), essentially encapsulated in the view that performance is complex and cannot simply be reduced to lists of attributes. Hager (1993) advocates a holistic approach to the development of a level of measurability, while others state that performance is embedded in the context of work and students’ interpretations of that context (Velde 1999). Performance is elsewhere viewed as an entity formed through the experience of the task or work (Dall’alba & Sandberg 1996). An over-emphasis upon performance in training-setting outcomes is viewed by many employers as undesirable. Employers do, however want their apprentices to have effective problem-solving skills achievable through a sound theoretical underpinning of knowledge.

Cornford et al (2004, p. 33), writing on the Workplace Relations and Education Reference Committee report (2003) ‘Bridging the skills divide’ stated that the current VET policies in Australia were not meeting Australia’s skill needs. There has been a decline in standards in some trade areas subsequent to the introduction of CBT (Mills & Cornford 2002). The Business Council of Australia (2004) came to the same conclusion regarding policy failure. In fact, according to Cornford, most CBT training packages do not encourage development of
critical thinking skills central to the ‘employability skills’ sought by employers of the new apprentice, as they take on more responsibility in the new workplace (Cornford 2000).

There appears to be a major credibility gap, with continuing reports of large increases in new apprenticeships (or more likely short-term traineeships) at the same time as major skill shortages in many important trade areas (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2000b). Anecdotal evidence is that there is not one set standard of work agreed upon by the hospitality industry as distinct from other industry groups, which seems to be borne out by this research. Indeed, there are a multiple standards of work in the hospitality industry corresponding to high, middle and low quality work within different markets and cost structures. The most controversial criticism has been a radical shifting of focus away from curriculum content and regulated amounts of time required in each level of training towards assessing only the competencies required in each case (Loveder 2005) – the contention being that it may take three years to develop a new training package during which some industry requirements may have already changed.

2.4 Epistemology of workplace learning

Learning is an interactive, participatory practice and communities of practice have become an important focus for organisational development (Lave & Wenger 1991). Learners participate in communities of practitioners where mastery of knowledge and skill requires novices to move towards full participation in the socio-cultural practices of the community. The theory of situated learning is that learning is viewed as part of all activities, with the learner gradually moving from superfluous to knowledge via social interaction within the life world (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 32). Understanding and knowledge of the world is then acquired via multiple interactions through peripheral participation in a social context. Changing locations and perspectives are part of actors’ learning trajectories and developing identities and forms of membership. According to Lave and Wenger:

All theories of learning are based on fundamental assumptions about the person, the world and their relations, and we have argued that this monograph formulates a theory of learning as a dimension of social practice. (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 47)
Workplace-learning theory began with Vygotsky (1978) and his theory of ‘zone of proximal development’. While having undergone various interpretations over the years, it is often characterised as the distance between problem-solving abilities exhibited by the learner, when working alone, and the problem-solving abilities when assisted by, or collaborating with, more experienced people. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that communities of practice are everywhere, and that we are generally involved in a number of them whether at work, school or home; that in some groups we are core members while in others we are more at the periphery. Our human status means we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises and, as we define these enterprises and engage in their pursuit together, we interact with each other and with the world, tuning our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. For many commercial cookery apprentices, however, the world of workplace learning may not always be a vast realm of positive experiences (Cornford & Gunn 1998).

For a community of practice to function, it needs to generate and appropriate a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories. It also needs to develop various resources such as tools, documents, routines, vocabulary and symbols that in some way carry the accumulated knowledge of the community. Learning is currently no longer viewed as the acquisition of knowledge by individuals as much as a process of social participation. The situational context impacts significantly on the process and provides a way to speak about the relationship between newcomers and ‘old-timers’, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice.

Again Lave and Wenger state:

A person’s intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a socio-cultural practice where this social process, includes the learning of knowledgeable skills. (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 29)

Opinions regarding the value of abstract learning or de-contextualised knowledge raise the question of whether vocational learning can occur outside the learner’s community of practice. But even though the cognitive response may not be immediately recognised, all new knowledge absorbed develops understanding. There may also be situations where the community of practice is weak (Cornford & Gunn 1998) or manifests power relationships that seriously inhibit entry and participation; as well, there is an acknowledged risk of
romanticising communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991). Learning is traditionally perceived as measurable, on the assumption that it is a ‘possession’ of individuals and can be ‘found inside their heads’. Learning is a function of relationships between people, however, and in the conditions that bring people together to organise a point of contact that permits specific information to assume relevance. Without points of contact, without the system of relevancies, there is no learning and little memory, as learning is in the various conversations in which an individual takes part.

The second seminal work in the history of epistemology of organisational learning brings with it an almost evangelical understanding of the effectiveness of learning organisations:

Organisations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together. (Senge 1990)

The case for collective problem solving and team learning is strong (Senge 1994) but it is challenged by the presumption that organisations operate altruistically with their workers and are thus immune from the dysfunction reflected in the broader society. The vision of the learning organisation is of continual possibilities and an assumed capacity to bring about results – and, while seemingly a noble, idealistic aspiration, there are instances of organisations that foster collective decision making by workers. The vision has merit and, if persisted with, an organisation’s will to excel and discover how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn at all levels in an organisation has much to commend it.

Senge (1990) writes of building a shared vision that fosters genuine commitment and involvement rather than compliance. Does that mean that failure to achieve that shared vision is due to a lack of commitment of the individual as opposed to external social and organisational concerns? Do effective teams exist in contrast to divergent individuals comprising groups of workers with individual aspirational needs and concerns? The challenge for commercial cookery would seem to be that teams exist for periods, with individual team members coalescing for a specific purpose or goal; the general idea of a constant organisational team depends on the altruism of the individuals to subsume their needs to those of the group.
Such shared vision depends on ‘metanoia’ or mental shift to realise its full potential together with a need to foster commitment to the long-term (mental models) that focus on the openness needed to overcome shortcomings in seeing reality. Team learning develops the group skills to look at the larger picture that lies beyond individual perspectives and personal mastery, and develops the personal motivation to continually learn how our actions affect our world.

2.5 Pedagogy of workplace learning

Billett (1994b) defined situated learning as occurring when a learner is executing tasks and solving problems in an environment which reveals the various intended uses of that learning. There has been particular interest in situated learning, apparently the result of developments in theoretical understanding. Situated learning is domain-specific knowledge in complex thinking and compromises the social basis of learning. Sustained research over the last 20 years in the field of cognitive psychology has revealed the significance of domain-specific knowledge to expert performance (Glaser 1989). The theoretical development supportive of situated learning emanated from what is now commonly accepted: that learning is a social process (Horng & Lee 2006; Vygotsky 1978). Billett (1994b) describes the appropriation of knowledge as the process of constructing meaning from socially and contextually defined knowledge where the individual structures understanding and relevance through the lens of previous experience.

Both novice and expert solve problems jointly in ‘zones of proximal distance’; as the learner becomes more experienced, the expert gradually withdraws to allow the novice to work with progressively less supervision. This model of learner support is drawn from the classroom learning theory of ‘scaffolding’, where the trainer gradually moves into the role of facilitator. But control still rests with the trainer to decide if the novice has displayed the necessary skills and knowledge, and even though the learning is reciprocal, there will always be a power imbalance. The more dynamic approach of mutual problem solving indicates a shared requirement for co-participation. It rejects alternative modes of didactic instruction or negative indifference to learners in creating learning gaps, leading to frustration and anger for both learner and employer, possibly resulting in attrition.
Social and cultural practices influence organisational work practices in the sense that the individuals, the setting or place of work, the economic needs of the organisation, as well the physical set up of the work area all affect an employee’s ability to move through their ‘zone of proximal development’. Billett (1993) also argues that formal learning institutions are not de-contextualised; rather, they possess strong and pervasive sets of cultural practices that are associated with the achievement of the institution. Concerns expressed by participants in Billett’s study mirrored certain initial responses from interviewees in this research vis-à-vis that the quality of workplace learning can be varied and unmonitored. Explicit concerns of the learners are not necessarily reflected by the employer, who has an economic imperative to get the learner ‘up to speed’ and producing, rather than taking time to reflect upon the benefits of understanding why learners are doing a job in a particular way:

You’re probably shown the quickest way to do the job, but not the correct way. They show you the shortcuts, not knowing why you’re doing what you’ve been told what to do and [I] didn’t understand what the job was all about, I just done [sic] the job. (Billett 1993, p. 126)

The concerns reported in Billet’s paper are common to initial workplace learning processes and indicate the respondents’ perception of the need for the start of learning experiences to explicitly address conceptual (propositional) knowledge, which helps develop understanding. These concerns suggest that a tightly informal learning process may obstruct the development of understanding particularly in situations where the tasks are concealed from the learner. Activity involves the mutual contribution of memory in the environment. Such activities are goal directed, where goals are shaped by the particular circumstances of the workplace (Billett 2002). These shared cognitive and social concepts combine to transform the individual’s process of decision making, and are fixed and cannot be separated. Cultural tools of language and signs both determine and develop our thinking because language and knowledge define our perceptions at any given moment (Wertsch 1991; Wertsch & Hatanoa 2001).

The training and retention of apprentices is increasingly moving toward the need to improve their skills and knowledge ‘lexicon’ to encourage ownership of their environment and participation at work. However this is a reciprocal process of engagement in, and learning through, work when individuals are permitted or elect to participate in the workplace to both construct and refine their learning. How then do individuals learn from each other, or more
importantly, for the current investigation, how important is the role of the supervisor in an individual’s learning? It appears that the role of supervisor seems merely implicit in the literature of situated learning: is not regarded as an important component of situated-learning theory and is not located in the sociocultural context affecting learners. But the power dynamic of supervisor/novice can have an enormous impact on the learner’s ability to achieve mastery. Boud and Middleton (2003) argue that that the very person who is nominally expected by organisations to foster learning in the workplace, the workplace supervisor, ‘may be unable to do so effectively because of the structural constraints of their role’ (2003, p. 194).

Hughes (2004) has suggested that learners may have difficulties trusting supervisors to facilitate their learning because the supervisor’s role includes performance monitoring of employees. Employees may feel the need to portray themselves as competent workers. Boud et al. (2003) write that an exclusive focus on communities of practice may limit workplace learning, given the complexities of the workplace. Individuals generally need to know why they are working in a particular way, or be cognisant of the final destination of their labour – “much as a processing plant reveals the final object to the assembly worker”. Such narrow foci may also limit the kinds of intervention possible to positively influence workplace learning.

Hager (2004) questions whether formal training, usually taking place in a classroom remote from the workplace, can provide the knowledge needed for the remainder of an individual’s working life. There is increasing awareness that a worker will need on-going and updated knowledge and skills to maintain not only their current position, but also any future positions. Hager supports the idea that learning is a process as this view of learning emphasises the significance of context as well as the influence of cultural and social factors. It is holistic in that it points to the organic, whole-person nature of learning, embracing individual dispositions and abilities.

2.6 A hermeneutic grasp of workers’ learning

A learning culture is not objective but is constructed by people and reproduced by a network of symbols that unite people and make shared learning possible. This is akin to a ‘learning
company’, where individuals bring both their skills and knowledge to the group to explore collectively how people may work and learn together. Individual learners have the capacity to learn collaboratively, but the implication of creating a learning culture is that it may itself compromise a potential climate of learning. An existing, unitarian, hierarchical structure will not be dismantled overnight because the psychodynamic dimensions of groups, with their inherent fear of change and the comfort of the familiar, are a strong impulse (Hoyle 1995).

Individuals bringing their own needs and expectations to the group can experience elements of dissonance, where change can be confronting; a major part of support for them in their endeavours is an open dialogue of reflective feedback. Lencioni’s (2002) investigation of the dynamics of dysfunctional teams indicated that solutions would alleviate concerns quickly, provide accurate information and clarify potential inconsistencies of information. The literature on learning tends to assume a shared understanding, but this assumption is not always valid. Luckman (1990) states that individuals are capable of saying ‘yes’ to something they don’t understand and ‘no’ to something they do. Why individuals take a defensive stand in groups will be explored in the following chapters.

Teams and teamwork may also contribute to the advancement of the organisation’s knowledge base (Levitt & March 1988) and provide mechanisms for collective learning so that individuals can practise together and develop their collective skills (Senge 1990). But teams may also inhibit learning, as team learning is more difficult to mobilise than individual learning, and the more effective the defensive routines of individuals within the team, the better they mask the problems (Argyris 1987; Lencioni 2002). Defensive routines inhibit the power of learning by focussing on the impact of readjustment and the perceived loss of the safe and familiar. Learning for some may be selective and negative, such as learning to diminish responsibility or ‘passing the buck’, and blaming can be easily accommodated in group work where no single individual takes full responsibility. Individual and organisational stress can precipitate the avoidance of pain and the use of denial in confronting changing circumstances, with employees refusing to listen to alternative ways of looking at the workplace. Halton (1994) writes of this when discussing the work of Melanie Klein. The psychodynamics of the workplace will inform stage two of this research.

The post-industrial milieu is stressful, integrating once fragmented divisions of labour and forcing workers to take account of many more facts (Halton 1994). It also challenges the social defences, although it is said that a wish to restore the world and make it whole may
overcome narrow thinking (Hirschhorn 1990, p. 8). Workplace culture comprises a system of meanings, as it dictates what groups pay attention to, and is relative, in that it is learned and derived from social environments rather than being ‘genetically determined’; it is also about groups and is thus a collective phenomenon (Hoecklin 1995). Psychodynamic approaches to the understanding of human behaviour can provide insights into employee behaviour, as individuals are susceptible to a wide range of inconsistencies and contradictions. For a learning organisation to function effectively and for the teams in that organisation to provide a positive contribution, an awareness of the ambivalent nature of human motivation can provide insight into many fundamental issues in communication.
Chapter Three – Stage One Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology of stage one was developed to examine and analyse the interpersonal dynamics of workplace learning and their influence upon the quality of apprenticeships together with the impact of formally structured learning through VET. Information gathered from a sample of stakeholders, in both Australia and the United Kingdom (representing government training organisations, practitioners and employers, identified for their commitment to workplace training), was utilised in this research. Among this broad mix of participants was a sample of recently graduated Technical and Further Education (TAFE) apprentice/trainees, who responded to questions about their VET and related work experience in the industry. This research applied a broad, inductive methodology to explore a range of workplace and educational aspects of an apprenticeship in order to determine what causes apprentices to quit their course and career, so as to develop a better understanding of the working life of an apprentice chef.

Questions were formulated to draw out real-life experiences of the participants, who were also asked to give their opinions in response to the questions. This approach was selected not merely to identify individual experiences but to identify the perceptions of different stakeholders within VET and industry, allowing identification of both shared beliefs and area divergence. Interpretive analysis proposes that there are no such things as pure facts: our understanding of the world is based on prior experience, handed down by parents and teachers to form a reference point from which we view all new experience (Schultz 1953). Our knowledge of the world is mediated by a series of constructs by which we make sense of our physical, perceived environment. Moreover, these constructs are based on recognition and a subordination of the facts in support of a particular perspective, which is then projected onto subsequent experience to erect a view or belief about the world we inhabit.

In the process of assimilating and collating facts about the world in this way, however, we do not stray far from our subjective history; we colour and embellish the present with our past experience. This process may be likened to a palimpsest, where the inscription on the parchment is continually being rubbed out and written over, but faint indentations of previous inscriptions remain. A complex input of experiences thus affects all significant observations of life, being continually viewed from a particular perspective. Accordingly, social
constructs, and cultural, political or religious beliefs, bring value judgment to our experiences and along with it a strong need to make sense or define an experience as relevant or irrelevant in a particular context (Bar-Tal 2000, p. 2).

This tradition of interpretive research traverses fields such as phenomenology, ethnography and hermeneutics. The assumption underpinning the epistemology proper to this research paradigm is that all human action is meaningful and has to be interpreted and understood within the context of social practices. Therefore, in order to make sense of the social world, the researcher needs to understand the meanings that form and are formed by interactive social behaviour. Given that human action is given meaning by interpretive frameworks, it is within an interpretive framework that the researcher tries to make sense of what they are researching. This process is known as ‘double hermeneutic’ because in the conduct of social research both the subject (the researcher) and the object of the research (other people in the study) bear similar characteristic of being interpreters or searchers of meaning. Interpretive research is about how people grasp, understand and interpret events and artefacts as social inquiry where the object of the investigation is itself a pre-interpreted domain so that the object domain of investigation is at the same time also the subject domain (Thompson 1990).

The statistical data has the complementary charge in the qualitative, quantitative mixed mode function in accompanying the literature review as an objective reference for the qualitative research. That is, it affords a background setting for the research to place the questionnaire responses in a context where the statistical evidence frames the qualitative responses as separate from, but complementary to, the personal domain of the individual participant.

3.2 Research approach and data generation

The research approach was determined by the development of the questions, which had the aim of gaining a broad understanding of the feelings and experiences of a range of stakeholders within the hospitality industry, and to gather empirical evidence for the generation of qualitative data. The methodology used in this research is based on qualitative-interpretive and empirical-analytic theory. The interpretive analysis of the responses allowed emergent trends and areas of convergence and divergence of opinion to be identified and used as the basis for developing relevant and authentic responses to the question (Strauss & Corbin
There is an opportunity for interpretive research to solicit extended conversations from the participants that produce an ontological trajectory of their thoughts and experiences. This ontological map can assist the researcher to understand how the participants are embodied agents located in a shared social field to provide a context for activity, and a background upon which artefacts are grasped and projected (Heidegger 1962). Furthermore, it summarises key assumptions of the heuristic paradigm that is the active agency of those studied: the concerned involvement of the researcher and the constitutive and constituted character of social reality.

### 3.3 The interviewees

The goal to develop an authentic profile of the industry and VET and thus attain an understanding of the domain and community of practice of the participants was addressed by the participation of a broad section of hospitality commercial cookery and VET stakeholders. Thirteen stakeholders from industry and training organisations, both here and in the UK, including recently graduated trainees, were interviewed during 2007 using 30 semi-structured questions. The interviewees all responded to a series of questions on their industry and VET experiences and their thoughts on current industry and VET practice. There were also questions as to how industry, as well as large training organisations such as TAFE and private registered training organisations (RTOs), have responded to government reports on critical skills shortages within the hospitality industry (ACTU 2004). The participants’ responses were grounded in practice, given that they used their own experiences as the basis of their responses.

The interviewees were selected in order to best represent a wide range of stakeholders who had achieved distinction in the dimensions of interest to their particular field of commercial cookery. While the questions allowed for in-depth probing, it was imperative to keep the interview within the parameters outlined by the aims of the research and not stray into broader aspects of the industry, no matter how appealing the opportunity. The questions were developed from documentary evidence on the skills shortages and government recommendations, industry papers on responses to current vocational training and conversations with key stakeholders in industry and training. The research presented an opportunity to take samples across industry, education and apprentice/trainees to develop
holistic, information-rich and illuminative data to capture complex interdependencies between participants and the possibly conflicting needs of the dynamics of industry and pedagogy.

3.4 Participants’ profile

Commercial cookery within hotels and restaurants is a global industry in that it caters to both overseas tourists as well as locals. Many of the workforce will have either trained or begun their careers in countries other than the one in which they are currently employed. Consequently, more ambitious apprentices develop their career trajectory by spending a few years working in a number of different countries to build a skills and knowledge repertoire before moving on to more senior or supervisory positions. The international movement of staff can strongly influence and affect perceptions of work practices garnered from overseas establishments, and can yield work expectations challenging to local apprentices employed straight from school.

The participants in this research were:

- An internationally renowned food consultant, and chef and restaurant owner, with business interests both here and overseas. He has a high profile in the food industry as a supporter of apprentice training and for many years has worked to promote Australian products and chefs to the world. He completed a traditional four-year apprenticeship, attending TAFE one day a week. Upon completion of a level 3 certificate, he travelled overseas for many years to gain experience. He has operated businesses as owner and executive chef in many countries and has maintained a strong connection with the education and training of young chefs.
- Three Executive Chefs from ‘five star’ establishments in the Sydney CBD, all having a high level of formal training and experience working in prestigious establishments both in Australia and overseas. One was born overseas where he completed his formal training and worked extensively in other countries prior to taking up a position in Sydney. The remaining two were from interstate and had taken up their current positions after working in renowned Australian and overseas establishments. All have been employers of large teams of qualified staff and
apprentices.

- A food and beverage (F/B) Manager from outside the Sydney CBD, responsible for the efficient operation of all aspects of catering within a ‘four star’ resort-style complex. He employs a large brigade of chefs catering to the 24-hour requirements of guests. He began his career as a chef and on qualification attained a further management qualification. He has a strong belief in the benefits of training and in motivating and encouraging apprentices to take initiatives and develop creativity very early in their traineeships.

- The Head of Hospitality Studies at an internationally renowned college in central London. His background includes all aspects of catering, hotel ownership and working in a wide range of establishments, both in the UK and overseas prior to taking his current position. The college trains chefs from a broad ethnic, gender and age mix and has achieved a global reputation for producing excellent graduates. It runs a highly successful commercial restaurant managed and operated by the teachers and students six days a week during term time, which showcases the talent and ability of students for the general public and prospective employers.

- Two managers from VET in NSW: (1) a former TAFE teacher in hospitality studies, currently a senior associate director within a large government VET organisation responsible for the promotion of VET in industry and initiatives (e.g. a female chefs’ mentoring program to promote female chefs in the industry)\(^4\) (2) a Head Teacher of commercial cookery in one of the country’s largest VET government organisations, responsible for the student trainee/apprentices and the front-line teachers delivering the training. He works at the interface between industry and VET and is very experienced in understanding the extensive bureaucratic demands of government organisations.

- A field officer from a semi-government apprenticeship recruitment and training centre, who had trained and worked as a chef and is currently involved in the administration of new apprenticeships. She is in the unique position of liaising with both industry and training and is in continual contact with both apprentices and employers.

- Four recently graduated commercial cookery students, two who began their courses only a few years after leaving school, and two mature-age trainees who

\(^4\) Commercial cookery has had an appalling reputation in the past for misogyny and bullying of female apprentices and this program is a ground-breaking initiative to support change within the industry.
had had enjoyed other careers prior to embarking upon their traineeship to become a chef. All have extensive overseas experience as a result of either being born outside Australia or having come to Australia as young migrants and being part of a family that has retained overseas links providing them with opportunities for travel.

3.5 The interviews

The interviews were conducted face to face, recorded and transcribed over a period of three months in Sydney and London and, with the exception of the graduated trainees, took place in the interviewees’ workplaces during a break in operations. Participants were approached following recommendations by their peers in industry and VET as having a solid understanding of trainees’/apprentices’ requirements and a robust commitment to their training. All interviewees were enthusiastic about participating in the research and agreed to spend an hour responding to the questions. Each articulated particular perceptions of the current state of the industry and VET and proffered insights into how their backgrounds and professional practices have influenced a level of professional understanding that has, in turn, influenced their practice.

3.6 Analysis

The research findings were arrived at through the analysis of the empirical, qualitative data obtained from participants. This procedure was triangulated alongside selected quantitative statistical data and related research literature to test the initial hypothesis. The objective of the taped and transcribed interviews was to capture interviewees’ experiences and perceptions of the hospitality industry (particularly commercial cookery) and of the training of the apprentices and trainees. As this information cannot simply be encapsulated via a linear cause and effect, it was required to be situated in social, historical and political contexts.

During each interview the beliefs and opinions unique to that particular individual were explored. Later, responses were compared and contrasted. Initially, each interview was represented as a distinct manifestation of the participants’ understanding of the question. A
ground cross-case analysis of the individual studies was then undertaken to identify cross-case patterns and themes in all final reports in an endeavour to distinguish convergence and divergence in coding and classifying. This enabled a determination of how the responses fitted together by looking for recurring regularities in the data to reveal patterns that could be sorted into categories of internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity.5

During the transcription of the response data possible interpretations were explored. This required employing particular coding procedures, which consisted of naming and categorising the data (Babchuk 1997). In the course of coding, more than one code emerged from the same text, as shown in Appendix 2; the data was thus reviewed several times in the search for emergent codes. The coding was developed through microanalysis, consisting of analysing data and coding for meaning found in words or groups of words (Strauss & Corbin 1998, pp. 65–68). Dividing the data into individual words occasionally caused the analysis to be obscured by details, so it was decided to identify key points (rather than individual words) in order to allow for the recognition of concepts. The selection of points in order to address research questions is consistent with qualitative coding analysis and guards against data overload (Allan 2003).

It is possible to think of the coding process as a form of pyramid. At the base was open coding via systematic analysis and comparison of data. The following stage was reached by reducing the number of codes and collating them in a way that demonstrated a relationship among them. Once the concepts were identified, their meanings were explored in depth, and their characteristics expanded in terms of their strength or weakness. Finally, the data was subsumed into core categories – ‘central phenomenon around which all the other categories are related’ (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p. 116). Core categories unite all the strands in order to provide an explanation of the behaviour under study (Goulding 1999) and describe the hypothetical relationships between categories and subcategories (Babchuk 1997).

3.7 Ethical considerations

Qualitative studies pose certain unique ethical challenges due to the often emergent and open-ended nature of the inquiry and the occasional direct personal contact between interviewer

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5 The first criterion concerns the extent to which data belongs in a certain category and coheres in a meaningful way. The second criterion concerns the extent to which differences among categories are clear.
and the interviewee. The purpose of the interview and the reasons for questions were clearly explained to the interviewees in as transparent and clear manner as possible and participants were given ample opportunity to request clarification during the interview. Interviewees were made aware at the outset of my professional interest in addressing the quality of training for trainees and role as a TAFE teacher. They were advised that their responses would offer valuable data for my professional practice as well as for the research study. This situation posed methodological and ethical challenges, requiring me to be fully cognisant of my own professional bias at the first stages of transcription and data analysis.
Chapter Four – Stage One Findings

4.1 Introduction

To understand the intentions of apprentices and their approach to their apprenticeship it is necessary to place them within the contextual domain of their socio-cultural milieu at the interface of the workplace and classroom. This research has attempted to identify differences between employer beliefs and expectations with respect to what constitutes successful training (based on how they were trained), compared to present realities of current apprentice learning.

The outcome for some second- or third-year apprentices is that they are often among the more highly qualified members of staff and it seems, as a consequence, that they are now expected to undertake higher level tasks and responsibilities at an earlier stage of their training than previous generations of apprentices. This perception has often been exacerbated by the proliferation of small employers with doubtful management skills taking on and exploiting employees (Rowley & Purcell 2001, p. 170). There are early indications of a shortfall of qualified staff to provide the necessary skills training for many apprentices. The flow-on affect for many apprentices is that they are now expected to take a disproportionate amount of responsibility in relation to their experience. According to one Sydney-based group training organisation, many employers prefer to recruit second- and third-year apprentices. This is in part, to reduce the time and cost of base training and supervision and possibly in part, to reduce labour costs: government subsidies for apprentices mean that their wages are less than for a qualified individual. It also lessens the need orientate them to kitchen work practices as more-advanced apprentices come with some industry knowledge, which will make their enculturation into their new workplace easier and less time consuming.

4.2 Understanding the new learner worker

Needing to be addressed first is the phenomenon of the changing types of apprentices now enrolling in new apprenticeships and traineeships, and how VET and industry employers are responding to their training requirements. Individuals entering into traineeships or apprenticeships are now no longer restricted to young school leavers (Karmel 2006); an
increasing number of mature workers with life experience are making more considered career choices to enter commercial cookery training. In addition, participants from both industry and VET recognise that current school leavers have differing expectations of their training and employment from those of their employers and teachers (Holland & Pithers 2002). Previous research on young people entering employment confirms anecdotal observations of rapid generational change, in part through advances in information technologies but also in concert with on-going socio-cultural changes in industrially advanced countries (McCrindle 2006).

Other chefs are just too over the top and too dogmatic towards the apprentices and they just abuse them and don’t give them the time they need to have and they don’t stick it out. I don’t think apprentices want to work 70 hours a week but some of our chefs expect them to work 70 hours a week. (Exec Chef PO4-5)

I’ve heard some horrific stories about their hours, having to do their TAFE training on their day off, when the employer is obliged to provide them that day to attend their training. (Exec Chef PO5a)

So basically he walks into this job to start his shift and he’s told the kitchen hand didn’t turn up. He was told he had to do kitchen-hand work. He said they did 120 for lunch and there wasn’t one thing washed. Now if that’s not abuse, I don’t know what is. (CC Trainee PW14a-b)

4.3 Sociocultural change

To develop a map to explore and understand the coterminalous interface between an apprentice, employer and VET, it is first necessary to identify aspects of the socio-cultural dynamics and history that have impacted upon them. Bowles and Gintis (1976), when explaining the relationship between education and the need for labour, assent that children were inducted into the workforce by a method of social controls in the classroom as industrial capitalism increased its need for a productive workforce. This highly structured model of education and employment is now challenged by successive generations as being focused exclusively on work production at the expense an individual worker’s capacity for participation and creativity in the work process.
Australian demographics have dramatically changed over the last 40 years since the time when a significant proportion of the population were young migrants encouraged to assist with building a burgeoning post-war Australia. Successive Australian Governments from the 1950s and 1960s onwards regarded economic immigration as an instrument of labour-market policy, to be applied to alleviate skill shortages in specific sectors (Winkelmann 2000). The vast majority of these post-war migrants arrived with the intention of making a better life for themselves, where they could, by dint of hard work and application, earning a decent living and saving for the future. This population of ‘builders’ and early ‘baby boomers,’ who either migrated to Australia or were children of migrants, have always maintained a strong work ethic. This research study revealed a significant generational gap between many employers and apprentices when it came to an understanding of employment and ‘work ethics’.

I think it’s easier to phone in sick if you can’t be bothered than it is to go to work. It’s easier to go out all night and drink and do whatever you want to do but when I went through (an apprenticeship), and we’re not talking 40–50 years ago, we were always fronting up to work the next day. They just phone in sick. (Exec Chef PZ31)

However, there was some recognition by employers of the pressure on young people that they escaped at the same age.

They’re getting it at home and they’re getting it at work. They are coming in here, as we already said, family broken up, some of them, not from broken homes but if they turn up on time; you’re already on a winner. (Exec Chef PZ11-11a)

Teachers as well as employers reported that they found maintaining apprentices’ interest a challenge with competing influences preoccupying young people. Both groups were very critical of the poor training afforded in many workplaces. Managers and supervisors in inferior workplaces assumed that learning is by virtue of the apprentice simply being ‘on the job’ and offered little support or knowledge to that young individual.

As a teacher, you should challenge yourself. It’s easy to train someone who’s trainable, but it’s very hard to train them when they’re not trainable. When they are weak and you try to get them to a certain level and you will get more self-gratification out of that because a lot of people give up on them. (TAFE Head Teacher PZ13)
I have done that with my sous chef, they give up on someone, I’m not teaching him, they don’t want to because it’s too much hard effort. But your job is to give them a try. Not to fail them before they start. I find that with chefs they say ‘nah, fail them’. It’s the wrong way; we’ve got to give them a little more patience. (Exec Chef PZ13a)

We are constantly fighting to maintain people within the industry who have a flexible and broad set of skills that could be applied to other areas or industries and we have to be mindful to make sure they are motivated to remain within the industry. (Head of a Hospitality College, London PZ22)

4.4 The new apprentice

New apprenticeships have opened up opportunities to an increasing number of older adults returning to study either for a positive career change or to address unemployment. The introduction of vocational subjects in schools, together with Year 11 and Year 12 students completing vocational subjects in TAFE (TVET) have resulted in educational access and equity for a wider range of students seeking a vocational education at TAFE. The current group of young apprentices born between 1982 and 2000, making up 28% of the population (ABS 2001), has been labelled ‘Generation Y’ to distinguish them from their predecessors (‘Generation X’) and ‘baby boomer’ parents (McCrindle 2006). This current group of young people now entering the workforce have lived through the age of the internet, cable television, globalisation, international terrorism and environmentalism. They are very different from their parents and grandparents and many employers, who view new apprentice applicants as ‘almost unfathomable’. It is a truism that young people will view the world as an opportunity for change and challenge to the old order rather than a replication of the past. [There is an ancient Arab proverb that states: ‘People resemble their times more than they resemble their parents’.] The oldest members of ‘Generation Y’ are now entering the workforce and the ‘baby boomer’ generation is retiring at a later age than those of previous generations. This brings with it very different forms of inter-generationally cultural conflicts that challenge the empathy and experiences of both the employer and the apprentice. A generation of self-confident, technologically sophisticated young individuals are now entering the highly regimented and authoritarian environment of a commercial kitchen.
Comments from employers:

Understanding is vastly different to 18 years ago … in the same token it has given me an understanding of how to manage people better. (PE10a-11)

I can work with a team and understand them better, know what they are feeling. (E11a)

Today’s [young] chefs are a bit harder to manage as they want to move up quickly in their field. (PE12)

As a chef, you’ve got to have your skills constantly grow; spending day in and day out doing the same tasks over and over again has given me that skill. (PE14-14a)

This ‘Generation Y’ prefers to separate their working lives from their home and personal relationships, as the job merely provides the income to do what they want to do (e.g. search for excitement, for quality friendships or for a fulfilling purpose (McCrindle 2001)). It appears that their attitude to work commences with achieving a level of status and responsibility (or at least by climbing the corporate ladder) by their sixth month on the job and they believe they deserve the positions they want whether they have the experience or not. While not lazy, they seek immediate gratification, due to having always received it in their childhood (McCrindle 2006). According to some employers, these apprentices may be perceived as self-focussed and transient, whereas the reality is that they merely reflect their times, where jobs are not guaranteed and profits are preeminent. So, rather than demonstrating an inherent selfishness, these individuals are merely responding to corporate realities (McCrindle 2008).

Growing up in the age of technology has meant that this generation is now completely at ease with computers, have an understanding and knowledge of technology, and keep up with its advances. This has changed the face of learning for a whole generation of VET teachers, who now need to acknowledge the level of technological sophistication of this new generation of students. New methods of access and delivery of information mean that the classroom and the VET teacher are now only one component of a larger pedagogical resource. Independent sourcing on the internet, at any time of day or night, or anywhere around the globe, allows the student unprecedented access to information that, just a generation ago, was unimaginable.

In 1980, 85% – 90% of the kids left in year 10, 15%–20% continued on to the HSC and Uni. In 2008, 95% of kids stay on to year 12. 5% got out into trades. I did one [TAFE
career day] at …TAFE in 1991 and that was after the Scott report. I had approximately 3000–5000 kids come past the stand I was on. I’m there in my uniform and the rest of it … three kids out of 35000, two of them wanted to be chefs. There is this thing about going to University to gain a higher remuneration and now we’ve got ‘500 million’ computer programmers when we only need five million and no one to fix the plumbing. So now the government is trying to get them back into the trades. (Head Teacher TAFE PN 26a-e)

In an endeavour to accommodate the diversity of learners now in hospitality, VET courses in TAFE are being offered through ‘flexible delivery’ for chefs who have little time to attend a class, as well as courses specifically tailored to the needs of the learners. This variety of delivery creates increased demands on teachers to communicate more effectively between each other as well as between departments in order to improve information exchange on all levels and to work more collaboratively (Senge 1990).

4.5 Learning and the new workplace

Workplace practices have evolved through the agency of its members as ways of working change. New ideas are developed as employers and employees respond to changing tastes and customer expectations; what was once sacrosanct to one generation may be changed by the next (Brown & Duguid 1991; Fox 2000), as knowledge and practices in the workplace shifts and evolves. In the past, knowledge was considered to be attained by many years of experience, but as new ideas and techniques enter the lexicon of work practices, all members of the workplace are potentially expert. In any workplace, an interaction between an individual and their environment takes place continually and, according to Svensson et al (2004), this interaction forms the basis for the learning process. Therefore any action that takes place in a context, particularly a workplace setting, is to a large part determined by others in the form of rules, values, attitudes, expectations, and so on:

As long as the time is devoted to the learning part, the development of skills as well as the assessment, that’s good. If the time is devoted to supporting the learner and developing evidence of what they’ve done, and then that’s crucial. If it is just work without any structured element of training, then it becomes a little harder to fathom. It’s
critical that you get the balance of teaching learning and assessment right. In bigger places, like hotels, it’s more structured: there is a way of doing everything. If a real knowledge is being taught alongside the experience of working, that’s OK. (Head of Hospitality College, London PJ 24–25)

Dewey (1993/1989) asserts that action, not theory, is the starting point for learning – but this practical and social basis for learning could be perceived as contradicting a traditional view of a discrete and solitary individual at the centre of their learning process. Specialised knowledge acquired in a ‘real’ situation is authentic to that site and invaluable to the activities of the individuals operating within the area of their workplace but action alone does not guarantee knowledge. Informal learning in the course of daily life, when an individual participates in the reflective observation, assimilation, conceptualisation for active experimentation, needs to be supported by formal education (Ellstrom 2001; Kolb 1984).

In my day, you spent 12 months on one section so you knew it inside out. (F/B Manager PE14c)

The training I received was very structured. (F/B Manager PE3)

My chefs were very firm and strict. Some [chefs] were too firm, too strict. (F/B Manager PE8-8a)

My learning started as an apprenticeship in Sydney. I did a four-year apprenticeship in three different places. (Ex. Chef PE14f)

…hard and disciplined training, looking for perfection, pushing a little more to get more out of them. (Exec Chef PE4b–4d)

Not so much autocratic but more [the fact] that you had to perform. (Exec Chef PE5e)

An individual’s competence is more acutely developed when there are arrangements for both informal and formal learning, as an understanding of ‘why’ and ‘how’ must be achieved by the trainee when reflecting on ‘what’ is occurring, so the conditions for reflective learning are created. In fact rather than being in opposition, formal and informal learning complement each other (Ellstrom 2001). An individual must be able to integrate a wide range of knowledge and discover the connections that lead to understanding and comprehension of the work process. The apprentice must develop an ability to act knowledgeably, effectively,
deliberately, strategically and reflectively in a situation that derives from a union of practical and theoretical knowledge.

Explicit conceptual knowledge required for workplace performance, particularly that knowledge associated with understanding the bases for work tasks, is not being developed by many workers and research has found that there is little provision from the supervisors responsible for workplace training (Billett 2000). Faced with the challenge of improving the effectiveness of workplace learning, it seems that employers need to be more innovative and should afford more opportunities for employees to digest and reflect on their learning.

We had an apprentice and they just did four to five little jobs at the lunch hour and that’s pretty much all they learned while they were there and that’s not much experience. (CC Trainee PJ11c)

They (apprentices) haven’t been shown properly. (Exec Chef PV12)

I’m still hearing about the lack of on-the-job training by the employer [and] the varying quality of the training. (TAFE Manager PV12a)

Furthermore, earlier forms of understanding and production processes are being challenged. As Figgis et al (2001) noted, the advent of the global economy has changed the nature of products and services now demanded as well as the technologies and forms of communication required. This proposition is employed to make clear one of the reasons for the changing workplace and employment when endeavouring to explain skills loss.

There’s a loss of skills in all industries; we are becoming lazy and we’re not learning. (CC Trainee PX2d)

Workers in the new economy now need to be more innovative and knowledgeable to accommodate the radical changes that are happening in the global economy (Chappell et al. 2002). This has also required changes in employee attitude and attributes as business enterprises demand more skilled, dynamic and innovative endeavour from both managers and employees in order for the enterprise to become more competitive.

I have had both ends of the spectrum: I’ve had really bad chefs that I’ve worked with and really good chefs. This came a lot from the hotel: seeing a head chef that had been
at the hotel for almost 15 years, was very comfortable in his job, never cooked anything, and always delegated work. (CC Trainee PJ10-10a)

Workplace change is a major driver of training in organisations; nonetheless it is the nature of training, rather than the volume, that varied, which challenged previous research (Smith & Hayton 1999). Furthermore, the type of training that would take place in an organisation is often determined by that the way the ‘drivers’ and moderating factors interact. This research provides an example of this, indicating a need for creative innovation within an organisation moderated by skills limitations of employees. Other workers are often used as models for performance and, through observations and more direct interactions, as a source of information as to how work tasks should proceed. Consequently, the learning for apprentices appears not to be derived from a single source or individual. As a large percentage of hospitality businesses are classified as ‘small enterprises’, they are more likely to engage in informal training than larger enterprises. Their smaller size would offer more opportunity, through expediency, for employees to engage in a multiplicity of tasks and skills (Ridoutt et al. 2002).

It’s very important that you challenge them every day. It’s very important that you tell them that they can do something. (Exec Chef Pi14–15)

Some employers only want to provide training in the narrow area that their establishment is focused. They are not interested in expanding the apprentice’s training other than areas of commercial cookery. (TAFE Manager Pi17–17a)

Both the volume and the nature of workplace training are key factors in organisations that have actively engaged in implementing the training of their employees to accommodate the requirements of the new workplace. But the learning accessed through participation at work alone may not be sufficient for developing the requirements for expertise at work. This research indicates that not all the learning arising from workplace experiences was appropriate: shortcuts and aspects of inappropriate practices were also being inculcated.

The good ones are able to explain and show examples, give you the responsibility; they think you are able to handle. They’ll allow you room to move but they’ll always be there to keep an eye on you. Good chefs can tell quite quickly at what level you’re at and how much responsibility they can give you. They can nurture that. They’ll know
how quickly to move you up or stay on a certain section before you move to a new section. Working with you, encouraging you, not making you feel special everyday but when you do something good, then taking the time out to say “well done”, not being scared to pass on their knowledge. (CC Trainee PJ12–16)

These contributions arising from participation in everyday work activities assist with developing the knowledge required for work performance, and suggest that knowing, which is the basis of our thinking, acting and learning, is distributed across social environments, such as workplaces. As Johnson and Hawke (2002) put it, there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to learning cultures, and the challenge for this research is to understand the role and application of formal learning within the workplace and its effect upon apprentice learning.

Participants discussed a broad range of impacts that could inform whether an apprentice may choose to continue their apprenticeship or withdraw. What has emerged from the initial findings of the research, however, is a series of critical issues that has an impact upon apprenticeships and which may strongly contribute to the high levels of attrition amongst apprentice chefs. Analysis of the data revealed some common determinants from all sectors of the industry and training and exposed six major areas of concern. (They will determine and inform strategic analysis in stage two of this research). The selected quotes from the participants in this report are positioned as a present voice arranged in a format to best verify and support the textual analysis of this and related literatures.

The internationality of the hospitality industry would seem to offer a broad and divergent range of views from participants in this research. The interviews reflected more commonalities than divergences in the responses, although it also strongly reflected their constituencies of either industry or VET. All participants observed failings in workplace training and VET and the possible transfer of skills and knowledge vis-a-vis the apprentice, yet it is also acknowledged that their perceptions derived from their particular standpoint both in time and situation. That is, the perception of a situation from an individual at the beginning of their career with little power to change will differ greatly from that of an experienced employer, who may also feel constrained by economic imperatives and have little theoretical or dynamic understanding of the apprentice learning.
4.6 Interpersonal dynamics of the workplace

The research exposed an industry still inculcated with a culture of employers who often resort to bullying and intimidation as a means of managing their staff, creating a very destructive and damaging working environment for the young trainee or apprentice chef. This negative environment is an important factor for the apprentice when they are considering continuing or dropping out from their apprenticeship. No matter whether they are a recent school leaver or a mature-aged person starting a new career, a learning-conducive environment was important to them. Positive workplace learning when developing the knowledge and skills of the trainee/apprentice should ideally be supported by a close partnership between apprentice and employer (Kolb 1984).

Analogous research on apprentice attrition in other industries has found that employees who reported a poor relationship with their boss/supervisor display a higher intention to leave their employment and apprentices who reported a poor relationship with their co-workers also displayed a higher intention to quit their apprenticeship (Gow et al. 2008, p. 115). Job stresses and the links to psychological well-being, together with relationships with boss/supervisors and co-workers, were found to be significant predictors of intention to leave (Gow et al. 2008).

Their (chefs') idea of being loud is being aggressive … and I think a lot of chefs in the industry have gone that way … and it's all forgotten at the end of the shift, but they've just screamed at two or three people who have just lost all confidence and aren't happy in the job anymore. If you're an apprentice and you're a young kid and somebody screams at you on a daily basis, and you're doing long hours, usually for low pay, what are you going to do? (CC Trainee PV21b)

There is still a vigorously regimented structure that permeates much of kitchen life within large organisations that does little to engender a positive atmosphere for effective learning. There may be little opportunity for the apprentice to build confidence and skills through an open dialogue with their supervisor when inflexible behaviour from the latter towards the apprentice is likely to cause fear and anxiety, overriding the apprentice’s ability to learn and freely question (Cornford & Gunn 1998). The restaurant and commercial cooking industries, moreover, have persisted in the misuse of apprentices, often requesting them to carry out
menial, repetitive tasks, which, although an important part of the job, provide minimal opportunities for learning.

This research also revealed an industry that has a significant number of employers who have problems in fulfilling basic expectations of the tripartite training agreement between apprentice and VET. The contractual agreement regarding the employment of an apprentice and the resultant funding subsidy paid by the Federal Government carries with it certain obligations on the part of the employer to provide training for the apprentice. Many small employers and some large ones have found it very difficult to juggle the requirements of their business with an appropriate amount of time to allocate to support apprentice training. They appear content to send their apprentices to a registered training organisation (RTO) such as TAFE but spend little time following up their formal training in the workplace. This research has also confirmed that the limited or reduced level and quality of apprentice workplace training is largely due to economic pressures on the employer, with a consequent reduction in staff levels and the deficit of time and personnel to provide adequate workplace training.

I could go on all day how bad – there was no training; it was almost self-training. You had to learn things yourself. (CC Trainee PJ11–11a)

The good ones are able to explain and show examples, give you the responsibility they think you are able to handle. They’ll allow you room to move but they’ll always be there to keep an eye on you. (CC Trainee PJ12–13a)

Good chefs can tell quite quickly at what level you’re at and how much responsibility they can give you. They can nurture that. They’ll know how quickly to move you up or stay on a certain section before you move to a new section. Working with you, encouraging you, not making you feel special everyday but when you do something good, then taking the time out to say “well done”, not being scared to pass on their knowledge. (CC Trainee PJ13b–16)

4.7 “My way or the highway”

Effective workplace learning is described as the complex interdependence of an individual’s thinking, acting and learning that shapes their development within the organisation and their relationship to their work and community of practice (Kolb 1984; Lave & Wenger 1991). The
workplace ought to be the location that offers current, contextually relevant learning of skills and knowledge needed by industry at their point of activation. It is here that the apprentice is given the opportunity to absorb, hone and practice the new skills and knowledge and to receive valuable feedback from peers and cohorts.

You are picking up skills, the current skills, the current techniques, what is in the industry today … You are also learning how to be in a team environment, how to deal with the team, how to deal with other people’s egos in the kitchen environment. (F/B Manager Pi3–5)

When you are doing a formal course in a classroom, you learn to do things once or twice but then when you get into the workplace, you need to do that and do it fast and be perfect. (Field Officer, Recruitment Centre Pi23)

Nonetheless, there were many concerns expressed by participants that not all learning that took place in the commercial kitchens for apprentices is positive and in line with best practice and that a large number of employers see apprenticeships as a form of cheap labour and not as an investment (Robinson & Ball 1998; Stern 1997).

You see the way some chefs treat younger people in the industry and I think that puts a lot of people off too. (CC Trainee Pi11a)

…very much so, but again the apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching. Where the problem is, is that a lot of apprentices these days are in an environment where they not learning. (Restaurant owner and consultant Pi11b–11c)

In a hotel kitchen, you can stand in a corner and not touch any food. (Exec Chef Pi12)

If people were to spend that quality time and give them that proper training rather than throwing them in the corner. (Exec Chef Pi12b)

When responding to general questions regarding their observation of industry practice, interviewees revealed that employers who understood the positive long-term benefits of a well-trained and skilled workplace had less staff turnover. But almost all interviewees said that they frequently encountered employers who believe it is right that apprentices are given a
hard time as they themselves were treated in a similar way when they were apprentices (Colley 1996).

4.8 Motivation, passion and skills

Participants in the stage one research proffered a wide range of responses when asked why they chose cooking as a career. There were a few unifying factors among individual responses, whether an interest gained by means of attending a school-based pre-apprenticeship, or having a weekend job as a kitchen hand. But what appeared repeatedly in the responses from both employers and employees alike was their prerequisite of a passion and commitment to their job as an apprentice chef.

Employers and teachers participating in this research agreed that one of the key indicators that an apprentice will have a successful apprenticeship is being motivated and having a passion for the job. In an industry renowned for being physically demanding and stressful, all the respondents in the research recognised that a young person entering a career in commercial cookery needs some form of intrinsic motivation to ‘stick it out’. There is a strong indication from many successful chefs that their drive to become accomplished and develop confidence in their skills and ability carried them through difficult periods in their employment. There is evidence that many male chefs saw the challenges of a demanding industry as almost a ‘rite of passage’ for any apprentice, to be approached with resolve and dogged determination to ‘tough it out.’ This being said, accommodating the requirements of a busy, stressful industry is very different from accommodating the demands of a bullying, autocratic boss.

I worked with a guy who was an absolute bastard but he understood food and he understood me; he understood everyone in the kitchen. (Exec Chef PE28)

Intrinsic motivation is defined as the motivation to work primarily because the work itself is interesting and satisfying (Amabile et al. 1994). It is strongly associated with an individual’s attribution of their success in life to their own ability and effort and with individuals who take pride in their accomplishments. Intrinsic motivators are said to be those aspects that provide the individual with personal rewards for work done well, such as achievement, autonomy or
promotion. Individuals who are highly intrinsically motivated try to seek work that provides this motivation, such as in workplaces allowing the use of creativity or opportunities for developing new skills, and they see their work environment in terms of its support of these motivators (Amabile et al. 1994).

because one of the reasons you take up cooking is because you want to have that creativity … so when you get a job and you don’t get that … it’s the training, we come back to, not giving them a free range to try … to use their creative side. (F/B Manager PV7)

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation represent two distinct constructs; however Amabile et al (1994) suggest that the constructs can work in conjunction with each other, and that a person could have a high score in only one of the motivation areas or could have a high score on both, depending on the situation (Gow et al. 2008, p. 103). This would suggest that industry also needs to examine employment conditions of trainees/apprentices as a factor in creating an environment more conducive for their acquiring the desired skills and attributes to positively contribute to the workplace.

Some of them said they love the creative side of it. They love to be able to create something and get that feedback from a customer. I think that’s the most important side, that creative side that does get lost today. I think most chefs have a creative mind and that can get squashed. It’s the creativity development is a lot slower and they get bored easily …. They always want to learn as much as they can, they want to have that creative edge. (F/B ManagerPF2–2e)

Creative as you really can be. (Exec Chef PF2f)

A lot of them mentioned about being passionate. (F/B Manager PF4a)

I got into it because I really love cooking … You do need to be passionate and willing to sacrifice some things in your life. (Exec Chef PF4b)

I think without passion for food, you might become a chef but you wouldn’t do it for more than a year or so. (Apprentice PF4d)

There are a percentage (of apprentices) that are pushed to the side in the restaurant and told to do monotonous jobs and never get an opportunity to develop. (Exec Chef PF2g)
Alternatively, extrinsic motivation is defined as the motivation to work primarily in response to the receipt of external rewards, such as money or status. Those who are extrinsically motivated view their work environment in terms of its extrinsic properties and will seek positions that supply this motivation (Amabile et al. 1994). Previous research has often identified pay as a key negative to the job, but it is not a factor that influences an apprentice’s likelihood of dropping out (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) in the absence of other conditions making it impossible for them to remain.

4.9 Diluting the skills

There was also a widespread criticism from interviewees of the degradation of traditional skills through economic and technological change in the workplace (Penn, Rose & Rubery 1994). This is, in part, due to the continual purchase of manufactured products by the employer for their business as a measure to minimise the skills required in the business and manage costs. Sooner or later even a proficient tradesperson would eventually experience a noticeable diminution of proficiency and skills when working in this environment, arising from a lack of use and practice, given that skills need to be repeatedly used and practised to reach and maintain mastery and excellence.

Half the work is done by the time it arrives in the boxes, but they’re not learning anything. All the fish filleting and the boning is already done. It’s good economically but as far as the training, no they’re not learning anything at it is already done on arrival. (Field Officer Recruitment Centre PX2a)

I think this is a massive change because hotels 20 years ago would have 70 staff … Today there are 35 staff in the hotel. It’s cut in half, because the outsourcing is available. (Exec Chef PX5)

It’s unfortunate for the apprentices; I think it is part of the selling point to get apprentices into the restaurant. So they are not opening a packet of salad with scissors. (Exec Chef PX2c)

Industry and VET interviewees also perceived that an erosion of the traditional skills and knowledge in kitchens is due in part to the changing culinary tastes of restaurant patrons, as they now prefer less complexity and richness. There was a general acceptance of the notion
that socio-cultural change is too challenging for many employers and VET teachers, causing them to critically reflect upon the significance of knowledge acquired from past training and its influence upon current skills learning for apprentices.

There were observations from the interviewees, however, that the diminishing skills base in kitchens was also, in part, due to young individuals with fewer skills and experience than their predecessors assuming supervisory and managerial positions early in their career, resulting in limited skills and knowledge capital to draw upon when taking on an apprentice. There is a perceived generational dilution of the depth and breadth of knowledge and experience of young head chefs who have had limited their opportunities to work around the world or who have chosen employment that simply mirrors their early initial workplace/s. The ideal post-qualification experience for a chef is to work with key individuals or establishments that have exceptional reputations for as long as possible before deploying to a position of leadership and influence. This may not be feasible for all individuals for a range of reasons, but nonetheless there may remain opportunities for a head chef to maintain or upgrade their skills and knowledge through ‘lifelong learning’.

That’s another big problem that we’ve got in Australia is that they (chefs) finish their four-year apprenticeship and they are offered $200 more as a head chef in a restaurant. I always tell the young guys that you have a filing cabinet above your eyes. You need, while you are young, to fill that filing cabinet and the more you know, to me, the more people have to pay you. (Restaurant owner and consultant PE14g-14h)

I look at it in terms of being a perfectionist … you really want to do well. I know that’s a bit hard to get out of the guys today. (Exec Chef PE15)

4.10 Learning in the classroom

The data exposed inconsistencies from industry participants when they were questioned with respect to whether there was a failure of VET to meet industry training needs (National Council of Vocational Education and Training 2001). Many responded positively to the value of their own VET but, as industry professionals, they challenged many aspects of the curriculum. Moreover, there seemed to be a failure of many of the skills to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991).
general concern communicated by apprentice/learners is that both the workplace and VET providers do not provide ample opportunity for practise to consolidate skills learned off site (Cornford 1996). Support for formal VET learning of underpinning theoretical knowledge and core skills was forthcoming from participants, who themselves had experienced the benefits of formal vocational training. They perceived it as a recognisable expression of their own training and workplace. They also acknowledged that it is limited in not being able to adequately replicate the stresses and tensions of working in a commercial kitchen.

They (full time commercial cookery students) never will be completely industry ready. It is always a shock to them. The stamina required is phenomenal; sometimes the working conditions are different. (Head of a Hospitality College, London PD7d-7f)

I think the TAFE gives people a solid grounding but I think it’s up to the employer to finish off that grounding … It depends on the skills that are needed for them to do their job at their place of work … because a lot of places of work are very different. (Exec Chef PD2d, PD9b)

It seems, moreover, that VET and the resultant apprentice learning should be in accord with the apprentice’s workplace experience to be effective and relevant, and it should reflect the work carried out in the workplace (Lave & Wenger 1991). As apprentices only spend a small percentage of their apprenticeship at a TAFE or other VET organisation, this situation is of relatively little significance compared to time spent learning in their workplaces. Participant responses to the questions on workplace training acknowledged that, in their experience, the quality and amount of training in the workplace was extremely wide-ranging, from the provision of a structured training program closely monitored by the employer to almost no training at all, where apprentices are left to train themselves.

Most of the training occurs in the workplace because they come to TAFE one day a week … I think there is probably a need for TAFE to go out into industry to do workplace training on the job. (TAFE Manager PD9)
4.11 Short term gains and long term losses

The difficulty for apprentices is that while they are seeking to be trained, the employer is looking for cheap labour.

I think chefs are looking after their staff but the industry has gone from a 40–50 hour week to a 60–70 hour week. I’ve worked in three-hat restaurants and I’ve seen what apprentices do. They aren’t good enough to cut the meat or fillet the fish, but they’re there and they do a lot of peeling baby carrots. (Chef/Trainer Pj9)

There are many financial constraints upon apprentices as they struggle to manage in urban centres in Australia on what are, effectively, subsistence wages. Employers delivering little to non-existent workplace training (Cornford & Gunn 1998) and a VET under pressure to reduce delivery hours have combined to create a dire situation.

Apprentices should, ideally, be given a mix of workplace and off-the-job training to learn a diversity of skills (Smith 2002, p. 438). The added support from VET in the acquisition of fundamental knowledge is seen as a crucial aspect of developing transferable skills critical to an industry such as commercial cookery (Strickland et al. 2001). This basic operational model has been applied to the modern apprenticeships since their inception (Schofield 1999a, 1999b; Schofield 2000; Smith 1999; Strickland et al. 2001). Nonetheless, there is no reason to suppose that all training now delivered across Australia by government and non-government VET providers is at parity. There have been many incidences reported in the media of private hospitality colleges being run primarily for profit rather than for the educational benefit of their students (Cregan, Bartram & Stanton 2009). Hospitality students and others not being provided the education they expected will undermine Australia’s reputation as a preferred educational destination for many overseas students (Whitelaw et al 2009).

Costs and wages across most industries are a major concern for both employers and apprentices but particularly for the hospitality/restaurant industry, as the financial return for sales is often perceived as insufficient by employers. But it is also evident that many employers perceive that taking on and training a first year apprentice is not an investment but a cost that they prefer not to make. They appear to have a preference for experienced apprentices. They often choose to employ a second-year apprentice who already has the basic
skills and knowledge for ‘job readiness’ and who requires less time and resources, in spite of the fact that the pay scale for apprentice chefs is one of the lowest of all industries (Toner 2005).

You are always hearing that the pay isn’t matched to the job. Money is always a factor. The majority of chefs I know work long hours in hot kitchens, loads of pressure for little money. (Trainee PV10)

The young apprentice living away from home and surviving in an expensive urban environment would soon realise that their income afforded little in the way of extras after paying their expenses. This could be seen as a significant predictor of an apprentice’s intention to quit their apprenticeship as they be unable to sustain the rigour of long hours and a demanding job for little money (Vaillancourt 2001). Current research indicates that pay is not a reliable predictor of an apprentice quitting an apprenticeship (Gow et al. 2008; Griffeth, Hom & Gaertner 2000; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). More importantly, the key factor in skills retention and utilisation, according to the most recent research, is that people stay in organisations where they feel they are learning and progressing in their careers (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008).

In conclusion the outcomes highlighted in this research reflect longstanding and commonplace problems in commercial cookery and VET associated with a long history of government and industry reports and reviews of ensuing initiatives in an attempt to address attrition and skills shortages. They strongly imply that VET should examine its changing role in skills and knowledge training in order to offer the possibility for greater support for industry employers and apprentices as part of the search for solutions to the high levels of apprentice attrition in commercial cookery.
Chapter Five – Summary of Stage One Findings

5.1 Stage one findings distilled as six key points

The findings of this stage one research are distilled into six key points listed as follows:

1. A new generation of apprentices: Trainees and apprentices are now different learner/workers to past generations, having particular aspirations for employment and learning. How these are manifested can influence their approach to their apprenticeship in their search for an interconnected and positive employer/apprentice relationship.

2. Working together: It would appear from the research that the poorer the relationship between the apprentice and their boss/supervisor or co-workers, the more likely their intention to quit. That supports Gow et al. (2008) who state that a person’s relationship with their boss/supervisor and/or their relationship with their co-workers is one of the best predictors of intention to quit.

3. Learning on the job: Workplace learning is still the most significant component of an apprenticeship in that it is a contextual, current and authentic experience for the trainee/apprentice. In spite of this, it has been severely criticised by all the participants in this research: in their experience it is generally patchy at best and non-existent at worst.

4. Skills lost, skills gained: The deterioration of traditional skills is, in part, an unavoidable result of changes in labour and technology as management strategies and work design all impinge on the development of skills in the workforce.

5. Developing a new partnership for industry and education: VET is still seen by some employers and trainees as unable to deliver the current skills and knowledge training needed for industry; conversely, however, it was also perceived by all employers interviewed as the best mode of delivery for the apprentice to acquire the generic, fundamental skills and knowledge needed for sustained employment.

6. Opening spaces of communication: Current economic imperatives of the hospitality industry necessitate a significant dialogue between VET and employers to examine
the long-term requirements of apprentices’ learning and their retention in the industry. This may reveal opportunities for mutual participation for the apprentices’ learning both in and out of the classroom.

Further, these six key points have been summarised and published in report form to address important audiences of this research: VET organisations, VET managers and teachers; industry employers; and related stakeholders. The Stage One Industry and VET Report not only broadcasts these findings to significant participants and interested stakeholders but actions a feedback mechanism to further enrich stage two of this research.

The six key stage one findings now generate the progression and design of stage two questions which are as follows:

1. What expectations do apprentices bring to their workplace that contributes to their retention?
2. How do work practices contribute to their retention of apprentices?
3. What learning support assists apprentices in their retention?

Stage two continues to triangulate workplace attributes of successfully completed apprentices and the responses of the nominated employer/supervisor or VET practitioner in regard to the effectiveness of their inter-relationships. Analysis of co-participant responses from this research will lead to conclusions drawn from employers, apprentices and VET, with respect to the best way forward for improving the retention rates of trainee/apprentices within the industry.
Chapter Six– Conceptual Framework and Related Literature for Stage Two

6.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework for this second stage of the research study will continue the research to focus on questions derived from the stage one research. The previous chapter outlined the context and orientation of this secondary study and has provided the trajectory that this particular research project has taken. It generated three questions that have expounded aspects of an apprentice’s learning, derived from an analysis of the stage one and stage two data and verbal feedback. The literature of motivation theory will provide support for the overall stage two research to explore whether meeting apprentices’ expectations of their learning and their consequent motivation are the key to retention. It is proposed that the profile of a ‘stayer’ is an apprentice disposed and motivated to endure the physical demands of a kitchen in service to their goal of becoming a chef. It is also proposed that cooking is a creative process that will attract individuals looking for a career that fulfils that need (Horng & Lee 2006). Participants in this research recognised that, for many apprentice chefs, being afforded opportunities for inventiveness or creativity is a strong motivational force in retaining their apprenticeship.

6.2 Expectations: from outside in

It is often reported that dissatisfaction and worker alienation is a product of unfulfilled labour expectations that manifest as explicit issues such as pay, working hours and conditions of employment. Individuals entering workplaces, however, bring with them preconceptions and expectations based on their understanding of work and employment relationships. These may be skewed through a limited or misinformed understanding of the nature of their engagement and participation in work practices. The form and extent of those expectations will determine their motivation and the social relationships and power dynamics found in many workplace responsibilities. An employer and apprentice will both harbour preconceptions where social exchange constructs such as commitment, passion, responsibility or fair work and equity circumscribe social relationships between employer and employee (Chivers 1971; Drew 1987; Horng & Lee 2006; Sennett 2008).
Horng and Lee (2006) used the term ‘psychological work contract’ to describe an embedded[ness] of the power of perception and the values held by both parties. Levinson et al. (1962, p. 21) saw the ‘psychological contract’ as a series of mutual expectations that govern their relationship to each other. Sennett (2008) asserted expectations between the organisation and individual employee determine not only how much work is to be performed for how much pay, but also a range set of obligations, privileges and rights. The significance of implicit obligations and a need to understand individual expectations of employment are a core determinant of the psychological contract (Hall & Sharples 2003; Lee-Ross 1999; Scarpato 2002). According to Guest (2004), the employment relationship is a two-way exchange, with the emphasis squarely upon the perceptions of reciprocal promises and obligations of both parties. It has also been suggested that the conceptual distinctions between ‘obligations’, on the one hand, and ‘expectations’, on the other, are somewhat obscure (Cullinane & Dundon 2006, p. 116). Rousseau (2001), however, has stressed that an individual’s sense of the other’s unmet obligations would result in a more negative response rather than unmet expectations. Rokeach et al (1989) also defined this as a set of beliefs or values about what is expected and suggested that these beliefs are developed through an individual’s core psychological needs and sense of self. They argued that values are a set of motives that lead individuals to perform acts they think should be done; that is to say, that individual values influence the attractiveness of different goal objects and, consequently, the motivation to attain these goals (Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach 1989).

6.3 Organisational processes

Process theories help describe and explain how behaviour is directed, energised, sustained or stopped. They are, in effect, working models of the decision-making processes of individuals used to determine whether they will be motivated to pursue a certain activity and sustain a certain level of productivity. Organisational-process theories seek to identify causal relationships across time and events with respect to employees’ behaviour in the workplace. An influential theory of motivation is the theory of ‘expectancy’ – originally developed by Tolman (1959) who conceptualised behaviour as purposeful and goal directed, which contrasted dramatically with some of the more static content theories of motivation (Segal, Borgia & Schoenfeld 2005).
Vroom (1964) developed the first systematic formulation of expectancy theory with respect to the workplace. He argued that employees rationally evaluate on-the-job behaviours, then choose those behaviours that will lead to most valued work-related rewards or outcomes. Whereas Maslow and Herzberg looked at the relationship between internal needs and the resulting effort expended to fulfil them, Vroom distinguished effort (which arises from motivation), performance, and outcomes. He hypothesised that for a person to be motivated, effort, performance and motivation must be linked. He proposed three variables to account for this – Valence, Expectancy and Instrumentality. Expectancy is defined as (a) having the right resources available (e.g. raw materials, time) (b) having the right skills to do the job and (c) having the necessary support to get the job done (e.g. supervisor support, or correct information about the job). Instrumentality is the belief that if you perform well, then a valued outcome will be received – that is, if I do a good job, there will be reward. However, there needs to be a clear understanding of the relationship between performance and outcomes for the employee, and trust in the people making decisions about who gets what, with transparency of process. Expectancy theory works on perceptions, so even if an employer thinks they have provided everything conducive for motivation, individual differences may affect perceptions of the value of rewards offered.

Porter and Lawler (1968) extrapolated this theory, recognising individual differences between employees’ abilities and skills, linking job effort to job performance and clarifying the relationship between performance and employee satisfaction. Of salience is equity theory of motivation: people will also compare outcomes for themselves with others. Equity theory draws from exchange, dissonance and social-comparison theories in making predictions about how individuals manage their relationships with others (Australian Industry Group 2007; West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006). Griffeth and Gaertner (2006) also suggested that people alter the level of effort they put in to their work based on a comparative perception of the rest of the group. An individual’s satisfaction with their workplace relationships and task activities is key to overall job satisfaction (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2011).
6.4 Expectancy theory

This research further examines apprentice chefs’ attrition and retention to determine whether expectations play a key role in an individual’s motivation to complete their apprenticeship. According to Tien (2000) and Vansteenkiste et al. (2005), ‘Expectancy Theory’ is one of the more respected theories of motivation that has empirical support. Developed by Vroom (1964), it was later refined by Porter and Lawler (1968) to explain the process individuals use to make decisions with respect to various behavioural alternatives. Porter and Lawler developed the schematic below to explain the interrelationship between an individual’s initial expectation and their consequent satisfaction in the workplace.

![Expectancy Theory Model](image)

Fig. 1: Porter & Lawler’s 1968 model for organisational motivation (Pinder 2008, p. 373)

Expectancy theory asserts that the ultimate motive of every human act is that an individual will always choose the option with the greatest positive motivational force. The theory is, in effect, employed to understand the decision-making process that individuals use to determine whether or not they are motivated towards a given situation or task (Chiang & Jang 2008). It does not define what motivates the individual, who may have a range of expectation variables, but as a process theory it helps describe and explain how behaviour is directed, energised, sustained, or stopped.

The theory asserts that the motivational force for behaviour, action or task is a function of three distinct perceptions: expectancy, instrumentality and valence. Vroom (1964) asserts that in order for an individual to feel motivated they must believe that if they exert enough effort then they will be able to achieve whatever level of performance is required. They must also
believe that their performance will result in a particular outcome; the relation between performance and outcome is called instrumentality. The final condition needed for an individual to feel motivated is for them to positively value what they will receive for their performance, which Vroom refers to as valence. Consequently the theory is commonly known by its acronym VIE, which translates as: Motivation force = Expectancy x Instrumentality x Valence. As the theory gained popularity, it was the subject of several empirical studies (Campbell & Pritchard 1976; Mitchell 1974; Wahba & House 1974), which provided general empirical support for the three components of expectancy theory. The theory requires that an individual is able to assess:

- the likelihood that working hard will result in the satisfaction of an employer’s performance requirements
- the correlation between meeting performance requirements and receiving job-related rewards, and
- the value of these rewards

6.5 Challenging the novice – expert dichotomy

The history of kitchens is often one of competition and rivalry among chefs, loathe sharing their ‘trade secrets’. As a result, knowledge was always guarded and only disseminated to the favoured (Robinson & Barron 2007). Past knowledge and skills of artisanal practice was the domain of an elite band of ‘master craftsmen’ collectively linked through a guild and individuals had to earn the right to ‘trade secrets’. However, the traditional image of the novice as inexperienced individual, patiently being trained up by the expert craftsman is only part of the story of a contemporary kitchen. The challenge for many employers is how to adjust to the generation of apprentices now taking up careers in cooking. It is now generally held that young people today are leaving school later than their predecessors and are better educated (OECD 2000), although this is continually debated in the popular press with regard to literacy and numeracy skills. Alongside increased time spent in education, there has also been an increasing number of young people working part-time at the weekend and in the evening (Fuller & Unwin 2004; Hodgson & Spours 2001). This has prepared many of them for workplace mores and cultures. An apprentice’s learning does not merely consist of a bounded linear trajectory from periphery to proficiency. Becoming a qualified tradesman is a
less rigid process; there will be occasions when the learner will be the expert, training even less-experienced apprentices or running a kitchen section (Fuller & Unwin 2003). Furlong and Cartmel (1997, p. 10) argue that when young people enter the workplace they have already developed a set of skills, knowledge and attitudes that render the term ‘novice’ almost meaningless. They will only be ‘novices’ in the sense of having to learn practices and procedures of that particular workplace not previously encountered but they will also have skills, knowledge and expertise to share (Australian Industry Group 2007, p. 27).

Furthermore, Vygotsky (1971) schematised situated learning as ‘zones of proximal development,’ conceptualising a learner’s transition as able to be realised with guidance. Learning is then viewed as a social activity between individuals. There is also an emphasis in the literature on the interaction between cognitive and social activity (Drew 1987; Sennett 2008). The relationship between ‘master’ and ‘novice’ is then socially regulated, as it is usual for the master to define what information is determined as relevant. However, employers who practise a prescriptive style of operation will often exploit a young person’s willingness to be ‘adaptable’ and ‘flexible’ (Fuller & Unwin 2004). Suffice it to say that those aspects that relate to work expectations are salient to the stage two research (Barron et al. 2007; McCrindle 2006a; McCrindle 2008). Access to authentic learning experiences for the apprentice is a contested area of negotiation where the employer determines how and when they are ready to progress. There is an assumption on the part of the master that the novice has limited experience and understanding of the situation such that it is possibly outside their ‘zone of proximal development’ (Billett 2000; Billett 2001; Billett 2006; Billett, Barker & Hemon-Tinning 2004). But limiting access to information may demonstrate an unwillingness to share hard-earned knowledge and experience as skilled workers retain their social position within the hierarchical workplace.

6.6 The expert apprentice

The research has revealed that a key aspect of the work life of apprentices was that they were afforded opportunities and encouraged to develop ideas and opinions as an acknowledged member of their community. Their opportunity to contribute was provided by the delegation of responsibility for running a section without supervision or having creative input recognised in the form of ideas for new dishes. The concept of ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ fundamental to
Lave and Wenger’s early model has been recently redefined to acknowledge the co-participatory nature between individuals in the workplace when authentic, applicable skills and knowledge are acquired while engaging with other workers (Billett 2002b; Fuller & Unwin 2003; Senge 1990a).

The traditional image of the apprentice as a young school leaver being patiently trained by an expert craftsman in the rules and practices of a craft or trade unchanged over many years does not sit easily with the image of the flexible, fast-moving and fragile contemporary workplace. (Fuller & Unwin 2003, p. 43)

When an apprentice is expected to take responsibility too early in their apprenticeship, however, it may restrict their capacity to gain the breadth of knowledge required for future development. They may also quickly become locked in restrictive work practices. Large organisations have a multiplicity of tasks and would offer greater opportunities for learning due to the diversity of operations, in contrast to small businesses who will often take advantage of the apprentice’s enthusiasm (Fuller & Unwin 2004). This could lead to the narrowing and limiting of their professional development when they should be attaining broader transferable skills and knowledge. Earlier research also bears out the proposition that employers who affect more participatory work practices for apprentices and honestly attempt to build and maintain authentic work practices provide favourable conditions for apprentice retention (Billett 2002a; Billett, Barker & Hernon-Tinning 2004).

6.7 Learning in work

Past research has often depicted the apprentice and their workplace as having a commonality of purpose where the interrelationship of employer and apprentice was one of mutual benefit. But the social and pedagogical relationship of an apprenticeship can differ greatly between organisations and between employer and employee (Fuller & Unwin 2003). The modern apprenticeship is understood as an agreement that forms the basis for the progression and training of the apprentice to become a skilled provider for their organisation and industry. However there are now distinct generational and social differences between current apprentices and their employers, which are impacting upon workplaces and influencing
expectation of both workplace activities and the subsequent learning (McCrindle 2006b, 2008).

The learning of an employee is significantly influenced, moreover, by the setting in which it occurs. But, given that context and settings are socially constructed, how an individual is afforded opportunities for learning in an organisation is strongly enforced by their situation and access to that organisation’s cultural artefacts. It could be argued that all knowledge is cultural knowledge and socially situated. Understanding the significance of this perspective may mean that all knowledge in an organisation is located in space and time, and the nature of its distribution and possibly differential interpretation will reveal the standing of individuals within that organisation. In both large and small organisations, knowledge is either freely accessible to all workers or it is measured out by individual managers who assess to whom and when it will be disseminated. New ideas are continually being constructed and added to the workplace from both within and outside the organisation. Knowledge is added from a range of sources and is constantly evolving as changed circumstances drive new solutions.

In a world of accelerating change, in which knowledge can weather economic lows, it is proposed that employers should facilitate the development of a learning organisation (Senge 1990b). This is particularly true of commercial kitchens, where there is an imperative to constantly review current practices to stay ahead of the competition. There are many benefits from supporting training for staff, as outlined in an industry report on the value of training (Tourism and Training Australia 2000). These benefits may include, but are not limited to, aspects of food production, such as benchmarking for food quality, multiskilling and improving profit margins. They would also include a better customer focus, greater professionalism, enhanced job-preparation skills, and use of IT to streamline ordering and the development of staff confidence.

However an apprentice’s learning is not an isolated, discrete activity but a product of participation in social practices (Cole 1998; Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998b; Wertsch 1994). Billett (1998) states that it is through engagement in these practices, individuals come to learn new knowledge. This knowledge is based on social and cultural practices and the learner needs to engage in these social practices to access it. It is through an understanding of the skills and knowledge required in the workplace that an individual situates themselves within their community of practice. Berger and Luckman (1967, p. 150) assert that
individuals ‘take over’ worlds where others already live, while Jenkins (2004, p. 5) says that it is more about how identity works interactionally and institutionally. It is here that individuals are identified as ‘being skilled’ and their identity recognised and acknowledged as valuable and transferable.

6.8 Being supported: learning as participation in social practice

Kang et al (2010) found that an organisation’s support for a chef is positively related to their commitment to their employer and business (Fuller & Hester 2001; Pierce et al. 1989; Rhoades & Eisenberger 2002), thus mitigating against resignation as a resort of burnout (Byrne & Hochwarter 2008). Kang et al (2010) also state, however, that it is not useful to merely view a qualified individual in isolation, as their attitude and perception of an organisation will be determined by a number of factors. Conceiving the learning of an apprentice as an isolated and peripheral practice does not account for the complex relational character of situated learning within the organisational structure and its workplace community.

To fully understand the situated learning of an apprentice we need to look outside the contested paradigm of the learning of a newcomer as a discrete process of engagement with the workplace. Lave and Wenger’s (1991) early model has been redefined to acknowledge the co-participatory nature of individuals in the workplace when authentic, applicable skills and knowledge are acquired through engaging with other workers (Billett 2002b; Fuller & Unwin 2003; Senge 1990a). Consequently it would be deficient to perceive the new apprentice as separate to the collective cognitive process of engaging in learning when participating in the social practice of the workplace (Beesley & Cooper 2008). Legitimate peripheral participation affords opportunities for newcomers to become part of a community of practice where activities, identities and artefacts interrelate as a setting for learning, to support the novice in the relational engagement needed to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge for the workplace (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 29). Locating the individual within communities of practice acknowledges the significant, multidimensional contribution from within and without the community (Fuller & Unwin 2001) so they can become a full participant in the social practices of their community. Wenger (1998a, p. 4) stated that we are social beings, a fact central to our learning, and that knowledge is a matter of competence.
with respect to valued enterprises. Participating and actively engaging should be meaningful, given that to participate in a team is a form of belonging. This participation not only shapes the things we do but also how we interpret them.

Workplaces intentionally regulate an individual’s participation where activities reflect the needs of the organisation or dictates from members of that community. But it must be said that not all workplace activities are functionally transparent for the novice, as many are embedded within a sequence of actions that eventually lead to the required outcome. Commercial kitchens have a range of complex interrelated activities delegated to individual members of that organisation that must be effectively accomplished for a successful outcome, namely the creation of complex dishes. These activities are not unstructured or ad hoc but specifically designed to bring all members of the group into focus with both the explicit and implicit outcomes needed for the organisation (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006).

Historically, the participation of the new apprentice in these activities was one of peripheral engagement: their contribution to tasks was viewed by the other members as having limited value. Workplaces employing a complex hierarchy of workers placed the new apprentice on the ‘bottom rung’ of the organisation, to be assigned tasks of low risk and consequent low value, although an apprentice’s intentionality to participate fully in those workplace activities and interactions is conducive to their willingness recognise the value of those activities. Current neoliberal imperatives often mean that many workplaces now operate with a much lower ratio of qualified persons to apprentices, thus yielding less time for ‘proximal guidance’ (Billett 2002b). Earlier research bears out the proposition that employers that effect a more participatory model for their employees and genuinely attempt to build and maintain authentic work practices for them create greater opportunities for their retention (Billett 2002a; Billett, Barker & Hernon-Tinning 2004).

A new apprentice entering the workplace today has a very different perception of their contribution and learning from that of their predecessors (Barron et al. 2007; Davila, Epstein & Shelton 2006; McCrindle 2006b, 2008; Vehling 1977). Research on the development of an apprentice has found that an essential component of job satisfaction is a close participatory association with their employer or supervisor (Billett 1993; Billett 2000; Kolb 1984; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). An environment in which the individual feels that they are learning and maturing is a key component for the employee when deliberating about whether
to stay or leave their employment (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). Furthermore, there is no separation between engagement in their thinking, learning and acting at work where opportunities to engage and interact with others in the workplace are crucial to their learning. It is also the case that the value and willingness placed on those activities will impact their motivation to engage in the learning afforded to them by the workplace (Fuller et al. 2003; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2011; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976; Twigg, Fuller & Hester 2008).

Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 36) recognise that communities of practice are social structures involving relations of power and acknowledge that the way power is exercised can make legitimate peripheral participation either an empowering or disempowering experience. Newcomers can pose a threat to old timers, creating a dynamic tension between the continuity of the community by their supposed displacement of more established members. But the attainment of the individual and collective goals of all members of the community depends upon a mutual respect for each other’s contribution as; ‘each threatens the fulfilment of the other’s destiny, just as it is essential to it’. (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 116)

A large commercial kitchen is a stratified hierarchy where knowledge and tasks are delegated through explicit or implicit understandings that they are appropriate for or ‘belong’ to particular individuals. The ownership of these tasks is often perceived as set by the manager or delegated through a chain of command where the apprentice is perceived as inexperienced and low skilled. But there is the potential to set and re-set boundaries within the social structure of the practice, as individuals with the power to affect the organisation’s workplace structure can deny or extend opportunities for an apprentice’s learning. The research indicates that in many cases the tasks assigned to apprentices are essential to the achievement of the organisation’s desired outcome, not extraneous to it. Fuller and Unwin (2002b) challenge Wenger’s view of peripheral participation as ‘catching up’ and assert that the novice makes a valuable contribution from the outset.

6.9 Enriched work practices: experienced meaningfulness

Several studies have demonstrated that ‘enriched’ jobs (i.e., jobs that are complex and challenging) often enhance the motivation, satisfaction, and productivity of people at work
‘Needs satisfaction’ (as the theoretical basis of work motivation) has offered a better understanding of employee’s attitude towards their work. The theory proposes that work must be challenging, requiring the use of skills and knowledge, if the incumbent is to stay motivated. If jobs are easy to accomplish, employees will become quickly bored and dissatisfied. A chef’s role embraces techniques demanding quick and effective work under pressure that rely upon the appropriate motor skills and dexterity (Lee-Ross 1999). Consequently, for an explanation of the relationship between job skills and motivation, it would seem reasonable to consider a technique that focuses on the job characteristics. In this research, therefore, Hackman and Oldham’s survey instrument and Billett’s questionnaire (Billett 2005; Billett 2001c; Hackman & Oldham 1980) were utilised as a basis for considering these issues and relationships. Hackman and Oldham’s job diagnostic survey (JDS) was developed as a means of testing their theory of work motivation. Their theory proposed that certain core job dimensions must be present in a job if the individual is to be motivated in the workplace. These core job dimensions can give rise to three individual psychological states, which, in turn, give rise to the affective outcomes of work motivation, general satisfaction and growth satisfaction (Hackman & Oldham 1980).

Workplace practices are not ad hoc, informal or unstructured but often underpinned by power and vested interests (Bierema 2001; Solomon 1999). As such, workplaces represent a socially constituted and contested learning environment whose participatory practices employ key pedagogical devices. However, this research found that a great deal depended upon task identity and how it is perceived by the apprentice. Tasks, that were seen as perfunctory and of low status aroused perceptions by apprentices that they were not learning and that they were just being exploited as ‘cheap labour.’ But when an apprentice felt trusted to rise to a challenge or opportunity to attain an intrinsic sense of achievement or approbation of the team, then they felt they were truly a member of their ‘community’ (Harris et al. 2001; James & Hayward 2004; National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001). Fuller & Unwin (2004) found that apprentices were also transmitting knowledge and skills to their peers, thereby assuming the role of expert and trainer. They expressed this as ‘collegial activity’, when discussing positive attitudes to sharing learning (Fuller & Unwin 2002a; Fuller & Unwin 2003). Consequently, individuals engage actively in the process of evaluating their work experience and how they might engage with it and learn from it (Tan 1998).
However, situational factors alone are insufficient to understand workplaces as learning environments; what is required is an understanding of how an individual’s drive and intention impacts their participation and retention (Bloomer & Hodkinson 2000; Somerville 2002). Mobley et al (1979) proposed that low job satisfaction rather than extrinsic rewards may have a stronger positive correlation with employee turnover. This has some affinity with the intrinsic qualities of the creative, artistic and skill-based working chef (Robinson & Barron 2007, p. 919). It is the intrinsic value attributed to the task that provides enjoyment for an individual performing that task. Weiner (1992) identified ability, effort and task difficulty as the most important achievement attributions for an individual, which are reflected in the construct of intrinsic motivation as defined by Deci and Ryan (1985). According to Bandura’s (1997) self-efficacy theory, ability self-concepts should influence the development of task values. Feather (1988, 1992) broadened Atkinson’s (1958b) original expectancy-value model to understand how values impact motivation: the values of an individual beginning their work career can challenge and be challenged by an organisation’s cultural interactivity in the workplace.

6.10 Introduction to motivation theory

The earliest concept of motivation theory derives from the ancient Greek principle of hedonism, where an individual is said to be drawn to pleasure and to avoid pain. This philosophical principle was refined through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the work of philosophers like Locke (1632–1704) and Mill (1806–1873). But new scientific understandings of the psychology of human behaviour in the late nineteenth century challenged hedonism as a singular basis for explaining motivation. Until then, there had been no empirical evidence to support the hedonistic principle as the core determinate of motivation. Subsequent psychological models emphasised reinforcement principles where an individual’s actions are influenced by rewards associated with past behaviour (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976). Skinner (1974) introduced operant-conditioning referred to as reinforcement theories wherein individuals learn contingent relationships between actions and their consequences. Taylor (1911) focused attention on increasing production through extrinsic motivators such as financial incentives, job training and improved job design. Maslow (1981) developed a theory based on a ‘hierarchy of needs’ that locates the need for

6.11 Motivation in action

Motivation is perceived as an integral component in the performance equation of employees and organisations at all levels and the research to understand what drives employees has been a fundamental building block in industrial and organisational psychology (Cregan, Bartram & Stanton 2009). Ormrod (2008), states that:

“…motivation is an internal state that arouses learners, steers them in particular directions, and keeps them engaged in certain activities”. (Ormrod 2008) cited in (Lei 2010, p. 153)

Whereas Atkinson (1964) defined motivation as:

“…the contemporary (immediate) influence on direction, vigour and persistence of action”. (Atkinson 1964) cited in (Rajhans 2012, p. 82)

While Vroom (1964) defined it as:

“…process governing choice made by persons … among alternative forms of voluntary action”. (Vroom 1964, p. 6)

However, Campbell and Pritchard (1976) assert that:

Motivation has to do with a set of independent/dependent variable relationships that explains the direction, amplitude and persistence of a person’s behaviour, holding constant the effects of aptitude, skill, and understanding of the task and the constraints operating in the environment. (Campbell & Pritchard 1976) cited in (Steers, Mowday & Shapiro 2004, p. 379)
Pinder’s (2008) definition of work motivation is that it is ‘a set of energetic forces that impact a multiplicity of needs, drives and instincts’ (p. 10). Behaviour theorists held that motivational forces within an individual are not necessarily the primary foundation of workplace activity but they are a significant factor in the attitudinal response to that activity. Motivation and effort are often interchanged in workplace behavioural discourse but it is generally accepted that employees are driven to make an effort by various factors. Effort is often expended in the workplace if there is financial incentive or competitive advantage over other employees. It may also be the outcome of a negative workplace environment where the fear of losing a job or being singled out for redundancy will drive effort with the motivation to sustain effort dissipating immediately the fear disappears.

There is also some confusion among managers that work motivation and job performance are identical, when they are not. For example, a routine task performed frequently may have all the hallmarks of being well executed to a high standard but the individual may feel little incentive or motivation beyond the task’s completion. In fact, a well-executed repetitive task may well demotivate an individual, simply due to the lack of challenge and task variety. An instance of this in the food industry might be a patisserie production line in a large chocolate or cake factory, where each item is exquisitely finished to the highest standard but where the employees are singularly driven by their weekly pay packet. Ensuring quality job performance is often the primary focus of the manager, drawing upon principles of scientific management (Taylor 1911). Managers see to it that others accomplish the work assigned to them, and it is now a truism that they are only really effective when their members of staff accomplish their respective work goals. But the relationship between motivation, ability and performance is not always clear and its analysis may yield more insights into long-term employees’ intentions rather than those of the novice entering the workplace for the first time. However, the successful accomplishment of work goals is the result of an interaction among a number of factors, some of which may only be in the control of employee themself.

The core hypothesis of workplace motivational theory is based on the premise that drive, effectiveness and output stem from an individual’s need to maximise their satisfaction and minimise dissatisfaction, resulting in a positive attitude towards their employment. This research has found that an apprentice’s satisfaction with their workplace learning and progress are key factors in their retention, which is supported in the current literature (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). Workplace learning theory, however, has nearly always
focussed its attention on an understanding of the motives of established employees rather than those of the novice apprentice. Although less experienced with work practices, they too would also be motivated or demotivated by attitudes to particular activities in their workplace. Intrinsically motivated apprentices seek work that provides this satisfaction, perceiving their work environment in terms of its intrinsic values to them (Amabile et al. 1994). They also need to know that their efforts are valued; an apprentice should be aware of how effective they are through feedback and knowledge of the results of their efforts (Deci, Koestner & Ryan 2001; Sansone & Harackiewicz 2000, p. 104). According to Hackman and Oldham (1980) in Pinder (2008), an employee will experience internal motivation from a job when the job generates three critical psychological states:

- They feel personally responsible for the outcome of the job
- They see the work as meaningful
- They know the results are due to their efforts

There has been much evidence from organisational psychologists that job satisfaction is linked to occupational commitment. Mobley (2008) identified a positive relationship between job satisfaction and organisational commitment and occupational satisfaction and occupational commitment (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976). Maslow (1974), Herzberg (1968), and Tierney and Farmer (2004) would contend that hygiene factors such as basic needs of organisational conditions of employment need to be met before an individual will psychologically commit themselves. Working conditions in the hospitality industry and dissatisfaction are often marked as key reasons for attrition but many intrinsic aspects of a job also influence an employee’s satisfaction with their employment (Tan 1998).

### 6.12 Being creative

Change is a dominant theme in discussions with hospitality and commercial cookery. Customers are constantly seeking new and transformative experiences from restaurants. According to Santich (2004), there are now more sophisticated customers who also view food and lifestyle programs on television and ‘have a more refined understanding of what to expect when they go out to a restaurant’ (p. 20). The industry is conscious that some of the difficulties being experienced by both employers and apprentices have almost certainly arisen
from the fact that both people and businesses are often averse to change (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001, p. 39). Consequently businesses must maintain a creative edge to accommodate the changing expectations of customers (Pratten 2003b). Fostering creativity in an individual employee, however, is complex, underpinned by knowledge, experience and confidence (Brookfield 1987). Many aspects of creative thinking can be learned, nonetheless, and in time, employers and employees engaged in a uniform, linear response to a problem will develop more sympathetic, alternative solutions. Consequently there is now recognition that organisations need to respond to change, not only with regard to customer needs, but also to deliver best work practices. Individuals within organisations such as commercial kitchens also recognise that their identity as a chef corresponds to their ability to respond to the challenge of surpassing the customer’s expectations of the dishes they produce (Robinson & Beesle 2010).

Creativity, however, is not just the manipulation of shapes, textures, colours and flavours or the interplay of diverse ingredients to afford a theatrical experience for the diner. It is the approach a chef makes to find a solution to a problem, be it attracting more diners to their establishment or just coming up with new ideas. Creativity can assist a chef ‘to conceptualise new products, processes and systems’ (Birdir & Pearson 2000, p. 208), which may manifest in creative menu development (Lee-Ross 1999). Fine (2006) linked the notion of chef as a creative artist with the aesthetics of the produced dishes: smell, sight, touch and feel. He identified that these aesthetics combined to elevate ‘artist’ as one of the metaphoric images that now define a chef’s occupational culture. Robinson and Beesle’s (2010) research sample on creativity for chefs and job satisfaction find that chefs:

Rank creativity more highly than working conditions and that there is a clear relationship between creativity and both organisational and occupational satisfaction. (Robinson & Beesle 2010, p. 765)

The term ‘creativity’ is often interchanged with the term ‘innovation’, yet these may be distinct concepts. Innovation corresponds to the application of new and creative ideas and the implementation of inventions. Davila et al. (2006) suggest:

Creativity implies coming up with ideas, whereas it’s the bringing ideas to life that makes innovation the distinct undertaking it is. (Davila, Epstein & Shelton 2006, p. xvii)
The advent of new cooking styles in restaurants, as opposed to the skilled replication of traditional dishes, began in the 1970s and opened the door for motivated young chefs to be creative and inventive. Changes in menus parallel a leap in technological innovation in kitchen equipment to further broaden the scope of possibilities for chefs’ creativity. It is in this environment that an apprentice would eagerly anticipate their future career, as the opportunity to be creative is a strong motivation for many chefs’ initial occupational selection. It is here that they are able to explore possibilities and experiment, socialised into a world of tradition and dynamic discourse between peers in the development of new cuisines or trialling a dish to assess a customer’s reaction (Drew 1987). But an individual’s primary motive for choosing and staying in a creative career is intrinsic, as the work itself must be satisfying and rewarding (Amabile et al. 1994). Bandura (1986) acknowledged that for an individual to take pride in their achievements they have to know that it was due to their own efforts. This is supported by the research by Randolph, Doisy and Doisy (2005), who found intrinsic motivators were more highly related to turnover than the extrinsic motivator of pay/compensation. Shalley, Gilson and Blum (2000) and Robinson (2007) all assert that when organisational factors supportive of creativity are allied to opportunities for chefs to be creative then the result is higher job satisfaction. A chef with creative opportunities has a major intrinsic motivator as it is through the development of new ideas and feedback that a sense of pride and independence is developed.

People who are highly intrinsically motivated try to seek work that provides this meets this need (Gow et al. 2008), and they see their work environment in terms of the support of these motivators (Amabile et al. 1994). It is argued that cookery and gastronomy can be raised to the level of sublime artistry when applied to a fine dining experience in one of the top restaurants or hotels around the world. It is these unique transformative experiences, for the fortunate diners who can afford them, that transcend everyday eating to the level of an orchestral symphony and earn global recognition through the myriad of food magazines and newspaper revues. These high-level skills delivered by celebrated chefs generate international publicity and interest among industry professionals. It also serves to inspire young chefs to strive for perfection and praise from their peers and the fine dining public. This standard of cooking is world class and has the potential to attract a vast amount of interest and acclaim not only for the individual but also from global tourism. It is understood to exist far beyond the mainstream cooking that is the everyday fare of the local bistro and the plethora of processed and semi-processed foods available for general consumption.
World-class cooking might be out of the reach of most of the population but it sets a fashion, along with many other art disciplines, that influences mainstream culture. New ideas and innovations in food styles and commodities filter down to high-street restaurants and supermarkets (similarly with the fashion industry). Flavouring packet chips with lime and black pepper or commercial chocolate bars with chilli would have been viewed as very odd by suburban Australia a decade ago, but is now commonplace in supermarkets. The most recent creative trend in cooking has come through experimentation in molecular gastronomy (van der Linden, McClements & Ubbink 2008), which is now being quickly taken up by mainstream restaurants around the world. It is a mixture of alchemy, chemistry and artistry with odd combinations of unorthodox ingredients not usually found together. Aspects of this innovative style – using liquid nitrogen to instantly freeze food, or cooking at a very low heat over a long period of time to retain tenderness in meat – is now being taught to apprentice chefs in TAFE in Australia (Hill 2009).
Below is an example of a menu with highly creative preparation and cooking methods.

**Menu: (C.B.) Restaurant, Sydney August 9, 2011**

1. **Green Asparagus** … chanterelle …, mud crab hollandaise …, black olive crumbs
2. **Tasmanian Sea Urchin** … Ossetia caviar …, egg yolk confit …, cauliflower pudding.
3. **Native Agassi oyster** … chilled in daikon ravioli in curried buttermilk consommé …, seared on apple …, wasabi tapioca.
4. **Iki jime** Ocean Trout … prepared like charcuterie …, headcheese style …, cured like pastrami …, also as salami.
5. **Langoustine from New Zealand** … barely cooked …, grilled avocado …, young coconut …, ruby red grapefruit …, chilli syrup.
7. **Line caught Trumpeter** … roasted chicken flavour …, sot ly laisse …, parsley …, fried sun choke …, preserved citrus.
8. **Southern Abalone** … caramelised sweetbread …, Sicilian capers …, raisin …, celeriac.
9. **Smoked Veal Breast** … parsnip porridge …, Pepered pineapple, grain of paradise.
10. **Glenloth Squab** … breast larded with jamon …, its legs minced, prepared like saucisson …, foie gras coulis
11. **Blackmore Kagyu** … Bulgogi style …, ox tongue, Kim chi …, truffle ox sauce
12. **Manchego cheese aero** … nasturtium leaves …, smoked balsamic …, compressed rhubarb.
13. **Frozen Yuzu** curd … banana brulee …, coffee …, whipped milk
14. **70% chocolate** … navel orange …, olive oil jam …, pistachio …, braised & crisped.

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6. Black olive crumbs are olives that have been finely chopped and dried in the oven.
7. Ossetia caviar is from a rare sturgeon fish caught in the Caspian Sea.
8. Egg yolk slowly cooked in oil at 65°C.
9. Iki jime means to kill instantly with a spike to the head, to reduce stress to the fish.
10. Head cheese is another word for brawn, cooked flesh from the head, chilled and set in aspic.
11. Diamond shell clams are from New Zealand.
12. Sot ly laisse is the small piece of meat from base of poultry or feathered game.
13. Sun choke is another name for Jerusalem artichoke.
14. Sweetbreads are the thymus gland of a calf.
15. Grain of paradise is a peppery spice from West Africa.
16. Bulgogi style is a Korean style of cooking over an open flame.
17. Kim chi is a dish of Korean fermented vegetables.
18. Yuzu is a Japanese fruit similar to grapefruit.
19. Whipped milk is gelatine-set milk, whipped to resemble ice cream.
Chapter Seven—Stage Two Methodology

7.1 Introduction

Stage two of this research study examines influences on retention of commercial cookery apprentices. The research was conducted by means of semi-directed questions and qualitative analysis of participant responses. It has already been acknowledged that working conditions and wages are a major concern for some individuals to the point that they may leave the industry. There have been many reports across industries that provide statistical evidence regarding the work and training of apprentices and their attrition (Callan 2000; Commonwealth of Australia 2011b; Cully & Curtain 2001; Karmel & Misko 2009; Stromback & Mahendran 2010). This current research project acknowledges the important work of earlier social-psychologists and the significance of basic needs for individual motivation and action. Herzberg’s (1966, 1968, 1976) ‘hygiene factors’ and Maslow’s (1943, 1954) ‘hierarchy of needs’ were developed to explain the psychology of human motivational development. It is proposed by these theoretical psychologists that for an individual to be self-actualised they must have fundamental needs met (Maslow 1957).

This research employs interpretive research methodologies in order to understand the impact of task activities and consequent satisfaction on workplace learning for apprentices and to identify influences upon intrinsic motivation (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Schultz 1953). An interpretation of apprentices’ workplace activities and job satisfaction framed a comparative contextual analysis of their workplace so as to identify whether motivation was a key to retaining employment. The research participants’ responses to the questions were collated and coded under sub-headings in order to advance a clearer analysis and to detail how the responses compared and contrasted with each other. Each case represented in the analysis, however, was initially treated as a discrete manifestation of their initial evaluation of the situation in order to build a general picture of apprentice learning and the relationship of apprentices with industry and VET. A ground cross-case analysis of individual studies was subsequently completed to identify cross-case patterns and themes in an endeavour to distinguish convergence and divergence in coding and classifying (Glaser & Strauss 1967). This type of analysis was chosen to identify aspects of commonality in order to classify data categories of homogeneity and heterogeneity (Gillham 2005, p. 72).
7.2 Research approach and data generation

The approach to generating data in identifying how apprentices workplace tasks are linked to their motivation was advanced through the early empirical research of Oldham, Hackman and Pearce (1976, p. 395) who identified five measurable characteristics of jobs that improve employee work motivation, satisfaction and performance. They are:

1. Skill variety: The degree to which a job requires a variety of different activities in carrying out the work, requiring the use of a number of different skills and talents of the person.
2. Task identity: The degree to which a job requires completion of an identifiable piece of work. That is, doing a job from beginning to end with a visible outcome.
3. Task significance: The degree to which a job has a substantial impact on the lives or work of other people – whether in the immediate organisation or in the external environment.
4. Autonomy: The degree to which a job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out.
5. Feedback: The degree to which carrying out the activities required by a job results in the individual obtaining direct and clear information about the effectiveness of his or her performance.

Billett (2005) proposed a model for interpreting job activity and satisfaction, which was utilised to investigate the jobs and attitudes of successfully completed apprentice chefs. Billett’s own items were used to enquire about tasks allocated to commercial cookery apprentices in their workplace on the basis of his assertion that understanding apprentices’ participation will enhance understanding of how enriched work practices motivate employees. Billett’s (2001c) perception of participation in non-routine workplace tasks, for example, requires the participant to develop a broader knowledge of the workplace. He claims that it is by completing unfamiliar tasks to a given specification that apprentices learn the new skills and knowledge necessary to enhance their proficiency. He asserts that without access to employer support, apprentices may be unable to identify facets of tasks that are hidden or incomprehensible, therefore unachievable, resulting in their demotivation.\(^{20}\)

\(^{20}\) It is doubtful that the conceptual and procedural knowledge for performing non-routine tasks can be learned by discovery, as it normally requires the support of more experienced workers. (Billett 2001c, p. 77)
Apprentices given opportunities to engage in unfamiliar tasks are thereby challenged and develop a far richer vocational knowledge than those engaged in only routine tasks.

7.3 Research questions

As stated previously, apprentice chefs interviewed for this research responded to a series of qualitative questions on workplace pedagogic practices and their attitudes towards those practices utilising Billett’s (1999, 2005) activities and interdependencies question items. Their answers offered an opportunity for detailed interpretation of the tasks completed by apprentice chefs in the workplace in terms of various factors such as:

- **Routineness** – the degree to which work-practice activities are routine or non-routine, requiring robust knowledge.
- **Discretion** – the degree to which the scope of activities demands a broader or narrower range of decision-making and more or less autonomous practice.
- **Intensity** – the degree to which the intensity of work task demand strategies for managing the workload and understanding multiple tasks simultaneously.
- **Multiplicity** – the range of activities expected to be undertaken as part of work practice
- **Complexity** – degree to which decision-making is complicated by compounding variables and resolution of tasks requiring negotiation among those variables; and
- **Accessibility** – the degree to which knowledge required for the work practice is either accessible or hidden.
- **Working with others** – the ways work activity is premised on interactions with others
- **Engagement** – basis of employment
- **Status of employment** – the standing of the work, its perceived value and whether it attracts support
- **Access to participation** – attributes that influence participation
- **Reciprocity of values** – the prospects for shared values
- **Homogeneity of tasks** – degree to which tasks in the work practice are homogenous

Questions for supervisors and VET practitioners that apprentices indicated were influential in their retention were taken from the stage one questionnaire for comparative analysis of the responses between the stage one and stage two participants. The utilisation of initial data for comparison is not in contention (Smith 2008, p. 62) as the research studies are integrated and data is derived from the same sources of industry and VET, to investigate the one overarching
question of this research. Participants were again asked to respond to areas enquiry focusing on the industry and VET as well as apprentices’ work expectations. The areas of enquiry were as follows:

**7.4 Scope and areas of enquiry for industry**

*Industry:*

- What concerns are there in industry regarding the training of apprentices?
- How has the industry changed?
- As an employer, what would you look for in a young trainee?
- How important is teamwork and how would you develop it in a trainee?

*Skills development:*

- What are your thoughts on current staff levels and skills training?
- How has your formal learning impacted your professional life?
- How does a young trainee get a taste for professional cooking?
- Can you describe the top; most relevant learning experiences that you feel have helped your success?

*Socio-economic challenges:*

- What are your thoughts concerning the current shortage of qualified cooks?
- How does the impact of social change affect trainees and their retention in the industry?
- What part do wages and cost for the employer and the trainee affect the skill shortage?
- How do current economics impact on trainees and their on-the-job learning?

**7.5 Scope and areas of enquiry for VET**

*Developments in training:*

- What do you believe trainee chefs want from their training?
- How important is on-the-job learning for a trainee?
- What are your thoughts concerning the employers and managers delivering the on-the-job training?
- What feedback have you had from trainees and their training?
What are your thoughts on current VET training?
What are your thoughts on trainees learning essential skills in a formal VET environment?

Vocational Education and Training:

What are your thoughts on VET delivering shorter courses for trainees targeting specific workplaces?
What are your thoughts on VET training targeting global employment prospects for the trainee?
How does time affect skills and skill learning?
What are your thoughts on employees continuing post-trade training?
What do you think about trainees learning higher level skills?

7.6 The interviewees

Twenty recently completed apprentice chefs employed by a group training organisation (GTO) were approached by their employer and asked if they were willing to participate in this research. They were selected on the basis of having been identified as having successfully made the challenging transition from apprentice to chef. From the original group of 20 apprentices, 17 agreed to their mobile phone and contact details being forwarded. However after initial contact with the researcher and being provided with a more detailed description of the research project, seven subsequently elected not to participate. On completion of the interview, the remaining 10 apprentices were asked to nominate a supportive individual in their workplace or TAFE that they felt had positively influenced their motivation to complete their course. Six employers and three VET practitioners subsequently participated in the stage two research.

7.7 Participants’ profile

Ten freshly graduated apprentices, nine males and one female who all work in a range of hotels, restaurants and clubs in Sydney. They completed their apprenticeship with both a group training organisation or with an individual employer. The nominated individuals they felt provided support during their apprenticeship were six supervisor/chefs and three TAFE teachers.
7.8 The interviews

Apprentice interviews for stage two were conducted by phone. There were a number of reasons for this choice, primarily that phone interviews afforded greater privacy to the interviewees, encouraged forthright responses to the research questions and utilised what appears to be the preferred method of communication for many young people today. An assumption was made, based on the professional experience of the researcher, that there may be a reticence (particularly by younger apprentices) to provide frank and open answers to questions about their workplace and employer. The fact that a phone interview can be halted instantly if the interviewee feels uncomfortable was another reason for choosing to conduct the interviews by phone. Phone interviews also provided greater flexibility with the time and location of the interview, which was important given the multifarious work hours of apprentices, and they made compliance with university ethics committee guidelines stipulating participant rights of freedom from coercion and ability to withdraw from the interview at will less challenging to achieve. The interviews were recorded, then transcribed verbatim, collated and coded for later analysis.

Industry and VET practitioner interviews for stage two were also conducted over the phone in the same manner as the apprentice interviews. The interviews were also recorded, transcribed verbatim, collated and coded for analysis. This method of interview was employed more for ease of access to individuals who lived and practised throughout the metropolitan area more than as a result of concern for the privacy of the individual. The initial industry and VET practitioner interviews for stage one were conducted face-to-face, as those participants were approached directly by the researcher rather than they being nominated by a third party – the apprentices themselves. Face-to-face interviewing of the stage one participants offered a more affable process, which placed the interviewees at ease when responding to the open questions. The interviews often ran over time and it was often necessary to draw the interviewee back to the question at hand in order to attain useful data. Stage two phone interviews, however, were less affable and often required more verbal coaching of the respondents to elicit richer responses to the questions, given the absence facial cues associated with active listening and encouragement. The outcome for this research study was that the data for stage two was not as extensive as the data for stage one. Nevertheless, both were rich sources of empirical evidence to inform this research study.
7.9 Ethical considerations

Both UTS ethics and TAFE NSW consent to interview TAFE teachers and managers were approved for this research study and all apprentices at the time of the interviews were over eighteen years of age. I was asked to respond to two comments on the apprentice participants from the UTS ethics committee which I have cited below.

1. Participants will be identified and recruited from 10 workplaces that are acknowledged by industry as employers who retain and support apprentice learning as best practice. The trainee/apprentices who have successfully completed their apprenticeship in these establishments and the corresponding VET practitioners will be asked to respond to the questions outlined in the proposal in the specific areas of enquiry of employer, VET practitioner and apprentice. I am in communication with a large Group Training Organisation that has 500 commercial cookery apprentices on their books in a diverse range of workplaces who monitor and mentor their progress through their apprenticeship. The participants will initially be approached by their company as to their willingness to be part of the research and on acceptance will have their details forwarded on to me to be provided with the necessary documentation and time to consider. I have also been given permission from TAFE to approach the commercial cookery teachers for interview when identified.

2. The concern for the participants when reporting negative experiences would be that they may fear that it will affect their current or future employment prospects. I am willing to accept that, even as a reasonably experienced research interviewer, there is a great deal of trust between the interviewee and interviewer to maintain the confidentiality of the participant and that there may be concerns from the interviewee that there may be way to identify the interviewee from the transcripts. But I will not be using individual participants as identifiable case studies, or even given pseudonyms and all their comments will be collated, coded and selected for areas of homogeneity or heterogeneity, this mass of information rich data will be open coded for cross case analysis to identify patterns for interpretation. I will use some comments in the body of the text to illustrate my findings but these will be so disconnected as to have no attributed source outside the general descriptor of the chapter. Once the apprentice has agreed to participate I will be communicating with them through their personal phone number, email and postal address and will conduct
the interviews away from their workplace to maintain the confidentiality of their responses.
Chapter Eight – Stage Two Findings on Workplace Learning

8.1 Testing the water

This research acknowledges from the outset that extraneous factors will also influence an apprentice to drop out of the industry. These may include an individual’s ‘testing the water’ and finding they are not suited to a job with such physical and psychological demands. Apprentices may also find social and financial pressures cause them to leave a job they would have chosen to retain under better, more conducive circumstances.21 As stated earlier in the research, pay, work hours and stress of the job are often central to whether apprentice chefs can continue their apprenticeship under demanding work environments in expensive cities. Here are some comments from apprentices, employers and VET regarding conditions of employment for apprentice chefs:

Pay:

The money’s not fantastic … I think people would look at it say, there’s got to be a better way to make a living. (PN1-1a)

It is probably a money thing. You can walk away and you can get a job in another industry on just as much money with half the stress and half the responsibility. (PN3)

I personally think that money is one of the biggest problems in the industry, without a doubt. (Paa3)

I think where apprentices are concerned, I feel sorry for them. I’ve young kids that work for me that do literally live week to week. (Paa3b)

Work hours:

Why would I go back to working nights and not seeing my wife and kids? I still enjoy the job but have my moments because I’ve got two little kids and I’d much rather be at home with the kids a lot of the time. (PN5-5a)

The hours are hard; it’s a very stressful environment, the heat, the pressure of the meals. (PN5c)

21 Both the stage one and stage two research found some apprentices reported that they were satisfied with their work but conversely dissatisfied with their wages. Others enjoyed the demands of the job but found the unsociable hours too difficult when trying to sustain relationships outside the workplace.
I guess the anti-social hours are always going to be part of the problem. (PN5d)

Disposition to cope with the job:

If you do one thing wrong the customer will complain, it’s a very hard way to make a
living. (PN3a)

If you do stress out, shouting and screaming, it’s not going to make things easier, more
often than not it makes matters worse. For me it was fine because I’m not a stress head,
but there was one other apprentice and a chef who couldn’t handle the stress … getting
frustrated when things go wrong. (TJ3a)

When they (Head Chefs) got angry it meant they didn’t communicate as well as they
should have. For me, it wasn’t a problem when it got busy. (TJ4)

During service, you get the whole adrenaline rush and away you go. When service is
finished, you’re back to normal again. (TJ5a)

I get frustrated sometimes; I get annoyed. Sometimes I swear and carry on, but then
after I’ve finished, I feel I have accomplished something so I still go back the next day
and do exactly the same thing. Some chefs tend to turn to alcohol and become alcoholic
and that is a problem in the industry. It is a highly stressful environment, so people end
up like that. (TJ5b-5c)

However although the research acknowledges general concerns from the hospitality industry
and VET about low apprentice wages and the workplace conditions of many apprentices, the
lens of enquiry is focussed on how individual workplaces can positively affect apprentices’
satisfaction, motivation and retention.

8.2 Expecting the best

In the past, professional chefs and kitchens have largely remained hidden from general view,
but these days an increasing interest in fine dining and gourmet food on television has now
revealed this previously undisclosed world (Reyes-Perez de Arce & Dissing Halskov 2011).
Television, lifestyle magazines and books focussed on food and cooking, together with
increasing interest in ‘celebrity chefs’, are influencing a shift in general perceptions of
commercial cookery. There is currently a worldwide media and internet phenomenon that presents cooking programs, cooking competitions and travel programs featuring regional cooking. There is also increased interest in the lives of ‘celebrity chefs’ that has impacted one of the world’s oldest industries (Bourdain 2000; White 2006). Young people considering a career as a chef may make a decision based on a desire to pursue a life portrayed as dynamic, creative and exciting.

When asked what they believed motivated young apprentices to choose a career in cooking, participants responded that:

“I think some of them get it from watching TV”
“I think they watch TV and think that this is a great industry”
“There is a growing knowledge and awareness of the world of cuisines”
“Apprentices emulate some of the things they see in the media”
“Young people will see the kind of life, the vigour and will want to be a part of it”

Cooking, for many young individuals, is their first formal introduction to science, where one learns to mix ingredients and observe the results (Ballam 2000; Derr, Lewis & Derr 2000; Diker et al. 2011; Seelhoff Byrum 1989). For children, creating food can be an enjoyable activity; getting their hands covered in cake mixture and learning to measure and cut such items as biscuit dough and vegetables can be fun. It is also a significant developmental milestone for young children, not only in understanding how the food they eat underpins life but also in advancing many psychomotor and cognitive skills by means of measuring and cutting. For some children, a fascination with the transformation of ingredients by mixing and heating may be the start of an enduring lifelong enjoyment in creativity and investigation of the physical world. External rewards may reinforce continued enthusiasm from a particularly appreciative audience of friends and family.

Apprentices and chefs who responded to a question about their motivation to take up cooking as a career indicated that their earlier influences were:

I used to do a lot of cooking with my aunty as a kid.
When I was younger, I used to do a lot of baking at home.
My dad used to do a lot of the meal cooking, so I learned a lot through him as well.
I was studying home economics at school [but] I always liked to cook.
I’ve always enjoyed cooking, being in the kitchen, watching my mother.
Always loved cooking traditional food but more on a ‘family at home’ scale
I suppose my grandfather was a big influence.

Rather than setting out to have a career as a chef, some merely chanced upon it; this may be indicative of an uncertain career path, where an individual ‘tests the water’ in variety of options (Dick & Rallis 1991). But once an apprentice chef decides this is the career for them they are often ‘bitten’ by the challenge and vibrancy of a commercial kitchen. These individuals are not merely looking for a job but are in search of a career that offers challenge and excitement as well as opportunities for creativity and personal fulfilment22 (Chiang & Jang 2008, p. 35; Steers & Porter 1975).

Apprentices and chefs responded to a question about their motivation to commence cooking as a career with reference to these earlier influences:

“Working part time, I fell into it; I was actually going for electronics”.

“I fell into it but I’d been working in the food industry from the age of 15 or 16, so it was just a natural progression”.

“I did a part-time job and from then I said I think I like this and fell into it and cooked”.

“I had a few close friends whose parents owned restaurants, so I threw myself into washing dishes”.

“I travelled a bit with my parents when I was younger; I saw what could be done with food”.

Others stated that they have an obvious passion for food and eating, which may have developed from their ethnic upbringing or a strong association with other cultures, through travel or special interest. These individuals would find it hard to perceive a life without food having a central position, where the preparation, cooking and sharing of food is perceived not only as a means of nourishment but also as providing a sense of personal and cultural identity (Fischler 1988; Friedman 1994; Kittler & Sucher 2008; Narayan 1995).

22 Among a number of common characteristics of apprentice chefs who completed their apprenticeship, the most important attribute was their ‘passion’ for food and cooking (National Centre for Vocational Education Research 2001, p. 27).
8.3 Creating opportunities

Apprentices involved in stage two were often given opportunities to make small but significant creative contributions in their workplace. The feedback they received nurtured motivational factors that determined their attitude towards their workplaces, fellow workers and apprenticeships (Chiang & Jang 2008). The following comments of successful apprentices indicated that they were afforded opportunities to contribute and received positive feedback:

My pizzas got a lot of positive feedback. The customers would tell the waiter to compliment me … most of the chefs were happy … I did not get a reward, but each day I got more approval. (TB1e-1g)

There were a few times in the pastry (where) we made all our own petit fours and we could come up with our own ideas and just try them and if the chef liked them (he) would use them in the restaurant. That was always good. (TE1)

I’ve worked at a lot of places where the chefs are pretty open and (when I came up with an idea) they’d put them on the specials board. If I came up with some ideas, he would try them out for a week or two and then from there they would make a decision. (TE1e-1f)

The chef asked me to change the flavour and then the owner thought the dessert menu needed changing, so I was asked to come up with new dishes to try, get feedback from the customers and if they liked it, we put it on the menu. We learn from each other … we tried different ways, a little bit of experimentation after the meal service and we tried a bit. I enjoyed that. (TE1i)

It may not always be the case that such latitudes are permitted, as apprentices employed by workplaces with menus that are prescribed, perhaps due to a predetermined food order and cost restriction, rarely allow spontaneous changes to its format.

Where I had problems (with being allowed to come up with new ideas) was when older chefs wanted to do traditional cooking. (TE1g)

The terms ‘creativity’ and ‘innovation’ are frequently used interchangeably, yet some authors have pointed out, they can be distinct concepts (Beesley & Cooper 2008; Davila, Epstein &
Shelton 2006). Davila et al (2006) suggest that: “creativity implies coming up with ideas … it’s the bringing ideas to life … that makes innovation the distinct undertaking it is” (p. xvii). For most chefs, innovation in cooking is a constant requirement, and they seek to distinguish themselves via a unique ‘style’ in their food that may set them apart and gain them approval from the media and dining public. Apprentices, however, may also seek to gain approval from their chef, making slight adjustments to a recipe to give it their own personal ‘twist’, once they have earned the trust of their peers.

I remember once I made antipasto and I used up bits left over in the cool room and put [them] together and it looked quite pretty and the customer said it was the best antipasto he had eaten … The chef was very happy. (TB1c-1d)

Definitions of creativity are contentious; it has sometimes been described as an individual skill or process that ‘… depends to some extent on personality characteristics’ (Amabile 1997, p. 43), and furthermore, ‘… people will be most creative when they are intrinsically motivated …’ (Amabile 1997, p. 39). A workplace culture that actively encourages an individual to think creatively benefits far more than a creative individual attempting to win notice or approval in an environment resistant to new ideas.

I was always encouraged to try new things and try new skills and work with different ingredients and if I couldn’t, like we didn’t have the budget at work, a couple of chefs bought me cookbooks. He would always say to me go and do that … think of something we could run as a special. (TO2-2a)

Creativity has been synonymous with cookery throughout history (Vehling 1977) and there are stories about food being prepared for elites that have risen to the level of sublime (Kelly 2005). Yet eating simple fare in an Asian street may also raise a diner’s senses to new heights, ensuring an abiding memory of that experience.

I learned from her and others like her to think that a first-rate soup is more creative than a first-rate painting, and that generally, cooking could be creative whereas poetry need not be. (Maslow 1957, p. 84)
8.4 A job well done

This research revealed that attitudes of apprentices towards an allocated task depended on how it was perceived by them: tasks that were perceived as perfunctory and of low status, for example, elicited the feeling that the apprentice was not learning and that they were simply being used as ‘cheap labour’.

What I had to do, pretty much all [of] the time was washing up. Although they never told me I was going to be doing that at the beginning, I ended up washing up and cooking … I felt really bad, I felt used. (TC2f-2e)

… but for some jobs it was the trainees’ and kitchen hands’ responsibility, like changing the mats and sweeping the floor … most of the [washing up] jobs were done by me. I did not feel part of the team. (TD3a)

It is when apprentices felt trusted and given opportunities to contribute in ways that resulted in gaining a sense of achievement or approval that they feel they are a member of their community.

Towards the end of my apprenticeship, it was my job to do the ordering and basically look after the kitchen because I was the senior apprentice there. (TG3)

I was in charge and I did have to do the ordering and things like monitoring the fridge temperature … I had to make sure they were done. (TG3a)

I loved it, I enjoyed it. It felt like this was my section, so I had the responsibility of working on a section instead of with someone else. (TG3d)

The structural foundation of organised work-settings appears to describe job requirements of individual workers, but this occurs only in a narrow sense of the description. This research revealed that apprentices in their second year and beyond were already transmitting knowledge and skills to their peers, thus assuming the role of ‘expert’ or ‘trainer’. There was a pride in recounting how they were given responsibility for training a first-year apprentice in a task in which they had achieved proficiency. There appeared a greater empathy for the junior apprentice by the more senior apprentice. More patience was taken in training them to the required standard than the junior apprentice would have received from more pressured members of their workplace. Apprentices also took the role of ‘expert’ with more
experienced colleagues as they developed skills and knowledge in specific areas of expertise, such that young and old share their expertise (Fuller & Unwin 2002a). The following comments may indicate that apprentices desire opportunities to share their skills and gain respect for their contribution to workplace knowledge.

When we did eventually get a few more apprentices at R (Hotel), it was my job to step up and show these guys what to do, as there might not have been a chef there to show them or the chef was busy doing other things. (TH2)

… I liked it … I got responsibility; it made me feel like I was respected … and I like teaching people. (TH2a)

Yes there were a few times when people would come into work with us and they were always with me and my ‘chef de partie’. If she was doing something I would make sure they were ok. (TH2c)

I’ve trained apprentices. If I run a section, whoever is coming up in the ranks; then I’ll train them. I enjoyed doing it … if they were capable and asked questions, had a bit of common sense. (TH2d)

Organisational psychology has proposed a distinction between formal tasks or in-role performance and extra-role performance or Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB), which is:

- Helping others,
- Showing initiative and
- Upholding the reputation of the organisation

The question is not simply that of what motivates individuals to exert themselves on individual tasks but what motivates individuals to exert themselves on behalf of the collective; that is, what it is that motivates group effort (Billett & Somerville 2004; Haslam et al. 2003). An individual’s ability to transcend a unilateral position to become part of their crew is fundamental to a kitchen’s ability to perform effectively, as each member is dependent on the skills and performance of the other. Supportive and positive encouragement by senior members of that team assists the individual to become part of the team where they identify themselves as having achieved full membership.
The trust the chefs showed me made me more confident in what I was doing, because I knew I could do it, but while I was being watched by the chefs, I couldn’t do it. I had the experience, but I needed the trust. (Ti6e)

Yes, the head chef was fine ordering food to trial ideas … I showed him my way and he liked that a lot better … After a period of time, I was given the responsibility to try new things – try things out and see if they work … I was allocated to try new recipes. I think that’s good for my cooking … good experience. (TO3c-3f)

It was really positive from the kitchen. When I created something good, I shared the idea with the rest of the kitchen and we tried it and if the customers liked it, they put it on the menu. I felt really good about myself, I felt part of the team and being given the respect I deserve as a chef. It gave me more confidence in myself, of someone who loves cooking. (TO6-6a)

Organisational performance depends to a large extent on employees’ willingness to go beyond formal job prescriptions. This does not only refer to their going ‘the extra mile’, but taking on additional responsibilities if and when this might benefit the organisation (Katz 1964). This implies that identification with the group leads to increased performance, if high performance is seen as a group goal or group normative (Anderson et al. 2002; Van Knippenberg 2000).

8.5 Being valued

The research findings propose that there is a relationship between an apprentice’s expectations being acknowledged, their motivation to participate fully in workplace practices and learning and job satisfaction. This is often a complex interplay of related but often competing influences for ‘authority over behaviour’ (Eccles & Wigfield 2002). The research indicates that being valued induced enhanced job satisfaction and mutual respect from apprentices.

They [senior chefs] would come in with different ingredients and say, ‘have you used this before?’ and I’d say no … buying things … we’d go through it together and sit down after work and go through recipes and books and ingredients just to show me new things I probably wouldn’t see if I wasn’t in the industry or if I hadn’t worked in places
like that … I wouldn’t get that at home; they are only things you would get working in a commercial kitchen. (TO3-3b)

Apprentices who perceiving that they are not valued participants in their work community and not progressing in their learning will change their employment or drop out of their apprenticeship altogether.

You see the way some chefs treat younger people in the industry and I think that puts a lot of people off too. (Pi11a)

The apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually, physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching. (Pi11b)

In some hotel kitchens, you can stand in a corner and not touch any food. (Pi12b)

8.6 Being supported

Apprentices participating in stage two of this research were asked to nominate an inspiring or supportive person from either their workplace or TAFE who had been a positive role model and influenced their retention. A comparative analysis of the responses from the employer and VET participants from stage one and stage two was undertaken to garner additional information to compare homogeneity in the experiences expressed in the raw data in comparison with that of the secondary data. Initial research findings advanced similarities with prior research outcomes: that is, that the relationship an apprentice has with their employer or supervisor has a defining influence on their retention or departure (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Smith 2001). This might be a direct one-to-one relationship with a more experienced individual or an indirect relationship developed by participating and learning in the work practices and culture of their workplace. That is, interrelated personality and work-setting variables of expectation, fulfilment, identity and practice within a community of workplace practice are contiguous with one other and should be viewed holistically.

The Stage One research also yielded certain observations by successfully completed apprentices: they feel supported and confident in their ability and had a secure awareness of
their worth in their workplace. This personal confidence was identified as deriving from both their workplace activities and approbation from peers. It was reinforced by the support of employers and supervisors communicating an almost paternal solicitude towards their first-year apprentices (Reyes-Perez de Arce & Dissing Halskov 2011).

It’s all about getting in there, like a family and working together. You’ve got to nurture the relationship between the groups that want to be together and you’ve got to make everyone work as a team. You’ve got to be a mother, a father, a boss, a brother. One day they come in and they’re crying, they’re over the top and they’re throwing their arms around. PU16-16b (Head Chef)

An employer’s involvement in the development of an apprentice’s confidence and motivation is particularly significant in light of the industry’s long hours, late nights, and its renowned history of alcohol abuse and drug taking among its members (Johns & Menzel 1999). Some employers see their role as not only to advance the skills of the apprentice but also to nurture their character and their resolve to survive the demands of the job. Motivation, confidence and esteem appear to be a hallmark of successful apprentices, who see their future in cooking in a positive light.

Developing confidence in an apprentice by encouraging the capacity to work unaided was frequently articulated by chefs and supervisors as paramount in busy kitchens. Healy (2009) proposed six procedures for developing confidence in the young, principles that could equally be applied in the supervision of apprentices: encourage them to take risks and believe in themselves; trust them and let them know that you believe in their abilities; give them opportunities to show others their skills; view their mistakes as gifts from which to learn; praise them, not only what they do; and become an exemplar for them to model.

Both stage one and two of this research acknowledge that workplaces and the individuals who inhabit them comprise complex social systems, within which specific patterns of behaviour exist both in individuals entering the workplace and in terms of influence exacted upon existing culture within the organisation. Organisations have socially constructed cultures where an individual’s thinking and perceptions are often selective and need serving.
These social constructs are built on past experiences and they contain much that is assumptive (Schein 1985), defensive (Argyris 1990) and even adaptive.

Groups and culture within workplaces shape individuals and organisational thinking, and individuals in turn, shape group thinking. The literature states that an individual’s characteristics, their disposition, motivation and interest are clearly central to the ways in which they learn to perform tasks and to understanding how knowledge and skills are constructed in the workplace (Billett 1996; Prawat 1989; Tobias 1994). How workplaces afford opportunities and support for learning for individuals and how an individual chooses to engage in activities provided by the workplace are central to understanding the role of workplace teams in learning environments. The following comments may indicate the complexity that they are revealing:

…the company and the people I worked with were quite encouraging and … they said that if you feel you’re not learning anything then let us know and we’ll try to fix it. (TP1)

We’ll help you to move and go to other places to further your career and the people that did say that to me I still go and visit them now, where they’re working and we catch up for drinks and go out to dinner. (TP3)

You have to be patient with some people. I think I progressed quite quickly and learnt quite quickly and some people just can’t do that, so you’ve got to be patient with people. (TM3a)

You’ve got to be able to deal with people that aren’t as quick a learner as you or aren’t as skilled as you and that helps a lot and people learn a lot more if you are patient with them … you might have to show them three or four times but in the end they will get it. (TM3b-3e)

First time my English was poor and I couldn’t always understand what they were saying, so I was really quiet in the beginning. Then, after a couple of months, I was getting better. I really tried to listen first to try to understanding what they were saying, then my English improved, I started to communicate more. At the beginning they were patient with me, they taught me, they told me and if I didn’t understand, they told me again. (TM3d-3e)
Learning opportunities afforded to apprentices and the quality of their learning has been found to be a significant aspect of their retention of their apprenticeship (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008; Snell & Hart 2007b).
Chapter Nine – Stage Two Findings on VET and TAFE

9.7 Being trained for work

The focus of this chapter is to respond to key messages from stage one on VET and TAFE, which indicated that:

- TAFE is an invaluable, best model for learning foundation skills, it is still perceived, however by some employers as unable to deliver current skills training needed for industry.
- A significant dialogue between VET and employers is necessary to examine the processes involved in apprentices’ learning and retention.

The purpose of vocational education and its relationship with the employer and the apprentice will be addressed, so as to gain a clearer understanding of the tri-partite relationship between apprentice, industry and VET.

9.8 The Australian VET system

The Australian VET system is under pressure to undergo systemic change to better respond to structural changes in the labour market and the wider economy. These include continued economic growth, an ageing population and an increase in the proportion of employers experiencing difficulty recruiting staff (from less than 41% in 2005 to more than 44% in 2007) (OECD 2009, p. 9). The pressures for change are set in the context of a dual-track economy, with mining at one end of the spectrum, driven by technological innovations, and the service industries at the other end, driven by a human-capital base. Federal politicians acknowledge the vital importance of vocational education and training in providing skills required for a healthy economy.

The national training system should be positioned to meet the exponential demand for skills lost as a result of older employees retiring or leaving the workforce. There are, in addition, fewer school leavers taking up trade skills to meet the growth in demand for higher level vocational qualifications (MCEETYA/MCVTE 2008, p. 4). The objectives and outcomes of the National Agreement for skills and workforce development provide a single perspective on
the range of outputs expected from the VET sector. To achieve those results, the main input into the sector – its teaching workforce – need to maintain levels of capacity and capability adequate for an innovative flexible industry, with the capacity to learn (MCEETYA/MCVTE 2008, p. 11).

Employer participants in Stage One acknowledged the benefit of having received a structured apprenticeship that consisted of both on-the-job training combined with a formal TAFE course. It is widely recognised in all trades, locally and internationally, that a fundamental knowledge base is crucial for the tradesperson. This is particularly important when problem solving or innovating to develop alternative or improved skill sets (Snell & Hart 2007b).

The last thing I wanted to do was to go to TAFE, but now I’m on the other side of the fence, going back and looking at what I did, it gave me a foundation for what has been a great career for me. Apprentice (PO22)

Coming to TAFE was a big learning curve because I was able to see other students and where they were at with cooking, what knowledge they had, how quickly they were learning. Apprentice (PH13)

However, the requirement for vocational education to provide a sustainable and viable form of education has long been debated. There seems to be a dispute as to the current relevance of a trade education that has long been thought to provide a young person with the skills and knowledge needed to carry them through their working life. Skills such as good analytical and problem-solving skills, organisational skills, innovative expertise, business organisational skills, competent human relations and customer service skills are as important in the workplace as technical and professional skills (Allen Consulting Group 2006, p. 14; Industry Skills Council & Service Skills Australia 2005). It has been noted that when a person develops in both knowledge and maturity, they learn to do things differently; that is, they become different workers (Chappell et al. 2003). Below are two excerpts from employers’ responses to question two in Stage One regarding the necessity of a chef to be able to do more than just cook:

You have got to start managing a restaurant or start managing situations, like guest complaints, and you have got to handles these situations. I think those things are definitely important for some of the young guys to learn, how to deal with conflict.
I think it’s vital, important. I don’t think you can just be someone who just knows how to cook food – it’s so much more than that. When you work in kitchens, you have to work with so many different types of personalities and there is so much pressure from different directions in the kitchen.

Thus the development of underpinning knowledge is regarded as an extremely important factor in developing transferable skills among workers. This research recognises that many employers prefer a mix of on-the-job and off-the-job training. Not all workplaces, however, afford the optimal learning environments for the apprentice.

We’ve got another teacher here and he does a lot of on-the-job training. He’s constantly trying to get the employers to do the work they are supposed to do. (VET practitioner PJ10a)

A deficit in skills and knowledge essential to the apprentice for a broader, more transferable education can be supported through formal off-site training, such as TAFE (Strickland et al. 2001).

9.9 Facilitating change

From an industry perspective, the broad technical expertise of TAFE teaching staff is significant in the learning of students. This is particularly important in light of the fact that the hospitality industry comprises a wide diversity of businesses. They are only unified by a service philosophy directed towards providing products and services to their particular customers (Slattery 2002). Not all apprentices need the same level of off-site training. An organisation that has qualified and skilled individuals affording an apprentice a broad range of industry experience would have less need for a comprehensive TAFE course, so educational institutions are now beginning to tailor some activities in which students engage (Hall & Sharples 2003; Scarpato 2002). Smaller establishments, having to create a three course meal that finishes with a pastry of some sort, for example, would expect the training of that young chef to include making pastry. A hotel that serves a buffet may expect the

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23 Many employers state that their preferred amount and content of external training delivered to an apprentice is directly linked to the immediate requirements of their business. It appears that few employers are concerned with the long-term training needs of the industry or the ability of an apprentice to progress their career.
curriculum to reflect this fact and so on, so the young trainee is sufficiently prepared with the skills and knowledge appropriate to those workplaces.

The argument that hospitality is moving towards increasingly multi-skilled models of training and work has been aired since the early 1980s. The focus of this argument has been targeted towards meeting employer needs, particularly in smaller businesses … (Baum 2002, p. 352)

But while external training may provide some knowledge and skills, that knowledge and skill must be applied and practised for the apprentice to become proficient. A protracted distance between theory and practice can sometimes mean that the skill becomes diminished or lost. There is an imperative for an apprentice to continually use the newly acquired skills, thus honing them to achieve proficiency.

I constantly have to practise to remember my training, to gain experience. Many of the things I learned in TAFE, not used in a modern kitchen, I have forgotten. (Apprentice chef in the Stage One study)

Adults and young persons who actively seek to develop and enhance their skills and knowledge now think of themselves as users rather than recipients of education. Successful teachers help learners understand how they can actively use education to clarify their purposes and standards of excellence as well as to master procedures. They help those students’ select educational activities likely to serve their aspirations, and support them by paying attention to their specific abilities throughout the educational process.

9.10 Adaptability

Apprentices need to be capable of adapting to a whole range of circumstances and situations, particularly in light of the nature of work practices in kitchens that compel staff to respond quickly to customer needs. They may be required to help in, or take charge of, a range of necessary cooking and preparation tasks for menu and customer requirements. In occupational terms, adaptability not only refers to the ability to adapt to job requirements but also the readiness to adapt aspects of work practices to match individual needs. Evans and
Kersh (2004) indicate that tacit skills, such as adaptability, are important in the workplace whether learned informally or within a TAFE setting.

Key skills have been described as generic transferable skills that contribute to individual effectiveness, flexibility and adaptability within the labour market. (Evans & Kersh 2004, p. 64)

This research has found that employers require apprentices who have developed confidence and capability to often work without supervision, so it is logical to provide training opportunities to develop these attributes.

I was thrust into the role of looking after things quite early. I basically looked after the bistro and a little café – so I looked after the café. (Apprentice) TA3a

First I was just thrown in the deep end, entrees and desserts. Two months after that, I was running that section – entrée and dessert – doing function work and prep service. (Apprentice) TA3c

I also did pastry and lunch and breakfast. I pretty much got roped into the kitchen and loved it. (Apprentice) TA3e

When unable to make some independent choices and subject only to the choices of others, apprentices make decisions that are not their own because they are imposed by external prescripts. They are not ‘integrated’ but have ‘adjusted’ or ‘adapted’ and have become objects instead of integrated active participants (Wirth 1983).

9.11 Transferable skills

Bricknell and Paul (1978) described generic skills learning as occupationally transferable skills that once learned are able to be transferred across workplaces. Learning transferable skills is an important constituent of apprentice chefs’ training as they move from one establishment to another in order to build their cooking skills and knowledge. These occupationally transferable skills; cognitive skills, affective skills and psychomotor skills can be learned and applied across a range of tasks and attitudes throughout apprentice chefs’ training. The table below illustrates how occupationally transferable skills can be applied in diverse workplaces across the hospitality industry.
### Table 1 Occupationally transferable skills across commercial kitchens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive Skills</th>
<th>Affective Skills</th>
<th>Psychomotor Skills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Communications</strong></td>
<td><strong>Attitudes towards work</strong></td>
<td><strong>Use of senses</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read and evaluate recipes</td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
<td>Precision cutting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write purchase orders</td>
<td>Diligence</td>
<td>Cooking skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak to staff and customers</td>
<td>Determination</td>
<td>Use of equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reliability</td>
<td>Speed and dexterity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mathematics</strong></td>
<td><strong>Attitudes towards others</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand invoices</td>
<td>Converses pleasantly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget menus</td>
<td>Reacts to others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages and staff levels</td>
<td>Manages others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolve finance problems</td>
<td>Gives praise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reasoning</strong></td>
<td><strong>Attitudes towards self</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop new menu ideas</td>
<td>Self confidence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make decisions</td>
<td>Self-discipline</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline plans</td>
<td>Self-actualisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prioritise kitchen tasks</td>
<td>Assertiveness</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apprentices need transferable skills as they are important to the development of occupational adaptability. They are broadly applicable, widely useful and desirable skills in which relatively high levels of proficiency have been attained. In a commercial kitchen, they would include communication skills, given that clear communication is an essential element of a noisy, busy and occasionally dangerous kitchen environment. During meal service, all members of the team need to know the progression of dishes and timing of those dishes to the customer. A chef would also need the skill of problem solving in the midst of a constant barrage of demands from both ‘front of house’ and kitchen during a busy meal service. A chef may make a great many daily decisions from the smallest, though essential decision as to when a piece of food is cooked and ready to be served, to dealing with regular disasters of burned food or dropped dishes. They must learn to plan ahead with food orders, roster staff to match work and customer needs as well as plan menus. They must also deal with overheated exchanges between staff during times of stress and exhaustion, while at the same time motivating and coaching their team to bring out their best.

It can sometimes go sour – it breaks open people’s hearts if someone is working harder than the person next to them and they are younger – then that can sometimes be
difficult … but there are always going to be complications – you deal with it. (Head Chef, Stage One) Pbb18a

It is the development of skills in these broadly defined categories that can prepare individuals to deal with life’s challenges as preparation in a commercial kitchen. Future changes in the workplace will require individuals to be occupationally adaptable and prepared to cope with stresses of an unpredictable career progression, as the demands for skills and roles in the workplace evolve.

Moreover many chefs will be prompted to change their workplace in order to advance and expand their professional knowledge and skills. Such decisions may include going overseas to work for professional development, or forced by personal circumstances, such as financial or family demands influencing a change of employer. Vocational educators do not prepare their students to face the challenges of rapid and somewhat unpredictable occupational changes in this industry.

My initial, first step of moving out of the little cafes in Dublin and going into the Hilton as my friend advised me, he said one day you might want to be a Head Chef but working in these little cafes and learning what you’re learning you will not become that Head Chef. Coming to Australia and seeing the cuisine over here because I really thought what I saw over here was that there was a lot more going on lot more multicultural over here and a lot more different food. (Head Chef stage one) PH14a

The learning of any skill is always a useful subjective feature but its usefulness is specific to its application, as usefulness is not an inherent property of an acquired skill. When vocational educators apply the term to occupationally specific skills, however, they misapprehend whether skills have actual value in the job market. Paradoxically, it seems that general, transferable skills are, indeed, the most useful skills to acquire for any workplace.

9.12 Coping skills

Finally, apprentices commencing an apprenticeship in commercial cookery will need to have a disposition to cope with the demands of kitchen life, including the physical demands of standing for long hours and working with fire, heat and freezers and the psychological
demands of producing meals at speed to a set standard. However they will also need to develop adaptive skills\textsuperscript{24}, they need to learn to cope with their changing environment. They will need to be capable of self-assessment, to improve and understand their development as a professional and anticipate the needs of others within their group.\textsuperscript{25} Moreover, they will need to acquire the objectivity to perceive criticism and praise as dual aspects of the creative process and not let it affect their goal of perfecting their skills as chef. For apprentices to be fully integrated into their workplace they must acquire a number of adaptive skills by which they attain the social, interdependence of working as a member of a team. Employers now expect general employability skills as well as specific discipline knowledge, as these skills are essential to the effectiveness of apprentices in the workplace. It is a statement of fact that working in kitchens is dependent on chefs working in accord with each other to deliver the required meals at the required time during lunch or dinner service. Apprentices who possess the motivation to be a chef and who have the skills and knowledge to become a chef may find that many kitchens value their ability to ‘fit in’ and be a ‘team player’ more than individual skills. It is, therefore, important that apprentices learn to communicate effectively. It is equally important that they listen carefully to instructions or orders, as there is often little time or opportunity for senior chefs to keep repeating them and the need to do so only serves to cause annoyance. They must, furthermore, learn to plan their work, in order to reduce delays in job completion, and to reflect on their knowledge and skills through feedback from members of the team, to improve and progress. When apprentices learn affective, transferable skills, they develop employers’ preferred profile of an occupationally employable, self-actualised individual. It is then that an apprentice is a fulfilled member of their community of practice, achieving legitimacy and becoming a fully-fledged chef.

\textbf{9.13 Summary}

This chapter describes how VET still has an important role in the tri-partite relationship between employers and apprentices in that the non-practical or theoretical attitudinal knowledge is still to be learned if apprentices are to successfully navigate their way in the workplace. The majority of employers found it difficult, due to time and financial pressures,\textsuperscript{24} Often referred to as coping skills, occupational employability, or survival skills, or sometimes career development skills\textsuperscript{25} The development of a dish or group of dishes for a table of diners is not a discrete activity but one of coordination and collaboration
to provide the level of training needed by their employees and stated that they believe that vocational education should provide the apprentices with the necessary skills and knowledge so that they are work ready. Learning is significantly influenced by the context and setting in which it occurs (Eraut 2004a) and not all workplaces are conducive to structured learning. As more than 70% of hospitality businesses employ fewer than 20 people, it can safely be stated that the majority of them are small businesses, possibly lacking the time and resources to provide meaningful training for their trainees. However VET activities away from the workplace have not always been sufficient to meet many of the complex knowledge and skill needs of today’s workplace (Fenwick 2001; Norris 2003). Gilley, Eggland and Gilley (2000) believe that organisations should be responsible for implementing employee learning: when they develop strategies to improve performance, they should also be primarily responsible for the growth and development of employees by supporting their learning.
Chapter Ten – Conclusion

10.1 Workplaces as contested zones

The workplace is a highly contested arena for young people entering employment for the first time (Billett 1999); the language and culture of the workplace and fellow workers can challenge established understanding and values developed by the individual and bear little similarity to expectations arisen out of their life experiences. They may be at odds with preconceived concepts, advanced through expectations of their contributions and relationships with both tasks and fellow employees. The outcome for the individual may be a cognitive construct of dissatisfaction that may negatively inform their assessment of the new workplace and its employees. It is through this constructed perception that new workplace experiences will pass and thus be shaped, assessed and judged. It is important, therefore, that a new apprentice formulates a positive attitude towards their new workplace, as this influences their motivation and, in turn, their retention. An apprentice chef will need to visualise a broader understanding of initial tasks as agents for learning and change rather than discrete chores of perceived low value. The employer should provide opportunities for the apprentice to develop a deeper understanding of the tasks at hand to build a more structured contextual overview, so that apprentices gain insight into organisational goals as well as their own individual goals.

Employers, furthermore, will benefit from making efforts to help apprentices see alignment between organisational goals and their own personal goals. When an apprentice believes that working towards organisational goals will help them attain personally valued goals, their commitment to achieving what the organisation values will be greater. The more successfully Head Chefs tailor the work assignments to employee aspirations and preferences, the better results they can expect. Often Head Chefs assign work or responsibilities without finding out how the apprentice feels about them. The apprentice may worry about not being able to do the job successfully. Uncertainty about one’s ability to meet the Head Chef’s expectations may de-motivate an individual thus reducing his or her performance.26

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26 Employers often talk about laziness or the loss of work ethic but they seldom recognise de-motivation.
10.2 Meeting expectations

Apprentices make a contribution to their workplace from the start of their apprenticeship, at least by supporting other workers or acting as a ‘runner’ or ‘pair of hands’. However, this research shows that they bring much more than that: as more seasoned recruits bring skills and knowledge, equally apprentices also bring some skills. A metaphoric schematic of the interrelationship of novice and expert would have them polarised by a graded scale of required knowledge and skills. The novice slowly progresses along the scale until he or she is eventually acknowledged as expert. This depiction may particularly characterise esoteric knowledge, mathematical theory or science, for example, where knowledge is not universally available or easily understood by a layman. Cooking food, however, is a universal practice that has been appropriated and refined by the hospitality industry to the level of ‘art’ or ‘profession’.

The foundation of cooking is simply the preparation and cooking of food however those processes originate or conclude. Therefore apprentices may be initially unfamiliar with specific practices of their workplace but nonetheless will arrive with some knowledge of many aspects of food preparation and cooking. Consequently all members of the workplace would at some time be ‘learning’: a new recipe, a new process, the development of a new idea, familiarising themselves with a strange environment, section or just renewing old knowledge. It is not always the domain of the new apprentice to be the ‘learner’ and there will be times when they will be ‘expert’ in their given tasks or responsibility, passing on tips and experience to ‘old timers’. ‘Micro’ and ‘macro’ changes occur on a regular basis in kitchens, due to seasonal products and menus, shifting customer expectations, staff dynamics and their individual and collective knowledge and experience.

10.3 Providing support

Commercial kitchens operate with a broad and intense work load, including speed of delivery throughout the course of the day. Chefs are either focused on laborious preparation details for the day’s meal service or they are fully engaged in the cooking and presentation of meals. One prime responsibility of a Head Chef is to balance staff levels and production costs with customer needs and expectations. In light of the initial research, however, it appears that little attention is paid to apprentice learning satisfaction in many busy establishments. The research revealed that young people now entering the workforce are challenging workplace and
employer expectations with their own received ideas of workplace activities and learning. These loaded expectations are having their genesis in the wealth of information on cooks and cooking available electronically, via school vocational work experiences or via casual weekend kitchen jobs.

Employers participating in the research also articulated the importance of developing supportive relationship with apprentices. They recognised the significant contribution that apprentices now make in the workplace and the importance of providing opportunities for optimal learning of new skills. They also emphasised, nonetheless, the importance for an apprentice learning about the financial aspect of work practices, given that production costs and time management are an integral operational component in commercial kitchens. All participants (apprentices and employers) agreed that employers currently have expectations that apprentices will work long hours on a regular basis. There is also an expectation from many employers for apprentices to be trained and take responsibility at an earlier stage in their apprenticeship than their predecessors. In the past, apprentices were provided more time to practise and hone their skills before being expected to work unsupervised (Harris et al. 2001; Vickerstaff 2007). The research supports earlier findings indicating that the workplace is still the most important site for an apprentice to learn the requisite skills and knowledge for their work practices. It nonetheless also found that not all workplaces are alike; the interviewees cited many examples of unprincipled employers who rarely provide positive learning experiences for their apprentices.

The research also exposed a general attenuation of traditional skills, partly due to economic and technological change, but also due to successive generations of competent but less experienced chefs being appointed to supervisory or management positions earlier in their career. Similarly, a decline in basic skills (Robinson & Barron 2007) has been exacerbated by the fact that many businesses are now obtaining a greater proportion of their supplies pre-prepared elsewhere, thus reducing the necessity for apprentices to learn and practice task-specific preparation or cooking skills. Chefs can now purchase a range of pre-prepared, labour-saving products such as cakes and desserts or pre-cut and portioned meat and fish. The flow-on effect for the apprentice is one of disadvantage, as they are being deprived of the opportunity to become proficient in kitchen skills, which in turn affects the quality of their learning and development within the industry.
Support in the workplace may encompass a range of formal or informal processes where a greater commitment from the employer would hypothetically lead to increased job satisfaction for apprentices. Employers might provide support through the provision of resources and through assistance in managing workloads. Organisations may also provide support through training in requisite skills and resources such as employee assistance programs. Co-workers may provide support through practical or emotional support. Nonetheless many kitchens are not always models of social or organisational support (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006). There may be a culture of competitiveness amongst staff, promoted by some Head Chefs as a force for increased speed and quality of production. Workplaces that support and encourage individual success over others in the group diminish the organisational cooperation needed in commercial kitchens.

In the past, organisations with a bigger workforce afforded more opportunities for the new apprentice to be ‘buffered’ – allowing time for them to acclimatise to a new environment. Senior workers often took new recruits under their wing during the early stages of their apprenticeship as an informal ‘mentor’, to guide them through the complexities of work practices. This allowed first-year apprentice chefs better opportunities to try new skills and practise learned tasks in a supportive climate. Successful management of an individual is also about interventions such as goal setting, appraising, and coaching, training and providing feedback (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006).

### 10.4 Affording enriched learning

This research acknowledges that all workplaces have embedded in their processes tasks that are perceived as ‘less pleasant’, ‘low status’, ‘less rewarding’ or simply ‘boring and repetitive’. It is these tasks that have traditionally been given to workers perceived as least important in the pecking-order – namely the new apprentice – and usually in the guise of ‘learning the hard way’ or ‘thrown in the deep end’. Employers and senior staff in these instances were likely to discuss their training in terms of the commands that had to be accepted without question.\(^{27}\) However, some chefs see this as a licence to act as ‘Sergeant Majors’, barking orders and demanding unquestioning obedience. Apprentices are expected to accept unpleasant tasks as their due until such time as they are deemed competent to progress through a hierarchy of more enjoyable tasks. However, in the past, many unpleasant

\(^{27}\) There is a history in European kitchens of a rigid, military style hierarchy of jobs and rank. This structure of ‘the partie system’ or sectioning up a ‘brigade’ in large hotel kitchens was developed by August Escoffier at the turn of the century for the efficient production and service of food (James & Hayward 2004).
tasks were often shared by a team of apprentices. First-, second- and third-year apprentices ‘coming through’ often cooperated as a team of individuals to relieve burdens and to make the chores more enjoyable by sharing the load and developing a sense of participating in a community.

All tasks completed in the kitchen integral to a meal are both essential and valuable, no matter if it’s peeling vegetables or grilling meat. Low-status tasks should be accorded their relative value rather than seen as perfunctory or of little consequence. However reframing many low-status jobs and reassigning them as a group activity will ease pressure on apprentices. All members of the team, no matter their rank, may engage in these group activities as a means of acknowledging the importance of all tasks to the group and not necessarily just the purview of apprentices. There are many precedents of monotonous or laborious activities that are accomplished collectively to ease the burden on the individual worker. Agricultural work such as fruit picking, process work and manual labour all exemplify communities of practice with shared aims and interdependence. As the new apprentice progresses through their tasks they should be explicitly acknowledged for their contribution rather than this being taken for granted as part of their duties. An employer’s focus on task outcome can override their humane focus, essential to task performance to achieve the desired outcome.

Certain conceptual approaches to job design may be deemed to have merit if canvassed as possible solutions to the demotivation of the apprentice as a result of low task identity and value. They might be breaking repetitive jobs into separate stages and having them completed by two individuals or combining tasks as a single job that features more stimulation. Apprentices might develop a closer relationship with supervisors or co-workers when tasks are completed cooperatively. Finally, the greater the variety of tasks allocated and the level of responsibility delegated – with the requisite training and support – may result in more positive attitudes by apprentices to their workplace. Limiting opportunities for an apprentice to take even partial task responsibility may inhibit natural feelings of ability, autonomy and, to a lesser extent, satisfaction from the results of their efforts.

10.5 Generating a dialogue

Learning in the workplace is pedagogically designed to meet the needs of both the individual learner and the organisation. It is by developing a dialogue between employers, apprentices
and VET that solutions to apprentice attrition are able to be mapped. Employers are trainers given that many requisite workplace activities are simply unable to be replicated in the classroom. The quality of apprentice learning is often dependent on the kinds of activities they engage in and the level of support and guidance afforded to them. It is primarily the activities of more experienced workers and vocational education practitioners that provide the most significant contributions to the apprentice learning. This is achieved by assisting them with the learning procedures that are unfamiliar, non-routine or difficult and thus unlikely to be learned through purely informal practice (Chivers 1971). The value of this kind of assistance is not just restricted to apprentices: experienced workers also observe and listen to others as a way of keeping up with the changing requirements of their workplace (Billett 1993; Penland 1984).

This research finds that VET, industry and apprentices have mutual goals. Understanding areas of convergence in the tri-partite relationship will assist in their achievement. This may be accomplished by facilitating the communication of pertinent knowledge to employers and supervisors in service about understanding apprentices’ expectations and motives. Furthermore it will be salutary for vocational education to see its principal aim as that of making apprentices’ learning not only relevant and linked to employer needs, but also as commensurate with the apprentice’s goal to become a chef. A difficulty in the past has been the persistent perception of a ‘gap’ between the goals of the employer and the aims of vocational education; this perception has only persisted due to the manner in which theory and practice have been conceptualised. As Carr and Kemmis (1986) point out, the assumptions of theory and practice are that theory is ‘non-practical’ and practice is ‘non-theoretical’ (p. 113) but, although they are carried out by different practitioners, they overlap. Theory guides the organisation’s activity in the workplace but it is also dependent upon the practice framework, as they are inevitably the two voices of an on-going dialogue regarding apprentices, their learning and the importance of their retention in the hospitality industry.

10.6 Implications for apprentices and industry

This research offers salient information to assist industry and VET in their goal of retaining apprentices in the workplace. Apprentice retention is important in so much as young people entering the workforce today are tomorrow’s leaders and, as this research has proposed, early experiences will affect attitudes to work and employment. Industry will be enriched by tapping into the deep vein of information that young people now bring to their workplace.
Furthermore, as VET shifts further away from the classroom and into workplace assessment, it is even more imperative to take a close look at employers taking on apprentices in a largely unregulated industry.
Appendices

Appendix 1: Stage One Research questions, clustered into groups for analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question number</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Skills development</th>
<th>Developments in training</th>
<th>Changes in VET</th>
<th>Socio-economic challenges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>As an employer what would you look for in a young trainee and what do you look for in an</td>
<td>How important is specialisation in this industry?</td>
<td>What do you believe trainee chefs want from their training?</td>
<td>What economic forces impact a trainee and their on the job learning?</td>
<td>What economic forces impact a trainee and their on the job learning?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>experienced employee?</td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you think about trainees learning higher level skills?</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>How important is teamwork and do you believe you can develop it in a trainee?</td>
<td></td>
<td>What are your thoughts on trainees learning essential skills in a formal VET environment?</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>What negatives continually crop up concerning training and the food industry, from your</td>
<td></td>
<td>How important is on-the-job learning for a trainee?</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on VET now delivering short courses for trainees targeting</td>
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<td></td>
<td>peers, that were not there in the past?</td>
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<td>specific work places?</td>
<td>specific work places?</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>How has the industry improved?</td>
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<td>What are your thoughts on VET training targeting global employment prospects for the</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on staff levels and the outsourcing of skills?</td>
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<td>trainee?</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on competition in the workplace and the drive for excellence?</td>
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<td>How does that relate to you?</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>How important is specialisation in this industry?</td>
<td>How do you think the push for post-trade qualifications will come from?</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Describe your formal learning and its impact on your professional life.</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on employees continuing post-trade training?</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>In your opinion how does a young trainee get a taste for professional cooking?</td>
<td>Where do you think the push for post-trade qualifications will come from?</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>How does that relate to you?</td>
<td>What are your thoughts concerning the employers and managers delivering the on-the-job</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Can you describe the top most relevant experiences that you feel have helped your</td>
<td>training?</td>
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<td>success?</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>What do you believe trainee chefs want from their training?</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on trainees learning essential skills in a formal VET environment?</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>How important is on-the-job learning for a trainee?</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>What are your thoughts concerning the employers and managers delivering the on-the-job</td>
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<td></td>
<td>training?</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>What feedback have you had from trainees about their training?</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>How important is attitude in the knowledge and skills trilogy of competency training?</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>What are your thoughts on VET training?</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>What economic forces impact a trainee and their on the job learning?</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>What are your thoughts concerning the current shortage of qualified cooks?</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>How does the impact of social change affect trainees and their retention in the industry?</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How do wages and costs for the employer and the trainee affect the shortage?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Stage Two research questions clustered into groups

Scope of inquiry for the workplace learning of trainee/apprentices

Multiplicity – range of activities you are expected to undertake.
  • What is the range of the work tasks you are required to perform?
  • What are the specialised tasks and are they valued and/or rewarded in particular ways?

Routine – the degree to which your work activities are routine or non-routine.
  • Which tasks are required to be performed routinely – all the time?
  • Who performs these tasks and why?

Discretion – the degree of discretion you have in your work.
  • Which activities are initiated and undertaken based on individuals’ initiative?
  • Which activities are initiated and their conduct monitored and supervised by others?

Responsibility – the degree to which individuals are responsible for their own work and that of others.
  • What responsibilities does your work entail?
  • What responsibilities do you have for others?

Intensity – the intensity of the work tasks in which you engage.
  • What situations demand the conduct of multiple tasks simultaneously?
  • What is the impact of intense work on the workplace environment?

Accessibility of knowledge – which knowledge required for the work practice is difficult to learn.
  • What kinds of work requirements would be ‘learnable’ in the workplace?
  • What kinds of work requirements are not able to be learnt in the workplace?

Working with others – the degree to which your work is premised on interactions with others (e.g. teamwork – working with others)
  • What kinds of interaction with others are required for your work to be conducted?
  • What does team work mean in your workplace?

Access to participation – the ease with which you can participate fully in the workplace
  • Are you able to engage in new and interesting tasks if you want to?
  • In what ways is your participation in work inhibited?

Scope and Areas of inquiry for Chef/Employers

Industry:
  • What concerns are there in industry regarding the training of apprentices?
  • How or has the industry changed?
  • As an employer what would you look for in a young trainee?
  • How important is teamwork and how would you develop it in a trainee?

Skills development:
  • What are your thoughts on current staff levels and skills training?
  • How has your formal learning impacted your professional life?
  • How does a young trainee get a taste for professional cooking?
  • Can you describe the top most relevant learning experiences that you feel have helped your success?

Socio-economic challenges:
  • What are your thoughts concerning the current shortage of qualified cooks?
  • How does the impact of social change affect trainees and their retention in the industry?
  • What part does wages and cost for the employer and the trainee affect the skill shortage?
• How do current economics in industry impact on trainees and their on the job learning?

**Scope and Areas of inquiry for Vocational Education and Training (VET) Providers**

**Developments in training:**
• What do you believe trainee chefs want from their training?
• How important is ‘on the job’ learning for a trainee?
• What are your thoughts concerning the employers and managers delivering the ‘on the job’ training?
• What feedback have you had from trainees and their training?
• What are your thoughts on current VET training?
• What are your thoughts on trainees learning essential skills in a formal VET environment?

**Vocational Education and Training:**
• What are your thoughts on VET delivering shorter courses for trainees targeting specific work places?
• What are your thoughts on VET training targeting global employment prospects for the trainee?
• How does time affect skills and skill learning?
• What are your thoughts on employees continuing post trade training?
• What do you think about trainees learning higher level skills?
Appendix 3: Stage one coded interview responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>What, in your opinion, do apprentice chefs want from their training?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code A</td>
<td>Beliefs and opinions of apprentices’ expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA1</td>
<td>Traditional training, craft skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA2</td>
<td>Enthusiasm, motivation and wanting to learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA3</td>
<td>Rigorous training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA4</td>
<td>Learn useful skills, good cuisine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA5</td>
<td>Focused work-related learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA6</td>
<td>Skills lost through pre-prepared food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA7</td>
<td>Relevant training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA8</td>
<td>Spend time learning</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA9</td>
<td>Professionalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA10</td>
<td>Knowledge of ingredients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA11</td>
<td>Broad understanding of industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA12</td>
<td>Directed learning, show what is important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA13</td>
<td>To be motivated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA14</td>
<td>Opportunities for recognition and advancement</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA15</td>
<td>High level skills, kitchen management</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA16</td>
<td>Opportunity to practise their skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA17</td>
<td>To gain confidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA18</td>
<td>Build speed and efficiency</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA19</td>
<td>TAFE training lacks depth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA20</td>
<td>Customer focused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA21</td>
<td>To gain meaningful employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA22</td>
<td>Individual needs met</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA23</td>
<td>Training needs reassessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA24</td>
<td>Learning to work in a team</td>
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<tr>
<td>PA25</td>
<td>Learning-conducive environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA26</td>
<td>Learning support from industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA27</td>
<td>A living wage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>What do you think about an apprentice learning management skills?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Code B</td>
<td>High-level skills to affect problem solving and communication development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB1</td>
<td>It is essential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB2</td>
<td>Learn team development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PB3</td>
<td>Team learning</td>
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<td>PB4</td>
<td>Problem solving</td>
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<td>PB5</td>
<td>Communication skills</td>
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<td>PB6</td>
<td>Multiple skills development</td>
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<td>PB7</td>
<td>On-going training</td>
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<td>PB8</td>
<td>Depth of knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>PB9</td>
<td>Individual learning styles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB10</td>
<td>Enthusiasm and motivation of trainees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB11</td>
<td>Focus on specific skill sets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB12</td>
<td>Opportunities for recognition and advancement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB13</td>
<td>Depth of training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB14</td>
<td>Application of skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB15</td>
<td>Basic skills training</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q3  How important is specialisation in cooking?
Code C  Should training target specific levels of learning or areas of expertise earlier?
PC1  Focused training
PC2  Loss of specialised skills
PC3  Too much broad skimming of learning
PC4  Loss of techniques
PC5  Need to retain skills for future
PC6  Learners need to gather knowledge from multiple sources
PC7  Learners need direction
PC8  Opportunities for growth and proficiency
PC9  Learners to develop understanding
PC10  Training is international
PC11  Responsibility assists career prospects
PC12  Learners should be encouraged to take initiatives
PC13  Basic training needs to be in place
PC14  Not important with broad, effective situated learning

Q4  Can they always learn these skills in a formal TAFE environment?
Code D  Can vocational training institutes provide effective training of essential skills?
PD1  Formal learning can deliver essential skills
PD2  Formal learning is effective
PD3  Learning more varied skills
PD4  Depending on the ability of the teacher
PD5  Skills must be practised and repeated to be learnt
PD6  Learning more varied skills
PD7  Limited replication of real work experience
PD8  The ability to spend time explaining
PD9  Skills learning should occur in the workplace
PD10  Formal learning is ineffective
PD11  Formal learning can develop and encourage
PD12  Provide workplace-learning support
PD13  To acknowledge implicit learning
PD14  Knowledge base has broadened

Q5  Describe your formal learning, relating to commercial cookery and its impact on your professional life?
Code E  What can be learned from others’ experiences that can then be used to inform practice
PE1  Links to past positive learning
PE2  Deep knowledge of subject
PE3  Structured workplace training
PE4  Intense training of an international standard
PE5  Wide knowledge developing expertise
PE6  Thorough knowledge of the language of cooking
PE7  Knowledge and skills lost
PE8  Highly structured, didactic training
PE9  Respect for knowledge
PE10  Different management style to the past
PE11  To know how to manage people
PE12  Apprentices are too impatient
PE13  Apprentices have limited knowledge
PE14  Skill acquisition is a long process
PE15 Drive for perfection
PE16 Current poor work practices
PE17 Positive formal learning experience
PE18 To learn from past experiences
PE19 Learning to be organised
PE20 Understand fellow workers needs
PE21 Develop responsibility
PE22 Learn management skills
PE23 Develop creativity
PE24 Beneficial formal learning
PE25 Develop patience and understanding
PE26 A positive workplace-learning environment
PE27 Learning through experience
PE28 Strong leadership
PE29 To keep up to date
PE30 Motivate and encourage trainees
PE31 Positive learning can occur anywhere

Q6 In your opinion how does a young apprentice chef get a taste for professional cooking?

Code F What motivates an apprentice to take up cooking?
PF1 Prior pleasure and interest in the industry
PF2 Wanting to have a creative outlet
PF3 Prior enjoyment in developing skills
PF4 Passionate interest
PF5 A perception of an exciting industry
PF6 From the media
PF7 A perception that it would suit less academic students
PF8 Positive responses to skills performance
PF9 Commitment to become a chef
PF10 Through school
PF11 Curiosity
PF12 Pushed into it
PF13 Opportunity for an independent life
PF14 Natural ability
PF15 To develop new skills
PF16 An active career
PF17 Opportunity to work with people

Q7 How does that relate to you?

Code G Personal histories of successful chefs
PG1 Prior knowledge and interest
PG2 Opportunity to travel
PG3 Positive peer contact
PG4 Opportunities for an exciting career
PG5 Practical application of knowledge
PG6 Positive workplace learning
Q8  Can you describe the top 3 most relevant learning experiences that you feel have helped your success?

Code H  What can be learned from the personal experiences of industry and training professionals that could be of help to new trainees?

PH1  Experience diversity to gain experience and knowledge
PH2  Punctuality demonstrates commitment to the employer
PH3  Commitment can advance career
PH4  Passion needs to be demonstrated
PH5  Think ahead, don’t wait to be told
PH6  Take ownership of your career
PH7  Passion and commitment can breed arrogance
PH8  Be part of the team
PH9  Be an effective manager
PH10  Positive VET experience
PH11  Challenging work environment
PH12  Learn to deal with disappointment and adversity
PH13  VET provides opportunities for meeting peers
PH14  Choose positive work places
PH15  Mentors to support and encourage
PH16  Positive support outside work
PH17  Gain applicable practical skills
PH18  Competition sharpens skills

Q9  How important is on-the-job learning for an apprentice?

Code i  Is situated, workplace learning central to skill development and possibly job satisfaction?

Pi1  Very important
Pi2  VET is not industry specific
Pi3  Need current skills
Pi4  Develop teamwork
Pi5  Conflict resolution
Pi6  Develop coping skills
Pi7  Broad knowledge of the industry
Pi8  Most important
Pi9  It depends on where you work
Pi10  Skills are practised and learned
Pi11  Poor training in some workplaces
Pi12  Limited training in some workplaces
Pi13  Important to stimulate learners
Pi14  Important to challenge learners
Pi15  Important to build confidence
Pi16  Demonstrates relevance of tasks
Pi17  Employers limit training to their needs
Pi18  Inconsistent training skills in the workplace
Pi19  Limited time for proper training
Pi20  Dual training is important
Pi21  Learn to work with adults
Pi22  Learn in an unfamiliar environment
Pi23  VET is limited with time
Pi24  The workplace is an important place to learn
Pi25  VET cannot replicate fast and busy kitchens
Pi26  VET can replicate restaurant menus
Pi27  You cannot replicate the stress of the workplace
Q10 What are your thoughts concerning the chefs doing the on-the-job training?

**Code J**

What do think about the effectiveness of employers and managers providing the workplace training?

PJ1 Staff levels limit workplace training
PJ2 The workplace now expects job readiness
PJ3 Supervisors have little time to train
PJ4 Skills are being lost
PJ5 Trainers have no training
PJ6 Loss of workplace training
PJ7 Chef/trainers need good people and craft skills
PJ8 Provide training for supervisors
PJ9 In the past there was more time to learn
PJ10 Some are good, some are bad
PJ11 Apprentices end up training themselves
PJ12 Good trainers show examples
PJ13 Good trainers give and nurture responsibility
PJ14 Good trainers encourage
PJ15 Good trainers give realistic assessments
PJ16 Good trainers share knowledge
PJ17 Low opinion of them
PJ18 Workplace training should be consistent
PJ19 Apprentices need knowledge
PJ20 Apprentices need commitment and passion
PJ21 Workplaces should care for their staff
PJ22 Apprentices are not always willing
PJ23 Apprentices should not be exploited
PJ24 Dedicated time for training
PJ25 Apprentices need relevant knowledge
PJ26 Practise makes perfect

PK1 Keep up with the industry
PK2 Acquire higher level skills
PK3 Pass on knowledge to others
PK4 Increase skills
PK5 Skills to train others
PK6 Hard industry with limited opportunity
PK7 Need to develop chefs
PK8 Important
PK9 Specialised courses
PK10 Upgrade management skills
PK11 Become a better manager
PK12 Improve communication
PK13 Improve people skills
PK14 Recognise social problems
PK15 Strongly recommend
PK16 Both formal and informal training
PK17 Skill shortages around for a long time
PK18 It takes time, money and resources
PK19  Constantly learning
PK20  Management skills are already there
PK21  Apprentices are doing the training
PK22  Costs may deter it
PK23  Learning continues after apprenticeship
PK24  Selected aspects of industry
PK25  Formalised training

Q12  Where do you think the push for post-trade qualifications will come from?
Code L  Where will the drive come from for post-trade knowledge skill sets for chefs?
PL1  It should be mandatory
PL2  Industry needs to take responsibility
PL3  Industry needs to change culture
PL4  Formal training is needed
PL5  Apprentices need care
PL6  Industry has poor track record
PL7  Industry Associations
PL8  Industry Associations concerned with economics
PL9  Cost problems for small businesses

Q13  How do current economics impact an apprentice’s on-the-job learning?
Code M  How do current economics impact on the amount and quality of staff an employer is able to sustain and the lives of the apprentices themselves and their learning.
PM1  Staff are expensive
PM2  Low-revenue industry
PM3  Low-profit industry
PM4  Low staff levels
PM5  Time constraints
PM6  Staff cutbacks
PM7  Skill depletion through pre-prepared products
PM8  Skills loss
PM9  Hard industry
PM10  Long hours
PM11  Low pay
PM12  Long hours and low pay
PM13  Limited social life
PM14  Trainee burn out
PM15  Big city opportunities but not everywhere
PM16  Economic downturns
PM17  Funding for training
PM18  Government incentives
PM19  Imported labour
PM20  No motivation to stay
PM21  Work conditions
PM22  No investment in apprentices
PM23  Misleading image of industry
PM24  Poor retention

Q14  What do you think about the current shortage of qualified cooks?
Code N  Considering the original question of the skills shortage, how does the industry see the problem?
PN1  Lack of interest
PN2  Low pay
PN3  Loss of traditional training
PN4  Poor perception of industry
PN5  Expectations not met
PN6  Lack of creative opportunity
PN7  Staff cutbacks
PN8  Lack of applicants
PN9  Lack of workplace training
PN10 VET is still structured formal training
PN11 Less depth of formal training
PN12 Lack of trained staff
PN13 Industry being destroyed
PN14 Untrained staff
PN15 Cost of qualified staff
PN16 Lack of regulations
PN17 Burn out
PN18 Abuse of staff
PN19 Lack of mentors
PN20 Long hours and low pay
PN21 Wider options
PN22 Same across many industries
PN23 Lack of commitment
PN24 Lack of promotion prospects
PN25 Skills loss manufactured by policies
PN26 Push away from trades

Q15  What feedback have you had from young chefs and their training?

Code O  What do the trainees say about their training and can we use it to look at the way we train?

PO1  Good training depends on where you are
PO2  Good training develops direction
PO3  Good training takes time
PO4  Poor training is autocratic and abusive
PO5  Poor employers expect too much
PO6  Poor trainers have been poorly trained
PO7  Good trainers empower trainees
PO8  Good training is rigorous
PO9  Good training is comprehensive
PO10 Good training motivates
PO11 VET is only part of a trainee’s life
PO12 Better skills development motivates and creates confidence
PO13 Better trained get better jobs
PO14 Some workplaces are negative
PO15 Low wages and bullying
PO16 Good trainers interact with trainees
PO17 Good training is about communication
PO18 Not all VET trainers are effective
PO19 Not all VET trainers are qualified
PO20 Some trainees lack motivation
PO21 TAFE is boring
PO22 VET provided a foundation
PO23 Good training is transferable
Q16  TAFE provides short courses for trainees targeting cafes etc. What are your thoughts?

Code P

Would shorter courses help employers and trainees retain staff in the industry and what are the long-term effects of reducing the formal training?

PP1  Specific skill focus
PP2  Time for proficiency
PP3  Proficiency is lost
PP4  Positive for employers
PP5  Foundation forming
PP6  Tailored training
PP7  Positive
PP8  Supports returnees to training
PP9  Opportunity for trainee to explore
PP10 Intensive course
PP11 Positive when linked with employment
PP12 Poorer quality
PP13 Positive for trainees
PP14 Depends on the course
PP15 Negative
PP16 Negative comparison to full-time course
PP17 Lack of skills acquisition
PP18 Stratification

Q17  What are your thoughts on TAFE training targeting global employment prospects for the apprentices?

Code Q

Commercial cookery is part of the international tourism industry and as such offers benefits of travel and work overseas. It is expected that apprentices build a portfolio of overseas experiences to develop their skills and knowledge. They will also be working with people trained overseas.

PQ1  Important
PQ2  Apprentices want to travel
PQ3  Apprentices want to work in Europe
PQ4  Increase their skills
PQ5  Attracting world-standard chefs
PQ6  Positive for Australia
PQ7  Asian market growing
PQ8  Negative
PQ9  Individual choice
PQ10 Too difficult
PQ11 Too much happening domestically
PQ12 Keep up with global trends
PQ13 Influence VET
PQ14 Positive
PQ15 Global opportunities for employment
PQ16 Experience cultural diversity
PQ17 Positive training experience
PQ18 Assists problem-solving skills
PQ19 Develop an elite training system
PQ20 Little effect on trainee choices
PQ21 Formal training plays little part
PQ22 VET should focus on basics
PQ23 Diversity here already
Q18  How does that relate to you?
Code R  A lot of the participants answered this question in the previous questions.
PR1  Positive participation
PR2  Expand global knowledge and skills

Q19  How important is attitude in the knowledge and skills trilogy of competency training?
Code S  The ability to sustain employment hinges on the attitude of both the employer and the employee. We have heard a lot about the attitudes of the employers but what about the trainees?
PS1  Very important
PS2  Initially more important than skill
PS3  Willing to learn
PS4  To be able to mould a trainee
PS5  A positive attitude promotes employment
PS6  Passion is hard to learn
PS7  You either love food or you don’t
PS8  Passionate about the work
PS9  Creativity is part of the job
PS10  Pride in yourself
PS11  Positive attitude to learn
PS12  Maintain enthusiasm
PS13  Too much pressure creates negativity
PS14  Too much pressure reduces proficiency
PS15  A positive attitude is contagious
PS16  Naturally occurring in some trainees
PS17  Positive attitude supports learning
PS18  Negative attitude limits employment
PS19  To get the best out of themselves
PS20  To cope with conflict
PS21  Employees sometimes perceived as components
PS22  Community as family
PS23  Promote balance between work and play
PS24  Young are willing to change
PS25  Older are less willing to change
PS26  Commitment and a lot of sacrifices
PS27  Positive attitude is supported
PS28  Positive attitude promotes employment around the world
PS29  Positive attitude cannot be taught
PS30  Developed through life experience

Q20  As an employer what would you look for in a young chef and what do you look for in an experienced chef?
Code T  What personal criterion or standard is identified as most useful in promoting and maintaining employment?
PT1  Passion
PT2  Keen to learn
PT3  Spends time to learn
PT4  Put in the extra time
PT5  Passionate, happy attitude, willing to learn
PT6  Senior staff need skills
PT7  Confident in their ability
Management skills
Love the job
Not chasing money
Punctual
Follow the rules
Positive attitude
Professionalism and management skills
Practical skills
Good foundation in cooking
Good general knowledge
Adaptable
Learn quickly
Consistency
Not overly knowledgeable
Contribute to the kitchen
Creative
Good communicator
Leader
Positive role model
Personal presentation
Trainer
To work in a team
Daring but knowledgeable
Ability to blend in and work hard and fast
Honest with mistakes
Listens
Sense of humour
Reliable
Develop their skills
Common sense
Willing to be trained
Calm in a crisis
Confident
Efficient
Can work alone

How do you believe you can develop teamwork in a trainee and how important is it?

Teamwork is very important
Can be developed easily
Encourage rotation of duties
Called upon when needed
Positive for morale
Positive for staff retention
Positive learning environment
Group activities build teams
Important for busy workplaces
Learning teamwork by example
To understand the individual role within the team
Respect for each other
Q22 What negatives continually crop up concerning training and the food industry, from your peers, that were not there before?

Code V

How has the industry and training changed for the worse in your experience?

PV1 Lack of training
PV2 Lack of skills
PV3 Trainees told they are no good
PV4 Trainees don’t care about their job
PV5 Trainees want fast-track promotion
PV6 Trainees are not interested in learning
PV7 Trainees lack opportunities to be creative
PV8 Trainees lack opportunities
PV9 Poor pay
PV10 Long hours for poor pay
PV11 Poor workplaces
PV12 Lack of quality workplace training
PV13 Emotionally unbalanced staff
PV14 Dysfunctional personal life of staff
PV15 Unwillingness by staff to take responsibility
PV16 Lacking common sense
PV17 Late nights, drugs and alcohol
PV18 TAFE/industry divide
PV19 Poor employer/apprentice relationship
PV20 TAFE trying to reduce the gap
PV21 Bullying
PV22 Student/teacher training
PV23 Poor quality VET
PV24 Job requires great stamina
PV25 Unsociable hours
PV26 Lack of mentoring
PV27 Split shifts
PV28 Loss of confidence
PV29 Trainees unwilling to make sacrifices
PV30 No training in current industry trends
PV31 Labour’s expensive
PV32 Deskilling of the industry
PV33 Lack enthusiasm amongst teachers
Q23  How has the industry improved?
Code W  What positive changes have occurred in the industry in you experience?
PW1  Slowly catching up to other industries
PW2  No improvement
PW3  More positive relationship between chefs
PW4  Improved understanding of trainees’ rights
PW5  Sometimes trainees abuse the system
PW6  Some shorter shifts
PW7  Employers less autocratic
PW8  Little improvement
PW9  Lack of discipline
PW10  Little more relaxed in the workplace
PW11  Lack of female trainees
PW12  Less abuse of staff
PW13  Improved communication
PW14  Continual staff abuse
PW15  Some improved teamwork
PW16  Industry and training working closer
PW17  Industry matured
PW18  Greater opportunities
PW19  Improved technology
PW20  Improved work conditions
PW21  Reduced menu complexity
PW22  More streamlined operation
PW23  Motivated staff
PW24  It is worse
PW25  Pay is worse
PW26  More work in the same amount of hours
PW27  Less staff
PW28  Reduced skill levels
PW29  Faster track career opportunities
PW30  International cuisines

Q24  What are thoughts on staff levels and the use of convenience products?
Code X  How do the decreased staff level and the increased use of pre-prepared products directly affect the skill learning of the trainees?
PX1  The work/staff ratio
PX2  Loss of skills
PX3  No training needed
PX4  Saved time/no wastage
PX5  Reduced staff levels
PX6  Purchase skills
PX7  Negative
PX8  Reduced costs
PX9  Depends on the workplace
PX10  Lost skills may be needed again one day
PX11  Underused skills

Q25  What are your thoughts on off-the-job training and their trainers?
Code Y  This question looks at VET and the teachers
Some private VET is good
Full-time trainees lack industry knowledge
Trainers have current industry knowledge
Trainers should return to industry
Standards at TAFE vary
Some shady private providers
Irrelevant knowledge
Skills need to be practised to be of use
Most trainers are OK although some are tick and flick
It works
Most teachers are dedicated
Some teachers don’t care
Some teachers have poor teaching skills

Q26 How important is the impact of social change for trainees with their retention in the industry?

How does contemporary life affect the trainees and their willingness to stay in the industry? This question also looks at Gen Y and the implications for the industry.

More choices with better conditions
Many negative aspects of the job
Hard starting out
Initial pay is very low
Trainee disillusionment
Kitchen drug culture
Risky social activities
Increased options
Alcohol culture
Work pressure
Social pressures
Positive employer/apprentice relationship
Positive teacher/apprentice relationship
More career mobility
More employee choice
Move to service industries away from manufacturing
Changed skills
Changed customers
Surplus of school leavers
Individuals choosing the industry as last resort
Staff loss to retail with better conditions
Difficulty retaining staff
Competition from overseas migrants
Reduction in manufacturing
Unrealistic working hours
Little employment satisfaction
Demise of trades
Industry perceived as easy
IR changes
Negative apprentice/employer relationship
Casualisation of the industry
Low staff levels
Industry misogyny
Unrealistic expectations from secondary education
Industry with a history of abuse

Q27  How important is pay for the employer and employee?

Code aa  Does the amount of pay affect employee retention?
Paa1  Pay is very important
Paa2  Staff should be rewarded
Paa3  Employers always look to reduce costs
Paa4  Rewards for extra effort
Paa5  Not the most important criterion
Paa6  Hard to live on low wages
Paa7  The culture of the workplace is more important
Paa8  The employer/apprentice relationship
Paa9  There needs to be a restructure of apprentice wages
Paa10  Apprentices vary today
Paa11  City life is expensive
Paa12  Apprentices have poor lives
Paa13  Consumers unaware of true cost
Paa14  Industry perceived as low paid
Paa15  Skills loss through staff turnover
Paa16  Apprentice care is linked to their retention
Paa17  Shortage of apprentices
Paa18  IR laws rob trainees
Paa19  Apprentices move on

Q28  How, or not, does competition drive excellence?

Code bb  How do you motivate and keep trainees interested? Not necessarily top-down solutions but the trainees finding the solutions within themselves.
Pbb1  Positive
Pbb2  Compete for a position
Pbb3  Increased quality of work
Pbb4  Increased effort
Pbb4  Advances ideas
Pbb5  Wrong when it involves ego
Pbb6  Tests strengths
Pbb7  Challenges apprentices
Pbb8  Achieves goals
Pbb9  Team focussed
Pbb10  Healthy within reason
Pbb11  To strive higher
Pbb12  To aspire
Pbb13  Results vary
Pbb14  Drives excellence
Pbb15  Provides recognition
Pbb16  Sets benchmarks
Pbb17  Improves standards
Pbb18  Causes bad feeling
Pbb19  Occurs naturally in kitchens
Pbb20  Drives passion
Pbb21  Opportunity for reward
Q29  What essential competencies would you include when developing a training program?

Code cc  What does the industry think we should be teaching the trainees?
Pcc1  Positive attitudes
Pcc2  Pride in their profession
Pcc3  Lifelong learning
Pcc4  Industry knowledge
Pcc5  Traditional skills
Pcc6  Wider industry knowledge
Pcc7  Respect for your workplace
Pcc8  Respect for fellow workers
Pcc9  To not abuse
Pcc10  Empathy in the workplace
Pcc11  Communication skills
Pcc12  Working in teams
Pcc13  Basic cooking methods
Pcc14  Time management
Pcc15  Organisational ability
Pcc16  Teamwork
Pcc17  To work without supervision
Pcc18  Calm under pressure
Pcc19  Problem solving
Pcc20  Skills and confidence
Pcc21  Financial control
Pcc22  Recruitment skills
Pcc23  Management
Pcc24  Current industry practices
Pcc25  Use technology

Q30  How does time affect skills and skill learning?

Code dd  There is a push to reduce the amount of time spent in training. Will that affect the quality of the training?
Pdd1  Very important to spend time learning
Pdd2  Time helps knowledge and skills stick
Pdd3  Skills need to be consistent and uniform
Pdd4  Knowledge and experience need time to develop
Pdd5  Opportunities are linked to skills acquisition
Pdd6  Cooking is an art that takes a long time to perfect
Pdd7  TAFE works
Pdd8  Pace of skills acquisition is individual
Pdd9  Time needed to learn
Pdd10  Skilled workforce benefits the industry
Pdd11  Negative perception of shortened courses
Pdd12  Skills are not being learned in the workplace
Pdd13  No time to build skills due to low staff levels
Pdd14  Costs of workplace training
Pdd15  VET can deliver training
Pdd16  Workplace assessment is minimal
Pdd17  Time should not be an element
Pdd18  Expertise takes years
Pdd19  Skills development needs flexibility
Pdd20  Training programs can be delivered quickly
Pdd21  The learning environment affects skills acquisition
Pdd22  Knowledge and skills acquisition is a step process
Pdd23  Knowledge develops the individual
Pdd24  Apprentices are impatient
Pdd25  Negative workplaces discourage learning
Pdd26  Apprentices are responsible for their learning
Pdd27  Long working hours discourage learning in TAFE
Pdd28  Apprenticeships work
Pdd29  Apprentices should be trainees not trainers

Appendix 4: Stage Two coded interview responses

Scope of inquiry for the workplace learning of apprentices

1. What is the range of the work tasks you are required to perform?
   TA1  Basic jobs to start
   TA2  Take more responsibility
   TA3  Monitor areas
   TA4  Increase skills

2. What are the specialised tasks and are they valued and/or rewarded in particular ways?
   TB1  Received positive feedback
   TB2  Organised tasks
   TB3  Take responsibility
   TB4  Work in a team
   TB5  Flexible
   TB6  Rewarded
   TB7  Hard work

3. Which tasks are required to be performed routinely – all the time?
   TC1  Deeper understanding
   TC2  Easy going
   TC3  Work together
   TC4  More skilled tasks
   TC5  Respect

4. Who performs these tasks and why?
   TD1  Self directed
   TD2  Challenged
   TD3  Outside the team
   TD4  Responsible
   TD5  Follow orders

5. Which activities are initiated and undertaken based on individuals’ initiative?
   TE1  Develop ideas
   TE2  Use initiative
   TE3  Receive feedback
   TE4  Independent
   TE5  Regimented
   TE6  Part of the team
   TE7  Learn skills
   TE8  Little opportunity
   TE9  Positive feedback

6. Which activities are initiated and their conduct monitored and supervised by others?
   TF1  Proficiency
   TF2  Part of team
   TF3  Value experience
   TF4  Practice
   TF5  Mentored
   TF6  Self-directed
TF7 Supported learning
TF8 Develop confidence
7. What responsibilities does your work entail?
TG1 Train others.
TG2 Pass on knowledge
TG3 Take responsibility
TG4 Trusted
TG5 Supervise others
8. What responsibilities do you have for others?
TH1 Broad level of responsibility
TH2 Take initiative
TH3 Trusted
TH4 Initiate tasks
TH5 Management skills
TH7 Support
9. What situations demand the conduct of multiple tasks simultaneously?
Ti1 Speed and adaptability
Ti2 Broad knowledge and skills
Ti3 Cope
Ti4 Tolerance
Ti5 Stamina
Ti6 Confident
Ti7 Organised
Ti8 Supported
Ti9 Part of the team
10. What is the impact of intense work on the workplace environment?
TJ1 Perform under pressure
TJ2 Coping skills
TJ3 Stress
TJ4 Communicate
TJ5 Pressure
TJ6 Tolerance
11. What kinds of work requirements would be ‘learnable’ in the workplace?
TK1 Time management
TK2 Multi-task
TK3 Coping
TK4 Speed
TK5 Organised
TK6 Teamwork
TK7 Gain experience
TK8 Practice
TK9 New ideas
12. What kinds of work requirements are not able to be learnt in the workplace?
TL1 Infrequent jobs
TL2 Exceptional skills
TL3 Non work-specific skills
TL4 Little
TL5 Ongoing learning
TL6 Confidence
TL7 Conceptual knowledge
TL8 Technical knowledge
TL9 Theory
TL10 Time to absorb new knowledge
13. What kinds of interaction with others are required for your work to be conducted?
TM1 Work in a team
TM2 Care
TM3 Patience
TM4 Respect
14. **What does team work mean in your workplace?**
- Support
- Assistance
- Close relationship
- Good communication
- Depend on it
- Negative in poor workplaces

15. **Are you able to engage in new and interesting tasks if you want to?**
- Contribute some input
- Encouraged creativity
- Supported creativity
- Direction
- Learning from others
- Positive feedback

16. **In what ways is your participation in work inhibited?**
- Supported
- Continual learning
- Workers support
- Tolerance
- Pressure
- Assertive

**Scope and Areas of inquiry for Head Chef/Employers**

1. **What concerns are there in industry regarding the training of apprentices?**
   - Traineeships inferior to an apprenticeship
   - Maintaining interest
   - Authentic knowledge
   - Apprentices’ input
   - Opportunities for advancement
   - Reflect learning
   - Practical experience
   - Poor workplace training
   - Lost skills
   - Cultural change
   - Good training
   - Limited opportunities

2. **Has the industry changed or what changes have occurred in the industry in you experience?**
   - Innovative
   - Simpler
   - Fashionable
   - Knowledgeable customers
   - Discerning customers
   - Less menial tasks expected
   - Lower standards
   - As stressful
   - Longer hours
   - Kitchens and equipment have improved
   - Changes in types of apprentices
   - Less dedication
   - More awareness of employment conditions

3. **As an employer what would you look for in a young trainee? What personal attributes are the most useful in promoting and maintaining employment**
   - Passion
   - Keen to learn
4. **How important is teamwork and how would you develop it in a trainee?**

   - PU1: Apprentices’ need understanding
   - PU2: Can be developed
   - PU3: Apprentices need to be nurtured
   - PU5: Positive for morale
   - PU11: The individual is important
   - PU12: Respect for each other
   - PU14: Developed as an apprentice
   - PU24: Negative elements need to be fixed
   - PU25: Assists closer relationships
   - PU26: Assists individual’s understanding of each other

5. **What are your thoughts on current staff levels and skills training?**

   - PX1: As skilled as in the past
   - PX2: Industry demands high level skills
   - PX3: Enthusiasm
   - PX4: To be able to stand on own two feet
   - PX5: Change is a necessary part of learning
   - PX6: Cost affects staff levels
   - PX7: Less training than in the past

6. **How has your formal learning impacted your professional life?**

   - PE1: Good skill learning is fundamental
   - PE2: Transferable skill knowledge
   - PE3: Learn proper skills
   - PE4: VET needs to be more relevant to industry
   - PE5: Workplace learning is key
   - PE6: Practice is key to skill learning
   - PE7: VET underpins practical skills
   - PE8: More diversity needed in TAFE

7. **How does a young trainee get a taste for professional cooking?**

   - PF1: Prior enjoyment in developing skills
   - PF2: Positive responses to skills performance
   - PF3: Passionate interest
   - PF4: Prior, pleasure and interest in the industry
   - PF5: Positive feedback
   - PF6: To have a creative outlet
   - PF7: From the media
   - PF8: Need to learn to cook

8. **Can you describe the top most relevant learning experiences that you feel have helped your success?**

   - PH1: A hard and stressful industry
   - PH2: Huge opportunity for learning
   - PH3: Can sometimes be domains of conflict
   - PH4: Rewards are hard earned
   - PH5: All skills learned have value
   - PH6: Skill development must be sustained to be retained
   - PH7: Early support affords a positive learning environment
   - PH8: Being trusted to take responsibility
   - PH9: The workplace impacts the learning

9. **What are your thoughts concerning the current shortage of qualified cooks?**

   - PN1: Low pay
   - PN3: Pay doesn’t compensate for the stress and responsibility
   - PN4: You must love the job
   - PN5: Unsociable hours
   - PN6: Lack of care for young staff
10. **How does the impact of social change affect trainees and their retention in the industry?**

PZ1 Level of commitment needed
PZ2 Social pressure
PZ3 Strict work environment
PZ4 Unrealistic expectations

11. **What part does wages and cost for the employer and the trainee affect the skill shortage?**

Paa1 Little value from a first year apprentice
Paa2 Apprentices are important members of the team
Paa3 One of the biggest problems
Paa4 Worth more money than they receive
Paa5 City life is expensive
Paa6 Trainee care is linked to trainee retention
Paa7 Limited budget

12. **How do current economic impact on trainees and their on the job learning?**

PM1 The size or type of workplace impacts training
PM2 Customer expectations impact costs

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**Scope and Areas of inquiry for VET**

1. **What do you believe trainee chefs want from their training?**

PA7 Industry knowledge
PA10 Depth of knowledge
PA11 Broad understanding of industry
PA12 Directed learning
PA14 Opportunities for recognition and advancement
PA26 Supported
PA28 Not bullied

Q2. **How important is ‘on the job’ learning for a trainee?**

Pi4 Develops teamwork
Pi7 Broad knowledge of the industry
Pi11 Poor training in some workplaces
Pi12 Limited training in some workplaces
Pi20 Dual training is important
Pi24 The workplace is important
Pi27 You cannot replicate the stress of the workplace

3. **What are your thoughts concerning the employers and managers delivering the ‘on the job’ training?**

PJ1 Staff levels limit workplace training
PJ9 More time to train in the past
PJ10 Some are good, some are bad
PJ12 Good training is ‘hands on’
PJ13 Good trainers give and nurture responsibility
PJ23 Apprentices should not be exploited
PJ25 Apprentices need relevant knowledge
PJ27 Apprentices are more knowledgeable
PJ28 Theory is important
PJ29 More resources now available

4. **What feedback have you had from trainees and their training?**

PO1 Good training depends on where you are
PO2 Good training develops direction
PO3 Good training takes time
PO7 Good trainers empowers apprentices
PO12 Better skills development motivates and generates confidence
PO20 Some apprentices lack motivation

5. **What are your thoughts on current VET training?**

PY2 Competency based training is limited
PY3 VET is too fast tracked
6. What are your thoughts on trainees learning essential skills in a formal VET environment?

PD1 VET can deliver essential skills
PD5 Skills must be practised and repeated to be learnt
PD7 Limited replication of real work experience
PD9 Skills learning should occur in the workplace
PD11 VET can develop and encourage apprentices
PD14 Knowledge base has now broadened

7. What are your thoughts on VET delivering shorter courses for trainees?

PP6 Tailor training
PP7 Positive for employers
PP16 Negative comparison to apprenticeships
PP17 Loss of skills

8. What are your thoughts on VET for global employment?

PQ5 World standard training
PQ13 Apprentices give VET feedback
PQ15 Travel opportunities for apprentices
PQ17 TAFE offers opportunities for learning

9. How does time affect skills and skill learning?

Pdd4 Food and cooking is always evolving
Pdd6 Learning is a continual process
Pdd8 Depends on the workplace
Pdd24 Apprentices are impatient
Pdd27 Long hours inhibit learning

10. What are your thoughts on employees continuing post trade training?

PK1 Current industry knowledge is important
PK22 Cost is a factor
PK24 VET is now more flexible
PK25 Depends on the individual

11. What do you think about trainees learning higher level skills?

PB1 Essential
PB3 Management skills
PB4 Problem solving skills
PB5 Communication skills
PB6 Good teachers are not necessarily good managers
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**Stage One Report: Industry and VET**

*Richard McDermott: Ed.D candidate*
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About the research

This research outlines the two stage process of assembling a portfolio, where the outcomes of Stage One inform the generation of the problematic and research design for Stage Two. Stage One research reports on the experiences and perceptions from a broad spectrum of stakeholders involved in the design and implementation of both formal and informal hospitality commercial cookery training. This is with the view to augment an understanding of the lives and training of young individuals and their relationship with both industry and VET.

A series of in-depth interviews took place with thirteen key stakeholders from leading restaurants and hotels along with senior personnel in VET and recently graduated trainee/apprentices in both Sydney and London. In this exchange they were asked a series of semi directed questions regarding their perception and opinion of the current state of the industry and training for trainee/apprentices. The thirty questions asked had been developed from pilot studies and conversations with both industry and VET on the problem of the high attrition rate of commercial cookery apprentices. The interviews focused on their thoughts and feelings as well as experiences regarding their locus of operation to explore the socio-cultural domain in which the new apprentice transacts their learning.

The questions for the Stage Two research will be a distillation of the analysis of Stage One data and centre the investigation on the trainee/apprentices and their work and learning experiences, to examine how education and training may help support the apprentice and employer as well as VET in a partnership of mutual benefit.
Executive Summary
Results of the Stage One research

The participants in the interviews discussed a broad range of matters and impacts that could affect whether an apprentice may choose to retain their apprenticeship or opt out. However what has emerged from the initial findings of this research are a series of critical issues that impact an apprenticeship and may strongly contribute to the high levels of attrition amongst trainee/apprentice chefs. Analysis of the data revealed some common determinants from all sectors of the industry and training that exposed six major areas of concern that will also drive and inform strategic analysis in Stage Two of this research.

Understanding the new learner worker

First and foremost there is the factor of the changing types of student now enrolling in new apprenticeships and traineeships and how VET and industry employers are responding to the training requirements of the new trainee/student. Individuals entering into traineeships or apprenticeships are now no longer restricted to young school leavers (Karmel 2006) as more mature workers, with life experience, are now making more considered career choices to enter commercial cookery training.

In addition participants from both industry and VET recognise that current school leavers have differing expectations of their training and employment to that of their employers and teachers. (Holland & Pithers 2002) Previous research on young persons entering employment confirm the observation that there is a rapid generational change happening, in part through advances in information technologies but also in concert with ongoing socio-cultural changes in industrially advanced countries.(McCrindle 2006)

Relationships with employers can affect learning.

The research also exposed an industry still inculcated with a culture of employers who often resort to bullying and intimidation as a means to manage their staff, creating a very unconstructive and damaging working environment for the young trainee/apprentice chef. This negative environment, for the trainee/apprentice, is an important factor when considering retaining or dropping from their apprenticeship and is an essential component a learning conducive environment, whether they are a recent school leaver or mature aged, starting a new career. As positive workplace learning needs to be via a close
partnership between apprentice and employer when developing the opportunity to improve the knowledge and skills of the trainee/apprentice. (Kolb 1984)

Analogous research on apprentice attrition in other industries found that employees who reported a poor relationship with their boss/supervisor would display a higher intention to quit and those apprentices who also reported a poor relationship with their co-workers would also display a higher intention to quit their apprenticeship. (Gow et al. 2008)(pg. 115) Moreover job stresses and the links to psychological well-being together with relationships with boss/ supervisors as well as relationships with co-workers were both found to be significant predictors of intention to quit (Gow et al. 2008)

There is still a vigorously regimented structure that permeates much of the kitchen life within large organisations which does little to engender the right atmosphere for effective learning. There may be little opportunity for the apprentice to build their confidence and skills through an open dialogue with their supervisor when inflexible behaviour from a supervisor towards the apprentice is likely to build fear and anxiety, over riding the apprentice’s ability to learn and question. (Cornford & Gunn 1998) Moreover the restaurant and commercial cooking industry has continued a constant misuse of apprentices often carrying out only menial, repetitive tasks, although an important part of the job provides little intellectual challenge that could be better spent learning.

The research also revealed an industry that has a significant amount of employers who have problems in fulfilling base expectations of the tripartite training agreement between the trainee and VET. The contractual agreement of employing an apprentice and the resultant funding subsidy, paid by the Federal Government, carries with it certain obligations on the part of the employer to provide training for the apprentice. A lot of small employers and some large ones too, have found it very difficult to juggle the requirements of their business with an amount of time allocated to support apprentice training. They seemed content to send their apprentices to a registered training organisation RTO such as TAFE but spent no time following up their formal training in the workplace. Moreover the research confirmed that some participants thought the limited or reduced level and quality of apprentice workplace training was largely due to economic pressures on the employer with a resultant reduction in staff levels and the consequential deficit of time and personnel to afford adequate workplace training.

Situated learning is valuable but can be detrimental in poor workplaces.

Effective workplace learning is described as the complex interdependence between an individual’s thinking, acting and learning that shapes their development within the organisation and their relationship to their work and community of practice. (Kolb 1984; Lave & Wenger 1991) The workplace ought to be the location that offers
current, contextual relevant learning of the skills and knowledge needed by industry at their point of activation. It is here that the apprentice is given the opportunity to practice, hone and absorb the new skills and knowledge acquired and receives valuable feedback from their peers and cohorts.

But there were many concerns from participants that not all learning that took place in the commercial kitchens for apprentices is positive and in line with best practice (Stern 1997) and that a large number of employers see apprenticeships as a form of cheap labour and not as an investment (Robinson & Ball 1998)

When responding to general questions on their observation of industry practice the research revealed that employers who understood the positive long term benefits of a well trained and skilled workplace had less staff turnover. But almost all participants frequently encountered employers who believe it is right that apprentices are given a hard time as they themselves were treated in a similar way when they were apprentices (Colley 1996)

**Economic expediency and skills loss.**

There was also a widespread criticism from many interviewees of the degradation of traditional skills through economic and technological change in the workplace. (Penn, Rose & Rubery 1994) This is also in part due to the continual purchase of manufactured products, by the employer for his/her business, as an economic measure to minimise the skills required in their process. Sooner or later even a proficient tradesperson would eventually experience a noticeable diminishing of the proficiency and skills, when working in this environment through their lack of use and practice, as skills need to be repeatedly used and practiced to reach mastery and excellence.

Industry and VET interviewees also perceived an erosion of the traditional skills and knowledge in kitchens is due in part to the changing tastes of restaurant patrons as they now prefer less complexity and richness. But there was a general acceptance from all participants of a socio-cultural change that challenges many employers and VET teachers to critically reflect the significance of the knowledge acquired from their past training and its influence on the current skills learning for an apprentice.

However there were also observations from the participants that the diminishing skills base in kitchens was, in part, also due to young individuals with fewer skills and experience than their predecessors, taking on supervisory and managerial positions early in their career resulting in limited skills and knowledge capital to draw upon when taking on an apprentice. There is a perceptive generational dilution of the depth and breadth of knowledge and experience of young head chefs who have limited their opportunities to work around the world or who have only chosen employment that
mirrors their early initial workplace. The ideal post qualification experience for a chef is to work with key individuals or establishments that have exceptional reputations for as long as possible before resolving to a position of leadership and influence. This may not be feasible for all individuals for a range of reasons but there still could be opportunities for a head chef to maintain or upgrade their skills and knowledge through “life long learning”.

**Vocational Education and Training.**

The data exposed inconsistencies from industry participants when questioned on whether there was a failure of VET to meet industry training needs (NCVER 2001) in that many responded positively to the value of their own VET but as industry professionals, challenged many aspects of current training. Moreover there seemed to be a failure of many of the skills to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991) and a general concern from apprentice/learners is that both the workplace and VET do not provide ample opportunity for practice to consolidate the skills learned off site (Cornford 1996)

But support for formal VET learning of underpinning theoretical knowledge and core skills was forthcoming from the participants, who themselves had had the benefit of formal vocational training, as they perceived it as a recognisable expression of their own training and workplace but acknowledged it is limited in that it cannot fully replicate the stresses and tensions of working in a commercial kitchen.

However VET and the resultant apprentice learning should to be in accord with their workplace experience to be effective and relevant and it should reflect the work carried out in the workplace. (Lave & Wenger 1991) As all apprentices only spend a small percentage of their apprenticeship at a TAFE, or any other VET organisation, which although significant in the form and intensity of their learning, is little compared to their time spent learning in their workplaces. The responses to the questions on workplace training, from the participants, acknowledged that in their experience the quality and amount of training in the workplace was extremely wide-ranging, from the provision of a structured training program closely monitored by the employer to almost no training at all where the apprentice is left to train themselves.
Short term gains and long term losses.

Finally costs and wages across most industries are a major concern for both employers and apprentices but particularly for the hospitality/restaurant industry as the financial return for sales is often perceived as insufficient, by employers, when covering costs. But it is also evident that many employers perceive taking on and training a first year apprentice is also perceived as, not an investment but a cost they prefer not to make and have a preference for experienced apprentices. (Hospitality Training Network, HTN) They often choose to employ a second year apprentice who already has the basic skills and knowledge for “job readiness” requiring less time and resources in spite of the fact the pay scale for apprentice chefs is one of the lowest of all industries (Toner 2005)

For the young apprentice living away from home and surviving in an expensive urban environment would soon realise their income afforded little in the way of extras after paying their expenses. This could be seen as a significant predictor of an apprentice’s intention to quit their apprenticeship as they were unable to sustain the rigor of the long hours and a demanding job for little money. (Vaillancourt 2001) However current research purports that pay is not a significant indicator for the apprentice on the subject of quitting an apprenticeship (Griffeth, Hom & Gaertner 2000; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) (pg.11) (Gow et al. 2008) (Pg.116) that a person’s relationship with their boss/ supervisor and/or their relationship with their co-workers were found to be more important predictors of their intention to quit. (Gow et al. 2008)

But more importantly the key driver for skills retention and utilisation, according the most recent research, (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) is that people stay in organisations they feel they are learning and progressing in their careers. Training is important, particularly nationally recognised training, which offers opportunities for registered training organisations to work with employers, to improve retention and utilisation strategies for employees (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008)

In conclusion the results highlighted in this report are longstanding and commonplace in commercial cookery and VET with a long history of government and industry reports and reviews of ensuing initiatives in an attempt to address attrition and skills shortages. VET should also examine its changing role, in skills and knowledge training, to offer the possibility for more support for industry employers as well as apprentices in the exploration for solutions to the high levels of apprentice attrition in commercial cookery.

Key messages

- Trainees and apprentices are now different learner workers with particular aspirations for their employment and learning, how that is manifested can influence their approach to their apprenticeship in the search for an interconnected and positive employer apprentice relationship.
A person’s relationship with their boss/supervisor and/or their relationship with their co-workers is one of the best predictors of intention to quit (Gow et al. 2008) so it would seem that the poorer the relationship between the apprentice and their boss/supervisor or co-workers, the higher their intention to quit.

Workplace learning is still the most significant component of an apprenticeship in that it is a contextual, current and authentic experience for the trainee/apprentice but has been severely criticised by all the participants that in their experience it is generally patchy at best and non existent at worst.

The degradation of traditional skills is in part an unavoidable component of the changes in labour and technology as management strategies and work design all impinge on the development of skills in the workforce. (Penn, Rose & Rubery 1994)

VET is still seen by some employers and trainees as unable to deliver the current skills and knowledge training needed for industry but conversely was also perceived by all employers interviewed as still invaluable as the best mode of delivery for the apprentice to learn the generic and foundation skills and knowledge needed for employment.

Current economic imperatives of the hospitality industry necessitate a significant dialogue between VET and employers to examine the long term requirements of the apprentice’s learning and retention. This may reveal opportunities for mutual participation for the apprentice’s learning both in and out of the classroom.

The Stage Two research will study attributes of successful employers in regard to apprentice retention and the effectiveness of their interrelationship with their trainee/apprentices, VET and other agencies such as Group Training Organisations (GTO) and Apprentice Centres. There is the potential that conclusions from the research may offer opportunities for answers for both employers and apprentices in improving the retention rates of trainee/apprentices within the industry.
Chapter One
Research objectives

Introduction

Central to this research is an analysis of the impacts on commercial cookery trainee/apprentices in choosing to quit their apprenticeship and employment and make different work choices which could reveal critical factors that contribute to why they discontinued their apprenticeship and training.

- Stage One research seeks to proffer an understanding of the background and situation in which the apprentice both works and learns to develop a broad understanding of their workplace and vocational education and training VET. It is within these domains of participation that the empirical data from a number of key stakeholders along with other significant research has been collected and analysed in order to isolate impacts that possibly support retention of the apprentice or actively contributes to their attrition.

This research has the potential to extend a more coherent insight into the needs of the trainee/apprentices and both their formal VET learning in co-partnership with their workplace learning. Moreover a more finely tuned understanding of the impact of the interconnectivity of training in both in the workplace and classroom could yield valuable information of some of the more important aspects that affect an apprentice’s choices to stay or leave their training and job.

The empirical evidence for this research is based on interview data collected from successful individuals and leaders in industry and VET as well as semi-government agencies answering a series of questions on their experiences and thoughts on current industry and VET practice. It is into this landscape of commercial cookery that the young school leaver and the mature adult enter for the first time with possibly a great deal of preconception through media coverage but very little understanding of the culture and politics that drive this, traditional and almost archaic occupation.

The origin of this investigation began from my evaluation of an industry report on the hospitality industry, A Recipe for Change (NCVER 2001) which challenged both VET and employers to examine practice in the training of chefs in light of the current skills shortage:

- The report highlighted an attrition rate of apprentices of 57% within the first year of training.
- An industry where 40% of chefs leave their job within less than five years of qualification.
- In addition there is evidence that a divergence has developed between the training needs of the hospitality industry and the training delivered by VET which needed further investigation.
Furthermore it questioned how industry, as well as large training organisations such as TAFE and private registered training organisations, (RTO) have responded to government reports on critical skills shortages within the hospitality industry (ACTU 2004)

Therefore I sought to explore the composition and effectiveness of both formal and informal learning of the hospitality trainee aligned with the industry and training organization’s ability to support the development of a productive, skilled and creative employment future for the trainee/apprentice. In conclusion the research asks the question as to how the training of apprentices can offer a solution to the high levels of attrition within the hospitality industry apprentice chefs.

**Research objectives**

The primary objective of this research is to identify factors in formal and non formal learning of current commercial cookery trainee/apprentices that may impact their choices to stay or withdraw from their apprenticeship. But to understand the environment in which the apprentice makes that choice the research will initially seek to identify both formal and situated learning structures and strategies, adopted by the hospitality industry and of VET, which impacts the facilitation of a learning culture for the new trainee/apprentice.

The objectives of this research project were to:

- Identify areas of participation and dissension between industry and VET to offer solutions for a positive learning environment for the trainee.

- Identify a socio-cultural profile of the new trainee/apprentice and their learning to assist industry and VET in developing strategies to support their apprenticeship and employment retention.

- Identify principles of workplace learning that can underpin successful strategies when developing workplace training and its coterminous relationship with VET and trainee/apprentices.

**Significance of the research**

VET is currently at the cross roads in Australia in the field of education and employment, (Chappell & Johnston 2003) as with many other developed nations, in that it has been increasingly challenged by successive governments as perceived of less significance to the future of contemporary Australia than information technology and service industries.

But the value of supporting training and learning for trainee/apprentices, by both employer and government and non government organisation has benefits far outside the confines of a limited resource for an employer or an employee. The well trained individual actively transfers their knowledge and skills to support and assist other trainees and staff, enhancing the knowledge and skills capital of that organisation to
increase their competitive capacity. (Hughes 2004) It is also manifested as high level mastery offering opportunities for peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) for other learners to be involved and as a positive example for others to emulate. This greatly increases the skills and knowledge of the workplace as all staff are now expected to be more accomplished to contribute more productively to the organisation in an increasingly competitive environment. Moreover it is the relationship of the complex interdependencies between an individuals thinking, acting and learning that shapes their development within the organisation and their relationship to their work and community of practice (Kolb 1984; Lave & Wenger 1991).

However the learning process, for individuals, is more often than not taken for granted (Saljö 1979) as implicit views of employers and VET generally lack the critical reflection needed on that learning process for the trainee/apprentice. As the current dominant paradigm of the VET model is one that atomises the training process into discrete components of competency drilled into the trainee where upon completion they achieve a standardised assessable outcome. (Cornford 2004; Harris 1995) The modules depend on drill and practice to achieve proficiency in the skill set of tasks to replicate a pre-determined and quantifiable assessment package developed by educationalists in combination with selected industry representatives. (Snell & Hart 2007)

There is now a need to develop a discourse to scrutinize VET learning as the implicit, socially connected and dynamic activity that accommodates the learner in their learning as opposed to summative units of competency that were developed as a generic unit of measurement for a national curriculum.(Hager 2004) Furthermore the changing nature of work as well as the socio-cultural changes of trainee/apprentices has a significant impact on how training and learning is now perceived by both employer and trainee. To construct new models of learning it must first be acknowledged that adult learning theory accommodates difference and not all adults learn the same way or under the same conditions but new metaphors of learning can proffer a guide to accommodate the learner in the new workplace. (Hager 2004; Robert & Simons 2004)

Chapter Two
Research methodology

Introduction

The methodology used in this research is a hybrid of qualitative/interpretive and empirical/analytic theory as the intention of questions was to draw out real life experiences of the participants but they were also asked to give their opinions in response to the questions. The concept of this approach was not only to know what happens but the perception of different stakeholders within VET and industry in order to look for shared beliefs and areas divergence.

The statistical data included in the research has the complimentary charge in the qualitative/quantitative mixed mode function to build a coterminous facet with the
literature review as an objective reference for the research. That it is to afford a contextual domain for the participants’ responses, previous research literature and the qualitative data.

**Topic and problematic**

The ongoing employee shortages of qualified chefs in the hospitality industry, amongst many others (ACTU 2004) and the decline in „traditional apprenticeships” (Toner 2003) means industry and VET must come together to address the changes needed to attract and sustain new apprenticeships. Rapid changes in industry and the world of work now require vocational education training (VET) providers to consider their role in the industry skills shortages (ACTU 2004) and how they respond to pressure from government and industry groups to address the need for effective training.

There is also the challenge for employers to address their coterminous relationship with VET in relation to the vocational learning of their trainee/apprentice in that current research shows that there is a direct correlation between the importance of high level work practices, such as training, and affecting apprentice retention. (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008)

New vocationalism and economic rationalism have transformed both VET (Chappell et al. 2003) and industry in that the demands of industry for shorter apprentice training time is challenging the VET received by an apprentice with the skills and knowledge needed for their long term employment retention. Moreover industry and VET are increasingly looking at ways to rationalise apprentice training delivery to address the high turnaround of trainees as a solution to the skills shortage.

In this research I sought to examine commercial cookery training within the hospitality industry to develop an understanding of the workplace training and VET of the apprentice/trainees as a large percentage are choosing to drop out from both training and the industry (NCVER 2001). The developed analysis of pedagogic practice and educational research together with responses to the questionnaire could yield an understanding of how workplace learning informs practice in VET.

This examination of both aspects of the apprentices’ learning was to shed light on how the training possibly links a nexus between the training in the workplace and VET and the skills shortage within the industry. (NCVER 2001)

**Background**

Statistics released by (NCVER 2005) addressing apprenticeships confirm that apprentice and trainee numbers generally have continued to decline.

- The report states that as at 31 December 2004, in-training numbers were estimated to be 382 400, down 4 per cent from 397 800, as at 30 September 2004 also mentioned that in-training numbers had decreased in all states and territories, with the exception of South Australia and the Australian Capital Territory which experienced small increases. (Gow et al. 2008)(pg. 100)
Low completion rates among trainees and apprentices continues to be a major problem and a contributing factor in the persistence of skills shortages (Snell & Hart 2007; Snell & Hart 2008)

Trainees were less likely to complete than apprentices and there were marked differences between industries, with those in the food trade half as likely to achieve a successful completion as those in mechanical and fabrication engineering. (Snell & Hart 2007; Snell & Hart 2008)

This decline equated to a loss of one year’s apprentice intake every six years. The reduced training rate was a result of a number of factors: demographic changes to the proportion of young people in the workforce; rising school retention rate; increases in the tertiary education admissions; low income for apprentices; and the privatisation and corporatisation of utilities affecting funding for apprentice training. However although Toner (2005) highlighted the fact that there had been a notable rise in the rate of new apprentice inductions yet anecdotal evidence, reported to the researchers, from across Australia is that apprentices are now leaving their apprenticeships at an alarming rate. (Gow et al. 2008) (pg. 100)

Since 1992 a more open and equitable intake has dramatically changed the profile of the student body in traineeships and apprenticeships in Australia which are now accessible to people of all ages - and are no longer restricted, in the main, to school leavers. (Karmel 2006) These changes in the profile of the „new“ VET student can be traced to the delivery of the National Training Reform Agenda and the 1992 „New Apprenticeship and Training Schemes in TAFE” has had an important impact on training. (Ray 2001b)

Students now enrolling in traineeships have increased opportunities for diversified training in, that a young person can now begin a school based apprenticeship in commercial cookery at an Australian Technical College as a response to meeting current industry needs. (Hospitality. 2007) An increasing number of Australians are now choosing a vocational training pathway and the government has committed $10.8 billion over four financial years (2006-2007 to 2009-210) to vocational and technical education including $2.5 billion in 2007 (Hospitality. 2007) There has also been a need for VET to also adjust to globalisation and the free market where changes in the nature of work and technology and industry are now requiring more specialised skills.

Moreover the attainment of current skills and skills training is a key indicator as whether an apprentice will continue with their apprenticeship (Snell & Hart 2008) but a report prepared by the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations (DEWR) carried out an enquiry into six industry areas to research to investigate the skill shortages, including commercial cookery found incongruous aspects with VET and industry when identifying impacts on the current skills shortages. (Worland 2003) (NCVER 2002)

Furthermore it has been found that training is of enormous benefit and key retaining staff. This most current research on staff retention states that a learning climate was the strongest factor in the modeling of the survey results for reducing the level of employee turnover and increased the utilisation of employee skills more than any other factor. That does not simply mean only training but rather the extent to which the organisation gives employees opportunities to learn, grow and develop through
their work. (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) but where industry has fallen down on their contribution is cited in the report; 

_A Recipe for Change_ (NCVER 2001) is:

- Training has an enormous contribution to make. But the value of training is not always or easily perceived. It is often difficult to discern what the real training requirement is. In many cases, it is the employers as well as the employees who require training. (pg. 13)

- Some training authorities see employers as a key issue in apprentice retention, and some employers see the quality of training as a key issue. From an industry point of view, it is of great importance that the bar for assessing competence should be set at a proper height. (pg. 30)

- 40% of apprentices are aware of others having difficulty getting time off for training. (pg. 30)

- The quality of training, and the relevance of training, is both important issues. Insufficient attention is often given to minimising the gap between the outcome required by the students and the input provided by the teachers. (pg. 37)

- Businesses, which are purchasing educational services to improve productivity, profitability, job satisfaction, etc., need to learn how to ensure that they get value for money. Unless they provide the brief and monitor the service, they are in effect abdicating responsibility and giving the education provider “carte blanche” to decide and influence what the outcomes will be. Employers do this at their peril. (pg. 37)

**The Interviewees**

Thirteen stakeholders from industry and training organisations, both within Australia and in the UK, including recently graduated trainees, were interviewed with thirty semi-structured questions over 2007. The participants’ responses were grounded in practice as they used their own experiences as the basis of their responses in my pursuit to develop an authentic profile of the industry and VET thus attain an understanding of the domain and community of practice of the participants.

The sample of interviewees were selected for maximum variation sampling to purposefully pick a wide range of stakeholders in order to achieve variation on the dimensions of interest to their particular facet of commercial cookery. The range of questions allowed for in-depth probing but also allowed me to keep the interview within the parameters outlined by the aims of the research. The questions were developed from documentary evidence on the skills shortages and government recommendations, industry papers on their responses to current vocational training and conversations with key stakeholders in industry and training. So I perceived an opportunity to take samples across industry, education and apprentice/trainees to develop a holistic, information rich and illuminative data to capture complex, interdependencies between participants and the possibly, conflicting needs of the dynamics of industry and pedagogy.
Profile of the participants:

- An internationally renowned food consultant and chef/restaurant owner with business interests both here and overseas. He has a high profile in the food industry as a supporter of apprentice training and for many years has worked to promote Australian products and chefs to the world.

- Three executive chefs of well known five star restaurants and hotels, here in the centre of Sydney agreed to participate. They all had high levels of formal training and had worked in equally prestigious establishments both here in Australia and overseas. They were all employers of large brigades of qualified staff and apprentices and had all completed formal qualifications.

- The Food and Beverage Manager of a four star property in Sydney was also interviewed. He had the responsibility for the efficient operation of all aspects of catering, within the resort style complex outside the CBD. He had a strong belief in the benefits of training and encouraged trainee/apprentices to take initiatives and develop creativity very early in their traineeships to motivate and encourage.

- The Head of Hospitality Studies at an internationally renowned college in central London. His background included all aspects of catering and hotel ownership and he had also travelled overseas and worked in a wide range of establishments before taking his current position.

- Two managers from VET in NSW, one ex teacher in hospitality studies who is now a senior assistant director within a large government VET organisation responsible for the promotion of VET in industry and initiatives such as a female chefs mentoring program to promote female chefs in the industry.

- A field officer from a non profit apprenticeship recruitment and training centre, who had trained and worked as a chef but had moved into the administration of new apprenticeships. She has the unique position of spanning both industry and training and is in constant contact with the apprentices and employers.

- Four recently graduated commercial cookery students, two who had started their course only a few years after leaving school and two mature age trainees who had had previous careers prior to embarking a traineeship to become chefs. All of them had travelled overseas as they were either born outside Australia and had arrived here as young migrants or their family had connections to other countries which gave them opportunities to see more of the world.
Chapter Three

Context and orientation of the research

Introduction

This report is focused on areas of concern that have so far surfaced from the qualitative research data collected and analysed from the research. Primarily to form an understanding of the culture of the industry stakeholders who are involved in the delivery of workplace training for apprentice/trainees and the subsequent learning of the trainee/apprentice. Secondly to describe current practices and experiences of current VET from the perspective of the practitioners and its impact on hospitality industry stakeholders, taking particular interest in developments that led the charge of competency training and how it has impacted on the participants of this research. The rationale behind of this “broad” approach, for the initial Stage of the research is to develop a coherent understanding of the background in which the apprentices’ function in order to distilled the focus for Stage Two which connects directly with the apprentices and their learning. This could then yield information rich responses in answer to the initial questions posed at the beginning of this report.

The Hospitality Industry

Commercial cookery is part of tourism and hospitality and a significant employer (NCVER 2001) as it provides one of the broadest employment opportunities, both in regional and metropolitan Australia, to a wide cultural, educational, language and gender employee mix. There is also an increase in the economic transitional development of Australia that it is following many western economies by moving away from manufacturing to a more service lead economy. But the problem of providing and retaining trained staff for the food industry is ongoing (NCVER 2001) and current research has found that it has not kept up with demand. Sharon Burrow (ACTU 2004) writes of “the looming skills shortage” and the Telegraph newspaper published an article which referred to a research paper on skills shortages (Toner 2003) which also stated that there is a shortfall of 17,500 trainee chefs (Hospitality Training Network) That over a decade there could be a $9 billion loss to the economy through denying young people the opportunity to take up a substantive earning capacity through secure employment (ACTU 2004)

The previous Commonwealth government’s stated solution, prior to their election loss, to this critical situation was to promise $725 million in TAFE and employer subsidies, (Sydney Morning Herald September 21 2004). This previous Coalition federal government openly stated a preference for 24 extra „Colleges of Excellence” with elite teachers to compete with already diminished TAFE funding. But one of the key questions this research will address is the strong possibility that one of the main reasons for the ongoing employee shortages in the hospitality industry ACTU July 2004 (ACTU 2004) and the decline in „traditional apprenticeships” because employers and managers now have less time to spend training apprentices on the job?
Past research has revealed limited resolve from many hospitality industry employers to actively support the trainee’s learning; (NCVER 2001) citing managers and supervisors have insufficient time to train an apprentice in the skills and knowledge required and many have limited skills and ability to facilitate effective learning for the apprentice. The hospitality industry has a substantial proportion of employers who have a poor reputation when it comes to allowing the apprentice time off for training. It was reported (NCVER 2001) pg. 30 that 40% of the participants knew of others having difficulties with accessing VET and workplace relations. Moreover this is an industry that constantly demands creative solutions and adapting to change to maintain an edge in a highly competitive market but it has a history of low levels of acknowledgement for the creative skills and hard work of its employees, particularly apprentices who are often perceived as contributing little to the kitchen.

The long term education needs of the apprentice are not always conducive with the immediate training needs of the employer who may have little insight or understanding of the future direction of the industry. New developments in food manufacturing and the customers increasing awareness of global culinary trends as well as the complexity of running a food business regarding safe food handling legislation can inflict a heavy burden on the small restaurant owner. Consequently the prioritisation of the learning of their apprentices is relegated far behind economic imperatives of maintaining the survival of the business in a highly competitive and low profit margined market.

- A large percentage of the hospitality industries are small businesses which employ fewer than 20 employees at any one time many of whom are casual. (ABS 2008)
- At the end of June 2007, there were 50,268 people employed by catering businesses. (ABS 2008)
- Catering businesses were characterised by a large casual work force, accounting for more than half (58.5% or 29,383 people) of all employment. (ABS 2008)
- Permanent full-time employees accounted for over a quarter (28.1% or 14,128 persons) of all employment, while permanent part-time employees accounted for 10.1% (5,078 people). (ABS 2008)

**Vocational education and training**

Vocational education and training (VET) affords skills and knowledge for work through a national training system that consists of a network of eight State and Territory Governments in co-participation with the Australian Government, along with industry, public and private training providers, working together to provide nationally consistent training across Australia. The training packages are developed through extensive consultation between the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) and eleven Industry Skills Councils to inform the industry skills required and VET competencies. The Service Industry Skills Council provides industry intelligence and advice to Skills Australia on the Hospitality Industry on workforce development and industry needs. This co-participation of
industry and the employment and labour market needs of the various VET programmes should meet the requirements of all stakeholders and that should include the apprentice training and learning requirements.

Apprenticeships and traineeships that involve a combination of off-the-job and on-the-job training, whereby practical skills and an underpinning knowledge about these skills are developed, is seen as the most effective form vocational training (Schofield 1999a; Smith 1999; Strickland et al. 2001). Where the apprentice receives all their training in the workplace there are questions as to the “breadth” and quality of their learning outcomes (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005). The underpinning knowledge is crucial for developing transferable skills in the apprentice which offers the capacity to apply their learning to a much broader range of tasks than prescribed by that particular workplace. Apprentices and trainees prefer a mix of on and off-the-job training whereby they will be learning a diversity of skills and will receive some level of support throughout their training (Strickland et al. 2001). Apprentices and trainees are more likely to remain motivated and are less likely to withdraw from training when training meets these conditions. Maintaining a good balance of on-the-job and off-the-job training, however, is one of the major challenges for employers and training organisations. (Snell & Hart 2007)

But the research has exposed fractures in the relationship between industry and the formal training delivered by registered training organisations (RTO) as the matching of supply and demand should emphasise interdependence, rather than dependence or independence, as a basic strategy (Smith 2002) when planning the training needs of all parties, including the apprentice. Also TAFE and VET has endemic organisational problems in that it can only make small inroads into meeting all employers expectations which has lead to negative reports cited at the beginning of this report. This is partly due to the diversity and complexity of employment now as opposed to large employer groups the past and an inherent culture of technical training that has continued to reflect little of the work of these smaller employers. The frustration for the teachers is often not an unwillingness to offer more flexibility with the course content but the irritation of bureaucratic and administrative necessities that can create long lead times to change when addressing employer expectations.

*The report, Skills for a Nation: A Blueprint for Improving Education and Training 2007-2017 stated that TAFE graduates fail to meet the expectations of more than half of businesses, a survey suggests. Of 1337 firms surveyed by the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 44.9 per cent said TAFE graduates had met their expectations. Only 38.1 per cent agreed that TAFE teachers had up-to-date industry skills.*

Anna Patty Education Editor, Sydney morning Herald, April 27, 2007

One of the more significant changes in the VET environment is that it is now catering to life-experienced adults who are keen to obtain the maximum benefit from their course and expect more relevance and accessible information than, possibly, their predecessors which might lead us to presume that individual teachers need to be responsible for their own ongoing learning to remain up to date with, not only industry changes but also new epistemologies in adult learning. Where the need for continuous learning and organisational agility will be a fundamental drive for all education toward future work (Pillay & Elliott 2001) But a general criticism leveled
at some permanent VET teachers is a perceived dependence on undergraduate learning to carry them through their teaching career and their limited exposure to new developments in educational paradigms. (Chappell et al. 2003; Chappell et al. 2002)

But in spite of the criticism leveled at „off site” formal training there is still an ongoing aspiration from workers for transferable qualifications from TAFE VET (Hawke 2002; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) pg. 8 but the current Australian TAFE VET model finds itself under increasing economic pressure to meet all needs of government, industry and worker; (Hawke 2002) pg. 9

Much of vocational teaching has been traditionally based on an apprenticeship model, centred on the acquisition of definable skills by guided instruction, reproduction and independent practice. However, although it is arguably inevitable that there will always be specialised skills learning necessary in vocational education there is a growing body of evidence that the changing and more complex dynamics of the workplace now requires broader and more sustainable capabilities from their employees. Furthermore the (DEEWR), the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) and the Business Council of Australia (BCA) have now placed „employability skills” such as higher level thinking capabilities that relate to diagnosis, critical analysis, interpretation and meta analysis, now demanded by employers from their employees, as essential to VET and this will be a major transformation in the way VET is delivered and assessed.

There is now much more flexibility needed in course curriculum which creates increased demands for teachers to communicate more effectively between each other as well as between departments to improve the information exchange on all levels to work more collaboratively. (Senge 1990a)

It is also proposed by Chappell and Hawke (Chappell & Hawke 2003) that organisations must respond to market changes as through flatter more flexible structures and employees too must be able to respond in flexible ways that is as new techniques are introduced, new collaborations formed and new competitive challenges faced, individual workers must be able to adapt (ILO 2002) Furthermore it is the individual who is increasingly the architect and builder responsible for developing his or her own skills, that is the demands of new organisational structures are for workers who can mange their own learning, can adapt their skills and learning capacities to flexibly meet the changing demands of work

This research has posited the conceptual basis of general attributes for apprentices, such as literacy, interpersonal skills, communication and team work as well as personal attributes such as learning to learn and independent problem solving. Some of these suites of skill attributes are reflected in the set of defined „employability skills” determined by industry to reflect the concept of being „work ready.” But when the focus leads to an overly instrumental means-end connection being made between workers knowledge and skills and their performance at work it fails to appreciate that when workers are asked to do things differently in their work they are also being called upon to be different workers and that there is no single, simple form of learning(Hager 2003; Meyer 2003)
Commercial cookery training has an ongoing pedagogic tradition to a work centred approach to learning where the formal learning for commercial cookery students takes place in a training kitchen so the teacher simulates the working environment not only in terms of a practical skills focus, but also through continuing emphasis on industry standards and expectations. But the role of the VET teacher should not just be that of a pseudo-employer and their task needs to go beyond the constructs of training packages and module outcomes and assessment to develop the apprentice/learner as an independent self actualised individual.

**Competency based training**

The examination of competency based training (CBT), in this research, was primarily to illustrate its concept and structure and secondly to explore challenges to its effectiveness as the primary mode of VET currently in operation in Australia today. It was developed and unilaterally implemented as a modularised method of assessing vocational skills and knowledge to offer flexibility to industry in that trainees can build competencies as and when required to achieve a national award. CBT had its inception in the training reform agenda which occurred in Australia during the late 1980’s and 1990’s and transformed the way VET organisations, such as TAFE, approached training to become more responsive to the needs of industry (Loveder 2005) It was also stated, in that same report (Loveder 2005) that CBT was adopted, not only out of a concern for a national training system but as a response to the need for global, economic competitiveness and the perceived need to use the formation of skills as a major thrust of the economy. The theoretical underpinning of CBT, in Australia, has behaviourism at its core where overall performance is assessed as being reducible to a set of discrete individual observable behaviours (Brady 2006) that can be considered, observed and measured separately. This atomistic approach breaks the skill and knowledge required by VET, as the agent for industry, into a list of events that the learner must successfully achieve to complete the outcome and in turn pass the module.

Reports that have clearly indicated that the current VET policies in Australia are not meeting Australia’s skill needs where the first report from the Senate Employment, ‘Workplace Relations and Education Reference Committee 2003 ’Bridging the skills divide’ (Cornford 2004) concluded that the existing VET policies were not meeting Australia’s needs. A decline in standards in some trade areas subsequent to the introduction of CBT (Mills & Cornford 2002) and a second report from the Business Council of Australia (B.C.A 2004) which came to the same conclusion regarding policy failure. These reports claim Australia adopted CBT because it saw it as a way out of its concerns with the low skill levels and productivity of the workforce and challenged its universal appeal as conversely the UK had already moved beyond CBT as CBT was seen as no answer to skills shortages.

A major flaw in its development was that politicians, representatives from business and industry and the unions were consulted with the policy making and debate when CBT policy was formulated but the teachers, who were to deliver this new training model, were excluded. (Cornford 2000) Previous research revealed VET teachers critical of CBT, especially when delivered to full time trainees and high school based VET hospitality trainees who have minimal workplace experience as it is hard to define competence and the research conducted indicates that many teachers have been uncertain whether what they are doing really is CBT. There has been a significant volley of criticism leveled at a behaviourist concept of performance (Ashworth 1992; Schofield & McDonald 2004) where it is generally concluded that performance is complex and cannot simply be reduced to lists of attributes.
Hager (Hager 1993a) advocates a holistic approach to develop a level of measurability while others state that performance is embedded in the context of work and the students’ interpretation of that context (Velde 1999) Performance is also regarded by other authors as an entity formed through the experience of the task or work. (Dall'alba & Sandberg 1996) The emphasis on performance outcomes to the detriment of underpinning theory and knowledge appears to be one of the persistent problems where effective problem solving, often claimed by employers as desirable, is not achievable unless there is a sound theoretical underpinning of knowledge.

While Cornford (Cornford 2004) wrote on two reports that have clearly indicated that the current VET policies in Australia are not meeting Australia’s skill needs. They discussed the first report from the Senate Employment, ‘Workplace Relations and Education Reference Committee 2003 ‘Bridging the skills divide’ which concluded that the existing VET policies were not meeting Australia’s needs. A decline in standards in some trade areas subsequent to the introduction of CBT (Mills & Cornford 2002) and a second report from the Business Council of Australia which came to the same conclusion regarding policy failure.

Most CBT training packages do not encourage development of critical thinking skills (Cornford 2000) central to “employability skills” sought out by employers of the new apprentice as they take on more responsibility in the new workplace. There appears to be a major credibility gap with continuing reports of large increases in new apprenticeships (read short-term traineeships) and existing major skill shortages in many important trade areas. (NCVER 2000b) There is also a myth that there is one set of standards agreed upon by industry or any other group and this seems to be borne by this research that in fact there are a multiple standards in industry that relate to high, middle and low quality work within different price ranges. Moreover the most controversial element of shifting the focus heavily away from curriculum content and standard amounts of time in each level of training (Loveder 2005) towards assessing only the competencies required in each case. The contention being that it may take three years to develop a new training package whereby some of the industry requirements may have already changed.

**Motivation, passion and creativity**

Participating employers and teachers in the research agreed that one of the key indicators for an apprentice having a successful apprenticeship is being motivated and having a passion for the job. In an industry renowned for being physically demanding and stressful, all the respondents in the research recognised that a young person entering a career in commercial cookery needs some form of intrinsic motivation to „stick it out“. There is a strong indication from many successful chefs that their drive to become accomplished and

Some of them said they love the creative side of it. (PF2) They love to be able to create something and get that feed back from a customer. (PF2a) I think that’s the most important side, that creative side that does get lost today. (PF2b) I think most chefs have a creative mind and that can get squashed. (PF2c) It’s the creativity development is a lot slower and they get bored easily. (PF2d) They always want to learn as much as they can, they want to have that creative edge. (PF2e) how creative you can really be (PF2f)
develop confidence in their skills and ability carried them through difficult periods in their employment. There is evidence that many male chefs saw the challenges of a demanding industry as almost a “right of passage” for any apprentice, to be approached with resolve and dogged determination, to “tough it out” but accommodating the requirements of a busy, stressful industry is very different to accommodating the demands of a bullying, autocratic boss.

Intrinsic motivation is defined as the motivation to work primarily because the work itself is interesting and satisfying (Amabile et al. 1994). As when individuals attribute their success in life to their own ability and effort and take pride in their accomplishments. Intrinsic motivators are considered to be the aspects that provide the individual with personal rewards such as achievement, autonomy or promotion. Individuals who are highly intrinsically motivated try to seek work that provides this motivation such as allowing the use of creativity or developing new skills and they see their work environment in terms of the support of these motivators (Amabile et al. 1994).

Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation represent two distinct constructs; however, (Amabile et al. 1994) suggest that the constructs can work in conjunction with each other, and that a person could have a high score in only one of the motivation areas or could have a high score on both, depending on the situation. (Gow et al. 2008)(pg. 103) This would suggest that industry also needs to examine employment conditions of trainee/apprentices as a factor in creating a more conducive environment for them to learn the desired skills and attributes, cited by employers, to contribute to the workplace.

On the other hand, extrinsic motivation is defined as the motivation to work primarily in response to the receipt of external rewards, such as money or position status. Those who are extrinsically motivated view their work environment in terms of its extrinsic properties and will seek positions that feed this motivation (Amabile et al. 1994). The research has already identified pay as key negative to the job but it is not a factor as to whether an apprentice would drop out, (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008) unless of course circumstances made it impossible for them to remain and they had to relinquish their apprenticeship.

Lost skills

Some skill shortages can and do exist at most stages of the business cycle in skilled occupations but what varies is their extent over different stages of the business cycle. Skill shortages are often evident in industries and occupations with modest or subdued employment growth or even in situations of overall employment decline but Australia could be entering a changing cyclical of supply and demand. As consumption for products and services transform or decline so does the demand as well as the fact that Australia may be entering a more remarkable phase of social and industrial change.

In addition to the question of sociological change the question has been raised in a report (Richardson 2007b) as to whether there really is a skills shortage or that enough
trained individuals are being trained but are choosing to opt out of demanding industries or professions such as cooking. Statistical evidence reveals that hospitality VET has its full quota of trainee chefs but that hasn’t translated into long term retention for the industry. This phenomenon is also paralleled in nursing which has a large contingent of qualified graduates choosing to withdraw from the hospital system (Richardson 2007b).

In 2000 the National Centre for Vocational and Educational Research (NCVER 2000a) produced a report based upon research into apprenticeships in Australia that that apprenticeships had expanded beyond the traditional trades to the extent that they now more accurately reflect the societal structure of the Australian labour market. But there is still the question of how to address skills needs in industry with those delivered by VET and the skills loss through attrition when there seems to be discordant groups laying claim to solutions. In 2004 the Australian Industry Group released a report (Human Resources 2004) on their perceived solutions to the skills shortages with a reformed VET system delivering skills required by industry but the challenge for this research is identifying long term opportunities for apprentices as opposed to short term gains for employers.

However the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU), in the same report, cited low wages as a major component for the unattractiveness of trades as an employment option for young people. But although the level of pay for apprentices does have a major impact on their basic needs to survive in an urban city environment, I draw attention to recent research, as cited earlier, that has challenged this short term solution as not the salient factor in the long term retention of apprentices (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). Nonetheless the report did acknowledge that the Australian economy as a whole needs to work smarter if it’s to meet the challenges and benefits of a global economy.

The quality of training is also a significant indicator as to whether an apprentice or trainee decides to withdraw from training (Snell & Hart 2007; Snell & Hart 2008). It is agreed that problems did exist when it came to the quality of training and improvements need to be made if attrition rates are to be reduced. Within every skill group, there is a range of ability, from exceptional to ordinary. This variation in quality is important to employers but not observable in measures of labour supply. (Richardson 2007a)

I am hearing from the training organisations that there is a heck of a lot of hospitality stuff being offered, particularly at certificate 2 level – every second kid leaving school has a certificate 2 in hospitality – but it is not making them employable . . . they are not necessarily being told upfront that this won’t get you in the door of a willing employer (Commonwealth Government representative). (Snell & Hart 2007)

Aspects of change within VET where the training is delivered fully on the job has brought to light concerns regarding the narrowing of skills and certainly a loss of general transferable skills that would offer the trainee/apprentice opportunities within the industry for advancement. Moreover problems concerning fully on-the-job training and the lack of transferable skills are also highlighted by (Schofield 2000), p. 82 ; (Schofield 1999b), p. 6 (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005; Cooney 2003; TAFE.
2000) in that trainees only learn things specific to that particular workplace and lack the „underpinning knowledge“ to apply skills in a different environment.

**Becoming a chef: a UK recipe**

There is a significant argument posited by research in the United Kingdom (UK) that there should be a clear objective when training a chef to bring education and training systems into closer alignment with perceived labour market needs. (James & Hayward 2004) That in addition to measuring the duration of training there must also be a basic understanding about the qualitative elements describing the outcomes in terms of knowledge skills and competencies which are necessary to perform in different job roles and work instructions.

However the UK experience is one of competence training that was ineffectual to traditional learning and the claims made by researchers (James & Hayward 2004) of the importance of an apprenticeship began to decline. According to some authors the UK, in contrast to Germany, made no attempt at developing a role between the State and social partners to discuss the profession. Historically in the 70’s and 80’s there was increasing youth unemployment in the UK civil unrest and concerns about the adequacy of the English VET system reflecting back on the lack of a cohesive policy on VET in the 60’s and no national strategy. There was also a lack of interface with formal schooling and higher education so part of the solution was to develop a National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) outcomes based assessment. (James & Hayward 2004)

There were imperatives to construct VET that was coherent and responsive to the needs of employers, to increase their demand for and investment in training, to stimulate economic growth as well as to develop a demand led system. Furthermore to prioritise certification of on the job learning and free learning from the tyranny of inputs and time serving and overcome the barriers to access, erected by training providers, as well as improve the quality of existing training programmes, youth training schemes and so force employers to train to agreed standards.(James & Hayward 2004)

Finally to make the training system more accountable for its expenditure of public money so in 1981 a UK Government White Paper, ‘A New Initiative, Training for Jobs’ was published which had the major objectives which were better preparation in schools and colleges for working life plus better arrangements for transition from full time education to work. The modernisation of training in occupational skills meant a change to age limits, changes to time serving and training to agreed standards and finally wider opportunities for adults to acquire and improve skills.

**Summary**

This shift from an input-led system to an outcomes based method has fundamental implications, both in defining the content and the application of education and training. Furthermore opening access to different models of learning offers opportunities the possibility for personalised trainee/apprentice learning with competences aligned with an individual. But a major difficulty for current
competencies in education and training are that they are not aligned with an individual’s learning as they only characterise the tasks required to achieve competence. (Hyland 1994) Yet an individual’s characteristics, ones disposition, motivation and interest are clearly integral to the ways in which one learns to perform tasks and are therefore also integral to understanding how knowledge and skills are constructed in the workplace. (Billett 1996; Prawat 1989; Tobias 1994) It must also be acknowledged that due to the changing nature and “type” of individual now enrolling in an apprenticeship, through their opening up to all ages and genders, that there is no one “type” of apprentice. Moreover that there is no singular category of employer (Hawke 2008) or workplace and an apprentice must learn to develop the confidence in his or her abilities to accommodate the multiplicity of transitional imperatives encountered during their working life.

Chapter Four
Conceptual framework and related literature

Placing the context of the research literature

The history and nature of Australian apprenticeships is both evolutionary and revolutionary from its ancient inception of a master/apprentice model to evolve into our current understanding of a traineeship (Hawke 2002) Workplace training developed through a series of social and structural changes brought about by the need for a national standard and more accountability from VET in the 1990’s to its current form. Thus training in Australia has had to respond to rapid global economic and social change but as VET has endeavoured to keep abreast of current changes in industry it finds itself at the mercy of the economic realism of industry.(Hawke 2002 ) The contention is that the reactive response from government came to a head in the 1990”s when Australia, along with the rest of the western world, faced a global recession as Australia started to lose nearly all its major export markets for agricultural products, mineral resources and for manufactured goods. However Governments, employer groups and unions joined together to seek the reform of VET concluding that a „smarter, “ well trained workforce would benefit all. Subsequent reforms were developed in a climate of economic rationalism which included changes to VET to better serve the economic needs of Australia in a belief that there was a clear link between skill levels and future prosperity.

But there was reluctance by employers to invest in the training of their workforce as many saw vocational training as fragmented and unrealistic as each State had developed its own curriculum which was long in duration for a qualification and out of touch with industry needs. For that reason national competencies were developed through consultation with industry groups, to develop skills and knowledge that were transferable across the nation and could be delivered and assessed flexibly and at sites other than large government institutions. (Hawke 2002)

Hawke (Hawke 2002) makes little judgment in his writing as to the value and efficacy of this model of vocational education, in Australia, for the learner, other than
an objective description of the economic needs of industry and Government. That is not to say the two are not coterminous but recent history and my own investigations cast doubt as to whether the apprentice/trainee is receiving the quality of training mooted as needed for economic prosperity when competency modularisation was first developed. This concern has been echoed by others who also challenge the limited value of competency vocational education for both trainee and industry, (Cornford 2000; 2004; 1997)

Quality of workplace learning

An investigation into the amount and quality of workplace learning acquired by cookery apprentices in the New South Wales hospitality industry (Cornford & Gunn 1998) sharply brings into focus the links of the site of learning in the workplace has changed as a result of the economic and technological revolutions. (Ainley 1993) In the past traditional apprenticeships have provided the groundwork for the development of expertise and high levels of skilled performance and problem solving skills(Cornford & Anthanasou 1995) But changes in industry meant a failure, in the past, of the formal VET delivered at TAFE being perceived as not reflecting the changes occurring in the workplace. It would appear that the rapid changes in technology and skills knowledge means training providers must work harder to maintain relevance and currency of knowledge and skills.

There also seems to be a failure of many of the skills to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991) and a general concern that many skills learned in the classroom do not provide ample opportunity for practice to consolidate the skills learned off site. (Cornford 1996)

Learning involves a process of interactive participation and those communities of practice have become an important focus for organisational development. (Lave & Wenger 1991) Learners participate in communities of practitioners where the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move towards full participation in the socio-cultural practices of the community. This theory of situated learning is that learning is viewed as part of all activities and the learner gradually moves from a point of unknowing to knowledge through social interaction within the life world.

The basic argument made by Lave and Wenger(Lave & Wenger 1991) is that communities of practice are everywhere and that we are generally involved in a number of them whether that is at work, school or home and that in some groups we are core members, in others we are more at the margins. Just being alive as human beings means that we are constantly engaged in the pursuit of enterprises and as we define these enterprises and engage in their pursuit together, we interact with each other and with the world and we tune our relations with each other and with the world accordingly. For many commercial cookery apprentices the world of workplace learning is a wasteland of positive experiences (Cornford & Gunn 1998) and although learning would be in existence for them, it would not always be positive. I shall explore psychoanalytic understandings of decoding and interpreting learning further into the review
For a community of practice to function it needs to generate and appropriate a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories. It also needs to develop various resources such as tools, documents, routines, vocabulary and symbols that in some way carry the accumulated knowledge of the community. Learning is not seen as the acquisition of knowledge by individuals so much as a process of social participation. The environment of the situation impacts significantly on the process and provides a way to speak about the relationship between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice.

Opinions regarding the value of abstract learning or de-contextualised knowledge and raises the question whether vocational learning can occur outside the learner’s community of practice. But even though the cognitive response may not be immediately recognised all new knowledge absorbed develops understanding. There may also be situations where the community of practice is weak (Cornford & Gunn 1998) or exhibits power relationships that seriously inhibit entry and participation but there is an acknowledged risk of romanticising communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991)

The case for collective problem solving and team learning is strong (Senge 1994) but the challenge for these assumptions is the theory that organisations work altruistically with their workers and are free of the many dysfunctions reflected in society.

**The vision of the learning organisation**

The vision of the learning organisation is one of continual possibilities for a capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free and where people are continually learning how to learn together. This is a truly noble aspiration and would seem idealistic but there are examples of organisations that foster collective decision making for the individual workers. The theory has much merit and if persisted has much to recommend the organisations will to truly excel and discover how to tap people's commitment and capacity to learn at all levels in an organisation

(Billett 1994b) defined situated learning as a learner executing tasks and solving problems in an environment which reveals the various intended uses of knowledge (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989) There has been a lot of particular interest in situated learning which appears to be the result of developments in theoretical understanding, which includes the acknowledgement of;

*Domain specific knowledge in complex thinking, the social basis of learning and the role that activity plays in cognition.* (p.112)

And that a sustained research effort, over the last twenty years, within cognitive psychology has revealed the significance of domain specific knowledge to expert performance (Glaser 1989)

The theoretical development supportive of situated learning emanated from the now almost common acceptance of learning being a social process (Goodnow 1990) and the Vygotskian School (Vygotsky 1978) Billett describes the appropriation of knowledge as the process of constructing meaning from socially and contextually defined knowledge where the individual structures understanding and relevance through a lens of previous experience.
Social and cultural practices influence organisational work practices in that the individuals, the setting or place of work, the economic needs of the organisation as well the physical set up of the work area all affect an employee’s ability to move through their *zone of proximal development*. Billett also argues that formal learning institutions are not de-contextualized, instead they possess strong and pervasive sets of cultural practices which associated with the achievement of the institution (Billett 1993)

There were concerns from the participants in Billet's study that mirrored some of the initial responses from interviewees in this research that the quality of workplace learning can be varied and unmonitored. The concerns of the learners are not necessarily reflected by the employer who has an economic imperative to get the learner „up to speed” and producing rather than their need to understand why they are doing a job in a particular way.

*You're probably shown the quickest way to do the job, but not the correct way. They show you the shortcuts not knowing why you're doing what you've been told what to do.* (p.126)

*Didn’t understand what the job was all about, I just done the job.* (p.126)

The concerns reported in Billet’s paper are common to the workplace learning processes and indicate the respondents” perception of the need for the start of learning experience to explicitly address conceptual (propositional) knowledge, which helps develop understanding. These concerns suggest that a tightly informal learning process may lack the development of understanding particularly in situations where the tasks are hidden from the learner. Activity involves the mutual contribution of memory in the environment and that these activities are goal directed where the goals are shaped by the particular circumstances of the workplace. (Billett 2002) These mutual concepts of the cognitive and the social concepts are combined to transform the individual’s process of decision making and they are fixed and cannot be separated. Cultural tools of language and signs both determine and develop our thinking in that language and knowledge define our perceptions to any given moment.

*The training and retention of apprentices*

The training and retention of apprentices is increasingly moving toward the need to improve their skills and knowledge lexicon to feel ownership of their environment. Moreover co-participation at work refers to the reciprocal process of engagement in and learning through work, how individuals are permitted to participate in the workplace and how individuals elect to engage with a participant in the workplace and, through their participation construct and refine their learning. So how do we define how individuals learn from each other? (Boud & Middleton 2003) but as equally important for this research is the role of the supervisor in affording opportunity for an individual’s learning. This vital information seems to be only alluded to in situated learning literature as it is not seen as an important component of situated learning theory and would be placed in the socio-cultural aspect affecting learners. But the power dynamic of supervisor/novice can have an enormous impact on the learner’s ability to achieve mastery.
Boud and Middleton also argue that that the person who is nominally expected by organisations to foster learning in the workplace, the workplace supervisor, _may be unable to do so effectively because of the structural constraints of their role._ (Hughes 2004) has suggested that staff can have difficulties in trusting supervisors to facilitate their learning because of supervisors” formal role in surveillance of staff and the need for individuals to portray themselves as competent workers. But as Boud writes that an exclusive focus on communities of practice may limit workplace learning which reflect the complexities of the workplace. Individuals need to know why they are working in a particular way or the final destination of their labour as even a processing plant reveals the final object to the assembly worker. It may also limit the kinds of intervention possible, according to Boud, to influence workplace learning.

Furthermore the time period of formal training, usually taking place in a classroom remote from the workplace, is challenged by Hager (Hager 2004 ) as all the knowledge needed, by that worker, for the rest of their working life which can be achieved within the time frame of their formal learning. Research has shown an increasing realisation that a worker will need ongoing and updated knowledge and skills to maintain, not only, their current position but also any future positions. Hager supports the idea that learning is a process as, this view of learning, underlines context, as well as the influence of cultural and social factors. It is holistic in that it points to the organic, whole-person nature of learning, including the importance of dispositions and abilities.

Commercial cookery is essentially a group activity where individuals come together to construct components of a meal within a very short time frame so coordinated team work is essential to the smooth running of any kitchen. Teams and teamwork can contribute to the advancement of the organisation's knowledge base, (Levitt & March 1988) and provide mechanisms for collective learning so that individuals can practice together and develop their collective skills. (Senge 1990a) But teams may also inhibit learning, as team learning is more difficult to mobilise than individual learning, (Argyris 1987) and the more effective the defensive routines of individuals within the team, the better they mask the problems. Defensive routines inhibit the power of learning by focusing on the impact of the pain of readjustment and the perceived loss of the safe and familiar. Learning for some may be selective and negative and not all good such as learning to diminish responsibility or passing the buck or blaming can be easily accommodated in group work where no one individual takes full responsibility.

The psychoanalytic understanding of human behaviour can provide an insightful understanding of employee behaviour, as individuals are susceptible to a wide range of inconsistencies. For a learning organisation to function effectively and for the teams in that organisation to provide a positive contribution, the analysis of the ambivalent nature of human reasoning can address many fundamental issues in communication.
Chapter Five
Changing Identities

Introduction

To focus on both the object and subject of this research it is necessary to place the apprentices within the contextual domain of their socio-cultural milieu and the interface of the workplace and classroom. This Stage One research has persisted in attempting to identify differences between employer beliefs and expectations as to what constitutes successful training based on how they were trained compared to the reality of the evidence of current apprentices learning.

So in the quest to develop a map to explore and understand the coterminous interface between apprentice, employer and VET it is first necessary to identify aspects the socio-cultural dynamics and history that have impacted upon them. This may reveal areas of homogeneity that may offer solutions to the effective transition of an individual commencing a traineeship in commercial cookery and their successful completion and retention in the industry.

The new apprentice

New apprenticeships (now called Australian Apprenticeships) have opened up opportunities to an increasing number of older adults returning to study either for a positive career change or to address unemployment. An increase in indigenous student intake, as well as support for students with disabilities and the introduction of vocational subjects in schools and year 11 and 12 students completing vocational subjects in TAFE (TVET) have all resulted in educational access and equity to a wider range of students completing a vocational education in TAFE.

The current group of young trainee/apprentices born between 1982-2000 and making up 28% of the population.(ABS 2001) is named „generation Y” or the „Millennial group“(McCrindle 2006) which separates them from their predecessors „generation X” and their „baby boomer” parents. These current groups of young people, just entering the workforce have lived through the age of the internet, cable television, globalisation, September 11, and environmentalism. They are very different to their parents and grandparents and to a lot of employers, who complain about the new apprentice applicants as almost unfathomable.

My learning started as an apprenticeship in Sydney, I did a four year apprenticeship in three different places. (PE14f) In my day you spent 12 months on one section so you knew it inside out (PE14c) The training I received was very structured (PE3) Hard and very disciplined training (PE4b) Looking for perfection (PE4c) pushing a little more to get more out of them (PE4d) My chefs were very firm and strict (PE8) Not so much autocratic but more the fact that you had to perform PE5e some (chefs) were too firm, too strict (PE8a)
The oldest members of "generation Y" are now entering the workforce while at the same time the "baby boomer" generation is retiring at a much older age than those of previous generations. This brings with it very different forms of inter-cultural conflicts that challenge the understanding and experiences of both the employer and the apprentice as a generation of self-confident, technologically sophisticated, young individuals enter the highly regimented and authoritarian environment of a commercial kitchen.

This generation prefers to separate their work lives from their home and personal relationships where the job merely provides the income to do what they want to do which is search for excitement, for quality friendships or for a fulfilling purpose. (McCrindle 2001.) Their attitude to work is that they want to begin with a level of status and responsibility or at least be climbing the corporate ladder by their sixth month on the job and believe they deserve the positions they want whether experienced or not.

They are not lazy they just expect immediate gratification due to a childhood of always receiving it. (McCrindle 2006) According to some employer insights they may be perceived as self-focused and transient whereas the reality is that they just reflect their times where jobs aren’t guaranteed and profits preeminent so rather than an inherent selfishness they are just responding to corporate realities

**Learning and the new workplace**

In any workplace an interaction between an individual and their environment takes place continually and according to (Svensson, Ellstrom & Aberg 2004) this forms the basis for the learning process. Thus any action that takes place in a context, particularly a workplace setting is to a large part determined by others in the form of rules, values, attitudes, expectations etc.

Moreover (Dewey 1993/1989) purports that action not theory is the starting point for learning but this practical and social basis for learning could be perceived as in opposition to a traditional view of a discrete and solitary individual as the centre of their learning process. However specialised knowledge acquired in a "real" situation is authentic to that site and invaluable to the activities of the individuals operating within the area of their workplace but action alone does not guarantee knowledge. As although informal learning, as the course of daily life is important, when a individual participates in the reflective observation, assimilation, conceptualisation for active experimentation (Kolb 1984) it needs to be supported by formal education (Ellstrom 2001)
An individual’s competence is more acutely developed when there are arrangements for both informal and formal learning as an understanding of “why” and “how” must be advanced by the trainee when reflecting on “what” happens so the conditions for reflective learning are created. In fact rather than an opposition, formal and informal learning compliment each other. (Ellstrom 2001) as an individual must be able to integrate a variety of knowledge and discover connections to understand the work process in a comprehensive perspective. The apprentice must develop an ability to act knowledgeably, effectively and deliberately, strategically and reflectively in a situation involves a union of practical and theoretical knowledge.

Explicit conceptual knowledge required for workplace performance, particularly that associated with understanding the bases for work tasks (Billett 2000) is not being developed by many workers and the research has found that there is little provision from the supervisors responsible for workplace training. In the challenge of improving of the effectiveness of workplace learning, employers need to be more innovative and afford opportunities for their staff to participate and sustain knowledge assimilation and reflection.

Furthermore earlier forms of understanding and production processes are being challenged as (Figgis et al. 2001) noted that the advent of the global economy has changed the nature of products and services now demanded, as well as the technologies and forms of communication required. This proposition is also employed to explain one of the explanations for the changing workplace and employment when endeavouring to explain skills loss.

Workers in the new economy now need to be more innovative and knowledgeable to accommodate the radical changes that are happening in the global economy (Chappell et al. 2002) This has also required changes in employee attitude and attributes as business enterprises demand more skilled, dynamic and innovative endeavour from both managers and employees in order for them to become more competitive.

Workplace change is a major driver of training in organisations however it was found by (Smith & Hayton 1999) that it was the nature of training, rather than the volume, that varied, which challenged previous research. Furthermore the sort of training that would take place in an organisation is often determined by that the way the drivers and moderating factors interact, an example, from this research being, a need for creative innovation within an organisation but moderated by skills limitations of the employees. Other workers are often used as models for performance and as source of how work tasks should proceed, through observations and more direct interactions consequently the learning for apprentices does not have a singular source or individual. Moreover as a large percentage of hospitality businesses are classified as small enterprises they would engage more in informal training than larger enterprises
(Ridoutt et al. 2002) as their smaller size would offer more opportunity, through expediency, for employees to engage in a multiplicity of tasks and skills.

Consequently both the volume and the nature of workplace training are key factors of organisations that have actively engaged in reflecting and implementing the training of their employees to accommodate the requirements new workplace. But the learning accessed through participation at work alone may not be sufficient for developing the requirements for expertise at work as it has been found in this research, that not all the learning arising from workplace experiences was appropriate, as shortcuts and aspects of inappropriate practices were also being learnt.

Summary

These contributions arising from participation in everyday work activities, assist developing the knowledge required for work performance which suggests that knowing, which is the bases of our thinking, acting and learning, is distributed across social environments, such as workplaces. Therefore, learning is not only ongoing in our everyday thinking and acting, it is mediated by the circumstances in which individuals act. But as (Johnson & Hawke 2002) put it, there is no “one-size-fits-all” approach to learning cultures and the challenge for this research is to understand the role and application of formal learning within the workplace and its affect on the apprentice learning.

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Wasted skills: The hospitality industry and its young chefs

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Abstract

Rapid changes in industry and the world of work require vocational education training (VET) providers to consider their role in industry skills shortages and how they respond to pressure from government and industry groups to address the need for effective training. This research seeks to throw light on how large training organisations, such as TAFE and industry have responded to government reports on critical skills shortages within the industry (ACTU 2004, July; McKenzie 2004, July). It will seek to probe commercial cookery training (NCVER 2001, June) and the hospitality industry, to ask the question as to what can be done to stem the high turnover of young chefs.

The research will also explore the composition and effectiveness of both formal and informal learning of the trainee combined with the industry and training organisation’s capacity to produce long term employment prospects for the trainee to meet the industry’s need to retain skilled, productive employees.

What is emerging, from the initial research findings are concerns such as the changing profile of the students now enrolling in apprenticeships and traineeships (they are of all ages) (Karmel 2006) with formal vocational education and workplace training’s ability to meet the needs of these new students. Of particular interest, to my research, are the Generation Y (Coupland 1991) trainees who appear to have divergent aims of their learning and employment expectations to their employers and teachers. It has also been reported (Toner 2003, July) that a gap has developed, over the past decade, between the formal training delivered by VET organisations and the training requested by employers, although vocational education providers have endeavored to reduce that gap with a raft of tailored, flexible courses (DEST 2004 December) to meet the needs of employers but not necessarily the trainees.

In conclusion, the research is revealing an industry that, on first view, seems unwilling or unable to fulfill the tripartite training agreement, as employer, with the trainee and their vocational education needs. Initial evidential data shows financial pressure as a common response, in that they have little time or resources to provide adequate workplace training coupled with an historical culture of poor employee dealings and working conditions.

Introduction

This paper will briefly consider three related areas of concern that have so far surfaced from the qualitative research data collected and coded from my research study. They are, firstly, the quality and effectiveness of the situated workplace learning for trainees and its connection to the required knowledge and skills to deliver contextual learning. Secondly, I will sum up the current liberal practices in vocational education that have led the charge of competency training and how it has impacted on the participants of this research. Thirdly I will look at the problematic of changing socio-cultural requirements of trainees and apprentices and possible implications with their learning and impact on motivation to retain employment within the industry.
To begin with I will establish a brief outline of my research, so far, in which I have attempted to discover how practitioners understand the learning needs of trainees in this current climate of skills shortages and the influence of concerned stakeholders. I will place this within a pedagogical context of vocational education and the metaphors of workplace learning which appear to light the way to better understanding but have also revealed flaws in its practice. Linking these two areas of investigation with the coterminous facet of the identity of the apprentice learner and how socio economic factors have impacted to make them different learners from their predecessors and how this difference affects their learning.

The research

This research is investigating the question “Does the current training of chefs impact their high turnover and if so, can training offer solutions to this high turnover?”. Following this initial question I asked, “Can vocational education offer more relevance to the trainee and what part does the industry play in the attrition of young chefs?”

Thirteen stakeholders from industry and training organisations, both here and in the UK, including recently graduated trainees, were interviewed with thirty semi-structured questions over the last year. The final questionnaire was developed in two stages with the second stage validating and building on the first stage. The participants’ responses were grounded in practice as they used their own experiences as the basis of their responses.

I purposefully chose the interviewees for maximum variation sampling to select a broad range of stakeholders to achieve a distinct dimension of interest within their particular facet of the industry. The questions allowed for ‘in depth’ probing while keeping the interviewees within the parameters outlined by the aims of the research. They were developed from documented reports (NCVER 2001, June) on the skills shortages and subsequent government recommendations, industry papers responding to current vocational training and conversations with key stakeholders of industry and training. This created an opportunity to take purposeful samples across industry, education and trainees to develop a holistic, information rich and illuminative data to capture complex, interdependencies between participants and the possibly, conflicting needs of the dynamics of industry and pedagogy.

The taped and transcribed interviewing was aimed at capturing participants’ understanding of the hospitality industry in the context of their training experiences linked to the current training needs of commercial cookery apprentices. I believe that this information cannot be described through a linear cause and effect but more importantly needed to be placed within the social, historical and political context of workplace relations in Australia. The interview data and documentary evidence is now being analysed to develop a holistic and context sensitive research.

I positioned the interview responses contextually aligned with the grounded method of analysis to arrive at an understanding based on impressions generated directly from the data. I reasoned that the inductive, bottom-up approach would communicate a more compelling conclusion when revealing answers to Grounded Theory’s assessment of the value of analysis (Strauss 1990)
I have completed the open and axial coding of the data to compare and contrast responses, within the context of the initial question asked in the research, with selective analysis. This is to form an understanding of the evaluation and ground cross-case analysis in the individual studies to identify cross-case patterns and themes in an endeavor to distinguish convergence and divergence in the coding and classifying. Consequently, I will need to ask what responses fit together by looking for recurring regularities in the data for these regularities to reveal patterns that can be sorted into categories of internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity. This paper will report on the initial findings from that empirical, qualitative data which will, eventually, be triangulated with quantitative statistical data and related research literature.

Research Findings

On the first question as to the quality and effectiveness of the trainees’ workplace learning, the responses differed with the age and position of the interviewee or their role as either employee or employer but all seemed to agree that it was extremely important. Not only for the transfer of skills but also the contextual nature of the learning that it takes place within a group of adults with all the complex interactivities and social dynamics of the workplace (Boud 2001; Lave 1991).

Number one, you are picking up skills, the current skills, the current techniques that are in the industry today. You are also learning how to be in a team environment, how to deal with the team, how to deal with other people's egos in the kitchen environment.

(Pi3, Pi3a, Pi4, Pi4a)

As a young chef learning those things and coping with those things and seeing it (the industry) from different perspectives. We've got twenty chefs in our kitchens, so that could be twenty different ways that something could be done to achieve the same result. So having that broad knowledge of people around you helps a trainee to grow as a chef.

(Pi6, Pi7, Pi7a)

But rapid changes in technology mean training providers must work harder to maintain relevance and currency of knowledge and skills (Cornford 1998) that today’s workplace requires workers who are now more than just highly skilled in the traditional, technical sense. It seeks workers who have an array of aptitudes, capabilities and dispositions that move far beyond the vocational knowledge and attitudes as traditionally understood, where the learners become participants, contributors and elaborators of their own knowledge and skills (Chappell 2003a). This changing workplace makes huge demands for new knowledge and adaptability skills from the trainees but the research appears to reveal employers often reflect and lock on their past training experience as the measure by which they evaluate the skills and attitudes of the trainees.

Older style, some of the traditions about cooking, as a chef, it’s something you put passion in and you want to learn as much as possible. These days we get lost a little bit and try to get the chefs to come out with some skills that are
Probably not necessary, I find that with some of the chefs here (they) really get a buzz out of learning some of the older skills, more traditional type of cooking, so that’s what I’d like to see focused on a little bit. (Pa1, Pa1a, Pa2, Pa3, Pa4)

Organisations also need to be responsive to the changing needs of workers through flatter more flexible structures (ILO 2002) as well as allowing the workers opportunity to be able to respond in flexible ways as new techniques are introduced, new collaborations formed and new competitive challenges faced that; ‘a workforce that is flexible and adaptable, resilient, innovative, with the capacity to learn to learn and work with others are commonly described as having some of the core attributes critical to effectiveness’ (Chappell 2003a)

Learning in the workplace

The research showed that the workplace environment is not always conducive to effective learning as critical staffing levels indicated that time taken to train young employees is minimal and cursory. So it raises the question concerning the exploration of other models of training to provide a more ‘meaningful and contextual’ learning linked to the employer’s expectations (McIntyre 1993) (Brookfield 1986)

Saying that, one employer voiced little support for the effectiveness of formal workplace competency evaluations as ineffectual compared to an apprentice attending a VET institution. He believed that he and other managers and supervisors don’t have the time to train an apprentice with all the skills and knowledge necessary and that some of his colleagues didn’t have the skills or ability. Overall the responses from the research from all participants as to the quality of current workplace training, was negative.

The apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually, physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching. That’s where the problem is that a lot of apprentices these days are in an environment where they are expected to teach and have the knowledge to run a kitchen instead of being an apprentice (Pi11b, Pi11c, Pi11d)

Some employers preferred to take on experienced, but ostensibly untrained employees and then orientate them to their, particular, customer needs as a cheaper alternative to long term training which is a common experience with other industries and trades where there is a shortage of skilled staff. Industries such as electrical trades (Worland 2003) and the printing industry (Callan 2007) have attempted different solutions to their shortage such as an increase in the reliance of technology but this still doesn’t address the long term concerns with vocational training and employment prospects for Australian workers.

You get to the point that no one is actually training the trainers. So you are losing that side of it. (Pj11) I could go on all day how bad, there was no training it was almost self-training, you had to learn things yourself, go away and do that, come up with a menu (Pj11a, Pj11b) I don’t have a high opinion of a lot of them (employers), I don’t know them personally, and I don’t think a
lot of them spend enough time with these apprentices (Pj17, Pj3a) I also think we still have a culture of aggression in the industry and not such a strong culture of supporting and training apprentices, I still think it’s a bit of a slave labour culture. (Pj23)

It is clear that there are limitations in preparing learners for a changing workplace, where there is a fundamental need to adapt to changing processes, new materials, work structures and environments, therefore limiting the vocational education to specific procedures are ineffective in understanding the tasks at hand. Moreover epistemological literature declares that an individual’s characteristics, their disposition, motivation and interest (Billett 1996; Prawat 1989, Spring; Tobias 1994, Spring) is clearly integral to the ways in which they learn to perform tasks and is therefore also integral to understanding how knowledge and skills is constructed in the workplace.

**Neo-liberal changes to vocational education**

The changes in current Vocational Education and Training (VET) students, which can, in part, be traced to the delivery of the National Training Reform Agenda and the 1992 ‘New Apprenticeship and Training Schemes in Technical and Further Education’ (TAFE) has had an important impact on training. TAFE once had a monopoly over the supply of training to young school-leavers but the freeing up of vocational training brought about by the National Training Agenda with more avenues for VET has meant that TAFE now competes in the local and global vocational education market place. (NCVER 2000c) Furthermore the formal requirements for off-the-job training in apprenticeships has been more relaxed since 1994 which has augmented more flexible ways in which training is delivered through training packages (Misko 2001; Smith 2002). There has been an increasing recognition of the role of experience and prior learning which has attracted a large percentage of adults to return to training, to either upgrade or improve their skills, or to gain formal qualifications (Karmel 2006)

This more open and equitable intake has dramatically changed the profile of the student body in VET apprenticeships and traineeships in that they are now accessible to people of all ages and are no longer restricted, in the main, to school leavers. Almost one third of ‘new’ apprentices are 25 years of age or over (NCVER 2000a) which means students, in the main, now have a greater expectation of their teachers than in previous times due to an awareness of their rights as learners (Pithers 2002)

Also the quality of training plays a significant role in an apprentice’s decision to continue or withdraw from training (Snell 2007) which would lead us to assume that individual teachers must also take responsibility for their continual learning by remaining current, not only with industry changes but also new epistemologies in adult learning. A general criticism leveled at some VET teachers, by educational writers, is a perceived dependence on undergraduate learning to carry them through their teaching career and their limited exposure to new developments in educational paradigms.

Furthermore industry groups are now requesting that other ‘soft’ skills are to be taught (DEST 2004) to enhance and maintain the trainee’s employability such as
communication, team work, problem solving, self-management, planning and organising, technology, learning, and initiative and enterprise. They are seen, by employers, to be as important as practical skills in that they provide the necessary knowledge for the trainee to operate successfully in the workplace.

A significant change in the TAFE environment is that it is now teaching experienced adults who are keen to obtain maximum benefit from a chosen course, and who request more relevant and accessible information than their younger counterparts. Flexibility, teamwork, continuous learning and employee participation and development may be descriptors applicable to the new teacher/student relationship as both benefits from these changes (Garavan 1997)

I think TAFE has a lot to offer in the sense of, you get more of the reasons why you use certain things but I don’t think TAFE has the opportunity to use the products that restaurants have
(Pd6, Pd7)

They can learn them in a TAFE environment, on the job, in actual fact, when you look at an apprenticeship most of the training occurs in the work place because they come to TAFE one day a week. I think there is probably a need for TAFE to go out into industry to do workplace training on the job.
(Pd1a, Pd9, Pd7a)

However not all responses were positive as recently graduated student interviewee had a strongly negative opinion of her VET training and its ability to replicate her experience of the workplace.

Definitely not, I’m sorry but with cutting corners, or only having the time to learn certain cuisines in a (limited) time period with the teacher to student ratio (16-1) I don’t believe that option is always available.
(Pd10, Pd7b)

**Competency based training**

Research evidence suggests that competency based training CBT modular courses implemented in VET, as result of federal government pressures, are not resulting in students with superior knowledge and skills (Cornford 1997) In fact there has been criticism of current VET policies and CBT to meet Australia’s skills needs (DEST 2005, February) (Cornford 2004; Hawke 2002 June) that there has been a decline in standards in some trade areas subsequent to its introduction. (Mills 2002)

Most CBT training packages do not encourage development of critical thinking skills so needed to cope with the changing nature of the modern workplace and effective problem solving asserted by employers as desirable. It is not achievable unless there is a sound theoretical underpinning of knowledge and that competency standards only represent desired outcomes and they do not offer any great guidance to teachers.
The socio-cultural dynamics of training

The changing nature of the new trainee is even less likely to accept many of the working conditions employers see as part of the traditional culture of the workplace. An increase in women to the trade, older, more work wise trainees (Karmel 2006; NCVER 2000a) and the new generation of school leavers and generation Y have different expectations of their work life than the traditional male school leaver a decade ago.

I look at my group of friends growing up and a few of them started off as chefs. Once they saw other friends getting into IT, earning loads of money and getting regular hours I know a lot of my friends just dropped out and went into computing and IT. You can’t really glamorize it too much. They’ll come in and see the reality and then drop out.

(Pz1, Pz2)

Moreover being a trainee in, what is essentially a very tough environment can create doubts as to the value of the pain and sacrifice demanded by the workplace. This new knowledge learning involves altering existing ideas or schemas an individual has constructed in his or her mind (Festinger 1957; Sund 1976) that when learning involves the changing of values and attitudes, the period of dissonance can be even more stressful. This additional stress occurs as learning affects and challenges the identity of the individual and they question their core understanding of their world to become new workers and take on the attributes of the workplace.

I guess I now only understand what I learn from that experience because I was a lot younger and a bit rebellious, forced into it by my parents. I guess I was a little but negative about the whole deal the hours, working from midnight to midday, watching my friends go partying and having to go to work (also) relationship troubles because of the hours. I guess I resented a lot of it but now, nearly ten years later, I’m really grateful for what I learnt there but I’m only starting to understand that now.

(Ph12, Ph3b, Ph3c, Ph3d)

Generation Y

Generation Y (Coupland 1991) or the Millennials have lived through the age of the internet and there is an old adage that says, People resemble their times more than they resemble their parents. Born between 1982-2000 and make up 28% of the population. (ABS 2001) this generation has observed their parents get the rewards of hard work: houses, cars and material wealth and they have benefited by being the most materially endowed, and entertained generation of teenagers ever, yet they have seen the costs of their parents’ success in terms of broken marriages, absentee parenting, and an epidemic of stress related illnesses.

For their part Gen Y have been left disillusioned with the materialism they have enjoyed and boredom remains a big problem for them (57%) state that “never being bored” is of highest importance to them. (McCrindle 2006) When deciding to accept a job, salary ranks sixth in order of importance after training, management style, work flexibility, staff activities, and non-financial rewards. (McCrindle 2001) The young
people of this generation do not live to work but rather work to live and a job merely provides the income to do what they want to do which is search for fun, for quality friendships, for a fulfilling purpose (McCrindle 2001)

Past training has mainly focused on VET and industry requirements and trainees were expected to accept that as a normal process but skills shortages and attracting young people back to trades has meant that new thinking is needed. Mentorship programs have recently been implemented (TAFE NSW) for female trainee chefs to support their workplace training is a hugely positive leap in an industry renowned for sexism and bullying. A similar program is also being piloted at Westminster College in London to support trainees and employers in the trainee’s transition into the workplace.

We are also involved, and at this stage it’s for female apprentice chefs in their 2nd and 3rd years, a mentoring program. So the aim of that is to stay in training within the industry and also to aspire to some of the higher level positions in the industry, that you don’t see too many chefs in.
(Pn19, Pn19a)

There are questions, in the research, concerning the working conditions of hospitality employees that have impacted overtly on the trainee’s ability or willingness to continue their apprenticeship and consequently stay in the industry. These responses related to low wages and working hours and the fact that this is, in part, a late night entertainment industry with all the temptations to a young trainee in his or her first job.

But it’s no different to when I was an apprentice because there are more options now because that's what we did, we went out after work, like at 11 o'clock at night after a really, really busy night, you are on a high, you don’t know how to come down, so you have a few drinks.
(Pz8, Pz9)

Where I think it has changed more then when I was an apprentice is drugs are more available. You can get all different types, more easily to get, It is sold in kitchens nowadays because they sell it for a living as well.
(Pz6)

Moreover the question has been raised as to whether there really is a skills shortage as reported or that sufficient numbers of trained individuals are being trained but are eventually choosing to opt out of physically demanding industries such as hospitality or nursing (Richardson 2007). Another factor could be the increase in demand for workers as businesses increase and their inability to employ sufficient staff impacting current statistics on skills shortages. These will also form points of consideration in the analysis for the final thesis.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of formal vocational learning setting in the classroom/educational process may be viewed as a means to impart meaningful experiences to both teachers and students alike. But although it is able to deliver a breadth of knowledge it cannot respond to the specific depth needed by individual learners for their workplace, this
can only be accomplished in the dynamic environment of the trainee and their workplace learning. Several studies of workers within the informal learning of the workplace concluded that effective learning resulted from learners’ engagement in authentic activities, guided by experts and interacting with other learners (Billett 1993, 1994b). However although understanding was unique to each individual, it was shaped by his or her workplace culture and that the quality of information was important but nonetheless it needed to be delivered at their level (Billett 1994b). This research has shown that, although industry reports have leveled doubts as to the effectiveness of the formal VET setting, it has been unable or unwilling to fulfill its part of the trainees’ agreement to provide effective workplace training. It is also asking for flexible, creative employees who can think for themselves with a range of employability skills but they seem to lack the flexibility and creativity expected of their employees. They want more holistic, social, ‘soft’ skills in their trainees but are demanding shorter, more practice based cost effective courses. Classroom settings can support authentic knowledge acquisition for learners but they cannot replicate every specific workplace scenario as this can only be achieved on site. VET can offer a broad range of industry choices for a trainee but can really only skim the tree tops of knowledge and hope the depth of the trainees experience is achieved in their workplace. It appears that more focus needs to be on the individual and their ability to cope in demanding work environments, to facilitate construction of knowledge through experiential, contextual and social methods in real world environments (Lynch 1997) and support them in the new workplace with their active construction of knowledge (Stevenson 1994).

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Learning in the workplace: Who’s doing the teaching?

Richard McDermott EdD student UTS

Abstract:

This paper will examine a facet of the qualitative data, recorded as part of an ongoing research thesis on skills shortages in the hospitality industry, (NCVER 2001) (ACTU 2004; McKenzie 2004, July) to present a comparative analysis of conceptual bases for learning in the workplace incorporating questionnaire responses. It is asserted that the contribution workplaces make to employees learning comprises the contextual identification of work activities in authentic settings (Lave & Wenger 1991) But the research data has so far revealed little support from employers, to advance the learning of the trainee, indicating managers and supervisors have insufficient time to train an apprentice in the skills and knowledge required. It furthermore indicates that some lack the skills or ability. Complex interdependencies between an individuals thinking, acting and learning shape their development within the organisation and their relationship to their work and community of practice. Kolb (Kolb 1984) asserts the learner links their lesson to real life, significant, meaningful, as well as absorbing the learning experience via a close partnership between apprentice and employer to close the skills gap and develop the individual to their full potential but the data so far, shows little evidence to support this assertion.

Introduction

This paper seeks to explore particular points of divergence in a study of literature on workplace learning in a comparative analysis with the empiric data, selected and coded from a research study on the attrition of commercial cookery apprentices. Initial evidence from the study has revealed an industry that has little understanding of the learning process associated with vocational expertise and is as such looking for answers outside its domain of control to meet its employment needs. Literature on situated learning finds that effective worker’s learning should be meaningful and contextual and linked to the employer’s expectations. (McIntyre 1993) But the question I ask in this paper is where do the employers of commercial cookery apprentices sit in the whole question of meaningful employment. It seems that the ongoing employee shortages in the hospitality industry (ACTU 2004) and the decline in ‘traditional apprenticeships’ mean that employer/managers have less time to spend training apprentices and supporting workplace learning.

I have selected to examine the data, for this analysis of the situated cognitive and learning environment, within three frameworks of reference being context, content and facilitation. The rationale for the development of this process reflects an interest in situated cognition which values the learning taking place in an authentic culture of practice (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989) Given the significance in making explicit expert practice and learning, situated in a culture of practice, from both the data collated and reports on work and learning within hospitality it seems appropriate to develop a conterminous study of situated learning literature. The focus for workplace learning in reflecting workplace and industry needs arose from the report ‘A Recipe for Change, The future of commercial cookery in Australia’ (NCVER 2001) which revealed an attrition rate of apprentices of 57% within the first year of training and an
industry where 40% of cooks leave the job within less than five years of qualification; within ten years 65% have left and a further 18% in the next ten years. There is also increasing evidence that employers abdicate the primary workplace training of apprentices by preferring to take on experienced, but ostensibly untrained employees and then orientate them to their, particular customer needs as a cheaper alternative to long term training. So the long term training needs of the apprentice are not always conducive with the immediate needs of the employer who may, have little insight or understanding of the future direction of the industry.

Context

The role of context in workplace learning fundamental to understanding and solving problems as it provides authenticity and coherence for the learner. (Cornford & Gunn 1998) completed an investigation into workplace learning of cookery apprentices in the New South Wales hospitality industry and found it was insufficient and limited. They also reported that the nature of knowledge, skills and work have changed as a result of the economic and technological revolutions (Ainley 1993) which impact the employment conditions and training of apprentices. Training through traditional apprenticeships and traineeships have, in the past, provide the groundwork for the development of expertise and high levels of skilled performance underpinned with problem solving skills(Cornford & Anthanasou 1995) But much has been much written on the lack of authenticity of formal learning, delivered off site, usually in colleges of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), as not reflecting these changes occurring in the workplace and the rapid changes in technology.

I think it’s very important being in the situation is very important (Pi1)
Extremely, you cannot learn at school, and not apply constantly at work (Pi1d)
That is where you are able to focus on what is happening and now, with the trends (Pi2)
Theory based training is not necessarily giving you experience you need (Pi2a)
The current techniques what is in the industry today (Pi3a)
You can spend a long time training often the things they do at TAFE are not what they do in industry (Pi3a)

There seems to be a failure of many of the skills to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins & Duiguid 1989; Lave & Wenger 1991) and a general concern is that many courses in vocational education do not provide ample opportunity for practice to consolidate the skills learned off site. (Cornford 1996) It is also stated that not all learning that takes place in the workplace is positive and in line with best practice expectations (Stern 1997) and that a large number of employers see apprenticeships as a form of cheap labour and not as an investment (Robinson & Ball 1998) This is still the case today, as little has changed in spite of all the rhetoric from government and industry to develop methods to address the skills shortages, usually citing economic imperatives as the main reason for the lack of change. Furthermore that there is consistent use of apprentices to carry out menial, cleaning tasks, although an important part of the job, it provides little intellectual challenge and takes up time that could be spent learning.
Those involved in training workplace trainees frequently encounter individuals who believe it is right that apprentices are given a hard time since they themselves were treated in a similar way when they were apprentices (Colley 1996) and more than ten years later this comment still rings true in many of the responses from my investigation. Finally, the authors (Cornford & Gunn 1998) conclude that there is a hierarchical culture that pervades much of the food industry which does little to engender the right atmosphere for effective learning, where aggressive behaviour by a trainer towards a learner is likely to build fear and anxiety, over riding the apprentice’s ability to learn and question.

You see the way some chefs treat younger people in the industry and I think that puts a lot of people off too (Pi11a)
Very much so but again the apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually, physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching (Pi11b)
Where the problem is that a lot of apprentices these days are in an environment where they are expected to teach (Pi11c)
In a hotel kitchen you can stand in a corner and not touch any food (Pi12). If people were to spend that quality time and give them that proper training rather than throwing them in the corner (Pi12b)

Content

Content diversity and transfer concepts are necessary for the learner to assist their ability to apply knowledge to various settings, to discriminate similarities and differences between settings. As such learning is viewed as part of all activities and the learner gradually moves from a point of unknowing to knowledge, not in a linear fashion as an outsider moving toward a central point of mastery but through social interaction within the life world so they develop their understanding and knowledge of their world through a multitude of interactions. Learning that involves a process of participation in a community of practice is seen to have gained significant ground in recent years and that communities of practice have also become an important focus within organizational development. The theory of situated, legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) is that learners participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the socio-cultural practices of the community.

As children are quintessentially legitimate peripheral participants in adult social worlds (Lave & Wenger 1991) p.32
Peripheral participation is about being located in the social world, that changing locations and perspectives are part of actors learning trajectories, developing identities and forms of membership.

All theories of learning are based on fundamental assumptions about the person, the world and their relations, and we have argued that this monograph formulates a theory of learning as a dimension of social practice (Lave & Wenger 1991)) p.47
Their literature has its genesis in the work of (Vygotsky 1978) and his theory of the zone of proximal development which has received vastly different interpretations over the years. This is often characterised as the distance between problem solving abilities exhibited by the learner when working alone and that problem solving abilities when assisted by or collaborating with more experienced people. In reference to the
Previous authors (Cornford & Gunn 1998) the world inhabited by those particular apprentices would be a wasteland of positive experiences and although learning would be in existence for them, it would not always be positive.

For a community of practice to function it needs to generate and appropriate a shared repertoire of ideas, commitments and memories. It also needs to develop various resources such as tools, documents, routines, vocabulary and symbols that in some way carry the accumulated knowledge of the community. Initially people have to join communities and learn at the periphery as they become more competent they move more to the ‘centre’ of the particular community therefore learning is not seen as the acquisition of knowledge by individuals so much as a process of social participation. The nature of the situation impacts significantly on the process where legitimate peripheral participation provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice.

A person’s intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant in a socio-cultural practice where this social process, includes the learning of knowledgeable skills. (Lave & Wenger 1991) p29

Learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners where the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the socio-cultural practices of a community. In this there is a concern with identity, with learning to speak, act and improvise in ways that make sense in the community. What is more, and in contrast with learning as internalisation, learning as increasing participation in communities of practice concerns the whole person acting in the world’ (Lave & Wenger 1991) p.49

Other chefs are just too over the top and too dogmatic towards the apprentices and they just abuse them and don’t give them the time they need to have and they don’t stick it out (PO4)
I don’t think some chefs get respect because maybe their training wasn’t so good and they’re inadequate in what they’re doing (PO5)
I’ve heard some horrific stories about their hours, having to do their TAFE training on their day off when the employer is obliged to provide them that day to attend their training (PO5a).
I don’t think apprentices want to work seventy hours a week but some of our chefs expect them to work seventy hours a week (PO6)

Facilitation

One of the major differences between learning in the classroom and the workplace is the degree of control the facilitator has over learning activities, and indeed the content of the learning (Anderson 2000; Chitty 2002) proposes that it is necessary to consider occupational culture, career, context and cognitive style when deconstructing learning in the workplace. For example, in many workplaces formalised training programs are offered as part of career structures, whereas in others, although learning is going on, it is not formalised nor perceived as learning. Boud and Solomon interviewed workplace learners and found that some individuals did not see learning as separate from work (Boud & Solomon 2001) p.329 (Chappell et al. 2003) and in contemporary
workplace learning, the focus is shifting from developing skills to developing people. Thus the learner becomes a key player in determining learning strategy, and this choice is likely to be determined, at least in part, by preferred learning style. But as Chappell asserts that *work is often not organised in ways that make learning conducive*’ (Chappell et al. 2003)

Consequently, learning strategies are likely to be constrained by what is possible rather than what would be ideal. So, although the workplace learner is likely to be more the subject of learning than the object of training, he/she is still constrained by what is considered valid knowledge and what is accepted as appropriate learning activity in the workplace environment. There is a suggestion that, although this shift in emphasis in VET from skills development to people development has resulted in some changes in the pattern of workplace training, vocational educators and workplace trainers have yet to change their practices sufficiently to accommodate these changes.(Chappell et al. 2003) While the workplace environment is not necessarily conducive to learning, the learning that nevertheless occurs in this environment is not typical of mainstream, classroom-based vocational education. In the workplace, learners are becoming more responsible for what and how they learn. Consequently, a workplace learner’s learning style is likely to depend on factors related to the workplace as a learning environment as well as to factors internal to the learner. But organisations generally did not consider it feasible to account for individual differences in learning styles and instructional preferences when developing employees more broadly, or framing individual training plans (Smith, Wakefield & Robertson 2002) p.48 Where acknowledgement of learning preferences was taken into account, this was most likely to take the form of making a range of activities available for learners.

A recipe for change: Training

Training has an enormous contribution to make but the value of training is not always or easily perceived as it is often difficult to discern what the real training requirement is. In many cases, it is the employers as well as the employees who require training. (NCVER 2001) p.13

Summarising the replies in the report:

- Training is extremely valuable
- Training helps eliminate costly mistakes and problems, i.e. OH&S
- It is the employer’s responsibility to provide relevant training or recruit the appropriately trained staff
- Not all employers are willing to pay or see the long term benefits of training
- Career progression can depend heavily on being well trained
- Employers only want specifically targeted training for their short-term gains, not the long-term benefit of the apprentice.
- VET is there to provide good basic skills that can be used universally
- Employers look at the cost of training and the skills gaps in their particular kitchen
- Some employers have limited skills
- Some employers are in serious need of training in basic principles, hygiene, management, etc.
- The industry is unregulated and there will always be a lack of consistency of standards.
Employers

Some training authorities see employers as a key issue in apprentice retention, and some employers see the quality of training as a key issue. From an industry point of view, it is of great importance that the bar for assessing competence should be set at a proper height. (NCVER 2001) p.30

Summarising the replies from the report:

- Employers should take more responsibility in assisting the training of the apprentice, not use them as cheap labour
- Competency comes with practice which needs to be provided in the workplace
- TAFE provides the skills and knowledge for the student to seek employment at the highest level that, for the most part, cannot be provided on the job.
- Only 90 days of a four year apprenticeship are spent at TAFE, other issues play a bigger part in the retention rate of apprentices

Adults learn best when they are involved in developing learning objectives for themselves which are congruent with their current and idealized self-concept. (Rogers 1980)

Practice

Practice certainly forms a basis for one form of learning and skills learning but there is no intention here to equate this form of learning with just one type of skills learning but rather to widen it and to recognise its significance within the context of both the socialization process in particular and social living in general.(Prantzer & Ashley 1985) The learner links the lesson to real life, as illustrated by Kolb’s learning cycle, which is, both, significant and meaningful, as well as absorbing the learning experience, this is later translated as a skill that can be demonstrated at will. (Kolb 1984)

Creative thinking

The development of creativity in an individual is a complex arrangement of absorption, reflection, respond and action, underpinned by knowledge, experience and confidence. (Brookfield 1987; Rogers 1980) Many of these aspects of creative thinking can be learned and in time employers and employees locked into a uniform, linear response to a problem will develop more sympathetic, alternative solutions. They will need to respond to the changing workplace and customer needs to deliver best work practices. In an analysis of the ‘persons of tomorrow’ Rogers describes the qualities needed for individual survival in the new workplace among which are
openness to new experiences to new ways of seeing, to new ideas, and to unfamiliar concepts. *People of tomorrow* are process persons—that is,

*They are keenly aware that the one certainty of life is change- that they are always in the process, always changing. They welcome risk taking way of being and are vitally alive in the way they face change.* (Rogers 1980)

- Creative thinkers reject standardised formats for problem solving
- They have interests in a wide range of related and divergent fields
- They can take multiple perspectives on a problem
- They view the world as relative and contextual rather than universal and absolute
- They frequently use trial and error methods in their experimentation with alternative approaches
- They have a future orientation, change is embraced optimistically as a valuable development possibility
- They have self confidence and trust in their own judgment

Developing these capacities is a major task of those helping adults to think critically (Rogers 1980) as change is a dominant theme in discussions of this industry as it is of most others. In researching the industry I am conscious of some of the difficulties being experienced almost certainly arise from the fact that people and businesses often find it difficult or impossible to change. (NCVER 2001) Pg. 39

**Adaptive Skills**

Adaptive skills are also referred to as coping skills, occupational employability, or survival skills, or sometimes career development skills which include:

- Transfer skills
- Learning to learn skills
- Change skills
- Energizing skills
- Coping skills (affective)
- Self assessment skills
- Special mobility skills
- Anticipatory skills
- Cognitive skills (which overlaps with basic transferable skills)

The report on skills shortages (NCVER 2001) also listed affective, transferable skills that, when learned, develops the preferred profile of the occupationally employable, self actualized, student / chef but it appears that ‘stayers’ have a number of common characteristics:

- They are customer focused
- Interested in career progression
- Flexible (able to cope well with stress, long hours and constant change)
- Stable
- Resilient
- Hardworking
- Self motivated
- Team player
- Having initiative
Desire to succeed
Pride in their work

The ‘stayers’ generally work for employers who rate well in terms of pay and working conditions (NCVER 2001) Pg. 27 but most importantly they have a passion for food and the industry.

Conclusion

Much of what does or does not happen in workplaces is dependent on the nature of the learning/training cultures existing within those organisations. (Dawe 2003) p.39 for example, found that the first often key elements contributing to successful training in large Australian firms was ‘having in place an organisational culture that supports learning’, while other key elements were ‘decentralising training within the organisation’, ‘increasing the diversity of training and learning approaches’ and ‘responding to the needs of the individual’. Given participants’ strong preferences for such features within their learning/training environment, the data in the present study lends support to the validity of these features from Dawe’s research. (Misko 1994) p.39 concluded there was a strong need generally for more learning style research in vocational education. The value of the contribution the workplace makes to an apprentice’s learning cannot be undervalued and as neo liberal forces intrude on the employer’s ability to support that learning then there could be an argument made for VET institutions to play a greater role in assisting the workplace learning of the apprentice. This may go a long way in supporting the apprentice through difficult transition phases in a challenging industry.

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## Situated Cognition and Learning Environments: Comparative Analysis of Literature and Responses

### Context

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<th>Literature</th>
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<td><strong>Everyday cognition:</strong> The use of a variety of methods to solve a problem</td>
<td>‘Meaningful and contextual’ learning linked to the employer’s expectations. (McIntyre 1993)</td>
<td>Q9. How important is ‘on the job’ learning for a trainee?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The learning environment can have an influence on learning style. (Allinson &amp; Hayes 1990)</td>
<td>Pi1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Learning is achieved in the workplace and the place of learning within our discourses about work is also changing. (Hawke 2002 June)</td>
<td>Pi1d</td>
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<td>There is a failure of many of the skills to transfer from the training setting to the workplace (Brown, Collins &amp; Duiguid 1989; Lave &amp; Wenger 1991)</td>
<td>Formal learning is not industry specific</td>
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<td>Many courses in vocational education do not provide ample opportunity for practice to consolidate the skills learned off site. (Cornford 1996)</td>
<td>Pi2</td>
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<td>Not all learning that takes place in the workplace is positive and in line with best practice expectations (Stern 1997)</td>
<td>Pi2a</td>
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<td><strong>Authenticity:</strong> Meaningful and coherent activities</td>
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<td>Current skills</td>
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<td>Pi3a</td>
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<td><strong>Transfer:</strong> Real-life problem solving</td>
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<td>Conflict resolution</td>
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<td>Pi5</td>
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<td>Develop coping skills</td>
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<td>Broad knowledge of the industry</td>
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<td>Pi7</td>
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<td>Skills are practiced and learned</td>
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<td>The significance of domain specific knowledge to expert performance (Glaser 1989)</td>
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<td>Domain specific knowledge in complex thinking, the social basis of learning and the role that activity plays in cognition. (Billett 1994b)p.112</td>
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<td>Organisations where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and expansive patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning how to learn together (Senge 1990a)</td>
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<td><strong>Poor training</strong></td>
<td><strong>Limited training</strong></td>
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<td>You see the way some chefs treat younger people in the industry and I think that puts a lot of people off</td>
<td>if people were to spend that quality time and give them that proper training rather than throwing them in the corner</td>
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<td>Very much so but again the apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually, physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching</td>
<td>Small businesses that don’t have the money or resources available to put them through training to train younger guys or take on younger people.</td>
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<td>where the problem is that a lot of apprentices these days are in an environment where they are expected to teach</td>
<td>in a hotel kitchen you can stand in a corner and not touch any food</td>
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<td>Pi10f</td>
<td>test them, to see if I am any good and can I do it regularly and consistently can I do it when I am tired</td>
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<td>Pi10g</td>
<td>When you get into the workplace, you need to do that and do it fast and be perfect.</td>
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<td>Pi11a</td>
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<td><strong>Knowledge as tool:</strong></td>
<td>’Most adult learning is not acquired through formal education but gained through experiences.’ (Brookfield 1986)</td>
<td>Q15. What feedback have you had from young chefs and their training?</td>
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<td>acquisition and when and how to use it</td>
<td>Desirable attributes of a learning organisation are flexibility, teamwork, continuous learning and employee participation and development. (Maby &amp; Salaman 1995)</td>
<td>PO1</td>
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<td>Collective learning is that individuals can practice together and develop their collective skills. (Senge 1990a)</td>
<td>PO1a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social constructs are built on past experiences and they contain much that is assumptive. (Schein 1985) defensive and even adaptive. (Argyris 1990)</td>
<td>PO1b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No decision is enacted in a vacuum (Senge 1990a) The collective production of new knowledge by teams requires them to engage in both active and reflective work and that members with insufficient formal power have difficulty in carrying out either active or reflective work (Brookes 1994)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transfer:</strong></td>
<td>Knowledge derives not from some</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Applying knowledge to various settings</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Cognitive apprenticeships:</strong></td>
<td>Opportunities for internalising learning and develop self-monitoring skills</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Good training takes time</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Poor training is autocratic and abusive</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Poor employers expect too much</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Poor trainers have been poorly trained</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Subject of knowledge, but from the power relations that invest it. (Foucault 1980)</td>
<td><strong>Better skills development motivates and creates confidence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>The development of creativity in an individual is a complex arrangement of absorption, reflection, respond and action, underpinned by knowledge, experience and confidence. (Rogers 1980) (Brookfield 1987)</td>
<td><strong>PO12</strong> we can get them doing more practical things they learn more they’re motivated they understand more their confidence rises as their confidence rises they’re better at what they do they’re eager, hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A large number of employers see apprenticeships as a form of cheap labour and not as an investment (Robinson &amp; Ball 1998)</td>
<td><strong>Good trainers interact with trainees</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainees frequently encounter individuals who believe it is right that apprentices are given a hard time since they themselves were treated in a similar way when they were apprentices (Colley 1996)</td>
<td><strong>PO16</strong> I ask things like, what do you learn upstairs? What do you want to learn? Asking what you want to learn what’s the best way am I teaching you properly are you learning enough from me are you moving forward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The world inhabited by those particular apprentices would be a wasteland of positive experiences (Cornford &amp; Gunn 1998)</td>
<td><strong>PO16a</strong> Some of them are very involved in giving feedback – a couple of them aren’t.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Billett 1994b) Situated learning as a learner executing tasks and solving problems in an environment which reveals the various intended uses of knowledge (Brown, Collins &amp; Duiguid 1989)</td>
<td><strong>PO16b</strong> More feedback we give on a daily basis – section leaders give feed back on their performance and see what they can use of what they’ve learnt at college.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Good training is globally transferable</strong></td>
<td><strong>PO23</strong> The other thing that takes away from the classics is the overseas influence. You see a lot more multicultural fine foods. Now Australians can get jobs anywhere in the world</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PO23a</strong> When I completed my apprenticeship we were classed as Shit, in no uncertain terms You want a job as a head chef but you haven’t been overseas</td>
<td><strong>PO23b</strong> I worked with 60 different nationalities of chefs, in this country,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PO23c</strong> I go overseas and work with one chef for two weeks and I’ve got international experience and that was the big hold back, back then.</td>
<td><strong>PO23d</strong> Now it has gone the other way. We would rather have an Australian head chef rather than a foreign head chef</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Situated Cognition and Learning Environments: Comparative Analysis of Literature and Responses

#### Facilitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles</th>
<th>Literature</th>
<th>Interview responses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Facilitative leadership, organic and open leadership and a decentralised approach to leadership.</strong> (Slater &amp; Narver 1995)</td>
<td>Q10. What are your thoughts concerning the chefs doing the ‘on the job’ training?</td>
<td>PJ1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>It is necessary to consider occupational culture, career, context and cognitive style when deconstructing learning in the workplace.</strong> (Anderson 2000) (Chitty 2002)</td>
<td>PJ1a</td>
<td>It can be done but it’s tough alongside the rigors of industry and the pace of business.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Double loop reflective model is an effective tool for individuals to understand, more fully, the organisational goals.</strong> (Argyris &amp; Schon 1981)</td>
<td><strong>The workplace now expects job readiness</strong></td>
<td>PJ2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>When decisions are no longer our own because they are imposed by external prescriptors, we are no longer integrated. We have “adjusted” or “adapted”. We have become objects instead of integrated active human subjects.</strong> (Wirth 1983)</td>
<td>PJ2a</td>
<td>I do get the distinct impression that some just want cheap labour and that is all they really want.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Some workplace learners did</strong></td>
<td><strong>Supervisors have little time to train</strong></td>
<td>PJ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I don’t think a lot of them spend enough time with these apprentices</strong></td>
<td>PJ3a</td>
<td>If you’re going to be a chef and you’re going to train people you take the time to train them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>If you’re going to be a chef and you’re going to train people you take the time to train them</strong></td>
<td><strong>Skills loss</strong></td>
<td>PJ4a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bakers Delight is no longer taking on apprentices Now they are only taking trainees.</strong></td>
<td>PJ4b</td>
<td>Bakers Delight is no longer taking on apprentices Now they are only taking trainees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A trainee is a certificate 2. This is not a trade level. Now isn’t that de-skilling the trade?</strong></td>
<td>PJ4c</td>
<td>A trainee is a certificate 2. This is not a trade level. Now isn’t that de-skilling the trade?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>They are now talking about dropping cookery apprenticeships to 2 years Saying they don’t need the on-the-job experience to get it.</strong></td>
<td>PJ4d</td>
<td>They are now talking about dropping cookery apprenticeships to 2 years Saying they don’t need the on-the-job experience to get it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>You get to the point that no one is actually training the trainers</strong></td>
<td><strong>Trainers have no training</strong></td>
<td>PJ5</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Methods:

**Environments to assist cognitive abilities**

**Active learning:** Opportunities to internalise information and interact.

- Modeling
- Scaffolding
- Coaching
- Collaborating

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**Q10. What are your thoughts concerning the chefs doing the ‘on the job’ training?**

PJ1 | When I started in kitchens we had eighty chefs, by the time I left that kitchen we had thirty five chefs.

PJ1a | It can be done but it’s tough alongside the rigors of industry and the pace of business.

PJ2 | I think having that structured training is lost so when it comes to ‘on the job’ training now you are very much on the job.

PJ2a | I do get the distinct impression that some just want cheap labour and that is all they really want.

PJ3 | It’s harder for the senior chefs, the trainers, to spend that time developing the junior chefs in the kitchen.

PJ3a | I don’t think a lot of them spend enough time with these apprentices.

PJ3b | If you’re going to be a chef and you’re going to train people you take the time to train them.

PJ4a | The whole skill set is being diluted.

PJ4b | Bakers Delight is no longer taking on apprentices Now they are only taking trainees.

PJ4c | A trainee is a certificate 2. This is not a trade level. Now isn’t that de-skilling the trade?

PJ4d | They are now talking about dropping cookery apprenticeships to 2 years Saying they don’t need the on-the-job experience to get it.

PJ5 | You get to the point that no one is actually training the trainers.
I have had both ends of the spectrum. I’ve had really bad chefs that I’ve worked with and really good chefs.

This came a lot from the hotel seeing a head chef that had been at the hotel for almost fifteen years, was very comfortable in their job, never cooked anything, and always delegated work. The training all depends on what chef and where they are coming from. I think it’s very varied. Some of the chefs are excellent trainers and mentors. Some chefs, although they are great chefs, might not have that ability to put it across. They might not have the patience. Some chefs are very good at it; they are engaging personalities and engaging, patient people. I get the impression that and this is highly speculative and unscientific, that 50-60% of them are probably quite good as teachers and mentors. It’s getting bigger and it is growing.

I knew from my training as a chef de partie I know I had time to do it. I was given a couple of days a week just to spend on training just help the guys out. Some are good, some are bad.

Trainees train themselves

I could go on all day how bad – there was no training it was almost self-training. You had to learn things yourself. Go away and do that, come up with a menu. We had an apprentice and they just did 4-5 little jobs at the lunch hour and that’s pretty much all they learned, while they were there. And that’s not much experience.

Good trainers give and nurture responsibility

Give you the responsibility, they think you are able to handle. They’ll allow you room to move but they’ll always be there to keep an eye on you.
The zone of proximal development has received vastly different interpretations over the years. (Vygotsky 1978)

Learning is a social process (Goodnow 1990)

Individuals are afforded access to workplace activities. (Billett 2002)

Individuals learn from each other (Boud & Middleton 2003)

Individual learners have the capacity to learn collaboratively but the impact of creating a learning culture is what compromises that potential climate of learning, that an existing Unitarian, hierarchical structure will not be dismantled overnight (Hoyle 1995, April)

Teams and teamwork may also contribute to the advancement of the organisation’s knowledge base and provide mechanisms for collective learning (Levitt & March 1988)

Teams may also inhibit learning, as team learning is more difficult to mobilise than individual learning (Argyris 1987)

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**Trainees should not be exploited**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ23</th>
<th>I also think we still have a culture of aggression in the industry and not such a strong culture of supporting and training apprentices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PJ23a</td>
<td>I still think it’s a bit of a slave labour culture.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dedicated training**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PJ24</th>
<th>as long as the time is devoted to the learning part, the development of skills as well as the assessment, that’s good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PJ24a</td>
<td>If the time is devoted to supporting the learner and developing evidence of what they’ve done, and then that’s crucial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ24b</td>
<td>if it is just work without any structured element of training then it becomes a little harder to fathom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ24c</td>
<td>it’s critical that you get the balance of teaching learning and assessment right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJ24d</td>
<td>in bigger places, like hotels, it’s more structured there is a way of doing everything</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reference:


Glaser, R. 1989, 'Expertise and learning: how do we think about instructional processes now that we have discovered knowledge structures?' in D. Klahr & K. Kotovosky (eds), *Complex information processing*, Erlbaum, Hillsdale N.J.


Hoyle, E. 1995, April, The school as a learning organisation, San Francisco.


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Abstract

The commercial cookery field attracts high numbers of both young apprentices and older worker trainees each year. On-the-job training is a significant component of the chef traineeship/apprenticeship. The requirement for workplaces to provide workplace training is generally well understood by trainee/apprentices and employers. However, what is often less well understood is how supervisors of commercial cookery trainee/apprentices actually create effective and appropriate on-the-job learning opportunities for apprentices. How supervisors address the often diverse needs of learners with the needs of the employer and, at the same time, balance these with the contractual on-the-job training and learning requirements of trainee/apprentices also needs further inquiry to complement current understandings.

This paper presents preliminary findings from a recent case study exploring trainee/apprentice chef learning in the context of a number of large fine dining restaurants in Sydney. The paper looks at how supervising chefs create learning opportunities for trainee/apprentice chefs at work and some of the issues influencing the learning relationship between the trainee/apprentice chef and the supervising chef. The study builds on previous work in the fields of traineeship and apprenticeship learning and is framed by workplace and situated learning principles.

Introduction

This paper develops a collaborative analysis of key findings from data drawn from the first stage of an ongoing research project (McDermott 2008) on early attrition of trainee/apprentice chefs who discontinued their apprenticeship and employment in the first two years of their apprenticeship contract. The genesis of this research was the recent and much publicised issue of industry skills shortages and changes to the way training is delivered in Vocational Education and Training (VET) organisations. The research took a broad approach by asking questions about the industry culture and its stakeholders, the current social context for the apprentice and how that informs and affects their workplace learning and employment satisfaction. The research also looked at how and in what ways a VET organisation influences apprentice on-the-job training and learning.

Aims and Objectives of this study

The purpose of this paper is to present preliminary findings from a research project looking at the influences of managing/supervising chefs on the learning of apprentice chefs in the context of a number of fine dining establishments located in Sydney,
NSW. The study inquires into the role of the supervising chef in facilitating the workplace learning of apprentice and trainee chefs and shed some light on how supervising chefs establish and create a learning conducive environment for apprentice chefs.

This paper focuses on the influence of the supervising chef on trainee and apprentice chef retention in the context of fine dining establishments in Sydney. The study looks at ways in which supervising chefs create learning conducive conditions for trainee and apprentice chefs and how these conditions translate into on-the-job workplace satisfaction and apprentice retention. It combines previous studies looking at apprentice chef retention rates (McDermott 2008) and manager roles as facilitators of workplace learning (Carter 2009). For the purposes of this paper, trainee and apprentice chefs are acknowledged as having a number of different training arrangements in their contracts but will be referred to here generically as ‘apprentices’ denoting ‘early experience learners’. The term ‘apprentice chef’, is taken to mean a ‘first’ or ‘second’ year apprentice chef. Apprentice chefs in this study are indentured to an employer for a period of 3 years. Employers in this study are businesses classified as ‘fine dining establishments’ in Sydney NSW. The term ‘manager’ is taken to mean the workplace supervisor or manager working closely with apprentices in their everyday work.

In this paper we argue that apprentice engagement in work and training, satisfaction and subsequent apprenticeship retention are significantly influenced by the role and actions of the workplace manager and the context of the working environment. We also argue that the role of the supervising chef as a facilitator of on-the-job learning deserves further inquiry to build understanding for not only supervising chefs, but also for learners, trainers and employers. Specifically, more needs to be known about how apprenticeship learning is influenced by the practice and culture promoted by the supervising chef.

In this paper we propose that learning at, in and through work is a process and an outcome of both the employment relationship that is ‘what workers are expected to do’ and the way workers involve themselves in the process of meeting their obligations to the employment relationship. As work in the new age of change becomes less prescriptive and more diversified, particularly with the introduction of new technologies and competitive processes, workers and managers need to be able to adapt old and develop new skills so that they can maintain their own viability and keep up with the pace of change.

The catalyst for this combined research was a shared interest by both of us in how learning at work is facilitated and supported and an observation that the retention rate of apprentice and trainee chefs in employment and training has been gradually falling in recent years. More needs to be known about the training conditions for apprentice chefs in commercial kitchens.

**Apprentices and their apprenticeship**

An apprenticeship or traineeship contract involves a tripartite agreement between the Registered Training Authority, RTO and employer and a learner. The requirements of a NSW State Government apprenticeship/ traineeship contract is that a learner be
indentured to an employer and enroll in an apprenticeship learning program, generally at a Certificate III level, with an RTO such as TAFE NSW. The role of the RTO is to provide formal training through course work including theory and practice in a training environment. The role of the employer is to provide suitable on-the-job learning opportunities for apprentices to complement training provided by the RTO. The role of the apprentice is to participate at an appropriate level of engagement with formal training, and in work as an apprentice and employee.

Employers are responsible for providing meaningful, useful and authentic work tasks and to create opportunities for apprentices to extend their experience to prepare them for subsequent stages of the apprenticeship and future employment. In considering the roles of workplace ‘trainers’ in facilitating on-the-job learning, it is important to consider that on-the-job learning and training encompasses more than the development of technical chef skills. Learning in the context of work also includes negotiation of the social, cultural and physical conditions which shape the work environment. Responsibility for on-the-job guidance and supervision which would usually be provided by the supervising chef often falls to a 3rd year apprentice. This raises questions not only for the nature of ‘on-the-job’ learning and training for first and second year apprentices but also for the on the job training and learning for third year apprentices. Are third year apprentices adequately equipped to not only coordinate their own work and learning but also to ‘train’ and support less experienced apprentice chefs? And ‘what is meant by the terms ‘training’ and ‘learning’ in the context of on-the-job workplace learning for apprentice chefs?

**Workplaces as sites of learning**

Workplaces can be sites of rich learning for many workers. Indeed, as (Billett 2001) points out, workplaces are sometimes the only place for workers to build their vocational knowledge. In examining guided learning at work, Billett (2001) however suggests that workplaces can be places of unequal distribution of opportunities for further learning. As such, it is important to look not only at how learning at work is guided by others but also to explore how the workplace affords learning and the ‘agency’ of individuals, that is, worker learner employment status, motivation and interests. Further, Billett (2001) proposes that contributions from worker engagement in everyday work can be supplemented with three elements that would make up a workplace pedagogy.

The three elements are:

1. intentional structuring of work and provision of guidance
2. acknowledgement of different kinds of affordances of access to activities and how workers engage with these and the type of support they can secure, and
3. encourage full bodied engagement in learning activities, the type of which develops robust knowledge.

In acknowledging that learning through workplaces requires more than just guidance, the kinds of values, goals and activities located in the workplace are also likely to determine how learning proceeds, what is leaned and who is invited to participate (Billett 2001). Situated workplace learning sees learning as taking place in response
to how the workplace encourages participation, provides challenging tasks and access to guidance by experienced others (Billett 2000, 2004, 2006). In a situated workplace learning model, learners learn through engagement with the activities of the workplace. A situated learning model suggests that learning is afforded by the ‘situation’ or context of the workplace and that responsibility for workplace learning rests not only with the learner, but how learning opportunities are afforded by the workplace.

The culture of the workplace has been found to have a significant influence on the way learning at work is perceived, acknowledged and supported (Solomon in Fenwick 2001). The multiple and divergent interests in how learning is constructed in the context of the workplace makes workplace learning a complex process which is sometimes not well understood by workers or managers.

**Learning facilitation and how it applies to apprenticeship learning**

Facilitation practices include ‘hands on’ facilitation techniques such as mentoring, coaching and guiding (Billett 2000). A guiding principle in mentoring is that it is a targeted intentional matter that requires a specific focus, time, interest and appreciation of individuals. Mentors ideally, need to be able to research and carefully select their mentees and continually and constantly affirm activities (Johnson & Ridley 2004). Mentoring, coaching and guiding are, typically, planned, structured and intentional strategies that require time and resources to plan and implement. However, these types of strategies are often considered by employers as informal processes, unintentional and ad hoc, requiring few resources to implement and manage. These divergent views on facilitation techniques raise questions about how these processes are actually understood and implemented in practice and how these types of activities are resourced in workplace settings. The roles of managers as facilitators of learning at work can influence not only the way workplaces afford learning opportunities but also how workers engage with the opportunities created through work and the workplace (Billett 2002).

An important role is played by the line manager in promoting a positive learning environment for informal learning within their work teams (Macneil 2001). Further, supervisors who are effective facilitators will utilise their own learning and interpersonal skills to encourage informal learning opportunities through knowledge sharing thus improving team performance (Macneil 2001). An effective facilitator is able to switch continuously between ‘one to one’, ‘one to many’ and ‘one to all’ learning strategies (Heron 1989). As a facilitator, the manager or supervising chef is positioned to play an important and complex role in building awareness of individual worker learner needs and to deploy a wide range of learning strategies to build experience for apprentices. However, while managers may accept their roles as facilitators of workplace learning, the organization of work, time and resources can inhibit their approaches, and as such, can constrain the process of deploying useful learning strategies (Carter 2009).

**Research method**
Semi-structured interviews were conducted with supervising chefs and apprentice chefs working in a number of fine dining restaurants in Sydney, NSW. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with a number of VET teachers.

Participants were asked a series of open-ended questions about how they see the current state of the commercial cookery industry. In addition to this, apprentices and employers were asked their opinions about current VET training curriculum and workplace training practices. Employers who had also been apprentice chefs in the early stages of their careers were asked how the current state of the commercial cookery industry and VET training compares with their experience of being an apprentice chef before the industry and VET training underwent significant changes.

The research sought to examine commercial cookery training within the hospitality industry to develop an understanding of the workplace and vocational training of apprentice/trainees. In recent years, a large percentage of commercial cookery apprentices and trainees have chosen to drop out from both formal training and the commercial cookery industry (NCVER 2001). The data on current training of commercial cookery apprentices and trainees in the food industry and employer expectations was developed as a comparative study to ask the question as to how VET and workplace training is concomitant with the needs of both apprentice and employer (Cornford & Gunn 1998). The data for this research was generated by an inductive, interpretive approach of analysis to search for areas of homogeneity or heterogeneity between VET training and training provided by the workplace.

Examination of both the formal training and workplace training components the apprentices’ learning processes was intended to shed light on a possible nexus between training in the workplace and VET and the skills shortage within the industry (NCVER 2001). We analysed the interviews and documents looking for evidence of where participants felt that the VET training they received tended to complement or otherwise, the on-the-job training they received from their supervising chefs. We also looked for ways in which the three parties, employer, trainer, and apprentice could be bought together in the future to collaboratively discuss their differing perspectives and possible ways to improve on-the-job training experiences for apprentices.

**Findings and discussion from the initial case study on early attrition**

Themes identified from the data and which are discussed here relate to apprentice perceptions of satisfaction with on-the-job training, work conditions and employer obligations in apprentice training contracts.

The research found that the quality of training within the workplace setting is a major determinant of apprentice satisfaction with both work and training. Perceptions of training quality significantly influenced decisions made by apprentices to ‘stay on’ in the industry to complete their apprenticeship or drop out of the industry altogether.

Research findings concerning apprentice retention in other industries also suggest that a key driver for skills retention and utilisation is that people stay in organisations in which they ‘feel they are learning and progressing in their careers’ (Smith et al 2008). A person’s relationship with their boss/supervisor was found to be an important predictor of worker intention to quit (Gow et al. 2008). This notion is
supported by a Head Chef in a large fine dining restaurant who indicated that good
supervising chefs can nurture and support apprentices or less experienced chefs by
affording encouragement and praise when deserved. He suggested that:

*Good chefs can tell quite quickly at what level you’re at and how much
responsibility they can give you. They can nurture that. They’ll know
how quickly to move you up or stay on a certain section before you
move to a new section. Working with you encouraging you, not making
you feel special everyday but when you do something good then taking
the time out to say, ‘well done’, not being scared to pass on their
knowledge.* Philippo (Head Chef)

The commercial cookery industry harbours a significant number of employers who
have difficulty in fulfilling base expectations of the tripartite training agreement
between the trainee, employer and VET (McDermott 2008). The contractual
agreement of employing an apprentice and the apprenticeship funding subsidy, paid
by the Federal Government, carries with it obligations on the part of the employer to
provide training for the apprentice. However, while the employer is responsible for
providing meaningful on-the-job training for trainee/apprentices, observations in
commercial cookery kitchens (McDermott 2008) suggest that employers have varied
perceptions of how this training is supervised. Training supervision in commercial
kitchens is often delegated, not to senior chefs, but rather, to 3rd Year or 4th Year
apprentices who may not necessarily have adequate experience in supervising
inexperienced 1st Year apprentices. One of many implications of this is that
apprentices in both 1st and later years apprentices often feel that on-the-job training
they receive is inadequate or does not met their expectations of quality. As two
apprentice chefs noted:

*Apprentices need to work in an environment where they can actually,
physically learn and not be the one doing the teaching.* Christophe

And

*I could go on all day how bad – there was no training it was almost self-
training. You had to learn things yourself.* Patrick

On the other hand the study also found that several of the more experienced
apprentice chefs indicated interest and satisfaction in ‘looking after’ new apprentices
and that they were learning to be ‘responsible’ for less experienced apprentices.

A large number of small employers and some large employers too, have found it very
difficult to juggle the requirements of their business and allocate adequate time to
support apprentice on-the-job training. Employers seem content to send their
apprentices to a Registered Training Organisation (RTO) such as TAFE but spent
little time following up the formal training with on-the-job training for apprentices at
work.

*I think the TAFE gives people a solid grounding but I think it’s up to the
employer to finish off that grounding...it depends on the skills that are
needed for them to do their job at their place of work...because a lot of
places of work are very different.* Russell (Teacher)
Moreover our research confirmed that some participants thought the limited or reduced level and quality of apprentice workplace training was largely due to economic pressures on the employer. Reductions in staffing levels was also a cause for a deficit of time and personnel available to provide adequate on-the-job training. Supervising chefs noted the effect of the current economic environment on changes in staffing arrangements in hotels. One chef stated that they felt:

‘.... (there has been a) massive change because hotels 20 years ago would have 70 staff. Today there is 35 staff in the hotel. It's cut in half, because the outsourcing is available’.  Heather (Head Chef)

A vigorously hierarchical and regimented staff structure permeates much of kitchen life particularly within large commercial kitchens. The environment of a large commercial kitchen can sometimes provide few opportunities for apprentices to build their confidence and skills through practice or trial and error. The often inflexible behaviour of the managing chef and supervisor (Head Chef) is likely to build fear and anxiety, overriding the apprentice’s ability to learn and question (Cornford & Gunn 1998).

The traditional structure of a kitchen is one where the Head Chef would determine the ontogeny of events from menus to rosters. There would also be a brigade of senior supervisors such as second chefs and section chefs who would all have specific duties and responsibilities answerable to the Head Chef who would oversee the whole operation. First year apprentice chefs operate at the beginning or entry level in commercial kitchens of all sizes and tend to be vested with low level routine work such as chopping and cleaning which, although un-stimulating and unrewarding, offers some participation within the team. However, at the entry level, apprentice chefs with little experience also tend to be ‘pushed around’ by chefs at higher levels in the hierarchy in the often frenetic and emotionally charged environment of a busy fine dining restaurant kitchen. If apprentices are able to withstand this type of workplace environment they are given increasingly more complex responsibilities during the period of their apprenticeship. This tends to occur until they achieve a level of skill and autonomy comparable with many of their more qualified colleagues.

The learning of an apprentice chef is strongly influenced by a number of issues relating to organisational objectives and the workplace culture established by the supervising chef. The nature of training afforded by a commercial kitchen is often driven by the purpose of the establishment. Large standard menu fine dining restaurants often generate standard menus and standard practices which become repetitive and un-stimulating for apprentice and supervising chefs alike. On the other hand, smaller fine dining establishments, with ‘blackboard’ menus and ‘daily specials’ are able to more readily create an environment where apprentices and supervising chefs alike can vary food preparation, cooking techniques and plate presentation. While some fine dining establishments also create opportunities for apprentices to develop their creativity in kitchens, this can be influenced by a number of other issues such as the business directions and culture of the managing organisation.
Snell and Hart (2007) reported on apprentices in other industries that the main issues expressed by apprentices and trainees as contributing to their non-completion or dissatisfaction with their apprenticeship/traineeship were:

- Being treated as cheap labour
- Lack of appropriate supervision in the workplace
- Problems with poor or inappropriate training
- Bullying and abuse in the workplace
- Low wages

The contribution workplaces make to authentic and meaningful learning for the workers and others has been extensively theorised and presented as significant (Lave & Wenger 1991). However, workplaces in themselves are not neutral territories for negotiating communities of practice and can abound with historical subjectivity for both the learner and their employer as to how learning opportunities are afforded to apprentices. Learners are becoming more responsible for what and how they learn. The focus of workplace learning is not just developing skills but developing people (Chappell 2003). While the learner is a key player in determining his or her learning strategy (Chappell 2003) and (Billett 2002), workplace managers also play roles in fostering and facilitating the learning of their staff (Bierema & Eraut 2004; Carter 2009). It is important to note that individual learning strategies are, however, likely to be constrained by what is possible in the workplace rather than what would be ideal for learners (Chappell 2003).

In a study of manager roles in facilitating learning for others at work, managers were found to deploy a range of workplace learning strategies for their teams but their facilitation role tended to be constrained by time and resources (Carter, 2009). As such, work related learning strategies tended in some cases to lack planning, and tended to be ad hoc and reactive to immediate training needs rather than reflect a longer term plan for work related learning.

Why an apprentice chef would ‘drop out’ of the commercial cookery industry.

The study indicates that apprentice chef retention rates are strongly influenced by employment conditions and the relationship apprentices have with their supervising chef. When 3rd year apprentices were asked about the work environment and why they thought earlier year apprentice chefs drop out of an apprenticeship and employment, they indicated that a key issue is the way apprentice chefs are treated in the workplace. This is illustrated by a 3rd year apprentice who responded that:

‘You see the way some chefs treat younger people in the industry and I think that puts a lot of people off’. Tim

In discussing job satisfaction and decisions about ‘staying on’ to complete apprenticeships, apprentice chefs indicated that support from their supervising chef was a key influence. The changing nature of work, smaller teams and the cost of managing commercial kitchens in recent years has meant that supervising chefs are often required to be more involved with ‘hands on’ cooking and additional administrative work and less apprentice supervision. These changes have seen a shift
in some of the on-the-job responsibilities move from supervising chef to later year (3rd year) apprentice chefs. The changes have also included some devolution of responsibility for apprentice training from supervising chef to 4th and 3rd Year apprentices. As one 3rd year apprentice chef indicated

‘...apprentices are expected to have the knowledge to run a kitchen instead of being an apprentice’. Christophe

Supervising chefs also indicated that their roles in facilitating apprentice chefs to learn at work are important in developing relevant and useful skills in apprentices however acknowledged that being an on-the-job ‘trainer’ can be a challenging process and a somewhat problematic task. As an experienced supervising chef said:

‘...training is a skill and some chefs in their industry have training skills whereas others are not so good’. Dan

and

‘You've got to have a good teacher’...you can't have an impatient ‘so and so’ who just thinks you (apprentices) are a slave’. Jim

Influences on apprentice chef retention

The role of the line manager in facilitating learning for others at work is complex and challenging. A range of socio-cultural conditions and the way work is organised in commercial kitchens act to influence the way work is allocated to apprentices and the way they are often treated by others at work. The role and culture (behaviours) of the supervising chef also influence the way opportunities for on-going learning are afforded to apprentices. While supervising chefs accept that part of their role is to be a ‘workplace trainer’ they are often not adequately equipped or trained for this role.

The hierarchical nature of staffing in commercial kitchens and the nature of the work in fine dining restaurants means that supervisors and apprentices are required to contend simultaneously with an established hierarchical kitchen culture yet develop innovative ways to meet changing customer demands and manage the immediacy of producing high quality cuisine. One apprentice explained that besides the hierarchy there is also the issue of supervising chef expectations and ‘how’ chef work should be done in the kitchen. To illustrate:

‘We've got twenty chefs in our kitchens so that could be twenty different ways that something could be done to achieve the same result’. Sally

Time and resources for attending to apprentice learning through on-the-job learning tend to be limited and as such, supervising chefs can often, be constrained in providing useful on-going learning opportunities for apprentices.

While supervising chefs acknowledged their expected roles in providing on-going workplace learning for apprentices, they frequently discussed on-going learning in terms of ‘training’ and acting as task allocators rather than acting as ‘mentors, coaches or guides’. As learning facilitators, supervising chefs require a different range of skills to foster ongoing learning through work compared to the role of a workplace trainer. This has implications for how vocational training is organised for
later year apprentices and whether or not the formal component of the apprenticeship training delivered by an RTO is adequate for preparing apprentices to become both workplace ‘trainers’ and facilitators of ongoing workplace learning. It also has implications for how apprentices receive their on-the-job guidance and consequently their satisfaction with work and training.

Apprenticeships and traineeships that involve a combination of off-the-job and on-the-job training whereby practical skills and an underpinning knowledge about these skills are developed is seen as the most effective form vocational training (Schofield 1999; Smith 1999; Strickland et al. 2001). Where the apprentice receives all their training in the workplace there are questions as to the ‘breadth’ and quality of their learning outcomes (Bowman, Stanwick & Blythe 2005). The underpinning knowledge is crucial for developing transferable skills in the apprentice which offers the capacity to apply their learning to a much broader range of tasks than prescribed by that particular workplace. Apprentices and trainees prefer a mix of on and off-the-job training whereby they will be learning a diversity of skills and will receive some level of support throughout their training (Strickland et al. 2001). Apprentices and trainees are more likely to remain motivated and are less likely to withdraw from training when training meets these conditions. Maintaining a good balance of on-the-job and off-the-job training, however, is one of the major challenges for employers and training organisations (Snell & Hart 2007).

Conclusion

In this paper we have presented a number of issues facing apprentice chefs and how they are facilitated to learn at work. We have also outlined a number of issues facing supervising chefs in their roles as facilitators of ongoing workplace learning. By bringing these practices together in the context of apprenticeship learning we have highlighted two key issues concerning workplace learning. We suggest that apprentice learning at work is influenced by the organisation of work and the role and ‘ways of working’ of the supervising chef. Secondly, we suggest that apprentice perceptions of being supported at work, particularly in how they ‘feel’ they are learning at work is not only a part of everyday thinking and acting, it is mediated by the circumstances in which individuals act. As Johnson and Hawke (2002) suggest there is no ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to establishing a learning culture at work. What we found in this study is that apprentices make decisions about their work choices and careers in early stages of chef apprenticeships and that these decisions are strongly influenced by their satisfaction with their work related learning experience. This has significant implications for the way on-the-job learning is facilitated.
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Lost opportunities and wasted skills: Learning experiences of apprentices and their attrition.

Stage Two Report: Industry and VET

Richard McDermott EdD candidate
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About the research

Findings from the Stage One research study indicated that the nature and type of work activities and workplace relationships is important. These activities and relationships can play a critical role in the motivation of a young individual to stay in the industry. Stage Two has taken those initial findings to study the significance of recognising early expectations, enriched activities and support in apprentice retention. Early literature on workplace learning, motivation and job satisfaction theory informed the progression of the research (Billett 2001c; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976; Porter & Lawler 1968; Vroom 1964) to build a framework for the analysis of this secondary data.

This secondary research study investigates commonalities of workplace learning for successfully completed apprentices, developed through an analysis of the initial findings. It examined the activities of key individuals, namely senior or supervisory staff in the workplace and vocational teachers as to their effect on an apprentices’ retention. The resultant research was designed to explore and analyse characteristics of apprentices who completed their apprenticeship to ask about the interrelationship of positive workplace activities and the learning experience afforded an apprentice. This was to investigate the connection between an apprentice’s learning and their motivation to stay out their apprenticeship.

Apprenticeships in western economies are subject to the changing nature of national economies and fluctuations in the demands for skilled labour (Cameron 2001; Hall & Sharples 2003; Scarpato 2002). According to Snell and Hart (2008) the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry Survey found that many small, medium and large employers were concerned about their ability to recruit employees with appropriate skills (HumanResources 2004). Consequently Australia faces a shortage of more than 200,000 skilled workers over the next five years and a deficit of 240,000 workers by 2016 (Rudd et al. 2007)

Small and large businesses have now drastically cut back on staff levels as a response to increased costs and competition in order to stay afloat (ABS 2008; Casey 2003). This has put time and operational pressure on existing employees in many commercial kitchens, to outsource some food production. The impact on the apprentice’s learning, in many of these establishments is one of being used as a cheap source of labour without the requisite training (McDermott 2008a).

Fewer school leavers are willing to embark or remain as an apprentice chef where they are treated inequitably with little opportunity for learning and career progression. Less staff has meant that supervisors and managers have little time to spend on the workplace training of passionate apprentice chefs who are willing to tolerate the demands of the workplace (McDermott 2008b). There are also fewer opportunities for expert guidance from other qualified members of staff in the workplace due to their increased workloads (McDermott 2008a).
This Stage Two research study continues to investigate the high attrition rate of commercial cookery apprentices to ask what motivates an apprentice to stay; that is, ‘what works?’
Executive Summary

Results of the Stage Two research

Introduction

This research revealed individuals from a broad spectrum of ages and educational backgrounds now choosing to take up cooking. An apprentice, moved to initiate a career in cooking, will bring expectations of those work practices and interrelationships (Australian Industry Group 2007; Horng & Lee 2006; McCrindle 2008; McDermott & Carter 2010; Wenger 1998b). The foundation of these expectations may originate through an idealised notion of what it means to be a chef but there will still be a strong motivation to cook for a living.

This research has also found that young persons can now access a wealth of information on television, the internet and food magazines on chefs and cooking. The research also identified weekend casual work in a local restaurant (Billett 1998) or just a keen interest in food and cooking in the family as another motivation to become a chef. Whereas many school leavers developed their interest through commercial cooking programs at school, with the attendant work experience (Australian Industry Group 2007, p. 27).

Being an apprentice

The research found that it is in the workplace that workers develop their identity within the group and are identified by the practices afforded them (Billett 1993, 2001b; Billett 2006). James and Hayward (2004, p. 236) noted that the personal disposition of an apprentice is an important constituent for their success. That the characteristics and personal disposition needed is just as important as developing the technical skills.

“I think they watch TV and think that this is a great industry (PF6a). [There is a] growing [of] knowledge and awareness of the world of cuisines (PF6d). [To] emulate some of the things they see in the media (PF6e). Young people will see the kind of life, the vigour and will want to be a part of it (PF6g)”

“At that time I thought I wasn’t suitable for the job but the head chef was really nice and after service he was very nice he’d tell everyone what’s going on, not to worry, everything’s fine. It gave me the confidence to do the job. It was a way I could keep up (Ti6) Yes, what I felt was that when I felt not very good and I lost my confidence, the head chef could always see and just told me not to worry (Ti6a)”
Bringing expectations

Apprentice chefs now have a greater understanding of their nominated career path than their predecessors. We know this because of the mass saturation of cooking and documentary programs on kitchens and the work life of chefs (Bonsall 2007). Young people are now more knowledgeable than their predecessors and will spend longer in full-time education (OECD 2009), often well beyond the age at which they could leave school (Horn & Lee 2006; Wenger 1998b). They may have already attained some knowledge of the industry through a schools based, vocational cookery course, with a period of work experience or may have spent a year at TAFE completing the first semester of a certificate III. Changes to the apprenticeship system has also opened it to all ages (Karmel 2006) so now older apprentices initiating a career change, are bringing previous work experiences to their new workplace. Prior educational attainment now affords opportunities to a mature apprentice to fast track their apprenticeship and progress more rapidly than in the past.

This research has revealed that all individuals have some degree of expectation prior to starting a new job, no matter how small. An individual, with a passion to cook, choosing to work in a tough industry would not have made that decision lightly. It is supposed that they would have thought long and hard about their choice of career. It is even sometimes the case that young school leavers are often counselled against choosing challenging careers, such as cooking, unless they have a real vocation.

Being supported

The apprentice participants were asked to nominate an inspirational or supportive person from their workplace or TAFE who had contributed a positive role and influence in their retention. Initial research findings found similarities with previous research outcomes, that the relationship an apprentice has with their employer or supervisor has a defining influence on their retention or departure (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Smith 2001). This relationship might be directly one to one with a more experienced individual or through participating and learning in the work practices and culture of their workplace.

PF8 I was pretty sporty as a kid and my mum used to cook dinner for the rest of the family at 5pm and I’d come home at 9-10pm to a plate sitting on the top of a saucepan with a lid on top, covered in condensation. I just told her to stop and I’ll cook for myself when I get home so it was self preservation that got me cooking
PF8a I’m not sure; actually, I think with me it was because my mum was a bad cook that I wanted to be a chef
PF8b

PH7c Obviously you won’t always succeed when you try something new but as long as you get the right feedback, you can only benefit from that.
PH7d the head chef was really enthusiastic and built a good team around him and we had a very strong band in and out of the kitchen
PH7e When you started to feel the work was getting you down, he would perk you up
PH7f So coming across some of those chefs who are passionate keeps me on my toes
The identity of successfully completed apprentices in this research study was one of being supported and confident in their ability, they also had a secure awareness of their worth in their workplace community (Billett 2001b; Lave & Wenger 1991). Their confidence was identified as having been developed through the progression of their workplace activities and approval from their peers. It was coalesced through the support of employers and supervisors communicating an almost, paternal role towards their first year apprentices (Reyes-Perez de Arce & Dissing Halskov 2011).

**Being involved**

An employer’s involvement in the development of an apprentice’s confidence and motivation is particularly noteworthy in light of the industry’s long hours, late nights, with a renowned history of alcohol abuse and drug taking among its members (Johns & Menzel 1999). Some employers saw their role to not only to progress the skills of the apprentice but also nurture their character and resolve to survive the demands of the job. Motivation, confidence and esteem were a hallmark of successful apprentices in that they saw their future in cooking in a positive light.

**Being skilled**

The skills of the individuals in a kitchen are extremely important as the nature of cooking for large numbers means that each actor must play their part. A dining experience for a customer is the sum of the work practices and abilities of all members of that team. Head Chefs in large organisations are extremely dependent on the collaborative skills and abilities of their teams in the production of dishes. The fact that many restaurants are also open all day, often six days a week, means that there will be times when they are not there to supervise. On those occasions they would be reliant on their team to prepare and cook the dishes to the standard and quality expected without their supervision. Poorly communicated instructions or a team without the requisite skills could easily damage the reputation of the business and the subsequent loss of customers.

Consequently all members of the team have a vested interest in their establishment working and communicating effectively together, to produce dishes that will gain the approval of their customers and the critics. Moreover restaurants and food businesses
are now subject to the vagaries of style and fashion in food and dining due to the influence of the media on customers. So a chef will not only have to make sure that the style and content of the food produced meets the expectations of a more knowledgeable dining public but also do it within budget. The process of economic management, producing cost effective dishes of an exceptional standard in an agreeable work environment is not a simple task. Costs are never far from a Head Chef’s inventory as food is an essential but expensive and perishable ingredient. Should a dish fail to please a customer and is sent back, or is spoiled in its production, then the cost of that loss is debited to the general operation of that kitchen. Wages for skilled staff is an expense to be borne but paradoxically the cost of a first year apprentice chef is one of the lowest of all trades. Consequently the function of an apprentice chef is now a far more integral component, than in the past, as they are expected to make a greater contribution in the preparation and cooking of meals.

**Task identity**

The link that connects all commercial kitchens, whether large or small is the preparation and cooking of food. It must follow certain guidelines to a. comply with food safety standards, or b. the procedure and order in which tasks are performed is allied to the nature of the food or the demands of the customer. Some vegetables, for example, can be prepared and cooked well in advance but other fresh foods such as fillets of fish and chicken need only minutes of cooking prior to being served. So kitchen tasks fall within the responsibility of an individual or section or are explicitly directed by a supervisor in response to the daily demands of the service. The structure of these tasks would start from; a. ordering food and supplies, b. receiving and checking fresh and dry goods, c. storing and sorting fresh, chilled and frozen food, d. washing, preparing, peeling, filleting etc., and e. cooking and serving to the customer.

Who decides when these tasks are delegated and executed will depend on the organisational structure of each individual establishment. The tasks and responsibilities expected of an apprentice in a kitchen would range from the simple, cleaning, sorting and arranging refrigerated stock, to being responsible for a section of the kitchen during service. An apprentice given tasks beyond their capability has been found to be counter-productive (Billett 2002b). Their failure to successfully complete an allotted task, through lack of skill or knowledge, would result in their loss of confidence and demotivation. It is important
that the apprentice develops their confidence and efficacy early, as a core belief in their contribution to the organisations work practices. Bandura (1982) proposed that self-efficacy and confidence is directly linked to an ability to organise and execute a given course of action, to solve a problem or accomplish a task;

**Being motivated**

The disposition and significance of work practices, afforded to the apprentice will have attitudinal and motivational consequences for them (Billett 2001a; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976). Task identity and distribution impacts an apprentice’s attitude towards that task and reflects their worth within the organisation. The data revealed apprentices only required to continually complete low value tasks prompted a perception of being used as ‘cheap labour’. The importance of task identity is a key to understanding the motivational force of an apprentice that apprentices who are given enriched and valued work will retain their apprenticeship over those who are only given routine or low value work.

This research revealed that a key aspect of the work life apprentices interviewed was that; they were afforded opportunities and encouraged to develop ideas and give an opinion as an acknowledged member of their community. Their opportunity to contribute was through being given the responsibility of running a section without supervision or having their creative input recognised in the form of ideas for new dishes. The concept of ‘novice’ and ‘expert’ which lies at the heart of Lave and Wenger’s early model has been redefined over the recent past to acknowledge the co-participatory nature between individuals in the workplace when authentic, applicable skills and knowledge is acquired when engaging with other workers (Billett 2002b; Fuller & Unwin 2003; Senge 1990a).

It has already been acknowledged, in this research, that working conditions and pay are a big concern for some individuals, to leave the industry. There have been many reports, across industries that show statistical evidence regarding the work and training of apprentices and their attrition(Callan 2000; Commonwealth of Australia 2011b; Cully & Curtain 2001; Karmel & Misko 2009; Stromback & Mahendran 2010). Furthermore this research acknowledges the important work of earlier socio-psychologists and the establishment of basic needs for individual motivation and action. Herzberg’s (1966, 1968, 1976) ‘hygiene factors’ and Maslow’s (1943, 1954) ‘Hierarchy of Needs’ were developed to explain the psychology of human motivational development. It is proposed by these eminent psychologists that for an individual to be self-actualised they must have the fundamental principles or ‘needs’ realised (Maslow 1957).
Both the Stage Two and Stage One research study revealed that for many low income earners working and living in an expensive city is a struggle at the best of times, but particularly onerous for an apprentice chef living on a first year wage. These issues can only be resolved through action by government and industry having the will to improve the pay and conditions of the apprentice chefs. However the lens of this research on apprentice attrition will focus on what is achievable through, activity and instruction, to highlight the activities of apprentice chefs, and their learning experiences. It is here that a guide may be developed for employers, concerned about the loss of passionate individuals and the future of the industry.

**Key messages**

• A motivated and committed apprentice chef brings expectations and knowledge to their workplace, which when acknowledged and supported will impact their retention.

• Apprentices who are supported in their transition from novice to full membership of their workplace community motivated to stay.

• Apprentices who are given enriched and valued work will retain their apprenticeship over those who are only given routine or low value work.
Chapter One

Research objectives

Understanding organisational practices

A new apprentice will bring some of their own values and expectations of their apprenticeship and employment to that organisation. Participants in the initial Stage One research proffered a wide range of responses when asked why they chose cooking as a career. There was little correlation between individual responses, whether gained through an interest through attending a school-based pre-apprenticeship or having a weekend job as a kitchen hand. But what appeared repeatedly in the responses from both employers and employees alike was the prerequisite of a passion and commitment to their job as an apprentice chef.

There has been considerable research into organizational behaviour where the relationships between the properties of an organisations structure and the psychological, attitudinal, and behavioural responses of individual employees (Billett 2001c; Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008; Middleton 2000; Pinder 2008). Consequently it is in part the organisational structure, the expected activities and responsibilities that affects the characteristics of an employee’s jobs and these characteristics, in turn, affect their motivation.

Learning about the job is also not necessarily the sole domain of an individual workplace as knowledge is now shared through a broad range of electronic media. Chefs’ recipes and videos of work practices in kitchens are in the public domain available for any enthusiast to ingest and form an opinion. However what is not always acknowledged is the significant shift in how information is disseminated and retrieved for a vast majority of techno-savvy young persons and how that impacts job specific knowledge.

Understanding the new apprentice

Individuals of all ages and backgrounds are now applying for apprenticeships in cooking but what is common to all is the abundance of information available concerning their career choice. Young people, in particular, are being trained in school and practicing at home skills that are used in the workplace. They are also accessing work related information through the internet. They are encouraged from a very young age to independently research questions and are seemingly less dependent on didactic or prescriptive instruction than past generations (McCrindle 2006a; McCrindle 2008).

This attitudinal shift in information gathering and prior knowledge will impact their response to limiting and limited work practices. Secondly apprentices need support and encouragement to develop the requisite skills to the standard of the organisation. They need to be afforded the tools and information to achieve and surpass expectations. Acknowledged apprentices, who are valued for their contribution, have
the intrinsic motivation to stay out physically demanding work environments. Thirdly apprentices given only routine low value work that neither challenges nor affords intrinsic rewards will affect their motivation. Task allocation will impact not only their perceived worth to the organisation but also their identity as a potential chef. Employers who fail to recognise their contribution or encourage them to take on challenging work practices will de-motivate an initially enthusiastic apprentice.
Chapter Two
Research methodology

Introduction

The Stage Two research was developed to inquire as to whether positive work practices that align with mutual expectations of employer and apprentice, affect apprentices to retain their employment in that organisation. Furthermore can those characteristics, of a successful apprenticeship, be transferred to afford others to stay the course (NCVER 2001). The research also investigated aspects of a cookery apprenticeship, that is of concern, such as the long and unsociable hours and low pay. Are these negative aspects of the job tolerated by the committed individual due to the overriding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation to accomplish their goal to become a chef?

The focus of this research is on successful outcomes and the actions and influences that achieve those positive outcomes for the apprentice. There is an abundance of qualitative and quantitative research data on early attrition available (Ball 2004; Ball & John 2003; NCVER 2000; Snell & Hart 2008) which has been utilised to inform the development and analysis of this stage of the research on the early attrition of apprentice chefs.

Research approach and data generation

The interpretive research methodologies utilised here are grounded in a social constructivist perspective on social life. As a social scientist I am reminded of the constructed nature of the facts that are studied and analyze the constructs of meanings through which individuals, as well as groups, make sense of their everyday lives and interactions. Interpretive research states that are no such things as facts, pure and simple which would lead one to inquire into what are some of the impacts on the conscious mind (Schultz 1953).

Work, motivation and satisfaction

Jobs that are complex and challenging often enhance the motivation, satisfaction, and productivity of people at work. Hackman and Oldham (1974) identified five measurable characteristics of jobs which, when present, improve employee work motivation, satisfaction, and performance. They are:

1. Skill variety: The degree to which a job requires a variety of different activities in carrying out the work, which involve the use of a number of different skills and talents of the person.
2. Task identity: The degree to which a job requires completion of an identifiable piece of work. That is doing a job from beginning to end with a visible outcome.

3. Task significance: The degree to which a job has a substantial impact on the lives or work of other people—whether in the immediate organization or in the external environment.

4. Autonomy: The degree to which a job provides substantial freedom, independence, and discretion to the individual in scheduling the work and in determining the procedures to be used in carrying it out.

5. Feedback: The degree to which carrying out the activities required by a job results in the individual obtaining direct and clear information about the effectiveness of his or her performance. (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976)

The development of work systems and the intended progression of job improvements link the worker with the task. For the job improvement to have any of the intended mutual benefits it cannot stand objectively as a discrete process as completed by a machine or computer. This research has identified attitude and satisfaction will affect outcome so it is argued that for a sociotechnical systems approach to work effectively they must be substantially in congruence with each other. It is important to identify specific aspects of the work context that cause dissatisfaction if job improvements are to lead to improved satisfaction and intended retention.

Research questions

Using Billett (1994b) to define an individual’s participation in the workplace and the influences of how individuals come to learn and what they learn. He named these as their ‘Invitational qualities’. These qualities consist of:

- The type of activities individuals engage in (i.e. routine - non-routine);
- The direct and indirect guidance (proximal-distal) accessible in the practice;
- Access to and standing in the community of work practice (peripheral to fuller participation);
- Duration of participation
- How the activities relate to individuals’ existing knowledge base (including their interest) (Billett 1994b).

Billett (1999) identified the requirements of particular work situations as those factors that determine access to workplace experiences and what individuals will learn through their participation. Central to an understanding of learning in the workplace are the tasks or activities in which the individuals engage at work. These activities are variously familiar (routine) or new (non-routine). Both kinds of activities require individuals to engage in thinking and acting processes from which they construct and/or reinforce and organize their knowledge (Lee-Ross 1999).

Billett’s (2001c) understanding of participation in non-routine workplace tasks is that it requires the participant to develop a broader knowledge of the workplace. It is through having to complete an unfamiliar task to an expectant specification means they are required to learn the new skills and knowledge needed for successful completion. The conceptual and procedural knowledge, for performing non-routine tasks is unlikely to be learnt by discovery alone as it requires the guidance of more
experienced workers. Without access to that guidance, the apprentice will be unable to identify facets of the task that may be incomprehensible or hidden as to make the task unachievable and lead to de-motivate that individual.

The research identified supported individuals, shown the skills needed to successfully complete a new task, given the approbation germane to the level of difficulty feel motivated to continue to engage with that workplace (Porter & Lawler 1968). Moreover it is through engaging in the unfamiliar that an individual is challenged and develops a far richer vocational knowledge than remaining to only be engaged with routine tasks.

The questions for the supervisors and VET practitioners were taken from the Stage One questionnaire. This was to develop a comparative analysis between the initial participants chosen for this research and the supervisor participants specifically elected by the successful apprentice graduands. These questions focused on recollections of their apprenticeship and observations of the current state of the industry. They were asked to respond as to what they believe was expected of an apprentice by the industry and what they believed an apprentice expected in return. The questions focused on:

- Industry challenges and expectations
- Skills development in both a formal and non-formal environment
- Socioeconomic challenges for both employer and apprentice
- Developments in training in both VET and workplace

The interviewees

A pool of twenty recently qualified apprentice chefs, employed by a group training organisation and independent sources were approached in confidence, by a third party, in 2010 and asked if they were willing to participate in this research, on the basis that they were identified as having successfully completed their training. From the original group half agreed to participate in the research together with six employers and three vocational education practitioners, nominated by the apprentices.

The questions for the apprentices were open and semi-directed to elicit information rich, qualitative responses, developed from the research on their workplace pedagogic practices (Billet 2002b, 2005) and their response to those practices. The scope of the questions for the apprentices enquired as to their workplace tasks and activities and their corresponding attitude towards those activities. The questions were informed by Bilot’s (2001c) findings on enriched workplace activities, aligned with Oldham and Hackman’s (1976) research on conditions under which employees respond positively to enriched work. The development of this questionnaire was also informed by the findings of Oldham and Hackman’s (1981) research on the attraction-selection framework. The theoretical model of the attraction-selection framework is that certain organisations, with particular structural properties, attract and or select employees with particular personal attributes.
Chapter Three
Context and orientation of the research

Introduction
Skills shortages for commercial cookery have been on the Australian national agenda for at least the past decade (NCVER 2001) with higher than average skill shortages, labour turnover and hard-to-fill vacancies at every level (Cheng & Brown 1998; HtF 1999). The flow on affect for many apprentices is that they are now expected to take a disproportionate amount of responsibility to their experience. Many employers prefer to recruit 2nd and 3rd year apprentices, in part, to reduce the time and cost of base training and supervision (Statement from a Group Training Organisation, in Sydney). But also to reduce labour costs through receiving government subsidies and paying less than for a qualified individual.

It also lessens the responsibility of training as they come with some industry knowledge which inculcates them more easily into their new workplace culture. The problem for the apprentice is they are seeking to be trained whereas the employer is looking for less expensive labour. There are many economic tensions for the apprentice as they struggle to exist in metropolitan centres in Australia on what is effectively subsistence wages.

Workplace training
Employers are delivering little to non-existent workplace training (Cornford & Gunn 1998) and VET under pressure to reduce delivery hours has created a dire situation. Apprentices should be having a mix of on and off-the-job training to learn a diversity of skills. The added support from VET in the learning of underpinning knowledge is seen as a crucial aspect of developing transferable skills which is very important in an industry such as commercial cookery (Strickland et al. 2001). It is this basic operative model that has been used for the modern apprenticeships since their inception (Schofield 1999a, 1999b; Schofield 2000; Smith 1999; Strickland et al. 2001).

However there is no reason to suppose that all training now delivered across Australia by government and non-government VET providers is equal. There have been many incidences, reported in the press of private hospitality colleges being run more for profit than for the educational benefit of its students (Cregan, Bartram & Stanton 2009). Hospitality students and others, not being given the education they expected which has cost Australia’s reputation as a preferred educational destination for many overseas students.

I think chefs are looking after their staff but the industry has gone from a 40-50 hour week to a 60-70 hour week. I’ve worked in 3 hat restaurants and I’ve seen what apprentices do. They aren’t good enough to cut the meat or fillet the fish, but they’re there and they do a lot of peeling baby carrots but it’s quite monotonous (Chef/trainer).
Dropping out

Many of the reasons given by apprentices and employers for early exit from apprenticeships relate to factors that would be difficult to control such as an economic downturn in a business, employer closure or acceptance of a ‘better’ job offer and therefore difficult to prevent. The evidence on occupational turnover and attrition in commercial cookery as well as apprentice incompletions seems to suggest that there is a lack of commitment, where commitment and occupational satisfaction share a clear connection (Harris & Simon 2005).

However, some factors can be addressed, such as conflict with the employer, perceived poor wage levels, disinterest in the apprenticeship and career path, a lack of work effort or interest by the apprentice and concerns about bullying in the workplace (Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008). Job stress and its link to psychological well-being and turnover (Begley 1998; Harris, James & Boonthanom 2005; Kirschenbaum & Mano-Negrin 1999; Morrison 1997) and its relationships with boss/supervisor and relationships with co-workers were both found to be significant predictors of intention to quit (Gow et al. 2008). However a strong commitment from the apprentice, on embarking on a career in cooking has been found to be very important in their retention (Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008).

Shortage of chefs

The current shortage of chefs in the industry is acute and employers are finding it harder to fill positions with skilled workers as more and more are choosing to leave due to being burned out or family or social pressures (Price & Mueller 1986; Zohar 1994). These shortages are accentuated by high turnover (intra-occupational) and attrition (inter-occupational) rates (Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2008; Fuller et al. 2003; NCVER 2011).
Chapter Four
Conceptual framework and related literature

The industry

The hospitality industry is a leading employer in Australia and the world of international tourism (Commonwealth of Australia 2011a) and still far more reliant on the use of human capital, rather than automated production processes and technology (ABS 2008; NCVER 2001; The Australian Industry Group 2007). Statistically it employs workers from the broadest range of educational, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Tourism is a large, global industry which has enjoyed strong growth. There were almost 715 million international tourist arrivals worldwide in 2002. This is 22 million more than in 2001 and 690 million more than in 1950. The World Tourism Organization forecasts that the number of international arrivals worldwide will increase to nearly 1.6 billion by 2020. With only around 3.5 per cent of the world’s population presently taking an international holiday or a trip, there is good growth potential, especially from the expanding middle classes of Asia.

Furthermore it contributes greatly to the economy, as in most service dependent western economies, in that manufacturing has now been transferred off shore due to lower labour costs. Statistics show that the Tourism and Hospitality industry with food and beverage service, alongside Australian primary producers of food and wine, affects most of our daily lives in some way, shape or form (ABS 2008; NCVER 2001; The Australian Industry Group 2007).

- In 2005-06 tourism employed 464,500 compared to less than 100,000 in the mining sector
- Highly labour dependent; Hospitality related businesses takes 24 workers to annually produce $1,000,000 as opposed to the mining sector where it take just 2 workers to generate the same revenue.
- Historically heavily dependent on casual, itinerant labour
- Employs a high percentage of young people 15-19 years of age, twice that of the average for all other industries
- Persons 20-24 were also over represented at 13.4% compared with 10.1% for all industries
- Only 29.3% of the workers in hospitality were over 45
- 2001-2002 found that only one third of small businesses (employing 20 persons or less) provided structured training for their employees compared to 70% of medium businesses (20-199) employees
- More than 88% of café, restaurant and accommodation sector have fewer than 20 employees (ABS 2008; NCVER 2001; The Australian Industry Group 2007).
Hospitality

However the industry itself is problematic in that it is composed of a broad spectrum of businesses, from small cafés employing one chef and one apprentice, to the large international hotel or tourist resort employing scores of chefs and apprentices at different points in their career. Bonsall (2007) suggests that apprentice chefs in this diverse range of sectors such as restaurants, clubs, pubs, hotels, airlines, etc. would not necessarily have a commonality of work experiences within the industry.

The initial research study revealed an industry of largely loose associations, without a unifying professional body, polarised by a broad spectrum of diverse workplace cultures. The complexity of this industry is further exacerbated by a multiplicity of establishments managed by employers who may not have had the benefit of formal training. In addition there is no formal licencing of chefs, as with plumbing or electrical trades that could impose minimum standards of practice and qualification of its members. Hawke (2008) makes the point that there is no real commonality in Australian work place relations as not all employers or businesses are the same.

Hospitality is also one of the most transient and least stable of industries as chefs constantly move from one establishment to another and businesses open and close on an almost daily basis. A chef will often move on, after a period of employment, to find other establishments to learn new techniques or work with a notable individual in order to update their skills and knowledge (Gergaud, Smeets & Warzynski 2011). Tourism and Hospitality is a global industry that affords opportunities for chefs to take up positions in most countries in the world to build their resume and experience (Birrell et al. 2004; McDermott 2011; Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin 1998). It was common practice, in the past, that an Australian chef must have had some work experience overseas before they would considered for an Executive position here in Australia. Until quite recently all executive chefs in large Australian hotels were from overseas.

Apprentice expectations

Individuals entering a workplace bring with them pre-conceptions and expectations based on their understanding of work and employment relationships. They may be skewed through a poor or misguided understanding of their engagement and participation in work practices. However the form and extent of those expectations will impact motivation and the social relationship and power dynamics of many workplace responsibilities.

An employer and apprentice will both have expectant perceptions where social exchange constructs such as commitment, passion, responsibility or fair work and equity describe social relationships between employer and employee (Chivers 1971; Drew 1987; Horng & Lee 2006; Sennett 2008). Horng and Lee (2006) used the term ‘psychological work contract’ to describe an embedded[ness] of the power of perception and the values held by both parties. Levinson et al. (1962, p. 21) saw the psychological contract as a series of mutual expectations that govern their relationship to each other.
According to Sennett (2008), these expectations between the organization and individual employee cover not only how much work is to be performed for how much pay, but also a whole set of obligations, privileges and rights. It is often reported that dissatisfaction and worker alienation is a product of unfulfilled labour expectations that manifests itself as explicit issues such as pay, working hours and conditions of employment.

**Organisational processes**

Theories on organisational motivation are many but the one, employed in this research, that has had much empirical evidence over the years is Vroom’s (1964) systematic formulation of expectancy. This theory argues that employees rationally evaluate on the job behaviours then choose those behaviours that will lead to their most valued work related rewards or outcomes. Whereas Maslow and Herzberg looked at the relationship between internal needs and the resulting effort expended to fulfil them, Vroom separated effort (which arises from motivation) performance, and outcomes. Vroom hypothesised that in order for a person to be motivated that effort, performance and motivation must be linked. He proposed three variables to account for this, which he calls; Valence, Expectancy and Instrumentality where expectancy is; (a) having the right resources available (e.g. raw materials, time), (b) having the right skills to do the job, and (c) having the necessary support to get the job done (e.g. supervisor support, or correct information on the job).

Porter and Lawler (1968) expanded this theory, recognising individual differences between employees abilities and skills, linking job effort to job performance and to clarify the relationship between performance and satisfaction. There is also a useful link to equity theory of motivation: namely people will also compare outcomes for themselves with others. Equity theory (The Australian Industry Group 2007; West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006) draws from exchange, dissonance, and social comparison theories in making predictions about how individuals manage their relationships with others.

Huseman, Hatfield and Miles (2011, p. 222) proposed four propositions that capture the objectives of equity theory in that; individuals evaluate their relationship with others, in the workplace, by comparing their input/outcome. If inequitable then they would feel under rewarded and would need to restore equity through acting on or changing the comparison or terminating the relationship. Satisfaction with work is key to overall job satisfaction (NCVER 2011). Griffeth and Gaertner (2006) also suggested that people alter their level of effort they put in to their work based on a comparative perception to the rest of the group.

**Challenging the novice–expert dichotomy**

Young people today are leaving school later than their predecessors and more educated (OECD 2000), although that fact is constantly debated in the popular press with regard to their literacy and numeracy skills. Alongside the increased time being spent in education, there has also been an increase in the numbers of young people working part-time at the weekend and in the evening (Fuller & Unwin 2004; Hodgson & Spours 2001). This has prepared many of them to be familiar with much about workplace mores and cultures.
The traditional image of the ‘novice’ as inexperienced, patiently being trained ‘up’ by the ‘expert’ craftsman is only part of the story of a contemporary kitchen. An apprentice’s learning is not a bounded linear trajectory of moving from the periphery to proficiency. Becoming a qualified tradesman is a more liquefied, less rigid process, as there will be times the learner will be the expert by training younger apprentices or running a kitchen section (Fuller & Unwin 2003). Furlong and Cartmel (1997, p. 10) argue that when young people enter the workplace they have already developed a set of skills, knowledge and attitudes which render the term ‘novice’ almost meaningless. They will only be ‘novices’ in the sense of having to learn practices and procedures of that particular workplace they will not have encountered before. But they will also have skills, knowledge and expertise to share (Australian Industry Group 2007, p. 27).

Learning at work

The learning of an employee is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs. But context and settings are socially constructed. How that individual is afforded opportunities for learning in an organisation is strongly affirmed through their situation and access to that organisation’s cultural artefacts. It could be safe to argue that all knowledge is cultural knowledge and socially situated. Understanding the significance of this perspective would mean that all knowledge in an organisation is located in space and time; and determining its distribution and possibly differential interpretation affects the standing of individuals within that organisation. In large and small organisations knowledge is either freely available for all workers to access or it are measured out by individuals who assess to whom and when it will be disseminated. New ideas are continually being constructed and added to the workplace from both within and outside the organisation. Knowledge is added from a range of sources and is constantly evolving as changed circumstances force new solutions. This also applies equally to education as to workplace settings especially to the interactions and disconnections between settings. Current approaches to professional and vocational learning is impossible to understand without knowing about their histories and cultures.

In a world of accelerating change, in which knowledge can help weather economic lows, it is advanced that employers need to facilitate the development of a learning organization (Senge 1990b). This is particularly true of commercial kitchens in that there is an imperative to constantly revue current practices to stay ahead of the competition. There are many benefits from supporting training for staff, as outlined in an industry report on the value of training (Tourism and Training Australia 2000). These benefits could include, but not limited to, aspects of food production, such as; benchmarking for food quality, multiskilling, improving profit margins. It would also include a better customer focus, greater professionalism, enhanced job preparation skills, use of IT to streamline ordering and the development of staff confidence. The working paper Tourism Workforce 2020 (1996) identified requisite skills needed by commercial cookery apprentices as: Planning, organizing, preparation and cooking, menus-knowledge of the market, ordering food supplies-cost control, quality assurance procedures, management and human resource skills, teaching skills and technical skills.
**Being supported**

Kang et al (2010) found that an organisation's support for a chef is positively related to their commitment to their employer and business (Fuller & Hester 2001; Pierce et al. 1989; Rhoades & Eisenberger 2002) thus reducing their resignation through burnout (Byrne & Hochwarter 2008). Although Kang et al (2010) state that it is not useful to only see a qualified individual in isolation as their attitude and perception of an organisation will be affected by a number of factors. Conceiving the learning of an apprentice as an isolated and peripheral practice does not account for the complex relational character of situated learning with the organisational structure and its workplace community.

To fully understand the situated learning of an apprentice we need to look outside the contested paradigm of the learning of a newcomer as a discrete process of engagement with the workplace. Lave and Wenger’s (1991) early model has been redefined to acknowledge the co-participatory nature of individuals in the workplace when authentic, applicable skills and knowledge are acquired through engaging with other workers (Billett 2002b; Fuller & Unwin 2003; Senge 1990a). Consequently it would be deficient to perceive the new apprentice as separate to the collective cognitive process of engaging in learning when participating in the social practice of the workplace (Beesley & Cooper 2008).

Legitimate peripheral participation affords opportunities for newcomers to become part of a community of practice where activities, identities and artefacts inter-relate as a setting for learning, to support the novice in the relational engagement needed to acquire the necessary skills and knowledge for the workplace (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 29). Thus locating the individual within communities of practice acknowledges the significant, multidimensional contribution from within and without the community (Fuller & Unwin 2001) so can they become a full participant in the social practices of their community. Wenger (1998a, p. 4) stated that we are social beings, which is central to our learning and that knowledge is a matter of competence with respect to valued enterprises. Participating and actively engaging should be meaningful so that to participate in a team is a form of belonging. This participation not only shapes the things we do but also how we interpret what we do.

**Participation in the workplace**

Workplaces intentionally regulate an individual’s participation where activities reflect the needs of the organisation, or dictates from members of that community. But it must be said that not all workplace activities have a transparent function, for the newcomer, as many are embedded within a sequence of actions that eventually lead to the necessary outcome. Commercial kitchens have a range of complex inter-related activities delegated to individual members of that organisation that must be effectively accomplished for a successful conclusion, namely the creation of complex dishes. These activities are not unstructured or ad hoc but specifically designed to bring all members of the group into focus with both the explicit and implicit outcomes needed for the organisation (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006).
Historically the participation from the new apprentice in these activities was one of peripheral engagement but seen by the other members as having limited value in their contribution to the tasks. Workplaces employing a complex hierarchy of workers placed the new apprentice on ‘the bottom rung’ of the organisation to be assigned tasks of low risk and subsequent low value. Whereas an apprentice’s intentionality to participate fully in those workplace activities and interactions is conducive to their willingness recognise the value of those activities. Current neoliberal imperatives often mean that many workplaces now operate with a much lower percentage of qualified persons to apprentices thus affording less time for ‘proximal guidance’ (Billett 2002b). Earlier research bears out the proposition that employers who affect a more participatory model for their employees and honestly attempt to build and maintain authentic work practices for them, affords greater opportunities for their retention (Billett 2002a; Billett, Barker & Hernon-Tinning 2004; McDermott 2008b).

**Apprentice perceptions**

A new apprentice entering the workplace today has a very different perception of their contribution and learning to that of their predecessor (Barron et al. 2007; Davila, Epstein & Shelton 2006; McCrindle 2006b, 2008; Vehling 1977). Research on the development of an apprentice finds that an essential component of their job satisfaction is manifest via a close participatory association between them and their employer or supervisor (Billett 1993; Billett 2000; Kolb 1984; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). An environment in which the individual feels they are learning and growing is a key component for the employee when deliberating whether to stay or leave their employment (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). Furthermore there is no separation between engagement in their thinking, learning and acting at work, where opportunities to engage and interact with others in the workplace is crucial to their learning (Fuller et al. 2003; NCVET 2011; Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976; Twigg, Fuller & Hester 2008). It is also the case that the value and willingness placed on those activities will impact their motivation to engage in the learning afforded to them by the workplace.

**Kitchen life**

A large commercial kitchen is a stratified hierarchy where knowledge and tasks are appropriated through explicit or implicit understandings that they ‘belong’ to particular individuals. The ownership of these tasks is often perceived as set by the organisational structure or delegated through a chain of command where the apprentice is perceived as inexperienced and low skilled. But there is the potential to set and re-set boundaries within the social structure of the practice as individuals with the power to affect the organisation’s workplace structure can deny or extend opportunities for an apprentice’s learning. The research indicates that for many apprentices their assigned tasks are essential to the achievement of the organisation’s desired outcome and their contribution is not extraneous to it. Fuller and Unwin (2002b) challenge Wenger’s view of peripheral participation as ‘catching up’ and that the novice makes a valuable contribution from the outset.
Enriched work practices

Several studies have demonstrated that "enriched" jobs (i.e., jobs that are complex and challenging) often enhance the motivation, satisfaction, and productivity of people at work (Oldham, Hackman & Pearce 1976). ‘Needs satisfaction’ as the theoretical basis of work motivation has offered a better understanding the attitudes employees have of their work. The theory proposes that work must be challenging, requiring the use of skills and knowledge if the incumbent is to stay motivated. If jobs are easy to accomplish, employees will become bored and dissatisfied.

A chef’s job contains a substantial amount of technical elements where they must be able to work quickly and effectively under pressure and have the appropriate motor skills and dexterity (Lee-Ross 1999). Consequently for an explanation of the relationship between job skills and motivation at work, it would seem reasonable to consider a technique which focuses on the job characteristics.

This research approached Hackman and Oldham’s(1980) survey instrument and Billett’s (Billett 2005; Billett 2001c) questionnaire as a basis on which to consider these issues and relationships. Hackman and Oldham’s Job diagnostic survey (JDS) (1980) was developed as a means of testing their theory of work motivation. Their theory proposed that certain core job dimensions must be present in a job if the individual is to be motivated in the workplace. These core job dimensions can give rise to three individual psychological states which in turn result in the affective outcomes of internal work motivation, general satisfaction and growth satisfaction. In addition the model accounts for growth need strength (interpreted as the readiness of individuals to respond to ‘enriched jobs’ (Hackman & Oldham 1980).

Task identity

This research found that much depended on the task identity and its approbation as to its perception by the apprentice. Tasks that were seen as perfunctory and of low level status imparted the feeling that they were not learning and just being used as ‘cheap labour.’ But where the apprentice felt trusted to rise to a challenge or opportunity to attain an intrinsic sense of achievement or the extrinsic approbation of the team, then they felt that they really were a member of their ‘community’ (Harris et al. 2001; James & Hayward 2004; McDermott 2009a; McDermott 2009b; NCVER 2001). The research indicated that apprentices in their second year and beyond were also passing on knowledge and skills to their peers thus taking the role of expert and trainer. Fuller and Unwin (2002a) expressed it as a ‘collegial activity’ when discussing positive attitudes to sharing learning.

Individual engagement

Consequently individuals engage actively in the process of determining the value of their work experience and how they might engage with it and learn from it (Tan 1998). However, situational factors alone are insufficient to understand workplaces as learning environments. What is required is an understanding of how an individual’s drive and intention (Bloomer & Hodkinson 2000; Somerville 2002) impacts their participation and retention. Mobley et al (1979) proposed that low job satisfaction
rather than extrinsic rewards might have a stronger positive relationship with employee turnover.

This has some affinity with the intrinsic qualities of the creative, artistic and skill-based working chef (Robinson & Barron 2007, p. 919). It is the intrinsic value attributed to the task that affords enjoyment for an individual performing that task. Weiner (1992) identified ability, effort and task difficulty as the most important achievement attributions for an individual which is reflected in the construct of intrinsic motivation as defined by Deci and Ryan (1985). According to Bandura (1997) self-efficacy theory, ability self-concepts should influence the development of task values. Feather (1988, 1992) broadened Atkinson’s (1958b) original expectancy-value model to understand how values impact motivation. Consequently the values of an individual beginning their work career can challenge and be challenged by an organisations cultural interactivity in the workplace.
Chapter Five
Concluding the Stage Two research

Workplaces as contested zones of employment

The workplace is a highly contested arena for young people entering employment for the first time (Billett 1999), the language and culture of the workplace and fellow workers can challenge established understanding and values developed by the individual and bear little similarity to expectations arisen through the ontology of their life experiences. It may even be at odds with pre-conceived concepts, advanced through expectations of their contribution and relationship with both the tasks and their fellow employees.

The apparent outcome for the individual is the possible construct of a framework of cognitive dissatisfaction to inform their assessment of the new workplace and its employees. It is through this constructed framework that their new workplace experiences will pass, be shaped, assessed and judged. It is important for the new apprentice to formulate a positive attitude towards their new workplace as this will act to motivate their retention. An apprentice chef will need to visualise a broader understanding of initial tasks as agents for learning and change and not just discrete jobs of perceived low value. The employer should afford opportunities for the apprentice to develop a deeper understanding of the tasks at hand to build a more structured contextual model for them gain insight in to, not only organisational goals but also their individual goals.

Furthermore employers also need to make sure that organisational goals must compliment personal goals. When an apprentice believes that working towards organisational goals will help them attain personally valued goals, their commitment to achieving what the organisation values will be greater. Because people’s goals vary, it’s important that Head Chefs know what their apprentices value. The more successfully Head Chefs tailor the work assignments to employee drives and preferences, the better results they can expect. Often Head Chefs assign work or responsibilities without finding out how the apprentice feels about it. The apprentice may worry about not being able to do the job successfully. Uncertainty about one’s ability to meet the Head Chefs expectations may cause a de-motivation; that is a lack of expectancy to achieve. Employers often talk about laziness or the loss of work ethic but they seldom recognise de-motivation.

Affording expectations

Affording the expectancy of the new employee is not about indulging their possibly, ill-founded perception of their new workplace or changing the workplace to suit them, at the expense of all other workers already established routine. It is about accepting that they make a contribution, to the workplace, from their inception. As with more seasoned recruits entering a new work environment for the first time, it is expected
that they bring skills and knowledge from past experience (Australian Industry Group 2007, p. 27).

Apprentices may be initially unfamiliar of the specific practices of their workplace but they would come with some knowledge of many aspects of food preparation and cooking. But all members of the workplace would at some time be ‘learning’, a new recipe, new process, the development of a new idea, familiarising an unfamiliar environment, section or just renewing old knowledge. It is not just always the domain of the new apprentice to be the ‘learner’ and there will times when they will be ‘expert’ in their given tasks or responsibility and pass on tips and experiential knowledge to ‘old timers’. Micro and macro changes occur on a regular basis, in kitchens, through seasonal products and menus, changing customers’ expectations, the dynamic nature of the staff and their individual and collective knowledge and experience.

**Affording support**

Support in the workplace may encompass a range of formal or informal processes where a greater commitment from the employer would theoretically lead to greater job satisfaction and productivity. Employers could provide support through the provision of resources and through help in managing the workload. Organisations may also provide support through training in required skills and resources such as employee assistance. Co-workers may provide support through practical or emotional support. However many kitchens are not always models of social or organisational support (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006). There can often exist a culture of competitiveness amongst the staff, promoted by some Head Chefs as a force for increased speed and quality of production.

Organisations, in the past, with a bigger work force afforded more opportunity for the new apprentice to be ‘buffered’ allowing time for them to ‘acclimatise’ to their new environment. Senior workers often took new recruits ‘under their wing’ during the early stages of their apprenticeship as an informal mentor, to guide them in the complexities of work practices. This afforded first year apprentice chefs opportunities to try new skills and practice learned tasks in a supportive climate. Furthermore the successful management of an individual is also about interventions such as goal setting, appraising, coaching, training and giving feedback (West Australian Skills Formation Task Force 2006).

**Affording enrichment**

This research acknowledges that all workplaces have embedded in their processes tasks that are perceived as ‘less pleasant’, ‘low status’, ‘less rewarding’ or just plain ‘boring and repetitive’. It is these tasks that have traditionally been given to the ‘least’ of the workers, namely the new apprentice usually in the guise of learning ‘the hard way’ or ‘in the deep end’. They expect apprentices to accept unsavoury tasks as their due, until a time when they deem them competent to progress through a hierarchy of more enjoyable tasks. However many ‘unsavoury’ tasks in the past were often shared by a larger body of apprentices. First, second and third year apprentices ‘coming through’ often afforded a team of individuals to burden the load to the make the jobs more enjoyable through sharing and a sense of participating in a community.
Head Chefs need to make sure their teams know that all the tasks done in the kitchen are integral to the dish and therefore essential and valuable. This approach may mean adjusting certain low level jobs that are seen, by the group, as low status, to be assigned as a group activity, where the new recruit would be inducted into the activity by the team. All members of the team, no matter their status could engage in these group activities as an acknowledgement of the importance of all tasks to the group and not just be assigned to some lonely outpost of activity, to the youngest or newest recruit. The more variety and responsibility of tasks, with the requisite knowledge and support, will afford a more positive attitude of the apprentice to their workplace. By not allowing the apprentice to take some responsibility limits their feelings of ability, autonomy, and to a lesser extent knowledge of the results of their efforts.

**Generating a dialogue**

The organisation’s goals and that of the individual employee must be in step to afford the best outcomes for both individual and employer. Just as the goals and practices of educational institutions frame the activities in which the students engage, so too they must be in step with the goals and practices of the workplaces (Hall & Sharples 2003; Scarpato 2002). It is through a dialogue between individual employers and their apprentice, with vocational education providers as part of the tri-partite apprentice agreement, that individual and tailored solutions may be found.

Employers need to also see themselves as trainers as many requisite workplace activities are unable to be replicated in the classroom. The quality of an apprentice’s learning is really dependent on the kinds of activities they engage in and the level of support and guidance afforded them. It is through the activities of the more experienced workers and vocational education practitioners that contribute to the apprentice’s learning. This is achieved by assisting them with the learning procedures that are unfamiliar, non-routine or difficult and unlikely to learned through purely informal practice (Chivers 1971). The value of this kind of assistance is not just restricted to apprentices. Experienced workers observe and listen to others as a means of keeping up with the changing requirements of their workplace (Billett 1993; Penland 1984).

The aims of vocational education must be to support both the employer and apprentice in their co-participation and mutual goals. This can be achieved through employers accessing relevant theoretical knowledge in their aim to understand, more fully, apprentices’ expectation and motivation. It is important that vocational education’s principal aim is that the apprentice’s learning is relevant and not only linked to employer needs but also aligned with the apprentice’s goal to become a chef. The difficulty in the past has always been the perception of a ‘gap’ between the goals of the employer and the aims of vocational education. But this perception has only existed through the way theory and practice have been conceptualised. As Carr and Kemmis (1986, p. 113) point out the assumptions of theory and practice is that theory is non-practical and practice is non-theoretical. But although they are carried out by different practitioners, they share common aspects. Theory guides structures of activity in the workplace but it is also dependent on the framework of practice. They are the two voices of the ongoing conversation on apprentices, their learning and retention in industry.
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Motivating Apprentice Chefs to Stay the Course: Understanding Expectations

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Abstract

This paper draws upon new data compiled from interviews with successfully completed apprentice chefs and their nominated supervisor or vocational trainer as to the experience of their apprenticeship and training. The starting point of the research was developed through the analysis of data taken from a research project on early attrition in hospitality industry and training and the consequent skills shortages. One of the key findings supported by the empirical evidence was that their learning experience and relationship with their supervisor and workplace is foremost when choosing to either stay or drop out from their apprenticeship.

The research proposes that successfully completed apprentices were afforded learning and work experiences that met both their intrinsic and extrinsic needs. This was affected, in no small part, by a clearer understanding from their trainers and supervisors that current apprentices are now more knowledgeable of the industry, than their predecessors, prior to commencing an apprenticeship. This has been affected primarily through the electronic media, vocational courses in hospitality at school and far more exposure to a broader range of food and dining experiences than at any time in history. Therefore it would stand to reason that a young individual now entering the industry would bring a lot more ideas and expectations as to the content and structure of their apprenticeship when choosing it as a career.

Vroom’s Expectancy Theory of Motivation has been utilised to explicitly link the qualitative responses of ten successfully completed apprentices and responses from their elected supervisor/trainers to Vroom’s model to effect a comparative analysis of the work motivation and job satisfaction of the apprentices.

Introduction

Apprentices dropping out early in their apprenticeship and vocational education and training (VET) or electing to discontinue employment in their trained field after qualifying is a key concern for employers (Snell & Hart 2008). Skilled employee shortages of qualified chefs, in the hospitality industry, amongst many other industries (ACTU 2004) and the decline in ‘traditional apprenticeships’ (Toner 2003) have impacted on industry as employers have had to adjust their employment strategy to include more casual staff with less investment in training. However Toner (2005) highlighted the fact there has been a notable rise in the rate of new apprentice inductions (Toner 2005) but anecdotal evidence has shown that Australian apprentices, in general, are leaving their apprenticeships at an ‘alarming rate’ (Gow et al. 2008)(pg. 100). The impact of this early attrition is not only on the workplace with the loss of skills and training invested in that apprentice but also the toll on apprentices who may feel they failed to make a success of an eagerly anticipated career choice so early in their working life. This is of particular concern for apprentice chefs, in an industry that has had a protracted
reputation for apprentices being disappointed that their expectations fell far short of reality (Theage.com.au 2003). Also the mutual disappointment felt by both apprentice and employer when a potentially creative and productive individual is lost to the industry (McDermott 2008).

The research literature also demonstrates that conditions for learning in the workplace are where there are opportunities for participation in new work and technology, interaction with colleagues, taking responsibility, professional growth, gaining feedback, management support for learning, and being rewarded for proficiency (Skule & Reichborn 2002). A learning environment is also accomplished through mutual support and co-operation from the workplace community (Billett 2002b). There is considerable research on the development of an apprentice which finds that an essential component of their job satisfaction is manifest via a close participatory association between an employee and their employer or supervisor (Billett 1993; Billett 2000; Kolb 1984; Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). An environment in which the individual feels they are learning and growing is a key component for the employee when deliberating whether to stay or leave their employment (Smith, Oczkowski & Selby-Smith 2008). However commercial kitchens are often busy, stressful environments where exact timing and perfection are the aims of the staff and a new apprentice can often get lost when the focus is on the food and customers.

Research Method

The genesis of this research was to inquire as to what positive influences affected apprentices to retain their tenure and once identified could those characteristics, of a successful apprenticeship, be transferred to afford others to stay the course (NCVER 2001). The research also sought to identify aspects of an apprenticeship that were of concern but were able to be tolerated due to the overriding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of the apprentice to accomplish their goal. The focus of this research was on successful outcomes and the actions and influences that achieve those positive outcomes for the apprentice in as much, what works. There is a plethora of qualitative and quantitative research data on early attrition available (Ball 2004; Ball & John 2003; NCVER 2000; Snell & Hart 2008) which has studied to assist the development and analysis of the project on the early attrition of apprentice chefs.

With that in mind, young recently qualified apprentice chefs, employed by a group training organisation and independent sources were approached anonymously in 2010 and asked if they were willing to participate in this research, on the basis that they were identified as having successfully completed their training. The questions were open and semi-directed to elicit information rich, qualitative responses, developed from the research on their workplace pedagogic practices (Billett 2002c, 2005) and their response to those practices.

The scope of the questions for the apprentice inquired their workplace activities and their reactions to those activities;

- The range of activities they were expected to undertake.
- The degree to which their work activities are routine or non-routine.
• The degree of discretion they have in your work.
• The degree to which individuals are responsible.
• The intensity of the work tasks in which they engage.
• The knowledge required for their work practice.
• The degree to which their work is premised on interactions with others.
• The ease with which they can participate fully in the workplace.

At the end of the interview they were requested to nominate and give permission for the
author to interview, a supervisor chef or commercial cookery teacher, from their
apprenticeship, who had positively affected their professional life. I transcribed and analysed
each interviewee’s response in order to gain an insight into the history and attitude to that
particular individual’s apprenticeship in order to understand more fully why they stayed. The
questions for the manager/supervisors and VET practitioners were centred on recollections of
their apprenticeship and observations of the current state of the industry. They were asked to
respond as to what was expected of an apprentice and what they believed an apprentice
expected from the industry.

• Industry challenges and expectations
• Skills development in both a formal and non formal environment
• Socioeconomic challenges for both employer and apprentice
• Developments in training in both VET and workplace

At a later point in the analysis it was then possible to compare and contrast all responses but
initially each case represented was to be understood as a distinct manifestation of their
evaluation of the situation. I then embarked on a ground cross-case analysis of the individual
studies to identify cross-case patterns and themes with all the final reports in an endeavour to
distinguish convergence and divergence in coding and classifying. This analytic enquiry was
to seek out where aspects of the responses fit together by looking for recurring regularities in
the data to reveal patterns that can be sorted into categories of internal homogeneity and
external heterogeneity. The first criterion concerning the extent to which the data belongs in a
certain category and coheres in a meaningful way.

**Current Findings**

Early findings of this research has exposed an industry where many employers and
supervisors use prescriptive instruction as a process to communicate and manage their staff,
generating an unnecessarily authoritarian working environment for the young apprentice chef

..... I also find that the majority of chefs that I've found it's almost like you're taught at
school to scream at people. You get these things done by screaming. You've got to be
loud, you've got to shout. I understand people have got to be heard, people can be
loud but it's the way it's said. Their idea of being loud is being aggressive. And I
think a lot of chefs in the industry have gone that way........people who have just lost
all confidence and aren't happy in the job anymore. If you're an apprentice and
you're a young kid and somebody screams at you on a daily basis, and you're doing long hours, usually for low pay, what are you going to do? Third year apprentice

But ongoing analysis has indicated that employers who have high expectations of the apprentice to learn and participate in a community of practice, afford them the ability to perform to the required standard, trust them to show initiative will more often retain highly motivated individuals.

“I was always encouraged to try new things and try new skills and work with different ingredients and if I couldn’t, like we didn’t have the budget at work, a couple of chefs bought me cook books. They would come in with different ingredients and say have you used this before and I’d say no. Buying things, we’d go through it together and sit down after work and go through recipes and books and ingredients just to show me new things I probably wouldn’t see if I wasn’t in the industry or if I hadn’t worked in places like that. I wouldn’t get that at home, they are only things you would get working in a commercial kitchen.” Third year apprentice

This paper proposes that to retain motivated apprentices an employer needs to endeavour to take into account their expectations and the value they place on particular tasks. The current generations of apprentice chefs are knowledgeable individuals with a strong identification as to their role and progress in the workplace. That is not to say that there will be individuals who are more focused on the extrinsic rewards of money and others who are just ‘testing the water’, but the focus of this research is concerned with retaining ‘passionate,’ enthusiastic individuals. Initial analysis of the data has shown that a supportive and inspiring employer with a willingness to pass on authentic knowledge and skills affords an environment for an apprentice to be motivated to maintain their apprenticeship.

Workplaces as Challenges

The workplace can be a complex site to navigate where the skills and knowledge needed to be learned to help cope with a maze of practices can be daunting and sometimes conflict with initial expectations, particularly with individuals who arrive with explicit expectations concerning their career choice (Fuller & Unwin 2003b; Harris et al. 2001; Snell & Hart 2008). An apprentice’s notion of their new workplace may be tested, as the expectations of an apprentice and their employer may diverge greatly from a pre-conceived idea acquired prior to their applying for a position (Snell & Hart 2007). An enthusiastic individual, applying for a position, may anticipate the workplace as an exciting experience, working and learning with fellow members of their workplace (Billett 2002a, 2006; Hager 2004). This pre-conception may have had its genesis through an ontogeny of many experiences available to young people today, such as a school pre-apprentice program or familial or cultural interests in food or more probably the innumerable programs and articles on food and wine, now available, in the electronic and print media (Billett 2006; Dumbrell 2007; McDermott 2009b; McDermott & Carter 2010). The research with employers and supervisor chefs’ experiences revealed a distinct relationship between an intense drive and ‘passion’ from the apprentice at their initiating a career as a chef and their subsequent retention in the industry,
when their apprenticeship fulfilled or surpassed their expectations (Gow et al. 2008; McDermott 2009a; McDermott 2009b). The benefits for the employer retaining an apprentice are as they attain proficiency they increase productivity, take on multiple tasks and duties, work with minimal supervision and assist in the training and supervision of younger apprentices thus offering an unassailable return on the time and effort expended on their training (Ball 2004; Harris et al. 2001; McDermott 2009a; Theage.com.au 2003; Toner 2003).

But the research also revealed many cases of disappointment with their employer or career choice and withdrawing from the industry and training altogether when reality diverged greatly from initial expectations (McDermott 2009a; Richardson 2007). The enthusiasm of a young apprentice to embrace or at least continue the early stages of this new environment is, in part, dependent on both apprentice and employer engaging in a discourse of mutual understanding and co-participatory work practices (Billett 2002a, 2006). It is at this conjunction that the employer will have a greater appreciation of the apprentice’s potential contribution to the workplace and the apprentice will be able to more fully understand their responsibility to the employer and the workplace community. This research finds that support and encouragement, from all members of the team lessens much of the doubt and anxiety expressed by young apprentices when facing the challenges of an unknown environment, such a busy kitchen. However many apprentices find there is little opportunity to take the time to absorb new information and they are often ‘pushed in the deep end,’ perceived by some employers as positive learning experience but often for economic expediency.

**Situating the Apprenticeship**

Research has shown that economic rationalism has affected the modern apprenticeship to evolve into a narrower and more constrained form than its historical predecessor (Snell 1996; Streeck 1989) where ‘learning a craft’ has been incrementally reduced over time (Cornford 2004). That is not to say that the long-established apprenticeship system of the past, had little or no connection to industrial organisation or capital investment but a broader framework of the training was also concerned with the social or ‘professional’ development of the individual and their ‘membership’ within that community, as well as the continuance of skills and knowledge for the future (Snell 1996). However many apprentices, today, have very different work lives to their predecessors, when employment in large organisations often afforded them extensive opportunities for development and practice in their learning. Current neoliberal work practices often mean that many workplaces now operate with a much lower percentage of qualified persons to apprentices thus affording less time for ‘proximal guidance’ (Billett 2002c). Furthermore many workplaces now require the apprentice to be a more independent, productive member of the team far earlier in their training. Indeed, the young chefs interviewed, for this research, were often asked to take more responsible roles in the kitchen, such as looking after a section that really should have gone to a more experienced individual. However much depended on the task how it was perceived by the apprentice, as tasks that were seen as perfunctory and of low level status imparted the feeling that they were not learning and just being used as ‘cheap labour’ But where the apprentice felt trusted to rise to a challenge or opportunity to attain an intrinsic sense of achievement or
the extrinsic approbation of the team, then they felt that they really were a member of their 'community' (Harris et al. 2001; James & Hayward 2004; McDermott 2009a; McDermott 2009b; NCVER 2001).

From Novice to Expert

Early research on workplace learning (Lave & Wenger 1991) positioned the apprentice or 'novice' on a clearly defined and bounded linear journey in which old timers train and mould their successors, thus ensuring a continuation of skills and knowledge. This model has a strong tradition going back many centuries when knowledge was exclusively held by the 'expert' and only disseminated through highly controlled forms of training over a specific period of time. There are still elements of this process of learning to be found in the modern trainee/apprenticeship as after the successful completion of discrete, atomised VET competencies they attain a trade certificate. However the concept of 'novice' and 'expert' which lies at the heart of Lave and Wenger's early model has been redefined to acknowledge the co-participatory nature of individuals in the workplace when authentic, applicable skills and knowledge is acquired through engaging with other workers (Billett 2002c; Fuller & Unwin 2003a; Senge 1990a). The practices of the workplace also evolve through the agency of the members as ways of working are changed, what is sacrosanct to one generation may be changed by the next (Brown & Duguid 1991; Fox 2000). Furthermore the pace of change in industry, as current knowledge is superseded through innovation and experimentation, particularly in the food and restaurant business, means all members of the community are at some point a 'novice' and individually, 'expert.' Earlier research bears out the proposition that employers who affect a more participatory model for their employees and honestly attempts to build and maintain authentic work practices for them, affords enhanced opportunities for their retention (Billett 2002b; Billett, Barker & Hernon-Tinning 2004; McDermott 2008).

Expectations, Job Satisfaction and Motivation

The intention of this research paper is to suggest that there is a direct nexus between an individuals purported expectation, motivation and job satisfaction leading to their willingness to retain their employment. Although job satisfaction may be perceived as a single variable, most theories treat it as a rather complex set of variables (Eccles & Wigfield 2002). For example, individuals in this research reported that they were satisfied with their work but very dissatisfied with their wages, or they enjoyed the demands of the job but found the unsociable hours too difficult when trying to sustain relationships outside the workplace. It is these intrinsic, extrinsic motivators that help us to understand the drives of the individual and possibly offer a better insight into their levels of satisfaction or their lack thereof (Bandura 1986). Intrinsic motivation is an internal response to a given situation where the individual takes pride and satisfaction in their achievement, especially when they attribute their success to their ability and effort. They would primarily find the task itself interesting and people who are highly intrinsically motivated try to seek work that provides this motivation (such as allowing the use of creativity or developing new skills) and they see their work environment in terms of the support of these motivators (Amabile et al. 1994). On the other hand extrinsic
motivation is defined as the motivation to work primarily in response to the receipt of external rewards, such as money or position status. However the constructs can work in conjunction with each other and that it would depend on the situation and the degree to which the individual attributes the reward attained from attempting, and successfully completing the task (Amabile et al. 1994) (pg. 103). The most important distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is on the basis of whether the driving force for an action originates from inside or outside the individual (Deci, Koestner & Ryan 2001; Sansone & Harackiewicz 2000) (pg. 104).

Looking Forward

One of the more respected and motivational theories, supported by empirical evidence (Tien 2000; Vansteenkiste et al. 2005) is Expectancy Theory,(Porter & Lawler 1968; Vroom 1964) which is a theory explaining the process individuals use to make decisions on various behavioural alternatives. Expectancy theory is a form of calculative, psychological hedonism in which it states that the ultimate motive of every human act is asserted to maximise pleasure or to minimise pain and an individual will always choose the option with the greatest motivation force. It is also a theory of the process of motivation (Chiang & Jang 2008) which in effect is a theory for understanding the decision making process that individuals use in order to determine whether they are motivated to pursue or sustain a level of motivation towards a given situation or task. It does not define what motivates the individual, who may have at their source a multiplicity of expectation variables, each dependent on the situation of the workplace and pre-conceived ideas of role (status), effort, response, and reward. Process theories help describe and explain how behaviour is directed, energised, sustained, or stopped. Thus this paper seeks to identify the link between one facet of the attrition cycle, for apprentice chefs, that has initially surfaced from the empirical data as to whether expectations and the resultant motivational force play a key role in the individuals drive to complete their apprenticeship.

Expectancy theory asserts that the motivational force for behaviour, action or task is a function of three distinct perceptions: expectancy, instrumentality and valence (Vroom 1964) It is purported that in order for an individual to feel motivated, they must believe that if they exert enough effort that they will be able to achieve whatever level of performance is required. This relationship is referred to as expectancy. They must also believe that their performance will result in a particular outcome and the link between performance and outcome is called instrumentality. The final condition needed for an individual to feel motivated is for them to positively value that, which they will receive for their performance which Vroom refers to as valence. The theory is commonly known by its acronym VIE which translates to: Motivation force = Expectancy x Instrumentality x Valence (Vroom 1964) It gained popularity and was the subject of several empirical studies (Campbell & Pritchard 1976; Mitchell 1974; Wahba & House 1974) Based on these studies there is a general empirical support for the three individual components of expectancy theory in that it requires that an individual be able to assess; (a) the likelihood that working hard will result in her satisfaction of her employers performance requirements, (b) recognising the correlation
between meeting her performance requirements and receiving job related rewards and (c) the value of these rewards.

Porter and Lawler (1968) developed one of the best known refinements of Vroom’s VIE expectancy theory, which came about because they believed Vroom left a number of questions unanswered. The most important of which is the origin of valence, instrumentality and expectancy beliefs, and the nature of the relationship between an employees attitudes toward work and job performance. According to (Porter & Lawler 1968) employee effort is jointly determined by two key factors; the value placed on certain outcomes by the individual and the degree to which the person believes his effort will lead to that valued outcome. These two factors interact and determine effort level. But that may or may not result in effective performance, which is defined as the successful accomplishment of a predetermined task expected of the individual, determined as that person’s job. It is also the level of ability the person has to do his job and the clarity of understanding the person has as what his job consists of. To conclude Porter and Lawler’s refinement to Vroom’s theory; a person may be highly motivated but the effort will not necessarily result in what can be considered satisfactory unless he has the ability to perform that task well.

Conclusion

This research has revealed a history of training apprentices in commercial kitchens, reflected in their VET courses, which has often relied on a process of atomistic learning, eventually achieving ‘full membership’ of their community. The structure and process is often a generalised, prescriptive model that has been very effective and in the past has had much support. But increased career choices for employment and vocational education for school leavers means that there is a lot of competition for employers to attract and retain bright, motivated individuals to an exciting but demanding industry, such as a commercial kitchen. The research finds that successful apprentices have employers who acknowledge the contribution they make to the workplace early in their career, where ‘novice’ is a descriptive stage in the knowledge and skill of any worker within the community, to a specific task, rather than just an attribution of the apprentice. The use of expectancy theory emphasises the belief that the rewards the organisation is offering align with the needs of the apprentice, to maximise his or her expected satisfaction. It is also the attractiveness of those rewards, which requires an understanding and knowledge of what value the apprentice puts on the reward that he or she values positively, and emphasises expected behaviours in that the apprentice should know what is expected and how it is to be appraised. The theory is concerned with what is realistic or rational or irrelevant as an individual’s own expectations of performance, reward and goal satisfaction outcome will determine his or her level of effort, not the objective outcomes themselves. The key to the theory working is in the understanding of the employer as to the apprentice’s expectations and their alignment with the needs of the workplace. Chefs now acknowledge there are major changes in the industry from the time they began their career as well as acknowledging enormous generational changes in young people entering the workforce for the first time (Barron et al. August, 2007; McCrindle 2006, 2008). These changes will require them to look for more innovative solutions for retaining an
apprentice, not only for economic expediency but to support and encourage an acknowledged productive, contributing member of the workplace.

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