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The Practical Side of Culinary Arts Education: The Role of Social Ability and Durable Knowledge in Culinary Arts Externships

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The Practical Side Of Culinary Arts Education: The Role Of Social Ability And Durable Knowledge
In Culinary Arts Externships

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
In partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Urban Studies

by

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B.S. Nicholls State University, 2003
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As I reflect over my past years of study leading to this doctoral dissertation, it becomes immediately evident that one seldom achieves such an accomplishment without guidance and support and I, as the following acknowledgements will indicate, am certainly no exception to such thought. Every finish, of course, has a beginning and for me, the starting point began with my friend and mentor Dr. Robert Harrington raising one eye brow and stating that of course I could do this, as if entertaining any idea that I could not was completely irrelevant. He was correct, but it was not the first time in my educational career that I posed that question and received the same response. In each instance I believed him and subsequently learned to believe in myself.

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FOREWORD

The usefulness of externships, students enrolled in a university certificate program gaining practical experience in the workplace, has long been established in Culinary Arts and other fields of study requiring high skill levels. Historically, the desired externship outcome was normally limited to the analysis a finite quantity of restaurant specifics, and depending on the externship site, a general overview of a limited number of operational functions. While the original objective was to provide students with practical work experience in addition to classroom instruction, as externships evolved from their vocational education roots into the university setting, both the course purposes and the expectations of student changed toward deeper learning. This shift in educational philosophy toward critical thinking and reflection did not occur with the absence of difficulties and disconnects. While the students' responsibility for gaining knowledge has increased, teaching methods designed by educators to prepare students for more critically evaluated outcomes has not evolved at the same pace. Educators still grapple over how educational design can combine the structured teacher-centered learning strategy used in university classrooms with the learner-centered, constructivist approach students typically utilize in for-profit culinary workplaces.

Each summer, our culinary program at Nicholls State University alone will send over one hundred students out into the workplace on externships. These students will be placed by two educators during the spring semester who will receive no remuneration for any student contact during the summer resulting in limited guidance. In many cases, these educators have no in-depth knowledge of the actual operation the students will enter beyond phone conversations. Often students select their own externship sites with questionable goodness of fit. Students must meet the university's evaluation standard, perform satisfactorily for the provider who has no standards by which they are evaluated, and demonstrate critical reflection on the experience – an experience they did not design and often cannot control. Under such conditions, the ability of the student and cooperation from the externship site is important to achieving student outcomes that meet higher education standards. However, not all students and externship providers understand their role in achieving outcomes are what outcomes should be for that matter. The system works, but in different ways for different individuals. Why variability in student outcomes exists drove the purpose of this inquiry.

This dissertation is about culinary externships in the urban environment. The study examined the roles, reasoning, and behavior of culinary externship stakeholders: student externs, externship sites via their externship supervisors, and educators who facilitate externships under the academic rules and guidelines of both culinary bachelor programs and the rigor demanded by higher education.

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ABSTRACT

As externships evolved from their vocational education roots into the university setting, both the course purposes and the expectations of student changed toward deeper learning. While the students' responsibility for gaining knowledge has increased, teaching methods designed by educators to prepare students for more critically evaluated outcomes has not evolved at the same pace. Educators still grapple over how educational design can combine the structured teacher-centered learning strategy used in university classrooms with the learner-centered approach students typically utilize in for-profit culinary workplaces.

This dissertation is about culinary externships in the urban environment. The study examined the roles, reasoning, and behavior of culinary externship stakeholders: student externs, externship sites via their externship supervisors, and educators who facilitate externships under the academic rules and guidelines of both culinary bachelor programs and the rigor demanded by higher education. Further, the study explored what factors encouraged and empowered students to acquire durable knowledge from their externship experiences and the forms of social capital they use to invest in their experience, as well as the conditions that failed to secure durable knowledge from the externship.

The findings indicate that each stakeholder approaches an externship from their own working perspectives. Further, the ability of students to socialize, utilize agency to achieve their personal ends, bear the sole weight of evaluation, and acquire practical work experience prior to the externship yielded the best outcomes. Additional questions are posed and answered within the study.

Keywords: externships, internships, social capital, symbolic capital, culinary education

Part 1: Introduction

Culinary Arts degree programs are now offered at a number of universities around the world, and both undergraduates and postgraduates, in ever increasing numbers, are studying in these areas (Busby & Fiedel, 2001; Tribe, 2002). The importance of students' gaining practical skills in addition to classroom study is equally becoming more recognizable. The development of vocational skills through industry work experience in conjunction with an academic program has been a popular way of meeting the needs of both the educational institution and the employer (Busby, Brunt, & Baber, 1997; Cooper & Shepherd, 1997; and Leslie & Richardson, 2000). However, Cooper and Shepherd (1997), claim that "who" wants "what" can create educational disparities as employers seek practical and general transferable skills, while educators emphasize the conceptualization of theories and materials specific to the discipline. These authors further indicate that as culinary arts [food preparation and restaurant management skills] becomes more complex university graduates sought for employment in the culinary sector are increasing despite the industry's traditional associations with a predominantly low-skilled, service-based labor force. As a result, there is considerable pressure on educational institutions to balance the theory base necessary for a university degree program and the practical skills required by the industry that will ultimately employ the students.

Thus the pedagogical challenge common to many fields involving externship stakeholders is the fact that experiential learning programs such as externships, are developed with academic purpose but are designed for non-academic implementation (Petrillose & Montgomery, 1997/1998) requiring a balance between classroom theory and the reality of real world culinary operations. The subject-by-subject reflective nature of the traditional liberal arts institutional philosophy and the constantly evolving manifold atmosphere of the twenty-first century culinary workplace can resemble educational "quicksand" for students distanced from the accustomed classroom attempting to acclimate to the realities of the working world (e.g. Titz & Wollin, 2002; Eyler, 1993; Varty, 2000). The differences in these two environments can present formidable

obstacles to students on externships seeking practical knowledge but required to associate classroom endeavors and ways of thinking to the functional orientation of a real world operation.

There is now ample documentation attesting to the importance of externships which, for the purposes of this research, are defined as students engaged in experiential learning as part of a university certification program undertaken in for-profit restaurants (Eyler, 1993). However, this definition extends from a literature that associates externships with cooperative education historically viewed as training, the learning of a task, considered by some academicians as lacking adherence to the traditional liberal arts mandate of increasing breadth and depth of intellectual understanding which more closely involves the creation and evaluation of tasks (Varty, 2000).

Purpose of the Study

The goal of all four-year Culinary Arts bachelor programs is for the extern to obtain durable knowledge from the externship experience. Durable knowledge is defined as the student reaching, possessing, and controlling a threshold of usable practical knowledge and critical understanding of the selected externship environment which can endure beyond the experience to further classroom learning, or be applied at a future date in career work in the field of Culinary Arts.

Specifically, my study explored what factors encouraged and empowered students to acquire durable knowledge from their externship experiences and the forms of social capital they use to invest in their experience, as well as the conditions that failed to secure durable knowledge from the externship. Additionally, I explored the roles of the externship sites via site externship coordinators who assume the charge of transferring durable knowledge to the extern, and educators as controllers of externship courses, who construct, facilitate, and evaluate externships from their particular vantage. As such, the central research questions of my study ask: What personal investments such as preparation methods, responsibility, commitment, and agency do students bring to their externship? What assistance do educators, who hold and determine what knowledge is acceptable, as constructors,

facilitators, and evaluators, contribute to the students ability to discern what is lasting knowledge and seize it? I contend that the educator's role should not cease with student placement, but should continue as a guiding force as students adjust from passive classroom learners to active durable knowledge seekers in urban environments. As the externship site is empowered with the task of knowledge transfer, what does the externship providers value and are willing and able to invest in the student's education?

I will attempt to address other subordinate questions within the study. How do all stakeholders manage their role in attaining an ownership hold on the externship experience? What forms of social capital, operationally defined as the connections within and between social networks as well as connections among individuals, do all stakeholders utilize to facilitate certain actions from actors with a particular social structure? Do all stakeholders of an experiential enterprise understand and contribute equally their form of investment capitals that converge as payment for the student's durable ownership hold on the experience? Are there mitigating circumstances that constrain externs from gaining an ownership interest? Do all externs attain ownership, or do some simply lease the experience by possessing some hold during the externship but not achieving a durable threshold of usability? Should externs, bear the sole weight of evaluation, or should the investments of all stakeholders: the student, educator, and site provider be considered in judging outcomes? Are evaluations based on student performance, or do performance objectives of all stakeholders drive assessment? Much is stated in the literature about what outcomes should be achieved, but the culinary theory contains little discussion about effective teaching methods which bridge the teacher-centered classroom with the learner-centered workplace, student-site goodness of fit, or role investment of constituent stakeholders for that matter.

Operational Definitions

Two elements surfaced within the study as necessary for success in the real world environment:

social capital and symbolic capital. I will operationally define these terms for the purpose of clarity as both will surface throughout this inquiry. The terms social capital and symbolic capital have been used extensively in the social sciences and a brief synopsis of how others have defined or thought of these terms is presented along with my meaning of those terms.

Social Capital. Social capital is a sociological concept which refers to the value of social relations and the role of cooperation and confidence to get collective or economic results. The term is used by different social sciences emphasizing different aspects of the concept. In general terms, social capital is the crux of social relations, and consists of the expectative benefits derived from the preferential treatment and cooperation between individuals and groups. Although there are a variety of related definitions, they tend to share the core idea that social contacts and networks can increase productivity both individual and collective.

Jane Jacobs (1961) used the term early in the 1960s. Although she did not explicitly define the term "social capital" her usage referred to the value of networks. Political scientist Robert Salisbury advanced the term as a critical component of interest group formation in his 1969 article "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups" in the *Midwest Journal of Political Science*. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu used the term in 1972 in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, and clarified the term some years later in contrast to cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. The modern emergence of social capital concept renewed the academic interest for an old debate in social science: the relationship between trust, social networks and the development of modern industrial society. Social Capital Theory gained importance through the integration of classical sociological theory with the description of an intangible form of capital. Individuals can exploit social capital of their networks to achieve private objectives and groups can use it to enforce a certain set of norms or behaviors. In this sense, social capital is generated collectively but it can also be used individually, bridging the dichotomized approach 'communitarianism' versus 'individualism' (Hazelton and Kennan, 2000). Social capital for the purposes of my study utilizes these

previous definitions and further refers to one's ability to interact with others through verbal communication. It further refers to one's ability to be inquisitive without fear of asking questions, interacting with fellow associates and forming relationships with those personally unknown to them. Additionally, social capital involves one's ability to invoke agency to express ideas and gather beneficial information to further their own interests.

Symbolic Capital. In sociology and anthropology, symbolic capital can be referred to as the resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition, and functions as an authoritative embodiment of cultural value. This concept was coined by Pierre Bourdieu, and is expanded in his book "Distinction." It is also an extension of Mac Weber's analysis of status. Symbolic capital may also be embedded in the built environment or urban form of a city as the portion of its exchange value which can be attributed to its symbolic content, or as status indicating who and what is acceptable (Hazelton and Kennan, 2000). Symbolic capital as it pertains to this study embraces those ways of thinking and extends them to refer to practical experience students can gain by engaging in extra-curricular activities away from the classroom and laboratory. It also refers to practical experience gained in outside employment that provides real world experience and durable knowledge gained outside of the university setting.

I conducted a multiple case research study to analyze which investment factors promote successful student ownership holdings, as well as those factors that might constrain student ownership as perceived by all stakeholders. In effect I describe how students, externship site management, and educators view and valorize the meaning of externship experiences to more clearly understand and identify their investment themes beneficial to externship learning at the local level, within the culinary department at Nicholls State University where I teach. Additionally the insights that surfaced during the findings of this study may help to guide externship participants, educators, and the hospitality industry to evaluate their own methods and explore more fruitful ways of conducting the culinary externship

experience. A more complete understanding of the meanings all stakeholders attach to the externship experience, and their resulting level of involvement in terms of commitment and resources applicable, would help to determine what pedagogical investment, defined as their investment in learning and the strategy they use, might better prepare externs to gain durable knowledge from such experiential arrangements and thus enhance the educational consistency of externship outcomes. By failing to consider the investment and involvement variability of students, sites, and educators, the current literature fails to consider the externship process in its entirety with each element of the process having an affective role in achieving a consistent level of durable knowledge across student externs. As examples, the study found that little emphasis

My project begins to fill a void in theory and information about how future externships should be conceptualized. I compiled, situated, and presented current investment efforts and emerging ownership strategies in hopes of enhancing preparation for, and knowledge acquisition from, these experiential endeavors. Further, I attempted to capture and identify inter-disciplinary theory and knowledge available for improving the externship structure along with appropriate ways of thinking about learning in a field replete with urban, cultural, and social contexts. I argue that a need exists to build conceptual models for future study as well as to identify departmental strategies and protocols. This need extends to a better understanding of the sociological dimensions and organizational issues which confront all constituents involved in and affected by externships.

Part 2: Review of the Literature

My review of the literature considers the externship and internship literature as both terms are used to describe experiential learning experiences. The term internship is also used to define more structured forms of experiential learning which occur in a facility adjacent to the university such as medical internships, and so forth. The externship is, in contrast, an unstructured experiential experience typically with no pre-determined agenda. Nonetheless, the terms externship and internship are

interchangeable within the culinary field therefore in conducting a thorough examination of the literature both genres of appropriate theory are included. The externship, experiential, and internship literature represent the primary theoretical underpinning in the culinary arts discipline. Additional relevant theory pertaining to the urban environment as setting of the learning experience the socialization literature to explain how people interact with others and learn things as well as how organizations convey norms.

The review of the literature is organized around the focus of the study. My dissertation is about culinary externships and thus begins with the relevant literature to the culinary field. However, other literatures not part of Culinary Arts are equally germane as externships involve critical thinking on the part of the student as mandated by Higher Education which compels the student assess situations, and make judgments about their surroundings. Socialization thought is also included because of its pertinence to the students' ability to effectively interact and be assertive to some extent in the workplace. Socialization skills are equally important to the externship site itself. Their ability to acclimate student externs into the operation and to convey norms and unacceptable actions is an important of organizational entry. The focus of all of these literatures is occurring in various urban environments which make urban literature another equally important inclusion in the review of the literature.

Externship Literature

Kiser and Partlow (1999) indicate that the preferred application of experiential learning in hospitality education is the industry work-study experience known by the terms externship or internship. They state that regardless of the term used, the objective is still the same - to enhance student learning by integrating practical work experience and classroom instruction. The externship is rooted in cooperative education conceived by John Dewey who first proposed bringing together the reality of the workplace and the theory of the classroom for vocational training shortly after World War II (Herrick, 1997). This connection to vocational

training is evident in Varty's (2000) argument that cooperative education, properly practiced, is an excellent strategy for future employees to develop the reflective behavior that will help them become contextual learners. The cooperative perspective reasons that programs (external conditions), what is inherent in the student (internal conditions), and what has been learned prior to or during the cooperative education experience (learning outcomes) may all interact to affect each other and/or may separately contribute to more of the variance in educational outcomes (Ricks, Van Gyn, Branton, Cut, Loken, and Ney, 1990).

The balance between theory and practical experience in the various curricula of programs in hospitality studies is a continuing subject of debate in both academia and in practice. Some academicians believe that a hands-on course of study is not appropriate or necessary in program curriculum that culminates in a bachelor's degree from a liberal arts institution (DiMicelli, 1998). However others state that externships, as a form of experiential education, can also enhance stakeholder competency development through active learning as a cursory benefit (Wildes & Mount, 1997). Reich & De Franco (1994: 34) state that "people learn in three ways- by hearing, seeing, and doing." Ross (1989) adds and defines reflection as a way of thinking about professional matters that involve the ability to make rational choices and to have ownership in those choices. However, constructing progressive learning experiences by matching practice with preaching [lecturing] is an ongoing struggle (Titz and Wollin, 2002).

Many employers and cooperative education centers report that internships can provide entry to employment in many organizations. To the degree that their internships are relevant to their professional education, students gain practical knowledge about their field of study and this added experience makes students more employable and enhances program reputations for student placement (Inkster & Ross, 1995).

Experiential Literature

Feinstein, Mann and Corson (2002) describe experiential learning (real-world learning) as a participatory method of learning that involves a variety of a person's mental capabilities and exists when a learner processes information in an active and immersive learning environment. Experiential learning has been advocated as a powerful tool in education (Daily, 2001; Kennedy, Lawton, & Walker, 2001), used in a variety of disciplines such as medicine, social studies, and management which require a high degree of skill application. This approach focuses on "doing" in addition to the "hearing" and "seeing" that occurs in traditional classroom learning formats where students must rely heavily on laboratory activities, role playing activities, gaming, and computer simulation scenarios, as modes of instruction (Feinstein et al., 2002; and Specht & Sandlin, 1991). The educational benefits of experiential learning approaches have been found to include: the development of creative and critical thinking skills, practical experience for career development, the integration of various coursework elements and improved interpersonal skills and self-confidence (Papamarcos, 2002). Additionally, experiential learning has been credited with increasing a learners' capacity to evoke higher-order cognitive abilities in terms of problem-solving skills and judgment (Feinstein et al., 2002).

Culinary Arts degree programs with experiential learning courses are now offered at a number of universities around the world, and both undergraduates and postgraduates in ever increasing numbers are studying in these areas to fill the needs of a growing industry (Busby & Fiedel, 2001; Tribe, 2002). Cooper and Shepherd (1997) claim that employers seek practical and generally transferable kitchen skills, however, educators emphasize the conceptualization of restaurant operations theories and materials specific to the discipline resulting in disparities. Yet despite such disparities, they further indicate that the employment trend shows an increase in university graduates required in this sector. The restaurant operation of old consistently continues to give way to technological advances in restaurant equipment; the customer order pad has been replaced with powerful point-of-sale

technology; the Internet is now available for purchasing food and other services and is also an integral part of a restaurant's social media marketing efforts. Thus despite its traditional associations with a predominantly low-skilled, service-based labor force, Culinary Arts, as a field, continues to advance technically and competitively requiring greater thinking skills in addition to cooking ability.

Experiential learning is the most popular way to bridge the disparities between and needs of both educational institution and employer (Busby, Brunt, & Baber, 1997; Cooper & Shepherd, 1997; and Leslies & Richardson, 2000).

The literature also supports the notion that such learning approaches do encourage students to engage in deeper learning behaviors. Hamer (2000) states that students become involved with their learning by applying theory to real-life situations and rather than passively listening and taking notes, students' are encouraged to engage in higher-order thinking as they personalize the subject matter to develop a deeper understanding.

The concepts of synthesis, concentrating on what the topic is about, grasping main points, and drawing conclusions, and surface learning, simply concentrating on the topic have been discussed and documented at length in the educational literature (Biggs, 1999; Cannon & Newble, 2000; Ramsden, 1988; Schon, 1983; and Brockbank and McGill (1998). A shift towards deep learning can be seen with the increasing popularity and application of incorporating experiential learning with classroom theory to further meaningful education (Bobbitt, Inks, Kemp, & Mayo, 2000). Ball (1995) and Becket (1996) argue that all students in higher education need to acquire extensive technical skills along with the associated skills needed to apply their knowledge within a profession or academic discipline, as well as the skills that required for the world of work and the to be attractive to employers. Moscardo and Norris (2003) claim that this challenge is particularly acute for tourism and hospitality as it is a relative new area of study within academic institutions and is primarily applied in orientation highlighting the need for devising new ways to improve the education of students in this field. Barron and Henderson (2000) also

identify a need to utilize teaching and learning methods that encourage and facilitate deeper learning in tourism and hospitality education.

Moscardo & Norris (2003) found that many students reported feelings of satisfaction and pride associated with completing complex and challenging experiential activity. However, students experience variable outcomes as argued by McDonald and McDonald (2000) who state that while there were a number of beneficial learning outcomes for students, the exercise was risky and not all students were prepared for it. They found that student's responses to experiential activities ranged from "excitement, involvement and appreciation, to apathy, withdrawal and confusion." Barron and Henderson (2000) posit that there is a need to improve the education of students and develop new teaching methods to enhance knowledge retention.

Internship Literature

Gardner (1964) asserts that the ultimate goal of the education system is to shift to the individual the burden of pursuing his or her own learning as education most certainly extends beyond the university setting. Learning theorists claim that internships contribute to students' intellectual growth by providing a sustained opportunity to apply classroom knowledge in a complex, challenging setting. Internships are a natural setting in which students can integrate thinking and doing (Ruhanen, 2005). They also provide students with the opportunity to make an intellectual leap between what Smith (1999) calls dualism [a view of the world in terms of black and white, right and wrong] and commitment [the ability to see tensions and oppositions in oneself and the world and still maintain one's integrity].

Inkster and Ross (1995) devised a learning approach to ensure that the pragmatic benefits of the internships do not reduce their educational value; first, students' employers must write a letter formally acknowledging that the student is working to learn more about his or her major and report that the assigned job duties encourage such learning. Second, a faculty member is assigned to advise student interns, verify the quality of the working experience, verify the number of hours students will spend in

the internship during the semester or term they are seeking credit, mentor students as necessary, and determine whether academic assignments completed in tandem with the internship are of passing quality. They state specific internship objectives as follows: (1) understanding one's self, job, colleagues, and working environment in order to build professional skills demonstrated via journalized dialogue between theory and practice, and (2) increase employability after graduation by gathering concrete evidence of experience gained.

Critical Reflection

Developing a capacity for critical reflection has been recognized as essential for students in higher education (Barnett, 1997), and adult education in general, especially where "transformative learning" is the explicit goal (Brookfield, 1998; Mezirow, 1990). Reynolds (1998) argued that critical reflection promotes the questioning of assumptions, the "taken-for-granted," the rendering visible of otherwise invisible power relations, and the promotion of emancipation, democracy, and social and individual transformation.

Writers such as Cope (2003) and Reynolds (1998) have pointed out that an issue arises with the use of the term 'critical reflection' by those in the adult education tradition such as Bound, Keogh, and Walker (1987), and Mezirow (1990, 1991) whose focus lies more with personal rather than social transformation. For these theorists, critical reflection should acknowledge the historical, social, and political aspects of experience. Reynolds, (1998) agreed that the socially situated nature of experience must be taken into account for reflection to have any meaning. Mezirow (1991) recognized that learning occurs when one reviews and changes misconstrued meanings arising from uncritical acceptance of the status quo.

Carson and Fisher (2006) explored explicit strategies to support the critically reflective internship grading process: Students were required to keep personal journals (McNiff, 1990; Bound, 2001; Hiemstra, 2001; and Cunliffe, 2004); students were encouraged to form critical- friend

partnerships (Brockbank & McGill, 1998, Hatton & Smith, 1995; and Smith, 1999); examples of critical reflection from students in other courses were used as the basis of a group activity and were freely available outside of the class. Further, Carson and Fisher offered guiding questions for students' reflection, before and after their placement. The authors posit that the main features that should be present in student reflective writing to demonstrate that genuine critical reflection and transformative learning had occurred are: identifying values, beliefs, and assumptions; changing and/or reassessing values, beliefs, and assumptions; making connections with cultural, social, and political realities; and acting differently from habituated responses and /or taking on new behaviors.

Educators in the critical tradition know that the task of critical reflection, especially questioning fundamental premises and assumptions, is one that students frequently resist (Barnett, 1997; Hatton & Smith, 1995). Shining a questioning and inquiring light on their work and lives is demanding and can take an emotional toll and leave people disoriented and confused (Reynolds, 1998). The process demands more than the usual intellectual tasks of analysis and synthesis required in academic work. It is a skill that requires higher order functioning, often associated with adulthood (Mezirow, 1991), so it is unrealistic to expect that all students enter the learning environment with similar capacities.

With regard to teaching and learning deficiencies, Fisher (2000, 2003) noted that students were not always clear about the differences between critical analysis and critical self-reflection, or about how to differentiate values, beliefs, and assumption. Students often demonstrated confusion, particularly in relation to distinguishing values and beliefs from the "taken-for-granted." The literature according to Fisher rarely makes these distinctions explicit, compounding the confusion for students. Carson and Fisher (2006) assisted students through a process of reasoning out the differences between values, beliefs, and assumptions, with key questions encapsulating the constructs such as: "what is important to me in this situation?" to determine what values the students' held: "what do I think is true about this situation?" to derive beliefs; and "what do I take for granted about this situation?" to expose

assumptions and presuppositions that we take for granted that are the basis for how we act in the world.

Although much of the literature emphasizes the difficulties, challenges, and risks associated with students' undertaking critical reflection (Barnett, 1997; Beyer, 1989; Ecclestone, 1996; Hatton & Smith, 1995; Ixer, 1999; Yost, Sentner, and Forlenza-Bailey, 2000), very little guidance is offered on how to teach it (Fisher, 2003). Cunliffe (2004) argued that it is important to build up to critical reflexivity and to situate it in practical circumstances. However, few studies demonstrate the way students actually approach critical reflection or the impact of doing so on their learning. St. Amant (2003) speaks to the importance of communicating interactively, arguing that educators and internship providers need to find ways to revise internship experiences so that educators, internship providers, and student externs can use internship experiences in a way that benefits all three parties.

Summary of the Experiential Literature

In viewing the literature collectively, it becomes clear that the ways of thinking about students working in industry have been evolutionary with overlapping occurring between theoretical camps. The externship literature closely associates with its historical roots in cooperative education as vocational training. This theoretical literature links: seeing, hearing, and doing, collectively as a necessity for employment. True to its vocational roots, this literature appears to value experiential learning as surface learning [simply learning tasks] useful for providing work experience, obtaining employment for students, and enhancing its program reputation for doing so. The experiential theory is more learner-centered and associated with medicine, social studies, and disciplines that require a high degree of skill, such as culinary arts. The experiential literature discusses "doing" as an addition to "seeing and hearing" then coupled with reflection. The collective overarching values expressed in experiential scholarly writings were the student's critical thinking, course integration, and improved interpersonal skills. The internship literature extends the experiential work with more extensive discussion of critical

thinking and analysis, and the distinguishing of values and beliefs. Further this literature centers objectives in critical reflection. Learning approaches and objectives are suggested and the acknowledgment of the historical, social, and political aspects of learning experiences expands the critical thinking theme of the experiential work.

The field of Culinary Arts is relatively new as a higher education discipline, and the primary literature, as a collective, displays a progression in ways of thinking and valorizing experiential learning. The externship literature highlights the struggle within the theoretical community to bridge the more critical aspects of higher education with the practical aspects of getting experience to enter the work force. The experiential literature has made the jump, indicating a theoretical perspective embracing critical thinking although it still attempts to deal with the university's need for critical learning from the vocational point of view. The internship literature show a shift toward deeper thinking, and critical reflection, elements valued in higher educational settings and represents the current theoretical position from which experiential learning in culinary arts is grappled. Culinary Arts is a young discipline which remains under-theorized in relation to other established fields such as the social sciences, business, and medicine as exemplars. Obvious gaps central to my study emerge clearly. When viewed collectively, the literature is not void of elements that should be valued. A gap lies in the discipline's ability to construct methodology that teaches externs how to frame and consider what should be valued as a synthesis of knowledge. Pedagogical instruction strategies to drive learning objectives and outcome evaluation aligned with the student's background knowledge, experience, and environment are not evident. The environment as urban setting, or work setting, equally receives no consideration thus physical, social, and cultural settings where externships occur receives no acknowledgement. The largest gap is the discipline's failure to view the externship process beyond program goals as evidenced by the lack of discuss of how to construct critical learning into an experiential endeavor. Values, beliefs, assumptions, and critical thinking and reflection are important elements for students consideration in

experiential learning as expressed by the theory, but research is lacking into how externships may or do move beyond program goals, by failing to ask how should program goals be strategized to achieve what the literature posits is important knowledge for students' to acquire. The literature states that critical learning does occur, but by providing no posited methodology for its construction, one must conclude that the student bears the burden of method. Further, the literature fails to acknowledge that students, externship sites in distinct urban environments, and educators may view these elements differently. Students cannot consistently reflect critically on these elements because they remain unexplored and are not framed in a contextual sense by educators. My study seeks to bridge this gap by exploring what each stakeholder in the externship process considers to be valuable and important to educational ownership. A common thread in the literature is the need for improved experiential teaching and learning method. How can educators make sense of the externship process to students without first understanding, in definable ways, how all elements of the externship process interrelate among the various stakeholders with different ways of thinking and valuing - each existing in their own unique context? This is the gap and lacking essential theme not expressed in the literature that my study will attempt to fill.

Critical Reflection

Developing a capacity for critical reflection has been recognized as essential for students in higher education (Barnett, 1997), and adult education in general, especially where “transformative learning” is the explicit goal (Brookfield, 1998; Mezirow, 1990). Reynolds (1998) argued that critical reflection promotes the questioning of assumptions, the “taken-for-granted,” the rendering visible of otherwise invisible power relations, and the promotion of emancipation, democracy, and social and individual transformation.

Writers such as Cope (2003) and Reynolds (1998) have pointed out that an issue arises with the use of the term ‘critical reflection’ by those in the adult education tradition such as Bound, Keogh, and

Walker (1987), and Mezirow (1990, 1991) whose focus lies more with personal rather than social transformation. For these theorists, critical reflection should acknowledge the historical, social, and political aspects of experience. Reynolds, (1998) agreed that the socially situated nature of experience must be taken into account for reflection to have any meaning. Mezirow (1991) recognized that learning occurs when one reviews and changes misconstrued meanings arising from uncritical acceptance of the status quo.

Carson and Fisher (2006) explored explicit strategies to support the critically reflective internship grading process: Students were required to keep personal journals (McNiff, 1990; Bound, 2001; Hiemstra, 2001; and Cunliffe, 2004); students were encouraged to form critical- friend partnerships (Brockbank & McGill, 1998, Hatton & Smith, 1995; and Smith, 1999); examples of critical reflection from students in other courses were used as the basis of a group activity and were freely available outside of the class. Further, Carson and Fisher offered guiding questions for students' reflection, before and after their placement. The authors posit that the main features that should be present in student reflective writing to demonstrate that genuine critical reflection and transformative learning had occurred are: identifying values, beliefs, and assumptions; changing and/or reassessing values, beliefs, and assumptions; making connections with cultural, social, and political realities; and acting differently from habituated responses and /or taking on new behaviors.

Educators in the critical tradition know that the task of critical reflection, especially questioning fundamental premises and assumptions, is one that students frequently resist (Barnett, 1997; Hatton & Smith, 1995). Shining a questioning and inquiring light on their work and lives is demanding and can take an emotional toll and leave people disoriented and confused (Reynolds, 1998). The process demands more than the usual intellectual tasks of analysis and synthesis required in academic work. It is a skill that requires higher order functioning, often associated with adulthood (Mezirow, 1991), so it is unrealistic to expect that all students enter the learning environment with similar capacities.

With regard to teaching and learning deficiencies, Fisher (2000, 2003) noted that students were not always clear about the differences between critical analysis and critical self-reflection, or about how to differentiate values, beliefs, and assumption. Students often demonstrated confusion, particularly in relation to distinguishing values and beliefs from the “taken-for-granted.” The literature according to Fisher rarely makes these distinctions explicit, compounding the confusion for students. Carson and Fisher (2006) assisted students through a process of reasoning out the differences between values, beliefs, and assumptions, with key questions encapsulating the constructs such as: “what is important to me in this situation?” to determine what values the students’ held: “what do I think is true about this situation?” to derive beliefs; and “what do I take for granted about this situation?” to expose assumptions and presuppositions that we take for granted that are the basis for how we act in the world.

Although much of the literature emphasizes the difficulties, challenges, and risks associated with students’ undertaking critical reflection (Barnett, 1997; Beyer, 1989; Ecclestone, 1996; Hatton & Smith, 1995; Ixer, 1999; Yost, Sentner, and Forlenza-Bailey, 2000), very little guidance is offered on how to teach it (Fisher, 2003). Cunliffe (2004) argued that it is important to build up to critical reflexivity and to situate it in practical circumstances. However, few studies demonstrate the way students actually approach critical reflection or the impact of doing so on their learning. St. Amant (2003) speaks to the importance of communicating interactively, arguing that educators and internship providers need to find ways to revise internship experiences so that educators, internship providers, and student externs can use internship experiences in a way that benefits all three parties.

Socialization Literature

There have been a number of different theories applicable to culinary arts as an applied discipline which has tried to explain how people learn things from others. Reinforcement theory, growing out of the tradition of behaviorism, sought to explain human social learning as the product of

conditioning. Social learning theory stands in contrast to reinforcement theory. Social learning theory attempts to explain human socialization as a product of observation and mimicry (Volkart, 1951). Though socialization theory has not been considered germane within the culinary arts literature in the past. The hospitality field is nonetheless a people oriented profession that requires teamwork, and strong communication skills. Hospitality organizations have increasingly become aware of the value for having strong organizational socialization tactics to improve newcomer entry and increase retention. The research questions of this study do not delve into socialization theory per se however these literature inclusions do thread through the study as theory applicable to externships. Further, I included a sample of the available socialization to validate the fact that applicable theory does exist in other fields for application in culinary arts.

Socialization and social class. Ellis, Lee, and Peterson (1978), developed a research agenda begun by Melvin L. Kohn (1969), to explore differences in how parents raise their children relative to their social class. Kohn found that lower class parents were more likely to emphasize conformity in their children whereas middle-class parents were more likely to emphasize creativity and self-reliance. Ellis et. al. proposed and found that parents value conformity over self-reliance in children to the extent that conformity superseded self-reliance as a criterion for success in their own endeavors. In other words, the authors verified that the reason lower-class parents emphasize conformity in their children is because they experience conformity in their day-to-day activities. For example, factory work is far more about conforming than innovation (Ellis, Lee, and Peterson, 1978).

College preparation classes and difference. Rosenbaum (1975), in his article The Stratification of Socialization Processes tested the effects of high school tracks on Intelligence Quotient (IQ). High school tracks are the different levels or types of courses students can take; for instance, many high schools now include college preparation tracks and general education tracks. Rosenbaum's hypothesis was that students who followed the lower tracks (non college-preparation) would score lower on IQ

tests over time than would students who followed the higher tracks (college-preparation). Considering that school is one of the primary contributors to socialization, it makes sense that participation in a given track can also result in the adoption of the norms, values, beliefs, skills, and behaviors that correspond to that track. In other words, tracks can turn into a type of self-fulfilling prophecy: you may start out at the same level as someone in a higher track, but by the time you have completed the lower track you will have become like the other students in your track. To reduce confounding variables and ensure notable test effects, Rosenbaum selected a homogeneous, white, working class public school with five different, highly stratified classes. Rosenbaum then compared IQ scores for individuals in the different tracks at two time points. As it turns out, tracking does have a significant effect on IQ. People in lower tracks can actually see a decline in IQ compared to a possible increase among those in the upper track. In other words, tracks socialize their students into their corresponding roles which are especially applicable in the applied sciences (Rosenbaum, 1975).

Organizational Socialization

Anticipatory socialization. An initial theoretical perspective, as a prelude to the discussion of organizational socialization, is “anticipatory socialization,” the process of “preparing to accept new norms, values, attitudes, and behaviors” (Shepard and Greene, 2003: 22) that occur when an individual develops expectations and knowledge about possible jobs and positions. It is usually the first step that occurs in the search and acceptance of an individual into an organization. Porter and Steers (1975) postulate that, because of this process, individuals never enter an organization with a completely blank opinion and that they carry with them “cultural baggage.” While this sounds as if it causes bias within participants, Arnold (1985) found that graduate students who know more about working life before they enter into an organization are better able to find work that fits their personalities and skill sets. Several other positive affects of anticipatory socialization have been found as well. For example, anticipatory socialization helps in the formation of the overall set of expectations that an individual holds in relation

to their contributions to an organization and the response by the organization to their contribution. An organization expects things such as time, energy, skills, and loyalty and an employee expects to be compensated as such. Based on what the employee perceives to be fair and just (from what they have come to expect based on their anticipatory socialization) this contract of sorts can be renegotiated or changed (Rousseau, 1991).

Anticipatory socialization comes from a variety of sources including family, peers, school and the media. This cultivation of ideas is often seen from the standpoint of adolescents while the actual socialization occurs at the adult level. Each of these groups can add a different level to the socialization some providing broad information about organizations in general, and some providing specific task information for specific roles within an organization. (Taylor, Flanagin, and Seibold, 2000).

The focus of a large portion of “organizational communication” research is concerned with the anticipatory socialization of college graduates during their initial job search. However, this linear approach does not account for a lot of the socialization occurring during role and organization switches in a person's lifetime. Jablin (1985) sees anticipatory socialization to occur on two different levels; one as a vocational socialization which would occur only once or twice and choice socialization as roles and specific jobs change.

Theoretical foundations of organizational socialization. Organizational socialization is the process through which organizational culture is perpetuated, and by which newcomers learn the appropriate roles and behaviors to become effective and participating members (Louis, 1990). The topic has been discussed from various perspectives including socialization stages (Wanous, 1992), socialization tactics (Volkart, 1951), person-situation interactionism, newcomer sense making (Louis, 1990), symbolic interactionism (Reichers, 1987), and stress (Nelson, 1987).

Effective Socialization. Effective socialization has been discussed in the literature (Feldman, 1980, 1981; Schein, 1978) and it has been used interchangeably with other related constructs, such as

effective adaptation (Louis, 1980). Other researchers view it more narrowly as a change in basic attitudes and beliefs that suggest an internal commitment to the organization, rather than just compliance with organization practices. Wanous (1992) considers effective socialization to be synonymous with organizational commitment. He focuses on the internal processes of the individual, not on the socialization process.

Effective socialization is defined as the criteria through which the success of the organization's socialization programs and the newcomer's success through the entire socialization process are evaluated. It is conceptualized as the primary "outcome" of the socialization process that will enhance the achievement of individual and organizational outcomes. The organization teaches the newcomer the skills of the new job, and the norms and values or organizational culture that guide behavior and enhance the newcomer's performance. The information that is transmitted through different socialization programs and informal processes is the socialization content, and how successful newcomers are in acquiring it determines socialization effectiveness (Greenhaus, 1999).

Socialization content. Socialization content refers to what is learned during socialization or what is being imparted to the newcomer in the organization (Louis, 1990). Four content categories have been identified in the literature: task, group, organizational, and personal. Although commonalities exist among the authors in their discussion of socialization content, they differ in their emphasis or focus on specific content categories. For instance, consistent with Louis (1980), and similar to Feldman (1981) and Schein (1980), Fisher (1986) specified four content categories: (1) organizational values, goals, and culture, (2) work group values, norms, and friendships, (3) how to do the job, needed skills and knowledge, and (4) personal change relating to identity, self-image, and motives. Within the socialization literature, measures of socialization content were developed in only one empirical study where the content categories identified were performance proficiency, people, politics, organizational goals, values, and history.

A general typology of the information that newcomers must acquire upon entry into the organization is nonexistent (Morrison, 1995). Building on previous studies in socialization and related areas (Feldman, 1981; Fisher, 1986; Louis, 1990; Morrison, 1995; Ostroff and Kozlowski, 1993; Schein, 1980), the content categories utilized to evaluate socialization effectiveness include: (1) task mastery, (2) functioning within the work group, (3) knowledge and acceptance of organization's culture, (4) personal learning, and (5) role clarity. These categories represent indicators of socialization effectiveness and they reflect salient aspects of information newcomers are expected to acquire in any organization. Indicators of Socialization Effectiveness include:

Task mastery. Task mastery involves learning the tasks of the new job, gaining self-confidence, and attaining a favorable level of job performance (Feldman, 1981). Fisher (1985, 1986) noted the importance of task mastery to successful newcomer adjustment. Newcomers upon entry seem to focus most of their attention on task relevant information which have been found critical to their adjustment and continued membership in the organization (Morrison, 1995).

Functioning within the work group. When employees join the organization, they need to learn and understand the way things are done within their work units/groups that is consistent with that of other relevant employees. Indicators of successful functioning within the work group include getting along with coworkers and superiors, coming to feel liked and trusted by peers, understanding the group norms and values, and making a satisfactory adjustment to group culture (Feldman, 1981; Fisher, 1986). As such, learning how to function within the work unit is necessary for effective socialization.

Role conflict in organizations. Role conflict is a special form of social conflict that takes place when one is forced to take on two different and incompatible roles, or statuses, at the same time. While at times such conflict can motivate the individual to do more and better work, it can equally lead to frustration, anxiety, and reduced efficiency (Knowles and Saxberg, 1971). Another facet of personal conflict has to do with the multiple roles people play in organizations. Behavioral scientists sometimes

describe an organization as a system of position roles. Each member of the organization belongs to a role set, which is an association of individuals who share interdependent tasks and thus perform formally defined roles, which are further influenced both by the expectations of others in the role set and by one's own personality and expectations. For example, in a common form of classroom organization, students are expected to learn from the instructor by listening to him, following his directions for study, taking exams, and maintaining appropriate standards of conduct. The instructor is expected to bring students high-quality learning materials, give lectures, write and conduct tests, and set a scholarly example. The system of roles to which an individual belongs extends outside the organization as well, and influences his functioning within it. As an example, a man's roles as husband, father, son, and church member are all intertwined with each other and with his set of organizational roles (Katz and Kahn, 1966).

Organizational man or protean career? In their review of the development of the idea of a psychological contract, Hall and Moss (1998) found that the very nature of the contract has changed as organizations have less of an effect on career management than employees have on determining the directions of their own careers. As a consequence, the image of the organization man, the long-term, loyal employee has faded in favor of the protean career, a process which the person, not the organization, is managing. There are profound implications of a shorter-term, transactional relationship between employees and organizations at the point of organizational entry. As Edgar Schein (1988) has noted in a discussion of the impact of change versus stability in the socialization of professional managers, so long as we have a pluralistic society that itself values some degree of diversity, more individuals may be better able to operate in industries that thrive on innovation. Organizations that are more conformist may have a hard time finding people willing to make the necessary psychological contract. In other words, the capacity of an organization to be successful in the process of socialization of new employees especially those who bring new professional expertise that is critical to the desire of

the organization to change may be contingent upon the extent to which the culture of the organization affects its psychological contract with new employees. By extension, success in socialization may also be affected by the capacity of new employees to make sense of the new organization, what is expected of them and what they can contribute in return, and how they will build their careers within the organization (Schein, 1988).

According to Louis, (1980), there are two prominent perspectives on organizational entry: socialization and turnover. New employees will leave an organization prematurely because of either unmet or unrealistic expectations. Organizational entry is a major phase of organizational socialization, in which a new employee defines his or her relationship to the organization. Sense making has generally been applied in library and information science to study information need and use in its broadest sense, and in particular, in the information search process of library users. Yet, sense making is also significant to the study of organizational life and organizational identity. Weick (2001) argues that organizations resemble puzzling terrain because they lend themselves to multiple, conflicting interpretations, all of which are plausible (Louis, 1980).

Urban Literature

Dogan and Kasarda (1988:13) indicate that the size of cities continue to increase so that by the year 2010 there will be 511 metropolises exceeding a million inhabitants and by the year 2025, that figure will advance to 639. What externs feel is important about entering, living, and working in urban environments are an important consideration because size impacts mobility, safety, cultural orientation, and the formation of social relationships. As the population of a place increases, so does the number of strangers in direct proportion (Orum and Feagin, 1991, Lofland, 2007: 283).

Zukin. Cities are physical, social and cultural structures. Physical structures can be powerful directive symbols of what is going on and who is welcome to participate. Zukin (1995) asserts that culture is more and more the business of cities and the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique

competitive edge. Culture has also become a more explicit site of conflicts over social differences and urban fears, and a powerful means of controlling cities symbolizing “who belongs” in specific places. Restaurants involve more than the consumption of food, they infer social and cultural standing and separation, and are equally forces of economic power and influence. Global business alliances are often forged in restaurant settings. The social, cultural, and economic meaning constructed in and associated to restaurants is manifold - as are the people who fully, or partially, participate in the operational functions and contexts of restaurants

Lofland. The theoretical work of Lofland (2007) is particularly helpful regarding ways to think about the urban environment in terms of specific space at the micro level of the street narrowing Zukin’s macro components relating to population, physical structure, and culture. Lofland posits that the brevity of the human encounter with the city may not tell the whole story. Externs could experience anti-urban feelings combined with the belief that the city is “unnatural” and therefore an impermanent human habitat which might affect his or her ability or desire to acquire knowledge that is different and not pertinent to the world to which they will return (2007: 3). She argues that the crucial dynamic of public space emerges from the fact that not only do many of its inhabitants not know one another in the biographical sense they are often unknown in a cultural sense as well. Therefore, public space is populated not only by people who have not met but often, as well, by people who do not share “symbolic words” (2007:8). Lofland more clearly discerns the ways externs might be taught to think about space through the use of three realms: the private realm consisting of household, friend, and kin networks; the parochial realm of neighborhood, workplace, or acquaintance networks; and the public realm, the world of strangers. Therefore public space within a metropolis can be public, private, parochial, or coexist together. Lofland (2007:10) indicates that the dangers associated with realms typically occur at the border of established realms which concern the student extern’s ability to discern within which realm they are entering, leaving, or currently positioned. This realm perspective could be

utilized to explain to externs how to observe the interaction of their urban surroundings and help them determine when to attempt interaction with urban residents and with regard to their safety when to avoid interaction all together.

Zussman. When considering the restaurant site as both place and space physically and socially constructed, the theoretical work of Zussman (2004) is particularly useful for my study. He argues studying people in places, allows the researcher to look at multiple levels of social life. The study of people in places typically draws on case studies which are applicable in a variety of ways. By connecting people and places, I will be able to consider externs and sites as joint enterprises as well as shared circumstances, draw on various types of data, examine both individuals and institutions, and attend to both structure and agency. Something happens: A change in policy, an economic disruption, a cultural switch, and this “something” has consequences: people are happier or unhappier, more equal or less equal. Exactly how this something works out, its consequences are left unexplained or, at best, left to plausible by unsupported speculation. In many cases, the context of places alerts us to inputs and to outputs of the human consequences of those inputs which are sometimes surprising. The importance lies in that people are as much engaged in building institutions as institutions are in building people. A focus on people in places makes no assumptions about whether the macro precedes the micro or the micro precedes the macro. It is compatible both with various forms of structural argument and with various form of symbolic interaction that stress the ongoing creation of an interaction order – perhaps a way to look at both the structure and agency of ownership, without assuming the priority of either. Thus within the extern’s lived experience, cause and effect relationships affecting students ownership hold that exist, or emerge, within the social and physical contexts of the site, may become evident and usefully considered.

The study, as conceived, should increase the breadth and depth of what is known about externships by first identifying how students, site providers and educators, view their educative

investment efforts, and secondly, by situating teacher and student investment strategies currently used in non-academic course work. My work could positively impact the conceptualization of experiential course construction, student preparation, and aid in the implementation of coordinated objectives linked to evaluation of student outcomes by extending the externship discourse beyond the firmly rooted notion of experiential learning as vocational work-study to a deeper way of thinking about externships as triadic endeavors involving students, educators, and site providers, each playing a role in knowledge construction resulting in the students developing a threshold of usability, both possessed and controlled, which endures beyond university studies. My inquiry could provide the base to build conceptual models for the future study of externships as well as help to identify more flexible departmental strategies and protocols.

Part 3: Methods

Case Study Research

Case study research was the qualitative method I chose to conduct the study. In this approach the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) through detailed, in-depth data collection and reports a case description and case-based themes (Creswell, 2007:73). Case study research is particularly well-suited for studying the type of within-site and multi-site phenomena my proposed study entails. Case study research allowed me to analyze the specific factors and themes of each case. For example, an externship site may invest in externs but apply various amounts of effort to each extern based on the externs experience and function within the operation. A well-established externship site may be reluctant to stray from their specific methods but are willing to share them with students which can amount to just do what we tell you to do. However, an up-and-coming establishment may engage the student's opinion concerning changes in industry and ask for creative input allowing the student a closer sense of involvement in the operation. These are only two of many possible scenarios that have individual implications but when viewed collectively, as

my study proposes, may provide important considerations for the externship process as a whole. The collective case study method I propose will utilize Yin's (2003) suggested logic of replication through the purposive selection of multiple cases to show different perspective on an issue. The analytic strategy would be to identify issues within each case and then look for common themes that transcend the cases. This analysis is rich in the context of the case as well as the setting in which the case presents itself (Merriam 1998).

Whereas Stake (2005) states that case study research is a choice of what is to be studied, others (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005); Merriam, 1998); and Yin, 2003) present it as a strategy of inquiry, a method, a type of design in qualitative research, or an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry. Thus the case study approach is familiar to social scientists because of its popularity in psychology (Freud), in medical problem analysis, law (case law), and political science (case reports). Case study research then has a long distinguished history across many disciplines that trace the origin of modern social science case studies through anthropology and sociology. Important studies include anthropologist Malinowski's study of the Trobriand Islands, French sociologist LePlay's study of families, and the case studies of the university of Chicago Department of Sociology from the 1920's through the 1950s. Yin (2003) espouses qualitative approaches to case study development and discusses explanatory, exploratory, and descriptive qualitative case studies. Merriam (1998) advocates a general approach to qualitative case studies in the field of education. Stake (1995) systematically establishes procedures for case study research and cites them extensively in his example of "Harper School." Stake's most recent book, *Multiple Case Study Analysis*, presents a step-by-step approach and provides rich illustrations of multiple case studies in the Ukraine, Slovakia, and Romania (Stake, 2006).

The multiple case study design which I utilized for my study is part of the qualitative research paradigm which has only recently been adopted by educational researchers (Borg and Gall, 1989). The intent of qualitative research, as an investigative process, is to understand a particular social situation,

event, role, group, or interaction (Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman, 1987) by gradually making sense of a social phenomenon by contrasting, comparing, replicating, cataloging and classifying the object of inquiry. Qualitative inquiry denies neither the utility nor the necessity of finding regularities and of making generalizations and predictions. I am attracted more to this form of investigation because by considering the extraordinary variability of things qualitative research does not shrink from, exploring ambiguity (Cronback, 1954).

Qualitative research offered numerous unique characteristics, inherent in the design, which was particularly useful for addressing the questions I sought to explore. Qualitative research allowed me to consider the naturalistic settings where human behavior and events occur and do not require the establishment theories or hypotheses in a priori context which might have limited the scope of the inquiry. Qualitative research allowed the researcher to function as the primary instrument in data collection rather than some inanimate mechanism (Eisner, 1991; Merriam, 1988) allowing data that emerge from the study to be descriptively reported in words (primarily the participant's words) or pictures, rather than in numbers (Merriam, 1988). I was able to center on the participants' ways of making sense of their perceptions and experience, and therefore attempt to understand not one but multiple realities (Locke, Spirduso, and Silverman, 1987; Merriam, 1988). By focusing on the process that was occurring as well as the product or outcome, I could attempt to understand not only "what" but "how" things occurred (Merriam, 1988) utilizing ideographic interpretation of the study's particulars, and the interpretation of data in regard to those particulars rather than generalizations. Further, its design allows for emergent outcomes derived from meaning and interpretations negotiated with human data sources through the reconstruction of subjects' realities (Merriam, 1988; Eisner, 1991). Peshkin (1988) summarizes my choice for qualitative methods as well suited for grasping the complexity of the phenomena I sought to investigate. By not pre-specifying what my study attended to, and

because of the relatively extended amount of time I spend exploring the phenomena I questioned, qualitative inquiry did not limit what I was able to uncover.

Bounding the Study

The study was conducted within the culinary department on the campus of a state university in the South which maintains a teaching focus rather than a research orientation. The culinary department consists of three hundred fifty students in a rural community of fifteen thousand inhabitants. The majority of these students commute from surrounding local communities. A small portion of the respondent population live on campus but are residents of larger cities in other regions of the United States, and less than ten students are residents of foreign countries.

Participants

The department in which the study will be conducted requires two externships: one at the sophomore level of study, and a final capstone externship at the senior level. The primary respondents in this study included first-year culinary survey class students, second-year students who had completed their sophomore externship and also those students who have completed their senior capstone endeavor required for graduation from the program. These respondents possessed varying levels of expertise within the field, varying degrees of metropolitan and rural experience, and varying social interaction skills.

Secondary respondents were externship providers who engage in for-profit operations and supervisory functions within the hospitality industry. Their sole academic link to the educational function of the university lay in their agreement to accept externs, and expose them to real-world hospitality settings. Providers may be experienced in facilitating the transfer of durable knowledge to the student. But if that is not the case, then the student is faced with the need to take charge of acquiring and making sense of the knowledge the externship site has to offer during the experience. The majority of these managers provided loose academic guidance on average, but were not academic

educators in the university sense of the educator's role. Many of these site providers had previous experience with externships from one or more externship programs, some accredited four year hospitality programs, and some offering only a two year associate degree. Thus their experience includes student externs with varied knowledge attainment and goals.

The last respondents were university educators in culinary programs which included one from my culinary program at Nicholls State University and other accredited universities who control, arrange, and evaluate student externships. Their roles included factors such as student externship preparation, what the experience contributes to future class work, externship site selection, possible guidance during the experience, and student externship evaluation and criteria for grading.

Events

The first focus of this study was the lived experiences and events of student externs and the perceptions of holding ownership and meaning attached to the experience as expressed by the student informants selected for participation in this inquiry. The second focus of the study, were the perceptions, meanings and value attached to these experiences (i.e. their role in the externship learning experience) by the externship site providers from their real-world lens. The third and final focus this inquiry sought to explore was the educational investment strategy utilized by university educators in similar hospitality programs with regard to learning objectives, student preparation, support, and evaluation of performance at the conclusion of the externship and beyond.

As my study focused on issues that pertain to participant actions with regard to the externship experience rather than on the cases themselves, to adequately address this subject of inquiry. Stake (1995) asserted the usefulness of "issue sub-questions" and "topical sub-questions" to explore the central phenomenon. Issue sub-questions were useful to address the major concerns, and perplexities to be resolved because such questions are not simple and clean, but intricately wired to political, social, historical, and especially personal contexts. According to Stake "Issues draw us toward observing, even

teasing out the problems of the case, the conflictual outpourings, and the complex backgrounds of human concern” (Stake, 1995:17).

Creswell (2007:109) explains issue-oriented sub-questions as taking the phenomenon in the central research question and breaking it down into subtopics for examination. Issue subquestions of my study included: What do externs, educators, and externship providers do to facilitate experiential learning? What is not done by the respondents of each case to facilitate learning? Which case respondents exemplify the use of some educational strategy to increase the chances for students gaining durable knowledge? Are all respondents aware of their role and investment, in creating worthwhile externship experiences?

Topical sub-questions, on the other hand, covered my anticipated needs for information and “call for information needed for description of the case” (Stake, 1995: 25). Creswell views topical sub-questions as questions that advance procedural steps in the process of research allowing the researcher to grapple with identifying the central phenomenon, the causal conditions, the intervening conditions, and the strategies and consequences. In effect, “by writing these questions, the researcher can mirror the procedures they intend to use and foreshadow their choice of approach” (Creswell, 2007:110).

The topical questions my study sought to address included: How did each stakeholder define and thus manage their role in the externship process? Were the underlying themes, contexts and contributions for the participants of each case equal? Did all externs attain some durable knowledge or were some simply exposed to an experiential experience that produced no learning that resulted in lasting usability or the expansion of students’ capabilities. Should students bear the sole weight of evaluation or should the actions of all stakeholders: students, site providers, and education undergo scrutiny in judging outcomes? Did all stakeholders have performance objectives? What social science theories provide appropriate theoretical explanations to describe the world of the extern?

Processes

I collected data from the respondents themselves through the use of open-ended question interviews. Further, I examined documents they provided, and observed behavior of the participants interviewed where possible thereby utilizing multiple data sources (Granovetter and Wallnau, 2000; Yin, 2003).

Purposeful sampling (Miles and Huberman, 1994) was utilized to obtain respondents due to the bounded nature of the study. As the sample student population is relatively large, these respondents were randomly selected from a pool of potential respondents agreeing to participate in the inquiry. This sample included male and female university freshmen, university sophomores and university seniors majoring in Culinary Arts. The racial mix of the sample included: white, African-American, Spanish, and non-traditional students. Externship providers included those individuals who hold management functions in restaurants, hotels, and casinos, which have had previous involvement in externships with our program. The majority had participated in externships from other programs as well. Educators included in the study were directly involved in the culinary externship process at accredited universities. This involvement included, but was not limited to, preparing students for externship, arranging placement, student supervision and evaluation, and maintaining their university externship program and extern site relationship. While I had entrée to externship providers, and university educators directly involved in the externship process, their number would not allow the use of random selection to obtain representative samples of either case and the sampling was purposeful. My approach was prospective in the sense that I intended to develop and test grounded theory as the research progressed (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I built the study's emerging patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organizing and analyzing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information. Hypotheses that were generated from interviews and observations of one case were tested against new data from another case to bore deep into emerging hypotheses unforeseen at the outset of the study. Further, I

collaborated with the participants interactively, so that participants might equally shape the themes or abstractions that emerge from this process. The respondents' emic construction of meanings, voiced collectively, is the primary representations conveyed; thus the researcher's meanings will be included but bracketed from the respondents of the inquiry.

Researcher role

The hospitality industry might best be described as "people intense." As a university educator with over twenty-five years experience in hospitality ranging from ownership to multi-unit management and development in numerous geographical areas within the United States, and four foreign countries, I have a good grasp of the particular adaptations in thinking urban metropolitan settings require. Socially, culturally, and physically, all geographies share similarities and distinct qualities that make them unique. I consider practical knowledge for hospitality students who are inexperienced with "urbanity" and "self" to be vital. My interest in this study centers on two realities. Graduating students are expected to be productive for the first day they arrive to work --- a tall order for any person or program. The experience a student gains in a work environment then returning to the classroom, allows for pause and contemplation as well as time for the student to process the experience, take stock of themselves, and better prepare for that short walk across the street where the working world lives and measures ability. The second reality centers on the university itself. Each year over 200 of our culinary students undertake externships in various urban metropolitan areas in moderate to high volume operations who can afford the added cost of the extern. While I argue that gaining a usable threshold of knowledge occurs as a result of externships, important questions drove my interest and included: To what depth and breadth is this threshold achieved with so many students to attend to? What factors encourage and empower students to acquire durable knowledge from their externship? What forms of personal social capital do they have to enhance their experience? Additionally, I intended to explore the roles of externship sites who agree to participate in internships. Finally, I asked what contributions educational

facilitators offer as constructors and evaluators of externships from their particular vantage. Thus I sought a synthesis of meaning that each participant group attaches to the externship and how these meanings interact in the construction of experiential knowledge to achieve the best critically contemplated experiential learning experience each student can derive. To attempt improvement a priori might overvalue elements that are working while doing less could overlook more individualized complexities and linkages. Therefore, I seek to study externships from the vantages of those who participate in the belief that room for improvement exists, but I bracket this notion with the understanding that externships must be first situated pedagogically through meaningful contemplation of what exists rather than what is perceived.

Ethical Considerations

Most authors who discuss qualitative research design address the importance of ethical considerations (Locke et al., 1987; Merriam, 1988). First and foremost, I have an obligation to respect the rights, needs, values, and desires of the informants as sensitive information is frequently revealed and the informants' position and institution are highly visible. The following safeguards were employed to protect the informant's rights: (1) the research objectives were articulated verbally and in writing so that they were clearly understood by the informant (including a description of how data was be used); (2) written permission to proceed with the study as proposed was received from the respondents; (3) a detailed description of the study was submitted to the university's Institutional Review Board in accordance with acceptable research standards and their approval of the proposed research was obtained prior to initiating the study; (4) the respondents were informed of all data collection devices and activities; (5) verbatim transcriptions were made available to the respondents to validate accuracy and meaning; (6) the respondents' rights, interests, and wishes were considered first when choices were made regarding reporting the data and (7) all respondents were anonymous. Though educational benefits potentially exist for adopting experiential learning activities, the rewards must equally be

evaluated in light of the potential harms to both student and non-student participants with regard to marginalization. Ethical considerations pertinent to, and guiding, this study included: the vulnerability of the participants, the relative social power of nonstudent participants, whether participation is truly voluntary, the accessibility of the setting, group size, benefits to nonstudent participants, duration of the activity, protection of confidentiality, the role of students' in the activity, and the curricular focus of the experience.

Data Collection Strategies

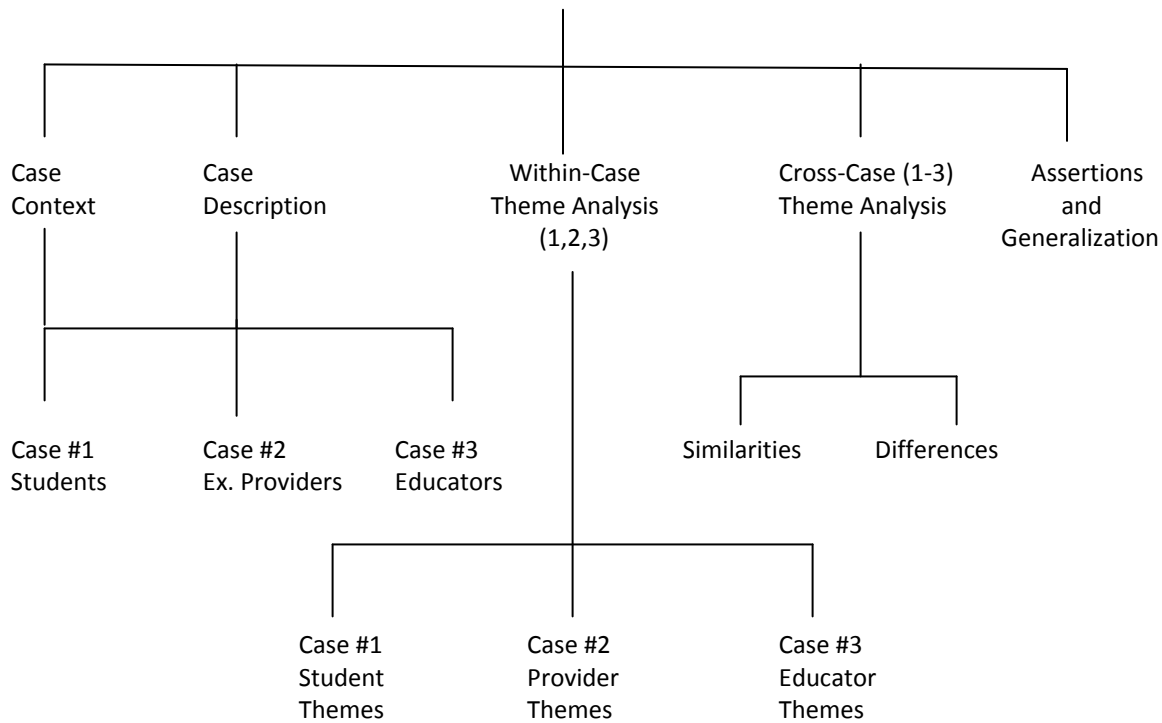
I collected Data from August to December 2009. This included sixty-four recorded participant interviews from my Culinary Arts program at Nicholls State University. The student respondents of the study were randomly selected from pools of participants agreeing to inclusion in the study. I obtained twenty freshmen culinary survey class student interviews, fifteen respondents who had completed their sophomore externship and data from fifteen senior externship completers through face-to-face interviews. I collected data from nine extern site providers, and educational facilitators of externships from two large university culinary programs greater than six hundred students, two medium programs [programs of near three hundred-fifty students], and one small program [roughly two hundred students] via face-to-face open-ended question interviews, and telephone interviews as distance and available time dictated. I recorded all face-to-face and telephone interviews in order to recall accurately, the exact tone, wording, and phrasing of the data collected.

Data Analysis Procedures

Merriam (1988) contends that data collection and data analysis must be a simultaneous process in qualitative research and primarily entails classifying things, persons, and events and the properties which characterize them. My approach to gathering and analyzing the data was necessarily adapted as the case studies proceeded and relevant categories emerged (Glaser and Straus, 1967). My data analysis and data collection was done concurrently with preliminary data informing future data

collection. In addition to the use of regular field notes and eventually longer analytic memos, the ongoing process of coding my observation and interview transcripts was central to the data analysis. Thus, for each case, as a “bounded system” (Stake, 1995) comprising interrelated parts that form a whole bounded by time and place, codes were created (Figure 3.1) to present a description and context of the case (Creswell, 2007:247). I advanced codes for within case analysis, and also for themes that were similar and different in cross-case analysis (Stake, 1995). Finally, I included codes for assertions and naturalistic generalizations across all cases as a collective holistic analysis (Yin, 2003). Coding is a way of categorizing information or themes about the phenomenon being studied by segmenting information.

Figure 3.1: Multiple-case Coding, Creswell, 2007



They can also be words or phrases unique to an individual or setting that researchers’ use, in vivo [participant terminology], to best describe the uniqueness of what he is describing. Within each category of information, the researcher finds subcategories and looks for data to show the extreme

possibilities on a continuum of the category. My method of coding first consisted of “open coding” to segment data into categories of information, followed by “axial coding” to relate categories of information to the central phenomenon category, and “selective coding” as the final coding phase to validate relationships and refine categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Verification

To ensure that the study measures what it is intended to measure, the internal validity of the inquiry, I employed the following strategies: (1) *Triangulation of data* – data was collected through multiple sources to include, interviews, photographs, and e-mails. (2) *Member checking* – the respondents served as a check throughout the analysis process. An ongoing dialogue regarding my interpretations of the informant’s reality and meaning ensured the truth value of the data. (3) *Variance of setting and participant* – the data was collected from respondents who varied in skill level, social disposition, and knowledge of the particular urban environment in which their externship was conducted and their externships occurred in various locations and differing operational settings. (4) *Clarification of researcher bias* – at the outset of this study I articulated the researcher’s bias under the heading, “The Researcher’s Role.”

The primary strategy I utilized to ensure external validity was the provision of rich, thick, detailed descriptions so that anyone interested in transferability would have a solid framework for comparison (Merriam, 1988). Secondly, I used triangulation or multiple methods of data collection and analysis which strengthened reliability as well as internal validity (Merriam, 1988; Yin, 2003). Finally, I have reported data collection and analysis strategies in detail to provide a clear and accurate picture of the methods used and all phases of this inquiry were subject to scrutiny by an external auditor who is experienced in qualitative research methods. With regard to construct validity (Creswell, 2007:204), as this study sought the existence of meaning rather than numerical quantification, member checking and

triangulation of information obtained from the study's respondents was used to address the possibility that emergent constructs may challenge existing constructs of the study.

Reporting the Findings

Miles and Huberman (1994) address the importance of creating a data display and suggest that narrative text has been the most frequent form of display for qualitative data. This is a naturalistic study. Therefore, the results are presented in descriptive, narrative form rather than as a scientific report. Thick description (Geertz, 2000:17) is the vehicle for communicating a holistic analysis of the experiences of externship processes (Yin, 2003). The findings are a construction of the respondents' experiences and the emic meanings they attach to them. Additionally, I included axiological assumptions, the value systems of the inquirer, the theoretical paradigm, and the social and cultural norms of both inquirer and respondents. My symbolic interactionist perspective which assumes that behavior is largely self-determined but influenced by biological, psychological and social structural factors observable at the social and interactional levels with meanings negotiated and renegotiated during interaction with others was an additional lens from which I spoke to the study's results (Goffman, 1959). This allows readers to vicariously experience the collective learning challenges encountered by all respondents and also provides a social science lens through which readers can view and make sense of the subjects' world.

Significance of the Study

There is now ample documentation within the externship, experiential, and internship literature attesting to the importance of externships within the field of Culinary Arts. Culinary programs have more recently emerged as part of higher education curricula and the shift toward students engaging in critical thinking and reflection continues to gain importance within the literature of this relatively new discipline. However, while the literature touts the value of deeper learning, a growing voice within scholarly writing indicates disconnects in teaching and learning. Reynolds (1998) argues that students

are confused by deeper learning as the process demands more than the usual intellectual tasks of analysis and synthesis required in traditional academic class work. How do culinary arts students differ in this regard from other fields with a practicum requirement or any other fields without one for that matter? I contend that the difference lies not with students, but with the lack of breadth and depth of the culinary literature itself. For example, from psychology literature, Paas (1992) might suggest to Reynolds that the world in which the culinary learner must operate, does not occur in the classroom form of subject by subject, but rather as a complex myriad of facts, problems, dimensions and perceptions. Further, Mayer (2004) might direct Reynolds to the 50 years of empirical data gathered in Education that do not support ill-structured learning based on unguided student discovery. Mezirow, (1991) considers the expectation that all students enter a non-academic learning environment with similar capacities for critical thinking and reflection to be unrealistic. While this may be true enough, the extant literature of other fields is not void of ways to ameliorate such circumstances. As a growing number of educators call for better methods of course construction, others are concerned that the literature holds little in the way of advice for teaching (Fisher, 2003).

My study attempts to address these calls by educators by situating the roles of student externs as learners and knowledge constructors; educators as course constructors, guides, and evaluators; and site providers as partners in education. While the issues at hand are educationally related to pedagogy, as a teacher-centered learning strategy, and constructivism as a learner-centered method, these terms are particular to the field of Education and would constrain my findings and discussion to that field. Culinary Arts is truly inter-disciplinary as I see it and the lack of interdisciplinary discussion the literature reflects thus drives my consideration and choice for the inclusion of relevant literature from other fields. The importance of understanding the factors that encourage and empower students to expand their knowledge under experiential circumstances has become more important as conveyed by industry within the study. Durable knowledge requires an investment by those who seek to have it - the

students. Equally, as owners of the externship itself, an effort by those who facilitate the transaction – the educators is vital to important factors such as student preparation and extern site goodness of fit. The work of the educator should not end with placement of the student. They should continue to guide the extern’s passage from student to employee continuously pointing the way. The true holders of knowledge that leads to the expansion of skills and the ways to enhance one’s learning that the students seek, are the externship providers. They invest physical and social capital in the externship process as well as the extern. Their role should be to transfer durable knowledge to the students they accept into their operation and thus their level of commitment can result in students’ gaining a durable knowledge from the experience, or an experiential encounter resulting in short-lived knowledge of no real lasting consequence to the students’ future studies or applicable skills. The relationship of people and places is well-discussed in both urban studies and sociology. The students’ level of preparation, responsibility, determination, and degree of agency are equally moderating effects related to seizing ownership and equally well-theorized by the field of sociology and anthropology. As such, this study will represent a significant addition to the culinary field. While much has been stated about what the student should accomplish through non-academic learning, little method is offered based on the ways of thinking all externship actors utilize. If effective methods for educating students in non-academic settings are to be developed, more information from a broad perspective is needed for a deeper explanation of how externship learning processes occur. A site’s investment is based on different forms of capital and the ability to invest such capital, but also by demands that are socially and culturally constructed (Zukin, 1995), space specific (Lofton, 2007) and involve interaction between extern and site (Zusmann, 2004).

Externships have now entered the higher education paradigm. Constructing non-academic learning experiences by old ways of thinking fails to crystallize the deeper thinking elements that university mandates require students to demonstrate. Students can achieve practical experience and the honing of work skills through repetition, but analyzing a work environment by comparing and

contrasting different realities to what one believes to be true requires a different form of preparation and I suspect a deeper, more intuitive investment by all stakeholders. St. Amant (2003) speaks to the importance of communicating interactively, arguing that educators and internship providers need to find ways to revise externship experiences so that educators, internship providers, and student externs can use externship experiences in ways that benefits all three parties. I see student externs, the educators who prepare them for such experiences, and externship providers as being both theoretically and practically in the forefront of current experiential thought, and intertwined in the struggle for more comprehensive redefinition.

Given the growth of the culinary industry and the acceptance of the externship as a valuable student source of practical knowledge, the issues that the study seeks to raise, as well as others that might emerge, will provide fruitful avenues for further research. To achieve these goals, the culinary field must delve beyond its borders and embrace other disciplines that who have previously traveled these paths. My intention is to facilitate this journey. My study attempts to stand on the shoulders of culinary theorists not by reinventing the wheel because the knowledge exists. I intend to point to the existence of interdisciplinary knowledge and demonstrate its efficacy and useful inclusion in the field of Culinary Arts.

Limitations of the Study

This study is not without limitations. First, the use of a qualitative multiple case study approach will not include positivist ways of knowing and thus no inferential statistics will be utilized which might allow a generalization from sample directly to all culinary arts programs. However, as stated by Greene and Caracelli (1997) the value of qualitative research lies in the particular description and themes developed in context of a specific site. Particularity rather than generalizability is the hallmark of qualitative research. As Yin (2003) suggests, generalization in case study research occurs when the inquirer studies additional cases and generalizes the findings to the new cases similar to the replication

logic used in experimental research. Therefore, my collective case study results generalize to the broader externship theory. My research findings will speak first and foremost to the cases involved in the study. Secondly, student respondents will be selected from one program at a small public university which will have an influence on the student respondents' view which might vary with students from larger more extensive public programs, or private for-profit programs. While attempts will be made to select a representative random student sample, studies from other culinary programs may be necessary to confirm the study's findings. The selection of the smaller program was a strategic decision which involved having greater knowledge of the students' course of training, and the researcher's ability to observe general social behavior. Third, further study may be necessary to investigate the potential moderating effects of different program variables on extern relationships. Fourth, though the selection of a cross-section of educators and externship providers will be attempted, the possibility exists that a true cross-sectional representation of those populations may not occur as conceived. Fifth, the culinary program age, size, and emphasis on externships may have moderating effects on responding educators' perspectives. Sixth, the providers' role may be biased toward sites with more extensive capital budgeting for externships. Capital budgeting could affect the site's reasons for involvement in externships, and the personnel available to interact with the extern. Additionally, capital budgeting also allows site involvement with other culinary programs simultaneously and thus could moderate provider perceptions. Seventh, student extern responses reported in the study's analysis will be obtained from externships conducted in work venues situated nationally within the United States and substantially unrelated to the student's known surroundings which could result in responses informed by misconceived perceptions or cultural bias.

These and other potential limitations notwithstanding, the literature suggest that this is an important step in addressing experiential education in higher education. Some general findings may prove appropriate for other experiential endeavors in other disciplines although

the study is specific to the culinary field. The generalizations of the study's findings are appropriate for the institution directly involved in the study, but might extend in part to similar forms of experiential education, and to other programs within the field of Culinary Arts.

PART 4: FINDINGS

Educational discourse tends to gather human activity, relations, and sense-making in to the educator's gaze. However much we resist, as the literature recounts, we are still, and always attempting to configure ourselves in cognition processes as active agents who ultimately manage processes we call learning from various positions. Often we strive to enhance, direct, resist, observe, or analyze. If the category of 'externships' as experiential learning signifies experiential learning as 'non-school' learning then my control and presence as an educator would reify the classifying dimension which would subvert the purpose of the study. These findings represent the words and meaning attached by those who will be, or were engaged in experiential learning environments.

How externship sites become part of the process. Sites located in urban settings become part of the externship process in various ways. Forward thinking restaurant entities see students' enrolled in bachelor's degree programs of study as capable potentials to replenish their work force and further the growth of their operations. They actively seek associations with educational institutions to accomplish that aim. Some desirable restaurant operations are approached by the educational institution, or its students, because such entities are seen as up and coming foodservice operations within the industry. Some desirable operations seek involvement as a way of giving back to educational programs that help to further their careers or in some cases, they gained their operational knowledge through apprenticeships as culinary programs were not available when they were entering the field and the contact with students who are involve in formal culinary education provides a connection with formal study they desired but was unavailable for participation. Other reasons restaurants participate in

externships' center on operational needs such as seasonality for example. Some well known entities need additional help during the summer months but require individuals with the higher skill levels that externs possess. As such they have evolved into training facilities that create win-win situations. They receive the necessary help during their busy season, and in turn, teach externs higher-level skills. Still other restaurant entities are willing to provide student externs with real world experience but their organizational reasoning for involvement centers on lowering labor costs through the use of individuals with adequate skills to meet their needs but they receive lower wages than the permanent staff as the externship is a transient learning endeavor.

While different selection strategies exist from one educational institution to another, the most common tactics employed by educational institutions are essentially similar. Educational externship facilitators spend most time maintaining site relationships and on many occasions will speak with the site on behalf of the student in an introductory capacity. It is typically the responsibility of the student to contact the site, arrange for an interview, formalize the externship contract and convey institutional expectations which will be confirmed by the facilitator. Many programs require the externship facilitator to convey program expectations to site facilitators verbally. However, while verbal overviews are preferred, pamphlets containing educational requirements for assessment and evaluation are normally mailed to the site, or given to the extern who provides them to the site upon arrival to begin the externship. In most instances, students' research sites that offer the skill they desire based on their particular interests and initiate the externship selection process personally by contacting the site and arranging the externship. Typically, the only substantive contact between site and the educational facilitator involves confirming the acceptance of the extern, discussing the necessary hours of work the extern must complete, and receiving the assurance from the site that those needs can be fulfilled. For some students the externship is an after-thought and much reliance is placed on the educational facilitator to find a site for them thus suitability for these students becomes a secondary concern.

Further, the selection policy of some institutions requires the extern to handle all aspects of site selection and negotiations themselves. They consider this approach as experience and practice for students to engage in productive job searches on their own after graduation thus the educational facilitator function in a follow up capacity alone.

Research Focus. The first focus of this study was the lived experiences and events of student externs and their perceptions of whether they were able to acquire durable knowledge useful to future endeavors and equally what personally constructed meanings those students attached to the externship experience. The second focus of the study, were the perceptions, meanings and value attached to externships (i.e. their role in the externship learning experience) by the externship site providers from their real-world lens. The third and final focus of my study was the educational investment strategy utilized by university educators in similar culinary programs with regard to learning objectives, student preparation, support, and evaluation of performance during, and at the conclusion of the externship.

Six themes that directly affected the success of any externship emerged from the responses of each participant group throughout the findings: *evaluation, environment, involvement, social capital (the ability of the student to effectively socialize), symbolic capital (practical work experience gained under the auspices of the educational institution and in for profit restaurants), and, higher education mandates.* As the findings indicate, these factors were not mutually exclusive to students and the order of their discussion within the presentation of the responses from all participants may vary for the purposes of continuity and importance. The utilization and interaction of all six of these themes, or their lack of, by all participants: students; externship sites; and educational institutions, were apparent outcome determinants.

Participants. The participants in the study consisted of three student groups stratified by their culinary program course progression. The first respondent group comprised twenty male and female incoming freshmen enrolled in an introductory culinary survey class with no prior exposure to the

culinary arts program. The second student group had completed their first externship and entering their junior year of study engaged in advanced coursework leading to their final externship prior to graduation from the program. The final group consisted of students with some small amount of remaining course work but had completed their second capstone externship. The responses of the freshmen students are treated separately from the sophomore and senior student responses for the purposes of clarity in understanding the themes that surfaced from the lived experiences of all externship completers. The decision was to combine both sophomore and senior responses was made at the end of my data analysis because the positive and negatives themes of their responses followed consistent patterns and perspectives of what worked and what did not, which, if presented separately, would have been redundant to readers of the study. Thus the combined responses of these groups provide a seamless yet accurate representation of what the study sought to explore.

Chapter organization. The participants in the study were students consisting of twenty freshmen in a culinary survey class with no other program participation to that point, fifteen sophomores who had completed externships, and fifteen senior students who were externship completers; nine externship site facilitators; and five educators who facilitate the externship process at their respective four-year Culinary Arts bachelor's degree institutions and as such, the finding section follows the progression of responses situated in that order. The chapter sections begins with the novice freshmen then proceed to the responses of externs themselves followed by the extern site respondents which, are separated into three distinctions based on their operational perspectives: skills and experience; self-serving sites; and student centered sites. The third respondent section is centered on the educational program facilitator's view of the entire externship process. The findings conclude with the presentation of across case themes which look across all perspectives of what externships represent, and how they are valued by each participant group of the study.

Student Codes and Themes

Codes: Deductive (D); Inductive (I)	Themes
<p>Freshmen</p> <p>Externships as practical experience (D) Future sense-making as a practical advantage (D) Personal involvement in site selection (I) Wanting personal control (I) The linkage of site and city (I) Inexperience creates apprehension (D) Managing Impressions and anticipating expectations (I)</p> <p>Sophomores and Seniors</p> <p>A history of work experience (I) The components of good preparation (I) The importance of students contacting the site (I) Negotiating the work schedule leads to success (I) Site selection planned in haste (I) Time (I) Student perceptions of what the site invested (I) Advice to future externs (I) The ultimate goal of the externship (I) Externships are messy (I) Learning in the workplace versus the classroom (D) First day realizations (I) Organizational culture and gender (I) Organizational culture towards females (I) Socialization tactics are vital to success (I) Assertiveness (I) Social agency (I) Weak organizational social schemes (I) Acclimating to coworkers and social norms (I) Culinary programs lack socialization tactics (I) Students and site facilitators partner to frame what should be valued (I) Educational program guidelines for externs (I) Educational programs found lacking in site connections (I) Student perceptions of what the site invested (I) Maybe this is wrong for me (I) The externship was a valuable experience (I)</p>	<p>Evaluation Environment Involvement</p> <p>Social Capital</p> <p>Symbolic Capital</p> <p>Involvement</p> <p>Environment</p> <p>Social Capital</p> <p>Evaluation</p>

Externship Site Codes and Themes

Codes: Deductive (D); Inductive (I)	Themes
<p>What externship sites value and invest (I) Formal culinary education as the new standard (I)</p> <p>Sites that emphasize skills and experience</p> <p>The entrance standards for upscale restaurants (I) What elite restaurants want from externs (I) Elite restaurants prefer externs with experience (I) Moderate upscale dining (I) Preparation should extend beyond program goals (I) The more moderate view of experience (I)</p> <p>Self-centered Sites Sites using externs for personal gain (D) Self-centered sites lack evaluation standards (D)</p> <p>Site -student reciprocation</p> <p>The win-win site response to seasonality (I)</p> <p>Student-centered sites</p> <p>Site initiated learning-student and site partnerships (I) A consistent evaluation process (I)</p> <p>Sites with a positive associational link to culinary programs</p> <p>A sense of completion (I) Socialization and organizational culture (I)</p>	<p>Involvement, Symbolic Capital, and Environment</p> <p>Evaluation</p> <p>Social Capital</p>

Educational Facilitator Codes and Themes

Codes: Deductive (D); Inductive (I)	Themes
<p>Externship site selection practices Why sites participate in externships (I) Some institutions use a systematic approach (I) Students make externship selections (I) Student should have a philosophical connection with the site (I) The importance of students having career objectives (I) Educational facilitators also expect student commitment (I)</p> <p>Site acceptability and institutional expectations (I) Education facilitators also commit to students (I)</p> <p>Institution and site relationships Prescribed institutional goals (I) Institutional guidelines for students (D) The externs' learning agenda (I) Students need their own learning agenda (I) Evaluation and Grading criteria (I) Who and what receives scrutiny (I) Student deliverables for grading varied among institutions (I) Advice and insights for students (I) Financial resources -public versus private institutions (I) Perceptions on gender and ethnicity (I) Gender bias as an opportunity (I)</p>	<p>Involvement</p> <p>Higher Education Mandates</p> <p>Evaluation</p> <p>Social Capital</p>

The headings for each participant group: students, site facilitators, and educational facilitators, represent the themes that emerged from the deductive codes generated from existing theory on experiential learning, and the inductive codes that emerged during the course of the study. The following deductive codes generated from the existing theory, and those inductive codes that emerged from the participant interviews are presented for each participant group.

At times, extant socialization theory is presented within areas of discussion to corroborate and connect responses to pertinent extant socialization theory that serves to inform that section of the findings and to provide further clarity to the conclusions I draw as a result of my analysis of what I found during the course of this investigation.

Social or urban theory presented in various sections of the study are also included to demonstrate the existence of extant theory beyond the bounds of Culinary Arts that proved useful as additional ways of thinking about externships and Culinary Arts as a discipline. Thus the findings of the study begin the exploration of the important emerging themes presented by the emic expressions of those students, externship sites, and educators who have, and continue to participate in the externship process devoid of author perspectives.

Students

First Year Students

First year student respondents were predominately freshmen participating in an introductory survey course on national and international food cultures prior to actual involvement in classroom study and the practice of culinary methods and execution skills in the laboratory setting. As such, they were particularly entwined as a student group through their engagements, activities, interaction, commiserations, and the avoidance of permanent labeling by others. Equally, knowing was interminably bound within a positive environment where it was not emphasized as a substance to be ingested and then transferred to new power-laden social and systemic workplace processes where experience and

knowledge are often mutually determined. Agency was plausible and viable because that view carried a future orientation.

The first-year student responses were well-reasoned and quite broad in scope. Surprisingly, the depth, clarity, and focus of their responses, and the importance of what was, and was not discussed, to some extent, overshadowed many of the sophomore and seniors responses which will become somewhat noticeable points of comparison as the discussion of all students ensues. The emergent freshmen themes include: *evaluation; environment; involvement; and social capital* .

Themes

Evaluation

While an externship is intended to be a real world learning opportunity in an applied field, the first year students also saw it as an opportunity to make personal evaluations regarding their abilities to adequately perform in the work setting, compare classroom theory to a for-profit working environment, enhance future learning, and shed light on whether or not they had made the correct career choice.

Externships as practical experience. The purpose of an externship was seen by most as a form of evaluation with implications on future success in the culinary field. *“My first externship will be, in many ways, for me a career test.”* As a working environment is different from the classroom, the externship was an opportunity to combine classroom theory with practical experience to gain knowledge and equally, to evaluate themselves and their desire to pursue a career in Culinary Arts. *“Practical experience is important – it’s reality versus theory.”* The working environment was also considered to be a driver for additional questions and concerns for consideration. Further, the first externship was an important opportunity to hone their social skills through interacting with kitchen staff, dining room staff, and the actual customer. *“It’s an opportunity to learn and demonstrate*

professionalism in different situations.” Some students intended to utilize the experience to test “likes and dislikes” realistically. The majority of students, though stating it in different ways, expressed awareness that classroom and laboratory learning was obviously different from a professional operation and that maximizing both the theoretical components of course work and the repetition of industry would lead to better preparation for entering the culinary field. *“I may use a cooking method a time or two in the laboratory, but using that method day after day in a restaurant will help me perfect it.”*

Others felt that actually working in industry could help to indicate areas for specialization. Hard work was closely associated with respect and self-confidence. *“Motivation on my part will lead to the site being motivated to teach me.”* Additionally, *“Experience is important to success and feeling able.”* Thus, the overarching impression expressed by these first year students, situated the externship as *“an important determining factor”* which could aid in the crystallization of long term career decisions.

Environment

In an applied field such as Culinary Arts, having a firm understanding of one’s environment, though not always an easy task, is an extremely important consideration. The static environment that depicts classroom and laboratory coursework and the real time environment of the actual workplace can resemble quicksand to a student trying to establish a grasp on the situation at hand. First year students accurately addressed the essentials for learning in different work environments.

Future sense-making as a practical advantage. Regarding the general expectations of what first year students could or should be learned on a first externship, the predominant perspective centered on the practical implications of learning in a real work environment and the long term effects of such learning. The acquisition of broad knowledge, the big picture, was an important concern for a majority of students. The work should be basic jobs at first, learning to understand the setting and situations they might confront, and getting a general feel of the entire operation. Most wanted to learn the scope of

involvement of people and place and *“How do I feel about that?”* An additional driver was the adaptive learning of skills and knowledge which could be transferred to their future learning endeavors - what should be retained and brought to bear on future studies and the elements they considered unproductive and left behind. Understanding the importance of future class work and making sense of what they would be learning by applying their time spent in industry is a considerable benefit and was seen as such.

Learning new techniques through interaction with others from different culinary backgrounds was rightfully considered a potential positive as well as developing ways to address those from different backgrounds and possibly different work ethics was also seen as a positive byproduct of such interaction. The need to refine specific abilities is another important practicality that surfaces when working in real world operations. It was not unusual that some students indicated the need to focus on more specific areas, such as improving their ability to multitask, or delve deeper into the social mechanics of the operation such as time management, the pace of the operation, “who” is actually taking charge, and attention to honing, socialization skills. Personal learning themes addressed agency, seen as essential, tempered with humility which they felt would be more indicative of their willingness to learn and do whatever was necessary. Further, they could begin to explore their “style” of cooking, and test interest in specific areas of specialization. In sum, the majority saw the externship’s potential for building and confirming confidence and ability which would provide momentum to both future class work and career.

Involvement

The ‘passive’ nature of classroom and laboratory learning where the instructor guides the coursework content, lies in contrast to a vibrant working restaurant operation that functions on premises not based on educating externs. Thus, what will be learned and whether or not the externship site and student are matched in terms of the students’ ability and needs

and the sites ability and desire to accommodate the student ultimately became an integral determinant for a successful outcome. Historically, high student's involvement in the externship process directly correlated with successful outcomes and accomplished student objectives.

Personal involvement in site selection. The importance of remaining in control of where their externship would occur, what would be learned, and how that new knowledge would apply to future endeavors did not escape first year student respondents. Most were quite adamant regarding their primary involvement in all phases of the externship process and site selection. *"I would like to talk with the site myself because I could ask important questions and get to know what I will be looking forward to, and how to prepare myself for the experience."* Further, *"personal attention to details could raise additional questions that I may not have initially considered"* Most students saw personal involvement as indicative of their responsibility to the site. *"The restaurant will be investing money and time in me – I want them to know that I'm worth it."* Many of these students had personal agendas regarding the knowledge they wanted to attain in addition to a general learning experience in a working environment. The importance of hands on involvement and how it would help to address "who" they would work with, and confirm "what" would be available to learn was a predominant response. As such, their responses were generally proactive seeing the externship as both a course requirement and an opportunity that could benefit their future studies and beyond. *"I want to take control of both school and life. Culinary Arts is an applied science – so a good place to start would be to 'apply' myself to each task at hand."* Still other students felt that *"personal attention to details could raise additional questions that I may not have considered."*

It is important to note that these students were aware of the program's externship facilitators and their availability to help guide them through the process and they were quite willing to utilize their expertise in securing a site, general guidance, and advice. They indicated a sincere appreciation for any

wisdom the program facilitator's might render, which could also include: negotiating the terms of the externship, the quality of their choice, and goodness of fit, however the leg work and actual site discussions were their responsibility. Of note, the one key element that a majority of these students expected their instructors and the facilitator to provide was an honest appraisal of their ability which should be driven by their demonstration of a constant high level of involvement in both class and laboratory learning thus these student enter the program with a rudimentary understanding of "symbolic capital" [practical work experience gained by the student under the auspices of the educational institution and practical work experience obtained in for-profit restaurants]. Additionally, the importance of input from previous students who might have completed an externship at a site under consideration, or in general, was also considered a high priority conversation towards securing a good learning environment.

Wanting personal control. Clearly, the overarching theme of the first-year students was personal control with regard to contacting a site, or following up on a program facilitator's initial contact with a site. The majority of these students felt that, to whatever extent possible, major learning experiences should be pre-determined and negotiated with the site prior to the externship. Most first year students indicated that involvement was synonymous with being taken seriously by their teachers and they should attack their first externship as the 'only chance' being provided to learn in a real life environment. *" If I get a good recommendation from the site, my professors will see that I'm a serious student. If I stand out on the job, I can get a good recommendation that will help me later."* Other students viewed the externship as a potential long-term networking opportunity. In sum, an overwhelming majority felt that engaging in personal negotiations with a site would demonstrate agency, interest, responsibility, and willingness to make key decisions. A majority also felt the primary responsibility of selecting a site that best fit their personal schemes and agendas should be researched personally then interaction with the facilitator and others who could provide insight should follow.

The linkage of site and city. Students further noted the importance of personally researching different urban externship sites and cities of interest paramount to the selection process. Additionally, the significance of culture was apparent as many considered learning the culture of the people of the site city to be an important aspect of the experience. There was the clear recognition that community and site constitute an inseparable linkage. Most were looking to achieve a complete experience and clearly stated their belief that *“research aids preparation”* and the best decision would culminate from viewing all aspects of the experience from an ontological way of thinking: What is there to know? Several students suggested that while speaking with the site would help to get a feel for the location, visiting the site and city could help to confirm which would be the best choice as every learning environment is unique

Social Capital

The ability to socialize in a working restaurant is a key factor to facilitate learning from co-workers. Most knowledge in working restaurants is conveyed through discussion and demonstration rather than in the written form students typically experience in the classroom setting. Thus, social capital emerged as an important currency to obtain knowledge, negotiate unfamiliar surroundings, reduce apprehension and fear, and ultimately to act on one's on behalf.

Inexperience created apprehension. Many of these students expressed a degree of fear and anxiousness due to their inexperience but the stronger feeling was excitement to begin. This might better be expressed as simple apprehension, the fear of the unknown. Some were concerned with fear of acceptance by the site. As first year students, they had not engaged in many of the classroom and laboratory elements which would greatly enhance their ability to perform. Further, having not encountered these elements, there are no successful experiences and confidence builders that would instill a more confident response. Thus, these responses were reasonable given their current status.

However, other students pushed past any personal insecurity suggesting that the extern should take the lead. *"Just jump in and do it – figure it out as you go!"* The confidence levels exhibited were predominantly in the normal range of what might be expected given the absence of practical knowledge and experience that more advanced students would have encountered before reaching the decision process of selecting a site. However, they can and often do surface later as embedded social constructs that can in various ways, drive or hinder a student's ability to actualize their success as the discussion of sophomores and seniors demonstrated.

Managing impressions and anticipating expectations. Two important connections to existing socialization theory emerged during the first-year student interviews. The first was an obvious connection to Erving Goffman's 'impression management' (Hughes, Krehler, and Vander Zanden, 2002). Goffman pointed out that only by influencing other people's ideas of us can we hope to predict or control what happens to us. These students, as a collective, believed that it was important to present themselves to others in ways that would lead them to be viewed in a favorable light. In line with the tenets of Cooley, Mead, and Goffman (Michner, DeLamater, and Myers, 2004), the formation of 'self' for these students began with the way they viewed and were willing to test their attributes, capacities, and behavior. Secondly, as a prelude to organizational socialization, they engaged in "anticipatory socialization" (Shepard and Green, 2003), by developing expectations and knowledge about possible jobs and positions. Their positions were in line with Arnold's (1985) argument that students who know more about working life before they enter into an organization are better able to find the type of employment that fits their personalities and skill sets and thus produce more accurate overall expectations.

Sophomores and Seniors

The sophomore and senior respondents were different from freshmen respondents. Sophomore respondents had completed their first externship and seniors had completed there

second externship. All had participated in both classroom and laboratory instruction with varying levels of success. Further, all sophomore and senior respondents exhibited various levels of social ability. Some students from both class levels had refined social skills, while others struggled to communicate effectively. As such, capable students from either class level possessed similar tendencies and gave similar responses while those with lesser social skills also exhibited similarity in their responses. Thus, sophomore and senior respondents are discussed together to avoid the redundancy of presenting their insights separately. In comparison to the freshmen respondents, these students had differing levels of classroom and laboratory instruction as well as practical experience. Thus, the insights of the sophomore and senior respondents do not fit neatly into the study's discussion. The emergent sophomore and senior themes in the order of discussion include: symbolic capital; involvement; environment; social capital; and evaluation. While the themes that surfaced during the interview process were similar to the freshmen responses, what these themes indicate are at time quite different from the freshmen perspective.

Symbolic Capital

It was the responses of the sophomore and senior respondents that brought the importance of symbolic capital (practical work experience within and external to the culinary program) to light. Practical experience proved most helpful to externship outcomes because such experience allow the student to accurately judge his or her capability to apply practical experience to classroom and laboratory learning and also in determining strengths and weaknesses in their ability to physically perform to the standards of a selected site. In essence, they have the experience to better prepare themselves and more accurately judge 'goodness of fit' issues as they relate of site selection as opposed to those students with little to no practical experience.

A History of Work Experience. Deciding what information would or could be learned was carefully thought out well in advance and was often the result of years of thinking for most of the student externs who excelled prior to, during, and after an externship experience. They accurately assessed their ability by seeking unbiased assessment from others in their cohort, from their teachers, and, of importance, from the professional culinary mentors for whom they worked. These students either possessed or developed an innate sense of “Who am I? What is my skill set? Where am I now? and Where do I want to be and what steps do I need to take to achieve my goals?” They were attentive in the classroom. The laboratory was their training ground for honing their abilities. They did not simply cook the recipe, they centered their concentration on learning and executing the cooking method – the rules that would apply to cooking any similar dish in which only the ingredients would be changed. *“If I were asked to make a cream of broccoli soup, in reality, I don’t need a recipe to do that. It’s a “cream” soup so I apply the method for making cream soups – I don’t need a recipe because I know the method cold. If you know the method you can make ‘any’ cream soup. My only question for the Chef would be about what spices, if any, he wanted me to include, or the intensity of the seasoning. If I have to ask the Chef for a recipe, I haven’t mastered the basics – why would he take me seriously?”* The essential mindset was to first prepare yourself - be positioned to seize an opportunity to advance what you know. These students understood the value of learning from some of the best professionals in the culinary field and the need for a certain level of competency to acquire the site.

Exemplary effort consistently positioned students to seize opportunities that would positively impact their future careers. *“I did my first externship with a Master Chef in Chicago because I was prepared and as ready as I could be. I went in to the restaurant and ‘staged’ [work for no compensation, similar to an audition] for two days so the Chef could see my skills and attitude – that got me the externship. I worked hard, studied after my shift. I came in early and stayed late to ask questions – I did everything I could do every day I was there. I can’t begin to tell you how much I learned because I*

showed the interest and willingness to take away everything I could. I networked. I received a great evaluation and letter of recommendation. Now I have a much stronger resume and the personal recommendation from a nationally known Chef if I need it, to get me into an even better situation for my second. I look at some of the other student and I don't get it. No real motivation or direction. I mean, just how loud does opportunity have to knock? I think some of my classmates are passing up some really good chances."

For those students who amassed sufficient "symbolic capital" (practical work experience) and displayed academic excellence, their demeanor conveyed 'enlightenment' regarding their possibilities with each step providing greater empowerment towards self actualization and entrepreneurship evidenced by their actions and self-confidence. They further maintained the optimism expressed by the freshmen entering the program. Having established themselves, they exerted agency, believed in their ability to find answers to the things they questioned, and they felt calm and sheltered in their ability to perform within the institutional environment and equally in the external world. Others who did not reach such levels of success by lacking symbolic capital and institutional recognition were to some, or greater extent, in chaos. Their lack of self-confidence, surfaced in the form of fear or confusion exemplified by their lack of organization, and at times students experienced anger focused inwardly when they failed to initiate action, and also externally, when they waited for direction that did not materialize.

Approximately thirty percent of sophomore and senior students, both male and female, externs interviewed reported stellar externships. Again, I discuss sophomores and senior externs together because the purpose of the study was to note successful tendencies and progressions rather than class levels and as such, to discuss the success aspects of either student level separately would be redundant. The following student recollections chart the course through a successful externship from its initiation to conclusion highlighting the productive tactics of both sophomore and senior externs. It should be noted

that many of the astute tactics utilized by sophomore respondents were obtained through discussions with successful senior externs regarding their approaches to accomplish their personal goals for the externship.

Involvement

Taking a hands on approach to assure a positive outcome took on a different connotation at the sophomore and senior levels of study. In contrast to the freshmen entering the culinary program, sophomores and seniors were more acclimated towards dealing with the realities of working in for-profit restaurants. Involvement surfaced as a theme in aspects such as preparing to excel in a real world restaurant by gauging one's ability, building one's skills and resume, honing one's attributes – or acquiring attributes seen as lacking.

The components of good preparation. For successful sophomore and senior students the preparation process for their externships began in their freshman year of study. The required investment was pre-calculated. Common factors among these students were their persistence and hard work in the culinary classroom. Additionally, they also excelled in the courses pertaining to other areas of university study maintaining high overall grade point averages. In the laboratory they spent additional hours perfecting the methods they were taught. All worked in the culinary field during the school term and summers to gain more experience. While many already possessed the social capital required, others identified such deficiencies and improved those skills, and of great importance, the 'symbolic capital' necessary for success in an applied field had been systematically amassed over time. Three minor themes became obvious during these student interviews: agency, inquisitiveness, and confidence.

The importance of students contacting the site. Successful students were methodical in their approach to setting up their externships. Most students understand that communicating with the site is important, but highly successful students leave nothing to chance. Careful interaction with the site facilitator begins with initial contact. *"I think it's important to prepare for the interview to understand what that is like.*

So I started there. I went in for my interview with the chef and I explained to him that I was willing to do anything he asked me to do, but I also told him that I was interested in getting a well rounded experience. I want to see the kitchen from both sides: front of the house [dining area], and back of the house [kitchen]. We talked a bit more and set up a schedule for him and me that covered fifteen weeks to give me a full picture of the business. I started just doing the basic jobs then moved to the other positions."

All student externs need time to acclimate to the inner working of a new workplace. The flow of the operation and kitchen terminology often differ from one operation to another. Externship sites that often except externs have found that the best way to ease a new extern into a busy kitchen is to allow them to observe the kitchen in action during several busy periods. *"The chef made me watch the station being operated my whole first night. That night I learned all the waiter calls. In this restaurant, the kitchen terminology was different from the last place I worked. Understanding those calls [when specific customer orders should be started] are really important to keeping the kitchen in sync. It keeps you from fumbling around if you understand when to begin preparing food."* The externs become not only familiar with the recipes they would have to prepare, but also the terminology of the kitchen for beginning and finishing customer orders. Those that were allowed to do so indicated that watching helped to increase the learning curve and shorten the amount of time necessary to acclimate to the new operation. *"Watching was incredible - I wish I had done that before. I could look at the station [area for preparing specific dishes on the menu]; see which items were busy, where everything was located, and how the person working the station did the work."*

Most externship sites are responsive to student eager to learn however few sites actually had any form of a site-initiated learning agenda. Thus it was important for students to initiate learning oriented conversation with the chef. *"No, the chef really didn't have anything in particular to tell me, but if I asked a question, he was more than happy to tell me anything I want to know. If I didn't ask any questions, he didn't bother telling me anything. What I found worked really well was at the end of the*

night I would pull him aside and ask him: how did I do tonight? He would always say ok let's talk about your weaknesses and then we'll talk about your strengths."

Pre-negotiation of the work schedule leads to success. The most successful outcomes came from students that engaged in some form of pre-negotiation process with the site prior to arrival. From their perspective, this allowed time for reviewing basic skills that would be utilized during the externship, research the location for interesting things to try and experience, and to prepare questions that would help drive their inquiry. *"I took the time to research the Chef to get a better feel for his background. Since I was doing my externship in Maine and knew little about that State, I also researched the food and a bit of history about that area of the country which helped me learn quite a bit about the lobster industry and New England cuisine in general."* However, not all pre-negotiations panned out exactly as discussed. *"I got there and was dealt a different card that I hadn't planned for but regrouped, put in extra work to show I wanted it, could be trusted, and deserved to be there and by the end of the first week the plan was back on track. Thinking back, they were testing me to see if I could do what I said I would do." I didn't plan for that."*

Many student respondents took less formal and more candid approaches to preparing and planning their externships and the tactics utilized, or the lack of some form of preparatory method and depth of personal commitment when factoring in the different levels of engagement and willingness of the site to invest in the extern yielded varying results. Many students' confronted 'role conflict' as they moved from the systematic teaching they experienced in the classroom to the working world where they were forced to become their own teachers. A common extern theme was the acknowledgement that the classroom and working world would be different but many failed to consider how such differences would affect their ability to learn – and who would have to be the initiator. *"No there really was no learning agenda. I learned whatever I set out to learn. Had I not gone to the line during service to see what was being done I couldn't have even begun to tell someone how anything on the menu was*

made. I had to put myself out there to gather information. I was an extra hand to them. Sometimes the guys would call me over to watch something or to show me something but not too often.” Some students made the transition by understanding what adjustments were required to learn. *“They will teach you whatever you want to learn but will not come and find you. You have to step up and show interest. You have to control what happens next.”* However, some students considered the challenge of taking on a personal leadership role to be untenable. *“I did make a list of the things I wanted to learn, but, needless to say once I got there they just had me doing busy work that anyone could have done. I resigned myself to just finish what I started but I didn’t learn very much at all.”*

Site selection planned in haste. Not all students saw an externship as a unique learning opportunity in a high profile successful restaurant operation. In many cases, externships were treated as just another class to be scheduled at the last minute without much due diligence. *“The site was chosen on short notice”* was a frequent response for many of the students. Some decisions were made by collaborating with the institution’s extern facilitator – and such suggestions went unquestioned by the students in a hurry to find a place to go - any place would do. Many of the students selected a site of their own choosing – which equally went unquestioned by the institution facilitator. In one way or another, a common theme *“I selected this site because it was close to home.”* also largely influenced the site decision. Most of these students did little to match their skill levels with the site or to inquire about what skill level the site expected them to possess. *“I set up an interview with the owner of the site. In the interview, the owner seemed uninterested in my resume as if the information it contained was not important. I think he read all of two pages in mere seconds.”* Nonetheless, this student decided to accept the site even though there was no discussion of what he would learn during the externship. The site did him a favor by allowing him to extern there was the general inference.

Still others went through a formal interview process and performed a cursory inspection of the operation prior to accepting an externship. Some were certain during the selection process that the site

would afford an appropriate learning experience. However, many responded that *"I was so nervous during the interview that I forgot to ask some important questions."* In most cases, those questions pertained to what they would be doing and learning during their time at the site.

What students invest in externships. The depth in which student respondents addressed what they invested in their externship varied as might be expected. Some students indicated that the amount of effort expended directly correlated with the rewards received from the externship while, in contrast, others considered much of their effort to be a waste of time. At the beginning of the study, I did not anticipate that 'time' would take on different meanings depending on who was recalling its use. *"I put a lot of effort into this externship. It was my first kitchen job, and I was looking to learn a lot from it. Time was heavily invested too; I worked overtime most weeks. I put a lot into this, and got a lot out."* This response represents the encapsulated 'bullet' form of summation I encountered from students who felt their externship experiences were productive.

Time. Other responses were equally reflective of the 'moment' of the experience and more focused from an 'actions at the time' perspective. *"Time - I worked well over 360 hours. I averaged fifty-five to sixty hours per week. I was there from June fourteenth to August fifteenth. I always gave a good effort."* Another response: *"My investment - I worked when I was scheduled, and sometimes stayed later."* Still another: *"My entire summer. I usually went the day after finals and returned the day before school started back. I work a considerable amount of time on and off the clock about 70 to 80 hrs a week. I learned so much more than I expected I would and it didn't cost me anything more than a plane ticket there."*

Some students failed to grasp the purpose of the externship as it pertains to a field where useful application is both requisite and designed into the educational process. *"I invested a summer of my life. I literally did nothing but sleep, eat, and work. I was exhausted every day and I had no social life outside of work. That summer was the hardest I have ever worked and the hardest I ever want to work."*

It was miserable. The hours were horrible and the pay was crap.” From the perspective of this student, the response made perfect sense. If the externship is viewed as a true learning experience, then the amount of time worked was not the important factor, however, if the externship was considered to be just another course requirement to graduate, then the investment was seen as too extensive in comparison to more traditional institutional offerings.

Many of the student respondents calculated their investment in terms of ‘time’ but how their time was construed and utilized formed a noticeable separation that spoke to what the extern wanted to accomplish in terms of planned goals; self-evaluation; and meeting prescribed standards that different types of venues required for successful inclusion. For students who achieved superior results, the word ‘time’ was more aptly envisioned as ‘timeline’ which conveyed a far different way of thinking about the purpose of an externship, what it disclosed, measured, afforded, and the positive impact on their future it potentially provided the student. For many of the students who embarked on externships, time was marked from the beginning of the experience. For those most successful externs, the beginning of the timeline began years prior to that first day working in a real world operation – time was relative and continual.

When the collective responses of successful students are considered, aspects such as gauging one’s ability, building one’s skills and resume, honing one’s attributes – or acquiring attributes seen as lacking were important student considerations. Additionally, involvement in school and work to build strengths that would allow them to be seen as “competent,” along with detailed preparation strategies such as the contemplation of personal goals and the acquisition of skills and knowledge through the careful selection of sites that would further their purposes were viewed as vital to their future. Thus these students engaged in careful negotiation with the site to gain the assurance that things agreed upon would occur. All of these elements involved time. However, time from their perspective appeared, in and of itself, not to be the overriding factor but rather a marker to gauge, to

reflect, to be, or stay, on schedule – it was limited aspect of involvement that was valuable, and to be used wisely.

Advice to future externs. The sophomore and senior responses were varied but all equally insightful. Most successful externs emphasized the importance of communicating with everyone in the operation. *“Talk to everyone around you – I mean everyone. You learn things from people you would never think you can learn from. People who have been there forever know a lot. Find out about the topics they like and begin talking to them about that. Eventually, they will open up. Find the storyteller. Find out who’s in charge. There is the boss and then there is the person who really calls the shots. I actually saw that! I thought the chef controlled everything. It wasn’t the chef at all it was the general manager that made the final decisions on everything. He knew the most about the customer. Under the general manager, the kitchen had the final authority because they knew more about the food.”*

Pushing past your perceived ability and constantly being involved was also seem as important actions to extend knowledge acquisition and to improve your general chances to learn. *“Get out of your comfort zone. Throw yourself to the wolves every chance you get. If your station is not busy, go to the station that is and try to help. It’s the best way to learn something else. Don’t just stay in one spot. They won’t get upset if you are trying to help. It shows initiative. Make the first moves and show interest and work as fast as you can, most importantly – always show interest. You have to want to learn. When they see that, it’s easy from that point on.*

Many externs responded that being candid with their site facilitators contributed heavily to their improvement during the externship. *“Sit with your boss and tell him that you don’t want fluff; you want to know, really, how you are doing. Tell them not to hold anything back from you. It won’t make you better if you settle for the fluff. I said that several times to be sure I got the truth.*

All senior externs and most of the sophomores cited the importance of constantly asking questions. *“It’s important that externs ask questions because those questions lead to other questions.*

You could just look it up, but the scope of everything starts to widen when you have conversations about what you don't know. So, think about the questions you develop in school, but use them as guides to develop other questions, and then more questions. It's amazing how much you can learn if you do that.

Externs should begin to immediately become assertive and take action on their own behalf.

One senior extern succinctly stated that: *"The best thing to do is attack the situation from the beginning. Show them that you don't have an attitude and you are there to learn and you don't care who you learn from. Be relentless because they won't just tell you things, but if you keep asking, the answers get longer and the conversation moves on to other things you want and need to know to be successful in this business."* Students felt that it was important to be particular about the externship site choice and the specifics regarding learning opportunities. It was equally important to feel comfortable in the surroundings; being at ease impacted learning in their opinion. Humility was seen as a plus when dealing with co-workers. *"Nobody likes a know-it-all so even if you know how to do something, ask for directions and look like you got it right the first time you tried – that's better than appearing arrogant and then messing up. Oh, learn to laugh at your mistakes."*

Planning the experience to insure that outcomes were a high priority was also heavily stressed. The planning function also included a thorough investigation of the urban environment of the site city. At times, the importance of planning was calculated in light of what was lost rather than in terms of what could be achieved. *"Know as much as you can about the city and how to navigate it, where do you want to go and what you want to see and experience. There were so many different cultures and cuisines I could have tried."* Many advised playing to your strengths while concentrating on your weaknesses and to give extra time without pay if necessary. Learning does not always occur in a classroom. Knowledge is all around you and often free for the taking. This was another perspective that numerous externs came to realize when comparing the classroom to the real world. *"I pay for school, I pay for books to learn more about the profession, so if I go in early or stay later and learn something*

important, so what if I didn't get paid. It was an opportunity to learn - and for a change, it didn't cost me anything." Performance as a key component to success was heavily stressed. Overwhelmingly, keeping an open mind, and having clarity about your expectations, and theirs [the site] were stressed repeatedly.

Environment

The importance of the students' environment took on many faces in the codes that surfaced this theme. For many students the key was 'changing' their environment. In essence the difference between being a passive learner in the university setting in contrast to having to extend oneself in terms of physical ability and social skills to extract knowledge in the real workplace was a formidable hurdle for many externs. In some cases the difference in way of learning became a first day realization. For females, equality was not always the order of the day.

The ultimate goal of the externship. Sophomore externs indicated that, from their perspective, their initial externship was success because it provided them with advanced insight and improved skill levels that would aid them in their future university studies and further propel their career advancement on a future more advanced externship. Their externship site had been selected for career building and their resumes were now more substantive. The first externship was a well thought out learning opportunity that would provide them with additional symbolic capital in the form of work experience to open the doors to more advanced levels of practical experience during their next externship, and result in more favorable employment upon graduation. The goal of most senior externships was the selection of a site that could directly further their career path and their intention was to select a restaurant operation for their final externship that would act as a prelude to employment. Thus the senior externship site was intended to be their first employment upon graduation.

Externships are messy. Student extern responses from the interviews varied broadly in the reasoning, actions, and perceptions held and disclosed by externs who lived the experience which, as such, do not fit neatly into a collective representation of their total experience that emerged from their disclosures. Some responses represent the positive responses of externs who did achieve success while other responses necessarily turn the discussion toward elements at the crux of less desirable outcomes.

The following extern experiences, as comparison responses to the more successful student externs previously discussed differ in a variety of ways that turn on the externs intended externship goals; preparation tactics; their socialization abilities; and the amount of symbolic capital in the form of practical experience they were able to amass prior to the externship. The most successful sophomores saw their first externship as an opportunity to evaluate their abilities, work on weaknesses, and acquire high quality practical experience that would increase their desirability to top tier restaurant operations when applying for senior externships. Senior externs who subscribed to this way of thinking and planning on their first externships engaged in quality networking in the aftermath and focused all attention on their senior externship as the first permanent work position they would hold upon graduation. Most Culinary Arts graduates can obtain a job in the field after graduation but only a few begin their careers with top tier restaurant operations. Thus for the senior externs who thoughtfully prepared for graduation, this goal was quite attainable. They were known to their top tier restaurant externship sites as individuals with proven abilities and as such they were desirable hires. As the following experiences will expose, the combination of planning, agency, social ability and symbolic capital (practical experience) surfaced as profound factors leading to successful externship outcomes while the lack of any one of these elements tended to hinder externship outcomes.

Workplace versus classroom instruction. Often students confuse laboratory assignments with real world restaurant activities. The laboratory is geared toward learning to perform tasks accurately and to convey necessary skills. The urban culinary workplace is more in tune with perfected skills and

abilities. Still, many students make the transition and utilize what they have learned in their culinary program. *“The workplace is more high speed. You’re working fast, and thinking faster. You don’t realize how much you take with you from the classroom until you’re in a situation and you say “hey” I know what to do about this. I know how to make this sauce. I know a good way to handle this problem. It just hits you.* An overwhelming number of successful senior respondents indicated that good chefs do engage student externs in critical think exercises. Extending the student’s capabilities should always be one of the site facilitator’s goals. As recalled by one senior extern: *Every day he [the chef] would make me come up with a special for the day. He would say: ‘Ok, today you’re got chicken, come up with something we can sell.’ He just constantly made me think.”*

Many students found that communication was hampered not by social ability but rather by how the question was worded. The terminology of the university classroom was often unsettling to those knowledgeable in the restaurant setting. Sophomore and senior externs alike indicated a gap in educational terminology versus industry terminology reflecting on the predominate holding of an associate degree by most industry professionals currently in supervisory roles within the culinary industry. An overwhelming number of externs at both the sophomore and senior levels of study indicated that: *“I would ask the chef questions, but he didn’t understand them very well. So I would have to go home and re-phrase them so he would understand what I was asking.* Getting questions formulated and answered amidst the busy work schedules of most restaurant operations was innovatively overcome by one senior extern with an interest in management but working in the kitchen. *Another thing I did was to make up some management questions I wanted to know about and I gave a copy of those questions to the different managers and ask them to go over them, and when they had the time, to answer them for me so I could learn about those areas. I also highlighted some of the questions that I thought were really important so if they were pushed for time, they would concentrate on the important ones. I gave each manager questions that pertained to their area of the operation.”* This

proved to be a favorable approach to overcoming time constraints and generate more thoughtful responses. An additional positive byproduct of this approach was an appreciation of the depth of what was being questioned and the creation a productive dialog that that further enhanced the student's inquiry. *“My general manager loved my questions. He thought they were really knowledgeable things to want to know. He told me that he was happy to see that I was asking those kinds of questions to learn about. So when he had to time to talk with me I would tell him that I also wanted to know about this or that – I would add additional questions so I would get more out of it. My goal was to get the most out of the externship.”*

First day realizations. The first day at a new job can be an unsettling proposition for almost anyone. Externs are not immune for the apprehension and nerves that being a new person can create. But most individuals find ways to overcome their initials 'butterflies' and many of the student respondents recalled creative ways to end those initial jitters. Some also realized that their expectations were not as they originally perceived they would be. A common response, and equally a normal one, was *“My first few days were a little awkward but after the first week, I felt part of the team.”* Some responses were more intense. *“I felt horrible!!! I was so nervous that I was shaking and afraid to do anything wrong. I hate not knowing where everything is and having to ask people for help with everything.”* Some externs had a rude awakening regarding the site's organizational culture discovering that *“the staff consisted of an experienced 'family' and others who filled spaces on the schedule sheet. My heart sank when I realized that I wasn't part of the family so that meant I was just filling space.”*

Some students who were out of their element took a more proactive approach to getting off to a good start. One student with good upscale work experience who travelled to New York by car indicated that: *“I arrived, settled in, took a nap and then went in to help with a few banquets I knew they had that night. I figured why waste time. I was rested and it was only for a few hours of work. I didn't think about it at the time, but I gained an upper hand and impressed my superiors by deciding to*

work on my own.” This was the case for several experienced externs interviewed but it is equally important to note that they possessed the symbolic and social capital that allowed them to act. Other students went to the site to watch the operation in action, study the layout of the kitchen, and speak with some of the workers to break the ice prior to the day they were scheduled to begin work. These students believed that confronting the pressure of the ‘first day’ before scheduled to begin work would make their initial day of work easier, more productive, convey interest, and of importance to them, possibly eliminate some of the inevitable ‘first day’ mistakes that might question their competency among new peers.

Organizational cultures can and do support gender bias. An alarming theme emerged during two of the interviews I conducted during the study relating to the organizational culture of sites – an imposed limitation of what would be available to learn based on gender. One female extern was given limited duties in the kitchen and another was informed that she would be working in the front of the house [dining room]. These decisions were not based on knowledge, skills, or competency but rather on the a priori determination that the tasks involved were essentially ‘men’s work.’ The second case was taken to the extreme of not allowing the female extern to train in the kitchen during her externship. Gender bias thus exists in the culinary workplace. Though unsettled with these responses, what I found to be more alarming was the nonchalant manner in which they were recounted. I did not confront these externs regarding the issue of bias initially thus allowing them to continue recalling their individual experiences to the appropriate conclusions. The sum of their descriptions told a story in both cases of what they considered to be successful experiences with some regret wishing they had been allowed to delve more deeply into the experience.

Organizational cultures toward females. While most organizational cultures were nurturing, some presented quite different challenges for a few female externs. *“I was treated well for the most part. I was the only girl, so at times it was a little uncomfortable. I worked my butt off so they respected*

me as an employee. However, there was a fair share of sexist comments and things that would definitely be considered sexual harassment. I was referred to as "the girl" by some of the guys. This was ok with me because I have a good sense of humor but it would have been very uncomfortable for some people. Over all I was treated well but there was some days that I hated being referred to as the only "girl." I asked if the extern had mentioned this situation to the university or site facilitator, or commented on those incidents in her externship journal or final report. The reply was "Why?" What I found to be more alarming than the actual incidents was the student's resignation that a discussion of what had occurred with her educational facilitator would be an unproductive waste of time. It also indicated that these recent incidents were clearly not the first time her talents were minimized because she was female. I discussed such incidents with the individual in charge of externships at my institution indicating the need for us to more closely monitor our female externs. As an educational facility, we were indirectly supporting gender bias and it should be made clear that such action on the part of any site would not be condoned or tolerated.

Social Capital

The ability to socialize is an important element of learning in a restaurant . The externship literature continuously cites the woes of students learning in an active environment where knowledge is a moving target. Yet, socialization receives little to no attention in the culinary educational setting. Applicable social theory does exist and should receive greater consideration as some of the student interviews indicated. What surfaced during the study was the inability of some students to interact socially. Another equally alarming insight is that externship sites also suffer from a lack of socialization tactics as well.

Socialization tactics are vital to success. I asked the externs I interviewed if a personal control-orientation was indeed the backbone of their learning approach. The majority of sophomores and seniors indicated that this was so. An additional personal touch of impression management was added

by many externs to convey humility and the genuine want to learn by showing respect for the knowledge possessed by their site facilitators. *"One thing that really helped me was something really simple. Every time the chef spoke to me I would say: 'yes chef.' Finally, he said: 'don't call me chef.' I told him that I was taught from the beginning to show respect to those higher than me, and he was higher than me. He said he had never thought about it that way. But now he understood how I felt about working for him. I didn't think I was better. It's always good to be humble I think. Even if I thought I knew how to do something, I would ask somebody to show me the first time so I was sure I would do it the way they wanted it done."*

Assertiveness. Somewhere between those students who were able to overcome site-encountered obstacles and those working at sites unreceptive to the student's goals by their accounts, were those students who were capable of learning, possessed agency to some degree, but were hindered by their lack of assertiveness to advance their cause. *"I was disappointed in that I wasn't more assertive, because that's just not the type of person I am, I wish I had been more forceful in pushing what I wanted to learn and be involved in more things going on. They were willing to show me, but I was afraid to ask."* Another student echoed this sentiment: *"I wish that I had been more open. I should have pushed harder for them to show me more and let me do more."* Numerous versions of remorse for not taking personal action emerged during the study. Many sat at home and planned the questions they wanted to ask, thought about the areas they wanted to gain experience working in, but, upon arrival at the site, amidst the hustle and bustle, the sights and noise, and the general chaotic atmosphere that defines what a restaurant kitchen is, these questions and thoughts remained nothing more than secret aspirations kept safe and secure on notes in their pockets.

For others, another road block occurred. The questions they compiled utilized textbook terminology and the chef or supervisor, who ascended the ranks without the benefit of formal institutional coursework, was unfamiliar with terms such as 'organizational culture' or 'menu

engineering analysis' and the student was ill prepared to transcribe classroom idioms into more understandable inquiries although some form of each of these terms exists in virtually all restaurants – places have particular ways of thinking and acting that are acceptable or unacceptable, and all restaurants evaluate sales from their menu to assess profitability. The knowledge existed but the communication failed to convey discernible questions. Keeping things simple surfaced as an old but still important adage.

Social agency. Another prevalent recollection expressed by externs centered on a common interest in food and different cuisines. This was always, even for those not as comfortable with starting a conversation as others, an obvious focal point to begin an initial dialog that could extend to more meaningful interaction though in some cases; it proved to be the only existing commonality. *“I did fit in with my co-workers but the only thing we really have in common was food and the restaurant. During the time that I was working there, they were the only people I hung out with. It was funny to me because I literally spent all my time with these people. I got very close with a few of the employees and I liked them very much but after the externship, we lost contact.”*

Other students created interactive environments by applied their social abilities. *“I performed my greetings every shift, made jokes with everyone and generally became friends. I couldn't imagine working long hours at a place where I didn't talk to any other employees. Everyone talked with everyone.”* Social ability was a definite plus when coworkers were more distant. *“I initiated most of the conversations because they had people who did things and were hesitant to show me how to do things. I always tried to be positive and ask questions. I guess you could say that I was pleasantly persistent.”* Still others applied the basic power of observation. *“You have to learn to do things the way the site wants them done. If you watch and listen, you just pick it up as you go along, figuring out who does what and who you can go to for a specific problem or question.”*

Louis (1980) provides guidance for the adaptation of sense making in the context of newcomers and organizations when she defined sense making as attributing meaning to surprise in order to assess the special needs of newcomers through the comparison in general with that of insiders. The experience of newcomers such as externs differs from insiders in three important ways: insiders normally know what to expect in and of a given situation; when surprises do arise, the insider usually has sufficient history in the setting to interpret them more accurately; and when surprises arise and sense making is necessary, the insider usually has other insiders with whom to compare perceptions and interpretation. In essence, the interaction between extern and site serve to promote or hinder the ease of organizational entry because whether focusing on formal or informal support for socializing the newcomer to the organization, its processes, procedures, and culture, all point to the needs of newcomers to attribute meaning to experiences.

Interaction with coworkers was generally regarded as peaceful coexistence. Some coworkers were thought to be most helpful while some externs experienced both initial and, in some cases, ongoing defensive postures from the existing restaurant staff. Nonetheless, for a majority of the externs interviewed, such interaction was not viewed as a hindrance. As coworker interaction applied to gender, females felt generally accepted and most considered their innate ability to socialize most helpful to learning what they intended to learn. Most experienced receptive organizational norms and felt equality. *“Other than the pastry chef, I was the only female in the kitchen and the guys that worked with me treated me equally. The only time I was treated badly was by the Maitre’d [head of the dining area]. The sous chef had a talk with him right after the incident occurred and I felt as if the kitchen always had my back.”* Some organizational cultures did not live up to that standard.

Weak organizational socialization schemes. Still other organizations lacked what might best be described as a supporting or productive culture for externs, if such a culture existed at all for that matter. Thus what also emerged were deficient organization norms that were, in fact, not suitable for

externships. *“It was easy to see the relationships throughout the staff. Everyone hated the bartender. There were actually fights during service between the bartender and the executive chef. The whole staff was like a family. Everyone hung out together after work. I began to think they couldn’t have relationships outside of the restaurant. I did adapt easily because I made myself. I drink but I’m not an alcoholic and a lot of the people that I worked with were. Yes the site did facilitate socialization but it was between the staff. On Sunday nights after closing the whole staff would stay and drink late in to the night. I had a short relationship with the sous chef so that made things a bit awkward at times. It’s true that you should not mix business with pleasure. If I was the owner I would not allow this. There were a lot of things that went on there that were extremely inappropriate.”* This was not the first story relating to improprieties that emerged during the interview process. Again, did the extern bring this situation to the attention of the externship facilitator, the answer was consistently and unfortunately – no. The purpose of an externship did not include the formation of personal relationships with site supervisors. One could construe that the extern acted improperly in this instance but if such discussion turns toward the aspect of ‘responsibility’ for the safety, security, and wholesomeness of the externship experience, then the organizational norms of the site come into question, and equally the controls and guidelines imposed on both externs and sites by institutions should not escape scrutiny. Sites should adhere to suitability standards and approval of the site as suitable for experiential learning is an institutional decision.

Anticipatory socialization. Thus, most of the students had some vision of what the externship process would be, how they would perform, and what the subsequent outcomes and effects would result. Some students were apprehensive, while some too reassured. Some worked hard and overcame obstacles, some worked hard to no avail. Expectations were created and equally dashed. Some students returned home with ‘what if’s’ having faced the realization that they learned, but could have accomplished more had they engaged in more preparation and practice of skills. But for many of

the student respondents, their reply to the question: Was the externship what they expected? the response was *"It 'became' a whole lot more."* This was a sum statement for those who found the externship to be an 'evolutionary' process they felt empowered to heighten and did so.

Fear of the unknown. For most externs expectations were initially, and for some period of time if not continuously, clouded by apprehension, even stronger students fell prey to questioning their ability to perform adequately at some point during the experience. One student who received a glowing report from a master chef who subsequently requested more externs from the program recalled: *"I was told my skills were up to par with the site, but looking back, I really needed some reassurance. I feel a little silly now because I never anticipated how I would feel if I were out of my comfort zone, but it did happen and I wasn't sure what to do. It all worked out fine, but I had some questions about myself and not a lot of answers for a while."* The ameliorating factors in such cases became the internal condition of the student and receptiveness of the site to help the student acclimate.

As one student recalled his initial tension breaker laughing softly because he could still hear the chef's voice in his head: *"When I arrived, the chef told me to look him in the eyes and listen carefully! Mistakes are nothing more than opportunities to learn and I won't judge you by mistakes because I expect you to make them. If you learn from your mistakes, that's called growth and that's what we're looking for because growth means progress - but if you fail to seize the opportunities presented to you, we're going to clash."* The student had to repeat the statement back to the chef until the response was verbatim. The student recalled that the chef was stern, but smiling during that conversation and by the end, the student felt relieved and strangely less tense. *"I'm not sure how he did it because he was a pretty fierce guy, but he could get your attention, get his point across, and make you feel relaxed at the same time."* Not all students were quite as fortunate when it came to relieving tension. Some supervisors were better than others while a few appeared disinterested in what students might be feeling or fearing and did little to inquire about either.

Acclimating to coworkers and social norms. Student externs in larger facilities expressed ease in socially acclimating with coworkers. This, I learned, was a significant advantage of a large established venue that accepts a number of externs on an ongoing basis. *“You can watch and listen and pick up on social norms pretty fast. I think I did adapt quite easily. Everyone was friendly there and helpful in showing you the ropes and you do wait around a lot sometimes which gives you a chance to get to know a little about the people there, not to mention teaching and learning from each other, so yes the site did facilitate socialization with peers in a lot of ways.”* Externs working at sites utilizing numerous externs cited the benefits of going through the externship with others who collectively felt similar pressure to perform well. They would often compare notes, discuss future plans, and help each other overcome obstacles. Thus, support and motivational mechanisms existed among peers. An additional advantage for externs working in facilities who adopted an organizational culture that emphasized the value of teaching was their constant interaction with a staff acclimated to bringing new constituents into the fold and who, over time, became experienced in assessing and addressing the extern’s particular condition. *“My executive chef and sous chef [second in command in the kitchen] took an active lead with helping all of the externs socialize. To get things started, they showed us all around the city, and also threw a party for us at the exec’s house.”* Other large venue externs had similar experiences. *“I was made to feel at home. The executive chef and sous chef, as well as the kitchen staff, took an active lead with helping all of the externs get to know each other and the staff.”*

Culinary Arts programs lack socialization tactics. When one compares the responses of first-year students to the responses of those who have done externships, and the advice they would give to those entering the externship process which correlates to themes that first-year students have already identified as important successful functions, numerous tenets of the socialization literature appear to hold true. First-year students stressed the need for personal involvement, agency and the control of one’s destiny. Students who achieved successful externships did not stray from those beliefs yet some

students, to a greater degree, failed to ascribe to that perspective or achieve their goal expectations. The question becomes: what limitations do students' face that form inhibitions toward achieving stated ends? This might best be explored through the analysis of the students' trajectory through a culinary program. First-year student responses present a consistent collective of what should be. However, at that point, they have not engaged in the actual 'applied' culinary courses of study. They come from different social settings; some have actual culinary experience prior to entry; and each have different social skill sets, levels of motivation, and confidence. As the actual coursework begins all of these elements converge in the classroom and laboratory. Rotter's (1954) learning theory posited that the expectation of positive outcomes from behavior and maintaining the belief that a high probability exists for positive outcomes, will be more likely engaged in that behavior.

Bandura (1977) developed a social learning theory that incorporated aspects of behavior and cognitive learning. Behavioral learning assumes that people's environment causes people to behave in certain ways and cognitive learning presumes that psychological factors such as belief in one's ability are important for influencing how one behaves. Thus for Bandura, social learning suggests a combination of environmental and psychological factors combine to influence behavior. Students do not equally possess the same motor skills such as eye-hand coordination, a sense of urgency, or outgoing personalities. While the purposes of laboratory assignments are designed to address such inconsistencies, nonetheless they become points of personal comparison for students, and equally noticeable separators by the instructors which go un-ameliorated.

The *Thomas Theorem* (Thomas and Thomas, 1928) states that if men and women define situations as real, they are real in their consequences – the interpretation of a situation causes the actions of the present. Should students judge their performance to be below their fellow classmates, they begin to question their chances to succeed. They see other classmates begin to pull away from them in their work. The different 'tracking' of students is proverbial in the educational literature

beginning in elementary and secondary education. Higher education, as an extension of that system, subsequently places no barriers to different 'tracking' as segregation according to attributes and abilities of those in its charge- especially in applied fields. Students exhibiting greater degrees of skill are placed in more important roles in school and community functions to encourage their ability thus sometimes reinforcing the weaker student's view of his or her inability as stated by Rotter, as well as their chances to demonstrate improvement.

Ellis, Lee, and Peterson (1978) developed a research agenda to explore differences in social class finding that lower class parents emphasized conformity in their children because they experienced conformity in their day-to-day activities while middle-class parents were more likely to emphasize creativity and self-reliance. Rosenbaum (1975) on college preparation classes and difference hypothesized that participation in a given higher or lower tracks [levels or types of courses] would result in the adoption of the norms, values, beliefs, skills, and behaviors that correspond to that tract. Thus, tracks socialize these students into their corresponding roles which are especially applicable in the applied sciences. The work of these authors extends to the university setting as well. The quantities of time culinary students spend working together generally create strong personal supportive bonds between classmates. Separations, however, occur internally among students' based on ability, drive and success achieved in the classroom and laboratory setting and beyond. As such, while the personal connection usually remains constant, tracts do form grouping the more proficient students and those who have not as yet reached their full potential. As such, norms, values, beliefs, skills and behaviors become adopted by those with different skill sets and collectively drive how the student's view of 'self,' over time, becomes fashioned.

It should be noted that, these factors do not necessarily forecast ultimate outcomes for students. Equalization over time is another factor that quite often comes into play. Weaker students upon graduation have gone on to perfect their skills and improve social abilities. As exemplars, several

students considered not of the highest caliber have gone on to become high profile personal chefs for internationally known personalities. Others have gone on to successful careers including restaurant ownership. The point is simply that those students placed on the higher tract receive greater near-term opportunities and equally demonstrate the ability to be successful now.

Ellis, Lee, and Peterson's (1978) argument regarding conformity between classes can be viewed from a different perspective that is in line with Fisher's (1985) position on role clarity. Externs have been conditioned to conform to their classroom and laboratory regimentation. Teachers teach and students learn according to prescribed tenants – none of which apply to a working culinary operation which can result in role conflict – the student as teacher and learner. The students who pre-negotiate their experiences reduce such conflict and their adjustment into the organization for the most part occurs without major conflict. The students who fail to negotiate the definable and measurable courses of action which would occur on their externships, or sites that agree to student learning goals but fail to comply, place students in such conflict as their responses indicate. Thus the student's internal condition in more difficult circumstances can serve to ameliorate such conflict, or fail to overcome it. The interaction between student and site thus becomes a prime determinant of how clear or ambiguous the student's role is defined.

EVALUATION

Scrutiny is an integral part of the higher education mandates required by state and federal governments. Evaluation is a known aspect of university studies. Students are not foreign to the ways they will be assessed by their professors. The workplace, however, takes a different view of how or even if evaluation is in fact their responsibility. In defense of site facilitators, educational institutions do not always place the necessary emphasis on what forms of evaluation they require the site to perform, when it should occur, and what criteria it should be based on. Higher education expects critical evaluation of student externs but as the finding indicate the framework for evaluation often leave much

to be desired. The question of whom will conduct the evaluation is also often inadequately answered or left with mixed understanding between extern site and the extern's culinary program.

It is crucial to note that, while various levels of accomplishment were reported, all student recounts and subsequent outcomes of these experiences were regarded by the externship program facilitators from all of the institutions involved in the study as 'successful.' The minimum criteria necessary for a satisfactory grade for the externs' experiential coursework essentially turns on the following factors: the completion of the institution's required number of hours of work at the externship site; the submission, in most cases, of a journalized representation the experience and/or the compilation of the experience in the form of a final portfolio; and a satisfactory evaluation submitted by the site's externship coordinator. At the end of all student discussions, aspirations, and tribulations, the minimum criteria for site inclusion in the institutions externship program, and the evaluation process mirrors these minimum requirements.

Student and site facilitator partner to frame what should be valued. For successful sophomore and senior student externs, agency began with the initial interview conducted for their acceptance as an extern. They asserted control over the situation by inquiring into what the site expected from them, and equally voicing what they expected in return. Verbal agreement was not an acceptable end for these students. The necessary deliverable from the restaurant was an agreed upon schedule of what would occur and an appropriate time frame which accomplished two things: they were responsible for learning at the agreed upon pace to prepare themselves for the next step, and the occurrence of that next step was planned. They asserted themselves and maintained control at every opportunity yet remained humble as they executed their tasks. They indicated interest in learning by questioning, and by requiring that their work be evaluated accurately. These externs played to their strengths but placed heavy concentration on perceived areas of weakness. The scope of knowledge they expected to learn was large, but that attainment was planned in advance. All was willing to expend extra time and effort

towards their externship. They were not afraid to try something new, and asserted themselves into situations beyond their knowledge to extend the educational benefits.

It should be acknowledged that these externs had strong partnerships with the restaurant sites where they did their externship. The students excelled through effort, but they also prospered because the externship site was engaged in the learning process. These restaurant facilitators made education a part of the company mission. The assertiveness of these students from the onset was an important factor, but the site exerted equal effort to teach. Agency was evidenced by both extern and site facilitator. Further, while these students negotiated a planned schedule of externship experiences, they repeatedly extended those experiences to further impact the externship outcome.

Not all externships follow the previous pattern. It should be additionally considered that a reversal in site conditions and attitudes could probably have resulted in different outcomes. Many sites do not invest equally in the externship experience, but clearly a more adventurous and inquisitive attitude on the part of the extern could, to some extent, ameliorate outcomes in less than stellar learning situations. Thus in good situations these qualities could extend outcomes. In formidable situations, they could equally be helpful to learning, and possibly change the contextual nature of the situation at hand. However, not all externs possess this level of social and symbolic capital and equally numerous sites lack organizational socialization schemes that allow them to reciprocate the level of interest expressed by students eager to learn.

Educational program imposed guidelines for externs. The collective response of students to what program guidelines they followed included the overarching requirement that students' must complete and document 360 hours of work at the site and present a final evaluation by the site supervisor. Other required deliverables included pictures taken to convey the cuisine and presentation aspects utilized by the site, menus executed, and journaling their experiences for reflection and

comparison over time which would aid in a critically-reflected externship 'portfolio' providing a synthesis of the experience.

Creative projects were also a part of their requirement such as the creation of menus, or designing items for inclusion on the site's menu from products available or underutilized. The responses varied among sophomore and senior respondents and the general theme that emerged during the interviews indicated a connection between the extern's ability and the involvement of the site. Stated differently, the level of competence and willingness to be involved the extern displayed related directly to the receptiveness and involvement of the site to engage in advancing the student creatively. Though this pattern appeared to predominate, there were also instances where these same student evaluation factors were of little consequence. *"The only guidelines I followed were that I worked 360 hours. We were supposed to keep a journal four days a week and after the first two weeks of work I was too tired to keep up with the journal. After working somewhere and standing on your feet for twelve hours a day the last thing you want to do is go home and write about that place. I got to the point where I was worthless by the end of a day."* I encountered various versions of this theme to a greater and lesser extent. Some students organized ways of coping and conquering heavy workloads and program requirements and persisted while others became simply engulfed by what seems unmanageable and unexpected. Somehow *"I was told to act professional and perform to the best of my abilities"* failed to provide sufficient insight to those with little or no previous work experience in the field. The gap quickly became insurmountable. The advice to *"tough it out"* as some externs recalled also failed to provide ameliorative insight about how to address problems occurring in real time that the inexperienced extern could not clearly define let alone begin to control.

Educational programs found lacking in student-site connections. Some students felt that the list of previously approved sites compiled by the program helped with the student's selection process. However, others felt that the list should be kept more current especially in

terms of the site's personnel which would directly address who the extern's mentor might be. Another student added: *"What good is a restaurant name and address on a page? I needed to know more particulars about the sites."* Other students were not aware that a potential site list had been compiled. *"I didn't know about nearly any of the externship sites before having to choose one and the site I selected did not provide a good experience for me. Now, I feel behind and I'm having a difficult time getting into a good site for my second externship because my resume doesn't list a place with strong credentials."* Numerous students cited the potential importance of the institution compiling the impressions of externs who had previously worked at sites new externs were considering to provide more breadth about what might be expected from the site. The opinions of previous externs in general were held in high regard as a 'peer to peer' trustworthy informational resource.

Student perceptions on what the site invested. The ability of a site to impart the knowledge the student sought or to advance their skills and abilities was viewed differently depending on student and site correlation and at times where less desirable outcomes occurred, inequality of intentions was an emerging issue. I received positive responses such as: *"I felt the site helped my education, definitely. There was one worker in particular who was always teaching me, but every other cook there taught me something. It wasn't a forced situation, it was natural. Everyone wanted to show me a better way if I needed to improve."* and *"When I came back from my externship, I was totally a different person. My culinary knowledge changed dramatically. I had more confidence in the kitchen and knew a lot more."* Another student echoed: *"Absolutely. It's a great externship site. They reviewed my work daily to be sure I was accomplishing my goals."* From a slightly broader view: *"I did mature because of the work and I did gain some useful knowledge about how to deal with people."* Another student reflected: *"I gained confidence for sure. I guess I could say that I came away with a little from a*

lot of areas. I was able to perform well which made me happy with myself. Success is contagious in a way, the more you get, the more you want so it definitely helped me to commit and try harder. It showed me there is more than what I know and I have to keep pushing to get better."

Maybe this is wrong for me. Other experiences produced outcomes that could be construed as positive or insightful in a different but no less important vein: *"Maybe it's important to understand what you don't want to be able to define what makes you happy. I was able to see what areas excited me and the things I sure now that I don't want to pursue."* For a few, the externship signaled the need to consider a different professional trajectory: *"No. I learned more about what I don't want to do and what kind of people I don't want to work with than I did about a restaurant. It's all politics. I will never own a restaurant and I never want to work for someone else as long as I live. I don't think I progressed much in the field but I grew as a person."* What also emerged from several student respondents indicated that not all externship sites intend to invest in meaningful ways to better the extern. *"They didn't. They benefited from having me there to work hundreds of hours at minimum wage to help cut their labor."* Another student response summed the point succinctly: *"I knew enough to fill employee gaps at a lower labor cost. I was there for the site's benefit. It was never about educating me. If I learned something - good - but that wasn't what was important to them."*

The externship was a valuable experience. For most of the externs, the externship experience was considered a worthwhile enterprise. For students who persevered over time, it brought them to new heights of awareness about their field, the opportunities that laid open to them and, of importance, about themselves. They added work experience in strong hospitality venues to their resumes, garnered recommendations from chefs highly respected in the industry, and created networks to advance the careers and knowledge. The rhyme and reason of the classroom generally made more sense to them – they had seen the correlation of strong organizational cultures to success, how knowledge and creativity were prized, and most of all, from their perspectives, they had been measured and not found lacking.

What resonated from these students during the interview process was not arrogance in any form, not cockiness, but rather a quiet reassurance, a grateful humility they seemed to feel about what they had successfully experienced – they never saw the outcome as foregone conclusions.

The Externship Sites

Externship site facilitators offered much insight regarding student preparation, the use of agency, symbolic capital, and the importance of social skills in team environments. Various impressions and themes emerged from interviews with externship site facilitators that illuminated why they seek or agree to participate in the externship process; the reasons some place caveats on which externs they are willing to accept; and how externs can position themselves for success.

What externship sites value and invest. Different levels of fine dining restaurants exist from the elite restaurants on one end of the spectrum to quality dining facilities with more moderate attitudes towards what incoming employees should be able to do and know on the other. After a review of all interviews conducted, the externship facilitator's willingness to share knowledge with the student, what site facilitators valued, the sum total of their intended investment in the extern, and ultimately whether or not expectations of personal gain for the site itself drove participation in externship programs create necessary partitions for the purpose of this study. As such, these elements tended to classify these different externship sites into four distinct categories: first, those sites requiring skills and experience with entrance caveats; second, those operations that accept externs because involvement in the process serves the best interest of the site itself; third, sites that need seasonal help but acquire quality externs because they have evolved into teaching foodservice operations; and fourth, those externship sites that maintain a student-centered focus and accept responsibility for student outcomes.

The emergent site themes are chronicled within these site designations beginning with elite restaurants and then moving to upscale fine dining restaurants with more moderate attitudes regarding

what knowledge and experience is acceptable for a potential extern. As such, the themes that emerged from the codes developed for site facilitators include in the order of discussion: *involvement; symbolic capital; environment; evaluation; and social capital*. While these themes surfaced during student interviews, the meaning attached to them by externship site facilitators centered on the perspective of those providing knowledge rather than the students' perspective toward seeking to attain what site know.

Formal culinary education as the new standard. The majority of the chefs who participated in the study are the products of culinary schools themselves, not to mention those with degrees in other professions as well. They are aware of, and acknowledged that times are changing and accommodations for student externs from culinary institutions were important to the industry itself. *“More and more people are taking the culinary field as a serious career alternative.”* Another extended that thought: *“When I entered the field, my focus was on superior cooking. It still is, but now, I own my restaurant and each day also involves management, accounting, integrated technology and social network marketing. In this field you progress or you fall behind. We have to bring culinary graduates along because they are the most viable candidates for understanding how a modern facility operates. What they are learning and bringing to the industry is important to its survival. As industry professionals, we all need to adjust our thinking to address the changes and groom the talent that will take us into the future.”* All site facilitators indicated the need for culinary programs to constantly adjust program content to match changes and innovations in industry.

Involvement, Symbolic Capital, and Environment

Each of these themes surfaced during the student interviews. They appeared again as important themes during the externship site facilitator inquiries. Involvement was previously discussed as an action required by students. Now involvement takes on a reciprocal connotation of varying degrees as sites respond or fail to respond to student extern attempts to become involved in the site

operation. The symbolic capital theme becomes confirmed as a student necessity from the site facilitators perspective as indicative of experience, passion, and commitment, and the 'environment' of each externship site, as an internal and external consideration and catalyst, surfaced as an additional determinant of what levels of student 'involvement' and 'symbolic capital' were acceptable for entry in the restaurant. Thus, what differs from the student perspectives on these themes is the way each is viewed from the site facilitator point of view to which the discussion now turns.

Sites that Emphasize Skills and Experience

Entrance Standards for upscale restaurants. Some urban restaurants require externs to possess minimum skill and experience levels which serve as important considerations that ultimately drive the site's decision to accept or reject an externship applicant. An elite urban restaurant is a very different environment in comparison to a culinary program laboratory setting. The elite restaurant environment requires involvement be extended to commitment. To understand why such a requirement exists, one must understand that these food service entities operate in dense metropolitan areas with stiff competition, they serve well-informed publics, and have built their reputations as eclectic and innovative destinations by achieving extremely high levels of quality and consistency – adherence to higher-than-expected norms. The executive chefs who run these operations are, in essence, perfectionists in some form or another, who constantly achieve success by, consistently surrounding themselves with co-workers who possess the talent to adhere to this mentality. These sites are willing to share their knowledge but, their organizational culture requires, and their patrons demand, superior performance levels.

Quality urban foodservice operations that do not seek to be classified as elite destinations, in most instances, tend to apply less perfectionist ways of thinking to externs who have little experience in such venues. High standards are maintained and valued, but the operation is not centered in perfectionism although a high level of performance defines the operation where commitment is

expected and equally remains a clientele requisite. In essence, the perspective from which the site sees the restaurant in relation to the competitive terrain strongly correlated to the degree of flexibility the site could or would extend to externs when skill level and working knowledge were the primary factors driving the extern's acceptance into the facility. These considerations resonated throughout the site themes that emerged during the study.

What elite restaurants want from externs. Elite restaurants with high recognition were quite discerning about who would be allowed into their operation. One New York Chef, emphasized that deep commitment, from his view, begins with how the food should be conceptualized. *"First and foremost, I think it's important for anyone working in my kitchen to realize that whether we're talking about the center of the plate protein [meats, fish, etc.], vegetables, or a starch [potatoes, rice], these were once living organisms and they should be treated with respect."*

Chefs with national and international recognition wasted no time in forming opinions regarding an extern's acceptance. The face to face interview began the decision process. *"If I can detect a deep commitment for food, a humble attitude, and the ability to self-start then I feel inclined to continue discussions, but if I detect a lack of any of these qualities, departure is immediate."* This initial process was concurrent with other sites who expressed similar standards that came to bear on the decision process.

Should the extern successfully navigate the initial interview the next step in the hiring process was to be more intense and to the chef, the tell-tale maker or breaker for acceptance into the operation – the 'stage' [audition] where the student could be evaluated in action. *"I also require that a potential employee spend a minimum of two days working with my kitchen brigade [with coworkers] for several reasons: First, we can 'size up' a person in the first ten minutes of their arrival. In the first task a candidate performs, we are able to observe basic essential behaviors required to excel in my kitchen. They have to be conscious and focused on the task before them. This is easier said than done because*

you have to analyze the situation constantly, be able to make decisions on that analysis, and act accordingly. Secondly, a good candidate is aware of their surroundings at all times. How does one walk down a busy hot line without running into cooks - they can read the play. Third, I evaluate the candidate's demeanor toward their co-workers; is there a sense of respect and teamwork? This, in my opinion, has to be evident. The fourth behavior I need to see, as I said before, is passion. The candidate must be passionate about every task they perform. If mopping the floor, polishing copper, or filleting an exotic fish, every task must have the same passion and focus as any other. If the candidate has these behaviors, we know we can work with the individual to help him or her realize their full potential during the externship, or beyond." Most of the chefs interviewed indicated that these minimum criteria were strongly indicative of positive outcomes in this venue level.

Most indicated that a strong balanced team was an important as well as other essential personal characteristics . *"Without a strong team to carry out the "plays" nothing of great importance can ever be accomplished."* Pride in workmanship in every endeavor consistently emerged as another required quality. *"The magic that is fine dining occurs by striving to create cuisine that transcends and exceeds. Putting everything into each and every step in the process from receiving a product to bringing it to the table is about pride."* But these were considered norms. Transcending and exceeding expectations was always a work in progress which began with students having the courage to constantly assess their strengths and recognizing their weaknesses. They should, of course, play to the former, but a deep commitment to resolving the later was the crux of what needed to be observed. Personal evaluation, from their perspective, while not always easy, was seen as the precursor to growth in the culinary profession. *"I don't think it's abnormal to wake up on occasion and feel a little overwhelmed by the responsibility of performing better on that day. True professionals have the courage to consistently aspire to greater heights and it always comes down to mental toughness and focus."* New externs should never forget respect, humility, and the courage to progress. Additionally, a highly successful

kitchen is based not only in respect for the food served, but for everyone involved in the process from beginning to end.

Elite restaurants prefer externs with experience. Chefs in this venue cited the importance of symbolic capital in the form of previous experience in a restaurant as a prerequisite for entry into the operation. *“I expect one to two years of experience to insure that the extern has knowledge of the stress, the hours of work required in this profession, and the ability to confront the pressure of a busy kitchen.”* Besides understanding work, pressure, and stress, a majority of these chefs cited an additional advantage afforded by previous work: *“It’s important for externs to have exposure to multitasking and a ‘third gear’ [additional speed] for turning up the pace at any given time with proficiency. This all comes with time.”* Still others indicated that while they were looking for professionalism characterized by consistency, agency, and an attitude toward constant improvement, students should begin slow and move up as their ability allowed. Their willingness to learn was seen as an imperative and their commitment to work and taking direction were seen as utmost student deliverables. They also believed that the student’s progression should be in the hands of the student and gauged by their performance, ability and willingness to learn and execute. Agency was always a predominant and reoccurring stated requirement. They further cited the importance of a ‘quality first’ attitude toward work, a ‘sponge’ attitude toward learning, and a willingness to say ‘I don’t know – but I can find out,’ and admitting to faults when things go wrong, all done with humility. In their general opinion, the path to failure was paved with “a lack of respect for others, calling in sick for minor ailments, car problems, and so forth.” These types of incidents lead to an abrupt departure of the employee. Not listening to directions and constructive criticism, or not providing constructive input, and not being honest were equally major concerns that moved the extern closer to the exit door if not entirely through it.

Moderate upscale dining. Chefs with more moderate attitudes toward what externs should know placed more emphasis on basic skills: the proper care of their kitchen tools, how to understand

recipes, how to set up a kitchen station, and above all cleanliness. Another important aspect was the ability to do production work in volume. *“One thing at a time is messy and inefficient. Moving with a sense of urgency is important. If they can’t multitask they won’t be around long.”* Ultimately, all chefs in the upper strata of the fine dining segment stressed the need for critical thinking under pressure and having the ability to prioritize. *“Everyone has to think and react quickly. Asking good questions is good – too many is problematic. I expect them to check with me to determine if the procedure is correct. What they have been taught in culinary school may not be what I’m looking for – advanced techniques apply here.”* While the novice extern might view many of the stated requirements as stringent to the point of overwhelming, one chef supplied the sum statement for why such standards exist. *“I do understand that the extern is learning, I remember being in that position and I do empathize, but a lack of these tendencies and abilities has to be a deal-breaker because average performance is just not enough. Fine dining customers don’t pay for average. This leaves ‘good’ as the minimum entry level standard I can accept, but good is only a place to begin.”*

Preparation should extend beyond program goals. The predominant theme, both expressed and emphasized, by all chefs was that school and class work should always be the number one priority which should never be jeopardized by outside endeavors. The student should never sacrifice their foundation for learning. However, all were quick to equally emphasize that externs need to understand that school was only the beginning. Exposure to a working culinary operation contributes to experience that broadened and routinized skills. *“Work is the biggest preparation aid. Each experience, whether it be working as a line cook at a small restaurant to working in a large country club makes the concepts learned in school take on a reality that you need outside of school to be successful.”* The most obvious reason cited for working outside the classroom environment was to become familiar with the kitchen routines of working restaurants which are much different from the classroom kitchen or the school restaurant. *“The classroom and real world kitchen have differences in terms of demands and stress*

levels. The stress is real because the demands come from the guests and the chef. Performance does not equate to grades any more – it's about contributing to a working business.” Another chef comparison of learning in the culinary industry to institutional instruction cited the greater volume of pressure in the industry. *You have to get the food out and it has to be good. They [externs] learn how to deal with pressure, stress, heat, the kitchen environment, and other people's stress. People around them also need to get their work done. It is a real test for them.”*

Why symbolic capital is important. Symbolic capital in the form of practical experience and other culinary related activities outside of class were seen as important indicators of passion and commitment that go beyond the classroom. *“Most culinary schools offer a variety of opportunities for student enrichment including clubs, catering work, pro bono work for charitable events, chances to assist for visiting guest chefs, volunteer work and a host of other activities. We want the student who avail themselves of the most possible opportunities.”* Another responded: *“I think all chefs look toward individuals who have the wherewithal to get started in the industry while in school. If you're afraid to jump into the industry early, you probably won't succeed.”* Most professionals saw experience as vital, but there was another underlying reason for its importance that hit closer to home for industry professionals - the students' ability to extend past current barriers. *“A student who gets involved in outside activities shows us that they care enough to go beyond the expected and chances are they will do the same when they come to work for us.”* Involvement was considered important to both student and site: *“Involvement is a precursor for confidence in one's ability. Commitment takes sacrifice and hard work strengthens character. I also feel that volunteer work indicates responsibility to various communities. I love people who show that kind of enthusiasm! They get my attention – which typically leads to employment because these are the people I'm looking for.”*

Self-centered Sites

Sites using externs for personal gain. Some externship sites, typically on the low end of the fine dining segment to the casual dining segment see the value of participating in externships from a more limited and self-serving perspective than higher echelon sites. As such, the differences between the elite and moderate levels of urban fine dining in comparison can be profound. Sites operating at the lower level of the fine dining segment see the importance of accommodating the student's work-study priority but equally indicated that classroom learning is limited, work provides practice for students, and practice leads to perfection. The pragmatic question becomes practice leading to perfection at what cost to the extern given the expectations of the institution and of what benefit to the site? Some sites will accept a student, but the extern will receive minimum to no pay – a throwback to the apprentice system of the past which still exists in various forms today. These sites assert that the environment they provide is conducive to learning but the student must apply aggressive tactics to acquire any knowledge gained. The true purpose of sites accepting externs is, on one hand, to provide a quality pool of potential hires, and on the other, a practical cost cutting measure. At the end of the externship, both student and site can evaluate future associations. They freely admit that externships can provide a test run which benefits the student in some ways, and from a strict site-centered perspective, virtually limits the financial downside for the externship site.

Sites on the low end of fine dining quality insisted that they provide a real service to the externs. *“Externships provide the student with real life experience at the workplace.”* But in the same breadth, these sites equally expressed that externs helped the company with seasonal labor costs. Externs are also seen as beneficial to their core employees: *“It’s the financial and social satisfaction. Not only do the student externships alleviate my overtime budget, it helps motivate our regular workers with ‘new blood.’ It makes my crew feel important and they enjoy teaching the new generation and also learn from them new techniques sometimes.”* All of these site facilitators felt that students did benefit from their

work experience and were helped to acclimate into the new work environment. *“Our kitchen manager explains with detail all the rules and duties before they actually start working, we give them menu tests, forms, human resources policies and so on. When they start they know what to expect from us and what we want from them.”* However, there was little mention of any discussion regarding what the extern personally wanted to gain from the experience. One site respondent offered: *“They all want to learn as much as possible in a very limited time. Many have that famous restaurant mentality. They think that working in a famous restaurant is a need to be successful and profitable.”* Students do not need a famous restaurant to be successful as a manifold of students demonstrate after graduation. They do however need a productive work environment that allows them to assess what they and the externship site value in a positive sense. I would argue that thinking critically and reflecting on negative experiences such as those recalled by externs interviewed is important. However, no durable preparation for the students' future occurs when site facilitators have no serious intentions in participating in the student's learning. Thus learning varied in relation to the type of site chosen by students and the site's true interest, or lack of interest, in helping the student to progress academically and professionally.

Evaluation

Assessment is an integral part of higher education learning schemes and externships are not exempt from evaluation. Experiential learning should not present challenges to the student evaluation process although challenges were experienced in congruence with the different site designations. The methods of evaluation, their adequacy, and of importance, the lack of evaluation schemes depict the following discussion of evaluation within the different types of externship sites.

Site-centered restaurants lack evaluation standards. Several alarming occurrences emerged during the interviews with low end sites facilitators. Interestingly, all were

unfamiliar with any guidelines enacted by the program with the exception of their ability to allow the student to work the minimum prescribed hours to satisfy their externship requirement. They were equally unclear regarding how the student would be evaluated. It was their impression that evaluations and grading were conducted under the auspices of the educational institution. Some provided general written statements that the student had performed satisfactorily but by their account, if the student showed up for work consistently and made some effort their evaluative response was positive. In some cases, a check off questionnaire was provided by the institution as a summary evaluation. Seldom, if ever, was the time taken for a detailed account of the students' activities by the chef. A majority of the respondents seemed rather 'detached' from this question. Further, they stated the assumption that any student's learning agenda would emanate for the program and as such, this was of little concern to them. *"I'm sure the student knows what they have to accomplish on the job to get a good grade. I know they have to mind their 'P's' and 'Q's" and act professionally while they're here."* Thus, the discussion of what students' would learn, or a lack of emphasis placed on the importance of what the student should take away from the experience by the site appeared to be the status quo. Further, these sites conducted no ongoing evaluative process to help guide the students in their charge, and little to no interest was expressed about this issue in general. When asked what changes they would make to the externship process, the majority response indicated no need for change. *"I can't think of anything these inexperienced young people could do to prepare themselves better. The 'purpose' of the externship is to experience a working restaurant or other type of culinary operation. That's the important lesson that they can't learn in a classroom."* These responses are consistent with the literature's stated lack of experiential learning schemes provided by externship sites but equally speaks to the lack of method and assessment provided to students

by culinary programs. Evaluation aligned with the student's background knowledge and experience was also not evident in a site-centered environment.

Site-student Reciprocation

While there are sites that use students solely for their operational needs, other sites exist that accept externs as the means to site-centered ends based on the unique seasonality of their business but these sites engage in win-win scenarios for both site and students. A large prestigious country club in the northeast serves as an exemplar. This enterprise peaks during the summer months and falls to modest levels of occupancy during the other times of the year. Thus their labor requirements during June to August are extreme and their clientele is most discerning. To remedy this dilemma, they accept top student externs from several institutions, and pay them \$9 an hour which is below the \$25 to \$30 an hour their seasoned staff receives. At face value this would appear to be just another site who abuses the purpose and intent of the externship process. What makes this site, and other site of this type, different are the other factors that come into play regarding their approach to externships and the externs themselves.

The site facilitator is a nationally renowned master chef [highest level of skill] and the core staff are hand-selected and of the highest caliber to meet the standards of the location. They accept the more experienced externs selected through on-site interviews conducted at the institution and to offset the lower pay grade, supply them with housing at the site, meals, and extensive training during the externship. The externs gain experience in the various moderate to eclectic restaurants on the property, and participate in high volume upscale catering events. The externs also receive top tier instruction at a site with no prescribed food budget which allows them to work with a variety of exotic products unavailable in the laboratory setting. As all externs are housed collectively, a 'community' atmosphere of collaboration is encouraged by the site which gives externs from different institutions the added advantage of comparing notes and knowledge with each other, networking opportunities among

themselves, and interaction with a most knowledgeable chef and site staff. Evaluations occur often in both verbal and written form, and a concise detailed final evaluation is provided to the extern at the end of the externship. This site and others of this type have confronted the challenges of seasonality by becoming in depth teaching operations coveted by numerous institutions for externships. It would be appropriate to say that this site uses externs to lower their labor costs, but through the reciprocation of knowledge and amenities, the extern participates in a valuable experience, incurs the nominal expense of arrival and departure, and interacts with peer and skilled mentors.

Student-centered Sites

In addition to the student attributes cited as important by sites, the foundational theme of chefs who take an actual interest in the students they accept as externs was 'site involvement.' *"I like to give students a guided "hands on" experience of the Culinary Arts which helps prepare them to excel both in school and after graduation. It also builds a good relationship between our organization, the university, as well as the community."* The importance of the students working environment was repeatedly stressed and summed by another chef. *"I feel that the environment is crucial to learning and if an extern is empowered, that extern will take the initiative to perform well."*

Site-initiated learning - student and site facilitator partnerships. Externship sites who initiate learning felt that the content and variety of any externship plan between the site and the student should start with the site. *"It is initiated by me [the chef]. I'm in the best position to get them acclimated. I've done this for a while and I understand what tends to overwhelm them and what works best. Who better to get things rolling?"* Many facilitators cited that externs should be exposed to different and varied circumstances. *"The more varied the experience, the better they see how everything fits together."* Other site facilitators echoed the importance of a variety of work for the extern. *"They have to learn to adjust and negotiate the situation at hand. Every service in a restaurant brings different challenges. We prefer working closely with the extern, not overcome the challenges for*

them, but to help them reason through ‘which’ challenges they’re facing and where does the emphasis go at that moment?” Student centered site facilitators indicated that the more comfortable a student feels in the workplace, the more effort they exert and also the more empowered they feel to extend that effort. *“We train them as though they were one of our own employees because after graduation – they may be.”* These sites also felt that the initiation process should include getting to know coworkers. *“They have to feel valued and accepted by the team to feel like they’re a ‘part’ of the team.”*

A consistent evaluation process. Sites that valued the students education considered evaluation to be a two-part process that began with letting students' know what was expected from them, and secondly, their understanding of what they could expect from site facilitator" and their coworkers. Another facilitator laughed as he expressed his feeling that *“evaluations are everywhere! All the time! Good job, we’re on pace, we’re falling a little behind and need to step it up a bit. These are all reinforcements if used correctly. It allows them to respond to unfamiliar situations and perform satisfactorily. Directing them toward the positives reinforces their confidence level. My approach is simple I keep them on pace which leaves no negatives for discussion at the end of the day. Good direction leads to good results.”* Still another facilitator added the importance of constant positives. *“Evaluation has to happen on a daily basis. You have to let the extern know how they are performing so they can understand where to adjust if necessary. Time management is crucial in our profession – so constant emphasis goes there until they develop a sense of urgency. I don’t take a negative approach. I’d rather say ‘you’re not there yet’ rather than ‘you’re going to slow’ because positive responses, even when things aren’t right, usually gets positive results.”*

Most site facilitators felt that if the student wanted to learn they would, but the more experience they had prior to the externship the more prepared they would be to meet and overcome obstacles. The majority felt that externships are valuable experiences for students that help to enhance their social skills, job satisfaction, commitment to the industry, and build personal confidence. *“It gives*

the student a snapshot of what their careers could be after graduation, and it reinforces their knowing that they can do the work. A sum statement was provided by one facilitator who emphasized that *“externships reinforce the fact that Culinary Arts is a ‘hands-on’ career and while the information in the classroom is an important foundation to acquire the knowledge and skill to perform, the real learning environment is the workplace.”*

These sites, like others, overstated the importance of students gaining work experience prior to going on externships. Requiring student to have a certain amount of work hours before accepting an externship was another reoccurring suggestion that spoke to the same theme. These site facilitators further expressed that the expectations of the extern seldom matched reality unless they had achieved at least some working experience before the externship. As one site facilitator offered: *This extra experience could be the difference in an extern being an ‘asset’ to the organization – or just a ‘body’ floating from one place to another in the kitchen. The former learns a variety of things, the latter just peels vegetables.”* Not so different a theme heard over the years from students who lamented not seeing and doing more, or being allowed to work only one of the easy stations in the kitchen. Could externs achieve success without previous work experience? These facilitators said ‘yes’ but the odds of success were too small to constitute a viable plan of action.

Social Capital

Socialization has thus far been discussed from the perspective of students needing to possess social skills to communicate and pursue interaction with co-workers to obtain knowledge. The discussion now turns to externship sites that also have social capital and use it to engage the student externs they accept into their operation. As the findings indicate, social capital is most effective when both student and site possess the ability to communicate effectively. Some sites aggressively seek to communicate with student externs.

Sites with a positive associational link to culinary programs

A sense of completion. Two sites were encountered that approached the externship process from a different perspective – the linkage of site and institution. The field of culinary arts, in comparison to other fields of study, is relatively new and as such, some site facilitators who entered the profession through some form of apprentice scheme have achieved operational success and ownership of exceptional restaurants. What makes these facilitators different is the deliverable they experience by participating in the externship process – a sense of completion. *“I wish I would have had the opportunity to attend culinary school, but they didn’t exist when I was coming into the business. In a way these externs make me feel like I’m a part of that in some way.”* These operators take great care in teaching those in their charge and equally seek to gain the new knowledge the extern has experienced in the classroom and laboratory. *“I didn’t get to go to culinary school but the externs take me full circle and in a lot of ways, I feel complete now because we share knowledge. I look at what they know and think about how long it took me to learn it on my own. I’m finally getting some formal education.”* The chemistry and knowledge these sites provide make them locations of choice for both new and advanced externs.

Socialization aspects and organizational culture. The externship sites that focused on skills and experience in conjunction with the student-centered sites, and those sites with an associational bond to culinary education were most concerned with the newcomer’s socialization into the organization and took an active part in the communication process. These organizations are aware that effective socialization skills are necessary to maintain and motivate employees. The existing theory is most relevant to a culinary restaurant operation. Organizational socialization is the process through which organizational culture is perpetuated, and by which newcomers learn the appropriate roles and behaviors to become effective and participating members (Louis, 1990). Feldman (1980) defined ‘effective socialization’ as one of the main criteria for organizational socialization through which the

success of the organization's socialization programs, the organizations perpetuation, and the newcomer's success through the entire socialization process are evaluated. It is conceptualized as the primary "outcome" of the socialization process that will enhance the achievement of individual and organizational outcomes.

The topic has been discussed from various perspectives including socialization stages (Wanous, 1992), socialization tactics (Volkart, 1951), person-situation interactionism, newcomer sense making (Louis, 1990), symbolic interactionism (Reichers, 1987), and stress (Nelson, 1987). The facilitators of each of these site classifications stressed; the externs as part of the team; understanding the organizational culture; personal learning; and making sense of everyday events, and so forth. In essence, the need for effective socialization by all site classifications is best reasoned and stated by Wanous (1992) who posited effective socialization to be synonymous with organizational 'commitment' rather than mere compliance.

Educational Facilitators

Educational institutions involved in the study consisted of two large universities with culinary arts student populations greater than 600; two medium sized universities with student culinary enrollments of 350 or more; and one small university with a culinary student population of 200. The study revealed close similarities between both large culinary programs and one medium-sized program. More dramatic differences surfaced between those aforementioned institutions and the additional medium-size and smaller university Culinary Arts programs involved in the study. The size of the educational institution; the number of students enrolled in the program; the number externship facilitators available to assess students' qualifications and provide individualized guidance; and the program facilitators ability to mesh student needs and site expectations appeared to depict the most widely used elements in the externship site selection process. Institutional involvement for the two

large and one of the medium culinary programs involved in the study included such factors as the concern for goodness of fit, a correlation of student interests and site, and the students' level of skill.

The emergent themes from educational facilitator responses have appeared as common threads throughout the study as each is an integral part of the externship process for all participants. They do include one additional theme particular to higher education. The themes include in the order of their discussion: *involvement*; *higher education mandates*, a theme not previously experienced as it emanates from the educational venues now under discussion; *evaluation*; and *social capital* as it pertains to females in the workplace.

Site participation. All institutions participating in the study indicated that sites became involved in the externship process through cultivation and association with faculty, involvement with the institution in various ways, selected by students as operations of interest which would also include geographic location, or by the request of a culinary entity for inclusion in the externship program. All institutions indicated that most sites engage in these programs to develop a talent pool for future hiring needs, immediate labor, and that they generally paid these interns less than a trained employee. *"The sites that are near the university, of course, are interested in just developing their labor force. That's an easy thing."* Other educational facilitators provided more in-depth perspectives of site participation ranging from previous associations with culinary programs to associations that proved to be detrimental to student externs. *"Many of the chefs working today are products of culinary schools and they remember when they had to do their externship. I have to tell you that it's only been a few people (the facilitator would not divulge names), and I'll tell you what kind of people they are. They are chefs that are classically European trained (a particularly brutal apprenticeship process by today's educational standards more resembling a slave and master relationship) and there are two of them in particular, that I would never send a student to again because of the treatment that past students received. They look at students as nothing more than cheap labor and have no vested interest in their education. But for the*

most part, more of the current chefs, especially the ones in hotels, and certainly the ones that have a certain standard of excellence, and those that were company trained remember their culinary school days and also they know that it's important to give back to the industry and to further along young culinarians to replenish their ranks.

Involvement

Involvement again surfaced as a predominate theme involving educational facilitators. Previous student involvement in the educational program, the type of student participation expected by culinary educators, student-centered site selection, and what culinary programs expected from both students and externship site all come together to define what involvement means and who was expected to exhibit this theme. While educational programs do not always reciprocate involvement for various reasons, it was nonetheless expected from students and externship sites.

A systematic approach to site selection. The two large institutions, with enrollment of six hundred students or more, and one medium culinary program with an enrollment of three hundred fifty students utilized a more formalized and systematic approach to the site selection process. Students typically began to engage in the externship selection process five to six months in advance to allow for advising and preparation. These programs utilized relatively similar elements deemed as essential eligibility criteria based factors such as the students' grade point average, number of completed college credit hours, and readiness. The process typically involved the following steps: students were required to submit an application, resume, and complete an interview with one of the large institution's three full-time externship facilitators, or the medium-sized program's two facilitators. Based on guidance and advice from the facilitator, students were expected to research and secure a host site from an approved list of sites previously accepting externs maintained by the institution provided to them, or another site not listed that must meet the institutions requirements. The externship facilitator reviews the host company information and job description, and ensures relevance to students' program of study before

approving the externship site operation. *“The primary consideration involves a match of the student’s ability and skill set to the site in terms of difficulty and the employers’ expectations.”* Another important consideration for students’ to consider and focus on were long-term objectives. *“We encourage students to work at sites that will allow them to grow. Their choice should fit within their skill set in order to become a better candidate for other jobs. This is an ongoing theme discussed with students’ by professors, stressed when they seek advice, at externship seminars, and during site selection discussions with externship facilitators.”* Thus the selection process functions with certain regimented guidelines that exist within the structure of the Institution. However, educational facilitators could offer no specific educational scheme utilized to aid students in selecting growth oriented sites or align student skill sets with perspective site operations.

Students make externship site selections. One medium-sized culinary program, with three hundred fifty students, operate at the other end of the spectrum placing the burden of externship selection squarely on the shoulders of the students’ with little to no formal assistance from the institution. While some guidance was offered, direct assistance in securing the site is not provided. *“We believe that the research and selection process should be conducted solely by the student. This more closely resembles the actual conditions of engaging in the ‘job hunt’ most will face upon graduation to it is our policy to not negotiate externships for our students.”* Thus at this institution the students bear the responsibility of learning method.

While other institutions represent another extreme by simply appointing externships to students who have no involvement in the selection process, and little say in where the externship will occur, more moderate institutions straddle this spectrum through the incorporation of both the elements of larger institutions, and those institutions placing the selection responsibility on the student.

Student should have a philosophical connection with the site. One smaller culinary program participating in the study takes another approach based on a different, more student-centered, way of

thinking - students should have a vested interest in where they will perform the externship. *“We want them to be in a place that has a connection with their philosophy of food, or with the chef, the cuisine, and so forth. We guide them as much as possible, but it’s my contention that the initial step in selecting an extern site begins with soul-searching on the part of the student to consider their strengths and weaknesses, do their site homework, and make the initial contact with the site.”* Of course, the obvious weakness to this approach is the students' ability to accurately evaluate their strengths and weaknesses and to understand what attributes make sites a good choice or not despite their sharing a similar philosophy for food.

Students should have career objectives. The importance of students having focused career objectives was stressed by all culinary programs involved in the study. Taking objectives and site selection a step further, it was suggested that students take their site assessment beyond verbal interaction and volunteer to work for free for a day or two. Yes, they would not be paid for their services but this was considered an advantageous and inexpensive way to be sure the site selection met the needs of the student. *“They should go and ‘stage’ [work for free] for one shift to get some sense of the rhythm of the kitchen and the way it operates. After the shift they can get together with the chef and discuss the situation. If they are not comfortable, they can say no and move on to another location. This is particularly important for senior externships because if they have done their homework and pick correctly, that externship evolves into their first job.”* Facilitators stress the importance of having a chef that has an interest in their education, will mentor them, supervise them correctly, and evaluate them frequently. Most of these facilitators felt that these elements could not be accurately assessed by the student during a brief interview. The interaction had to be deeper for the student to accurately gauge the site’s intentions.

Educational facilitators expect student commitment. The ‘stage’ [audition] is highly suggested for another important reason – student commitment. *“Once they’ve told me they’ve selected a site,*

then that's it, they're committed. One of the things we stress is living up to your word. There is no calling us and saying this is not what I thought it would be, or I'm not really interested in the work I'm doing. Unless the student is in harm's way, the commitment must be honored. If they leave the site, they fail the course." These facilitators further indicated that most students who perform stages seldom faced the forms of regret that would warrant departure from the site.

Most educational facilitators cited referent approval as an important decision tool for new externs. Those student who went before them were considered knowledgeable in assisting with site selections. *"Most externship sites were chosen or determined by word of mouth. Students are networking with prior students who have successfully completed an externship and getting satisfactory feedback on certain properties that may interest those students. Students are required to research possible externship sites, but generally they take the recommendations from fellow students."* The importance of students having a long term game plans was also an important consideration.

Students should look at an externship site to gain work-related experience that employers' value, strengthen opportunities for jobs after graduation, and provide excellent resume builders. Thus, students required to participate in two externships were advised to carefully select an initial site that would provide the skills and overall preparation needed to excel at a more advance entity for their second experience. Students in programs requiring only one experiential work encounter, typically the program requirement for larger institutions, faced the additional burden of negotiating and excelling during only one real world encounter. This would also help to account for large institutions adopting more formalized and regiments program guidelines.

HIGHER EDUCATION MANDATES

This theme speaks to the rules and guidelines university programs place on students and externship sites. It further speaks to what higher education values and also what it fails to value. As the finding s indicate, high involvement correlates with successful outcomes and

higher education champions critical thinking. Yet the prescribed student deliverables in general lack the academic rigor higher education professes to expect from students and programs.

Site acceptability and institutional expectations. While the literature touts the need for critical reflection and evaluation, the most important educational requirement of externship sites involved meeting scheduling dates [to fit semester and grading periods] and time requirements [the amount of time the extern worked at the site]. When asked what factors determine the suitability of a site for inclusion in the externship process, most educational facilitators responded that: *“the host company agrees to respect the program start and completion dates set by the university and the ability to accommodate the student for the prescribed number of working hours.”* This was the initial response of all institutions interviewed. One large and one of the medium institutions cited an additional caveat *“The host company agrees to allow a University representative to telephone and, or, visit the host company to confirm the student’s employment, discuss the student’s work performance with their supervisor, as well as to evaluate the educational value and quality of the externship experience at the site.”*

Site facilitators should commit to students. The most structured and formalized externship site expectations surfaced during my interview with one large public institution where externship site facilitators were expected to assist in making the student an integral part of the host organization and provide a meaningful educational experience with supportive guidance and supervision. The work experience should provide an opportunity for the student to gain firsthand insight into the practical aspect of the organization’s operation by observation and participation. Further, it should provide a variety of practical learning experiences in a scheduled rotation, or in a specific department relative to the student’s field of study. Those experiences should also incorporate measurable, productive, relevant, skills and activities that match the real-world tasks of professionals in the industry. The externship sites should agree to provide regular and timely input and feedback to the extern, through

two performance evaluations occurring midway and at the conclusion of the experience. The student's supervisor/mentor at the site must be available to discuss the following with the student: individual externship goals and objectives, their project topic or thesis, job expectations regarding level of performance, and specific information relating to the preparation of the academic component. The site facilitator must also agree to communicate periodically with the educational facilitator regarding the individual student's personal and professional development. The site should also provide feedback to the educational facilitator regarding the overall externship experience such as the student preparedness, recommendations or special considerations for future placements, and input for the program's development. While these elements are well-designed deliverables, this educational facilitator also stated the difficulty in assessing whether or not they were understood by all externship site facilitators or adequately assess during a student's evaluation process at the end of the externship due to the large student to facilitator ratio. Other less stringent evaluation schemes surfaced during the course of the study.

One medium culinary program and the small program also expected timely student feedback, possibly midway through the externship but more often in the form of a formal final evaluation. The site facilitator should also be available for phone conversations so the institution could make periodical inquiries regarding the students' progress. These educational facilitators preferred to engage in personal interaction with perspective sites to inform them of the program's expectations regarding what learning opportunities the site should provide students. *"We point out to them [site facilitators] that we expect the student to do a certain amount of the 'grunge' work, but we would also like the chef to consider spending time with the extern, and giving them a fair round of the kitchen and we usually get good cooperation with that. The ones that don't, quite frankly, I don't send anybody else to them. So hopefully they will give them a fair round and an insight into what the chef has to do in the realm of human resources, having to hire people, what they do toward costing and keeping their labor and food*

cost down. *How do they order, and what kind of system do they have? Is it a manual or computerized system? The essence of the externship is for the student to go in there and then to come back and tell me, in their portfolios, everything they possibly can about that restaurant – how they market themselves, what type of management styles do they have, how was the respect level in the kitchen, was it friendly place, was it a hostile environment, you know, those kinds of things.* This facilitator further stated that students often had difficulties in wording questions or what criteria to apply to the information they gathered. I sensed frustration in this facilitator's voice. It was obvious that the goals and expectations of the externship were clear but how to achieve those goals remained a still a work in progress.

Maintaining site relationships. Most institutions indicated the importance of constant communication with sites to build strong recruiting relationships for externships and beyond. Institutions felt that a majority of these entities want to develop a talent pool for future hiring needs thus they focus more on those students with the most symbolic capital to best represent the institution. *“The program feels compelled to send students who display a greater than average chance of successfully completing the externship experience where it is mutually and financially beneficial to both the site and the student.”*

One large institution externship facilitator voiced a more program-centered perspective regarding the student's evaluation driving the linkage between institution and site. *“I don't think site relationships are difficult at all. I look at those relationships as sort of a barometer as to whether or not we are doing our job. The sites will tell us what the student has learned and what their skill sets are at that point. The most common negative point is that their knife skills need to be better. Of course, they're students and don't spend a lot of time in the day to day operation of a restaurant. But normally I get ninety percent good feedback on our students as far a work ethic, and as far as wanting to learn so I think those are two of the most important things that help our program stay connected with sites.”*

Evaluation

This reoccurring theme from the perspective presented by the educational facilitators interviewed in the study, represents a dichotomy between what has clearly been defined for scrutiny and the not so clear methods for achieving the intended outcomes of the externship. It became obvious that educational facilitator, as reflected in the literature, could quote chapter and verse regarding the critical inclusions and reflections students should be able to exhibit at the end of their externships but hardly a sentence or paragraph was uttered about what criteria should be used by all students to accomplish those stated ends. Thus the student, though not stated formally, is forced to bear the burden of method in most experiential circumstances.

Prescribed institutional goals. Large institutions display more regimented and structured program-centered requirements that adhere to and correlate with the academic way of thinking. *“In conjunction with their supervisor, students will develop five goals or objectives by the end of their second week that they wish to accomplish during their experience. These goals will be reflected upon at the end of their experience. Beginning with week three, students will submit a topic proposal and outline for their project. Students are required to communicate with their coordinator, and/or faculty adviser at least twice throughout the term to discuss their project. Additionally, students are evaluated by their site supervisor on their skills, personal qualities, attitude and interpersonal relations as observed during the first half of the term. Students will work on a major-specific project that displays the skills and knowledge gained during their externship experience. At the conclusion, the entire completed project is submitted to their faculty advisor for grading. Site supervisors evaluate the progress of the student’s specific skills, personal qualities, attitude and interpersonal relations over the full course of the term.”*

Other institutions took a more student-centered approach which was less stringent and less structured. Student were required to engage in critical thinking but this was to be accomplished along more constructivist tenants in a more exploratory fashion such as journalizing the experience, reflecting

on what was learned, what was liked and disliked, and placed in perspective in the form of a final externship report. As expressed by several educational facilitators: *“Develop employable skills! Communicate in a professional manner, and learn to solve problems as an individual and in collaboration with others. Gain confidence as a professional by journaling and reflecting throughout your experience. Learn by doing-then think about what went well and what didn’t. Think about how you could improve and act upon it. Repeat the cycle. Add knowledge and skills related to your specific discipline and /or anticipated career field. Test out your classroom learning in the industry. Display strong work ethic! Work hard, take initiative, and be a dependable employee. Connect with an industry mentor who can offer advice and help guide you in your future career planning. Learn about your organization’s culture and what they value in employees. Practice interview skills and going through the hiring process to make a good first impression. Remember, externships have the possibility of turning into job offers upon graduation. This is the opportunity for employers to give you a ‘test run’ to see how you perform.”*

Institutional guidelines for students. Large institutions imposed guidelines correlated to the institutions academic standards and as such, the externship was essentially treated as an academic course of study. *“Students are expected to report to their externship sites fully prepared and in professional attire every day throughout the entire term dates as identified in the academic calendar as well as the letter of acceptance. If a student has not started by the term start date, they will be dropped from the course and no longer be considered actively enrolled for that term. It is crucial that you attend every day you are scheduled for or consult with your site supervisor if you think you may be tardy or absent from a day of work. More than two absences may result in being dropped from the course, and may jeopardize academic standing and enrollment status, which may impact financial aid, veteran’s benefits and athletic eligibility.”* Student externs were equally responsible for criteria set by the externship site itself. *“Most employers have specific selection and performance criteria. You must meet their criteria and pass employment tests including and company-administered drug test) in order to*

confirm your position at that employer site. Students terminated by the employer or who leave of their own accord are no longer considered enrolled for that term and will be dropped which could jeopardize future externship options. Other institutions were less concerned with regimentation thus the primary guidelines were left at punctuality and professionalism, and the completion of the required amount of hours prescribed by the program with less emphasis on negative ramifications. From their perspective, strict academic deadlines did not correlate with the fluid nature of the real world workplace.

The externs' learning agenda. Who controlled what students should learn or experience during their externship varied according to the size of the institution and how they considered learning to occur. Larger institutions tended to take an active role in deciding learning goals while the medium and small institutions appeared to embrace more guided constructivist methods. Large universities cited student learning assignments and institutional assessments and the overarching structural component guiding what the student should value. Medium to Smaller institutions provided input to student externs but generally felt that what externs should experience was site specific and as such, should be left up to the site. Most institutions indicated the use of pamphlets explaining what the site could expect from externs and, in some cases, the general expectations of the institution. The mean institutional response focused on student abilities leaving actual learning decisions to the negotiations between student and site. *"We send a pamphlet that outlines the general skills of all of our students, and what the site can expect. It is then left up to the site to determine where that student can fit into their organization and the student to communicate their expectations to the site."*

Students need their own agenda. With regard to how well the constructivist approach [students creating their own knowledge away from the classroom] worked, most of the education facilitators indicated that the results were generally considered good, but were also quick to indicate that not every site was organized well enough to assume the role of 'teacher' in a structured academic sense. The obvious disconnect between students and sites with unstructured teaching abilities occurred

where students asked “*what will you teach me?*” and “*what did you want to learn?*” was the site’s response. In some instances, students did not have specific learning intentions in mind and the site was not aware of what students would consider valuable knowledge. From another perspective, students with no learning agenda of their own often confused sites capable of imparting extensive knowledge thus “*Where should we begin?*” and “*How much can this novice absorb in a short period of time?*” are questions that could easily result in less desirable externship outcomes. Where motivation existed on the part of both student and site such obstacles were overcome as the externship progressed however, where either student or site lacked such motivational agency in defining durable knowledge, final outcomes typically fell short of student expectations.

Evaluation

Who receives scrutiny and exactly what was evaluated are important aspects of this theme. Equally the amount of time available to educational facilitators to spend on the evaluation process aid in establishing the adequacy of the evaluation process of externships in general. As such, evaluation as an educational facilitator theme involves the connotation of Who, what and the pros and cons of how evaluation occurs.

Evaluation and grading criteria. All education facilitators asserted that both student externs and externship sites were aware of the evaluation process although this was not always the case. “*Yes. The students are informed well in advance of the evaluation process that both the institution and the site use to evaluate their performance. The sites are very aware and are coached on the grading procedure used and what our expectations are.*” However, most facilitators responded that the site’s knowledge of what was expected from them was provided in written form. “*The site receives a pamphlet guide that details expectations of the students’ skills, and what their limitations might be.*” and “*the sites are given forms for evaluating the externs by the institution.*” Another response indicated that “*We use a form that includes a rubric that covers several criteria.*” Still another facilitator confidently expressed that

“everything is outlined in a site preparation form describing the student’s learning objectives so the site is ‘always’ aware of those objectives.” No institution involved in the study could actually confirm the externship site facilitator's understanding of grading criteria. Interviews with externship site facilitators indicated that most relied on the students to inform them about how they should be evaluated and were unaware or unsure of the culinary program's formal grading procedure. I questioned what if the site facilitator fails to read the form, or, fails to communicate its content to the person responsible for the extern? I was assured that *“the site facilitator always reads the form.”* The assurance of that fact was profound, but were there concrete grounds for this belief – none were provided. Another expressed way of clarifying the evaluation process involved telephone or in-person consultations by the facilitator including both student and the site facilitator.

“Who” and “what” receives scrutiny. Some facilitator responses indicated that both the student and the site were evaluated to ensure adherence to all institutional criteria. Other responses indicated that the evaluation *“only concentrates on the student.”* Should student and site grading inconsistencies exist, some facilitators sought resolution by telephone conversation with the site facilitator and the student present. Other educational facilitators indicated that they were the deciding factor based on the student’s portfolio, and journal entries. All institutions provided the externs with a copy of the sites evaluation of their performance, and a final grade by the program, as well as any advice the educator felt would enhance the student’s experience and reflectively increase their learning.

Student deliverables for grading varied among institutions. Student extern deliverables varied from one institution to another. Some students were evaluated on assigned projects, creative thinking exercises conducted during the externship, and a completed essay describing the experience. Other institutions required ongoing journalizing of the experience, and a complete portfolio which included notes, pictures, problems experienced and how they were dealt with, what they felt was discovered about the entire operation, or in some cases, on the positions they were allowed to experience. The

portfolio was the primary critical thinking deliverable which facilitators felt should exhibit personal growth and their inclusions were student-determined to a large extent. The physical skills of the extern, such as techniques and methods known, received the greatest attention (eighty percent) during the chef's evaluation. The externs' social skills comprised roughly twenty percent of the evaluation. Those skills were narrowly defined in education facilitator responses.

Externship outcomes, whether positive or negative, were seen as beneficial to the student by the educational facilitators. *"The student realizes that the outcomes are based on true and factual investigation. The student is also made to realize that we are in their corner."* Other education facilitator respondents saw outcomes as a gauge of student, site, and program. *"In general, we are able to obtain information about the student's performance, and the viability of the site as a continuing internship facility, along with the capability of the site in teaching our students important real-world skills. We also collate data from the internship evaluations in order to see areas where our students may be strong or weak, in order to make adjustments to the curriculum."*

Advice and Insights offered to students. All education facilitators cited the importance of researching a site of interest thoroughly and to seek and take the advice of an experienced faculty advisor. One of the most important issues stressed was to *"make sure you are compatible with the expectations of the site."* Other germane advice to students was to always *"apply your training and consistently maintain your work ethic and professionalism."* Most facilitators indicated that they actively coached students on writing resumes, contacting potential employers, helped with finding housing options, groomed professional behavior, and provided techniques to help students learn as much as possible prior to the externship.

Limitations on educators. All educators indicated that the externship process as a whole was less than exemplary citing student agency, site requirements, and institutional issues as contributing factors. *"Personally, at this time I don't feel that the faculty advisors are spending enough time*

developing a professional relationship with externship sites, and could be doing a better job at placing students according to their skills and mindset.” Another perspective expressed that their “program is limited by the internship students’ lack of knowledge. Most of the students tend to wait longer than they should before beginning the process, so there is typically a time crunch. The student also does not realize that the highly desirable internships are typically coveted by many students, and may be more competitive. We have information and try to inform our students as much as possible about internships, but ultimately, it’s up to the student to make the decisions, and follow through.”

Financial resources - public versus private institutions. The most formidable limitation faced by public institution culinary arts program facilitators involved the lack of financial resources allocated by the institution to the externship as a course of study. Traditional higher educational academic compensation has historically been centered on ‘contact hours,’ the amount of time a course instructor would spend instructing students. Thus, a lecture class meeting three hours a week equates to three credit hours of instructor contact while a three hour laboratory class is considered one hour of credit because students are conducting laboratory assignments and the instructor is not teaching while students execute those assignments. The result is a sizable disconnect between traditional higher education thought and practice as both relate to the nature of applied laboratory course work where teachable moments occur ‘mainly’ in the laboratory as instructors move from student to student to demonstrate correct improper techniques and correct execution difficulties students experience. This same long standing institutional way of thinking, extrapolates to externship course work viewed by virtually all higher education administrations as the student interacting with the site and having ‘no instructional contact’ with the educational facilitator.

In sum, educational facilitators at the three public institutions involved in the study receive no compensation for the contact they render externs during the duration of the externship. *“As it stands now, I handle the externship process alone during the summer because the university does not consider*

an externship a "class" and therefore will not pay faculty to monitor the externs." This also results in instructors who provide guidance, input, and assistance to students during the normal academic term having no contact with the students they have mentored during the externship experience. The Executive Director of one medium program explained what occurs when students leave the institution. *"I am a twelve month employee so I take on that job [monitoring externs] myself to make sure that the students are getting the right kind of guidance at the site and to, of course, monitor their situation from a safety standpoint. It's a difficult process in general, and I also have to grade almost two hundred portfolios when they students return."* This director further indicated that the grading process was nothing sort of a *"nightmare"* due to the short amount of time between students' portfolio submission deadlines and the last date for grade entry. The failure to enter a student's grade began a negative chain of events. The student would receive an 'incomplete' grade for the course. Consequently, the 'incomplete' grade adversely affected the student's financial aid status which ultimately resulted in the suspension of any financial assistance for the upcoming semester. In essence, the facilitator faced the dilemma of harming student's ability to continue in the program or engaging in the cursory glance rather than the thorough read because of the sheer volume of portfolios to be graded. Thus in some cases, inconsistencies between student and site, or deeper issues went unnoticed.

Private institutions had greater immunity to variations in resource allocations. One large institution indicated a staff of three full-time externship facilitators for advising students and site relationship involvement and maintenance. But given a student population of greater than six hundred students, the student to facilitator ratio was not considerably lower than the student to facilitator ratio experienced at smaller public institutions. The received responses from all institutions interviewed indicated no lack of intent to provide exemplary service to students, or interest in the students' wellbeing for that matter. Program guidelines derived from more traditional academic ways of thinking defined the working parameters for educational facilitators. To their credit, most went beyond the

limitations faced to whatever extent possible. As an exemplar, one facilitator overcame the insurmountable portfolio grading process by asking all of the program's instructors to evenly share in grading portfolios reducing the workload for any one instructor, thus achieving a more in-depth reading of the students work. All were willing to participant to provide greater input for the student, and to help judge the quality of the sites and general externship experience. No instructor received any financial compensation for this work.

Social Capital

Social capital did not surface as a generally relevant theme among those educational facilitators interviewed. The lack of reference to this theme reinforces the need for its inclusion in culinary programs given the importance it received in the literature as well as the responses of other participants in the study. Socialization tactics for females take on a different character and necessity and the responses by educational facilitators on this emergent topic calls for a brief discussion of the findings regarding how females are still perceived in some kitchens . The general feeling of educational facilitators interviewed pointed to improvement in the way females are treated in male dominated kitchens. However, the findings indicate the need to prepare females students embarking on externships for this form of gender bias.

Perceptions based on gender or ethnicity. The educational facilitator responses to issues student externs might encounter or have encountered at sites generally involved a "then versus now" response. All of the education facilitators cited no issues or incidents of racial discrimination. However, bias towards females, as corroborated by female students, did not draw a similar response. *"You know, it's not as bad as it once was, but there are some kitchens where it's a "good ole boy" thing, in some places it's still a man's world in some professional kitchens."* Another facilitator recalled that *"typically what I've seen would involve gender and that has improved over the last ten or fifteen years. The field has progressed in that regard by leaps and bounds in comparison to past years.* Most facilitators

believed that experiences continued to improve and were optimistic that the professional acceptance of females would also continue to improve. *“Ultimately, I believe that things were bound to change. Our student body is about at a fifty-fifty ratio of male to females and industry professionals who own or run kitchens continues to move closer to that proportion.”* Thus workplace socialization, for females, still adheres, to some extent, to historical male dominated ways of thinking rather than an equality-based across-the-board mindset that acknowledges women as equals. Male educational facilitators wanted to pursue a discussion on this topic. The fact that improvements were being made regarding how women were treated in the culinary workplace seem to indicate no action on their part to advance that improvement beyond rhetoric.

Gender bias is an opportunity. Some facilitators shared the opinion that gender bias toward females provided an opportunity for female externs to show their worth and, unless forced to endure any form of extreme mistreatment, a site should not be avoided if the potential knowledge gain trumped the ideology of ‘females as inferior’ not manifested in physical or mental abuse. *“We have had some of our female students that have turned those kitchens around on these issues. If I know what they are going into, I’m not going to let them go into it blind. I’m going to tell them exactly what to expect and how to prepare for that.”* The preparation, however, did not call for a discussion about how female students should be treated with the externship site facilitator. This could generally be construed as counter to maintaining good site relationships. Why should educational facilitators rock the boat if things are improving. This was a general trend throughout the study regarding topics that turn on moral, social, or ethical standards. As it was stated earlier in the findings, externships are messy. Experiential education is accomplished in non-educational venues. Problems that arise away from the controlled educational setting of the university are often difficult to embrace when the down side to such action is unknown. Given the number of students required to do externships and the smaller number of sites deemed suitable for experiential learning, it is obvious that externship facilitators are

reluctant to anger any knowledgeable venue over a moral issue when avoidance or sending only strong females there becomes the simple alternatives.

Across Case Themes

As one looks across the cases consisting of students, externship sites, and educators included in the study, the overarching themes could best be summarized as *involvement; environment; symbolic capital; social capital; higher education mandates; and evaluation*. Lacking from these separate themes is agency (the ability and motivation to act) because it is ubiquitous to all. As I began the study, previous insights suggested to me that agency on the part of all participants in the study was, indeed, a primary factor toward achieving success. What emerged for me during the course of the study was a different way of thinking about agency. Though vital to success, it is catalyzed by numerous factors. As the findings tend to indicate, agency is more of a personal motivation that spurs students on to success, something prized by elite culinary sites, and noted with consequence by educators. Agency alone, however, does not provide direction. The lack of a viable plan for example renders agency ineffective. Equally, agency in and of itself cannot always overcome a lack of social capital (socialization tactics), including the belief that one can act on their own behalf, or symbolic capital such as the seasoned ability and experience that allows the student extern to know when to seize the opportunity to act.

Students

Involvement

This theme surfaced in the responses of each participating group: students, sites, and educators. What surfaced as a difference among these groups was the level of involvement considered appropriate from each particular point of view. Freshmen felt a strong need for personal involvement and control in all phases of the externship experience. Sophomore and seniors who were successful had similar attitudes toward high involvement. Those sophomores and seniors who became bogged down in

the educational system took less control and were reactive rather than proactive in terms of the involvement they exhibited.

Externship sites also expected student involvement. The elite restaurants expected involvement to be extended to commitment by externs as did the educational facilitators at the universities interviewed. However, not all externship site or educational programs reciprocated the high level of involvement they expected from student externs and not all student externs were highly involved.

Freshmen. Freshmen opinions were surprisingly congruent with the thoughts and opinions of successful sophomores and seniors. A sense of the 'applied' nature of the culinary field was apparent in each of these respondent groups. Like the consistent themes from their upper-level constituents, they believed that personal involvement in each aspect of the externship process, and their learning in general, was essential to their success. They believed that the real world experience would provide them with important knowledge to further plan accurately from a first-hand experience regarding what would be expected of them in the future. Additionally, they saw the externship as an interaction with others who possessed superior skills that would help them gauge where they stood in terms of their own ability providing a real world assessment opportunity to extend proficiencies and correct or refine inconsistencies. They did express apprehension regarding how they would perform, but the curiosity of learning and knowing was the stronger force. All successful students, at one time or another, fear failure and question their ability. What sets them apart from others is never being afraid to try. These were the important freshmen themes and also the themes expressed by those students who achieved success. What separated these survey class freshmen from their sophomore and senior counterparts was the traditional classroom setting and future orientation of their learning environment.

Sophomores and seniors. Traditional disciplines focus the academic rigor on classroom learning and assessment. The students' ability to excel in this environment has been refined and reinforced over many years of classroom endeavors. All understand how to prepare for multiple choice, true or false,

short essay, and research paper testing methods. A student who excels in this environment might well graduate with honors when they receive their bachelor's credential. In traditional disciplines the ultimate assessment of the students' ability to apply what was learned eventually occurs in the workplace. This is where the similarity between traditional disciplines and applied disciplines ends.

Learning involves doing. In an applied field such as Culinary Arts, emphasis on learning is not centered on the traditional classroom schema found in other higher education programs. The actual academic rigor occurs in the laboratory setting. Similar to other traditional disciplines, classroom rigor utilizes traditional testing, critical writing, and so forth - assessment methods familiar to students. However, in the culinary laboratory setting hands-on assessment begins when students enter the laboratory and continues until they leave which represents a foreign and at times uncomfortable form of scrutiny to students. The laboratory environment more closely resembles the restaurant setting where textbook knowledge and actual execution come together to form the assessment model. In many of the laboratory exercises students must execute the exercise within the time limit set by the instructor. Thus the student must demonstrate knowledge, ability, and quickness. This environment is structured to allow students to equally assess areas of strength and weakness that need attention and more practice. Students work closely with each other, bonds are formed, but also the awareness of who is excelling and who is not also becomes readily and visually apparent. You cannot improve speed and accuracy, develop your ability to discern flavor profiles, or improve eye-hand coordination by reading the text. While some students are born with these skills, many need additional practice and constant repetition.

Students procrastinate selecting a site. In contrast to freshmen opinions, a lack of personal involvement by more advanced students was another limitation to positive externship outcomes cited by educational facilitators. In their opinion, many sophomore and senior students' waited too long to begin the externship process. Regardless of whether or not the site was an elite enterprise or not,

placement in better externship sites was always highly competitive based on the number of sites available in comparison to the number of students seeking a site. The lack of agency on the part of the student often resulted in the selection process occurring at the last minute with little concern on the part of the student regarding what advantages the site might offer. A site was needed, the externship is a program requirement, and the thought process did not progress beyond that point. Often these sites were selected by the students' themselves with the facilitator merely confirming the site's acceptance of the student. Even site facilitators who accept externs with the intention of "giving back" to the profession reflects a lost opportunity to improve externship learning methods and students' critical assessment and reflection strategies through constructive learning partnerships between educational program and site facilitators. Even if such learning partnerships were in fact constructed, externship facilitators would still have little time to evaluate and reflect on their effectiveness.

Environment

The environment theme surfaced as a fluid construct that would be difficult to encapsulate in a single definition. For students it is important for the site environment under consideration for an externship to match the students' physical and social abilities and offer the type of learning experiences the student desired. From a different perspective, the sites also applied established professional criteria to judgments made regarding an externs acceptance and whether or not the working environment would be considered friendly or hostile to the extern. Educational program typically attempt to send externs that match these site expectations. Although in other cases, culinary programs leave the burden of a correct site selection to their students who are often ill-prepared for such decisions. The educational environment and that of a site further differ in the way knowledge is imparted, digested, demonstrated and scrutinized. Each entity functions on terrain that students often find hard to bridge effectively.

The student - externship site match. As one looks across the different urban culinary operations it thus becomes immediately apparent that the students' potential work environment is an important consideration when selecting an externship site. Many student want to extern in high profile restaurants never considering whether the skills they possess match the requirements of the site or their willingness to teach. A good match, allows the extern to experience and learn much of the kitchen operation. They feel valued and a productive team environment exists. A poor match is thus far less beneficial for the student. It is important for the student to become involved in negotiating what they would learn from the site. The site is always considering their personal interests – the student must do the same. If the work environment is truly give and take, and the student in seen as a potential productive member of the operation, that chef will teach the student durable skills that transfer to the classroom and beyond. However, at the other end of the spectrum, sometimes the interests of the operation are the only consideration involving a different kind of give and take. The operation is providing the student with a real life experience and that in sum is their contribution. In return, the student helps them lower labor costs. There is no durable knowledge transfer involved on the part of the site. What the student learns is directly proportionate to his or her ability to create their own take-away knowledge.

To bring home the true sense of the aforementioned I offer this simple example obtained through discussions with student externs. When a student becomes involved with a site that does not provide a teaching environment and is not actively involved with the student learning from the externship experience, that student might return to the university with a copy of the restaurant's menu and the recipes he or she was allowed to prepare. In essence, the student might have simply purchased the restaurant's cookbook and saved themselves the time spent following static cooking directions. They were allowed to 'practice' in a real operation – but the goal unachieved was durable learning that improved their knowledge and enhance their ability to excel during an externship or work experience at

the next level. The student lacks a progression of knowledge and skills enhancement from the sophomore level externship to the senior level endeavor where a position with that restaurant would be the overarching goal. A student extern in a productive environment with reciprocal involvement by the externship site facilitator would probably also return with a menu and recipes as part of the deliverables to demonstrate the complexity of the restaurant's food. The difference lies in that student's acquired durable knowledge. In addition to a physical menu and its recipes, things that often change over time in all restaurants, the student now has the ability to discuss what theme the chef was exploring when the menu was constructed, why the recipe inclusions best represented that theme, and how different flavors choices were constructed so that no matter which items were ordered by the customer, the desired theme carried throughout the meal. That student left the site with durable knowledge by understanding the proper criteria to devise a menu, carefully select items for inclusion, and balance flavor profiles.

Based on student respondent comments and stated outcomes, the externship environment is essential to experiencing a productive externship. Did the successful externs place strong value on the site selection process? The resounding answer was yes. Do all student externs make thoughtful selections beneficial to their education and future goals? Unfortunately the answer was no. As some student respondents indicated, the site selection process was not considered in advance and in fact, many students waited until the last minute. Different student reasons for procrastination surfaced during the study but two important 'surface' responses were the "lack of time" for that particular consideration due to other priorities and "I was told that my skill set did not match the site I wanted so I had to hurry to find another site." Both responses elude to one of the important vices that student's in this applied field face – what I refer to as "grade think" common to students prior to entering the higher education environment and most certainly during their tenure at a university.

The focus on grades. The traditional indication of success in education is the grade a student receives for their coursework. Cumulatively, the grade point average has been instilled as the numerical value of concern. Thus their focus on other coursework and obtaining the appropriate grade takes precedence over current beneficial actions that, at the present, bear no weight on what is valued, their grades. The grade focus is not limited to the classroom. It also transfers to the laboratory setting creating a negative impact on their future endeavors. Should they receive a superior grade on laboratory exercises some students assume that they have met the proper proficiency measure for a real world high quality restaurant. They tend to misinterpret the focused exercise in comparison to the manifold actions required in a busy restaurant environment. No further practice occurs because an inaccurate skill assessment has been made by the student. Of course, there are students who see the need for additional work, but 'time' again becomes the issue with other class concerns and probably outside work, in many cases not related to their field, shortening the amount of time left in the day for things such as practicing practical culinary skills.

These students while academically strong have failed to acquire in some cases the social capital and in other cases the symbolic capital in the form of practical skill necessary to becoming part of a highly productive and interactive top quality restaurant team. Higher education lauds academic performance and the hospitality Industry also values critical thinking ability but a disconnection between industry and education exists because education does value application at the same high level of importance that industry places on it. Some students become trapped between these different perceptions of what performance means as it relates to those who require it.

Urban Externship Sites. One purpose of higher education or education in general for that matter, is to replenish the nation's workforce. In the field of culinary arts, urban elite restaurants and those restaurants slightly below that designation are not immune from the need for additional workers. Students in culinary programs who have acquired practical skills achieved through hard work in school,

extra-curricular involvement, and work outside of school provide a quantifiable potential employee pool. However, many of these enterprises are highly discerning about who enters their ranks. Competition in large metropolitan areas is extremely fierce and subsequently, the chefs who excel in this environment are to a great extent perfectionists. They are willing to teach and see externs as a viable way to acquire a certain level of employee but the entrance standards are extremely high.

From their experience, it will still take time to teach a highly skilled student to be proficient in such an operation. They know students with lesser skills will take much longer to train and the lack of highly honed skills and ability to work independently will invariably present them with several issues they prefer to avoid. First, they would essentially be paying the student to practice since they would be of little use as a productive member of the kitchen. Secondly, experience has also shown that slower workers with lesser skills need constant assistance which disrupts the flow of the operation and frustrates those who can perform at an extremely high level. These chefs also understand their own dispositions and patience is not seen as congruent with performance not yet achieved. These top quality restaurants represent roughly fifteen percent of the nation's foodservice establishments. Other restaurants offer good quality but are not quite as stringent in their employee selection and as such, their requirements reflect a more relaxed atmosphere and subsequently more relaxed entrance requirements although symbolic capital is still a requirement. They exhibit patience to a point, they will extend opportunities to externs but constant improvement on the part of the student is essential. Many of the restaurants on the lower end of the quality spectrum equally provide good learning experiences to beginning externs. However, this is the genre of restaurants where some foodservice operators are apt to use externs for their own purposes paying them a reduced wage to reduce costs and having little interest in the goals of the extern or the institution.

Symbolic Capital

This theme surfaced as one of the most important acquisitions students could make to positively impact their acceptability into well-known externship sites and equally their capability to learn in a real world for-profit operation. For those students who possessed it, the ability to more accurately judge personal strengths and weakness and learn more quickly than their counterparts was profound. Additionally, having work experience placed these students in the position to quickly digest new work routines and menu recipes thus allowing them to broaden their externship experience by spending more time in reflection on other areas of the operation. In contrast to the typical higher education classroom, symbolic capital is still the most widely used currency for knowledge in professional kitchens.

Organizational training lacks regimentation. Most restaurants do not possess or offer clearly constructed training programs for externs or others for that matter. The element of critical thinking that educational institutions want students to demonstrate in externship portfolios and the like is a difficult and sometimes impossible task for the student to accomplish without previous work experience. In essence this is a practical matter rather than a teaching or learning issue. The extern must first learn and perfect the recipes and areas of the kitchen they are expected to execute – only then can they begin to look beyond the tasks at hand at the theatrical production that to a large extent defines what a restaurant truly is, and how it functions in terms of people, equipment, and profitability. Thus, symbolic capital is what helps to speed them along the path to what higher education expects them to grapple with.

The literature expounds the difficulties of students achieving critical reflection in the workplace. As the study indicates, this is the result of a lack of guidance on the part of educators and the inherent disconnect regarding how learning occurs in the classroom setting versus the workplace. In the classroom students are guided by the instructor, what is being critically considered is static, and the students' concentration is centered on that one aspect. When that thought process is completed, they

move on to the next area assigned for critical scrutiny. A restaurant does not function like a classroom. Does critical thinking occur in industry? The correct answer is yes – but it does so in ways that are foreign and at times indiscernible to the extern who has been groomed in traditional ways of thinking and approaching situations. In busy working restaurants a manifold of important decisions may be required at one single point in time and decisions thus equate more to properly learned reactions than well-conceived responses. Social capital, the ability to communicate and interact, and symbolic capital, the practical experience that allows externs to learn quickly, become important strengths to possess.

Formal culinary education. As we move into the twenty-first century, more and more of the current chefs have received their culinary education in the university setting. But many of these same chefs have studied at home and abroad with more experienced chef who achieved their knowledge through apprenticeships with other elite chefs in the field. Many of these chefs from the more famous culinary schools do not have academic credentials beyond the associate's degree. This has and will continue to create a form of divide in an educational sense for still some time to come. More chefs are obtaining bachelor's degrees in Culinary Arts which will better prepare them to meet the current changes and challenges the hospitality industry faces in the twenty-first century. It will, however, be some time until chefs with a four-year degree become prominent in positions of authority among upper strata establishments and better understand what education expects externs to achieve. Until such time, symbolic capital remains the predominate capital necessary to establish a common ground between chef and student.

Social Capital

The existing literature on experiential learning widely indicates the difficulty students have in engaging in critical reflection and sense-making in real world work environments. What surfaced during the study that make socialization tactics a necessity for students to possess is the fact that externship site facilitators are not experienced teachers. They respond to questions but generally do not verbally

initiate the transfer of knowledge easily. Thus social capital takes on a twofold importance. Many students are unable to effectively communicate and externship site facilitators are often equally ineffective communicators. The need to effectively socialize new entrants into the operation is gaining importance in the culinary literature but the reality of the culinary workplace is the fact that knowledge is more widely conveyed through 'demonstration' rather than verbal communication initiated by the site facilitator. Although the academic literature espouses the lack of social skills possessed by students few if any educational facilitators referred to any socialization tactics utilized in their program. As such, it would appear that socialization is still an area that is easier to overlook than to ameliorate.

How externship sites convey knowledge. The culinary field continues to become more complicated and populated with professionals better versed in aspect of management, computerization, marketing and so forth. However, in many instances, the transfer of knowledge has remained as it was prior to higher education's involvement in the field of Culinary Arts. This was expressed by site facilitators in various ways but all methods of conveying knowledge expressed by these individuals lead to the same point. Critical thinking in the restaurant setting is imparted and assessed more so by "demonstrated actions" than by verbal interaction because the intricate scheme and ways of knowing and conveying occur through the chef's broad "tacit knowledge." This is one of the primary reasons students must have a solid plan regarding what they intend to take away from the externship experience – especially in elite and upscale restaurant's. The extern's ability to communicate with everyone involved in the operation takes on a stronger meaning in light of this finding.

It now becomes more evident that the student cannot arrive at the site with no plan of action and simply asks: "What will you teach me?" This is in essence a confounding question to a seasoned chef with many years of experience. Typically, the response resembles: "What did you want to learn?" The different methods of grappling with criticality embraced by a student who understands the university setting and the chef who demonstrates what he knows and wants to convey can easily create

an initial or sometimes lasting impasse. Students need direction but in truth, so do the chefs. The chef, however, is functioning within his or her own environment and it is the student who must adapt to gain knowledge. It is now more evident that improving social skills is a vital part of the successful externship. On most occasions, the student must initiate communication with the chef for his or her critique of the extern's progress. Thus, from the perspective of social interaction, the student must be able to engage for the purpose of learning as well as assessment in contrast to the university venue with set specifications for evaluation.

The way experienced restaurant chefs convey and assess knowledge became further evident by their lack of awareness regarding how the institution expected them to evaluate students. When institutions took time to discuss the site's responsibility regarding the extern's assessment, the sites were quite willing to comply with the institution's assessment method. However, when educational institutions merely disclosed assessment expectations within the externship documents the knowledge regarding what was required by the site appeared lacking in most instances. There appeared to be an emphasis gap regarding what institutions required from sites in the way of assessment that, in many cases, extended to the point where site's assumed that the student's assessment was an institutional issue requiring no site involvement.

Externship Educational Facilitators

Externship facilitators in general spend time where possible evaluating students to discern which sites might be the most beneficial. But to a great extent they do rely on the opinion of the students' instructors. In addition to evaluating student laboratory exercises, instructors are also forming other judgments of the students in their care. Instructors are willing and do spend additional time with the slower students to nurture them along, but at the end of the day, those students' who remain quiet and unassuming, continuously lacks self-confidence, fail to step forward and take a leadership role, and exhibit less than sufficient motor skills are subsequently noted and discussed with other instructors

when event participation is at issue. These students are not invited to participate in departmental, university, and community-wide functions. The department and higher echelon administrators want superior exemplars where potential donors and people of note are involved. Stated differently, a dinner at the University President's home with important guests present will utilize students with strong leadership, taste profiles, confidence, and accurate and quick motor skills. A weaker student or two may be included to help bring them along, but the event will be executed primarily by a naturally formed inner circle of top student performers with little input from those with lesser abilities and equally less confidence – factors that over time become reinforced in students who have not yet reached their potential. Fairness must be extended to culinary instructors in these instances. They arrive early to teach morning classes, spend the afternoon preparing for the event, and work late to supervise the students' execution of the dinner. By the time the event begins, they are weary and certainly not eager to interact with less experienced students who need constant direction. Additionally, though students execute all of the culinary aspects, should mishaps occur, the instructor will receive the blame – the instructor in charge is always responsible for what occurs at university sponsored functions thus instructors are also constantly evaluated both formally and informally. To relate a proper perspective, over the course of study, slower student do ultimately rise to the occasion. They practice to overcome areas of weakness, gain experience working in restaurants, and often demonstrate noticeable improvement during the next school term – instructors note this as well and their involvement in extra-curricular areas increase. Improved performance, where possible, was also lauded and noted by whoever delivers it

If one extends this mindset to the externship process, it becomes apparent why certain Students' immediately come to mind for the most prestigious externships. These are the student's who have constantly been involved beyond the curriculum requirements, successfully negotiated different work environments, have the necessary social capital to lead and interact with other, and most

importantly, have acquired symbolic capital through demonstrated work related accomplishments. While these students typically receive the most coveted externships, lesser known students with only adequate abilities go unnoticed. Involvement, environment, social capital, and symbolic capital are obviously not mutual exclusives. The combination of all must come together to produce achievement in the world of culinary education where real world application is not always congruent with the mandates of higher education and its generally prescribed methods of evaluation.

Higher Education Mandates

This theme surfaced during educational facilitator interviews and refers to the critical reflection that higher education programs expect from students, or as is the case with externships, the setting, organizational culture, marketing strategy, and leadership schemes, of externship operation to name some of the more important aspect for consideration other than cooking that students' are expected to ponder and include in a final report. These mandates also reflect the lack of importance higher education assigns to experiential learning and thus the amounts of funding experiential programs like externships receive. There still appears to be an historical disconnect between what education considers important in terms of student deliverables at the end of an externship and the program's actual effort to establish criteria for student use to evaluate what should be learned.

All programs included in the study expressed the need for additional aid in preparing externs, helping students choose externship sites, and coordinating the externships in general during the summer months when traditional university programs are not in full swing. The basic concerns of these educational facilitators were congruent with student suggestions for areas to improve within the externship process.

Externship programs are hindered at the program level. Each externship facilitator expressed a strong interest in students having a good externship experience. They were equally quick to point out that a need for improving their externship program exists. Even facilitators at the larger private

institutions with adequate experiential program funding cite dissatisfaction with elements of the process that were congruent with smaller private institutions. Most of smaller institutions have one externship facilitator who utilizes input from the programs instructors. Larger institutions with up to three full-time facilitators paid year round find themselves in no better position. The issue at hand is the ratio of students to facilitator. Smaller institutions must negotiate the placement of up to two hundred externs per year, primarily during the summer months when students are available to work full time in the industry. Larger institution facilitators with student populations in excess of six hundred students do not in reality face smaller student to facilitator ratios. This severely limits what the facilitator can actually know about any one student. Typically, a quick assessment of the student's conversational ability and a broad assessment from one or more instructors form the facilitator's impression of where the student might best fit in terms of site. The lack of real knowledge about the students' abilities was one of the prime limitations they faced in their opinion.

The supervision of externships receives little funding. A disconnect between higher education administrators and applied programs again surfaced in the form of another limitation expressed by all institution externship facilitators. These respondents felt the lack of understanding exhibited by their university administrators regarding the importance of the externship as a valuable learning experience. This lack of understanding was evident in the insufficient funding for facilitators, some receiving no financial remuneration for their work during the academic term, or during the summer when following up on students involved in externships in the field are educational imperatives. These students are typically away from home, many for the first time, in cities unfamiliar to them. Thus at the very least, concern for their safety alone was seen as an important reason for maintaining contact. But to many administrators, it would appear that what does not occur in the classroom is out of sight, mind, and concern. Facilitators also felt that a certain lack of regard for the externship as a course was also evident. Students receive from one to two credit hours for their externship course which typically

entails greater than three hundred hours of physical work, keeping journals, comprising portfolios, and compiling externship reports.

Evaluation

Evaluation was a reoccurring theme among all participants. Students often engaged in personal assessment and educational institutions applied various evaluation techniques in accordance with higher education grading criteria. Externship sites were also involved in scrutinizing the progress of student externs to varying degrees. In some cases, the externship sites were unclear regarding how students should be evaluated or if the site was actually responsible for any form of student evaluation for that matter. In most cases, the student externs bore the burden of learning method as assessment was usually well-defined while learning methods remained obscure. Thus students were expected to bridge their passive learning environment where instructors' defined knowledge and a real world work environment where they would have to identify what was importance to know.

Educational programs lack learning methods. One of the smaller culinary arts programs requires that all students embarking on externships find their own sites. This builds character and improves their ability to take action. Of course, they are provided with a pamphlet which provides guidelines for a successful selection. In the end, this institution sends its student out into the world to negotiate and make selection decision with no constructive evaluation or enlightened input from the program itself. Clearly stated by this educational facilitator was the feeling that higher education truly envisions the laboratory and experiential setting as a supporting component to the classroom although the facilitator's discussions and constant interaction with industry point to a need for considering the reverse. As my interviews have indicated, a case exists for depicting higher education as an educational entity that has not yet truly embraced the applied nature of the Culinary Arts discipline or the importance of externships in general. Institutions of higher education consistently defend the

importance of learning and knowing and rightfully so. However, as indicated in various ways by all respondents of the study, learning in the form of application, although conducted within the walls and under the auspices of these same institutions, remains an example of “repetitive” learning, regarding university practice. What constitutes achievement at the student level is driven by boards of education and thus university administrations that maintain a status quo mindset requiring instructors to ‘do things the way they have always been done’ although economic realities and competitive forces point the need for enhanced educational ways of thinking about how best to truly prepare student for working world realities.

How the Findings Informed the Research Questions

The research questions I posed were illuminated by the study. *Do all stakeholders involved in externships understand and contribute equally towards the students acquisition of durable knowledge from the externship experience?* The answer is no. How each participant: students, externship site facilitators, and culinary program facilitators envisioned and managed their respective roles varied based on their particular perspective and intended ends. The best outcomes were achieved when good planning and mutual commitment existed between the student and the externship site. In some cases, there were no well defined goals on the part of all participants. For some students, the externships opportunities were ill-conceived or put together in the hurried fashion that often occurs when scheduling coursework for the following semester.

How do students manage their externship roles? How student stakeholders managed their role in attaining durable knowledge again covered the spectrum. For students, how they initially perceived their individual goals, engaged in aggressive role management, and followed their plan proved to be a recipe for success. Interestingly, novice culinary survey course students who had not yet entered actual culinary classroom and laboratory coursework placed

a similar level of importance on utilizing personal agency to achieve intended goals as their successful sophomore and senior counterparts. Thus students indicated their intention to succeed from the beginning. What became evident as the study progressed was the importance of possessing a high degree of social capital to maintain self-belief, build interaction with others to create or be a part of successful networks, and to apply agency to further one's own interests. The acquisition of symbolic capital in the form of practical knowledge proved to be an equally important success determinant because it conveys experience and the ability to extend oneself to gain achievement and of importance in the university setting - notice by their professors who can further their chances for acceptance by prominent restaurants in competitive culinary marketplaces. It is also important to note that students who obtained symbolic capital were less likely to engage in "grade think" assuming that good laboratory execution grades were adequate to successfully perform in the workplace. Thus both forms of capital surfaced as prized components from success in quality-oriented urban restaurants for competitive reasons and the perfectionist perspectives of successful externship site facilitators.

What do externship site facilitators contribute to the externship process? What externship sites were willing to invest in the externs they accepted also varied broadly. For elite restaurant sites, standards were high and acceptance of externs was selective. These sites were willing to commit to the extern and their standards of what defined quality work were high. Some sites focused on providing a worthwhile experience for the students they accepted. At the other extreme, some externship sites brought students in to provide work experience in their kitchens and benefit from reduced labor costs. Thus externship sites ranged the gamut with some selective, some focused on student learning, and those who intended to use students for their own ends.

What were the contributions made by educational facilitators? The involvement of culinary program facilitators in most cases was well intentioned but to some extent restrained due to higher education mandates, maintaining externship site relations, and high student to facilitator ratios. They do their best to achieve a goodness of fit for the student and externship site. However, in many cases, what they actually know about the students they place is insufficient to achieve that perfect match. Try as they may, students unknown to them often receive a signed approval for the externship site and unfortunately little more based on placement volume. Externship facilitators are further hampered in their efforts in terms of follow up and ongoing mentoring during the actual externship because these practical experiences in industry occur during the summer months when facilitators are not under contract with their respective universities and would not be paid to follow student progress. Some facilitators do remain in contact with their students without compensation. I did encounter a situation where the educational facilitator's contact with students was minimal from the beginning of the process up to the evaluation of the student. This culinary program intended for students to find and assess the value of the experience of the sites and make selection decisions. The externship selection process was considered good practice for honing job hunting skills rather than the learning opportunity an externship should provide to the student.

Were the contributions of all stakeholders: the students, educators, and site facilitators considered in judging the student's externship outcome? Again, unfortunately the answer is no. Externs do for the most part bear the sole weight of evaluation. Further, it is not that students' lack the ability to engage in critical reflection regarding their externship experiences but rather a lack of defined criteria and knowledge of how to frame the experience for critical consideration. Educators fail to embed the importance of social skills and the need for

practical experience to enhance the value of their culinary education. Stated differently, students often consider a superior grade in laboratory coursework as an adequate level of performance. Those students who achieve strong practical work experience have a much better understanding of what industry requires as an acceptable level of ability.

Do students bear the sole weight of evaluation? The evaluation process is also marginally constructed and students are generally the only stakeholders evaluated. Externship site facilitators were vague regarding evaluation requirements and who was responsible for stating those ends. An additional barrier students face involves a disconnect in the discipline terminology used in culinary program coursework versus the way information is conveyed in the workplace. As the literature indicates, the education of site facilitators ranges from apprenticeships to what is becoming a more university oriented culinary education. Still, many site facilitators have no more than an associate degree. Thus, in many cases, knowledge conveyance occurs in the form of demonstrating desired skills rather than verbally and the student is left to extract knowledge through social skills and careful observation.

Do all students obtain durable knowledge during their externships? In sum, the answer is no. What students learn is based on proper planning, desire, commitment, social skills, practical experience, and of the greatest importance, bringing all of these elements to bear place students in the best position to achieve their desired goals from the externship experience. Thus what the student will learn is truly a function of their desire and ability and the commitment of the externship site. Many sites facilitators contribute admirably while quite a few do not know how to best aid the student to achieve durable learning. Still others are attending to their personal agenda and have little interest in nurturing the student. The consistent achievement of durable knowledge remains, based on a variety of situations culinary

education has failed to address and control, a work in progress.

PART 5: CONCLUSIONS

As I considered a restaurant site and educational institution as both place and space physically and socially constructed, the theoretical work of Zussman (2004) became a particularly useful consideration. Zussman argued that studying people in places allows the researcher to look at multiple levels of social life and occurrences. By connecting people and places, I was able to consider externs, externship sites, and educational institutions as separate yet connected enterprises where shared and different circumstances exist within those connections. Zussman argued that places are typically the manifestations, or perhaps more precisely the instantiations of people and the policies that guide them. This was certainly evident in the findings of the study.

People are as much engaged in building private for-profit restaurants in urban settings as non-profit educational institutions are in educating and shaping people. The policies that inform these different constructions can and do differ widely. Thus within the extern's lived experience, cause and effect relationships affecting their ability to gain durable knowledge from their externship emerged within the social and physical contexts of both site and the educational facility. A commonality between site and educational facility was the fact that both externship sites and culinary programs are learning entities in some ways similar, but in many ways different. Both restaurants and educational programs look to the future and new innovation, yet both struggle to escape past ways of thinking – each carry historical baggage that constantly filters into current decision-making. Learning is not always envisioned in clear and precise terms nor is knowledge easily recognizable to students when viewed from perspectives foreign to each other.

All of the study's participants, students, sites, and educational institutions are participants in some form of learning but learning in general from each participant's perspective appeared not immune to various pitfalls that lay in its path. Students can suffer from myopia seeing too closely concentrating

on current coursework with no clear view of, or plan for, the future. They can also be astigmatic causing the appearance of the future to possess no clarity from lack of guidance or immaturity. Sites can learn too early, understanding that change is inevitable but devising no plan or organizational tenants such as new entrant socialization tactics to embrace it, or they can learn too late by clinging to historical ways of thinking and actions that create disconnects with those who have experienced current innovation and are ready to attack the future now. The worst pitfall might best be described as a form of inbred learning in which educational institutions, and sites alike, engage. They continue to do things that were historically successful until they work no longer at which point they begin to search for problems never realizing that the process itself is the culprit because change, especially in the form of technology and application, has, and constantly continues, to occur.

Instructional policy does affect student abilities. The importance of higher education policies regarding the delivery of instruction and student assessment became an almost inseparable consideration in terms of its relevance to the education process that culminates in students being prepared for their externships and the externship site where experiential learning occurs. In a study of university educators, Smeby (1996) found that while educators varied slightly in their use of instructional delivery techniques, instructors at the university level spent more time in the lecture mode of teaching than any other method. In the sciences, instructors used lectures 91% of the time while social science instructors used lectures 81% of the time respectively. Some researchers suggest that the lecture may be a method preferred by students (McKeachie: 1997). But just because the lecture method is comfortable does not mean that it is the only viable method. Many students prefer teaching that enables them to listen passively and organizes the subject matter for them which prepares them well for assessment. However, research points to better retention, thinking, and motivational effects when students are more actively involved in talking, writing, and doing (McKeachie: 1997).

In contrast, Swanger and Gursoy (2010) found during an extensive study of hospitality industry professionals that the subject matter ranked according to importance by all respondents included leadership skills; preparation for industry employment; externships and industry experience; and the ability to analyze operations and the most desirable skills graduates should possess.

As the literature indicates, the classroom of the freshmen survey students was not an unfamiliar environment to those students. Their early education began in a classroom. Teachers instruct and guide, they interact, and enact familiar methods of assessment at prescribed intervals. The focal point of the classroom's competitiveness lies in the grade achieved by the student's ability to recall and process the course information. However, as students enter the culinary laboratory, the heart of culinary education, the known quantities for the student change drastically. The course grade remains the academic goal, but the ways and actions that determine their grade place many students in unknown territory as the physical execution of skills now enters the equation and creates a different personal reality for all. For some students, this new reality is enabling while for others the presence of failure is seen as a possibility. Students are now forced to communicate and interact with each other to execute laboratory assignments where only their cognitive functions were necessary to carry them to success in the classroom. They must work side-by-side with other students where assessments that include not only text knowledge but coordinated motor skills, speed and accuracy, tasting ability, leadership tendencies, and constant assessment of all actions are now the order of the day. An additional difference is that student assessments are also noted for other purposes. Thus, the culinary laboratory environment subscribes to different policies aimed at different purposes of which one is the aspect of "ability tracking" not so different from the academic tracking rampant in all schools beginning in the lowest levels of education that create 'lanes' for high achievers and other lanes for those of lesser abilities.

Externship Sites

Externship sites are places structured with different agendas, goals, policies, ways of knowing, and ways of sharing what they know. Their competitive nature is a function of the surrounding urban environment itself. Thus place, policy, and environment to a large extent, drive the intenseness of their actions, and ways of interpreting competition which are quite different from the educational facility. They are places with varying levels of prerequisites for entry by externs with ways of knowing and sharing knowledge that are not congruent with higher educational methods of instruction. In many cases the restaurant's ability to meet the critical thinking mandate demanded by higher education is limited by the site facilitators own formal education which typically does not extend beyond an associate's degree. Are these facilitators knowledgeable? Yes they are, but that deep knowledge is usually obtained through intense training by way of apprenticeship and practical experience – not formal education. This is acknowledged by the literature which further indicates that as the culinary arts field continues to become more technical and in need of higher education critical thinking skills.

Sites can lack organizational socialization for newcomers. Industry professionals in the culinary field are aware of such changes and seek to fill this void with students who possess critical thinking training and ability but these same facilitators and enterprises, in many instances, have not formulated organizational socialization structures (the ways newcomers learn the appropriate roles and behaviors to become effective and participating members) that truly facilitate the entry of the very candidates that can fill such needs. Thus the burden of entry invariably turns on the agency, social, and symbolic capital of the externs themselves in many instances when these socialization structures are absent. The more cognitive-oriented elite and corporate sites have been more adept at institutionalizing organizational entry sense-making and have developed ways to reciprocate the willingness to act congruent with the students' willingness to learn and progress. Others extend a lesser or insignificant level of reciprocal involvement because they lack the knowledge of "how" to engage the

student or remain shortsighted unable to envision what those students might contribute to the future of their organizations.

Educational Programs

The educational facility is an important variable in the durable knowledge acquisition equation to which the student must plot an effective solution. The standard of higher education is critical thinking. Higher education is burdened by years of tradition toward that end and as such encumbered by a form of “group think” that reinforces the traditional methods and ways of thinking about how critical thinking should be achieved. The applied sciences, the classification descriptive under which Culinary Arts falls, is still widely considered a foreign entity to the mindset of the higher education community in general where the discipline is more aptly referred to as that "cooking school."

The literature indicates that many scholars within the general higher education community fail to see the value of experiential learning. Some scholars, in fact, equate real world endeavors such as externships as ‘training’ rather than learning and argue that they fall short of the critical thinking mandate and as such those courses should not be included in higher education programs of study. As one ponders the educational facility as both place and policy, it becomes easier to understand why students might equate a superior laboratory grade as proof of proficiency, see no need for the additional honing of skills if they have not had previous real world experience, or determine the grade to be more important than acquiring additional skill for that matter. The applied science program of a traditional university must operate with a different way of nurturing student which creates a duality of thinking. Knowledge, which is traditionally prized, must be coupled with ‘doing’ which is the essence of application and is the quintessential prize of the industry. Therefore, if the goal of higher education is to replenish the work force of the discipline, then higher education program construction cannot operate in an environment that ignores what industry values. In the case of Culinary Arts, critical thinking and

application must be coupled. The message sent to instructors and students alike should not be an overarching preference for the former at the expense of the latter.

Externship facilitators are not properly valued . The traditional higher education mindset also extends to externship facilitators who generally do not receive compensation during the academic year at public institutions for evaluating students or managing site placement contacts, and equally go uncompensated during the summer months when most externship's are conducted because the facilitator is not involved in 'daily ongoing instruction' with the externs. They work for the students because they care and are assisted, as most respondents indicated, by other instructors who share a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of the externs. As a result of understaffing, it is not difficult to understand why site maintenance and scrutiny are not as stringent as they might be and some sites do not receive red flags until students finally indicate that problems exist within the operation and the externship experience was less than desirable. It also offers some explanation as to why externship site are dubious regarding what the educational program requires from the site or student and who initiates what kind of assessment. Typically, the requirements and goals of the externship are reduced to pamphlets which may, or may not, be read by the site facilitator. In any case, requirements and goals are seldom verbally communicated and confirmed. Critical thinking can be hard to accomplish as the literature but as the study indicates, program limitations and lack of method are the greater culprits to students engaging in critical reflection.

The Findings Connection to the Hospitality Literature

Culinary arts as a discipline has predominately shifted into higher education clearly embracing the constructivist view (students creating their own knowledge away from the classroom setting) which decisively shifting the burden of learning to the individual. Externships are now seen as natural settings for integrated thinking. Now the student is given one additional burden to add to the task of creating knowledge unassisted on externships - critical reflection and analysis must take prominence. Critical

reflection should acknowledge the historical, social, and political aspects of the experience and conclusion must be rendered. The students' uncritical acceptance of the status quo is no longer an acceptable element within the instructor's assessment as determined by the educational institution. Students are now expected to build up to critical reflexivity and to situate it in practical circumstances although much of the literature emphasizes in the same breath the difficulties, challenges, and risks associated with students' engaging in the deeper learning necessary for criticality.

When viewed collectively, the literature does in fact present an accurate depiction of the culinary field in its present state. Gaps in the literature still exist in culinary programs, however, ways of reasoning through the obvious gaps in all of the literatures central to my study emerged and to those ends my concluding remarks now turn. A gap common to all culinary literatures concerns the internship literature's calls *for pedagogical instruction strategies to drive culinary learning objectives and outcome evaluation aligned with the student's background knowledge, experience, and environment*, however studies which supply insight to ameliorate that need were not evident within the culinary related literature. Culinary Arts is a young discipline and considerably 'under-institutionalized' in the sense that literature within the field pertaining to all aspects of the profession does not exist in some form or another. If one steps away from the literature of the culinary field and explores the work done in other disciplines, a wealth of information and strategy is available for consideration. I encountered little difficulty finding relatable literature in urban studies, the social sciences and education as exemplars. Thus the lack of an inter-disciplinary orientation is a major limitation to obtaining the direction culinary educators seek. The topic of organizational socialization for instance is just beginning to surface in the culinary literature as Culinary Arts grapples with positive employee entry into an industry plagued by historically low employee retention rates although organizational socialization, and socialization literature in general, has a long history of discussion in the social sciences and the field of business.

The literature states that *critical learning does occur, but provides no posited methodology for its construction, thus the student bears the burden of method*. The heart of the matter lies in course design and the lack of "framing" what should be valued and the criteria for its evaluation and reflection. Instructors, as course creators, have little to no training regarding how culinary courses meet program goals, how coursework should be constructed with deep consideration as to what the course should accomplish as it relates to program outcomes, how the elements of instruction meet the course goals, or matching accurate assessment methods to ensure that all students have met that goal in an application-oriented field. In many cases, instructors are grappling with existing courses that fail to adhere to course design methods which fail to consider what a course should accomplish in the first place, who the participants are, and how the course terrain should be equalized for the greatest impact on all students. Most culinary instructors possess the proper higher education credentials but come from the industry itself and as such, were initially trained through apprenticeships, and more currently by associate degree programs. The bachelor's degree in Culinary Arts is a relatively new credential and is still on the cusp of becoming a force that improves industry learning and decision-making in the culinary field. Course design method is by no means a new element in the field of education. Culinary educators should institute a collaborative inter-disciplinary effort to maximize the vast knowledge that already exists for the design of coursework applicable to the culinary field. By all accounts, industry lags higher education in terms of critical innovation. As such, bachelor's degree students cannot be simply thrown into industry and expected to achieve critical interaction with an entity that is not on the same critical thinking level as the institution and engages in a reasoning vocabulary foreign to the text terminology the student has been forced to master.

As such, the literature states that *the ability to assess values, beliefs, assumptions, critical learning and reflection on the part of students' are considered to be lacking*. These are the elements that the literature states should be valued as a synthesis of knowledge. But assessed by which definition

of what these elements constitute – is it culinary education from the higher educational perspective, the culinary industry itself, or a meeting of both minds? In reality, student externs enter, many for the first time, high volume working kitchens with little practical experience. They must learn the flow of that kitchen, and memorize and execute a new extensive menu, all of which takes time to accomplish. Further, menu items such as beef, chicken, and seafood have different cooking times requiring the customer's order to be started in stages which culminate in the items ordered finishing together. Thus, the constant awareness of timing is another important element that the extern must master and control throughout the work day. I would assert that in one sense the extern is truly engaged in a constant synthesis of knowledge but unfortunately not the 'synthesis' to which the literature refers although it is in essence exactly the kind of synthesis that industry prizes. Industry has never laid claim to the designation of "teacher" in a formal sense. Teaching and extern preparation should be centered within the realm of higher education. In practicality, critical reflection cannot occur into the latter stages of the externship. Feldman (1981) argues that learning the tasks of the new job, gaining self-confidence, and attaining a favorable level of job performance, in all instances is the first priority of the extern. Morrison (1995) confirms that newcomers upon entry naturally focus most of their attention on task relevant information which have been found critical to their adjustment and continued membership in the organization. At times, what is expected from the extern contradicts program goals which fail to consider that learning how to function within the work unit is necessary for effective socialization – the precursor to achieving meaningful interaction from which critical evaluation and reflection stems. The student's ability to achieve effective socialization directly relates to the level of critical thinking they can achieve at any site.

Keeping it simple facilitates complex thinking. Educators must explain in simple terms how critical thinking and reflection should be approached to the students in their charge and better preparation to critically reflect must take precedence in all program goals from the onset of instruction.

This is a practical matter: the externship sites will not, and the students historically have not been able to make such a leap without guidance. Critical thinking and reflection can exist within externships as courses of study in higher education but higher education thinking cannot continue to subscribe to a way of thinking of the externship as only practical experience, a resume builder, working knowledge to be applied to future coursework, and the like. Likewise, instructors must disassociate themselves from that mindset. If you want students to reflect critically on their experiences properly framing what values, beliefs, and assumptions are, and how they might differ from classroom to site, is truly an essential element that has not been addressed with students by all accounts in the literature, or at institutions themselves. Is it any wonder, why student have such a hard time placing meaning on any of these elements in the field? Institutions expound textbook terminology that provides no clarity for students in the real world setting. A point of critical reflection such as: "Discuss the organizational culture of your externship site." In truth, has no meaning to the student but equally the term is not part of the vocabulary of a working restaurant. But if 'organizational culture' is referenced as: how did the employees get along at your site? Were they respectful to each other? Did management respect and value the staff? Did the organization enforce high quality standards? The term "organizational culture" now takes on a character that an extern can relate to, question, and observe. Additionally, such questions are understandable by those working in the culinary field. Thus the concentration, or "framing," should center on the "actions" that describe the term and not the term itself. These become questions that can be discerned, reflected upon, and compared in understandable ways by the students. Now a student's reflexive response to the question: "How did the organizational culture of your externship site compare to theory you learned in class regarding what was acceptable and what was not?" becomes answerable in much greater depth through critical assumptions arrived at by observation and interaction on the part of the extern because the question has now been framed in understandable ways to which both student and site can relate.

I argue that improving the students' ability to assess values, beliefs, assumptions, critical learning and reflection lies not in complex terminology but rather in approaching complex terminology in simple and relatable terms at all levels of coursework. To my mind, the question: "did you want to return from your externship with a copy of the site's menu, or did you want to understand how that menu was constructed and conceived?" is a critical question that requires reflection on the part of the student, but stating that question in such simple terms allow the student to understand what the question is really asking. The question is simple, but is the need for reflective criticality not involved in the answer?

The perception of coursework sequencing. In essence another mistake made by educators preparing externs does not involve coursework sequencing, sophomores having less course knowledge than senior students, but rather in the way the coursework sequence has come to be perceived. An externship typically occurs at the sophomore and senior levels of study. It becomes part of the program progression and in short, it has come to be considered as 'another course' rather than a capstone element, a culmination of learning that a student should be able to exhibit at either of these levels. Thus preparing the student to think in critical terms cannot begin too early. The instructors' questions must be framed to reinforce text knowledge and laboratory assignments but equally to provide the student with practical criteria in simple and understandable terminology to assess, discern, and question what should be valued that can transfer to a real world setting where the student must grapple with these elements alone.

Interdisciplinary literature on students and social ability. The importance of the previous discussion takes on a more relevant character when one considers the internal condition of the student, social capital, the level of experience they possess, and the fact that externships occur away from traditional education methods. This can and often results in 'role conflict' – the student having two different statuses at the same time. Roles create regular patterns of behavior and thus a measure of

predictability, which not only allow individuals to function effectively because they know what to expect of others, but also allows them to form generalizations of their environment. Students who enter the real world environment leave behind the guidance of their instructors and the continuity of the class setting, and as such, the predictability of the environment which enables them to reason effectively. Now they are forced to function as both student and teacher. The construction of knowledge, and assessing values, beliefs and assumptions is left to their own ability to do so. Knowles and Saxberg (1971) confirmed that such conflict can motivate individuals to do more and better work as the findings exhibit, or it can equally lead to frustration, anxiety, and reduced efficiency which also occurred with externs involved in the study. Thus the internal condition of the student becomes an important area of discussion. While all relevant socialization literature is too extensive for inclusion in this study, several pertinent studies are useful to state the importance of cultivating students' social abilities.

Zukin (1995) posited that urban restaurants involve more than the consumption of food, they infer social and cultural standing separation, and are equally forces of economic power and influence. The social, cultural, and economic meaning constructed in and associated to urban restaurants is manifold – as are the people who fully, or partially, participate in the operational functions and context of restaurants. This is not the normal setting to which students have become accustomed. Social capital becomes an important element in such settings and the social capital a student brings to these setting becomes a most relevant consideration in the matching of student with site. As such, the development of the students' ability to socialize, as capital, should also be of concern since students enter Culinary Arts programs with different social dispositions.

Kohn (1969) found that lower class parents were more likely to emphasize conformity in their children whereas middle-class parents were more likely to emphasize creativity and self-reliance. Ellis, Lee, and Peterson (1978), found that parents value conformity over self-reliance in children to the extent that conformity superseded self-reliance as a criterion for success because they experience

conformity in their day-to-day activities which are far more about conforming than innovation.

Additionally, Robinson and Smith-Lovin (1992: 27) found that people with low self esteem will choose one another as interaction partners – a form of self-tracking. Kohn's analysis bears direct relevance to the current culinary program setting and the observations of Rosenbaum.

Rosenbaum's (1975) work on college classes and difference states that school is one of the primary contributors to socialization. Rosenbaum warns that "tracking" students is detrimental to their positive development because participation in a given track can also result in the adoption of the norms, values, beliefs, skills, and behaviors that correspond to that track. Thus tracks can turn into a type of self-fulfilling prophecy: you may start out at the same level as someone in a higher track, but if relegated to a lower track students will become like the other students in that lower track. Rosenbaum states definitively that tracks socialize students into their corresponding roles.

I see the tenets of these authors in the classroom every day. There is no doubt that the students' possession of social capital is a crucial element to their success, but how can instructors positively impact students with less than desired social ability? Albert Bandura's (1977) work on social learning suggests that a combination of environmental (social) and psychological factors influence behavior. His social learning theory outlines three requirements for people to learn and model behavior and include attention: retention (remembering what one observed), reproduction (ability to reproduce the behavior), and motivation (good reason) to want to adopt the behavior. Thus, it would appear plausible that a program's laboratory environment should include categorical elements that represent indicators of socialization effectiveness and reflect salient aspects of information newcomers would be expected to acquire and display in any organization.

Learning tasks, gaining self-confidence, and attaining a favorable level of performance in the laboratory setting are no different from adjusting to a real world work environment. As noted by Morrison (1995) successful adjustment sets the stage for new students to begin to trust in their ability,

feel capable, and to increase positive interaction with peers. New students have a natural tendency to focus most of their attention on task relevant information which they see as critical to peer-associations in the laboratory environment. Weak students should be encouraged to practice and hone their physical skills until they reach an acceptable level of performance. More reserved students must be drawn out to verbally interact with others through instruction which encourages peer interaction and the creation of rotating group leadership positions to create successes that allow them to realize that they can excel. This becomes the precursor to their personal perception of self and continued group acceptance because they come to see themselves as equals.

Lacking from current culinary course design is content that improves student social skills. I would suggest embedded course content in all areas of coursework that focuses on oral communication; leadership skills and the importance of thinking outside the box; written communication skills; professional presentation skills; public speaking skills; the appreciation of differences in personality traits; and skills that nurture critical thinking.

Externship Sites and effective socialization. Sites consistently stress teamwork as vital to an operations success. Placing students into groups that require a collaborative effort is another important step toward teaching student to function within work groups. When employees join the organization, they need to learn and understand the way things are done within their work units/groups that is consistent with that of other relevant employees. Indicators of successful functioning within the work group include getting along with coworkers and superiors, coming to feel liked and trusted by peers, understanding the group norms and values, and making a satisfactory adjustment to group culture. As such, learning how to function within the work unit is necessary for effective socialization and should be encouraged in the laboratory setting to acclimate students' to voice their opinions, take charge, challenge ideas, embrace better ideas when offered by others, and in general become accustomed to the natural give and take that occurs when surrounded by individuals with different

levels of skill and self-efficacy. Schein (1988) asserts that instructors in the laboratory setting must develop a new self-identity in student. An identity that questions and analyzes the work performed in that setting that develops a personal culture of inquisitiveness and re-thinking of one's actions. This in turn leads to the internalization of which norms are acceptable in a quality oriented organizational culture. Thus the student begins to form the base for a new self-identity where high quality work becomes a personal standard. Laboratory work performed by the student should be scrutinized in terms of what was exemplary, what was not, why the student failed to meet the standard, and most importantly, what the student should do to correct deviancies.

Louis (1980) posits that this type of culture enables students to develop a definition of the situation, and a scheme for interpreting events and making necessary adjustments to improve results. She underscores the importance of this form of sense making to the element of surprise faced by newcomers in a new work context versus experienced insiders. First, insiders normally know what to expect in and of the situation. Second, when surprises do arise, the insider usually has sufficient history in the setting to interpret them more accurately. Third, when surprises arise and sense making is necessary, the insider has other insiders with whom to compare perceptions and interpretations. The need to attribute meaning to experiences constantly exists in the real world setting and students should begin to learn to engage in assessment and problem solving both individually and in collaboration with group or class members prior to real world experiences in dealing with such matters.

To catalyze the ability of the student to engage in the aforementioned elements of social effectiveness, instructors must support students with strong self identities but consistently reinforce, and attempt to positively shape were necessary, the identities of students less sure of their social abilities. Students must engage in personal learning, learning about themselves. Fischer (1986) identified personal learning as one of the most important components of the socialization process. Schein (1964) emphasized the particular importance of personal learning to university students and new

graduates. Students and graduates enter the workplace with personal doubts about their competence in job performance and ability to cope with anxieties and tensions of the work world. As such, students need to develop a positive opinion of the type of person he or she is and how they will function with a working organization. Instructors' should provide positive reinforcement, honest appraisals of deficiencies accompanied by equally positive suggestions for improvement, and recognition of improvements made. The goal is to create a mindset in the student that help them to recognize that mistakes are inevitable, not indications of failure, but opportunities to improve at every level of work and life.

Summary Perspective

The focus of my study centered on the perspectives of students, externship site, and educational facilitators who oversee the culinary program's externship process. As the findings of the study indicate, each of these respondents sees the externship in different ways because each constructs their perception from a different vantage. Sites are engaged in for-profit operations in highly competitive urban market places, externs make decisions from the perspective of the 'student,' and educational facilitators must be evaluators, maintainers of site relations, and enforcers of educational policy. Tensions do exist among all participants in the externship process and the needs and expectations of each must be strong considerations to achieve success in the externship process as a whole.

The importance of students and externship sites having strong socialization tactics, students possessing practical work experience to extend opportunities or overcome inadequate site tactics, and agency in all externship related endeavors surfaced as the most important considerations valued by industry and equally the elements that produced the best externship outcomes. These are the elements that student must ultimately develop to be successful in the competitive field of Culinary Arts. In reality, some students naturally possess the necessary social capital required, and understand the need for experience to gain entry into elite restaurants which have developed organizational

socialization schemes to reciprocate the students desire to learn. For others students, both social skills and work experience remain a work in progress which is no different from other fields of study for that matter. Some sites accomplish successful newcomer entry to a less degree, and some sites see acceptance of externs as sufficient in and of itself. Thus, student must be able to meet the challenges of learning on their own in less than hospitable environments.

Preparation for each of these circumstances lies with both student and program. The findings indicated that 30% of the externs interviewed were completely satisfied with their externships which they felt enhanced all aspects of their current and future endeavors. The figure equally represents the number of sites capable of facilitating these student responses. Approximately 30% of the students interviewed of externs reported unproductive experiences leaving a sizable amount of the externships in that middle corridor where some site effort was extended but aggressive student effort in some cases was required to create an environment productive to a desirable learning experience. This does accurately represent the restaurant terrain at the present time. Restaurants are not teachers in an institutional sense but they do impart knowledge normally by demonstration rather than verbal based on the training of the extern's site facilitator. The sites have the knowledge and are willing to share it, but the students must have some ability to extract what sites know to achieve durable learning as the take away.

The study indicates that in all instances that students must be confident in their ability, be ready to communicate, have strong observational skills, possess a sense of what should be valued, and the willingness to act on their own behalf. Equally, educators must provide students with the proper criteria for making critical evaluations or the disconnection between the classroom and the work environment will be too overwhelming for the student to discern the critical connections the program expects the student to consider. The best externships occur when the students' demeanor is matched to the sites disposition to impart knowledge. This was an area the study found to be in need. The social skills of

students mark another area where program improvement is warranted. Symbolic capital can be facilitated by the institution, but in general, this remains the domain of the student.

Are all externships successful? Educational facilitators responded affirmatively in all cases despite the literature. I think the answer is yes to the extent externs and sites work together to achieve a common ground where the goals of both and site can be achieved. Should program processes improve? Again, I think the answer is yes in the sense that more attention should be brought to bear on what the externship should really accomplish as a capstone rather than as just another course – a slight difference in thinking, but a difference that could shift the importance to center on its future impact in a real world working endeavor rather than the shortsightedness of obtaining a grade. The students' internal condition is another vital aspect that should receive more attention. Further, programs should explain to students at the point of program entry what the culinary industry values, how the program will prepare the student for entry into an operational for-profit environment, and, of greatest importance, what students should do within the scope of the culinary program, and on their own, to be prepared for career enhancing opportunities based on what industry has identified as elements leading to success. Culinary Arts is a discipline centered on application and students in bachelor's programs must be made aware that successful entry into industry now requires the intertwining of knowledge and skill – the ability to think and do. Both the culinary industry and culinary education have evolved although not at the same pace. Through their close association with industry, numerous department heads and culinary program coordinators indicate that students now have a deeper theoretical knowledge base than those in positions of authority in culinary entities and their concern has now shifted from the students themselves to a concentration on educating culinary employers who fail to understand how and where these new graduates should be utilized. Additionally, as programs continue to grow, the availability of sites that have the ability to offer well-rounded learning experiences will continue to shrink as the number of quality culinary entities fails to maintain coinciding grow rates.

All participants invest various resources such as time, effort, and money into the externship process to a larger or lesser extent. The findings indicate that the best outcomes occur when both student and site invest equally in the externship experience. It becomes equally evident that a strong student investment in cases where sites lack the formal ability to reciprocate interest can create interaction to results in positive outcomes. The worst externship outcomes occur when both the student and the site lack the social capital, or in the case of sites, the sincere intention to help students gain durable knowledge that enables and furthers their growth in the Culinary Arts field.

Therefore the critical standard of higher education and the skills to work effectively alone and in groups, the indicated standard of industry, must now be combined into one educational element upon which the success of students' is based. This must continue to remain the current and future concern and direction of Culinary Arts university education with greater support from university administrations. As more Bachelors degree graduates continue to enter the ranks of decision-makers within the working culinary world itself, greater equalization toward more unified goals consistent with industry and education should begin to occur more consistently at some point in the future. Nonetheless, the power of social capital as an internal facilitator of the student's organizational socialization ability and symbolic capital, the increases skills and experience that breed competence, confidence, and thus empowerment in the mind of the student remain and will continue to remain the most pertinent hallmarks that lead to students obtain durable knowledge on externships and help to initiate successful careers in the uneven terrain of the culinary profession. An old adage states that success is simple. One must determine the goal, determine the price to achieve that goal – and pay it. Thus the focus of culinary education is equally simple. Culinary arts programs must to the best of their ability continue to evolve their ways of thinking with regard to industry expectations, help foster and shape the students' ability to confidently arrive at clear realistic goal definitions, and provide externs as future graduates, to the extent possible, with program content that supports the future of industry and supplies students with the necessary

capitals - social and symbolic - necessary to pay their price for success as they progress through culinary programs and beyond.

Suggestions for Future Research. The student participants in this initial study were from a mid-sized public university program in the South. Future research could increase the scope of student inquiry to include both public and private university culinary programs in other parts of the United States with larger student enrollments which might provide different or more expansive student impressions and perspectives.

While the current hospitality literature is beginning to investigate the importance of competency-based education to match industry expectations, nothing has appeared on the horizon that addresses ways for students to improve their ability to socialize and thus better engage their externship experiences in urban environments. Future research should further explore the socialization and experience related gaps student externs saw between what was taught in the classroom and what was useful in the workplace. The study revealed that not all externship sites engage in effective socialization tactics. As such, another area for potential study would include identifying what socialization tactics externship sites use, if any, to increase organizational commitment as a prelude to culinary education partnering with industry to create learning communities to improve newcomer entry into hospitality organizations.

Finally, as socialization surfaced as an important aspect of success in the externship process, university culinary programs should begin to identify ways to include a broader variety of teaching methods, including the a more substantive use of technology, designed to better encourage active student participation and discussion in the classroom. Passive learning tactics, as the study revealed, are inadequate to further one's chances for success in the real-world urban restaurants. Further, culinary educators should examine appropriate areas within culinary program coursework to embed socialization knowledge and strategy to improve the students' ability to actively socialize.

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Significance and Limitations:

Fisher, K. 2003. Demystifying critical reflection: Defining criteria for assessment. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 22(3), 318-335.

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**University Committee for the Protection
of Human Subjects in Research**

University of New Orleans

Campus Correspondence

Principal Investigator: David Gladstone
Co-Investigator: William Thibodeaux
Date: April 23, 2009
Protocol Title: "Holding Ownership in Culinary Arts Externships: which stakeholders invest and why?"
IRB#: 03May09

The IRB has deemed that the research and procedures described in this protocol application are exempt from federal regulations under 45 CFR 46.101 category 2, due to the fact that any information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

Exempt protocols do not have an expiration date; however, if there are any changes made to this protocol that may cause it to be no longer exempt from CFR 46, the IRB requires another standard application from the investigator(s) which should provide the same information that is in this application with changes that may have changed the exempt status.

If an adverse, unforeseen event occurs (e.g., physical, social, or emotional harm), you are required to inform the IRB as soon as possible after the event.

Best wishes on your project.
Sincerely,

Robert D. Laird, Ph.D., Chair
UNO Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research

Vita

William Thibodeaux was born in Houma, Louisiana. After earning his Master's Degree in Higher Education Administration and Supervision at Nicholls State University in May of 2005, he began a full time teaching career at the John Folse Culinary Institute of that university where he remains a faculty member to the present. William has consistently been engaged in program course development and academic research within the culinary field. In 2006 William was voted Faculty Member of the Year for his outstanding contributions in teaching and research. Internationally, he maintains ongoing involvement with the Southern United States Trade Association (SUSTA) training top chefs and leading professionals in the culinary field from the continents of Europe, Asia, the Far East, and South America. His time spent completing a Ph.D. in Urban Studies from the University of New Orleans allowed him to combine his passion for academics, a love for the urban terrain, and experiential learning in a constructive research environment.