The Parisian Immigrant Cook: Who Are You?

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The Parisian immigrant cook: who are you?

Siobhán Gough

A thesis submitted to Technological University Dublin in part fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Masters of Philosophy

Technological University Dublin

Supervisor: Dr. Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire
School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology

December, 2018
Declaration

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of Master of Philosophy, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others, save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations for graduate study by research of the Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for another award in any other third level institution

The work reported on in this thesis conforms to the principles and requirements of the TU Dublin’s guidelines for ethics in research.

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Signature  ____________________________ Date  13 December 2018

Candidate    Siobhán Gough
Abstract

This research focuses on the working conditions, professional lives and identities of immigrant cooks working in Paris with a view to improving, through a better understanding of these aspects, their accessibility to the workforce and potential career paths.

France is the home of the restaurant and is historically a country of welcome and refuge for migrants. In the past ten years the rhetoric surrounding immigration and migrants has changed and there is growing negativity surrounding this population group despite the many studies pointing to migrant workers’ positive contributions to societies and economies. The culinary industry relies on, and will continue to rely on, migrant and immigrant labour to satisfy sector growth within its labour intensive operation model.

Following an interpretivist epistemology, this phenomenological exploratory research reviews the relevant literature surrounding immigrant cooks. These secondary findings are discussed within a focus group of immigrant cooks in Paris and the transcript was analysed using template analysis. The results of this analysis helped form the questions for the individual semi-structured interviews with immigrant cooks. Interviewees were encouraged to discuss topics important to them and their experience as immigrant cooks in Paris. Transcribed individual interview data was analysed using thematic analysis and two main themes were refined. The first theme ‘Challenges’ had two sub themes: (1) human resource issues, and (2) integration and segregation. The second theme ‘Attitude’ also had two sub themes: (1) what it means to be a cook, and (2) gastronomy.

The results of this research show that the cooks interviewed identify as professional culinarians with a love and respect for French gastronomy. However, they also feel that they are on the outside of the gastronomic world and are used rather than valued for their inputs.
Drawing on the philosophy of hospitality, which centres on openness, vulnerability and generosity, this research concludes that the French hospitality industry needs to be more hospitable to its own employees, particularly its immigrant cooks.

Further research is required to expand this first investigation into the identities behind the statistics of immigrant cooks as their contributions to gastronomy and the culinary industry increase in importance.
Acknowledgments

Sincere thanks must go to my thesis supervisor Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire for his support, feedback and infectious energy throughout the course of this thesis.

I would also like to thank Mejdi for his support and patience throughout the length of my study and my parents for their unwavering encouragement.

Finally thank you to all the cooks that I have worked with over the years, and to those who I met during the course of this research, merci for your time, insights, and inspiration.
“…it is gastronomy. It has to be spread all over!”

Extract from interview with PB, Paris, October 2017.

They move easily around the space, rotating from job to job. One flips tongs with a practised wrist. The other stirs saucepans on blue rings. Repeatedly, one tastes and the other touches. What are they, as cooks, really doing?

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<tr>
<td>AFPA</td>
<td>Association nationale pour la formation professionnelle des adultes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC PRO</td>
<td>Le Baccalauréat Professionnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEP</td>
<td>Le Brevet d’Études Professionnelles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTS</td>
<td>Brevet de Technicien Supérieur</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAP</td>
<td>Certificat d’aptitude professionnel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDD</td>
<td>Contrat à durée déterminé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDI</td>
<td>Contrat à durée indéterminé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Céreq</td>
<td>Centre d'études et de recherches sur les qualifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGT</td>
<td>Confédération général du travail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRE</td>
<td>Commission for Racial Equality</td>
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<tr>
<td>DARES</td>
<td>Direction de l’animation de la recherche, des études et des statistiques</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRETA</td>
<td>Groupement d'établissements de l'éducation nationale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSEE</td>
<td>Institut national de la statistique et des études économique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INED</td>
<td>Institut national d’études démographiques</td>
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<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Le mention complémentaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRCI</td>
<td>Migration Rights Centre Ireland</td>
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<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<tr>
<td>UMIH</td>
<td>Union des métiers et des industries de l'hôtellerie</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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Chapter One:

Introduction
1.1 Introduction

As a chef, and researcher, I decided to investigate the working lives of immigrant cooks in Paris. This diverse group of people is alarmingly anonymous in culinary literature, yet essential to the well-being of the industry. The research undertaken aims to give a voice to immigrant cooks in order to discover, through qualitative research, their feelings of agency within the industry, their treatment as workers, and their interest in and involvement with the world of French gastronomy. I have chosen these topics as the projected future growth of the hospitality industry in western countries, including France, is deemed to rely on the availability of an immigrant workforce (ILO, 2010). In light of this fact, and that there exists a gap in research on immigrant cooks, it is important to study the population for the benefit of future immigrant cooks, particularly in the areas of recognising agency and reducing the occurrence of polarised workforces within an industry that is already well known for its hardships. Paris is at the centre of this dissertation as the birthplace of the restaurant, and employer of culinary teams that are up to 30% immigrant in origin (L’emploi et les métiers des immigrés, 2012:29). From the viewpoint of Paris as a multi-cultural and famously gastronomic city, the lack of information on the identity of the immigrant cook provides the motivation for the research.

The research will centre on:

- The importance of Paris in the story of gastronomy.
- France’s position as a country of immigration (Triandafyllidou, 2016).
- The indispensability of immigrant cooks to culinary teams.
- The lack of academic research on the working life of immigrant cooks.
- Giving voice to the immigrant cook population in Paris.

The goal is to understand better the professional situation of immigrant cooks and bring to the forefront the struggles that this integral population faces on entering and sustaining a career as a cook. I feel that their apparent lack of agency regarding working conditions and accessibility to the workforce needs to be highlighted and merits being discussed, or investigated further.
1.2 Biographical note on the researcher

The professional experience of the researcher is a driving force behind this research project. A graduate of the four year higher level culinary arts degree programme in Dublin Institute of Technology, the author has cooked for the majority of her career outside of Ireland and has first-hand experience of emigrant life and how it feels to be an outsider. Following almost a decade cooking in China, the researcher relocated to Paris and worked in modern bistronomy restaurants, where her kitchen colleagues were almost exclusively immigrants. Immersed in the Parisian gastronomic scene the researcher became aware of the disparity between the French gastronomy conversation in the culinary, and wider, media with its focus on French chefs and French cooks, whereas the kitchens are more diversely populated environments. Laterally, the researcher became head chef at a catering company in Paris who’s raison d’être is to hire the long term unemployed and aid them to return to the active workforce. The vast majority of cooks that are hired in this programme are immigrants from India, Sri Lanka, and north and sub-Saharan African countries. The catalyst for this research was noticing the pattern in the population groups that were appearing for interviews combined with the backdrop of a white western narrative in gastronomy literature and media.

1.3 Giving voice

A method of breaking this pattern of a dominant native image, as opposed to a balanced representation of the culinary workforce and its diversity, is to talk directly with the immigrant cooks employed in Paris’ kitchens, with the aim of gathering qualitative information regarding their professional lives and motivations for cooking. Or, in other words, giving voice to a population that exists but is rarely heard from beyond what will be demonstrated as being either media coverage of their strikes or, standard journalistic interviews which follow a previously established formula.

The objective behind giving voice to the immigrant cooks is to help the researcher and reader better understand the positon of immigrant cooks in Paris’ restaurants, their opinions of the industry, their motivations for cooking and the differences they feel may
exist between them and native cooks. Hospitality industry employees historically, and to date, have poor levels of union membership thus representation is lower than it is for other industries. Immigrant cooks appear to be even more anonymous. Furthermore, the use by the culinary industry, of clandestine workers also ensures that immigrant cooks’ situations and stories are underrepresented as fear of speaking out is perpetuated by the cooks’ unofficial status.

The theory of giving voice in qualitative research is not a new one, and has perhaps its largest base in feminist study where female sociologists, picking up upon the fact that women were not being heard, started interviewing other women in order to get information directly (Ashby, 2011). It has since grown in use as a qualitative research method. The base remains focussed on the principles of having the right to have ones’ experiences shared, to be heard, and to have ones’ perspectives in the open. It is, in fact concerned with seeing people as individuals and not just recounted findings and statistics, "A person is defined by the stories he tells about himself as well as by the stories that are told about him" (Blatt, 1981:184). Of particular importance to this research is Bogdan and Biklen’s definition of giving voice as that of “empowering people to be heard who might otherwise remain silent” (1998: 204 in Ashby, 2011), followed by Ashby’s addition including those who have by others, been silenced (2011). This is pertinent when the subjects of subaltern workforces, polarisation, integration challenges and clandestine work are discussed.

A concern within this form of research is the question of the place of the interviewer or researcher, and their decision to ‘give voice’ to another. It should be asked, what is the right of the researcher to decide to give voice to another? And is ‘the voice’ still that of the respondent or interviewee once it has been through the analysis process of the researcher? Additionally, does deciding to ‘give voice’ to an ‘other’, compound the fact that they are an ‘other’ and continue to set them apart (Ashby, 1998)? These are relevant questions and must be taken into consideration when carrying out this research. It could be argued that as an immigrant and cook in Paris herself, the researcher is within the population concerned, however as a white European she has perhaps not had the same challenges to accessing the workforce as other immigrant groups may have had, and if
the objective is to ‘give voice’ to an ‘other’, is her background even relevant? Bearing these questions in mind the roles of ethics, empathy and trust in interviewing which are dealt with in Chapter Four of this thesis are critical.

While the above questions must be examined when considering research that involves giving voice to an ‘other’, the researcher considers that in light of the significant, and growing place that immigrant cooks have in kitchens in Paris, coupled with the fact that this is a pattern existing in other countries, it is important that more is learned of professional lives of immigrant cooks via a method that involves directly the cooks themselves.

1.4 Aims and Definition of the topic

Today’s restaurant industry relies on a mobile or immigrant population. This thesis aims to:

- Understand the identity of the immigrant cook in Paris and to give voice to this population.
- Determine whether immigrant chefs in Paris, France, feel that they are actors on the Parisian gastronomic stage or, whether they are outsiders filling vacant posts, carrying out manual labour tasks.

Approximately thirty per cent of Paris’ kitchens are staffed by immigrants or second generation immigrants (Centre d'analyse stratégique, 2012). Where is their representation beyond statistics? Where is their representation as players in the field of French gastronomy? Is there, as Glick Schiller and Salazar (2012) explore, an oppression of immigrant populations even though, to be mobile is nowadays more the norm than to be static? This thesis will conduct research directly with immigrant cooks, via semi-structured interviews, to investigate how they, the cooks, see themselves in the culinary industry of Paris, and what they think of their jobs and the agency they perceive within the industry as employees and immigrants.
The movement of people in the form of economic migration and immigration is a fact of modern day life (Triandafyllidou, 2016:1), as is the fact that culinary positions in many western countries, are hard to fill (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007; Young & Corsin, 2010; Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2015; McGuire, 2015; Moskin, 2015).

Employment in kitchens for immigrants is frequently considered in immigration literature as ‘first port of call’ work on entry into the adoptive country, with one of the reasons being that jobs in kitchens are difficult to fill with native staff (Wood, 1992, in Janta, Ladkin, Brown, & Lugosi, 2011:1008), the work is also often categorised as low skilled manual labour (Baum, 2007 in Joppe, 2012). However when native cooks do enter employment in kitchens, the rhetoric is different with debitant cooks penetrating a world of gastronomy, taste and potential celebrity (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, in Scapp & Seitz, 1998; Ruhlman, 2006) rather than the

Surrounding these two dichotomies is a gap in knowledge, specifically with regards to the academic study of immigrant cooks. Discussion needs to be opened up with the immigrant cooks as individuals in order to find out if kitchen work is indeed pénible (punishing) and simply an access point to a new life? What are their opinions of the industry and where does gastronomy figure in the culinary lives of the immigrant cooks?

1.5 Objectives
In pursuance of this aim, a number of objectives were defined:

- To define the immigrant cook and their importance in the restaurant industry of Paris.
- To investigate the working life of the immigrant cook.
- To investigate what, if any, differences the immigrant cooks perceive to exist between them and native French cooks in relation to access to the culinary workforce, labour conditions and career progression opportunities.
To investigate what barriers exist that preclude immigrant cooks from climbing the culinary career ladder?

To investigate how the immigrant cook feels placed in the world of Parisian gastronomy.

To examine what changes the immigrant cooks would like to see in the restaurant industry in Paris from their point of view as immigrant workers and cooks.

1.6 Selection of population group to study

As a group, the population making up immigrant cooks in Paris is diverse and complex. Within the boundaries of this study the populations most frequently represented as employees in hotels, restaurants, cafés and canteens will be included. A female representation will be included but it is not a core aim of this thesis to investigate male to female cook ratios. The population sections that will be selected include Indian, Sri Lankan, Sub-Saharan African and Maghrebian as these are the population groups that feature most frequently in statistics and anecdotal reports on cooks employed in Paris. However as snowball sampling will be used as a method to find candidates, scope for other nationalities will be given.

On the basis that this thesis is an exploratory study there are three groups that will not be included in this study although they are statistically highly represented. The reason for their non-inclusion is their higher agency and economic status in Paris’ hospitality industry. This decision derives from the distinct economic integration position that these population groups have as compared to the broader immigrant culinary population of Paris. The Chinese, Turkish and Japanese populations, while holding similar levels of non-integration into French cultural life, have high levels of integration into French economic life (Tapia, de, 2009; Dubucs, 2014).

The Chinese population has integrated into the food industry in Paris through its pioneering move since the early 2000s to open Japanese sushi shops outside of the original Japanese enclave surrounding Opéra (the location of Japanese owned restaurants
and specialist delicatessens) (Apur, 2012). Chinese entrepreneurs have opened cheaper sushi restaurants in city centre locations, and significantly, the suburbs of Paris, turning several into chains and diversifying the local dining scene with home delivery options. Furthermore, Chinese immigrants have bought into the traditional French bar-tabac sector purchasing up to 50% of the bars-tabacs in Paris (Chevalerie, 2011; La moitié des bars-tabacs gérée par la communauté asiatique, 2014). These simple establishments frequently simultaneously hold lucrative tobacco and lottery licenses as well as standard food and alcohol licenses.

Research has shown that second generation Turks resident in France have achieved a significant level of economic integration through their eschewing of the factory work of their older relatives and their concentration in the specialist fast food sector of kebab shops (Ertul & Senkun, 2009). Their level of business integration in France is on par with other European immigrants and evidence points to the establishment of an entire specialised supply chain of businesses in the kebab sector (halal meat production and slaughter, specialist kebab knife manufacture, ingredient distribution). This supply chain has links back to the original Turkish kebab shops established in Germany in the 1970s (Ertul & Senkun, 2009).

The Japanese population centralised in the chic downtown area of Paris, Opéra, grew out of proximity to high class shopping destinations that were popular with affluent Japanese tourists of the 1960s (Dubucs, 2014). This immigrant population is frequently employed in professional white collar business sectors or the arts. Japanese owned restaurants of this area are considered authentic and expensive in comparison to the Chinese owned sushi restaurants mentioned above. Separately, and although a small population within the immigrant cooks numbers, Japanese cooks have established a place for themselves as respected culinarians amongst French chefs. This phenomenon that needs further study, but has been touched on by Ray (2016) in his explanation of hierarchies of cuisines.

For these differentiating reasons it was decided to separate out from the immigrant cook literature any references to Chinese, Japanese and Turkish cooks and to focus on those immigrant populations who are more regularly counted as employees in the culinary industry.
1.7 Justification

Immigration and migration are facts of life and their relative theories have developed literature. In fact, so common is migration and immigration that some scholars are questioning whether the study of peoples being static is not more pertinent (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2012). From an historical point of view, the phenomenon of the movement of people is more the norm than a stationary population, however this concept does not suit the philosophy of nation state building, an ideal which leaders worldwide have worked hard to promote and safeguard as the status quo (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2012). The tourism industry worldwide is growing, and demand for a mobile labour force with it as many countries struggle to satiate the sector’s demands with domestic labour forces (Joppe, 2012).

Ray (2016) has clearly stated that although the study of food is widespread, there is little mention of the hands that produce it, and Guégnard (2009) posits that the hospitality industry has never been known for its efforts to protect and take care of its workers, a fact dating back to the first restaurants (Trubek, 2000).

The justification for this research is based on the limited qualitative research that has been carried out to date on immigrant cooks in Paris. The backdrop is the minimal link up between the essential role immigrant cooks play in today’s dining world, and the various connected studies of mobility, gastronomy and current affairs journalism.

1.8 Outline of the thesis

This thesis will be guided by the following structure:

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the thesis and set the scene for the subject under research.
Chapter Two: Context

This chapter lays out contextual subjects relating to this thesis such as; the history of restaurants in Paris, and the history and current situation of immigration in France. Definitions for the terms immigrant, migrant and clandestine workers will be explained, as will the importance of dining and gastronomy to France.

Chapter Three: Literature review

The review of literature appropriate to the area being investigated will be presented in chapter three. This chapter will detail the restaurant and tourism industry of the Île-de-France region, in which Paris, France’s capital is situated. An in-depth look will be given to the two key areas of this research; immigrant labour in the hospitality industry, and access to and agency within the culinary workforce by immigrant cooks. The gaps and overlaps found within the literature provide the supporting evidence for the primary research phase, the details of which are presented in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four: Research methodology.

The fourth chapter will cover the research methods, methodology and the theoretical structure of this thesis. The primary research comprises a focus group and individual interviews with immigrant cooks employed in Paris’ catering industry, an outline of the interviews and how they were carried out will be provided. Following this, the analysis methods to be used for understanding the interview results are explained. The limitations of this research and the ethical considerations that need to be understood when carrying out qualitative research, such as one-on-one interviews on sensitive subjects as migration, immigration and integration will be explained. Following the completion of the primary research the results are analysed and discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five: Findings and results.

Chapter Five analyses and discusses the focus group and individual interviews. Both the focus group and semi-structured interviews were digitally recorded, manually transcribed and analysed using template analysis and thematic analysis respectively. The reasoning behind the use of two different analysis methods is explained, however in the main this
approach was designed to maximise the opportunity for the unbiased coding of interview answers. Data from the focus group and individual interviews were cross referenced, triangulated and discussed with information garnered in the secondary research phase, the literature review. The culmination of this analysis and referencing with the secondary research findings of the literature review are presented in the sixth chapter.

Chapter Six: Conclusion.

Detailing the conclusions and key findings derived from the primary and secondary research, the sixth chapter links findings back to the aims and objectives of this study, explaining where objectives were achieved and suggesting areas of future investigation and research pertaining to immigrant cooks in Paris, and further afield.

1.9 Summary

This chapter has clearly set out the research project and its background. The aims and objectives that have been illustrated in sections 1.4 and 1.5 respectively provide the essential guide for the primary and secondary research phases which follow. The introductions to the contextual setting of immigration and the culinary industry of France follow.
Chapter Two:
Context
2.1 Context
The global economy is growing, and with it employment opportunities for immigrant workers. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) has called for an improved understanding of the world’s migrant population in order to assist better with policy making regarding migrant workers and secondly, to better assist migrant workers to benefit from the wealth which they help create in their adopted economies (ILO, 2015). However, little is known of the working lives and identity of the immigrant cooks. The information that is available is either statistical and frequently inaccurate (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2012:10; Durupt & Cuccugna, 2014) or, is journalistic in nature (Charette, 2008; Le Monde, 2008; Chevalerie de la, 2011; McGuire, 2015; Moskin, 2015; Damgé, 2016). Furthermore, a paradox exists in the literature where cooking is either represented as being in the category of the 3d’s (dirty, dangerous demeaning) or as a recherché position of celebrity (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, 1998). Ladenis, (1997), cited in Palmer et al. (2010:194), writes that the image of a chef has shifted from that of ‘a simple, humble person someone with little ambition, who did the dirty work’ to that of an artist or performer. Are immigrant cooks, who potentially remain outsiders culturally, but players within the job, counted in this statement? In mirroring the ILO’s aim to conduct research to develop a better understanding of this vital labour force, this dissertation will investigate who the person of the immigrant cook is and by using qualitative research methods give voice to this population.

2.2 The importance of dining and the meal in France
It is important that this research is carried out in Paris as few cities and countries have gastronomy as deeply a part of the fabric of their culture as France does (Trubek, 2000). It is widely regarded in popular culture, and is historically supported that Paris is the birthplace of the restaurant (Trubek, 2000; Cullen, 2012). Paris was also the centre of chef training for France. The forerunner of modern apprenticeship programmes, the guilds system was developed initially to protect the trades (food preparation included), (Miles, 2007). Davis (2013) explains comprehensively the complicated guild system in France, giving particular attention to the importance of Paris. Trade guilds were strong and well established in Paris. They were organised in a separatist and protectionist fashion, and
were singularly focussed; for example, there existed separate guilds and masters for meat roasters, poultry purveyors, caterers, pork butchers and pâtissiers (Spang, 2000). This individualism served to protect (or restrict) greatly the transference of knowledge between guilds (Miles, 2007:266; Davis, 2013), but it was also this protective structuring that ensured that French culinary culture, prospered to become what today Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin describe as a “powerful culinary world” (1998:98). Beyond the guilds, the modernising of culinary education was also thanks to Frenchmen: Escoffier, Favre, Grignoire and Saulnier, their influence on the pedagogy of culinary education remains in evidence today (Miles, 2007; Danaher, 2012; Woodhouse, 2015).

The establishment in Paris of the west’s first restaurants, enabled by the combined forces of a wealthy customer base and the availability of professional chefs, along with a heavily French pedagogy in culinary education, illustrates the pivotal role Paris plays in western gastronomic history and why therefore, it is intrinsic that the research for this thesis is based in Paris.

In a modern context, importance of food and dining to French culture was recognised formally in 2010 when the French gastronomic meal was awarded heritage status by UNESCO (Brulotte & Di Giovine, 2014:11; UNESCO, n.d.). This award recognises the very centrality gastronomy and the meal experience has in French society and culture. The French meal, as an icon of cultural heritage, is set in history and tradition however, although this historical positioning of food and dining in France is difficult to escape the demographic of France is changing. France is in the top five countries of Europe accepting immigrants and her population and palate are changing; according to market study leaders Kantar, in 2011 couscous was the third most popular meal in France (Les plats préférés des français, 2011).

For Bourdieu (1984:68) cited in Brulotte & Di Giovine, (2014:5) taste is integral to validity or identity. In learning a culture’s foods and tastes and in participating in the continuance of the cultural heritage that is producing a meal, what is the identity of immigrant cooks in French restaurants? Palmer, Cooper and Burns (2010) suggest that the question of identity is unresolved for chefs, and this researcher posits that it is
certainly unresolved for immigrant cooks. However, although underrepresented in the literature, immigrant chefs exist and are contributing to Paris’ dining scene and economy.

2.3 The importance of cooks

This thesis is based on the idea that it is important to understand better the working lives of immigrant cooks, but why it is important to understand this group (or cooks in general) needs to be addressed.

Cooks play a role in society as producers of nourishment and calories in situations beyond the domestic. The immediate thought is to cooks in restaurants, however cooks are also essential to the services of schools, prisons, hospitals, armies and other such institutions (Chivers, 1972). Cooks possess, through their training, knowledge relating to the correct preparation of food to ensure its edibility and hygiene. As well as institutional cooking, the importance of the job of cooks is connected to the rise of the restaurant industry which has been witnessed in modern times since the 1980s with the increasing popularity and accessibility to dining outside the home (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, 1998). This part of consumption, although not as essential as feeding oneself for nourishment, plays a role in society and is considered to have value in the pleasure that the experiences of eating and dining can give (Telfer, 1996).

The job of cook has developed from its roots as domestic labour to rich families, and the transformation of the cook from family servitude to independence and professionalization can be traced back to the development of the first restaurants in Paris during the time of the French Revolution (Chivers, 1972; Trubek, 2000). In their original incarnations chefs were deemed important in the professional sense as creators and promoters of French haute cuisine, demonstrating their importance to French culture through the dialogue of the imperialism of French cuisine and the inability of other nations to possess a cuisine of such a high standard (Trubek, 2000). However in a personal sense this elevation was a contested position, because although involved in high society and culture, cooks generally came from poor rural backgrounds (Davis, 2013), and were involved in heavy manual labour (Trubek, 2000) due to the lack of technology in the kitchens of the time.
Notwithstanding this dynamic, the importance of the chef to society and as a contributor to culture has remained part of the identity of the chef. This mentality was established when cooks apprenticeships were enshrined in guilds (Davis, 2013), a move which ensured continued and standardised training. An accompanying factor to the durability of cooks apprenticeships, at a time in history (the Industrial Revolution) when many trades were eliminated, was the inability to mechanise many parts of the cooks tasks. Thus the person, or job of cook, remained important (Trubek, 2000).

Today the restaurant trade, together with the tourism industry is experiencing a growth cycle (Joppe, 2012), which in turn requires more cooks. Furthermore, the development of a body of culinary focused academic work through the studies of gastronomy (Brulotte & Di Giovine, 2014); philosophy (Ray, 2016; Telfer; 1996); culinary education and developing pedagogies (Cullen, 2012; Deutsch, 2015; Pratten, 2003; Woodhouse, 2015); the development of higher level degree courses and post-graduate study in culinary arts (Danaher, 2012; Hegarty, 2004); and the investigative studies on the occupation of cooks, the first one recoded in 1980, (Escoffier, 1987: Lane, 2016; Allen & Mac Con Iomaire, 2016) solidifies the importance of the role of cook in society.

2.4 Gathering accurate census information on immigrant cooks in France

In the region of 20-30% of apprentice cooks and kitchen hands, and approximately 17% of cooks in France are immigrants (L’emploi et les métiers des immigrés, 2012:29), of which 14.4% are immigrants from non-European countries (2012:29) such as the highly represented regions of Maghreb countries, sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey. However the manner in which French census recording is carried out means that it is very difficult to get an accurate figure on the number of cooks from any particular country. This appears to be the case particularly for south Asian cooks who are visible in kitchens but not in statistics relating to immigrant cooks. According to French law a person’s ethnic background cannot be enquired into, nor can the person be categorised on censuses per their ethnicity (Barou, 2014). This is as opposed to the United States of America for example, where a person can be American by virtue of their paperwork but can refer to
themselves on censuses as Hispanic, Asian or African for example. Anecdotal evidence would suggest that the restaurant industry is one of the principal sources of employment for South Asian immigrants in Paris, both with and without work visas (Edjscpo, 2011; Petit, 2011; Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014) therefore as they are physically in kitchens but not in the statistics it is supposed that they are either clandestine or have received French citizenship.

2.5 Immigrant or migrant? Definitions

The usage of the terminology employed when discussing migration and immigration is often inconsistent. Although there are commonly understood meanings for migrant, immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker the words are frequently commutated (Anderson & Blinder, 2017). More seriously, there are also differences at state level with countries putting different meanings on the same words (Castles, 2000). According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) a migrant worker is a person working or seeking work in a country other than their own (ILO, 2015: xi). It is generally agreed that a migrant or a migrant worker is someone who enters into a country other than their own to work for a short period of time before moving on to the next country or returning to their home country. An immigrant on the other hand is someone who chooses to work and live in a country other than their own on a permanent basis. The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford echoes this in their definition, where an immigrant is someone who intends to settle in their new country whereas a migrant is resident in the new country on a temporary basis (Anderson and Blinder, 2017). UNESCO does not differentiate between migrant and immigrant from the point of view of timescale. For UNESCO a migrant is someone who chooses to work and live in a country other than that of their birth either temporarily or permanently. UNESCO does however highlight the facts that: firstly, migrant and refugee or displaced persons are not to be confused and, secondly: migration is not a singular theory based solely on the principle that people move for economic reasons. In today’s world the need to migrate is often more nuanced and a broader definition, according to UNESCO (Migrant/ Migration, n.d.) is required for
the future. Illegal immigrant refers to a person living and or working in a country other than their own without the requisite visas and paperwork.

As this study is based in France, the French words, definitions and interpretations must also be taken into account. A translation of the French definition of an immigrant explains that an immigrant is a person who is born outside of France to non-French parents (Centre d’analyse stratégique, 2012:8). The following is a list of the commonly used terms in French regarding the subjects of migrant, immigrant, refugee (Damgé, 2016):

- **Immigré et étranger**: an étranger is literally a foreigner. However a person can be considered un étranger even if born on French soil, if their parents are foreigners who don’t hold French nationality. An immigré or immigrant, is a person born in a country other than France.

- **Demandeur d’asile et réfugié**: an asylum seeker and refugee. Any foreigner can request protection in France from persecution in their own country (be it religious, political or other). During the time it takes to process the person’s case the person is an asylum seeker or demandeur d’asile. Once the case is successful the person’s status changes to that of refugee or réfugié.

- **Sans-papiers**: this term describes a person who is in France without the legal right to be. The terms, situation irrégulière or clandestine are also used in this context.

- **Regroupement familial**: concerning foreigners who live in France, this term is used for foreigners who have achieved French nationality status and would like to have their children or spouses join them in France; the family members have the right to stay in France.

- **Nationalité et séjour**: it is possible to stay in France (séjour) for reasons of work, family or education. Depending on the situation, differing titre de séjour are granted with corresponding time limits. A request for nationality can be made via marriage, naturalisation or being the parent of a child born in France.

To expand, the usage of the word immigrant in France does denote some form of long term stay, similar to the definition in English seen above. Furthermore, an immigrant in France can hold French nationality. An immigrant can have French nationality and be
born in France; or an immigrant can be a person born in a country other than France. However, a person is always an immigrant even with French nationality if the theory of Héran (2016) is followed, whereby once naturalised, a person is French by right (via nationality) but immigrant by fact (the person’s history). This is a potential cause for tension as no matter how long a person is in the country, no matter their paperwork, they are seen as immigrants. The same article (Héran, 2016) goes on to say that children of immigrants are not considered *immigrés*. However in the course of research for the literature review of this thesis the author viewed sufficient documentation using the phrase *enfants issu de l'immigration* or children of immigrants to see that a lexicon implicating, or separating the next generation does indeed exist (Sabeg & Méhaignerie, 2004; Lainé & Okba, 2005; Blanchard *et al.*, 2011). Despite or because of these several definitions the word *immigré* carries negative connotations. Héran notes that authors of census and sociological surveys and questionnaires avoid using the word immigrant due to its many interpretations and negative overtone (Immigré, étranger ou Français? 2016).

This thesis will be based on cooks who are immigrants according to the definition of someone who is working in a country different to that of their birth on a permanent (or non-seasonal) basis. While taking into consideration the negative perceptions that the word immigrant can carry in France, the notion that an immigrant is in the adoptive country for a long, or permanent, period of time is the deciding factor behind the choice of this term over migrant in the course of this thesis.

### 2.6 Schools of thought on immigration

Immigration and the movement of people are embedded features of modern day life for both the lay person and governments (Triandafyllidou, 2016:1). Subjects involving the theories and causes of migration and how the movement of people can be managed or governed are expanding and evolving (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016:14) and there exists several fields of study and measurement methods within the broader subjects of immigration and international migration. Positions taken vary depending on whether the author is concerned with anthropologic, economic, demographic, geographic or
political factors (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016); and furthermore, whether the stance is taken from the receiving or sending country’s perspective or, that of the arriving or in situ population’s point of view. Models include: neo-classical migration theory; institutional theory; social capital theory; dual labour market theory; world systems theory; and mobility transition (Hagan-Zanker, 2008; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). At a very basic level each of these theories (not itself a complete list) contain characteristics regarding the push and pull factors of migration for individuals or groups; pull factors being perhaps better wages in another country, a better standard of living, and access to healthcare whereas push factors may be family circumstances or the political situation in the home country. The overarching theories are those that explain, or attempt to explain why the practice of migration continues, these include: world systems theory; social capital theory; network theory; and cumulative causation (Hagan-Zankar, 2008:6; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016). Hagan-Zanker (2008) breaks down into macro, meso and micro levels the theories of migration and the drivers for why people migrate and finds that while generally, economic factors appear in all levels, it is not as straightforward a decision as leaving the homeland to find a job. The author finds that while different push and pull factors determine when and why a person migrates, the theories underpinning the movement of people cannot stand alone, nor should they be taken in isolation as each theory has facets that impact or touch on another area (Hagan-Zanker, 2008). Castles (2010) echoes this sentiment stating that as migration involves all levels of social existence, so too should its study. This is pertinent to note in a world that is simultaneously experiencing increased levels of commercial globalisation and migration at the same time as an atmosphere of nationalistic politics and the reassertion of state borders. Overall, academics consider that there are gaps in the study of migration and that the real challenge is that there is no one model on which to base a main theory (Massey et al., 1993; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016).

While tensions exist in the theorising of migration, the tone of the research has changed over time. Glick Schiller & Salazar (2012:2) argue that dialogue within mobilities studies twenty years ago was positive and inclusive of all demographics from businessman, to tourist, to economic migrant. However, this is changing and in more recent research the importance of borders and border controls comes to the fore. Triandafyllidiou, (2016),
concurs; for her, the new axis in migration study is asylum seeking and irregular migration as opposed to the previous combination of, a need for immigrants and social diversity in host countries (2016:2). For all three authors, the reasons for the shift in focus are the same; the world economic crisis during the second decade of the 21st century; and the re-emergence of the heightened importance of national borders (Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2012; Triandafylldiou, 2016). Today, within political dialogue, migrants and immigrants are automatically viewed with suspicion. Castles (2010:1566) describes it as ‘sedentary bias’, whereby the presumed norm is the indigenous population and the curious spectacle to be measured is the mobile one. Further embedding this attitude is the fact that much research on the mobilities of humans is funded by governments leading potentially to skewed questioning and survey methods in order to favour policy creation (Castles, 2010:1571). According to Castles (2000) and Glick Schiller & Salazar (2012:3) the lack of coherence internationally regarding a definition for immigrants and migrants is symptomatic of a world where it is still largely considered the norm to stay in the country of one’s birth and that to move is an irregularity. Policies on migration are drawn up by each individual state in a self-serving manner usually only concerning economic or political goals with mind given to public opinion (Castles, 2000). For Castles (2000), the nation state only puts value on people when counting the population that is static or concerns ‘their people’. For UNESCO (n.d.) migration is an undertaking with far more impact on a person’s life than the dry definitions allow for: ‘Migration is not a single act of crossing a border, but rather a lifelong process that affects all aspects of the lives of those involved’. These two divergent examples go some way to exhibit why research concerning the lives of immigrants beyond the statistical is necessary.

2.7 Outline of the tourism industry of France and its immigrant labour force

Since the early 1760s when the world’s first restaurants were established in Paris (Spang, 2000), Paris and France have featured consistently amongst the world’s top tourist destinations (Bremner, 2012; Gunter & Onder, 2014:132; The ten most visited cities of 2015, n.d.). As an indicator, the tourism industry in France was worth €158.6 billion in 2015 and just over 20% of the €158 billion was spent in the restaurant and bar sector.
Paris, the capital of France, is situated in the region or département of Île-de-France has a population of 12 million and, central to the research for this dissertation, 38% of France’s entire immigrant population is concentrated in Île-de-France (Centre d’analyse stratégique, 2012:36). Tourism trade accounts for 12.4% of employment activity for the Île-de-France region, with 142,335 people employed in restaurants and a further 48,754 employed in hotels (Paris Info, 2015). The earning power of this sector makes it a crucial one for the country. In 2014 there were 13,822 establishments for dining and drinking in Paris (Office de Tourisme et des Congrès, 2015:2). However, this labour intensive industry frequently has difficulties hiring and the restaurant sector in particular tops lists issued by the Pôle Emploi, (social security bureau), of having positions vacant. In 2015, restaurants struggled to find candidates for 12,564 kitchen related positions (Pôle Emploi, 2015:5).

The 2012 figures for France show a national average of 19%, 9.6% and 21.2% immigrant worker representation rate in hotels, restaurants and fast food restaurants respectively. These figures correspond with other ‘traditional’ immigrant labour employment sources such as construction, security, cleaning, public works, and childcare as can be seen in Table 1 below. This is in strong contrast to immigrants’ representation in sectors such as public administration (3%), finance (5%) and education (6.3%), (Centre d’Analyse Stratégique, 2012:26).
Table 1: Percentage of immigrants employed per employment sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment sector</th>
<th>Percentage of employees who are Immigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare and house cleaning</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleaning (city council)</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast food outlets</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public administration</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Centre d’analyse stratégique 2012*

2.8 Conclusion

This short chapter has given some concise but essential contextual information on the key supporting subjects of this thesis: the setting of the study in Paris, immigration and the terms associated with it, the importance of the hospitality industry to France’s GDP and why it is important to study cooks.

The following chapter, the literature review, will look more closely at literature associated with these subjects and put forward a critique of the material that is available.
Chapter Three:
Literature Review
3.1 Introduction
This chapter presents a critical review of the literature that was studied for this thesis. The material includes books, journals, websites and trade magazines and threads the historical and current situation of writing on cooks, immigration, immigrant cooks and how the combination of all of these factors is implicated in the restaurant industry of Paris. The aim of this chapter is to set the scene for the primary research which follows.

3.2 Food culture, food heritage and the act of cooking
Hegarty (2004) has written on the subject of the act of cooking being more than manual labour. The activity of cooking professionally needs to meet the needs of the industry, but it is also an act that has an intrinsic role in a country’s culture and history (Barou, 2010; Béji-Bécheur, et al., 2014). How cooks are trained and implicated in the different facets of cooking; as a physical act, a scientific act and as an art form, matter for the future of gastronomy (Hegarty, 2004). As an occupation that is embedded in a country’s cultural identity, cooking is particularly central to France and Paris.

3.3 Studies on chefs- an historical overview
The study of gastronomy and the culinary arts as academic subjects is developing in depth and range although gaps remain when referring specifically to chefs and cooks (Wood, 1997 in Palmer et al., 2010; Hertzman & Maas, 2011; Roche, 2012; Ottenbacher, 2015; Allen & Mac Con Iomaire, 2016). Ferguson (2004), Mennell (1996), Trubek (2000), Brulotte & Di Giovine’s (2014) and Steinberger’s (2009) texts cover, to various depths, the development of restaurants in Paris and the development of the culinary industry from a historical and sociological perspective. The texts are informative although at times repetitive, a point highlighted by Spang (2000:4) in her book on the history of French restaurants in which she purports that many publications are mere reiterations of previous, under-researched publications and hearsay. Significant also is the lack of study on chefs themselves apart from mentions of Auguste Escoffier (1846-1935) and Marie-Antoine
Carême (1784-1833). Ruhlman (2006:102) suggests that as recently as the late 1980s it was accepted practice within the academic world that an anthropologist may write about the food and dining habits of a population but that a sociologist could not, and it is only since the 1990s that this attitude has changed. Evidence of this shift is sociologist Gary Allan Fine’s (1996) investigation into the culture of restaurants and kitchens. The result being that Fine (1996) opens readers’ eyes to activities behind the kitchen doors from a sociologist’s perspective in a manner that had not been previously so refined. Frequently the gap in academic research into the life of a chef is plugged by references to Orwell’s 1933 memoir Down and out in Paris and London, yet very few have mined Pierre Hamp’s (1932) Kitchen Prelude for its insights into the world of Escoffier and the grand hotel kitchens of this era. Ray (2016) suggests that a reason behind the lack of academic study into cooking and chefs is that previously, study of the body was subsumed by study of the mind and thinking. It is only in recent times that humans’ obsessions with consumption, consumerism and objects has forced academia to accept as substantive the subjects of food and eating. Historically speaking, the only fields of academic research based on the body, (rather than the mind) concerned medicine and prehistoric man. Furthermore, Ray (2016) purports that another reason for the delayed start and low regard among academics of the study of food and cooking is the traditional centrality of women and the underclasses to food production. For Ray (2016) these associations automatically designated culinary subjects a lower priority in the academic world. Spang (2000) on the other hand holds a different theory as to why, historically, dining and the restaurant were discussed and written about but not the kitchen: kitchens and the staff in them were always hidden from view, both physically and metaphorically; dining was about opulence and imagery, to see or think of the cook toiling in forty degree heat, amongst clouds of steam and smoke breaks the illusion of the grandeur of consumption (2000:236). Just like the new trend for open kitchens, the dynamics in gastronomic study are changing and there is evidence of the real development of a field of academic study into chefs, culinary practices and education.

Despite, as discussed above, the historic lack of academic interest into the working lives of chefs and cooks, subjects covering the training and education of cooks have evolved (Hertzman & Maas, 2011:55). Pratten (2003) and Pratten & O’Leary (2007) discuss
culinary staff shortages and the training of new cooks in Great Britain, and Roche’s (2012) doctoral dissertation investigates Canadian culinary education and training, its value and the industry’s needs. Hertzman & Ackerman (2010) investigate quality assurance issues within American Culinary Arts degrees and conclude by highlighting a need for continuing or further research into culinary education (2010:210). One of their key findings is that the quality of culinary education is linked to access to internships and the employment destination of students on graduation. Smith & Kemmis’ (2010) paper on the preferences of the retail and hospitality industries regarding work based experience or organised training is unusual in its choice of industry mix and the authors’ research method which includes interviews with industry training leaders in other countries providing a cross reference to the Australian experience furnishes the reader with interesting insights. Their results focus on findings which highlight what they describe as a fragmentation within the hospitality industry: the peaks and troughs in trade making manpower planning and budgeting challenging; the unappealing working conditions forcing a general industry reliance on part time, immigrant and student labour; a high staff turnover coupled with an apparent lack of sufficiently skilled cooks; an industry that has a weak history of providing training- all these factors existing at once in an industry sector which is experiencing rapid growth (Smith & Kemmis, 2010:222). All of these points were also made in Jantar et al’s (2010) study on the estimated 600,000 plus Polish hospitality workers in the United Kingdom. Muller, Van Leeuwen, Mandabach and Harrington (2009) carried out thought provoking case study research on the effectiveness of culinary curricula with side by side surveying of students, graduates and employers. In complementary attempts to update chef training, Deutsch (2014) and Woodhouse (2015) are interested in shaking up what is, in their opinions, a ‘dated culinary arts pedagogy’ (Woodhouse, 2015:22 - 23). Their aim is to update culinary training to include student led learning practices, and to place the student, and in Deutsch’s case, the senses, centre stage. Of interest in light of this thesis are Deutsch and Woodhouse’s discussions on the unquestioned use and traditional delivery of Escoffier’s curriculum in culinary schools. Deutsch (2014) and Woodhouse (2015) raise points that could be very relevant with regards to the training and work of immigrant cooks; cooks who potentially have no reference point to certain styles of sauces, seasoning or butchery methods for example.
With these background studies in mind, the question of who is a chef or cook or what is the identity of a cook needs remains to be broached.

3.4 The identity of the chef

Within food writing, the vocabulary surrounding the act of cooking frequently includes such words as tradition, passion, creation, inspiration, emotion, appetite, and learning (Clarke & Clarke, 2003; Ramsay, 2005; Palmer et al., 2010; Lane, 2016). However little within the research discussed thus far covers these topics in relation to chefs themselves, rather a more utilitarian terminology is used. Palmer, Cooper and Burns (2010:312) point out that when one describes oneself, it is most often with reference to one’s work. Their paper goes some way toward uncovering what or who the chef is and they pointedly state that:

Little is still known about the cultural processes that perpetuate a sense of identity and belonging among chefs, processes that operate to construct and reinforce what being a chef means to the individual (2010:312).

Ruhlman’s (2007) book, The Reach of a Chef attempts to describe how a chef is ‘made’. However, for this researcher the overlying pandering tone impinges on it being a more serious investigation into the life and feelings of a chef. Allen & Mac Con Iomaire’s (2016) research in Ireland profiles head chefs, but from a purely quantitative point of view. Essential new information on Ireland’s population of head chefs is uncovered but the reader is left with little insight into the intellectual or emotional side of the work of a chef. Indeed, food or the kitchen environment is hardly mentioned. We know how a chef is trained, perhaps something of how they work, the history of the fare they cook but little of the embodiment of a chef is touched upon. Balazs’ (2002) study on French Michelin starred chefs provides a counter balance. Researched from a leadership management stance using qualitative research methods, the paper provides the reader with a deeper understanding of the mentality of a world class chef. Balazs (2002) profiles the head chef from the point of view of: a creative; an entrepreneur; a manager; and a trainer, and this results in a paper where much human behaviour is studied. However, Balazs’ (2002) study is limited as she only interviewed holders of three Michelin stars, and thus represents a
minority of the chef population. Bloisi & Hoel’s (2008) literature review on bullying and abuse within the culinary industry lays out some interesting (and to the authors, shocking) facts, leading them to question why one would choose to work in a kitchen at all (2008:652). With insights from chefs such as Anthony Bourdain and Gordon Ramsay (and some of his cooks) there is some insightful feedback direct from the mind of the chef and the intensive kitchen atmosphere (Bloisi & Hoel, 2008). Bloisi & Hoel (2008:651) find that although the daily working life of a cook or chef can be extremely gruelling the higher order satisfaction that is gained from the role of creating and crafting food for others helps to retain cooks. Lane (2016) finds similar in her study on German and British Michelin star chefs, noting that although chefs admit to being tough and that the work environment is stressful with extremely long hours, junior cooks go along with this. This key information goes some way to forming an identity of the cook as hard working, loyal and oppressed. Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin’s (1998:94) study on French and American cooks, points to an identity ‘conundrum’ where they find that chefs are constantly questioning whether they are artists or labourers; a relevant message for a job that is frequently portrayed as being 'cool' while still in fact requiring significant amounts of manual labour and unsocial working hours (Ruhlman, 2006; Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, 1998). Another facet of chef personality that is frequently referred to in the media, and studied academically by Bloesi and Hoel (2008), is that of machoism. Adding both to the strenuous and exhausting kitchen atmosphere noted above, and not mutually exclusive to the artist identity noted by Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin (1998), this aspect of chefs’ identity causes problems for Bloesi and Hoel (2008) as its source cannot be defined. Described variously as macho in achievement, i.e. being proud of continuously working extra-long weeks, or macho as “evil” (Bourdain, 2004, in Bloesi & Hoel, 2008:651) the researchers are forced to ask the question, are chefs by nature macho people or is that facet of their identity socially constructed within the environment? This question arises following findings in kitchens where women were the chefs: much lower levels of machoism were recorded (Ferguson, 2007, in Bloesi & Hoel, 2008:651). While certain correlations can be made with the teamwork, organisation and attitude of aggression toward junior recruits found in armies (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008), in kitchens the study of this aspect needs to be expanded to achieve further clarity as to its actual source. Particularly
as recent trends would point to a new generation of chefs who are choosing to operate more fairly and with less aggression, while still being successful (Witts, 2017; Digby, 2018).

Separately, Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin’s (1998) research also identifies the differing backgrounds of American and French chefs finding that although the French chefs historically came from poor rural backgrounds, and their American cohorts did not, tending to be more middle class, the French chefs nonetheless, on their transformation to chef, possessed a superiority that the American chefs could not achieve until very recently (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, 1998).

In a statistical report which covers similar ground to Allen & Mac Con Iomaire’s (2016) article, the French ministry of work’s research body DARES (2014) report on cooks in France reveals that a cook is likely to be under 30 (29%), two and a half times more likely to be fired than other trades (20% versus 8%), or let go after a trial period (9% versus 3% in other trades), and not be in the job after ten years (69%). A significant 56% of cooks earn less than €1,500 per month net while the median for other trades is €1,800 net per month. These are all aspects which contribute to the 101% turnover rate of the industry.

These factors taken collectively also point to the identity of a person in precarious workings condition within a trade that has a short life span and limited career progression opportunities especially if female (DARES, 2014:1). Coupled with the reports of workplace bullying and non-optimal working conditions seen above (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008) a picture begins to be painted of the requirements made of those working in the industry.

The information garnered from these readings is key in order to start to build a picture of the working life of a cook, within which according to Parkusrt Ferguson & Zukin, there is evidence of ‘global profession’ emerging (1998:95) thanks to the mobility of chefs. However core aspects of the identity of chefs remain under-investigated and gaps persist as little is demonstrated in the literature of the personality, or individual identity, of the cooks. Secondly, aside from the DARES report, a common theme running through these papers and research avenues is that ranks below head chef are less frequently investigated, and significantly, the immigrant cook does not appear to feature at all.
It is only when looking at the contributory economic figures to GDP and employment rates of the hospitality industry that it becomes apparent why this lack of information on the identity of cooks, and specifically for this research- immigrant cooks, is important and furthermore, why within the academic and culinary world this gap in knowledge needs to be addressed.

3.5 The restaurant and tourism industry in France and Île-de-France.
Paris and France have long been amongst the world’s top tourist destinations. Paris frequently rates in the top ten world cities to visit (Bremner, 2012; Gunter & Onder, 2014:132; Morton, 2018). In 2015, Grand Paris, a subdivision of Île-de-France, the geographic area under investigation in this thesis, received 46.7 million tourist visitors to the region in a 51.3% to 48.7% split between foreign and domestic tourists (Paris Info, 2015). The value of this industry to France is undeniable in its worth. In 2016 France was Europe’s second largest receiver of tourist spending, earning €38.3 billion. Spain earned €54.7 billion and the United Kingdom, Italy and Germany all earned between €33 and €37 billion in international travel receipts (Eurostat, 2016). According to The World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) the direct contribution of tourism to the GDP of France in 2014 was €77.1bn or, 3.6% (Economic Impact France, 2015:1). In 2014 there were 5,738 restaurants in Paris (almost 2000 of them traditional French restaurants) and in total 13,822 establishments for eating and or drinking (Paris Office de Tourisme et des Congrès, 2015:2). French government research body DARES predicts that between 2012 and 2022, 150,000 extra jobs will be created in the hospitality industry in France (2015:1). This demand is outstripping supply.

3.6 Chef shortage
The current shortage of chefs in Western Europe and the United States is based on several factors (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007; Young & Corsin, 2010; Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2015; McGuire, 2015; Moskin, 2015). Economic and cultural changes have meant that more people are eating out and are eating out more often than before creating a need
for more, and increasingly varied, dining venues (Laffan, 2015:16). Secondly, people are travelling more than ever before and are thus driving an expansion of the food and beverage industries in the host countries and cities (Robinson & Beesley, 2010). Thirdly, jobs in the hospitality industry remain generally low or lower paid than industrial averages and seldom provide amenable work conditions or contracts (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007:69; Bloesi & Hoel, 2008; Moskin, 2015) therefore, fewer young people are wishing to enter the hospitality industry. Those who do enter the industry apparently want to go higher, faster and travel or move posts more frequently than their predecessors (Robinson & Beesley, 2010; Moskin, 2015).

Ireland is currently suffering a shortage of cooks that will see the industry require 9,500 chefs in 2019 according to the Restaurants Association of Ireland (McLaughlin, 2018). Similarly the UK is in need of cooks. Up to 20,000 hospitality workers (not counting the potential further needs post-Brexit) are required for the country’s fourth biggest employer, which contributes £6 billion to the economy annually (Lewis, 2018). In France, and specifically the Île-de-France region which encompasses Paris, the Pôle Emploi advertises on a permanent basis for cooks positions. The 2016 survey carried out by the Pôle Emploi of Île-de-France discovered a need for 9,777 full time cooks, apprentices and kitchen aids and 2,787 seasonal or part-time positions (Enquête Besoins en Mains D’Œuvres, 2016:7). Reasons given for the vacancies were a shortage of candidates and the gap in skills between those offered by the candidate and those required by the employer.

French restaurant and hotel trade magazine l’Hôtellerie Restauration carried out a survey in April 2016 aiming to find out from both employees and employers in the restaurant industry in France why it is difficult to hire cooks. There were just under five thousand responses (4,998) split two thirds employees to one third employers (Carrere, 2016). A summary of the results is shown in the following table, (Table 3):
Table 2: Results of survey enquiring into difficulties in hiring cooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Employee</th>
<th>Employer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult working hours (early morning, late evening, splits)</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor wages</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid overtime</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of decent work life balance</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad employers giving the industry a poor impression</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicality of the job</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity to do long hours</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of consecutive days off</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor description of jobs in adverts vs the reality</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36% Not enough candidates applying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High turnover</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mirroring the results of the 2016 Pôle Emploi survey (Enquête Besoins en Mains D’Œuvres, 2016) 36% of employers said there are not enough candidates applying, 33% cited poor average salaries as not attracting candidates as well as the industry having a poor image at 33%.

These are all high percentages and give a clear picture of the multiple reasons why the restaurant industry in France struggles to hire, and to hire suitably trained candidates. These results, with valuable information garnered not just from the employers, but also the employees, (i.e. cooks), relays clearly why the job of cook is considered an undesirable career option. Appendix 2 (p.153) contains interview extracts from the respondents in the primary research of this study covering their opinions of why there is a shortage of cooks.

French politician, Valérie Pécresse, together with the French tourism board have outlined and commenced plans to update the Parisian tourist industry in an attempt to regain
previously anticipated tourism numbers (*Le Journal du Dimanche*, 2016). A further need for cooks can therefore be forecasted. Tourism’s total contribution to the GDP of France was €191.4bn, or 9.8% in 2014. It is forecast to rise by 2.3% annually to €246.4bn (9.7% of GDP) during the period 2015 to 2025 (WTTC, 2015:1). For Paris, tourism is even more important, contributing 13% to the region’s GDP and employing in the region of 500,000 people (Rodionova, 2016). Answering to the needs of the industry, immigrant labour is playing a growing role in the French hospitality industry, as it did in previous decades for the construction, automobile and manufacturing industries.

### 3.7 Immigration in France and Île-de-France

France is the oldest country of immigration in Europe and in fact didn’t have a large *emigration* movement in the nineteenth century as many other European countries such as Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia or Italy had (Héran, 2016). A falling birth-rate in the mid-1700s coupled with the Napoleonic and revolutionary wars meant that France was short of workers for the Industrial Revolution in the second half of the nineteenth century and called on neighbouring countries to send men (Héran, 2016). Secondly, in order to rebuild the nation following the Second World War and deal with economic growth in the decades that followed (1945-1973: *Les Trente Glorieuses*), the French state organised bi-lateral agreements with several countries to invite workers to France. This call was responded to predominantly by Portuguese, Spanish, Algerian, Moroccan and Italian labourers who filled positions in metal works, car manufacturing and building sites (Willard, 1984; Meynier & Meynier, 2011). Work was unionised and organised (Triandafyllidou, 2016). It is estimated that in the decades of the 1920s and 1960s in the region of 300,000 people immigrated to France each year (Barou, 2014). In fact Héran (2016) notes only two moments during peacetime in the twentieth century when France stopped accepting immigrants; firstly during the economic depression of the 1930s when foreigners were banned from taking up professional sector posts; secondly, a forced exit was put in place on the Polish population in an act of what both Héran (2016) and Barou (2014) refer to as a time of extreme right wing xenophobic politics (The Vichy period of 1940-1944). Separately, an attempt during the petrol crisis of 1974 to block immigration
from Algeria and to repatriate a further 1 million Algerians already settled in France failed.

For the past quarter of a century France has been undergoing a new cycle of immigration (Triandafyllidou, 2016). Distinct from all previous cycles which were organised by the government, this new phase is more organic in nature. Today, immigration is tightly monitored and restricted by states, and answers to the needs of primary (business travellers) and services industries (the jobs that natives don’t want to take, such as: cleaning, fruit picking, childcare, labouring and hospitality). Immigrant employment operates in an *ad hoc* manner with much work unregulated (Triandafyllidou, 2016). The hotel and restaurant industry is very much included in this group and according to Wright & Pollert (2006) immigrants are twice as likely to work in the hospitality industry as natives.

### 3.8 Population breakdown of France

According to France’s national statistics office INSEE (*Institut Nationale Statistique et de les Études Économique*) the population of France on the first of January 2014 was 65.8 million, 7.6 million of whom were born outside of France, an equivalent of 11.6% of the total population. Figure 1, which follows, illustrates the population breakdown of France:
Within a European context, these figures put France in the top five European Union countries for immigration, along with Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy. Eurostat counts the incoming figures in 2014 at 3.8 million total immigration in European member states, with 1.6 million of these new migrants coming from non-EU member countries. France was third in the list of countries taking in immigrants at 339,900 (Germany 884,900 and the United Kingdom 632,600). In 2014 in France, the countries or regions from which the majority of immigrants came from were, in this order: the EU (notably Portugal, Italy and the UK), non-EU European countries; Africa, specifically, Algeria and Morocco; Turkey and Asia and ‘other’ African countries. Together with the USA, Germany, Canada and the United Kingdom, France has one of the OECD’s largest populations of young adults (aged 15 to 34) who were born in another country, 30% of France’s young adults are either immigrants or born to parents of whom at least one is not French. The average for other EU countries is 24%. Table 3 below, illustrates the breakdown of countries represented by immigrants in France.
Table 3: Division of foreigners in France in 2014 per country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Percentage of population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Europe</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU 28</td>
<td>34,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>4,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>12,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>3,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others in UE à 28</td>
<td>10,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European nationalities</td>
<td>9,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Africa</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>11,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>10,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>4,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other African nationalities</td>
<td>10,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>5,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodian, Laotians, Vietnamese</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>8,0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Americas and Australasia</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100,0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ref: INSEE 2015

However, in echoing Triandafyllidou (2016), Mouhoud (2017) argues that for the past decade and a half France is no longer a terre d’asile or land of asylum for migrants in need, nor does it currently accept migrants in numbers proportionate to the French population. Héran agrees pointing out that per 1000 native population, France only accepts 1 asylum seeker, placing it 11th in Europe (2016:60). Secondly Mouhoud (2017) believes that France did not play an equal role to its European neighbours in accepting migrants and asylum seekers from the Syrian and other African and Middle Eastern wars of the past ten years blaming an absence of coordination, ‘ou, pire, la volonté’ (or worse, the will) to organise the acceptance of asylum seekers in an efficient manner (Mouhoud, 2017:22). According to Héran migrants and asylum seekers are aware of this lack of welcome and many prefer to seek asylum in other European countries (2016:60). This
perception of a lack of welcome for immigrants will be investigated further in the primary research phase.

It is important to note that immigration is a regional phenomenon in France with wide disparities in distribution. Immigrant populations are heavily concentrated in urban areas, border regions and areas of mining or a prevalence of industry (Mouhoud, 2017). According to an Insee-Ined survey the percentage of the population of France who have no immigrant blood for two generations is 76%, however for Île-de-France, the region under study in this thesis the figure falls to 58% (Beauchemin, Hamel & Simon, 2016 in Mouhoud, 2017). 38% of France’s entire immigrant population is concentrated in the Île-de-France region (Centre d’analyse stratégique, 2012:36) of which Paris is the centre.

3.9 Integration into, or access to, the labour force by immigrants in France.

Throughout Europe immigrants live a life inferior to the average native community in terms of mean educational levels, over-representation in unskilled labour forces, and a rate of unemployment double the national average (Héran, 2016). However, integration needs to be measured on a longitudinal basis (Héran, 2016; Mouhoud, 2017) and in doing this evidence of integration into economic society becomes visible. For example on the granting of a carte de séjour (permit to reside in France) the employment rate for immigrants goes up as the granting of this permit coincides with the passing of compulsory French language exams. However this is not to say that integration is rapid, factors persist to ensure that in fact the average length of time an immigrant needs before they are considered active participants in the economy is seven years (based on study in Quebec), (Héran, 2016), or ten years according to Mouhoud, (2017:81).

The activity of the working immigrant population of France is followed annually by the Institut Nationale de la Statistique et des Études Économique (INSEE), (Perez & Segur, 2008) and it remains fact that immigrants of third and second world countries are over represented in construction, janitorial, child care and services industries such as hospitality and security (Centre d’Analyse Stratégique, 2012:5; Héran, 2016). Evidence points to a glass ceiling for immigrant workers (Ho & Alcorso, 2014) and, in France
specifically, an issue with immigrant integration (societal) and discrimination (Perez & Segur, 2008; Barou, 2014; Triandafyllidou, 2016). These issues are trickling down to the children of immigrants in France which points to the situation becoming embedded (Lainé & Okba, 2005; Eurostat, 2011). Educational and workplace statistics would suggest that in Île-de-France there are patterns emerging of second generation immigrants not finishing higher education or, not getting access to higher education and the types of job sectors that are associated with higher education. Barou (2014) has shown that children of immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s were funnelled into trade schools and similar institutions thwarting potential professional opportunities before the students had even graduated. A recent study by the French prime minister’s think tank, France Stratégie, has shown that little has changed (Cusset et al., 2015). A 2004 study carried out on behalf of Céreq (Centre d’études et de recherches sur les qualifications, The centre for studies and research on qualifications), found that 4 out of 10 male students of immigrant parents left school before having a certificate (Lainé & Okba, 2005:19). Unemployment rates for second generation immigrants of African descent stood at 42% in 2012 as opposed to 22% for young adults of native French heritage (Cusset, et al., 2015). Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin (1998), write of African American cooks being forced to take unpaid and underpaid apprenticeships in both the USA and in France, evidencing obstacles in accessing the workforce for minorities. They also point to the diversity (gender, race, social class) of the American chefs interviewed in their study being greater than that of the group of French head chefs and owners, the lack of diversification amongst the French respondents highlighting the closed nature of the French culinary world (idem, 1998:101). Appendix 1, (p. 150) of this thesis contains extracts from the cooks interviewed for this thesis who previously lived and worked in London. They share similar sentiments to those covered in the literature above; that it was difficult to access the work force in Paris, and they had the impression the culinary world was closed to them. They also report more diversity in senior positions in London than what they have witnessed in Paris. While there are always exceptions to the rule, such as acclaimed Senegalese chef Rougia Dia (Diawara, 2009) these facts remain pertinent information for this thesis, as part of setting the scene of immigrant life in Paris.
The difficulty remains that while studies point toward the positive contribution immigration makes to societies and economies (Mouhoud, 2017), France is currently undergoing a turbulent period politically and socially with regards to immigration, integration, and economic and social policy changes (Héran, 2016). Despite the reliance that the culinary industry has on immigrant workforces (Fustec cited in Durupt & Cuccugna, 2014; El Kurdi, 2018), the industry has perhaps not yet fully embraced its multi-cultural workforce sufficiently to see them not just as immigrants but as cooks; the stem of this idea being explored in the following section.

3.10 Immigration and the polarisation of the workforce.

Several of the authors within the immigration literature note a difference between the status that different immigrant groups have, and that certain strata of the mobile population are more welcomed by host countries than others. Glick Schiller & Salazar (2012) eloquently describe how it is the toil of the subaltern immigrant workers in the services industries that makes the global travel path for elite, borderless business migrants so seamless. Bauman (1998) cited in Castles (2010:1567) proffers that in this current cycle, the right to migrate is more discriminative and class based than any previous time. The shift can be dated to the post-industrial period of the late twentieth century when western countries underwent a massive re-organisation of production and manufacturing practices (Triandafyllidou, 2016:8). As western economies grew, the welfare state mechanisms were dismantled and labour intensive industries killed off, (such as the completion of post war construction projects and the shifting of manufacturing to non-unionised, low wage countries in Asia). This caused western economies to become increasingly internally divided: the upper classes remaining while the working class became destabilised. As economies adapted, new trade sectors were created and the well-educated, well-off white collar workers moved into new business and finance related services while the under-educated, under-paid, often immigrant employees found employment in the expanding services sectors of hospitality, childcare, cleaning and transport. For Castles (2010), some of the most serious fall-outs of this labour market transformation has been the proliferation of out-sourcing, short term contracts and the
expansion of the black market labour sector. Businesses are creating non-unionised, unregulated and precarious work conditions. In France this manifests in the use of CDD’s (contrat à durée déterminée) or short term work contracts which have limited healthcare and benefits, and agences intérim, agencies who place people in short term posts, generally in the construction, meat packing, hospitality, cleaning and order picking sectors. This situation for Castles, gives counter weight to the argument that immigrants are destabilising the labour force by flooding the market; in fact, it can be argued that businesses are actively creating an informal sector, essentially pulling immigrants in (Reyneri, 2003, cited in Castles, 2010:1580) because locals don’t want the jobs (Hagan-Zanker, 2008). According to Priore (1979) this is the dual market theory at work (cited in Hagan-Zanker, 2008; Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016), where the needs of the industrialised nation shape the decisions of the migrating populations with an expectancy by the developed countries that certain roles will be taken up by immigrants and not the national population. This in turn feeds in to Massey’s theory of economic dualism (1993) where differences between capital and labour markets are laid out. Capital is a cost for an enterprise and is therefore taken on to meet basic needs when production is steady and down time is limited. Primary sector workers seek permanent positions which are well funded and equipped, they are professionals and are likely unionised with tight contracts and are generally viewed by their employers as an asset. In this capital rich sector (such as the financial services mentioned above), the burden of down time is borne by the employer as they have already invested in the employee. Conversely, in the labour intensive hospitality or services sector for example, the work is unstable and when not producing the labour force is considered by employers a cost that is duly dumped. The cost therefore is borne by the employee through short term or unstable contracts, and is evidenced by the proliferation of agencies- rather than having full time staff, companies hire hands when they need them. The instability that is thus associated with the services sector make it unattractive to indigenous populations, and employers seek out immigrants.

Post-industrial era social changes also manifested in a pattern which reveals that as white collar workers became more affluent they demanded more services, for example: sports clubs, restaurants, cleaners and private child care (Sassin, 1991, cited in Dunbar, 2008).
These services are frequently carried out by immigrant employees (Castles, 2010). Linked to the dual labour market theory above, these actions lead to a polarisation of the workforce which for Sassin (ibid), continues as the rich get richer and demand more services. This polarisation causes tensions for integration, a phenomenon which, according to Barou (2014), did not exist in post-war and industrial era immigration policies. Barou proposes that as immigration in France at that time was organised specifically for (a) the rebuilding of the country after the world wars, and (b) for employment in factories during a period of strong economic growth (*Les Trente Glorieuses*), immigrants felt needed and therefore felt part of the French workforce (Barou, 2014). Integration took place naturally before the word even appeared as part of immigration vocabulary. Secondly, work was largely unionised, helping in a tangible manner the sense of belonging and agency amongst workers. Conversely, work in today’s tertiary industries, particularly the restaurant sector, is largely unorganised and under unionised (Klein, 2004; Exploitation in Ireland’s Restaurant Industry, 2008; Aasland & Tyldum, 2016), and employees suffer the brunt of this in exploitation: below average pay, unpaid hours, illegal work practices and weak or non-existent work contracts (Janta *et al*., 2011:1009; Young & Corsun, 2010).

The practice of celebrity chefs opening up venues in other countries and how, historically, chefs have travelled professionally is discussed by Ray (2016) and Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin (1998). Today, due to increasing consumer demand in dining and a lack of indigenous labour supply (Janta *et al*., 2011; Platonova & Urso, 2012) immigrant labour is required in many countries for kitchen and hospitality industry work. It could be said that developed nations depend on immigrant labour for the growth and sustainability of the food and beverage industries (Janta *et al*., 2011; Vassou *et al*., 2017), but, are both groups of cooks viewed similarly? The factors which decide how a mobile group is perceived impacts on how they are viewed when they arrive in the adopted country: the question of migrant or expatriate for example. Within migration studies the theory of the polarisation of workforces becomes visible when indigenous and immigrant population groups are put side by side, such as in Glick Schiller & Salazar’s (2012) idea of the rich travelling and becoming cosmopolitan because of their mobility, versus the poor, who travel but remain classified as migrant workers. The study of integration, the polarisation
of the workforces and human agency is important to this thesis. There are few more important contributors to a population’s culture than its food and gastronomy. That the French meal was awarded UNESCO heritage status in 2010 is tantamount to this fact (UNESCO, 2010). One could argue that the theories of polarisation and integration could be broken down from state to kitchen level. Whereby the immigrant cooks are presumed to be in the lower ranks of the kitchen where the work is pénible (hard labour), and the wages suppressed and the indigenous cooks are in the upper positions with no glass ceilings (Ho & Alcorso, 2004). In turn, this reflects Castles (2000) notion that the nation state values those who are static or, in this case the restaurant industry values those cooks who are indigenous while also needing those who are not (Janta et al, 2011:1007). A situation arguably present in Ireland, where Allen and Mac Con Iomaire’s research found that not only were immigrant chefs underrepresented as head chefs but those that did achieve head chef status were paid significantly less than their Irish cohorts, earning between €20,001-40,000 as compared to €30,001-€50,000 for the Irish chefs (2016:122). That wages are already suppressed in the hospitality industry as compared with other industries is well reported (DARES, 2014: Allen & Mac Con Iomaire, 2016), therefore to have evidence of immigrant cooks being paid on even lower pay scales points to a polarisation in the workforce. It is an issue for Ireland to consider as it actively seeks to hire cooks from outside of the country in order to satisfy the skills shortage (McLaughlin, 2018). Political think-tank, Polémia, mince no words in describing an existing, and furthermore, desired polarisation of the culinary workforce in France, one it claims is driven by the French restaurant and hospitality association UMIH. The telling piece going as far as to describe immigrants as slaves in the one clause and setting European immigrants apart from those of other countries, creating in effect a three tier system:

*Avec des migrants, le bénéfice serait encore plus large. Difficulté de maitrise de la langue, méconnaissance totale du droit du travail, l’UMIH espère sans doute avoir à disposition un bataillon de « salariés/esclaves » encore moins regardant que la population européenne, à qui les représentants de l’hôtellerie-restauration sont incapables de proposer des salaires et des conditions de travail justes.* [With immigrants the benefits are even wider. Difficulties with the language, complete ignorance of work labour law, the UMIH hopes without a doubt to have at its disposal a battalion of “workers/slaves” even less vigilant than the European
population for whom the restaurateurs are incapable of proposing salaries and conditions below par.] (Polémia, 2018).

Bourdain plays into this stratification of workforces when he categorises kitchens as having three groups of cooks: artists, specialists, and a third group comprising misfits, exiles and immigrants (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008:652).

This is not to say that there is no space at all for immigrant cooks to progress to the top or achieve great culinary success in Paris. Three cooks provide example of immigrant chefs finding their way to the top in Paris: Rougia Dia, Alan Geaam and Mahmoud M’seddi are, or were, Michelin star holders and prize winning chefs. Rougia Dia is particularly notable as a female and black chef. However, in the interview with the winner of the best baguette accolade in 2018 Mahmoud M’seddi, the journalist posits that the opportunity to win, or partake in the competition arose because immigrant cooks are open to doing the hard graft and nocturnal hours that native bakers are turning away from (and indeed he is not the first immigrant to win this award) (Nossiter, 2018). The restaurant owner interviewed by Durupt & Cuccagna (2014) expresses similar sentiments when he states that Sri Lankan and Malian employees are willing to work long hours for little pay while French cooks insist on different conditions “Les Français imposent des conditions, or je ne peux pas faire un planning à la carte” (the French impose conditions, I cannot do a schedule over the rules).

However, as seen with Ray (2016), the habit in studies of only seeing immigrants as labourers and not as consumers or participants with taste is restrictive. This study, in its aim to give voice to immigrant cooks in Paris intends to approach these two poles.

3.11 Immigrant workers in the hospitality industry

Immigrant employees have been central to the success of the hospitality industry worldwide since its establishment (Janta et al., 2011; Baum, 2012). The mobility of French chefs has been highlighted as key to their status development and also the development of fine dining in the United States by Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin (1998).
For Vassou et al. (2016) the future sustainability of the tourism industry relies on migrant workers.

Employment in the tourism industry is expected to reach 275.7 million jobs worldwide in 2019, up from 219.8 million in 2009 according to the World Travel and Tourism Council 2008 report. This is an increase from 7.6% of total world employment to 8.4% (ILO, 2010:93). Due to the ease of access of hospitality jobs (often only basic language and education skills are required) many migrants start in the hospitality industry on arriving in a new country (Schulp & Tirali, 2008; Janta et al., 2011). Barriers to entry are low with informal hiring procedures (Wright & Pollert, 2006) and either no qualifications are required or, foreign qualifications that may be held by the candidate are ignored (Klein Hesselink et al., 2004; Janta et al., 2011). The French social security office, Pôle Emploi (2011) notes that kitchen work remains one of the few ‘métier’ (profession or trade) existing today that is relatively easy to get a start in as it is open to all. This theory is seconded by the experience in the UK where Wright & Pollert (2006:13) report that workers from ethnic minorities are twice as likely as natives to be employed in construction, catering and distribution. The chief executive of the British Hospitality Association goes so far as to say that law makers need to take into account the importance of immigrants to the sector when shaping policy and immigration laws in order to protect the future growth of the hospitality industry (Wright & Pollert, 2006). Words echoed by Stéphane Fustec, of French workers union CGT (Confédération générale du travail) when he stated in an interview regarding Sri Lankan cooks in France’s hospitality industry, that the industry would collapse if the clandestine workers went on strike (Durupt & Cuccugna, 2014). A message statistically supported by the French ministry of work’s research department which states that in the period 2009-2011 immigrants were twice as present in the hospitality industry than in the rest of the workforce (DARES, 2015:7).

While the hospitality industry is known for its high staff turnover rate (Janta et al., 2011; Lane, 2016), there is also evidence that migrant workers tend to remain for a period of years at a post, a fact which, depending on the country in question, may be related to visa requirements (Triandafyllidou, 2016). Vassou et al. (2016) put it succinctly when stating
that migrant worker movement within the industry is a complex combination of institutional level requirements and employer level needs. More certain is evidence of a glass ceiling for immigrant workers (Ho & Alcorso, 2004). According to the ILO’s (2010) document, ‘International labour migration: A rights-based approach’ migrant workers more often remain at low skill levels compared to native workers (International Labour Office, 2010:93). This situation was studied specifically in relation to the hospitality sector in the United Kingdom in 1991 under a study carried out by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). The study found gross disparities between the job levels of whites versus those from ethnic minorities in the British hospitality sector (Wright & Pollert, 2006). Aasland & Tyldum (2016) also found a majority of native born Norwegian staff in management positions in the hotel industry in Norway versus immigrant staff who were largely found to be employed back-of-house and in non-management positions. Correspondingly, statistics for immigrants cooks in French restaurants in Paris in the positions of apprentice, commis, aide cuisine and cook have been found but not those for head chef. This topic will be covered further in the primary research.

There is considerable evidence to support the traditional thinking that the hospitality industry is difficult to work in and is a sector where work place regulations are frequently overlooked (Wright & Pollert, 2006). The European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Klein Hesselink, 2004) refers to the existence of grey labour, where for example, the worker is legally employed but illegal employment practices are carried out by the employer such as the non-payment of overtime hours. Black labour, they describe, as illegal, undeclared jobs, or in French ‘clandestine’ or ‘sans papiers’ workers. Use of such employment practices in the hospitality industry was, according to their report, widespread (2004:16). It is noted that in France difficulties in hiring through legal pathways leads to the use of black labour “In France, a correlation is found between recruitment difficulties in specific sectors – such as construction, hotels and restaurants, retail and agriculture – and the illegal employment of foreigners.” (Employment and working conditions of migrant workers, 2007:16)

Furthermore, the same report finds that “Migrant workers are most systematically over-represented in the hotels and restaurants sector... This is strong evidence of the tendency
to recruit migrants for the most unskilled and flexible jobs in the services sector.” (Employment and working conditions of migrant workers, 2007: 28). Baum (2015) describes this phenomenon as “Employers 1, Workers 0”, outlining how the labour market of western developed countries is open for exploitation by the tourism industry (due to deskilling, a footloose labour market, and the introduction of new technologies for example) the balance of power in the industry is in the control of the employers. A theory which corresponds with Wright & Pollert’s (2006) report demonstrating occurrences of discrimination, violence, exploitation and abuse in their study of the hotel and catering industry in the United Kingdom (2006:13-14). Bloesi & Hoel (2008) review the international literature on abusive work practices and bullying, whereas Perez & Segur (2008) discuss exploitation of immigrant workers in a French context. Through a report for the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, Ambrosini and Barone (2007) argue that:

The main reason behind the specific sectoral distribution of migrant employment, according to most of the national reports, is simply that most nationals would rarely accept the low-paid, unskilled, arduous and hazardous jobs left to immigrants. At the same time… in addition to labour shortages – other factors help to explain the segregation of migrants in less rewarding jobs and sectors, including language and legal barriers to skilled occupations, together with more or less subtle forms of discrimination” (Ambrosini & Barone, 2007: 30)

Hiring practices such as these, as well as potentially exploitative, could be seen as being contributing factors to the problem of under-employment of immigrant workers a problem identified by MacKenzie & Forde, (2009 in Janta 2011:1007) “migrant workers are more likely to work in lower paid jobs for which they are overqualified”. A situation which puts the immigrant worker in a precarious and devalued state

Wrench (in Triandafyllidou, 2016:13), explores the area of work place discrimination further and argues that while barriers exist in the employment sector, ‘ethnic penalty’ as he refers to it, is a deeper problem compounded by the fact that both policy makers and employers are not sufficiently educated to spot discrimination in its various forms. A situation that is proven by Brinbaum & Rieucau’s findings (2012:3) that young adult sub-Saharan African job seekers are more likely than any other immigrant population group
to require the assistance of a public body in order to achieve full-time employment. Ethnic penalty is also demonstrated in the housing allocations and availability of affordable housing in Paris which disproportionately affects immigrants. Much affordable high density housing used by (or allocated to) immigrants is situated at the outer limits of Paris in the wider Île-de-France region (Lillo, et al., 2009), for example the population of the northern department Seine-Saint-Denis is 28% immigrant (Héran, 2016: 42). Transport links to these areas remains poor and it is challenging for immigrant cooks to return home after late shifts or to return home during split periods, forcing them to take their breaks in the restaurants where they work. High rents in downtown Paris mean that few hospitality workers can afford rent in touristic areas (Joppe, 2012). This issue will be further examined in the primary research.

However, Vassou et al. (2017) have found in their research on intercultural workplace relations that, if the work environment is generally positive employees use this factor to compensate for the long work hours or other discomforts. This finding correlates with Lane’s (2016) study on fine dining chefs where both German and British based cooks claimed that having a good head chef who is an inspiration or mentor coupled with opportunities to learn, off-set the poor pay and difficult work conditions. Young & Corsun (2010) examined extrinsic and intrinsic factors relating to attrition in the culinary industry in the United States and found that in contrast to many other sectors, difficult working conditions (such as cramped kitchens) did not push cooks to leave their jobs, nor did low pay if they drew satisfaction from the product they were cooking.

With these differing approaches it is important therefore to recognise the personality and identity of immigrant cooks in order to better understand their motivations as cooks and how they feel within the hospitality industry, the core theme of this study; their contributions are looked at in the following section.

3.11.1 Immigrant cooks

There is a long history of cooks and chefs emigrating and working in foreign countries. Notable, are the great chefs of French haute cuisine who brought fine dining to New York,
London, and even Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire, 2014; Ray, 2016:67). Barou (2010: 6-7) expands on this phenomenon stating that since the 19th century in France, occupations within the food industry, some as basic as delivering water and milk, allowed immigrants to have a means of earning money. In today’s world, combining the sector’s under regulation, and the fact that western native populations frequently shun the work as too difficult or poorly paid with today’s consumerist society driving hospitality industry business levels, there is a situation created which makes the restaurant industry an easy to access labour sector for casual work and immigrants (ILO, 2010:24). Statistics for immigrant workers by the International Labour Commission (2010) put figures for the tourism industry at 219.8 million worldwide (ILO, 2010:93). London, has a migrant cook population of almost 60% (Lane, 2016), the United States has 31% (Singer, 2012) and Ireland a 35% immigrant population in the hospitality industry (Exploitation in Ireland’s Restaurant Industry, 2008). While these statistics are available, limited research has been carried out concerning the working lives of immigrant cooks and staff in the hospitality industry (Wright & Pollert, 2006). Ray (2016:1) refers to it as ‘blindness’ and his book *The Ethnic Restaurateur* opens with the acknowledgement that despite the fact that immigrants played an immense role in the development of the food and beverage industry in the United States of America, there has been minimal academic investigation carried out into their cuisines or their contribution to the industry. This message is echoed by Silberman in Héran (2002:296) in relation to migrant populations in general,

> On trouve une situation identique aux Etats-Unis où la littérature, pourtant très riche, sur l’immigration et les questions ethniques ne comporte encore que peu de travaux portant sur les itinéraires professionnels des générations des enfants d’immigrés. (We find an identical situation in the United States where the literature, while very rich on immigration and ethnic subjects contains very little study regarding the professional paths of the generations of immigrant children).

In a French context, similar could be said in relation specifically to cooks; a keyword search in the library of the French national museum of immigration (*Musée Nationale de l’Histoire d’Immigration*) resulted in three culinary industry related articles, (Diawara, 2009; Poinsot, 2010; Petit, 2011), a fourth referred more generally to gastronomy and immigration, the place of the immigrants national foods in their adopted country and
society (Barou, 2010). This despite immigrants high represestatation rates in the restaurant hotel and café sectors (DARES, 2015:7). In the media it is the strikes by clandestine workers demanding fair pay that brings the plight of immigrant cooks to the fore, and although having this coverage is essential to highlighting the difficulties experienced by kitchen staff, little of the cooks involved is learnt (Fikri, 2008; Le Monde, 2008). ASPLAN’s (2010) study of the general clandestine workers’ strikes of 2010 is more informative from a social policy perspective and cooks are mentioned and while no information is given on the cooks individually, crucially it is learned that although the cooks concerned are employed (and therefore not a burden on the state) and they ‘won’ their case, the visas that were eventually issued were not standard ‘right to stay’ visas, rather they were restrictive visas entitled ‘employee’ with the motive of cancellation should the person ever fall unemployed (ASPLAN, 2010:34). This points toward a potentially exploitative situation developing, something which the strikes in the first place were supposed to alleviate.

There is evidence emerging that this critical absence of detailed information on immigrant cooks is being addressed with the publication in recent years of some studies and books on the subjects of the hotel and catering sector’s role in immigration and integration. For example, Schulp & Tirali (2008) are concerned with the authenticity of Turkish food on offer in Turkish restaurants in Holland. While interviews with head chefs are carried out, the focus of the paper is on the authenticity of the cuisine on offer in their restaurants and as such little information is garnered regarding their experiences as immigrant cooks or second generation immigrants. Another study, based in Oslo, is a survey of ethnic minority hotel staff in general and including cooks. The study focuses on work place segregation and proves that in Oslo work place segregation according to country of origin exists (Aaslande & Tyldum, 2016). It is one of the first studies carried out on the application of theories of work place segregation in the hospitality industry (Aaslande & Tyldum, 2016:92). Respondents to the survey questionnaire were asked questions regarding their country of origin, job, education level, desire to stay in Norway, their desire to stay in the hospitality industry and information on their contract status. The percentage of cooks and dishwashers from Asia, Africa or Latin America versus those from Norway is pertinent and the inquiry proves that segregation in the hospitality
industry does exist (Aalande & Tyldum 2016:94). This crucially creates the space for further investigation and study on the subject of immigrant cooks.

The International Labour Organisation states that immigration is “a fact of life and will continue to exist and indeed increase in the future” (ILO, 2010:36). Therefore a study into the life and being of the immigrant cook is long overdue and this thesis aims to discover who the immigrant cooks of Paris’ restaurants and hotels are and to explore their motivations and connections to the cuisines they cook.

That immigrant cooks are becoming essential to the continued growth being experienced by the culinary industry is undeniable. A message that is echoed by a restaurant owner interviewed by El Kurdi (2018), who says that he has no choice but to hire immigrants, or Fustec who states that the industry would collapse if it were not for immigrant cooks (Durupt & Cuccugna, 2014). The French government is slowly coming around to the idea that there is not enough supply in labour from the native French pool:

“l'hôtellerie-restauration est un excellent exemple, le bâtiment également... nous avons besoin de personnel que nous n'avons pas en France [the hospitality industry is an excellent example, construction also...we need staff that we don’t have in France] (France Info, 2018).

However, despite government recognition of the problem, solutions are slow to come through and getting paperwork to work legally in France remains a struggle for many immigrants. The shortage of workers therefore is frequently filled by black market labour.

3.12 Clandestine workers

Clandestine workers, or workers who do not possess all the documentation to work or reside legally in a country, are most frequently found in the hospitality, seasonal agricultural, factory assembly line and domestic care work sectors (Héran, 2016). Perez & Segur (2008) state that reported annual figures for clandestine workers in France are in the region of 100,000 people. However when compared to a study carried out in Belgium the comparative figure for the number of clandestine workers in France would be closer to 600,000 people (Perez & Segur, 2008:25). Mouhoud puts the figure at between 30,000-40,000 people per annum entering France irregularly with a general stock figure of
200,000-400,000 (2017:29-30), a figure he puts on par with the United Kingdom. There has been some documentation in the national press and academic journals of cooks working on the black market (Charette, 2008; *Des cuisiniers sans papiers en grève dans un restaurant chic de Paris*, 2008). This subject was forced into the public sphere in the Spring of 2008 when a group of undocumented Malian and Ivory Coast cooks went on strike for underpayment and lack of payment of overtime hours. Their strike triggered others; all concerning the regularisation of their working conditions. Hired with some relevant paperwork these cooks are declared and pay tax and social charges (Chazan, 2010) and the employer may pay some income tax but he/she (the employer) is able to manoeuvre around certain other payments such as holiday pay, overtime and health insurance. Immigration and social science journal *Hommes et Immigration* (Petit, 2011) interviewed an Indian cook who worked in such a situation. The piece describes how he worked for 12 years without full papers, obligated to ask his boss every month to pay him the correct amount. He (the cook) details the hardship and verbal abuse he frequently received but could not escape due to his precarious situation. Among the other reports of cooks working on the black or grey market his conditions are not unusual. In light of the statement of Stéphane Fustec, of French workers union CGT (*Confédération Générale du Travail*) regarding the absolute necessity of these staff to the success and growth of France’s hospitality sector, clandestine workers should be taken care of and their work situations regulated (Durupt & Cuccugna, 2014). Indeed it is an industry outsider who deftly points out, in a way that so many industry insiders fail to do, that although France set the world’s restaurant scene alight with its beautiful dining rooms and elaborate menus, the restaurant industry has never been known to be a pioneer in matters relating to the improvement of the welfare of its employees (Guégnard, 2009). This question will be addressed in the primary research phase of this thesis.

The necessity to work despite one’s legal situation, potential exploitation by bosses and evidence that in fact difficult working conditions do not necessarily cause cooks to quit their jobs, as seen in the previous section, as joined but contrasting states need to be looked at with regard to immigrant cooks and their avenues toward agency and work attitude.
3.13 Attitude and Agency amongst immigrant cooks

Agency can be described as the actions and thoughts that people take in order to express individual power, how they wish to set their life course, or how they wish to form their experiences and think for themselves (Cole, 2018). This is in contrast to social structure which, through institutions and social systems, forms behaviours and choices for people over the course of their lifetime. Agency essentially concerns exerting individual power and shaping one’s life experiences.

Much of the literature concerning migrant workers and the hospitality industry does not recognise personal agency in career choice beyond the need to earn money. Rather, it is frequently proposed that immigrant workers take on restaurant work because it is categorised as low skill, non-binding linguistically and easy to access on the grey or black market. Ray (2016) axels his book on questioning this status quo within the literature and bases much of his discussion and research on matters of attitude and agency of immigrant cooks in the USA, an uncommon approach in the literature of this field but one that will also form a focus of this study.

While little is written specifically on the personality and identity of immigrant cooks in Paris, there are some indications of cooks creating space for agency within their working lives. Examples include daily menu specials that feature, for example, chicken tikka and rice, or burgers with exotic relishes (Chazan, 2010). More formal avenues include clandestine workers striking on a consistent basis during the presidency of Nicolas Sarkozy (2007-2012) in order to get recognition of their grey status of paying taxes but still being technically illegal (Chazan, 2010). These undocumented workers strikes came to a head in 2008 when several cases were won by immigrant cooks and unscrupulous bosses were forced to pay fines or back pay salaries (Le Monde, 2008; l’Humanité, 2008; Gisti, 2010).

The literature would point to cooks going along with abusive work practices for various reasons; following the status quo, ambition, loyalty to the chef, or not wanting to put their employment status at risk (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008; Palmer et al., 2010; Mintz, 2017). However despite this oppressive atmosphere and difficult working conditions, agency and
independence in choosing cooking as a career has also been shown in the literature. In several of the journalistic pieces on cooks in Paris, the cooks interviewed chose the trade either because they did it already in their home country (Petit, 2011) or because they felt a passion toward cooking and wanted to try it, and laterally succeeded, examples include Michelin star winners (Diawara, 2009; Falvey, 2018). This is evidence that the previously looked at polarisation of the workforce should not be so clean cut as immigrant versus native, and that it is crucial that further information is gathered on the individual identity and motivations of the immigrant cook.

3.14 Hospitality

Bearing in mind previously discussed themes of: polarised workforces; agency; immigration; and the culinary industry, hospitality came to the fore as the confluence of these subjects and the underpinning philosophical theory.

The term hospitality has, since the 1980s, been employed as a catch all term to include the tourism and restaurant industries (Lashley, 2015), it is also, it can be argued, a philosophy. Predominantly under the guidance of Derrida and Levinas (Shepard, 2014) the theory of hospitality has been teased out to form a philosophy, the rationale being that hospitality can be viewed ‘as one of the defining features of human morality’ (Lashley, 2015:72). The centrality of the word hospitality to the area of activity in question in this thesis and the status of the cooks in question in France as immigrants, coupled with the aim of this thesis to find out about the working lives and connection to gastronomy that immigrant cooks in Paris possess leads to the philosophy of hospitality being the underpinning philosophy of this research thesis.

Both Derrida and Levinas distil hospitality, albeit with differing theoretical definitions, to being the ‘welcoming of the stranger’ (italics in original, Shepard, 2014:12) and its role, or the act of hospitality a fundamental component of being human. Ethics is the underlying philosophy for hospitality and for Derrida this in turn means that hospitality should aspire to be ‘unconditional’ (Shepard, 2004:54), in other words one should possess a capability and openness to accept the other even when not prepared. Although this stance poses its own inherent problems (the safety or capabilities of the host for example)
it underlines how fundamental the philosophy of hospitality, or being open and welcoming to the other, is to Derrida and Levinas.

### 3.14.1 Hospitality of the State

Hospitality can also be observed at the state level: a country hosting a traveller or immigrant- a key point of intersection to this thesis. The cooks interviewed in the primary research phase of this thesis are either guests of the state of France or, are citizens of France through paperwork; all of them through their employment pay taxes and contribute socially to Paris, France, and her gastronomic legacy. The question is, have they been received hospitably? What role has France (or Paris) and her culinary industry played in the lives of the immigrant cooks?

Recognising the complicated situation between the aspirations of ethical or infinite hospitality (Rosello, 2001) and the practical limitations required under the politics of hospitality (finite hospitality) both Fotou (2016) and Rosello (2001) question the current political atmosphere for immigrants in Europe, and in Rosello’s case specifically France. The central tenet for Rosello and Fotou being that rich western states claim that they are too poor to be hosts to the needy and that the modern world has drifted far from the philosophical and ethical origins of hospitality (Fotou, 2016). Rosello (2001) is particularly critical in her observation of France as a former coloniser dominating its colonies being, now post-colonially, unwilling to help the very populations it ransacked,

…rich western states are purely and simply declaring that they can no longer afford to be hosts, that hospitality is a luxury beyond their means; Hospitable and powerful hosts that constantly threatened to swallow their guests have turned into supposedly weakened hosts that can no longer welcome “the huddled masses” gathering on our “uncertain shores” (Rosello, 2001:32).

This question of France and her treatment of foreigners is central in the discussion of hospitality from a historical point of view in order to provide context. During the revolution France declared herself to be a land of welcome to those in trouble and in need of asylum,
The French people declare it to be the friend of all peoples; it will religiously respect treaties and flags; it offers asylum in its harbours to ships from all over the world; it offers asylum to great men and virtuous unfortunates of all countries; its ships at sea will protect foreign ships against storms. Foreigners and their customs will be respected in its bosom (Duval, 1984:441 in Fotou, 2016:53).

Being hospitable to strangers was in fact France’s raison d’être (Wahnich, 1997a:346 in O’Gorman, 2007:194) a pattern that continued up to the post-World War Two period of economic boom known as Les trente glorieuses (the glorious thirty). Since that time although immigration continues, (albeit it a different population mix), (Mouhoud, 2017), the laws and rhetoric around immigration have shifted and France is now party to the growing right wing movements witnessed in western states who are gradually shutting down their borders to foreigners. Chemilier-Gendreau goes as far as to say ‘hospitality as a “French” virtue has already disappeared’ (1998 in Rosello, 2001:28). Mouhoud’s (2017) and Héran’s (2016) recent books on immigration in France, through deep analysis of statistics, would appear to back this up. The fact that France’s status as hospitable-by-nature has apparently waned and the historic terre d’asile (Héran, 2016:60) status has been forsaken for ‘fortress Europe’ (Rosello. 2001 in O’Gorman, 2007:196). These findings are important to this thesis because within this situation lies the fact that countries are both making it more and more difficult for immigrants to enter and stay, and are reducing the individual as much as possible to a number or form (Rosello, 2001). This is detrimental to the individual, however it gives this thesis its raison d’être where the focus is on the person and the personality of the immigrant cook. Can the hospitality industry do more itself to be more hospitable to its own people? Food is after all a borderless, universal basic human need. What is more, restaurants (Trubek, 2000; Cullen, 2012) and the act of hosting guests outside of one’s own home were created in France. In fact the French gastronomic meal, awarded UNESCO heritage status in 2010 for intangible cultural heritage of humanity is centred not just on food but hospitality and conviviality:

The gastronomic meal emphasizes togetherness, the pleasure of taste, and the balance between human beings and the products of nature…The gastronomic meal draws circles of family and friends closer together and, more generally, strengthens social ties. (UNESCO, n.d.)
Hospitality requires a host and a guest; in the restaurant the guest is the customer, the host the chef. In the case of the immigrant cooks, they are the guests and, simultaneously, the country and their chef are their hosts. As guests they are sharing and taking part in the gastronomic experience, but as immigrants, what is their access point? This thesis, using the philosophy of hospitality as its base and a phenomenological and humanistic structure aims to approach this question.

3.15 Rationale

The rationale behind the objectives and the underpinning philosophy is to highlight the relative anonymity of a group of workers that play an essential role in the culinary industry. The closing comment of Ho & Alcorso’s (2004:255) investigation into the methods of measurement of immigrant integration into the labour market in Australia reads: ‘The analyses leave out most of what we want to know about migrant workers as social beings’. Basing their study on thirty years of government commissioned surveys of immigrants in Australia, the authors were able to prove that the overall positive findings of these statistically based studies, (Ho & Alcorso, 2004:238) often overlooked ethnic divisions and phenomena such as underemployment and the work of female immigrants. These longitudinal studies measured immigrants’ successful immersion into the workforce by means of productivity, wage and investment in the workforce, (also known as human capital theory), but ignored the human factors of immigration and labour market integration. The work of Ho & Alcorso (2004) proves that statistical study of populations, while perhaps numerically accurate, does not account sufficiently for the actual situation of the person. It should be noted that there is contention in the French census model from this point of view and problems exist with the accurate reporting of figures regarding immigrant cooks in Paris due to French census rules which block the reporting of ethnic heritage; and, separately, the phenomenon of (uncountable) clandestine workers in the hospitality industry. Furthermore, frequently in studies of ethnicities, diversity and immigration, the research is from the point of view of the researcher or the host population rather than the subject population (Ho & Alcorso, 2004; Bell & Kravitz, 2008 cited in Waight & Madera, 2011). It is noted in Edwards & Holland
(2013) that historically, sociological studies were often undertaken from the point of view of the better off, better educated or higher status populations. The authors proffer that at a time empirical sociology was ‘done on the relatively powerless for the relatively powerful’ (Bell, 1978:25; Edwards & Holland, 2013:79) and from a French point of view evidence of this is seen in the literature review of this thesis where several of the academic articles on immigrants in France, are heavily statistical, written in the abstract with few if any quotes from, or interviews with the immigrants themselves (Perez & Segur, 2008; Lillo et al., 2009; Barou, 2010; Dares, 2011; Cusset et al., 2015). With few exceptions, recent journalistic pieces on the subject of immigrant cooks in Paris are either written including interviews with immigrant cooks which contain limited reporting on figures or material that pushes beyond the boundary of what has been written before, or, are concerned with the immigrant cooks strikes of 2008 (Charette, 2008; Edjscpeo, 2011; Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014). Ray (2016:1) points out that while historically (and currently) much has been written on ethnic food in the United States, no one has written about the ethnic cooks who in fact cook these dishes.

Massey’s point regarding the slow reaction to update fundamental theories underpinning migration is relevant here:

The recent boom in immigration has therefore taken citizens, officials, and demographers by surprise, and when it comes to international migration, popular thinking remains mired in nineteenth-century concepts, models, and assumptions. (1993:432)

It is unfortunate to note that little advancement has been made however as this piece was written in 1993.

3.16 Summary

Tracing its steps from the French Revolution it has been demonstrated through this literature review the centrality of Paris to gastronomy and its key role in the development of the restaurant industry. The wealth of research that has been carried out regarding immigration and migrant work, and the place that immigration has in France has also been identified. Specifically, it has been presented how integral immigration is to the
restaurant and hospitality industries. However this has also highlighted how little 
amademic study has been carried out to date concerning the working lives of immigrant 
cooks. It has been shown that much of the information that is presented in academic or 
journalistic writing regarding immigration is numeric with little pertinent qualitative 
enquiry with immigrant cooks or chefs. This lack of study into immigrant cooks and their 
connections to gastronomy and working life allows the exploratory study of this thesis to 
be carried out. Duncan et al’s. (2013:14) concluding thoughts regarding the mobilities of 
hospitality workers should be taken into consideration, and are important guiding 
principles for this research:

The need for an awareness of the multiplicity of mobilities amongst these 
workers and that many of them may (already) recognise the strategies they 
use to manipulate, direct and control their own mobile lifestyles.

These ideas will be looked at in the primary research section of this study as a core 
element of the research and objectives of this thesis is to give voice to immigrant cooks.
Chapter Four:
Research Methodology
4.0 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter shall describe in detail the research methodologies and methods employed during the primary and secondary data collection stages of this thesis. How and why each particular method was chosen will be specified. These explanations will be based on a thesis’ foundation stone: the theoretical framework. This framework underpins the epistemology, methodologies and methods used during a research project.

The underlying philosophy driving this study is that of hospitality and its axial meaning in relation to the nomenclature of the restaurant industry and its links to theories of immigration and migrants as guests of a State.

4.2 Research aim

It is important that the research aim is defined in order to choose the theoretical framework and relevant epistemology (King, n.d.). The aim of this thesis is to investigate, from their own points of view, the professional culinary lives of immigrant cooks in Paris, in order to:

- Understand the identity of the immigrant cook in Paris and to give voice to this population.
- Determine whether immigrant chefs in Paris, France, feel that they are actors on the Parisian gastronomic stage or whether they are outsiders filling vacant posts, carrying out manual labour tasks.

4.3 Research objective

The objective of this research question is to discover exactly who the immigrant cooks in Parisian kitchens are from a human and phenomenological stance and the mirror of this, what does culinary Paris represent to them? Officially representing 20-30% of apprentice cooks and kitchen hands and 16.9% of cooks (L’emploi et les métiers des immigrés, 2012:
24, 29), with a further, essential but incalculable population of undocumented cooks (Fustec in Cuccagna, 2004; Carrere, 2009:30; Nguyen, 2018), the immigrant cook in Paris is an invaluable labour resource that is alarmingly anonymous in academic and culinary literature.

The objectives of this thesis are to:

- To define the immigrant cook and their importance in the restaurant industry of Paris.
- To investigate the working life of the immigrant cook.
- To investigate what, if any, differences the immigrant cooks perceive to exist between them and native French cooks with relation to access to the culinary workforce, labour conditions and career progression opportunities.
- To investigate what barriers exist that preclude immigrant cooks from climbing the culinary career ladder?
- To investigate how the immigrant cook feels placed in the world of Parisian gastronomy.
- To examine what changes the immigrant cooks would like to see in the restaurant industry in Paris from their point of view as immigrant workers and cooks.

The overriding objective is simply, but importantly in the mind of the author, to give voice to immigrant cooks. The author perceives a need to move discussions regarding immigrant cooks beyond statistics and figures and instead to start a people based dialogue on immigrant cooks.

4.4 Secondary research

The secondary research in this thesis, which comprises the context chapter and the literature review, provides background information on immigration in France, immigrant cooks, the tourism industry in Paris, and the birth of restaurants in Paris and mobilities studies. Documents studied included French government statistics, European statistics
publications, books covering the subjects of the history of chefs and restaurants in Paris and journal and newspaper articles concerning immigration and immigrant workers in France. The review of the literature exposes that the diverse population group of immigrants who are employed in the hospitality industry in Paris are a fundamentally important asset to the city’s GDP. However it is also evident from the review of literature that little information is garnered on who the immigrant cooks are. This reinforces the reasoning behind this thesis, the objective of which is to give voice to the immigrant cooks that are employed in Paris and Île-de-France.

4.5 Research methodology

Encompassing the points illustrated above and in light of the fact that this study is foundational or elemental and concerns human behaviour, primary research will be qualitative in nature (Kothari, 2004). The research objectives are constructed in order to learn about and examine the careers and jobs of immigrant cooks. The research therefore is exploratory (Kothari, 2004:2), and has its base in phenomenology. Considering the central aim to investigate who are the immigrant cooks in Paris, this theoretical delineation fits well. Denscombe (2010) describes phenomenological based research as that which concerns the ‘Being’. It is a theoretical approach which allows for description and subjectivity, in contrast, for example, to positivist approaches which rely on measurable figures and structures. The phenomenological strategy allows the researcher to uncover and discuss people’s opinions, sentiments, concerns and attitudes (Denscombe, 2010:93-94). A humanistic approach, phenomenological research is at its core ‘an approach that focuses on how life is experienced’ (Denscombe, 2010:94).

Phenomenology has close philosophical roots with the writing of German philosopher Heidegger (1889-1976). Heidegger argued that the concept of Being was of elemental importance to philosophy but it was, he felt, an area largely ignored by the great philosophers. The study of Being and man, getting at the root of who man is and how he thinks, beyond simply how he operates, was of utmost importance to Heidegger. This logically fits with phenomenology which seeks to understand how people experience life.
It is precisely this angle that is required for the research aims of this thesis. The use of a phenomenological approach demands that the researcher presents results and findings exactly as they are portrayed by the interviewees or respondents (Cohen et al., 2011 cited in Gaus, 2017). Presenting interpretations of what respondents report would be to undermine the philosophy supporting phenomenological study. The consequence of this approach is that it forces the researcher to rely on the information of the life of the respondents, not statistics relating to their representative population group. Secondly, it raises the profile of the respondents. Value is given to their responses as they stand. No further interpretation or realigning of responses into abstract ideas or frameworks occurs (Denscombe, 2010). For the population group in question here, this consideration is perhaps important. Immigrant workers, according to the many studies on the existence of two tier labour forces, are often categorised as a subaltern class and have little voice (Ho & Alcorso, 2004; European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2007; Ray, 2016). This is particularly true in the under-unionised hospitality sector (Wickham et al., 2008). These factors of giving voice and Being need to be considered when selecting appropriate methods of data collection and analysis.

4.5.1 Research methodology and philosophical underpinning

As discussed in chapter three, the philosophy of hospitality fits well in this thesis at the point of convergence of the various subjects under study; the culinary or wider hospitality industry, the treatment of immigrant cooks by this industry and the interplay between immigrant and state when the immigrant has leave to stay but questions arise over how they are hosted. Within these subjects and the research objectives of this thesis namely, to give voice to immigrant cooks in Paris and investigate, as seen in the section above how they experience working as cooks, a phenomenology of hospitality could be proposed. Smith (2018) defines phenomenology thus, “Phenomenology studies structures of conscious experience as experienced from the first-person point of view” (Smith, 2018). How the immigrants feel and experience their guest status in both the employee sense and immigrant, or guest of France sense, and how their attitudes to their experiences
and treatment are played out in their acts of agency, access to and acceptance in the workforce are all key elements to this study. Furthermore, that this study is exploratory in nature fits the phenomenological position of discovery and that people’s opinions and experiences can be useful resources, not simply subjective thoughts. This allows the qualitative nature of this research project and enables a move away from the more commonplace statistical reporting of groups.

4.6 Research methods

Walcott (2009:82), cited in Kitchen (2013:216), states that qualitative research is carried out ‘among others, rather than on them’ (italics in original). With this in mind, the primary research phase of this thesis employed semi-structured interviews as the investigative tool to discover interviewees’ motives, desires and attitudes. Semi-structured interviews use a set of base questions to ensure a tie in with the literature review and to keep a focus point for the interviews. However, the flexible nature of the questioning permits the interviewer to give space to the respondents to add their own topics and issues that may have been unforeseen by the author (Edwards & Holland, 2013; Vazquez Maggio & Wescott, 2014). Interviews were anonymised, audio-recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed. Following this, conclusions and recommendations were drawn up. In order to connect the phenomenologist methodology and the various objectives of this research an emic perspective was taken during the interviews and during the transcription and analysis stages. The use of the emic approach gives agency to a population of cooks that, as seen in the literature review, are in general only discussed in terms of statistics or an undefined mass; ‘immigrant workers’.
4.6.1 Research design and methodology table

In order to clearly visualise the research design and methodology it is presented in table form (Table 4):

Table 4: Breakdown of research methodology and design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ontology</th>
<th>Subjective</th>
<th>Fundamental, basic; Concerns human behaviour.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Epistemology</td>
<td>Interpretivist</td>
<td>Exploratory; Phenomenological; Opinions, sentiments, concerns, attitudes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techniques</td>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Semi-structured so interviewees can add their own insights; important as cooks from different cultural backgrounds will be interviewed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>Template analysis &amp; Thematic analysis</td>
<td>Systematic assigning of themes and coding of texts; constant referral to the main research question (MRQ) evading problem of researcher bias as codes are anchored to the MRQ. Defines themes that are present across an entire data set.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7 Interviews

In order to achieve the project’s objective to find out who are the immigrant chefs working in Paris’ kitchens, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the research tool. This gives an opportunity both to the researcher to guide the interview and ask the questions required, and it allows space in the dialogue for the participants to add their own insights and opinions. This is an important requirement as the population group in question will come from different countries, cultural backgrounds and work experiences.

The participants were asked questions based on their experiences of working in kitchens in Paris (or its greater region Île-de-France), their opinions of the gastronomy and culinary industry in Île-de-France and what, if anything, they would like to see changed for immigrant cooks employed in the restaurant industry in Île-de-France. Interviewees were not asked to identify their current place of work, however the category of venue that they are, or have been employed in was noted, for example whether it is a bistro, a take-away,
a hotel or a Michelin starred restaurant. Where the venue is located Île-de-France is not relevant either. Participants were approached and recruited initially by telephone (those known to the researcher) and were asked, following a verbal outline of the project, if they would be interested in taking part. Following that they were sent, or given in person, an information sheet relating to the research (in French). Once it was confirmed that the candidates were still interested a date and time was set up for the interview.

The location of the interviews was chosen depending on the participant’s availability and time. As the participants were all working the interviews took place near their places of work in order to be convenient to them. Two interviews took place in the interviewees’ home. A quiet room or space was all that was required for the duration of the interview. Interviewees were anonymous and were assigned a code name in the analysis phase of the project. The name and address of their current or previous places of work were not relevant to the study. Where a restaurant or company name was mentioned in the interviews the names of same was changed in the interview transcript and are denoted for example as ‘XX’.

Carried out in person by the researcher, all interviews, focus group included, were preceded by an explanation, verbal and written, of the research; the nature of the interview; and a brief outline of the types of subjects to be covered. All interviewees then had the opportunity to sign (or refuse and therefore annul the interview) a consent form which outlined the designated use of the interview material and their right to stop the interview at any time. The consent form, introduction letter and interview procedures were all carried out in line with, and with the permission of, the DIT ethics committee. Interview transcripts (with questions translated into English) are available in Appendix 6.

The interviews lasted between 20 minutes to 1 hour and 10 minutes. They were digitally recorded with some notes taken by hand during the interview, interviewees were made aware of the recording device and were notified at the point at which the recording commenced. The choice of language spoken during the interview (English or French) was chosen by the interviewee and followed by the interviewer. Two of the candidates chose to speak in English rather than French.
4.8.1 Interview structure

According to Morgan (1997) cited in Kitchen (2013) there are four phases during the interview:

1) The introduction (how the participant came to Paris and found work as a cook for example).
2) The opening development (what their plans are as cooks; what their life goals are).
3) The body (how the interviewee sees themselves in the situation; how the interviewee perceives the system; or where they would like to see changes and so forth).
4) The conclusion (any other comments or information that the interviewee would like to share).

This structure was generally followed throughout the individual interviews and was considered helpful.

4.8 Focus group

Being a new area of study, and one where the researcher wished the focus remain directly on subjects relevant to the lives of immigrant cooks (rather than follow a pattern of previously established standard questions) a focus group was set up. The focus group was set up in order to explore subjects regarding being an immigrant cook in Paris that had come from topics found in the literature review, with the aim of testing the topics’ relevance. The intention being to be able to craft relevant questions from this feedback for in-depth one-on-one interviews with a further cohort of immigrant cooks. Denscombe (2010) notes that focus groups are useful tools for initialising research into new areas of study and for gathering information for future studies. Building on the above, and of core importance to this study, Berg writes that:

...focus groups provide a means for assessing intentionally created conversations about research topics or problems. Focus groups, like
letters or diaries, also access fragments of a person's biography and life structure
(Berg, 2001:115)

The size of the group was chosen to have a mix of nationalities relevant to the immigrant population groups of cooks in Paris while also being a manageable size to accommodate varying levels of French, (each participate should feel able and comfortable to contribute) while also gathering quality information.

The researcher while desiring that the group discuss subjects themselves did provide topics or pose questions in order to encourage the group, and assist in a more equal sharing the ‘floor’. The researcher found the focus group a useful process as it assisted in selecting topics and questions to be used in the individual interviews. Information was brought up in the focus group that was not in the literature, therefore had the focus group not been carried out topics which were considered important to the candidates would not have been posed to the individual interview respondents. One such example is that of language skills. Throughout the review of literature sources state that kitchen work is easy for immigrants to access as no particular language skill is necessary in order to be hired, however the participants in the focus group all said otherwise. Following this discovery the question of French language ability was included in the individual interviews, where it resulted in information that is much different to the literature. This process of carrying out a focus group was important therefore as it answered to the aim of the research to give voice to the immigrant cooks themselves. By carrying out a focus group and testing information and subjects before undertaking the individual interviews the researcher had topics that were truly important and relevant to immigrant cooks in Paris. The result being that the qualitative study had depth and results following analysis remained close to the candidates.

4.9 Sample size

As an exploratory study to give voice to immigrant cooks and expand knowledge of this subject beyond the statistical, the focus group interview comprised three immigrant cooks
followed by eight individual in-depth interviews. Table 5 (p.71) details the participants of the focus group and individual interviews. The respondents involved have spent varying lengths of time in Paris, from one year to seventeen, and have differing levels of experience and positions, from commis de cuisine to head chef. The countries chosen represent the regions that are most often represented in immigrant literature in Paris: Maghreb, sub-Saharan African, European and South Asian (Table 3, p.37). An official statistical breakdown of the nationalities employed in Parisian kitchens is difficult to pin down due to census recording limitations (it is illegal to officially record where a person is from for census surveys). The presence of clandestine workers who are undeclared in the labour force statistics also make any official statistics less accurate. However media recording and academic literature on the subjects of immigrant labour forces in Paris (Charette, 2008; Chazan, 2010; Edjscpo, 2011; Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014; El Kurdi, 2018) go some way to identifying a population mix as they repeatedly reference the employment of Maghreb, sub-Saharan, and south Asian staff in Parisian restaurant kitchens. The male to female ratio is not relevant to this study.

In order to be able to carry out in-depth interviews and to connect with cooks from as many of the key immigrant countries for culinary staff in Île-de-France (Maghreb, sub-Saharan Africa, India, Sri Lanka and Europe), the author contacted cooks that she personally knew and using a snowball sampling technique identified contacts of theirs who fit the profile. Snowball sampling is a particularly useful method to employ in order to build up an adequate sample size in a relatively fast manner (Denscombe, 2010:37). It is well documented that immigrants frequently use networks of fellow countrymen to get employment on arrival in the new country. It is therefore plausible that each cook interviewed would know another cook (Xiang, 2001 cited in Ho & Alcorso, 2004; Waldinger & Lichter 2003 cited in Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). A further advantage of snowball sampling is that, as the researcher is introduced to an interviewee through one of their peers, there exists the possibility to build a rapport more quickly than with a complete stranger (Denscombe, 2010:37), an important consideration during interviews. Neither the gender nor age of the cook is important in this study. Data saturation was reached as respondents repeatedly referred to certain subjects such as poor wages, unpaid overtime, French language ability and a love of cooking.
Table 5: Interview participants’ key (focus group and individual)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code name</th>
<th>Focus group or individual interview</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Length of time in Paris (in years, at the time of the interview)</th>
<th>Length of time cooking (total)</th>
<th>Type of restaurant</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>15 approximately</td>
<td>15 approximately</td>
<td>French regional</td>
<td>Polyvalent to second chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Traditional French bistro</td>
<td>Sous chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Airline catering</td>
<td>Head chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JC</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3 apprenticeship included</td>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>Commis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5 approximately</td>
<td>French restaurant, semi fine dining</td>
<td>Demi chef de partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gluten free specialist restaurant and catering</td>
<td>Chef de partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pâtisserie</td>
<td>Commis /Chef de partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Delicatessen/ savoury prep for organic bakery and pâtisserie</td>
<td>Chef de partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LRD</td>
<td>Focus group</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Small University canteen, all prep on site</td>
<td>Chef de partie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Focus group</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (1 year training included)</td>
<td>Catering</td>
<td>Commis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Focus group</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Canteen</td>
<td>Commis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Throughout the interviews, the code name SG denotes the researcher).
4.10 Data analysis

During the initial research phase of this thesis some different methods of data analysis were investigated and grounded theory was considered a strong candidate. However given the guidelines for the employment of the grounded theory method, and the facts that (a) a review of the literature had already been undertaken and that (b) the author works in the industry concerned, there was a risk of too much bias or pre-formed theories being implicated at the analysis stage. Therefore it was decided, that although theoretically possessing several plausible facets, grounded theory did not in fact suit this thesis.

Reflecting on the phenomenological underpinning of the primary research for this thesis, and the aims of the research, template and thematic analyses were next explored. Template analysis is a qualitative research tool that is suitable when an analysis of text is required (Berg, 2001; King, n.d.) and is a useful tool for small scale, intensive analysis. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analysis method also and is an approach which allows for ‘identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ (Braun & Clarke, cited in 2006:6). On study of both approaches it was decided to carry out a combined analysis approach. Template analysis was used in the first instance to code the focus group interview resulting in a template of codes or topics which were used to frame the questions for the individual interviews. Thematic analysis was chosen for analysis of the individual interviews as it provides scope to determine patterns over the entirety of the data set, or interview transcripts.

4.10.1 Template analysis

Template analysis is a method of analysing texts or transcripts through the allocation of codes to themes or subjects found within said texts. The themes, or subjects, in question can either be considered as a priori, or (expected), or totally new to the researcher. Codes are allocated systematically throughout the entire body of the text with several rounds of reading and coding in order to garner as much information from the text as possible. Under the guidelines of template analysis, in order to achieve coherent coding the text, in this case the focus group interview transcript, is studied several times and the codes are
refined with each reading. Coding can be done by hand using colour coding or notes in margins or by using specialised software. In the case of this thesis the coding was done manually to accommodate the varying levels of French spoken by the candidates, all of whom were French as a second language speakers. Once the coding was completed the codes were listed and then grouped, where possible a further round of grouping was carried out to further join groups. Codes that were not recurrent were considered for deletion, (although it is noted that codes can carry importance even if the topic in question is brought up by only one person). Once the codes were grouped and defined this selection became the template of questions to bring to the individual interviews along with question which arose from the literature review.

Schreier (in Flick, 2013) notes that a facility of the template analysis method is that the categories and themes all link back to the main research question and that categories are checked at least twice. This ensures an application that is systematic, possesses its own checks system and forces the researcher to refer back repeatedly to the main research question, therefore reinforcing the objective of this research to find out “Who are the immigrant cooks employed in Paris’ hospitality industry?” This is important as it forms the guide to the individual interview questions.

As seen previously, this presentation of results coming directly from the voice of the interviewee is an essential component of phenomenological study (Cohen et al., 2011 cited in Gaus, 2017). The focus remains emic.

4.10.2 Thematic analysis

Following the focus group and the coding of its transcript, the individual interviews were carried out using the results of the focus group and review of the literature as guiding lines of enquiry. The interviews transcripts were coded using thematic analysis. This method was chosen as it allows for themes that exist across a data set to be recognised and their patterns clearly observed for analysis. It is also a method that is accessible for novice users of qualitative research as the systematic nature of the coding and analysing and linking to concepts is more approachable than the theory and concept first approaches
of other methods such as discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke in Cooper et al., 2012). The interviews were digitally recorded and their transcripts written up manually. Each transcript was then coded by hand using handwritten notes. The codes were collated then and organised using colour coded highlighting. A second round of coding was carried out in order to revise the texts and add in or take out codes. The codes were then listed and grouped where possible with each group then being defined as a theme or subject. These themes were further grouped or allocated sub-themes in order to have a clear picture of the main themes of the totality of the interviews at the end. To assist this process a thematic map was drawn up as a visual aid as advised in Braun & Clarke (as cited in Cooper et al, 2012). Plotting out the individual themes allows the researcher to have clear visual of the themes and can more easily see where themes can be grouped together. It also allows for themes that are not working to stand out and be dealt with (removed or, edited and redefined). At this stage the researcher can also double back and check that sample extracts from the data set fit in with the relevant themes as envisaged. Once the themes have been double checked and defined the writing up of the analysis begins. This involves analysing the themes and patterns across the data set and using quotes from the data set to support the argument as well as using information garnered during the literature review phase of research as support material. The approach used in the analysis of the interviews was largely inductive with codes coming from the data set rather than the researcher searching out specific incidences or topics, however as with much research of this nature the analysis was not 100% inductive (Braun & Clarke, cited in Cooper et al 2012); there is a certain level of deductive analysis involved as several topics of discussion derived from the template analysis of the focus group. The majority inductive nature of the approach fits with the aim of the thesis to give voice to the respondents, the immigrant cooks.

4.1 Insider status, empathy and trust.

Historically, in the field of qualitative research studies, it was perceived that the best interviewers in terms of value of results were those who were outside the field of research concerned. However, recently this opinion has shifted and modern research
methodologists would argue that researchers with insider knowledge or ‘common wounds’ are in fact ‘desirable and legitimate’ (Gair, 2012:138 cited in Vazquez Maggio & Wescott, 2014:217). Within this framework the author can claim some insider status as she is a foreigner working as a chef in Paris, therefore some insider parallels and trust can be drawn with the interviewees. There is possibly a limit as, although a non-French chef in Paris, the author is a white European passport holder so possibly has a far different back story to those who will be interviewed. It can be argued that not being *exactly* the same or a complete insider has benefits. Edwards and Holland (2013) write on several studies that have been carried out showing that having too many similarities (for example, race, social status, age, gender) with the interviewees can in fact limit responses to non-verbal motions or short replies which infer ‘you know what I mean’; the researcher can garner very little in terms of usable information from responses such as these.

A second source of empathy and trust can be drawn however as the author is employed in a catering company that hires the long term unemployed, immigrants and single mothers as part of a ‘back to work’ programme. Therefore the author has daily contact and some knowledge of the lives and experiences of immigrants in Paris. Trust and empathy are important tools in the interview phase. Having good levels of trust between the interviewer and interviewee allows for the best level of engagement possible from the part of the interviewee. It is permissible for the interviewer to introduce some details about their self that could help toward building trust. The fact that the interviewer in this case is also a chef is an example of some information which could be shared. Vazquez Maggio & Wescott (2014) write on the feelings of empathy that are felt by researchers during interviews. The study follows a series of interviews they carried out with migrants during a time when they themselves were also migrants. During a reflexive study of their interviews with migrants, Vazquez Maggio & Wescott (2014) found that allowing some levels of empathy to permeate the interviews resulted in more open and invested responses from the interviewees. In opposition to other experiences of using more classic and neutral interview methods, this difference, the authors found, resulted from the fact that the interviewers were well perceived by the interviewees to be ‘insiders’. As a measure, response length can be used as an indicator of interviewee investment in the interview (Kitchen, 2013). Vazquez Maggio & Wescott (2014) were careful however not
to overstep any boundaries of the interview because of empathy, for example the moments when they felt inclined to speak too much from their (the interviewers) point of view, or moments when, out of deep levels of empathy, they wanted to help the interviewee and not just carry out an interview. The close relationship and daily work that the author of this thesis has with immigrants will mean that she will have to be aware of this risk also.

4.12 Translation and transcribing concerns

The interviews for this research were carried out in French or English depending on the wishes of the interviewee. It is accepted that for some of the interviewees and the author herself, French is not the mother tongue. Interviews were anonymous, recorded and later transcribed and analysed. It is recognised within the field of qualitative interviewing that the use of a translator can provide background socio-linguistic information (Kitchen, 2013:268). The interpretation of meaning in another language provides significant challenges to the researcher (Kitchen, 2013:267). During the transcription process great care must be taken by the interviewer not to put their own perceptions or biases in responses where they do not exist.

4.13 Limitations

In wishing to provide an emic study the author needs to be skilful and aware that respondents may give answers that they think the interviewer wants to hear or that are embedded in previous experiences rather than recounting what is specific to them (Kitchen, 2013:275). An amount of faith has to be taken on the interviewer’s part that respondents are answering truthfully. In this instance having a rapport with or trusting the interviewees is important. Towards this issue the author can use her ‘outsider’ or foreigner status in France which can be used during the interview situation as insider status. Secondly, as mentioned previously, the author is employed in an enterprise whose modus operandi is to help the long term unemployed, the large majority of whom are non-white French or are immigrants. Due to working in this field the author has gained knowledge
of the lives of immigrants in Paris adding a possible gateway to rapport during interviews. A further potential limitation is how frank respondents want to be, they may have a fear of talking openly regarding sensitive subjects such as their visa status for fear of the information going to the authorities. Each interviewee was informed ahead of time and again at the beginning of the interview, of the anonymous nature of the interviews. The necessity of trust and rapport is in evidence here again.

4.14 Ethics

Respecting and being aware of the position of interviewees is of utmost importance in the course of research. For this thesis all interviewees will be furnished with consent forms and an introductory explanation of the purposes of the interview. Interviews took place off site of the interviewees place of work if so wished and at a time of their choosing. The anonymity of the respondents will be guarded. Considering the various cultures of the interviewees in this thesis care and tact must be used by the interviewer to respect each person’s cultural background.

4.15 Summary

This chapter has explained the three part mechanics of this exploratory study into the working lives of immigrant cooks in Paris: literature review resulting in a priori codes; focus group session and its coding using template analysis; and individual interviews and their analysis using thematic analysis procedures. The following chapter shall detail the primary research results of this study and provide an analysis of the interviews.
Chapter Five:
Results and discussion
5.0 Introduction

Presented in this chapter will be the results of the focus group and individual interviews which were established by employing combined template analysis and thematic analysis approaches respectively. Examples of how the interviews were coded and themes arrived at are also presented in this chapter. The interviews were carried out either in French or English (the choice of language was offered to the interviewees who are fluent in English) and the transcripts are available in appendix 6. The coding for all of the interviews was carried out in English to allow for homogenised reading and understanding of the codes. Quotes in French in this chapter appear first in French and secondly are translated into English. The interview analysis process resulted in two over-riding themes and four sub-themes, all of which are presented and discussed in this chapter and followed by a conclusion.

5.1 The process toward results and findings

The aim of this chapter is to reveal and explain the findings of the primary research of this thesis and to link these results with the aims and objectives that were laid out in chapter one. Using qualitative research methods the primary research was carried out in two steps; first a focus group interview was undertaken, the session was digitally recorded, transcribed and coded with a template drawn up of code results. Secondly, using the codes from the focus group interview as a template for questions a series of one-on-one semi-structured interviews were carried out. These interviews were digitally recorded, transcribed and coded using thematic analysis.

5.1.1 Focus group

The group comprised three immigrant cooks from three different countries, (two male and one female), a moderator and the principal researcher. The principal researcher had a set of questions and cue subjects relating to issues that had been highlighted in the secondary research to use to prompt discussion. As the principal aim of this research is to give a voice to immigrant cooks working in Paris, interviewees were invited and
encouraged to add further subjects and topics on life as an immigrant cook working in Paris that they felt were important. The moderator was a largely silent observer present to assist the principal researcher by taking notes, and to ensure that the discussion remained open to all participants and that no single voice dominated the session (Krueger, 2002). The focus group was carried out in French, and the moderator, a native French speaker was also on hand to clarify and assist in clearly understanding second-language French. The focus group session was voice recorded and later transcribed in full, in French. The template which was drawn up from the transcript, once it had been coded, was drawn up in English with much care taken to ensure correct translation and limited inference or lost meaning through translation (Kitchen, 2013).

5.1.2 Template analysis

The focus group interview was coded using template analysis method. This was done in order to provide a framework of questions for the individual interviews. Although the individual interviews were to be semi-structured the researcher wanted to have guiding themes or questions which derived from primary sources. The template analysis was carried out by reading and studying the transcript of the interview followed by a process of coding issues and subjects that were brought up by the participants. These codes were then mapped in a table; recurrent codes were grouped and non-recurrent codes were either taken out or put with an existing code to form sub-codes. When all codes were in the table, titles for the groups of recurrent codes were employed. These titles were then used as base themes for questions for use in the individual semi-structured interviews. Some examples of these themes include: language barrier, access to the workforce, schedules, cooking as a choice, and the role training plays.

Below are examples of the process of template analysis (Table 6a). The left hand column shows an extract from the transcript complete with original colour coding (which works as a visual aid when working with the entire transcript to group codes) and the codes in the right hand column. A first template (Table 6b) was drawn up using the codes from the transcript. Following this a second template (Table 6c), further distilled the codes and
divided them as primary and sub-themes. The templates (Table 6b and 6c) are included in full in Appendices 3 and 4 (pages 156 and 162 respectively). Template 6c was used as the base for designing the questions for the individual interviews.

Table 6a: Examples of Process of Template Analysis: First coding.

In response to their first impressions of working professionally as cooks:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M : D’abord tout a changé, j’ai fait l’indien, tous change ici. Apres j’ai appris et change la cuisine…..tous changé!! Tu entre la cuisine….tous changé!</th>
<th>Culture shock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Firstly, everything was different, I did Indian (cooking), here everything is different. After I learnt the changes...all the change! You go into the kitchen, everything is different!</td>
<td>Not all kitchens or cuisines are the same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A : Moi je pense que le travail dans la cuisine est un travail vite, ‘tic tac tic tac tic tac’ comme ça!</th>
<th>Energy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me I think that the work in a kitchen is a fast paced work ‘tic tac tic tac tic tac’ like that!</td>
<td>Interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L : Moi je peux définir la cuisine autant avec un mot qui s’appelle ‘évolution’. J’avais une base de cuisine à la maison mais tous les techniques de refroidissement, températures de cuisson, tous ce genres de choses on se rendre pas en compte quand on faire à la maison et je vois que vraiment en regardent le parcours il y a vraiment d’évolution, il y a encore de boulot à faire derrière tout ça, mais c’est déjà pas mal.</th>
<th>Domestic v’s professional cooking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me, I could define cooking with a word called « development ». I had a base from cooking at home but all the techniques of chilling, cooking temperatures, all those kinds of things, we don’t take into consideration when we cook a home and I see that really when looking at the route (to professional cooking) there is really a development, there is more work to be done behind all that but already that is not bad.</td>
<td>Immersion/interest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6b: Examples of Process of Template Analysis: Template 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooking at home- home country</strong></td>
<td><strong>First job in France</strong></td>
<td><strong>Cooking at home- home country</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Habit</strong></td>
<td><strong>Inferring a lack of choice?</strong></td>
<td><strong>Professional opportunities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Choose the metier of cuisine</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wishes to continue</strong></td>
<td><strong>Passionate for cooking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Length of time cooking: 5yrs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Length of time cooking: 1.5yrs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Length of time cooking: 14yrs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How found work: Pôle emploi</td>
<td>1. How found work: Replaced someone for 5 months and then stayed on</td>
<td>1. How found work: Trialled in a resto of home country cuisine Word of mouth got replacement position for 30 days (in a French resto). Stayed for 4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct with premises</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not all kitchens or cuisines are the same</strong></td>
<td><strong>Language barrier</strong></td>
<td><strong>Fusing home country cooking with French</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Difficulties in keeping home cooking traditions</strong></td>
<td><strong>Language barrier</strong></td>
<td><strong>The pleasure and fun of cooking</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Need to change cultural habits</strong></td>
<td><strong>Interesting services set up</strong></td>
<td><strong>Repeating/ Reinforcing the Pleasure</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fusing/ Using home country cooking with French</strong></td>
<td><strong>Enjoys kitchen</strong></td>
<td><strong>Language</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fusing/ Using formal kitchen training with home country cooking with French</strong></td>
<td><strong>Language barrier</strong></td>
<td><strong>No French on arrival</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Diff levels of French spoken in kitchen making it hard</strong></td>
<td><strong>Understanding</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Further learning in a professional environment</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This step consisted of collating all of the codes from the collection (those from the table sampled as Table 6b) and defining main codes. The left hand column provides the primary theme or code and the right hand column its sub-themes relating to how frequently this sub theme was mentioned or illustrating it further. From this sub-section of the codes it is immediately visible that work rhythm and language barrier are two major themes and they were duly added to the list of questions to present to the individual interviews.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary themes</th>
<th>Sub themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking at home- home country</td>
<td>(Connection to food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fusing home country cooking with French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>---Displaying a connection with adopted cuisine/country/profession?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How started cooking</td>
<td>First job in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un besoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choose the metier of cuisine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-----------Previous country profession/formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-----------Accountant x 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How got first job</td>
<td>Pôle emploi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct contact with employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Replacement of someone that turned into a FT position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Word of mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion for cooking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Learning and Understanding-- Further learning in a professional environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Diff levels of French spoken in kitchen making it hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Communication is the biggest barrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The limitations of language knowledge put limitations on other domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• In general quiet person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Literate - Can read and write French, read recipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Once able to read and speak French will have more opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning (French)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Difficulty in going to classes now he is working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Access to free language school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Emphasising the importance of classes ‘bien sur’ and ‘il faut y aller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French knowledge on arrival</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• No French on arrival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.3 The interviews

The one-on-one interviews were carried out following the completion of the transcription and coding of the focus group. This enabled the researcher to collate a set of questions and topics to bring to the interviews, however, as in the focus group, the participants in the individual interviews were encouraged to discuss topics important to them and their experiences as cooks in Paris. Interviews were undertaken at a place and time of convenience to the interviewees. The interviews were carried out in French or English, were digitally voice recorded and later transcribed manually in French (or English) and analysed with English codes. Interviewees came from eight different countries, representative of the statistics, with one nationality overlapping with the focus group (Indian). The interviewees comprised seven male cooks and one female (see Table 5).

5.1.4 Thematic analysis

Employing thematic analysis to the individual interviews allowed the researcher to employ a qualitative method that fitted the experience of the researcher and the need to remain proximate to the subjects. Being semi-structured, not all interviewees were asked exactly the same questions, and nuance within the questioning allowed the researcher to fit the questioning to the experience of the cook in question. All of the interviews were carried out by the principal researcher and were digitally recorded and transcribed manually, they were then analysed using thematic analysis. The thematic analysis process
requires that the transcripts were first coded (in a similar manner to the focus group interview) in their entirety. The codes were then reviewed and re-evaluated with regard to the ensemble of the interviews and the themes important to this research. Codes were filtered down or subsumed by other close codes in order to begin the process of defining the themes that exist within the data set. It is important to note here that as an intrinsic step in thematic analysis the filtering down of themes to their root definitions is a conscious step guided by the researcher, and that the subjects that are of interest within the scope of their research are chosen (Braun & Clarke, cited in Cooper et al, 2012). Therefore while the researcher, in choosing qualitative research methods, wants to allow the interviewees voices to be heard, this is done in an organised and framed manner. The codes were defined and further filtered into two overarching themes, each with two sub-themes and these became the framework with which to present the findings when the results were written up. The results are illustrated with key quotes from the interviewees and supported by secondary research findings. The route to the themes is presented below in graph form. Comprising three graphs, the progression from multiple initial themes to finally two main themes with two sub-themes each, the main issues highlighted in the ensemble of the interviews are illustrated.
Figure 2a: Initial recurring subjects

- Career as a cook a choice?
- Likes cooking
- Work contracts & visas
- HR Issues
- Schedules, overtime and pay & legality
- Access to the workforce (First impressions) & the importance of having contacts in order to get a job
- Under-employment of immigrants
- Language barrier
- Gastronomy
- Career ladder
- What it means to be a chef or cook
- Integration and segregation
  - Head chefs
  - French and immigrant cooks
  - Discrimination
- Training
- Attitude
- Wishes for the future
- Travail pénible
Figure 2b: Filtering down issues into themes

- HR Issues
  - Integration and segregation
    - Head chefs
    - French and immigrant cooks
  - Discrimination
  - Compensation
  - Accessibility
  - Mobility
  - What it means to be a chef or cook
  - Travail pénible
  - Wishes for the future
  - Attitude
  - Gastronomy
  - Career as a cook a choice?

Figure 2c: Final main themes and their respective sub-themes

- HR Issues
  - Challenges
  - Integration and segregation
  - What it means to be a cook
  - Attitude
  - Gastronomy
Presented in table format, below are the themes that will be discussed:

**Table 7a: Themes for discussion under thematic analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main themes</th>
<th>Challenges</th>
<th>Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-theme</strong></td>
<td>Human resource issues</td>
<td>What is means to be a cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-theme</strong></td>
<td>Integration and segregation</td>
<td>Gastronomy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are a sample of topics and sub-topics from where the main themes derived:

**Table 7b: Sample of topics and subtopics deriving from the themes under analysis.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Was a career as a cook a choice or not?</th>
<th>Outset</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likes cooking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to the workforce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The importance of having contacts in order to get a job</td>
<td>Access to the workforce &amp; first impressions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work contracts &amp; visas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schedules, overtime and pay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career ladder</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under-employment of immigrants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Travail pénible</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head chefs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French and immigrant cooks</td>
<td>Integration &amp; segregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Discussion and presentation of themes

In this section the main themes of challenges and attitude with their respective sub-themes will be presented and discussed. These themes became the main themes for two reasons, firstly they cover topics that had significant repetition and overlap throughout the interviews and focus group interview, (for example issues of poor pay, unpaid overtime, language barrier, a love for cooking, an interest in the culinary industry), and they covered areas that the researcher deemed important to highlight with regards to the analysis process and the aims and objectives of the thesis. Acknowledging that a choice regarding the selection of information is intrinsic to the process of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, cited in Cooper, et al, 2012).

5.2.1 Challenges

The theme of challenges was chosen due to the fact that within the collection of transcripts, focus group and individual included, an overall impression of having to fight or battle to settle within the culinary work force in Paris predominated. This was striking as the research took place with a backdrop in the literature that states both that there is a shortage of cooks (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007; Birrell, Healy, Kinnaird, 2009; Young & Corsun, 2009; Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2015; Carrere, 2016; Enquête Besoins en Mains D’Œuvres, 2016), and a view that the hospitality industry, particularly cooking, is an easy-to-access industry for immigrants (Schulp & Tirali, 2008; Janta et al., 2011). Frequently over the course of the interviews the opposite was implied or stated such as by F, ‘C’est un peu dur quand tu es étranger, vraiment il faut bataille quoi’ (It is a bit difficult when you are a foreigner. You need to really battle like). This sentiment of having to battle stemmed variously from difficulties in getting hired, transforming basic French language skills into professional culinary vocabulary, getting visa paperwork completed, getting paid properly or having previously learnt culinary skills recognised. As referenced in the literature review in one of the few literary pieces on chefs, this is a feeling that is echoed by Diawara in his profile of Paris based Senegalese chef Rougia Dia:
Et l’on pense que cette gazelle a un couer de lion, que sans nul doute, il lui fallu mener plus d’un combat pour reussir à accede au poste clef de chefs dans ce milieu de la cuisine, bastion inexpugnable pendant longtemps d’un machismo revenidqué et pas exempt de préjugé racistes ordinaires (And we think that this gazelle has a lion’s heart, that without doubt, she had to mount more than one combat in order to succeed in accessing a key position in the culinary sphere, this longstanding impenetrable bastion of acclaimed machismo not free of prejudice and common racism (2009:79)).

The types of combat that had to be raised by the interviewees are discussed further below.

5.2.2 Human resource issues

This theme includes topics ranging from pay, working hours, career development and access to the culinary industry in Paris.

Despite the advertised shortage of cooks (Carrere, 2016; Enquête Besoins en Mains D’Œuvres, 2016) many interviewees had difficulties getting hired or had to enter the workforce as kitchen porters regardless of previous cooking experience (CM, JC, R, ML). Algerian R looked for one year before getting hired, despite having had more than ten years of cooking experience in the UK before coming to France and possessing French language ability. This lack of access to the workforce could be connected to the well documented phenomenon of the importance for immigrants of having contacts in the host country as he had none on arrival to Paris (Wickham, et al., 2008; Edjscp, 2011; Aldén & Hammarstedt, 2014; Ray, 2016). CL also had neither contacts, nor knowledge of recruitment agencies and subsequently had difficulties getting employment in Paris. She remarks that the culinary industry in Paris feels quite closed to an outsider

CL Quand tu arrives ici et tu connais personne c’est un peu, c’est difficile de trouver quelque choses. When you arrive here and you know no-one it is a bit, it is difficult to find something (work).

SG C’est assez fermé en fait ? (It is quite closed in fact ?)

CL Oui. (Yes)

F echoes this sentiment in his interview remarking that the French are quite closed and furthermore, that to have contacts is important as French cooks inherently have local knowledge. F points out that it is up to one’s self to demonstrate one’s own competences.
This is true for everyone, immigrant or not, however there appears to be evidence demonstrating that for immigrant cooks to be considered for promotion they must battle harder and choose carefully the type of kitchen they work in (the smaller the better). Despite being inspired by an ex-employer, JC admits that he has to fight to get experience, ‘Moi je trouve que je me battre et d’avoir plus d’expérience’ (Me, I find that I have to battle to get more experience). Notwithstanding these challenges in accessing work, the culinary industry appears to depend on immigrant work:

- Fustec’s quote in Durupt & Cuccugna (2014) that should undocumented workers leave, the culinary industry would shut down.

- CL stating that it is impossible for kitchen not to have immigrants on the team ‘pas de tout seulement français, mais jamais tu vois, parce que c’est impossible…dans la cuisine forcement tu as des gens qui sont étrangers’ (not at all just French, but never you see, because it is impossible…in kitchens inevitably you have foreigners).

- And this restaurant group owner’s backhanded compliment regarding African cooks “De toute façon, il n’y a que les Africains qui tiennent devant les fourneaux” (In any case it is only the Africans who can last in front of the stoves) (Chauveau, 2009:75).

These statements validate Priore’s assertion that migration is not in fact a push factor from sending countries but a pull factor of developed nations who cannot attract sufficient, or do not have sufficient native labour forces to fill certain occupation groups (Priore in Massey et al., 1993). This raises questions therefore regarding the reception of immigrant cooks in Paris, and why the workforce is so challenging to access.

### 5.2.2.1 Language

The question of language ability and the difficulties posed by not speaking sufficient French was almost unanimously mentioned by the interviewees. This suggests that the commonly cited benefit for immigrant workers of the hospitality industry being unshackled by language is, at least in the case of Paris, a misnomer. Lacking French
language ability variously caused stress, inability to access the workforce or inability to gain access to parts of the industry that they wished to. In talking of the categorisation of travail pénible or the category of three D’s work that migrant workers often undertake, S notes that to work as a cook is not difficult rather the lack of understanding of the very specific language used in kitchens is what causes stress,

*Parce que tu arrives déjà dans un travail que tu ne connais pas que tu n’as jamais cherché à connaitre tu te retrouves là on te demande par exemple une mandoline tu ne sais pas c’est que c’est déjà le faite que tu cherches quand il te demande « on veut ici ou on veut ça », quand tu cherches c’est déjà le traumatisme le cerveau qui tourne toute la journée à réfléchir « il m’a demandé c’est quoi c’est quoi c’est quoi ? » c’est déjà un traumatisme ; donc c’est déjà ça, c’est déjà un quelque sort de la pénibilité de ce métier.*

(Because you start in a job that you never planned to do, and you find yourself there and they ask you for example to get a mandoline, you don’t know what that is, the fact that you search when they ask you ‘we want this, we want that’ when you search it is already a mental stress, the brain spins all day thinking ‘he asked me for what, what is it, what is it?’ , that is a stress; so it is that that is a type of grind of this trade).

PB, LRD and JC all recognised also the difficulties posed to chefs and bosses in hiring foreigners who cannot speak fluently the language. They were very understanding of the situation despite, for example, in the case of JC who had originally been told to train as a cook because he spoke poor French. PB explains,

*Only the language problem. I didn’t face any other problem with French people or restaurants. What I think is that, is if people don’t know the language it is difficult to work with them, it’s the nature, it’s the nature. Without language it is very difficult.*

It would appear that the accessibility of culinary work despite lacking language skills that the literature purports to exist (Devine, Baume, Hearns & Devine, 2007; Bobek & Wickham, 2015; Aasland & Tyldum, 2016) needs to be re-evaluated and measured perhaps on a country by country basis (R experienced no issues when looking for work in the UK despite not having a single word of English). It is useful to note also that studies such as Joppe (2012) found clear correlations between immigrant unemployment and language inability in host countries.
5.2.2.2 Pay and Conditions

The next most discussed topic by the interviewees related to pay, working hours and overtime. The hospitality industry is frequently reported in surveys and academic literature to function on minimum wage pay and infrequent overtime pay (Klein Hasselink et al., 2004; Devine et al., 2007; Wickham et al., 2008; Joppe, 2012; Carrere, 2016). All of the respondents spoke about the issues of fair pay, unpaid overtime, scheduling and difficulties with working late shifts and using public transport. Half of the respondents discuss the poor rates of pay that are offered to workers in the industry and of this PB is explicit in his division of rates of pay offered to Asian cooks and French cooks. For S and F pay for cooks is noted as being generally poor with no incentive as far as F is concerned for bosses to offer better salaries, such is the demand for work in Paris. S classifies kitchen work as being seen as having no value despite the important role, in his opinion, that cooks play in society,

Il y a des métiers, comme j’ai disait a toute à l’heure, des métiers pénibles, des métiers pénibles non valorisé, ….Voilà…ça c’est le mot…des métiers ingrat. Vous travaille toute la journée pour la bien être de la personne mais vous ne gagnes rien à la fin, vous n’avez pas grand choses à la fin. (There are trades, like I said earlier, hard graft trades, trades that are not valued, ah, there it is the word, thankless work. You work all day for the wellbeing of people but you earn nothing at the end, you have not very much at the end).

It is interesting in the light of this research being carried out in Paris, the traditional capital of gastronomy and birthplace of the restaurant, to see cooks categorised in this downgraded manner. The sheen of gastronomic Paris is erased, F concurs, ‘Ah oui Paris c’est le capitale de gastronomie mais il te paye pas. Quel que soit le restaurant, quel que soit le restaurant étoilé tout ça, il ne payer pas’ (Ah yes, Paris is the capital of gastronomy, but they don’t pay. No matter the restaurant, starred and all that, they don’t pay you). Not only are the wages reported to be poor and non-reflective of the importance of the job of cook, the cooks interviewed were also systematically required to work overtime which appears to be largely unpaid. Although S remarks that having to work overtime is seen as normal within the industry and not just a requirement for immigrant cooks, the amount of unpaid overtime worked by the cooks is astonishing and points to
wide scale abuse within the industry. CL resigned from her job having spent a year working several periods of six day weeks and often hours much longer than those contracted when her holidays were also rescinded by the company. JC was also underpaid with regards to national apprentice wage rates during his two year apprenticeship when, as a minor, he was paid €300 a month for a 35 hour week and in his second year (when he was over 18) he worked 42 hour weeks for €500 per month. His school offered limited support and told him to just get on with finishing his diploma. Neither of his two bosses was reported to the labour tribunal by the school pointing to an institutional acceptance of underpayment of apprentices.

5.2.2.3 Housing and Transportation

While it is accepted that overtime is an industry wide issue pertinent not just to immigrant cooks, the combined issue of working hours and accommodation may be. As highlighted in the literature review the disproportionate allocation of housing to immigrants in the outer suburbs if Paris is a concern and it is an issue which particularly affects cooks due to the nature of their working hours and weekend work when transport links are most limited. LRD resigned from a job when he found that he had been living in his boss’ house for two weeks because of his work schedule and lack of transport home. A, CM and JC all report similar difficulties. However such is the difficulty to get into the culinary workforce MK advises young cooks starting out not to be fussy and to take a job if offered, reinforcing the impression that difficult working conditions for immigrant cooks are unlikely to change in the near future:

Je peux leur enseigner ... faire la cuisine mais premier expérience ne faut pas choisir, il faut pas dire 'ouï, je veux pas coupure, je veux pas ça, je veux pas ça’ tous que tu trouves tu les fait, après des que tu as une expérience...tu peux choisir (I can advise them...do cooking but don’t be picky, don’t say ‘yea, I don’t want to do splits, I dont want this, I don ‘t want that’, all that you find you do, after when you have some experience you can choose).

F has a similar outlook saying that if one disputes the hours and pay the bosses will just let one go and find another person. An opinion that is shared by Guégnard (2009) when
she sates that while France was historically a trailblazer in setting up grand restaurants it was never a pioneer for the good treatment of its staff and instead benefitted from many adjustments to work laws that it lobbied for.

5.2.2.4 Mobility

Mobility within the industry was another frequently brought up theme. MK, JC, R, S and F all reported that it is possible as an immigrant cook to climb the career ladder. However, there were caveats, F and MK both felt that progression was possible but that a smaller kitchen gave one a better opportunity to learn and progress. MK elaborates:

*Mon idée il faut pas travaille dans un grand, grand restaurant parce que après il y a trop des chefs tu ne peux pas faire évoluer beaucoup parce que il y a beaucoup, il y a chef, seconde, 3 seconde, chef de partie, donc tu ne peux pas avoir beaucoup d’expérience. Dans un petit restaurant, il y a personne, le chef il va te montrer, le chef n’est pas là tu peux lui remplacer. Tu as la moyenne pour être chef plus rapide plus que dans un grand restaurant. Un petit restaurant c’est bon, moi ce me intéresse c’est le petit.*

(My idea, one shouldn’t work in a big, big restaurant because there are too many chefs, you cannot rise up because there are many chefs, sous chefs, chef de partie, and therefore you can’t get a lot of experience. In a small restaurant there is no one, the chef will show you, if the chef is not there you can replace him. You have the means to be the chef more quickly than in a big restaurant. A small restaurant is good, what interests me is the small).

F concurs and has experienced bigger brigades, noting that no consideration is given to a person and that mobility is extremely limited, he refers to a feeling of invisibleness. R feels that upward mobility as an immigrant cook in Paris is limited to head chef, and for him personally, chef de partie. He expresses a wish to see immigrant cooks as executive chefs or chef managers of big enterprises. In discussing this point he feels that the United Kingdom is more open to accepting people based on their skills and abilities than they are in France. LRD links to this idea in discussing the problem for immigrant cooks of attaining a certain level of experience professionally but not having official qualifications. He feels that immigrant cooks are stymied because of this and feels that more should be done on an administrative level to aid in the recognition of experience gained:
Moi personnellement, je me suis trouvé dans une situation un peu difficile parce qu’en tant cuisinier il y a deux genres de cuisinier : le cuisinier diplômé et expérimenté. Et ce genre de façon j’ai déjà vu il y a plusieurs reprise et à chaque fois il y a des étrangers qui peut avoir des grosses expériences et il peut maîtriser des cuissons et tous ça mais si vous n’être pas diplômé ce n’est pas évident d’être, de se faire engager dans une boîte qui exige des gens diplôme et je pense que voilà le problème entant qu’étrangers.

(Me personally, I find myself in a situation that is a little difficult because as cook there are two types of cook: the qualified cook, and the experienced cook. In that way I have seen several examples of foreign cooks who have a lot of experience and have mastered meat cooking and all that but if you are not qualified it is not easy to access a restaurant who require qualified cooks. I think that is a problem for immigrants.)

F feels that professional progression is difficult to achieve because bosses think you should be grateful that you have a job and not ask for more:

*Quand tu es dans la même société ou tu as commencé par le bas c’est de faire évoluer soi difficile parce que-il voir toujours le mec qui est venu en bas, il se dit ‘bah lui on lui donne ça, ça suffit, pourquoi il veut avoir plus?’.*

(When you are in the same company where you started on the bottom to evolve is difficult because he sees always the guy who came in on the bottom, he says to himself, ‘ah him, I gave him that, that is enough, why does he want to have more?’)

It was interesting to note that few respondents spoke of how to ameliorate abusive work place situations or illegal contracts. PB highlighted that Asian workers who are underpaid by bosses cannot ask for pay rises because they often do not have papers to work in France and CM noted that Africans often have a lot of issues getting their papers validated causing many years of stress, however only PB asked that the issue be regularised by the government- reducing operating taxes for restaurant owners in order to allow them to afford better wages for their staff, a point brought up by Polémia, (2018). Likewise, JC did not lodge a complaint against his employer, he explains that lodging a complaint takes time and he felt that he did not have that time and just wanted to finish his CAP (his school suggested he do likewise). The feeling of not having time to do something outside of work links into S’s theory that cooks spend all their time in work and therefore are
limited in their abilities to take measures against work related problems such as going to labour courts or unions:

L’autre problème c’est que les cuisinier n’ont pas vraiment le temps. Les cuisiniers passer plus de temps à travailler que se divertir. Les cuisiniers passer plus de temps dans la cuisine que ailleurs. Donc même si tu dire à un cuisinier « il y a une réunion de collective de cuisiniers qui se tel jour et tel jour » il va te dire « que est ce que je vais faire de mon travail ? », « que est ce que je vais faire de mon travail ? (The other problem is that cooks don’t really have the time. Cooks spend more time in work than on entertainment. Cooks spend more time in kitchen than elsewhere. So even if you say to a cook ‘there is a meeting of the cooks union this day, this day’ he will reply to you ‘what will I do about my work?’ ‘What will I do about my work?’).

The respondents appeared to have much less agency in this area than others, both CM and PB show much empathy for their comrades but besides CM giving money to help those he knows need it, the feeling of helplessness is palpable. Regarding collectively coming together to solve employment issues, the cooks seem unable and the bosses hold the power, which puts the cooks in a very difficult situation and points to the perpetuation of the abuses.

**5.2.3 Discrimination and segregation**

The theme of ‘challenge’ carried sufficient instances of segregation or discrimination to give this phenomenon its own sub-theme. Some examples of segregation were subtle, others were recurring instances of outright discrimination. CL’s chef denied in a recorded interview that he had foreigners in his kitchen (although he did); R noticed that his restaurant’s owners greet French staff before foreign staff in the kitchen, and CM was of the opinion that although French cooks get promoted quickly they don’t and cannot work as hard as immigrant cooks. All of these examples point toward an embedded separating of the immigrant cook from the native. R is of the opinion that this problem is unchangeable and not just confined to the culinary industry

R All like who’s foreign is down. I never see foreigners get top or head chef.

SG And how do you feel about that?
No, it feels not good but the whole country is like that.

Young cook JC experienced direct racism when he was told by his teachers in culinary school that ‘blacks’ are not cooks, ‘avec le professeur ‘les noires ne sont pas des cuisiniers c’est des plongeurs!’ (‘with the teacher ‘blacks are not cooks, they are kitchen porters’). JC recounts this in an amused fashion, but doesn’t express forcefully the words ‘les noirs’). This message appears to have stayed with him and he reports his struggle to find work. He found that employers don’t want to hire Africans, regardless of qualifications, and that they find blacks threatening or intimidating:

... il y a des gens qui dans sa tête tu es un menaçant...De prendre des noirs, de les embaucher dans les restaurant ce n’est pas facile, et à moi aussi j’ai du mis un peu de temps a trouvé du travail, parce que ils m’ont dit « oui CAP, l’expérience de la CAP suffit pas pour t’embaucher comme ça.

(there are people who imagine you to be intimidating…to take on blacks, to hire blacks in restaurants is not easy, me too I had to put in some time to find work, because they told me that the experience of having a CAP is not enough to hire you on.)

F brings up the fact that cv’s in France still often include a photograph of the candidate and he feels that this allows bosses to immediately discriminate against people. PB also highlights the discriminatory phenomenon of restaurant owners hiring Asian cooks in order to reduce operating costs ‘Asians are less paid and French chefs are highly paid’. Chefs for the respondents are all white while the workers are foreigners, F ‘généralement comme tu as dit c’est les chefs qui sont français’ (in general, like you say, it is the chefs who are French). This idea is supported in the literature (Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin, 1998; Wright & Pollert, 2005; Wickham et al., 2008). French cooks are also portrayed to have more opportunities for promotion than the immigrant cooks regardless of technical ability (R, CL, F) or tenacity (CM, R).

The embedded outsider status of the immigrant cook appears to be preventing the hospitality industry from being truly hospitable to its own people. Returning to the initial theme of challenge and the perseverance that immigrant cooks need to display in order to achieve a culinary career, F makes a statement which seems to put words on the ensemble of messages received throughout the interviews stating that:
Ce que j’ai dit, si tu veux évoluer tout dépend de toi. Il ne faut pas oublier ou tu viens. Quelque sois tu as d’ambition il faut que ça entre dans la tête, la porte que je ne peux pas ouvrir je vais le forcer, ça c’est important. Il faut les monterai par ton travail que tu ne casse pas que tu es tout le temps compétent dans ton travail que tu es volontaire (If you want to grow professionally it all depends on you. You must not forget from where you come. Whatever it is, keep hold of your ambition and the door that I cannot open, I force, that is important. Show them through your work that you won’t quit, that you are always competent and willing).

Acknowledging this sentiment and the issues highlighted preceding it is key to achieving one of the main aims of this thesis: to discover the personality of the immigrant cook who exists behind the statistics.

5.2.4 Agency

Connected to the ideas of mobility and perseverance is agency. The cooks interviewed alluded to or gave direct examples of both having and not having agency.

Agency is demonstrated beside the stoves with cooks describing suggesting their own dishes for daily specials or taking it upon themselves to teach French cooks about herbs and spices or alternative cooking techniques such as by S:

Il y en a qui sont meilleur que les cuisiniers français, et moi-même dans ma poste j’ai pu de montrer à mes collègues qui ne connaissait pas des épices, pourtant il avait de CAP en cuisine et autre. Je suis arrivé, tous que j’ai voyais dans la cuisine c’était du sel et de poivre. J’ai leur ai dit on peut utiliser autres chose que du sel et du poivre, il y a autre choses.

Alors il m’en dit on va essayer, on a essayé et ils sont impressionné.

(There are those [immigrant cooks] who are better than French cooks, myself in my job I could show my colleagues who did not know any spices, even though they had a qualifications and the rest. I arrived, all I saw was salt and pepper. I told them we can use other things beside salt and pepper, there are other things. So they told me we will try, they tried and they were impressed).
Agency is also displayed by FR stating that in knowing his regular customers he can offer new dishes to them that are off-menu in order to keep them happy with a varied dining experience. CL expresses agency by using her interest in pastry and accrued knowledge to suggest alternative methods and techniques to colleagues, however her ideas are rebuffed with the response that only French techniques work.

CM expresses agency, and knowledge of dining trends in Paris in his plans for the future that will serve to alleviate himself of some of the strictures of traditional French dining. Wishing to eliminate the problem of having to cook with pork and alcohol products in the French culinary repertoire, and spotting the increasing popularity of vegetarian dining amongst Parisian and tourist customers he wishes to open a vegetarian restaurant:

*Après : moraliser si je n’ai pas de droit de toucher, je n’ai pas de droit de manger et tous que je n’ai pas droit à manger je n’ai pas droit à donner aux autres. C’est à cause de ça je vais arrêter mais je ne sais pas encore. Sinon je peux rester en restauration pour faire un restaurant végétarien voilà. Là il y a plusieurs restaurants végétariens, les étrangères aiment ça. Si je reste j’aimerai bien faire un resto végétarien.*

(Then, morally, if I don’t have the right to touch, I don’t have the right to eat and everything that I don’t have the right to eat I don’t have the right to give to others. It is because of that that I would stop [cooking] but I don’t know yet. Otherwise I could stay in restauration and do a vegetarian restaurant. Now there are several vegetarian restaurants, the tourists like that. If I stay I would like to do a vegetarian restaurant.)

Himself confident, the question of being ready for accepting, or using ones agency, is proffered by S when he states that French cooks are not always the best but correspondingly asks, are immigrant cooks ready to be in the limelight? He says that this question needs to be posed. Citing the division of labour in Parisian restaurants he describes an ex-colleague of his, a Pakistani kitchen porter who would never enter the dining room. S does not admonish the man for his choice but says that he himself never had an issue being seen or present in the dining room in front of guests.

*Parce que quand on va par exemple au restaurant, la majorité des restaurants à Paris la personne que on voit, je dirai la face de resto, sont généralement français mais dans la cuisine au chaud sont des étrangers ;*
...Après on n’avait pas trop se demander pourquoi. Ça se trouve que les étrangers ne veulent pas aller devant. Moi personnellement où j’ai travaillé il ma arrivé... dans ma cuisine de monter en salle, ça me poser pas de problème...J’ai travaillé avec des pakistanais, j’avais un pakistanais à la plonge quand tu lui demander d’aller chercher quelque choses en salle il te disait ‘non, je ne peux pas’. Il faut voir tout ça, donc.

(Because when we go for example to a restaurant, the majority of restaurants in Paris, the person we see, I mean the face of the restaurant, is generally French, but in the kitchen, in the hot, are immigrants. We have not asked ourselves why. It is possible that immigrants don’t want to go in front. Me, personally, where I worked it occurred that while in my kitchen uniform I would go up to the dining room, it didn’t pose me any problems. I worked with Pakistanis, I had a Pakistani kitchen porter and when I asked him to go get something from the dining room he would reply ‘no, I cannot’. All of that needs to be looked at).

Regarding agency, and amongst the backdrop of much reference to poor pay or unpaid overtime, a perhaps surprising result is that no cooks referred to the high profile series of strikes that were undertaken in the last ten years by cooks in Paris, (despite also the positive results following strike action that was achieved by the groups of cooks concerned), nor did the idea of a strike come up as a solution to the many negative human resource issues that were cited. JC talks of the labour court being available to employees in his situation (being paid below legal minimum wage), demonstrating that there is awareness of some of the available options, however when he is advised against taking that route by his college lecturers he agrees with them and continues to work, underpaid, for the sake of finishing his qualification.

In the interviews where agency in a direct sense is not displayed, a sense of control is and there is no doubt that the cooks have all chosen to be in the industry, despite the hardships that working in that sector brings.

5.2.5 Attitude

The theme of attitude became its own as it was remarkably different in sentiment and expression to so much existing literature on immigrant mobilities and work. As seen in the literature review much of the literature concerning migrant workers and the hospitality
industry does not recognise personal agency in career choice beyond the need to earn money. Rather, it is frequently proposed that immigrant workers take on restaurant work because it is categorised as low skill, non-binding linguistically and easy to access on the grey or black market. This section takes a closer look, through real life examples, at what Massey (1993) describes as poorly formed theoretical base for understanding migration.

A central aim of this research is to expand beyond basic migrant work subject categories and ask the immigrants themselves why they are cooking in a first step to establish an identity for immigrant cooks in Paris. The overriding feeling that could be picked up from the transcripts was that the interviewees chose cooking as a career or started and have remained in the industry because they enjoy the work. This sentiment was apparent despite observations regarding the difficulties and challenges the cooks each faced as foreigners in the culinary industry. The following excerpt from S succinctly describes the cooks’ attitude of staying within an industry they like despite the challenges faced:

SG. Donc pour toi c’est un métier où il y a des opportunités à monter? (So in your opinion, there are opportunities to progress?)

S. Oui il y a beaucoup d’opportunités quand on est compétent, quand on peut les montrer que on a de compétences, oui il y a beaucoup d’opportunités pour évolution (Yes, there are many opportunities when we are competent, when we can show our competencies, yes there are many opportunities for evolution).

SG. Ça prendre un peu plus de temps? (Does it take more time?)

S. Ça prendre un peu plus de temps pour celui qui est étrangers parce que on a du mal à faire confiance, on a parfois du mal à faire confiance mais ce n’est pas pareil par tous, ce n’est pas pareil par tout. Quand vraiment en preuve, quand vraiment en preuve, on arrive à évoluer plus vite. Quand on preuve qu’en peut. (It takes more time for foreigners because we have a hard time winning trust, we have sometimes a hard time winning trust, it is not the same everywhere. When we prove, when we really prove we can progress quickly. When we prove that we can).

F agrees with the opinion that there are opportunities available but points out clearly that it is up to the person to go and find them, this ambition he says is sometimes lacking amongst the African population:
Oui mais bon, c’est toi-même, je ne sais pas, si tu viens dans un coin ils vont venir pas te chercher, c’est à toi de chercher. C’est ça un peu un défaut de nous les africains, ils aiment leur petit coin, il faut sortie un peu. Sinon je sais que si je cherche je peux trouver, tu peux trouver mais bon ...on ne veut ne pas trop se compliquer la vie quoi. (Yes, it is yourself [that has to look], I don’t know, if you go into a corner they are not going to come seek you out. It is a bit a failing of us Africans, they like their little corner, but you must get out of it a bit.

Within both the individual and focus group interviews it can be said that the overall attitude of the candidates is a dedication to the profession of cooking and the belief that although a difficult country in which to set down roots, France is the motherland of gastronomy, as noted by PB. Keeping this overall theme in mind, the sub-themes will be discussed below.

5.2.6 What it means to be a cook

Palmer et al. wrote the following in 2010:

Little is still known about the cultural processes that perpetuate a sense of identity and belonging among chefs, processes that operate to construct and reinforce what being a chef means to the individual (2010:312).

From a western gastronomy perspective this outlook has changed as gastronomy and the work of a chef have become more academically accepted subjects. Several studies in recent years have covered the working life of chefs (Cullen, 2012; Cronin, 2013; Lane, 2014; Allen & Mac Con Iomaire, 2016) however few have concerned immigrant cooks, who form an essential part of many culinary brigades. Discovering the cook, the person, behind the statistics is a central aim of this thesis, and within this, the motivation to cook or work in the culinary industry is a key point. The decision to become a cook was a free choice by five of the immigrants, a semi-choice for two of them and not a choice but a need to work by one. This is similar to the focus group where it was a choice by two of the respondents and a need to work for one (after which a passion for the work developed). Three individual interview participants trained in their home countries before emigrating. MK and CM had a semi-choice in starting out in kitchens. They were both offered two
training options, cooking or construction, MK in Paris through his social security agent and CM while in a centre for unaccompanied immigrant minors in Spain as part of visa application requirements. MK finally chose cooking because he likes it but also stoically points out that there is always work available in the sector. LRD in the focus group reflects similarly; a trained accountant, when he moved to Paris he noticed that there were several vacancies being advertised so decided to try it out:

Quand je suis venu ici ...à partir de ca j’ai vu que il y a pas mal de proposition de travail en restauration, j’ai commencé a cherché et voilà et je suis tombé dans un restaurant français. Au départ c’était vraiment un besoin et après avec le temps vraiment en voyons la cuisine française je suis devenu vraiment passionné par la cuisine française. C’est là je faire ce métier parce que je l’aime.

(When I arrived here… it was from there that I saw many propositions for kitchen work, I started looking and like that I fell upon a French restaurant. In the beginning it was really a need to work but after, with time and really seeing French cooking I became really passionate about French cuisine. That is why I do this trade, because I love it.)

JC came to like working in kitchens but it was not his first choice. He originally wanted to work in sales but was told (by a charity that assists unaccompanied minors in state hostels) that he didn’t have a sufficient level of maths or French ability. He was instead offered by the charity staff a discovery placement in a kitchen, which he enjoyed. The charity subsequently helped him to get enrolled on a culinary course. F didn’t choose cooking per se, it was a need for work that had him start working in a restaurant as a kitchen porter. From having an attitude of ‘why not try it’ he now likes cooking and is one of the longest in the trade at 15 years and one of the highest up at sous chef. R started cooking in England, where the job of kitchen porter was advised to him by comrades as a way to work and learn English. While working as a kitchen porter, the chef one day offered to train him as a cook and he accepted, now he says ‘I love to do it’. Here the clichés of immigrant work are visible, interviewees were variously told: cooking or construction, no language requirements, no skill requirements. It is discussed in the challenges section of this chapter how essential in fact language skills are in order to succeed. What can be taken from this section is that immigrants work in the restaurant industry of their adopted countries’ for various reasons. No single theory can be applied proving Duncan et al’s (2013:14) theory as illustrated in the literature review
It will only be in recognising that immigrants make conscious choices just like the settled population that their individual identities, such as they have been shown in this section, will be taken into account.

With this in mind an important step in this research was to find out how the immigrant cooks felt about the activity of cooking. In the focus group the respondents either identified food as being very important to their cultures and home life, or as an activity they fell in love with whilst working and training as cooks. JC knew little of the French culinary world before he started cooking but talks animatedly about cooking during service, the shouting chef, the energy, the noise, the pressure:

La pression derrière toi ... il y a des gens dans la salle qui attend, il faut les servir. Il y a chef qui crie, qui s’énerve, qui prendre la tête et voilà, et même il y a des insulte dedans « vaisse ! ».

(The pressure behind you, there are the guests in the dining room who are waiting, they must be served. There is the chef who shouts, who is annoyed, who gets angry, and there you go, there are even insults thrown, ‘go on!’)

R recounts similarly and a love for the job is evident “Like the hot, I love the pan, you have the fire, you know you sweat, that’s what I love.” PB grew up cooking with his mother and the tone of his voice and repeated use of the word ‘slowly’ as he describes going first to catering college then on to further culinary study portrays the process as a natural, almost predestined step where he learnt by complete immersion:

SG. Why did you start cooking?

PB. I started from my schooling. I was helping my mum, slowly I was interested in cooking. Because of that after my graduation, I was still interested so I did my catering course and slowly, I entered the hotel and catering industry.

Regardless of whether the interviewees started cooking on the job or at home, they all recount their work with pride and the sense of a connection to the profession is felt. This is important to point out as the work of immigrant cooks is not often recounted using vocabulary such as this. F is truly implicated in his post, describing the pleasure drawn from seeing happy customers ‘Si les clients sont satisfaire tu es, quand tu voir les gens apprécie ça fait plaisir.’ ‘If the customers are satisfied, you are, when you see the people
appreciate, that gives you pleasure). S describes cooking as a complete passion and one that is borne from within. For him, in order to be a good cook one must already be interested in, and love cooking at home. Regardless of the different beginnings what is certain is how passionate these cooks are about cooking and life in the kitchen. Cooking is not a temporary or throw away career in their eyes and also importantly, in relation to this thesis, nor is it regarded as tedious or hard labour as it is often categorised in the literature. In fact S uses the term in French travail pénible (hard labour or hard work) when describing how much he likes the work, saying that when one loves what they are doing one doesn’t see the hardships and, that when done with heart, cooking is the easiest job:

\[\text{Après quand c'est une passion on ne voir pas de pénibilité. Quand quelqu'un faire un métier comme cuisine avec de la passion, avec tous en cœur c'est le métier plus facile.}\]

(Afterward, when it is a passion we don’t see the drudgery. When someone does a trade like cooking with passion, with all their heart, it is the easiest trade.)

Remarks such as these portraying a deep interest and commitment to cooking are important additions to the literature on immigrant cooks and consequently show that writing on immigrant workers in kitchens needs to evolve in order to portray more accurately the relationships between immigrant cooks, the restaurant industry and gastronomy, information that is missing from immigrant work literature and crucially, culinary literature. Ray has also acknowledged this need:

\[\text{Although the foreign-born have numerically dominated the feeding occupations …we know relatively little about how the transaction in taste appears from their point of view (Ray, 2016:1).}\]

The candidates spoke variously with pride or provided evidence of their implication in the profession of culinary arts in Paris, perspectives of immigrant work life that are not often reflected in the literature. Immigration, migration and mobilities literature refers frequently instead to the arduous nature of jobs in the hospitality, construction and domestic care industries and that this is why immigrants are over represented in these sectors (Ho & Alcorso, 2004; Klein Hasselink et al., 2004; Wright & Pollert, 2005; Eurostat Statistical Books, 2011). This binary explanation needs balancing and F’s
statement provides a good example ‘Je veux dire que je ne veux pas autre choses’ (I would like to say that I don’t want anything else). ML and S articulate a passion for the industry stemming from the desire to nourish, ML puts it simply as ‘Je cuisine tous les jours. Tout le temps j’aime bien préparer, parce que je donner quelqu’un bien’ (I cook every day. All the time I love preparing (food), because I am giving someone goodness). LRD extends what he does in professional life into private and explains how he enjoys applying French techniques to his native Brazilian cuisine:

L, Moi j’aime bien le terme que les français utilisent en disant ‘revisiter’, j’adore ça. A la maison quand je faire les plats brésilien j’essaier de revisiter a la façon française, on s’amuse avec ça. Moi je m’amuse avec la cuisine, c’est vraiment des choses, ça me fait plaisir. (Me, I like the term that the French use ‘revisited’, I love that. At home when I do Brazilian dishes I try to revisit them in a French style, we have fun with that. Me I have fun with cooking, it is really an activity that pleases me).

The idea that an immigrant cook can have an implication, passion or interest in his or her job to this level is rarely discussed in the literature. The immigrants interviewed for this research, though noting difficulties or challenges related to the profession all express a fondness for the profession signalling that alternative bases for research or theories on immigrant work in the culinary industry are necessary. CL summarises the mixture of emotions and tensions:

CL, Well là j’ai d’impression que j’ai dit seulement des choses mauvais. Je ne veux pas finir comme ça fin, ce n’est pas seulement ça ...après je sais que ici j’ai appris beaucoup et la cuisine française est très connu, c’est vraiment intéressent to rester ici de voir Paris. En fait moi j’adore Paris, j’adore vivre ici (Well, there I have the impression that I only said bad things. I don’t want to finish like that, well it is not just like that, I know that I learnt a lot and French cuisine is very famous, it is really interesting to be here, to see Paris. Actually I love Paris, I love living here).

The feelings of perseverance, stress or despondence discussed in the Challenges section (5.2.1) of this chapter are a counter point and it can be summarised that while there is a basic love for cooking and cuisine in Paris, this sentiment has not been allowed to exist or flourish freely, it is always coupled with a caveat.
4.2.7 Gastronomy

Candidates were either confronted with French gastronomy or came with their own insights on the subject. To return to Massey’s (1993) assertion that migration is poorly understood and much writing depends on dated theory, the choice offered to MK, CM and to an extent JC of cooking or construction fits within this paradigm. Furthermore the manner in which it is dealt with points to colonial superiority attitudes or the historic idea that gastronomy and cooking is the property of the French. The problem arises with regards to the cultural differences between cooking in Europe and learning classic French cuisine, and cuisines that come from elsewhere. CM chose cooking over construction but it was only after starting that he realised that cooking involved pork and alcohol products both of which, as an observant Muslim, he detests. Little explanation seems to have been given to candidates regarding what French cuisine is. JC had a similar conundrum when he started his apprenticeship in Paris in a non-French restaurant; to him a minor in his first European country, a kitchen was a kitchen, but to his college he would only pass the course if he found a French kitchen. Assumptions such as these regarding a foreigners’ understanding of a cultural entity in a new country are domineering and presumptuous (it could be argued that JC was being more open to the idea of gastronomy than his teachers). Fotou (2016) in her thesis about the philosophy of hospitality would consider such behaviour as the State perpetuating dominance:

> Submitting to a generally accepted framework of humanitarian assistance and a loosely understood, abiding concern for Others, masking in this way what is in essence the reproduction of domination…This submission leads to the poor treatment of the Other (2016:13).

The power and fame of French gastronomy is undeniable however and several cooks expressed a respect or connection to the French and Parisian culture of gastronomy. PB says gastronomy originated in France and he loves the country for that reason; for CL French gastronomy is famous, historic and strict; others say that French chefs are the most experienced in gastronomy or that French cuisine is really well known. Respondents were keen to explain their points of view and elaborate on themes, for example, R believes that French chefs understand gastronomy and explain cooking better than chefs of other nationalities:
Yes, cooking here is good. You learn, the French chef he teach you. The chef in England is different... They don’t teach you anything. In France they teach you cooking. If they say don’t do that, they give you a reason why. That’s how you learn.

CL and BP both decided to emigrate and cook in other countries precisely in order to learn the gastronomies of other cultures: ‘I was interested to know other gastronomy; French, Pakistani, Dubai, Saudi, so I travelled to these countries’ (PB). The ability to travel as a cook, particularly with French experience, is one that LRD realised he had once he started in the industry:

C’est la cuisine renommer par tout dans a monde.

Mais je pouvais vous assurez que dans tout le pays dans le monde le fait d’être en France, cuisinier français sérieusement il y a une certaine connaissance, il y a des avantages la dessous. (It is the most renowned cuisine in all the world….but I can assure you that in all the countries of the word, the fact that you are in France, to be a cook in France, seriously, there is a certain awareness there and advantages come with that).

The attachment to cooking and hospitality and the perceptiveness that was expressed by two cooks in particular, S and F, reveals a central tenet to the reasoning behind why the research in this thesis is important as it demonstrates the point that immigrant cooks are not just numbers and statistics but active players in Parisian gastronomic history. In illustrating Parisians’ dining foibles, F illustrates how much he is immersed in his industry, and the efforts he goes to in order to keep his customers happy:

Moi, j’essaye-moi, bien sûr, c’est une gastronomie française mais bon j’essayer d’envoyer, de mettre les trucs exotique et eu ils aiment bien. Quand je lis un peu dans la statistique, quand tu regardes les moments de fête pendant l’année quand tu regardes les plats le plus, dans toute la France, les plats que les gens mangent pendant les fêtes, toute est exotique. La gastronomie française ça a passé un peu en troisième catégorie. (Me, I try, for sure it (the menu) is French cuisine but anyway I try to send, to put exotic things and they like them. When I read a bit the statistics for all of France, when you look at which dishes have sold the most during festive occasions it is all exotic. The French gastronomy has passed onto third place).

This corresponds with a national survey carried out in in 2011 which saw couscous beat many traditional French dishes (Les plats préférés des français, 2011). CM has noticed growth in vegetarian restaurants and this interests him as an option to stay cooking but
not be obliged to use pork products. F’s anecdotes also provide telling information about Parisian clients. As sous chef he tries out new recipes and cuisines knowing that his customers appreciate trying different dishes beyond the classical French fare of the menu, noting that his customers want to try different cuisines but in an environment familiar to them:

F: *Ils ne vont pas aller dans un restaurant dans le 18ème ils ne sont pas curieux...mais ils veulent manger d’exotique, mais ils n’ont pas le courage de se déplacer quoi.* (They are not going to go to a restaurant in the 18th, they are not curious…but they want to eat exotic food, but they don’t have the courage to move themselves)

SG: *Ils sont bien dans leur coin ?* (They are settled in their neighbourhood ?)

F: *Voilà. Si ils veulent manger ils prendre une pizza. Donc moi j’essayer, j’essaye de faire un peu, j’apprendre, je peux faire d’asiatique, je peux faire d’indien, je faire tous quoi. Donc ça change un peu, ils sont contents.* (Exactly. If they want to eat they will take a pizza. So me I try, I try to do a bit, I learn, I can do Asian, I can do Indian, I do everything like. So that changes a bit (the menu) and they are happy).

That F pointed out that customers want to eat food that is a bit different but not too different or truly ethnic is interesting and displays an immersion in, or awareness of, his profession. An article published in the United States in 2017 described a similar situation ‘If the food is too white or too brown, it will not sell. It has to be just the right level of “ethnic”’ (Shah, 2017). S describes eloquently the important role that cooks play in continuing Paris’ gastronomic story; describing it as an inclusive event whereby every cook in Paris partakes in the continuance of the construction of Paris’ food culture. Furthermore, he verbalises a tone that many cooks had in their interviews or verbalised less directly, pride. S is *proud* (*fière*) to cook in Paris, to be part of gastronomy in Paris and importantly, he feels that every cook has this pride and pays a contribution to culture in Paris:

*Quand en cuisine, quand en travail dans la restauration à Paris on est fière, on est fière de porter sa pierre à cet édifice parce que c’est quelque chose grandiose de compter parmi ce qui participe à la culture culinaire de Paris, qui renforce la culture culinaire de Paris, c’est une fierté qu’on faire partir...Forcement je pense que tous cuisiniers en poste à Paris pour moi participe apporte sa pierre à cet édifice. Parce que forcement il y a*
This implication of pride and involvement in gastronomy in Paris is important to this thesis as it supports the idea that people are not just numbers and that cooking for immigrants can be far more than a “first entry-point into the labour market” (Jordhus-Lier in Aaslan & Tyldum, 2016:92). Likewise, it forces a turn away from a dialogue that centres gastronomy and taste on white western cultures and shows that cooking can be done with pride and passion if one is of colour (Ray, 2016). Expanding this message of pride, and a topic that was also discussed in the focus group, is the role that cooks play in society. Again, these are much deeper themes than have shown up in the secondary research relating to immigrant cooks where they are more likely to be viewed as labourers (Chauveau, 2009; Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014). In displaying an understanding of the fundamental importance of the subjects of nourishment, creativity and art in gastronomy, S elevates immigrant cooks from the mere photocopiers they are oft portrayed to be: ‘les cuisiniers sont des gardiens d’une part de la culture, gardiens de l’identité d’un peuple’ (cooks are guardians of a part of culture, guardians of the identity of a population). This is an interesting statement for another reason and links to a topic that PB discussed when asked his opinion regarding whether having so many Indian and Sri Lankan cooks in French bistros was affecting the final product and the essential but intangible ‘Frenchness’ of the meal, a question that has arisen in popular journalism in France (Lobrano, 2014). Replying eloquently he proposes:

PB Definitely anyway there will be a difference. If a French guy cooks French food and an Indian guy cooks French food that will be definitely different. Same as if a French cook Indian, definitely there will be difference. Definitely.
SG Do you see that as a positive thing or a negative thing?

PB Mmmm, we cannot say that it is a negative thing; it is gastronomy. It has to be spread all over!

PB also provides a gentle reminder that the continual telling of the gastronomic story from a western and French culinary perspective is not inclusive nor is it the complete gastronomic story when he explains the pressures of paying Indian and Asian cooks properly in Asian restaurants because of customers’ preconceptions that (ethnic) meals should be cheap:

PB. The restaurant like Asians restaurant, like Chinese, India, it is very difficult to compete with the French restaurant.

SG. In what way?

PB. The prices, price wise; because the price of Indian, Chinese, Thai, Japanese ingredients actually they cost; when you do the calculation of French foods, the cost of Indian food is more expensive, but it is difficult to sell it more expensive. So they are finding some ways how to reduce some cost. Cooking time is more, for Indian food cooking time is more, and French is not like that, cooking time is less, so when you say about the cooks and chefs, for French food you can minimise the number of French cooks but for Indian food is not like that, you have to have more chefs and cooks. So the price has to be less, the food which we are selling the price has to be less, then that’s the reason they are finding some other way to save costs.

Ray explores the theme of ‘ethnic’ food not holding the same culinary prestige in western consumers’ minds therefore it must be cheaper to produce. The cost of the meal is predicated regardless of the reality:

Among American food critics, the most highly regarded, or haute, cuisines are French, Italian, and New American, he added. Other ethnic cuisines, with the exception of Japanese, are seen as cheap eats—inferior, less sophisticated traditions (Ray cited in Shah, 2017).

An aim of the primary research of this thesis was to discover how immigrant cooks feel placed within the historic and iconic culinary industry in Paris. This aim was intended to broaden the information currently available on immigrant cooks and turn away from the colonial perspectives that permeate. In this section insightful information came to the fore regarding interviewees’ perception of, or connection to, gastronomy, gastronomy and France, French diners and the cuisines of other countries.
5.2.8 The Future

Respondents were asked their ideas or wishes for the future, their own or, in general terms for other immigrants wishing to enter the culinary field in Paris. Almost all of the responses require France and the culinary industry of Paris to be better hosts to its workers, to be more open and fair. This is a wish that would appear logical following the several examples cited regarding the difficulties and challenges that had to be overcome by the cooks in order to enter the culinary industry in Paris. F explains:

SG. Donc si il y a quelque choses dans le métier que tu veux changer, ça sera quoi ? (So if there was something in the trade that you would like to change, what would it be?)
F. Changer comment ? Mon niveau ou... ? (Change how? My level or?)
SG. Ton niveau, ou la vie de cuisinier ou le...je ne sais pas... (Your level, or the life of the cook...anything?)
F. Il faut donner la chance à tout le monde. Laisser chaque un avoir son chance (There should be opportunity given to everyone. Allow every person to have their opportunity.)
SG. C'est toujours trop fermé? (It is still too closed?)
F. Voilà, des petits clans et tout ça. (Exactly, little cliques and all that).

Echoing the discrimination and racism experienced, it was called for that owners and bosses should see people as humans and not colours during both the hiring process and in supporting career progression. JC describes it very simply as wishing to be seen as human:

Je veux bien, ce que je veux changer que c’est d’être ouvert à tout le monde comme en est des humaine.

(I would like to, what I would like to change is it to be open to everyone, as we are human beings).

This wish is all the more saddening in its simplicity and the fact that it was made in 2017. F’s request for photo-less cv’s rings to a similar wish, with similar notes of discrimination:

C’est pourquoi ils demandent maintenant des cv neutre, on demande des cv neutre, parce que la balance quoi, ça fait balancer. Ils voir « ah lui si je prendre celui j’aurai plus de problème, je prendre lui j’aurai moins de problèmes » Que est tu vas faire ?
(It is why they now demand photo-less cv’s, we demand photo-less cv’s, because equality like, it equalises. They look at (the cv photo) “ah him, if I take him I will have more problems, if I take him I will have less problems”. What are you going to do?)

Demonstrating agency again the cooks wish to see more trust by their employers in their capabilities to learn and to have knowledge; to not just be seen as the grafters and the French cooks who get promoted as explained by CM and R. PB wants to see equal pay be given to immigrant cooks. Within his milieu of Indian and Sri Lankan cooks he sees too frequently the suffering caused by this wage discrimination:

S: If you were looking to the future, if there was something you could change here, for the life of a chef, for the life of a cook, what would you change?

PB: As I said to you, the pay of the French and the other nationalities is totally different, so it has to be changed. It has to be changed. I feel our comfort, our working expense.

Stating that the issue of discriminatory pay is a problem brought on by owners he does also call for the French government to take action to relieve restaurant owners of some taxes so that owners can better afford to pay equal wages and overtime pay:

PB: This is not a government problem, it is attitude of owners.

S: And that’s even harder to change?

PB: Harder to change.

Government has to do two things, one they have to consider, they have to find solution how they are going to minimise the taxes which they are charging to owners. The other thing, they have to find, to investigate and find how they can solve this problem…

S: The problem of people not getting paid correctly and working too much?

PB: Yea.

Also looking to governing bodies LRD requests that improved systems or habits be put in place for restaurant owners to understand the process of recognition of prior knowledge
as a legitimate form of qualification, as many immigrant cooks in his opinion have many years of experience but no paper qualifications to prove this, a problem also encountered by R.

Answering for himself MK responded that he wishes to climb the culinary career ladder and continue in cooking, however if he were to change he would like to be in the police force adding that he likes aggressive professions. This gives an interesting insight into the culinary world and one that has come up in the literature regarding bullying in the kitchen and the macho personalities often associated with chefs (Bloisi & Hoel, 2008; Mac Con Iomaire, 2008; Palmer, Cooper & Burns, 2010; Pratten, 2003).

The “macho” image of the industry … this raises the question whether chefs are socialised into behaving in this manner in order to become accepted, or are attracted to the job in the first place because of their personal characteristics. Other writers also use the analogy of the uniformed services when describing chefs, with Bourdain (2004) making reference to being in the army (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008: 651).

Others shared mixed feelings regarding their futures. CL, for example, wanted to clarify that although starting out and getting established as a cook in Paris was very challenging, she likes the city a lot and enjoys the feeling of being surrounded by its historic gastronomy, she wishes to stay and learn more. R, while he did not indicate any desire to leave Paris, was certain in the feeling that while employed as a cook he would never surpass chef de partie level. This was difficult for him to accept as he has, in fact, many years of cooking experience behind him. Furthermore, he has no hesitation in feeling that this limitation on his success was due to racism being an inherent feature of French culture and that he could do nothing about it. The non-diverse nature of the group of French chefs and owners interviewed by Parkhurst Ferguson & Zukin (1998), as opposed to the multicultural American chefs, as seen in the literature review, supports this feeling of a majority of head chefs in France being white or French. Similarly, the results in their study that showed discriminatory pay rates offered to African American culinary students by French establishments (idem).
If this endemic discrimination is the case, the need for and value of each individual’s display of perseverance to enter into and be successful in culinary arts in Paris become all the more significant. Especially as it has been demonstrated, there is a shortage of cooks and the growth of the industry is becoming more and more dependent on migrant labour to fulfil labour shortages.

5.3 Summary

To summarise it can be said that while there are opportunities for work in Paris for immigrant cooks it is not necessarily an easy journey from arrival to being hired. Experience level does not necessarily count, but having contacts does, but once hired nothing is taken for granted until two to three months later when an actual contract is signed. It is also likely that if the cook is African she or he will have further issues of discrimination and paperwork to contend with. This situation occurs at a period of growth in the tourism industry and a shortage of cooks in the region of Île-de-France and Paris. It would appear however that once one is hired it becomes easier to move around within the culinary industry in Paris.

The other conclusion that can be drawn relates to the respondents’ interest in their trade. The conversations illustrating their proximity to the industry, their customers’ satisfaction and the gastronomy of Paris were different to many representations of immigrant work seen thus far in secondary research. These aspects all add to the profile of the immigrant cook as a person and as an actor in the continuation of Paris’ culinary culture and are important additions to the literature on immigrant cooks showing that writing on immigrant workers in kitchens needs to evolve in order to portray more accurately the relationships between immigrant cooks, the restaurant industry and gastronomy.

For its part the culinary industry needs to improve relations with its members’ from a human resources point of view and improve the basic treatment of its work force. There were several examples given by the interviewees relating to under-payment, illegal working hours and working with no contract (and therefore no social security or insurance protections). While the cooks interviewed in this research were not unwilling to do the
shifts required there were some instances where the legality of the situation was pushed to the limit. In light of this it was interesting that the respondents who have been in Paris for ten years or more did not make reference to the undocumented workers strikes in 2008 particularly those which centred on undocumented immigrant cooks (Fikri, 2008; Le Monde, 2008; ASPLAN, 2010). The literature would point to cooks going along with abusive work practices for various reasons (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008; Palmer et al., 2010) and while evidence points to a new generation of chefs being more in tune with the health needs of their staff (Witts, 2017; Digby, 2018) further protections and aid needs to be put in place for immigrant cooks in illegal work situations.

The ability to speak French fluently was an important subject and the message that resulted is that French proficiency is important in order to get employment or promotion in a Parisian kitchen. This fact would be supported by Barraket (2015) but contradicted by much traditional migrant work literature. Further research should be done to clarify this situation and query if the necessity of language is specific to Paris or, if studies on the subject to date have not sufficiently investigated the situation from the point of view of the immigrant cook.

Regarding climbing the career ladder, while in general the cooks responded positively to the idea, in reality it is a tough road. Working toward promotion and progression is rarely easy and it takes commitment and graft from every cook. However an overlying difference in the instance of the immigrant cooks interviewed is the feeling that the challenge is not the work per se but the environment or the mechanics of the system. In this vein cultural issues seem to be at play as much as practical issues (such as language barrier) and R encompasses something of the overall message, namely that there is a ceiling in the work place and, a subject of much debate in France, segregation in society in general:

R Like I can’t see myself chef de partie here in France...

SG So there is a ceiling, there is a limit?

R Yea, the limit is maybe head chef but after that can’t be.

SG Do you think that can change?
It’s been like that for many, many years. Not years, many centuries. You can’t change it now.

That immigrant cooks have career aspirations is as legitimate as it is for native cooks. With the current difficulties in the hospitality industry pertaining to skilled staff shortages, attrition and high turnover rates of cooks, all during a period of growth in the tourist industry (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007; Birrell et al., 2009; Young & Corsun, 2009; Hospitality Industry faces Skills Shortage, 2013; Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2015; Carrere, 2016), governments, culinary bodies and academic institutions could harness this interest, energy and passion rather than stifle it in dated, institutionalised theories and practises (Castles, 2010; Glick Schiller & Salazar, 2012; Deutsch, 2014; Fotou, 2016).

It has been shown that immigrant cooks are cooks not just numbers. Through secondary research for this thesis it has also been demonstrated that the phenomena of immigration and the culinary industry’s need for labour will not diminish. The culinary industry needs to recognise all of these conjoining factors and open itself to hospitality within its kitchens as well as its dining rooms.
Chapter Six:
Conclusion and Recommendations
6.1 Introduction

The final chapter of this thesis will revisit the original aims and objectives of the research and lay out how these objectives were achieved, what study could be carried out to further research into this crucial area of culinary research and highlight gaps in the current literature. Also presented will be recommendations for the restaurant industry in Paris arguably the spiritual and historical home of the restaurant.

6.2 The aims of this research

The aims of the research which are set out in chapter one were as follows:

- Understand the identity of the immigrant cook in Paris and to give voice to this population.
- Determine whether immigrant chefs in Paris, France, feel that they are actors on the Parisian gastronomic stage or whether they are outsiders filling vacant posts, carrying out manual labour tasks.

These aims were achieved firstly by carrying out a focus group and subsequently, one-on-one interviews with immigrant cooks employed in restaurants and catering establishments in Paris. Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured allowing the respondent in each case leeway to add or develop subjects. The questions and topics that were broached derived from both secondary research (the literature review) and the focus group interview, which was also carried out with immigrant cooks employed in Paris’ culinary industry. This method was adopted to ensure that questions brought to the individual interviews were pertinent to the population group in question and not biased to the ‘outsider’ or interviewer’s own points of view. This approach was of central importance to the dissertation. The choice of analysis method supports this, a dual approach of template and thematic analysis was used to understand the focus group and individual interviews respectively. Finally, the interview analysis results were triangulated with the literature review data in order to complete the picture and investigate where gaps and correlations existed between the secondary and primary research.


6.3 The objectives of this research

The objectives that were outlined in chapter one are as follows:

- To define the immigrant cook and their importance in the restaurant industry of Paris.
- To investigate the working life of the immigrant cook.
- To investigate what, if any, differences the immigrant cooks perceive to exist between them and native French cooks in relation to access to the culinary workforce, labour conditions and career progression opportunities.
- To investigate what barriers exist that preclude immigrant cooks from climbing the culinary career ladder?
- To investigate how the immigrant cook feels placed in the world of Parisian gastronomy.
- To examine what changes the immigrant cooks would like to see in the restaurant industry in Paris from their point of view as immigrant workers and cooks.

These objectives were achieved throughout the ensemble of the interviews and are augmented by information sourced for the secondary research, the literature review.

6.3.1 Meeting the objectives

Objective 1: To define the immigrant cook and their importance in the restaurant industry of Paris.

This objective was achieved firstly by evaluating both international and French definitions for migrant, immigrant, refugee, asylum seeker and illegal workers. Employing the definition of an immigrant worker, through secondary research the historical importance of immigrant labour in the culinary industry was identified (Baum, 2012, in Vassou et al., 2016; Janta et al., 2010). This was followed up with up-to-date data on global migrant worker patterns, both in general terms and specific to the hospitality industries. As a nation with an important history in immigration, the specific
immigration history of France was also researched. Statistics on immigrant worker populations in the food and beverage industry in the western world, and in France and Paris were also investigated. The research concluded that immigrant workforces are intrinsic to the current and continued success of the culinary industry, not only in Paris but in most developed countries.

From the interviews, it can be concluded that the immigrant cooks feel like legitimate participants in Paris’ gastronomic story, however outside forces, the culinary industry itself, has yet to fully embrace the contributions of the immigrant cooks. There is a whitewashing in culinary media and a lack of coloured role models in the industry was highlighted by respondents. This brings the underlying philosophy of this dissertation, that of hospitality back to the fore. The hospitality industry, of which restaurants are a part, needs to be more hospitable to its own people. There appears to be a feeling from the cooks interviewed that the industry is closed, both in terms of difficulties in accessing work, the attitudes of French colleagues toward immigrant co-workers and in the acceptance of methods, techniques and flavours that are not French. The improvement of this situation will become even more imperative in the future as the industry comes to rely increasingly on mobile labour forces to staff it and support the industry’s growth. The results from the interview analysis also highlight problems within migrant and mobilities literature. As it stands, the literature appears to a) repeat or overly generalise information, for example language requirements and b) does not represent accurately the cooks and their identities’ as professionals. Their identity of themselves is not ‘first port of call job’ cooks and they speak in terms of the joy of seeing happy guests, sharing, taste, skill and speed, all vocabulary that is more commonly seen in literature of native cooks.

The overall negative tone that was picked up in the review of the literature on migrant workers and immigrant workers in the culinary industry was not reflected in the interviews. The interviewees were clear about the difficulties that they faced, and often these were numerous and burdensome, however this negativity was measured and a general fondness or interest in the culinary industry suffused the interviews. In her interview CL sums up this tone;
CL, Well là j’ai d’impression que j’ai dit seulement des choses mauvais. Je ne veux pas finir comme ça fin, ce n’est pas seulement ça …c’est vraiment intéressent to rester ici de voir Paris. En fait moi j’adore Paris, j’adore vivre ici (Well, there I have the impression that I only said bad things. I don’t want to finish like that, well it is not just like that...it is really interesting to be here, to see Paris. Actually I love Paris, I love living here).

The result is an insight into the personality and identity of the immigrant cook and a balance that is lacking from the literature.

This research has shown that the identity the immigrant cooks have of themselves is that they are first and foremost cooks, and they are proud to be cooking in France. However there appears to be a lack of sentiment of inclusiveness emanating from the culinary world itself. Culinary bodies, government agencies, educational institutions and the media need to improve on this and recognise that within the immigrant workforce will be found the culinarians and chefs of the future.

The importance of immigrant cooks to the industry was indicated in the statistical reports and forecasts for the tourism industry of Paris in the context chapter and literature review. Several previously cited journalistic articles also point to the essentialness of immigrant cooks to maintaining business levels within the industry (Nossiter, 2018), or Durupt & Cuccagna for example (2014) whose interviewee states that Sri Lankan and Malian employees are willing to work long hours for little pay while French cooks insist on different conditions “Les Français imposent des conditions, or je ne peux pas faire un planning à la carte” (the French impose conditions, I cannot do a schedule over the rules”). CM and R express similar sentiments in their interviews stating that the French cooks don’t work as hard as the immigrant cooks. This is evidence pointing toward an industry that is in need of labour that it is not finding within the native population.

**Objective 2:** To investigate the working life of the immigrant cook.

The working life of the immigrant cook was researched initially through a review of the literature which explored the general immigrant labour force working conditions in areas common to migrant labour forces such as construction and hospitality. Secondly, focussing on cooks, further research returned concerns relating to underpayment in the
industry, bullying, polarised workforces, a glass ceiling, discrimination, the issue of black market labour and the risks this carries for employees. In the primary research phase, the working life of immigrant cooks was specifically investigated with the interviewees describing issues of overtime, underpayment, feelings of despair, racism, black market labour, contracts, commute distances on public transport and a lack of promotion opportunities. More positively, questions in this area also received feedback that despite the long hours and low pay the cooks interviewed are passionate about their jobs as cooks and see a future for themselves in the industry. This particular rhetoric is missing from much immigrant literature.

Objective 3: To investigate what, if any, differences the immigrant cooks perceive to exist between them and native French cooks with relation to access to the culinary workforce, labour conditions and career progression opportunities. This objective was achieved in the interviews and focus group where, although interviewees agreed that the culinary industry is a difficult work sector for all involved, immigrant or not, for immigrants there are extra barriers to deal with such as language, visas and the process of attaining visas obstructing work schedules, and career ladder progression. Career progression regardless of skill level was perceived by the respondents to be easier and to happen faster for French cooks than immigrant cooks. Skin colour was likewise unfortunately cited as a barrier in accessing jobs and achieving full time contracts. This information was backed up by secondary research information of surveys of hospitality workers and cooks in other countries which revealed issues of discrimination, lower than average or illegal pay rates, and a higher concentration of immigrants in lower ranks than native populations (Klein Hesselink et al., 2004; Janta et al., 2011; Bobek & Wickham, 2015; Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). During the interviews, unfortunately the immigrant cooks said that they do perceive that there is a difference between them and native French cooks. There was a clear message that while challenges exist for everyone in the industry (the long and unsociable hours for example), French cooks have advantages. Some, such as language skills, are natural ones, others regarding pay differences, for example, are discriminatory.
Objective 4: To investigate what barriers exist to preclude immigrant cooks from climbing the culinary career ladder?

Secondary research regarding general immigrant work patterns returned findings of a self-imposed glass ceiling amongst immigrants where the use of community links to fellow countrymen in situ in the new country connects new arrivals to jobs in the same industries and at the same levels of employment as the original group (Ho & Alcorso, 2004). Relating specifically to cooks it is widely documented that cooking is perceived as an easy sector to enter into on arrival in a new country, however little follow up literature studying career progression is available. Journalistic style articles were found where the cooks interviewed described their difficulties in getting paid and their slow rise upwards (Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014) but little academic work appears to have been carried out relating specifically to career progression of migrant cooks. Within the primary research, this objective was more successfully achieved through talking to the interviewees about their perspectives regarding the opportunities open to them for career progression. Several were positive about their prospects and were either already on a career path or, were inspired by former chefs who had also started from the bottom rung. Others saw a limit, either from a wider cultural point of view- that France does not perceive immigrants as people in high positions, or in a ‘local’ sense where employers expect immigrant cooks to be thankful to have a job, and don’t expect them to push for a promotion. The bureaucratic nature of France was also expressed as a barrier to progression as it was pointed out that frequently immigrant cooks have many years of experience but no official culinary qualifications. This limits the types of restaurants in which an immigrant can apply for jobs above a certain level. Increased recognition of prior learning from an institutional direction was called for.

The interviewees considered that poor language skills were a major inhibitor to career progression. This is despite much secondary research claiming that the culinary and hospitality industries have low language requirements (Devine, et al. 2007; Bobek & Wickham, 2015; Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). In terms of this issue, it needs to be examined further whether the primary research results being contrary to what is reported in the
literature review is specific to France or, if the literature has generalised the idea that language is not a barrier for several countries. In appendix 1 of this dissertation interview excerpts discuss working in England. The interviewees concerned had different experiences in the United Kingdom in relation to accessing jobs with poor levels of English and in general felt that not speaking English was less of a barrier than not having a high level of French in Paris. Similarly, Spanish rather than English appears to be the dominant language in many American kitchens with large numbers of the immigrant workers coming from Central or South America (Deutsch, 2014; Ray, 2016).

**Objective 5:** To investigate how the immigrant cook feels placed in the world of Parisian gastronomy.

Amongst the interviews for this research, the sense of pride and satisfaction in partaking in French gastronomy was palpable, the cooks were all very proud to be cooking in France, one having chosen to work in France specifically because he sees it as the motherland of gastronomy, others drawing pleasure from being in a sector that is for the benefit or well-being of others. However while many did feel a connection to gastronomy and were very aware of the importance of Paris in terms if the history of gastronomy there was also a sentiment of having to drive very hard to be accepted and be seen as players with knowledge, taste and skills. Some cooks also expressed a feeling that their foreigner status precluded them from really being in the conversation, either from a language or vocabulary point of view or, from a status point of view: the fact that they have taste and palates was not always recognised in their opinion, rather they were seen as merely labour, whereas the French cook earned promotion regardless of abilities. A fact that was highlighted in the literature review covering the polarisation of the workforce.

This is not to say that there is no space at all for immigrant cooks to progress to the top or achieve great culinary success in Paris. Three previously cited Michelin star holders and prize winning chefs provide examples of immigrant chefs finding their way to the top in Paris, (Diawara, 2009; Falvey, 2018; Nossiter, 2018). Rougia Dia is particularly notable as a female and black chef.
Regarding these starred chefs Rougia Dia was known by the Cameroonian and Ivory Coast cooks who were interviewed. The other interviewees did not mention having any immigrant cook role models and again it was a difference that was pointed out by those who had cooked in England where cooks of colour were seen in prominent positions, or in the media. During secondary research, media coverage of immigrant cooks in Paris was frequently found to be either; a retelling of the immigrant story (Petit, 2011); a black market labour force story (Edjscpo, 2011; Durupt & Cuccagna, 2014); or relating to the clandestine workers strikes of 2008 (Charette de, 2008; Le Monde, 2008). The relative French and Parisian culinary institutions could do more to communicate positive images of success by outsiders in Paris’ restaurant scene.

**Objective 6:** To examine what changes they, the immigrant cooks, would like to see in the restaurant industry in Paris from their points of view as immigrant workers and cooks. This objective was approached by asking interviewees if they could change something within the industry, what would it be? Many of the cooks wished for the same transformation or evolution: that Paris’ culinary industry becomes more open and accepting of its immigrant work force. Others suggested better pay rates and hours would help future hiring. The philosophy of hospitality becomes crucial here and is a sign that the culinary industry has much to do to create better working conditions for immigrant cooks. The majority of the cooks wished to stay within the industry, with only one suggesting a potential career change.

**6.4 Limitations of the research**

As an exploratory dissertation with a key aim to give voice to immigrant cooks in a way not previously done, a clear limitation is scale. The interviewees and focus group were limited as a function of the exploratory nature of the research and also the interview experience level of the researcher. While the main immigrant group populations were represented in the study, a further round of interviews could be done in order to deepen the understanding of the subject. The research, also due to the scale, necessarily left out
three important but distinct migrant or immigrant cooks groups; Japanese cooks and chefs, the population of Turkish cooks and entrepreneurs who run Paris’ fast food and kebab shops and the Chinese entrepreneurs and cooks who run affordable sushi and Chinese traiteurs and have bought existing French bar tabacs establishments. Although small in numbers, Japanese cooks and chefs appear to have been accepted into Parisian culinary culture as can be witnessed in their representation as chefs in both traditional and modern French restaurants and the use of Japanese ingredients and techniques by French chefs where few other ethnic ingredients are recognised. Ray’s (2016) study on the ranking of ethnic cuisines comes into play here. The population of second generation Turkish migrants and first generation Chinese immigrants have been noted as successful in the entrepreneurial sector and represent a large proportion of the cooks and owners in the fast food sector and licensed bar, lottery and tobacco trade respectively.

A deeper look at clandestine or black market cooks would also be pertinent as their presence and contribution to the culinary industry is known in anecdotal accounts and estimated statistics but their real life and culinary viewpoints are poorly represented in the literature.

6.5 Recommendations and avenues for further research

Statistically it is clear that immigrant cooks are essential to Paris’ culinary industry and in fact, as the sector struggles to hire, an argument could be put forward that the industry should make itself more attractive to both prospective immigrant and native cooks.

Based on the findings of this exploratory study on immigrant cooks in Paris, further research could focus on the following areas:

- A larger cohort of respondents could be interviewed in order to deepen the understanding of the identity and place that immigrant cooks feel that they have.
- Research could explore how French and Parisian culinary bodies could develop a more inclusive and hospitable environment for the population of employed and future immigrant cooks.
- Anti-racism campaigns within the culinary industry are worthy of research.
Better, or increased representation of immigrant cooks and the key role they play in the hospitality industry should be found in the media, and within industry journals and websites for example.

Translation into French of some or all of this thesis in order to bring it to a French audience, specifically industry related bodies and industry media. With the aim of bringing to the fore the findings of the research and initiate interest in the subject.

A similar study could be based in Ireland, a country new to immigration, to investigate similarly the lives of immigrant cooks currently, in order to avoid any of the negative aspects experienced by immigrant cooks in Paris.

6.6 Conclusion

The philosophical underpinning of this research is hospitality and the acceptance of the other (Fotou, 2016; Shepard, 2014). The immigrant cook has been established as essential to the culinary industry in Paris and the wider western world. However this group of workers is too often reported as figures, statistics and monetary value. The person is lost and the identity of the immigrant as cook or culinarian is unestablished. The culinary industry of Paris, the home of gastronomy, it appears, needs to revisit its place as centre of hospitality and recognise more seriously both the contributions and personality of the immigrant cook. The feelings of hospitality and conviviality were often shown to be missing from the feedback of the interviewees, which is where the phenomenology of hospitality involved giving voice to immigrant cooks through one-on-one interviews became important. Simultaneously, the identity of the person as cook was missing from the review of the literature. The tone of modern writing on immigration in France is more negative than previous immigration cycles, and this corresponds with many nation states of the western world. Reports of France being a country of welcome and safe refuge were historical.

Studying the philosophy of hospitality its core themes require the human traits of openness, vulnerability and generosity (Telfer, 1996; Ben Jelloun, 1999 in Rosello, 2001). These are very similar to the tenets that are central to cooking professionally; as a cook
one produces food for others; one opens one’s door to others and welcomes guests in to share and give comfort, one is vulnerable to the whims and health of ones’ guests. It is somewhat shocking therefore that behind the kitchen doors this philosophy appears to be lacking; the very bodies (group or individual) that practice hospitality to strangers extend it in limited fashion to their own team members. It is understood that in today’s world immigration is a fact and as a human activity is not ending. Specifically, immigration and the need for cooks are two connected phenomena that are not going to recede or separate in the near future. Plutarch wrote that “we do not sit at table to eat, but to eat together” (Montanari, 2015:178), the culinary industry needs to sit together, so to speak, with immigration, be hospitable and see the immigrant cooks as equals, cooks and as humans.

Montanari (2015) titles a chapter in his book on medieval food and dining culture as ‘The table as a representation on the world’. Discovering the immigrant cook as a person beyond statistics and their motivation to cook were key points of this research. Interviews showed a love for gastronomy and that the decision to become a cook was largely a free choice by interviewees; therefore in today’s world of immigration and broadening cuisines perhaps it is the kitchen that represents the world and Paris needs to come to the table and embrace this phenomenon.
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Appendices:
Appendix One: London versus Paris

Three of the cooks interviewed worked in London, or close to London before relocating to Paris (for 10-14 years, 2 years and an undisclosed length of time), they voluntarily brought up information and comparisons of their experiences there with those of Paris. In London 60% of hospitality industry staff are immigrants (Lane, 2016), thus the stories and anecdotes of the interviewees in this study make for interesting comparison.

The statistical figure of 60% immigrants in the hospitality industry was noticed by the interviewees concerned reporting that the minority of cooks they worked with were British and secondly, that there are more foreigners in kitchens in London than in Paris. However the make-up of this culinary population appears to be different, R reports that in the UK in kitchens one is more likely to work with North African, French, Algerian, Polish and Italian cooks and not as many sub-Saharan African or Indian cooks as in Paris. CL mentions many cooks of European heritage, and then generalises by saying she worked with people from all over and that this made it a great experience:

Il y a des anglais mais ils sont la minorité quoi. Il y a beaucoup, beaucoup des étrangers, des espagnols, des français, des irlandais. J’ai rencontré vraiment des gens de partout et ça c’est beau. (There are English but they are the minority like. There are many, many foreigners, Spanish, French, Irish. I met really people from everywhere and it was lovely).

R and F had the same feedback regarding the importance of having good references to get hired in London. R explains that in France qualifications are highly valued and that it is difficult to get work without them. This made R feel that the jobs market was easier to enter and fairer in the UK than in Paris as one could get hired if one proved ones merits and work ethic:

Too much they ask for qualification in France. When you got qualification they ask for experience; when you got experience they ask for qualification, that’s a bit hard. Cos in England I never see like that, not ask for qualification, always ask for the experience.

It appears that it was also easier for two of the three cooks concerned to integrate into kitchen teams (the third does not mention it). R had contacts from fellow countrymen to help him get started and CL states that as English was the second language for everyone on the team, people just made the effort to get on and understand each other. This is unlike her experience in Paris where she has been teased, mocked and turned down for applications because of her French. R explains that in England one can get a job as a kitchen porter with no English skills at all whereas in Paris he was advised the minimum requirement is ‘Bac +5’ level French. Both F and R mention that career progression is easier to achieve or even imagine in London than Paris. F remarks that he saw Africans and Indians in positions or jobs differently in London than in Paris, and that Paris in one is stuck or separated:

Mais en l’Angleterre c’est plus facile à bouger, ça j’ai remarqué, tu arrives à voir, tu voir les noirs, des indiens qui sont à des poste différemment, mais ici c’est dur.(but in England it is easier to move, I
noticed that, you see, you see blacks, Indians who are in positions differently, but here it is hard).

SG *Oui j’ai vu que le niveau d’intégration à Londres c’est mieux en fait ?* (Yes, I saw in terms of integration in London it is better in fact).

F *C’est mieux qu’ici. Ici les français sont un peu, c’est un peu coincé ici.* (It is better than here. Here the French are a bit, it is a bit stuck here).

The subject of labour laws and how they are respected in each of the two countries is interesting. For CL there were fewer small operations in London as compared with Paris thus employee paperwork and payroll is controlled by a management company or human resources personnel and not a single authoritarian owner operator; for her this meant getting paid overtime and having a proper contract. However for R the different labour laws meant it was easier to get hired in the UK, but also easier to get fired. He also did not get paid overtime but worked for a flat salary. It is one of the few times during his interview where life as an immigrant cook in Paris appears to be a better choice for him and he does close that section of the interview by saying that there is no prestige for cooking in England as there is in France. Speaking here regarding his monthly wages:

R *In England I never got one thousand ponds. Minimum, it’s always minimum.*

*Here it’s not like that…. In England I never get 1000 pounds.*

SG So you think there’s not much prestige in cooking in England.

R No, no.
Appendix Two: Shortage of cooks

The subject of the shortage of cooks, and what is causing it, was an important topic to discuss with the interviewees as it provided insights into a current problem within the food industry (Pratten & O’Leary, 2007; Bloesi & Hoel, 2008; Poulston, 2008; Cullen, 2012), from the perspective of cooks but also any issues that are pertinent specifically immigrant cooks. The feedback given on the topic of why there is a shortage of cooks in Paris was as could be expected, immigrant cook or not, as issues relate to the general difficulties faced by employees in the culinary industry: poor wages, negative effects on private or family life that the work schedule causes, availability of better alternatives to cooking, working long hours, split shifts, attrition and the thankless aspect of the job of cooking. These responses mirror a survey by French hospitality industry publication l’Hotellerie et Restauration in 2016, investigating why it is difficult to hire cooks (Carrere, R. 2016). However, further interesting points were made by the respondents which are linked to their ‘foreignness’ or outsider perspective which therefore may not have been picked up on by the native population, but are nonetheless significant given the estimated (declared) 20% of cooks in Paris being immigrants (L’emploi et les métiers des immigrés, 2012: 29). The point of living far away from the city centre combined with exhausting and relentless split shifts and finishing late at night is of concern for immigrants. For the convenience of the workers at the time, the areas of Paris where apartment rents are affordable or, where high density social housing (HLM) is located are situated beside the former industrial zones outside of the city limits in the greater Île-de-France region (Lillo, et al, 2009). High rents in today’s Paris mean that few hospitality workers can afford rent in touristic areas (Joppe, 2012). Of concern to this thesis is the fact that these suburbs continue to be poorly serviced by public transport. This has a severe effect on the working life quality of cooks who must endure long days of work followed by long commutes or a race to catch the last transport link to return home. JC describes his experience as a job seeker trying to find solutions to work in a restaurant:

Quand j’ai cherché de travail même j’avais des offres à Paris ; à Paris de JVY c’était, et les horaires que j’ai fait j’ai fini minuit, une heure, la dans cette heures là il y a plus de train et moi je n’était pas véhiculé et c’était difficile. Il avait des autre restaurants aussi qui été un peu éloigné de la cité, ... qui la bus il n’arrive pas à côté et il faut avoir le propre transport. (When I looked for work, I had offers in Paris, to Paris from JVY the hours that I finished at midnight or one in the morning, at that hour there are no more trains and I don’t have a car and it was difficult. There were other restaurants as well that were very far from the housing…or where the bus doesn’t get close to and you need to have your own transport).

Here LRD explains how he had to resign from a job as he was continuously finishing work after the hours that the transport service had finished. He was put up by his boss on the evenings that he could not make it home but this was not a sustainable solution:

Moi quand j’ai travaillé dans ce restaurant et ont a faisait coupure, on finissait à minuit et demi, une heure le matin, on ne peut pas prendre le transport et soudain pendant une semaine je suis hébergé par mon patron.
Mais il y avait un moment quand j’ai dit, non ce n’est pas possible ! Et j’été obligé de cherche un autre travail. (Me, when I worked in that restaurant and we did splits, we finished at half past midnight or one in the morning, we couldn’t take public transport, and suddenly for one week I was living with my boss. But there was a moment that I said to myself this isn’t possible! I was obliged to look for another job).

In some instances it appears that the restaurant industry does not help itself when it needs to fill vacancies. R points out that vacancies are not advertised on the premises’ themselves but through the dole office and hospitality websites or publications. Not knowing how to access jobs could be an obstacle difficult for immigrants who are not informed of common hiring procedures in France. This was the case for CL who cold called venues with her CV in hand and reports getting lots of odd looks from staff:

J’ai donné beaucoup des cv’s en marchant comme ça dans Paris dans les pâtisseries… Je sais que chaque fois que je suis allée dans une pâtisserie ils ont me regardé un peu bizarre. (I gave lots of CVs into pastry shops walking around Paris… I know that each time that I went into a pastry shop [to do this] they looked at me oddly).

The essentialness of having a network of fellow immigrant friends or compatriots is in evidence here, neither R nor CL had contacts in Paris on their arrival. Also difficult for foreigners is the French requirement to have qualifications for a particular post whereas other countries hire with considerations given to a candidates’ experience or character.

Too much they ask for qualification in France. When you got qualification they ask for experience; when you got experience they ask for qualification, that’s a bit hard. Cos in England I never see like that, not ask for qualification, always ask for the experience.

However not all the candidates were aware that there is a shortage of cooks, nor were they convinced that it is not a manufactured shortage. CL claims that if there was a shortage of cooks then she would have been hired more quickly in arrival to Paris. Her opinion is that owners keep kitchen teams small on purpose so that while on paper it looks like they are lacking staff it has in fact been a conscious decision. Her own place of work reduced by a factor of 10 the number of cooks in its employ in one year. CM works alone in a kitchen that used to be manned by two people and F points out that canteens use agency staff instead of hiring full time cooks. In the focus group A describes having to do other people’s shifts regularly as the team wasn’t sufficiently manned thus if even one person called in sick his work load doubled and he had full weeks of double shifts.

S categorises cooking as a thankless job and suggest this as a reason why there is a shortage of cooks. He likens it to security guards who risk their lives for people’s safety while having no form of defence at their own disposal. It is an interesting job comparison as, for the past thirty years, and in particular since the state of emergency in 2015 was enacted in France large numbers of security personal have been hired and it has become a growing sector for immigrant employment (in 2012 the percentage of immigrant security guards was 29% of the total, the majority of whom are from sub-Saharan African countries, (Dares Analyses, 2012:11; Péroumal, 2008). Referring to rates of pay, F in
essence agrees with the thankless-ness of the job and blames poor pay for the shortage of cooks, he refers to the wages that are offered to cooks as ‘indecent’, ‘Les salaires ne sont pas bons. Quand tu voir les salaires qui ils proposent aux gens c’est incroyable, indécent quoi, c’est indécent’ (The salaries are not good. When you look at the salaries that are proposed to people it is unbelievable, indecent like, it is indecent).

One of the most poignant statements made regarding why there is a shortage of cooks comes from JC who says that bosses first and foremost shouldn’t be preselecting the type of people whom they hire ‘A mon avis, premièrement ce n’été pas de choisir le genre de gens’. This simple, short phrase tells a lot about the experiences a young, Congolese cook in Paris traverses before even reaching the interview stage. R also feels that the requirements to entry in Franc are too high, that experienced cooks, even if unqualified on paper, should be given opportunities. It is not just French restaurants that are experiencing a shortage of cooks. In a quote of some irony, PB explains that he and his boss had to hire directly from India two cooks when they opened a new restaurant as they could not find any cooks in Paris ‘Actually we are not finding good, experienced and talented Indian chefs in France’. This issue reminds the researcher and reader that western or Eurocentric views can predominate in the literature, even when not explicitly meant, and it is important to acknowledge this bias or, alternatively search out balance when discussing the restaurant industry, particularly when situated in a modern cosmopolitan city such as Paris.

This section can be summarised thus; the issue of the shortage of cooks is connected to problems within the hospitality industry itself and how culinary employees are treated generally, a current topic of discussion in its own right (Bloesi & Hoel, 2008; Young & Corsun, 2010; Digby, 2018). However, there exists problems specific to immigrants which impede their choosing of the industry or their retention in the sector, notably: non-recognition of experience over paper qualifications, discrimination due to colour and place of birth and limited or challenging ability to climb a career or pay related ladder.
Appendix Three: Focus group template 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooking at home- home country</strong></td>
<td>First job in France</td>
<td>Cooking at home- home country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habit</td>
<td>Inferring a lack of choice?</td>
<td>Professional opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Choose the metier of cuisine</strong></td>
<td>Wishes to continue</td>
<td>Un besoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of time cooking: 5yrs</td>
<td>Length of time cooking: 1.5yrs</td>
<td>Length of time cooking: 14yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How found work: Pôle emploi Direct with premises</td>
<td>How found work: Replaced someone for 5 months and then stayed on</td>
<td>How found work: Trialled in a resto of home country cuisine Word of mouth got replacement position for 30 days (in a French resto). Stayed for 4 yrs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Culture shock**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>L</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not all kitchens or cuisines are the same</td>
<td>Language barrier Difficulty in going to classes now he is working</td>
<td>Fusing home country cooking with French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties in keeping home cooking traditions</td>
<td>Language barrier Learning</td>
<td>The pleasure and fun of cooking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Access to free language school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to change cultural habits</td>
<td>Interesting services set up</td>
<td>Repeating/ Reinforcing the Pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusing/ Using home country cooking with French</td>
<td>Enjoys kitchen</td>
<td>Language No French on arrival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusing/ Using formal kitchen training with home country cooking with French</td>
<td>Language barrier Diff levels of French spoken in kitchen making it hard</td>
<td>Language barrier Learning Understanding Further learning in a professional environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier Language difficulties</td>
<td>Splits Working more than the schedule Working more because of short team</td>
<td>Language barrier Communication is the biggest barrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier: Learning Understanding</td>
<td>Scheduling Splits many</td>
<td>The limitations of language knowledge put limitations on other domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduling Splits but 2-3 times per week</td>
<td>Scheduling Splits Working more than the schedule Working more because of short team</td>
<td>Language barrier Learning Emphasizing the importance of ‘bien sûr’ and ‘il faut y aller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences between French and Immigrant cooks Not sure First job in France so no reference point Worked as an accountant in India; only cooked at home</td>
<td>Scheduling Splits Working more than the schedule Working more because of short team</td>
<td>Language barrier Learning Access to free language school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likes cooking</td>
<td>Scheduling Short teams 3 cooks for a 7 day week operation (lunch and dinner)</td>
<td>Speaking ‘we’ implying the arrangement was amicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier: In general quiet person Can read and write French, read recipes</td>
<td>Working bank holidays, Sundays</td>
<td>Official contract hours vs reality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likes cooking: repetition affirmation</td>
<td>Scheduling Splits Working more than the schedule (double) Working more because of short team Obligation Official contract hours vs reality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting out Difficult</td>
<td>Overtime Paid Not paid Paid black</td>
<td>Scheduling OT pay Time back Calm periods allowed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Points that it is difficult for everyone | home early  
Arranged with boss. Happy |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Language | Bonus  
Scheduling  
Didn’t do OT because was a foreigner |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Experience | Bonus  
Happy  
Working commute  
Working late and living far  
Some addresses/distances not possible  
Using public transport |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Learned french  
Did a kitchen training course; all good now | Working commute  
Working late and living far (countryside)  
Working commute  
Given room by boss in boss’ home  
Resigned because of it |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Learned french  
Did a kitchen training course; all good now | Working commute  
Nice boss; given a room in hotel  
Hurdles for foreigners  
Visas  
Accommodation  
Easier for French cooks |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Learned french  
Did a kitchen training course; all good now | Working commute  
Nice boss; given a room in hotel  
Not common practice but his boss gave him  
Hurdles for foreigners  
Easier for French cooks |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Learned french  
Did a kitchen training course; all good now | Working commute  
Working late and living far  
Some addresses/distances not possible  
Hurdles for foreigners  
Language; being able to express ones feelings |
| Difficulties getting first job  
Learned french  
Did a kitchen training course; all good now | Working commute  
Working late and living far  
Language barrier  
Once able to read and speak French will have more opportunities |
| Differences between French and Immigrant cooks  
Not sure | Owner are tired having to explain everything to foreigners and to ‘push’ them |
| Chef is French | Language barrier  
French cook / Immigrant cook differences |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hurdles crossed, Desire to go further</td>
<td>Blocked by problems of expression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French cook will be chosen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defining a person born in France as a foreigner</td>
<td>Advantage of being a French cook in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differences between French and Immigrant cooks</td>
<td>Advantage of being a French cook outside of France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starting out Difficult Points that it is difficult for everyone</td>
<td>Fame and Importance of French cuisine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gives advantages to French cooks to travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As immigrants in Brazil French cooks earn more that Brazilian cooks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulties getting first job</td>
<td>A question of equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was in a small town</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved to Paris, still hard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding first job is hard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding second job is easy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants to get some work experience first then formal training CAP</td>
<td>Fame of French cuisine around the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants to stay in the F&amp;B industry</td>
<td>Immigrant nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being Brazilian was an aid rather than a barrier to integration and finding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work in Paris (attributes this perhaps to football)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future plans in F&amp;B</td>
<td>Immigrant Trust, loaned money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wife and son followed him to Paris once he had sent enough money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive experience in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two types of cooks in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Experienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trained/ with quals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two types of cooks in France</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Often foreign cooks have experience but no formal training. Causes difficulties if want to go into a kitchen which demands a certain education or training. Implying higher level cooking, moving up professionally.

Ce n’est pas évident: it is not easy.

Immigrant cooks have limited means for paying for training or taking time off for training.

Being truly implicated in the profession.

The preference in France for qualification is a problem for immigrant cooks. We will stay in France always in the category of experienced but not qualified cooks. Proposes a need for the various maries and colleges to think to the future and the future generations of immigrants.

French preference for qualification v experience
M got a CAP cuisine collective and still had difficulties finding work.

French preference for qualifications v experience

Training in canteen cooking

Wants to set up own F&B enterprise (catering) With friends

Training included
Cooking (cuisine and pastry)
French

Has learnt a lot And grown in confidence
| **Family is supportive of job in F&B**  
Sons are grown up: can cook for themselves  
Pick her up from work if she finishes late | **Original plan to learn cuisine in France and return to home country to open a restaurant**  
But once wife and son came to France, wife doesn’t want to leave |
|---|---|
| **Loves cooking** | **Agreeing**  
Doing good for people/ nourishing people |
| **Doing good for people/ nourishing people** | **Importance of French cuisine in other countries**  
Was able to earn money doing a nixer while on holiday |
| **Cool to be a cook now. Before it wasn’t** | **Importance of French cuisine in other countries**  
Offered a job and housing in home country on the back of being a cook in Paris |
| | **Have fixed their roots in Paris now, do not intend to break that** |
| | **To be a cook in France gives advantages** |
### Appendix Four: Focus group template 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary themes</th>
<th>Sub themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooking at home- home country</td>
<td>(Connection to food)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fusing home country cooking with French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>---Displaying a connection with adopted cuisine/ country/ profession?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How started cooking</td>
<td>First job in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un besoin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Choose the metier of cuisine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------Previous country profession/ formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-------------------------------Accountant x 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How got first job</td>
<td>Pôle emploi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Direct contact with employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Replacement of someone that turned into a FT position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Word of mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion for cooking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of time cooking</td>
<td>0-2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6-10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 years +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Cuisine”</td>
<td>Not all kitchens or cuisines are the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>’Faire la cuisine’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language barrier</td>
<td>• Learning and Understanding-- Further learning in a professional environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Diff levels of French spoken in kitchen making it hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Communication is the biggest barrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The limitations of language knowledge put limitations on other domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• In general quiet person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Literate - Can read and write French, read recipes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Once able to read and speak French will have more opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning (French)</td>
<td>• Difficulty in going to classes now he is working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Access to free language school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Emphasizing the importance of classes ‘bien sur’ and ‘il faut y aller’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French knowledge on arrival</td>
<td>• No French on arrival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Work rhythm | • Splits  
• Splits but 2-3 times per week  
• Working more than the schedule  
• Working more than the contract (double)  
• Working more because of short team  
• Obligation to work overtime  
• Short teams (3 cooks for a 7 day week operation (lunch and dinner))  
• Official contract hours vs reality  
• Working bank holidays, Sundays. |
| --- | --- |
| Compensation for OT. | • Was able to change and do straight days because had choice, opportunity of a new job  
• Impact of resto hours such that it is worth the risk to move companies and try a new one  
• Scheduling- Service midi only  
• Speaking ‘we’ implying the arrangement was amicable  
• Overtime  
  o Paid  
  o Not paid  
  o Paid black  
  o Time back  
  Calm periods allowed home early  
  Arranged with boss. Happy  
  Didn’t do OT because was a foreigner |
| Differences between opportunities for French cooks vs immigrant cooks | • Not sure  
• First job in France so no reference point  
• Hurdles for foreigners  
• Visas  
• Accommodation  
• Language; being able to express ones feelings  
• Easier for French cooks  
• Owner are tired having to explain everything to foreigners and to ‘push’ them  
• Hurdles already crossed creates a desire to go further  
• Blocked by problems of expression  
• French cook will be chosen  
• Work well together (immigrant and French colleagues)  
• Ce n’ est pas evident: it is not easy |
| Starting out | • Difficult |
- But points out that it is difficult for everyone
- Finding first job is hard
- Difficulties getting first job
  - Language
  - Experience
  - Was in a small town
  - Moved to Paris, still hard
- Difficulties getting first job - steps taken to help oneself
  - Learned French
  - Did a kitchen training course; all good now
  - Finding second job is easy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training</th>
<th>Training in canteen cooking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Training included: cuisine, pastry and French)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work commute</th>
<th>Working late and living far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some addresses/ distances not possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Using public transport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working late and living far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Working late and living far</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(countryside)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solutions</td>
<td>Given room by boss in boss’ home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resigned because of it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nice boss; given a room in hotel; not common practice but his boss gave him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hierarchy</th>
<th>Chef is French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Team is mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fame and Importance of French cuisine in other countries</th>
<th>Gives advantages to French cooks to travel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As immigrants in Brazil French cooks earn more that Brazilian cooks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A question of equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Was able to earn money doing a nixer while on holiday (on the back of being a cook in Paris).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Importance of French cuisine in other countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Offered a job and housing in home country on the back of being a cook in Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To be a cook in France gives advantages (for the future/ in other countries)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Future plans                                                                 | Continue in the industry  
|                                                                           | Continue in the industry and get a promotion/ change type of kitchen  
|                                                                           | Return to home country and continue in the industry  
|                                                                           | Undertake formal culinary training  
|                                                                           | Open own f & b business  
| Identity                                                                   | Foreigner  
|                                                                           | Immigrant  
|                                                                           | French national but foreigner  
| Impressions of kitchen work                                               | Completely different to what I am used to  
|                                                                           | Speed  
|                                                                           | Pressure  
|                                                                           | Differences between home and professional cooking  
| Image of being a cook                                                     | Cool  
| The importance of qualifications to get employment in kitchens in Paris | Essential to have qualifications  
|                                                                           | Even with experience of not ‘qualified’ will have difficulties moving up  
|                                                                           | Relevance of foreign qualifications when applying for jobs  
| Training                                                                  | Immigrant cooks have limited means for paying for training or taking time off for training  
| Being truly implicated in the profession                                  |
### Appendix SixFive:

**Thematic analysis of individual interviews**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Must persevere.</td>
<td>It is up to the person, you can’t stay in your corner.</td>
<td>A problem with us Africans, we like our little corner, we must get out a bit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No one will come to get you, it is up to you to look.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nothing is easy, everything is difficult.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehensive</td>
<td>On moving to Paris, in interviews when asked if he cooked French food always answered no, even though has 14 year experience cooking.</td>
<td>Cooking is different in the UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likes cooking.</td>
<td>But does not like working with pork and alcohol products at all.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likes cooking and wants to continue in kitchen and go up.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress of being a foreigner.</td>
<td>In your head you think that you will not be accepted. You feel that there is a judgement on your language skills and experience.</td>
<td>Hope? Realism? Situation is not good now for immigrant cooks but it will improve?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What can we do? We are here to do the work. One day things will change.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We have to look at the higher road, even if change is not immediate or in the restaurant we are currently in, maybe it will be elsewhere.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It’s hard.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance / Attitude change once employed or in the kitchen.</td>
<td>He got on well with his head chef as he was Japanese and therefore a foreigner as well.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once you are employed and ‘in’ it changes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Likes cooking. Once you have a bit of experience it is easy. In the beginning it is too complicated but once you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge or experience of discrimination</td>
<td>Mentality in Paris is like her hometown, but although forewarned, it is never nice (to be experiencing discrimination, under pay, contract abuses).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>I know that if I went looking for something I would get it, but one doesn’t want to complicate life too much, find a job and it is grand. Likes current job, likes the chef. It is a group (high end bakeries and tea rooms), but it is good. ‘Là c'est bon’ (that’s good), referring to his schedule of 9-4pm, an unremarkable shift for so many other categories of job, yet in the context of cooking it gets mentioned explicitly. Still likes cooking. Kitchen is not difficult.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humble</th>
<th>He had a difficult time but knows there are people worse off than him. He found his ordeal relatively easy compared to others.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Despondence</th>
<th>Not possible to change the outlook, it has been like this for centuries, it cannot be changed now. Doesn’t know if he feels proud of being a cook. It feels like a job now. He does the work and is careful not to get fired but that is it.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Has an identity as a cook</th>
<th>It is not enjoyable. It is not his type of kitchen. In his previous job he enjoyed it more. Hot kitchen is his passion.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive despite situation</th>
<th>Describes his ordeal as easy, because he arrived in Spain as a minor he was put directly into a centre for unaccompanied minors. A generosity of spirit and continued love for the metier come through, as with others.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

168
Not willing to say she is in the worst situation possible but will admit (laughing) that she did not find the best people to work for.

**Was a career as a cook a choice or not?**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes but was not the original plan. He wanted to work in sales or in a boutique. He was told that his French and mathematical skills were not good enough. Trained in home country before moving. Likes cooking. There is always work available. Chose it but also expresses the absolute need to work, and to get a CDI job in order to get a lease on an apartment ‘finally I could relax’. Took whatever job was available. Started cooking at home helping his mother. Started on a five month contrat to cover for someone, liked and decided to cook forever.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-choice</td>
<td>Could choose between building and cooking. Had to do a trade training (cooking or building) in order to get visa to stay (in Spain, 2 years).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Was a need to work; said to self why not try it, now likes it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Likes cooking**

| Cooks at home. | Food is part of own country’s culture. Gastronomy is part of own country’s culture. Grew up cooking with his mother then went to culinary school. |

He (JC) was not in school and was being sheltered in a *foyer* run by the French state. He was offered a trial *stage* in a kitchen by a charity who worked with the foyer. He liked it so the charity helped him get started in a culinary training course (CAP).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Never cooked at home</strong>&lt;br&gt; (2).</th>
<th>Loves cooking but never did it at home.&lt;br&gt;Loves the job, didn’t know anything about cooking on leaving Algeria.&lt;br&gt;‘Didn’t even know how to cook an omelette’ Interesting choice of food reference as the omelette was, at a time, the standard test for a cook trying out for a job.&lt;br&gt;Was not his first choice, but now likes it.</th>
<th>In his culture it is the women who cook in the home.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Challenges faced in the kitchen</strong></td>
<td>Regarding the challenge of working alone if a customer orders something he has not cooked before, he uses the internet and his boss has given him several cookery books.&lt;br&gt;Make mistakes on something you know.&lt;br&gt;Or you forget how to do something you have been taught because of the speed.</td>
<td>There are thousands of recipes on the internet, French, Japanese etc you choose the one you understand well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Likes cooking</strong></td>
<td>Passionate about cooking.&lt;br&gt;Enjoys brasserie and bistro cooking.&lt;br&gt;Likes cooking and speaks animatedly when recounting cooking services and the pressure of having customers waiting in the dining room, and the head chef shouting insults.&lt;br&gt;Similar to how R relates his favourite restaurant moments.&lt;br&gt;Cooking is easy when you love it.</td>
<td>Try it out and if you love it you stay.&lt;br&gt;Repeating thought of others that it is a must to be passionate about the job.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Access to the Workforce

<p>| Had contacts on arrival to Paris | Has uncle living in Paris which helped with accommodation when he moved from Spain to France. A friend who was cooking in a catering and events kitchen knew he was looking for work and called him to say his boss was looking for extras. From there he got a subsequent job with a full time contract |
| Importance of having contacts | The head chef of his first Paris (part time, kitchen porter) job offered him to move to open a new restaurant with him. He agreed as the job he had at the time was only part time. French cooks have an easier time in Paris since they have been in school here and already have industry contacts. It is easier to get into a kitchen if you have contacts. Has contacts now so feels better placed to find a better employer. Feels lucky he got his new job through contacts in his previous job. Otherwise you worry. |
| Experiences elsewhere | Had job on arrival in London thanks to contacts, did not have that on arrival in Paris. Home country (Algerian) network in London helped with advice on getting into jobs market in London, advised starting as kitchen porter until he could speak English. Refers to a close Algerian community. Infers that they have a system worked out regarding getting jobs, changing jobs, and getting papers. Also that they (Algerians) cause hassle to employers. |
| Issues if you don’t have contacts | It is difficult when you arrive if you have no industry contacts. The industry is quite closed in Paris. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>First impressions</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cold reception.</strong></td>
<td><strong>You get looked at weird when you go to a venue to enquire about work. Very difficult to get into the jobs market but, once in, subsequent jobs are easier to find.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Challenging to enter the Parisian jobs market</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trial stage</strong></td>
<td><strong>Started via a ‘stage de decouvert’ (discovery trial) to try out kitchen work before starting training</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Liked the order and cleanliness.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entering the jobs market: Paris versus London</strong></td>
<td><strong>Much harder to enter the jobs market in Paris than in London.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kitchen porter</strong></td>
<td><strong>Worked part time as a dishwasher on arrival to Paris, despite having had experience cooking in Spain.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Decided to work as a kitchen porter in order to learn French before going into kitchen work properly.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Necessity of the French language</strong></td>
<td><strong>First impressions or, idea before leaving home, was that he could get a job leading a team (head or executive chef level) as he had been doing, but on arrival he discovered it was not at all the case and that he needed to be able to speak French.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>He could not get a job at his experience of qualification level due to his lack of French language.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Difficult to integrate</strong></td>
<td><strong>French cooks are closed, or cold.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Makes it quite hard to integrate.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooking qualifications</strong></td>
<td><strong>There is a requirement in France to have qualifications to cook.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Though when you have qualifications, they ask for experience.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Is interested in the profession and when he finished his CAP cuisine he had wanted to do a CAP pâtisserie but was discouraged after his first apprenticeship experiences. He therefore did not continue his training and went looking for kitchen work.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Exploitation

Is underpaid compared to other pastry cooks in her position in Paris.

### Work contracts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Start on the bottom rung</th>
<th>Start as kitchen porter (2 started as kitchen porter, 2 as ‘polyvalent’ which is a person who is employed as a kitchen porter but is also a kitchen assistant or commis chef).</th>
<th>Had some culinary experience on moving to Paris.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Used which method to look for work? | Applied to posts on industry websites.  
Had some assistance from a social worker.  
Had some assistance (after 1 year of searching) from a charity.  
Pôle employ  
Visited venues in person to ask about vacancies. | Applied to polyvalent posts. |
| Relatively easy to get first job. | Found first job relatively easily but thought it would be easier.  
Doesn’t consider he had issues to get hired in first job in Paris. | |
| Hard to find first job | Couldn’t find work at his level.  
Took 1 year.  
Looked for kitchen work but did not get it.  
Spent 2-3 months searching for a boss in order to do a pastry apprenticeship.  
He found it complicated to get started.  
It was not easy at all.  
Took some time to find work and was told that the CAP was not a sufficient qualification to hire. | Due to language barrier.  
Feels it was because experience was all in UK and not France.  
Did not find one  
Regarding experience and qualification, he says he couldn’t have had more. Says unfortunately. |
<p>| Difficulty in getting started | It wasn’t easy, every time you have something, they ask you for something else. | Because he is black? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had to fight to get more experience.</td>
<td></td>
<td>To start in a different field would he would be in the same situation, so he persevered in cooking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>For black people it is not easy to find work in kitchens. Describes that restaurant owners don’t easily hire and give contracts to black people. For Africans, all the time there are problems with papers.</td>
<td>He says ‘us in inverted commas, the blacks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To have had done some training was useful to find first job.</td>
<td>He also had some help from his social security agent.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure to work / Need to work</td>
<td>Took the non-culinary manual handling job even because he needed to work.</td>
<td>Forced to quit after 2 weeks as had no means of transport to get there and home again at 1am. Precariousness of agency work also mentioned by F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting first job is hard, subsequent ones are easier.</td>
<td>Got first job (part time catering agency work) with the help of a volunteer association connected to his social housing hostel. Has resigned from first job, doesn’t feel afraid to search out a second one.</td>
<td>Stayed in contact with the volunteers and they put him in contact with his second employer also (a full time contract).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment agencies</td>
<td>Unaware of the presence of agencies in Paris who help job seekers in the hospitality industry.</td>
<td>Used such an agency successfully in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure</td>
<td>It is a lot of pressure if you have a family to support. Due to time taken to look for pastry apprenticeship he had little money left. Finally when you sign (the contract) you can start breathing. To sign-on he would only get €250 a month.</td>
<td>During the trial period you do make mistakes because you don’t know everything in that kitchen or something gets burnt. Or, if you on public transport and the train is late. But some people don’t accept that. Working in fear and under pressure for first 3 months until trial period is over.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They see how you move. (The embodiment of a cook.)</td>
<td>In UK you have one trial shift. In one shift you can’t show them everything but they can see enough how you work, if you have experience in kitchen work.</td>
<td>You can show the levels of meat cooking for example. If it goes well you sign the contract and you start the next day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In France it is harder.</td>
<td>Than the UK.</td>
<td>The worst is if you have problems with your papers. That creates a lot of problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In France it is very complicated.</td>
<td>Would have preferred to have stayed in Spain, it is easier to get a work permit there.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visa issues</td>
<td>Had problems initially but there are good bosses.</td>
<td>Had a Spanish work permit arriving in France and had a lot of problems getting French ones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Had a lot of problems in getting papers.</td>
<td>Started in France with fake papers but had to restart the application process because his boss figured out it was not him. Was summoned several times for not having correct documentation for work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shouldn’t take appointments (with visa offices) during the first 2 to 3 months of a new job or the boss will think you are not hard working, they won’t have confidence in you and will think you are up to no good.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosses and (visa) paperwork</td>
<td>Previous generation of bosses were helpful. If you had a problem with papers they would help you.</td>
<td>Need to be careful during trial period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In general in France bosses understand if you have to take days off for appointments for your paperwork.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are bosses who don’t understand if you have to take 2 or 3 days off (for official appointments).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Restaurants</td>
<td>There are more group restaurants now and that is difficult. If you don’t already have papers you can’t even approach them.</td>
<td>Before there were more family operated establishments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure during time of getting visas.</td>
<td>Pressure of trying to keep a job and regularising your situation.</td>
<td>Focus group also highlighted the pressures involved in regulating visas and work permits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Language barrier**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French ability on arrival</th>
<th>Didn’t speak good French on arrival: CM, JC, PB.</th>
<th>Similar results to focus group.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-learnt it after some years of speaking English.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spoke French but as told it was not good enough.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The importance of language skills in adopted country.</td>
<td>Prevented access to training for first choice job, was advised kitchen instead.</td>
<td>Was told not to pursue his choice job (sales/ boutique) due to language and maths requirements, told to try kitchen instead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers choosing native French cooks because of their language skills.</td>
<td>Employers definitely prefer French speakers.</td>
<td>Employers will choose French speaker over you regardless of your skill level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understands why French speakers are preferred and the challenges involved with working with non-French speakers. It is the nature if the job; without language it is difficult.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faced challenges even when having some French language skills.</td>
<td>Had learnt French in school but had difficulty on arrival in Paris as had been speaking English for some years.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speaks French as a second mother tongue (he is Algerian) but this was not enough to secure him a job.</td>
<td>Nervousness in interviews makes you speak worse French than you normally do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effect on self-esteem of not having fluency in French</td>
<td>Has been mocked for her accent when speaking French.</td>
<td>One time it is funny, more than that it is not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Was told by his previous GM that he would not find a job due to his French level. This has stuck in his head. He feels it was rude and ‘not good’. It has stuck in his head and makes him feel down and nervous about looking for another job. “Make you feel scared to find a job”.</td>
<td>He feels the equivalent would never have been said to him in the UK.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feels blocked from French gastronomy due to language barrier. Doesn’t know enough product names.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>With French who travel a lot it is not like that. There are those who are open.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example of this: R’s French head chef in London who brought him up from kitchen porter even though he did not speak good English at the time.

Found the majority of French people to work with to be difficult.

Did not have same experience in previous countries where he worked, in Dubai and Saudi Arabia, it is not the people of those countries who work in kitchens, it is Indians or Sri Lankans, therefore he could speak his mother tongue (tamul) in work.

**Ambition**

Spent time working as kitchen porter on arrival to Paris instead of looking for kitchen work in order to learn French first.

Did French classes as part of another culinary management course

---

### Career ladder

#### Training

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generally difficult.</th>
<th>Opportunities are there, but it is up to the person to grasp them.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The onus is on you to prove/ improve/ train/ move up etc.</td>
<td>It is up to you to demonstrate your competences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nothing blocks your way but you must focus and concentrate in order to get some experience. (Mirrors perseverance message of FR).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wishes to have recognition for his efforts.</td>
<td>Wants recognition for having learnt the trade- why not have opportunities to progress?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proof that it is possible to evolve professionally.</td>
<td>Is possible to move up the ladder ‘pourquoi pas’ (why not)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has already progressed from kitchen porter to commis and has been offered promotion by current chef to demi chef de partie.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Started as polyvalent and finished as sous chef.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to prove yourself</td>
<td>Once you have started on the bottom, even if you have qualifications, the bosses don’t take you seriously. It is only afterwards that they acknowledge a person’s level.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using the person in higher ranks but with no change in status for the person, 2 examples plus 1 example of someone else who is aware that it can happen.</td>
<td>Worked as a kitchen porter but whenever the restaurant got busy he would help the chef. Eventually the restaurant hired a sous chef and he (C) stayed as kitchen porter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Started as kitchen porter but was also an ‘aide cuisine’ (kitchen help) so he was helping the kitchen in peeling vegetables, washing salads, chopping, breaking down shellfish etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Has more confidence in self now and more experience so will seek out a better job. Otherwise risks being employed as commis again but working with the responsibilities of a CDP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interesting use of ‘replaced’ that even after 2 or 3 years in the position he still sees himself as the replacement and not the sous chef proper.</td>
<td>When the sous chef left he ‘replaced’ him (the sous), during 2 or 3 years until another sous was hired.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants to progress in a career in cooking.</td>
<td>Wants to progress in a career in cooking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wants to stay in kitchen and progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wants to continue up the ladder to head chef.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thinks it is possible. The profession is open but one must put the effort in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Echoing F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wants to continue in cooking and move up the ladder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When asked about opportunities for immigrant</td>
<td>‘It depends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There is a ceiling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is inspired by his old chef who only had a CAP to begin with and now owns his own restaurant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chef told him that there will always be things that are difficult to do but keep learning and you will get there.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| | Not possible to change the outlook, it has been
|更好机会的攀爬|可能成为厨师的速度更快，有手段成为厨师的速度更快。
|更好机会的攀爬|它没有比一个大的团队更复杂，你只需要睁大眼睛。
|更好机会的攀爬|一个有30个座位的餐厅很好。
|更好机会的攀爬|更喜欢3到4人的团队。
|更好机会的攀爬|每个人都知道厨房的所有部分。
|在大厨房里看不见，没有那么多机会学习。
|在大厨房里看不见，没有那么多机会学习.|在更大的餐厅里，你不会移动。
|在大厨房里看不见，没有那么多机会学习.|工作中，没有考虑人，这是遗憾。
|在大厨房里看不见，没有那么多机会学习.|在更大的厨房里，不尊重人。
|在小厨房里你直接与厨师一起工作，因为在小厨房里人更少。
|在小厨房里你直接与厨师一起工作，因为在小厨房里人更少.|如果有人生病，你必须做他们的部分。
|当厨师不在时，可以取代他。
|当厨师不在时，可以取代他.|现在当大厨不在时，雇主不使用临时代理厨师，他们信任他。
|有这样一组人，即使他们认真对待工作，他们来这里（巴黎）是为了薪水，然后他们回家。
|有这样一组人，即使他们认真对待工作，他们来这里（巴黎）是为了薪水，然后他们回家.|这是所有移民就业领域的真实情况。所有你看得到移民就业的领域。

|It is possible to be the chef more quickly, there is the means to be the chef more quickly.
|It is not more complicated than with a big team, you just have to keep your eyes open.
|A restaurant of 30 covers is good.
|Prefers a team of 3 or 4. Where everyone knows what to do (where everyone knows all the sections of the kitchen).

|In bigger restaurants you don’t move.
|There is no consideration for people and that is a pity.
|Worked in bigger restaurants previously with bigger hierarchy but feels that the bigger operations don’t consider people in the same way as the smaller venues do.
|The bigger kitchens don’t respect people.

|In smaller kitchens you work directly with the chef because there are less people in the kitchen.
|The chef will teach you.

|Now when the head chef is away the employer doesn’t use an interim agency chef, they trust him.
|His boss has confidence in him. If not he (the boss) would take an agency chef in the absence of the head chef.

|This is true for all sectors of immigrant employment. All domains where you see immigrants employed.
|（ Thus, there are sectors where you see immigrants employed and there are sectors where they are not? )
| Training opportunities | If you want to undertake a training course while employed you have the right to, so if you want to progress it is possible.  
But it is up to you to want it, the bosses will never suggest it.  
Rights for things like that are generally respected in France. Unions will tell you what rights you have.  
If you ask they are obliged to support.  
Wants to do a (culinary) training. |
| --- | --- |
| Need to work impacting choice of place of work. | Took whatever work was available when arrived in Paris.  
Has more confidence in self now and more experience so will seek out a better job.  
Was under pressure to find work so changed CV to fit applications, going as far as putting supermarket names on the CV to try and get a job in same.  
Otherwise risks being employed as commis again but working with the responsibilities of a CDP. |
| Contacts | Started as kitchen porter in the UK (on advice of friends who had started the same way) and got on with the head chef. Was given an opportunity by the head chef to train as a commis despite the language barrier, he tried it (cooking) and loved it.  
Did not know anything about the restaurant scene in Paris before moving there. Even applied for kitchen porter jobs.  
Uses kitchen lexicon ‘I didn’t even know how to use a knife’ (R). Example of openness in UK? Or of not needing language to learn how to cook? |
| Open to learning. | Whenever you change place you learn some new things, it is dynamic. |
| Division between the speed of access to higher positions for French cooks and immigrant cooks. |
When working as sous he referred to himself constantly as being a replacement.

**Mobility within the culinary workforce**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Preferences: stability, in 15 years has only had 3 employers, in current job for the last 8 years.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Each time you move you have to restart</td>
<td>You can perhaps evolve in the profession. But also asks ‘why move?’ he has opportunities with current boss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gets offers to move</td>
<td>Wants to move to work in a big hotel or a bigger establishment in the hope that it will be a better mix of people. For example an international hotel chain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wants to move</td>
<td>Thinks it will be easier to find second job than it was to find the first one. Is not sure if it is easier the second time round to find a job or not. He thinks he would still be asked for a paper qualification. Was able to use word of mouth to fund subsequent jobs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in ease of finding first job and second job</td>
<td>Has confidence in self and abilities to find a new job in Paris. Has done one year in Paris and does not think it will be complicated to find something else. Confidence, has a choice because she knows she is good and that she will find another job. Would find another job easily were he to move.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Confidence
### Head chefs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drop off in immigrant cooks in higher ranks</th>
<th>In general head chefs are French. Never see foreigners get top or head chef. Has a French head chef. All head chefs are French.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Impression that head chef position is only for French people.</td>
<td>No foreigners are in high positions. It is difficult for foreigners to go up. Foreigners are rank and file employees or stagiaires, not management. “All like who is foreigner is down”. The chef and owner are French “100% French”. On the team there are 3 or 4 French, 1 Malian, 2 Bangladeshi, 1 Algerian and some stagiaires (one is Chinese).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How this difference is compounded in everyday habits of French head chefs and owners.</td>
<td>There is a split in the team regarding French and foreigner. When the chef leaves he only give the keys to close up to the French people, including a French stagiaire. A Bangladeshi cook is there 8 years, the chef never gives him the keys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for experience</td>
<td>The chef is nice, friendly, doesn’t give stress. The chef taught him things in the beginning, but not everything because he saw I had worked before in kitchen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owners maybe don’t want to invest in immigrants.</td>
<td>Owners maybe don’t want to invest in immigrants if they think they will leave, but that is a daft idea, they don’t know what we will do, maybe I will stay here for my whole life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White French chef in the media.</td>
<td>What you see all the time in tv or magazines is white French chef. Never see a black chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference in the UK where black chefs are on the television.</td>
<td>In the UK it is different, for example Ainsley Harriet, you don't have examples like that in France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The feeling that this separation gives and the inclination that it is part of French culture</td>
<td>Doesn’t feel good about it, but the whole country is like that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michelin starred chefs don’t cook they give</td>
<td>Starred chefs don’t work, they do the menus, that’s it. They give the orders. Acceptance that they (the French head chefs) are the brain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
order and the immigrants do the graft. They have a thousand cooks at their sides, they (the chefs) don’t do anything. They have the experience (knowhow) but the doing is done by immigrants, all of it. They do one or two concentrated years and then they are head chef. Once they are chef they pass their days arms crossed, you do all the running. They say ‘do this, do this’ and you run everywhere. Then after 2 years they are on television. They don’t touch anything.

Similar to R’s thoughts: The head chef doesn’t work a full day in kitchen, hides in his office and sleeps; Never does the cleaning. At the time for the cleaning he gets changed and then comes to check.

A sense of easy access to a culinary career for French cooks. Opposite image of F talking about as an immigrant having to persevere, push, work hard etc.

Preference by head chefs for French cooks because it is presumed they already know things. It takes time to demonstrate to someone how to do something. There are not a lot of bosses who have the will to do that; They want someone who already knows how to do things, to train someone who already knows.

Although immigrant cooks could in fact know more (R, F, S)

French and Immigrant cooks

| Kitchen teams are mixed immigrant and domestic. | It is impossible to have a kitchen team all French. In kitchens it is a must that there are foreigners. | This is a good thing, it gives opportunity to see different cultures, different methods id doing things, different people, all of that. |
| It is not an even playing field for French and immigrant cooks | French cooks have more advantages than immigrant cooks, even if you are better. It is difficult as a foreigner. You have to battle. As a foreigner, to get to the same level, you need to put in a lot more effort, | |
have a lot more support and do a lot of gimmicks if you want to open your own place. You need to have a lot of cash and have done prestigious culinary schools or worked in prestigious hotels.

Immigrants need to put in more effort because they don’t have the same arms as French cooks. He (the French cook) is home.

There is an easiness for French cooks because everything is organised for them.

French cooks have an easier time in Paris since they have been in school here and already have industry contacts.

### Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pay differences.</th>
<th>When asked why so many cooks in Parisian bistros and restaurants are Sri Lankan, Indian or Bangladeshi…Asian cooks are paid less than French cooks.</th>
<th>It feels difficult. There are ‘no troubles’ today, no reason why cooks shouldn’t be paid the same.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There are moments when you know you are a better cook than your French colleague but he will get more promotions than you.</td>
<td>There is an abuse of the law occurring.</td>
<td>Is not sure but does have this feeling or impression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because Asian cooks don’t have papers it is difficult for them to ask anything of their employers.</td>
<td>Employers will choose French cooks over foreign cooks even if cv’s and experience levels are similar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It depends on the person But has experienced it.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Despondence, the language of defeat?

| When asked ‘how does that make you feel?’” the response is ‘what can we do? There is nothing we can do’. |                                                                                     |

### Differences between French and immigrant cooks.

| Says there is a difference in that French chefs are more advanced in gastronomy. It is part of their culture. |                                                                                     |
| Hesitates when asked if there is a difference between French and immigrant cooks. |                                                                                     |
| It takes longer for immigrant cooks than French cooks to progress up the ladder |                                                                                     |
Because it is harder for bosses to have confidence in immigrant cooks.
French cooks are not always the best.

### Promotion opportunities

- But when we really prove that we are capable we can progress.
- If you’re not stupid, when you want to learn, the doors are open.

### People from India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan are all experienced in cooking.

- They like to migrate, they can earn better as cooks in Europe than in their home countries. However there are too many working without papers.
- It shouldn’t be that way.
- They are suffering health issues because of their jobs in the food and beverage industry and they shouldn’t be.
- As the Asian cooks are working with no papers they do not have access to health insurance (which in France is normally very comprehensive in its coverage).

### It is all money related, there is a lot happening behind that (implying that there is more going on behind the fact that Asian cooks are working with no papers).

- Restaurants have one or two cooks from Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka because of the cost of running a restaurant. The cost of running a restaurant are very high, therefore owners look to ways to reduce overheads. Therefore they hire Asian cooks.
- The French government has to take steps to reduce this activity... to reduce taxes for example. This will in turn help owners pay staff better.

### French chefs are more visible

- It is always French chefs that are the most visible. It is deplorable. I ask myself is it not a missed opportunity by foreign chefs or cooks.
- The majority of restaurants, the faces in the front are white and the faces in the kitchen are generally not.
- Do immigrant cooks have time? That’s the question.

### Are immigrant cooks ready to be more visible?

- That question must also be asked. It must also be asked but it hasn’t been done yet. Are foreign cooks ready?
- We haven’t asked too much why this is the case. It could be that the immigrants don’t want to be in front.
- He went into the dining room in his whites when customers were there and it did not bother him. His Pakistani colleague, the kitchen porter, would not.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Gastronomy in culture</strong></th>
<th>French culinary culture is very well known, historic and strict. The depth of this history or culture means that the French think that their way of making things is the only way. Foreigners are more open.</th>
<th>‘I do not condemn him’ but ‘this needs to be looked at’.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Being French and having a CAP does not automatically make you a good chef.</strong></td>
<td>He started in a kitchen and all the French cooks used was salt and pepper, they knew no other spices. He explained that it is possible to use other flavourings and spices. Eventually the French cooks did try and they were impressed.</td>
<td>Is it not the public attention that is sought after but perhaps the inner circle/ the notice of other chefs that is appreciated?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doesn’t think there is a difference for French and foreign cooks, but you have to love the job.</strong></td>
<td>It is up to you to ‘go inside’ and search ‘it’ out: cooking technique, skills etc. You have to know everything. You have to look for new things to learn.</td>
<td>After twenty, thirty years you still won’t know everything.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The work hours is why there are so many foreigners in the kitchens.</strong></td>
<td>The majority if French cooks that he knows are foreigners (lists: Japanese, African, Bangladeshi, Somalian). The French won’t manage to work hours like that and not see family, for them it is not possible. It is too much, they don’t have time; they try but after one or two months they quit. French cooks are lazy and bossy.</td>
<td>“It’s weird, they are weird”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Market forces/norms driving underpayment of cooks. Ray?</strong></td>
<td>French apprentices have to work because they have to learn but once they are qualified they change.</td>
<td>Indian cuisine requires more hand work and more time. French cuisine less, therefore French restaurant can reduce the number of cooks on their teams and therefore lower costs. Indian restaurants cannot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese and Indian restaurants find it hard to compete with French restaurants. Ingredients are imported therefore more expensive Food is cooked differently, there are longer preparation and cooking times so more cooks are needed than are needed in a French restaurant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is more expensive to produce but it cannot be sold more expensively than French food. Therefore owners look for way to reduce overheads.

do that, they need more cooks. But overall the price of the food on the menu has to be less than in a French restaurant. Therefore the Indian cooks are paid less.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scheduling, overtime and pay</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pay &amp; overtime</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Schedules worked</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| Working split shifts | Couldn’t do the split at home because he lived so far away, he was obliged to do the split in the restaurant.  
| | Accepted a new post from his boss because it didn’t require having to work splits.  
| | Where he works now he doesn’t do splits but he lied in order to secure this.  
| | Now works day times 9.00-16.30. Days off per week which change. Doesn’t mind this. Everything is better than working splits.  
| | Previous job worked 6 days per week, 5 doubles and a straight.  
| | Previous job worked splits.  
| Break times | Gets a 15 min break for a 7 hour shift.  
| Transport | Lives far from Paris and it takes a long time on public transport.  
| Overtime | As an under 18 apprentice worked splits and 11 hour days. Says doing overtime is normal in kitchen and is not bothered by it; was indoctrinated from culinary school?  
| | Sees overtime as an opportunity to learn something he didn’t know before.  
| Feeling of a lack of choice regarding working long hours | If you don’t like the hours you are told to leave, the boss will find someone else.  
| | People need to live.  
| | When someone is down they will accept anything.  
| | There are more seekers.  
| Restaurant human resource management in Paris | Restaurant management groups run on the basis of maximum work for minimum pay.  
| | Paris is the capital of gastronomy but they don’t pay, no matter the level of the restaurant.  

| Culinary Apprenticeship | Was paid €310 per month when training plus bus tickets and meal vouchers.  
Paid between €900 and €1000 per month for training (2 weeks on the job, 2 weeks in class).  
The conditions of the apprenticeship were not easy. As a minor, he was paid €300 a month for a 35 hour week. His second year was more difficult as he was over 18. Worked 42 hour weeks for €500 per month.  
Previous employer paid him in cash at the end of the month for overtime (therefore undeclared). His second employer did not pay overtime.  
Pay rates are not the same for all apprentices, and are linked to your age as well. Ultimately it is the owner of the establishment who decides your pay.  
When he started his apprenticeship at 17 he wanted to earn €400 per month, he was given €350 per month (1/3 of the minimum wage).  
As an over 18 he wanted between €700-800 per month (the legal wage is €725). With overtime he was hoping to come away with €800-900 but got €500 for a 42 hour week. (In French work law apprentices over 18 can work overtime and it should be paid).  
On apprenticeship it is the owner or the boss of the establishment of the on the job training who decides the salary of the apprentice (although there are laws about minimum wages for apprentices, they were in JC’s case ignored). There are national guidelines regarding apprentice pay based on a percentage of national minimum wage, but bosses don’t appear to adhere to this). |
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compromise of schedule versus type of kitchen</td>
<td>Positives of current job are that he doesn’t have to do OT but he feels like he is not really cooking so doesn’t actually like the job much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of restaurant affects pay</td>
<td>Canteens are the worst, it is only the head chef that earns. The canteens use the agencies for part time staff who they take on for 2 days or one week at a time only and they don’t pay well.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Understanding food, cooking and gastronomy at a deeper level. | Thus the work is both badly paid and unstable.  
Proposes that cooks get better paid in smaller venues than in bigger operations.  
Perhaps in bigger places cooks get some small advantages but it is nothing really. |
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooks carry a distinctive or particular ambience, they are guardians of a part of the culture, guardians of the identity of a people. Therefore cooks should be compensated with a salary that is more reflective of their worth, a salary more coherent with the value of their labour.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Asking for a payrise | F’s boss avoids conversations of pay rises when they are broached.  
However F describes him as cool, if he didn’t he would have left (the job).  
Says it is normal that, as the owner, his boss thinks of the business but that it is also his (F’s) right to ask for a rise. |
|  | Showing a somewhat mature attitude to an often difficult/awkward conversation. Also, confidence in his skills that he could leave and find another job if necessary. |
| Time in lieu & sympathetic chefs | Restaurants where the chef understands that if the boss doesn’t pay OT, the chef organises the team such that when it is quiet they can go home early (also LRD experience in focus group).  
Let staff stay at home/ go home early when it is quiet.  
It is good for encouragement and support. Otherwise people quit the jobs because of the hours they have to do.  
If the chef shows that he understands that it is not easy when OT is not paid, it is better.  
People shouldn’t work for free. |
There are a lot of jobs where people do a lot for others but they are underpaid, cooking is one of them.

**Legality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not receiving overtime pay</th>
<th>There are restaurants who don’t pay overtime.</th>
<th>It is at the limit legally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Often on splits you work 12 hours a day but you are only paid for 8.</td>
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<tr>
<td>It is nothing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regardless how many hours you work you get paid 8 hours a day.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant status being taken advantage of</th>
<th>He was taken advantage of during his apprenticeship and his boss knew that JC wouldn’t file a complaint as he was young and not long in France.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asian cooks, often undocumented, are paid less than French cooks.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concentrating on work, don’t have time to do anything else.</th>
<th>JC’s boss took a risk on this. JC had been advised by his teachers that if he went to the labour court with a complaint it would have been investigated.</th>
<th>It is a time commitment to lodge a complaint. He didn’t want to dispense this time, which relates to S’s comments that cooks don’t have time for anything beyond their jobs. (Which further compounds issues).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He did not lodge a complaint as he found it too long a process and didn’t want that ‘histoire’.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Cooks don’t have time to fight back.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans often have 2 or 3 jobs in order to earn enough</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| He has a superstition or suspicion that had he lodged a complaint against his boss, something else would come his way that he hadn’t planned. A similar remark made by S. He just had the desire to finish and to get his CAP. | | |

**Discrimination**

| Direct examples of discrimination | In culinary school, teachers laughed with students saying that blacks aren’t cooks, they are kitchen porters. | |

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He recounts this laughing but does not pronounce the *‘les noirs’* strongly.

To take blacks and to hire them on contract in restaurants is not easy.

When the boss arrives he shakes hands with all the French staff first then the foreign staff- even if this means walking past someone to get to a French person.

It’s weird.
It adds up every day.

The cost of running a restaurant are very high, therefore owners look to ways to reduce overheads. Therefore they hire Asian cooks.
Restaurants have one or two cooks from Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka because of the cost of running a restaurant.
The government has to investigate this issue.

The attitude of owners toward pay is difficult to change.

He thinks that the boss took advantage of the fact that he was young and not long in France to exploit him regarding pay and hours.

Also that the boss knew that he wouldn’t take him to the labour court.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asked if this is a phenomenon in kitchens or in French society he replies that it is everywhere in France.</th>
<th>‘French people are like that, you can’t change it’.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Comparing experience in UK and Paris | It is not the same as in the UK, there people trust you. They see your work and they trust you.  
Paris is not the same. They think you are stupid and that they (the French) are on top.  
Sometimes you know more than them. |

F « Mais en l’Angleterre sais plus facile à bouger, ça j’ai remarqué, tu arrives à voir, tu voir les noirs, des indiens qui sont à des poste différemment, mais ici c’est dur. »
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The need for photograph-less cv’s</td>
<td>With identical C.V.’s owners will choose the French candidate. This is why neutral (photo-less) C.V.’s are being requested now. Bosses see the C.V.’s (photos) and say ‘If I take him I’ll have less problems than if I take him’. Similar to JC. He will choose who is born here, definitely.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echoing R’s comment, regarding French society</td>
<td>Poses rhetorical question ‘What are you going to do?’ In daily life people presume on seeing you that you are threatening because you are black.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation does not change in larger enterprises.</td>
<td>The contract caterer he worked for before, the hierarchy was the same: French only in senior roles. Though the head chef was French Algerian he defines her as French. “French has to be the top”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career progression</td>
<td>It is difficult to progress up the ladder if you are in the same company as where you started on the bottom rung. The boss is always going to look at you as the guy who is on the bottom. He will say ‘ah he, he has enough, why does he want more?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company culture of discrimination</td>
<td>Before starting in her job she did some research on her new place of work. She found a video interview of the chef owner who outright lied about having foreigners in the kitchen and said he had a full French team of cooks. She found this weird and hard to believe. It is impossible that in the industry there are not foreigners in the kitchen. Describes it as terrible to have seen. Repeats his phrase with incredulity ‘une équipe toute française!’ When the boss arrives he shakes hands with all the French staff first then the foreign staff- even if this means walking past someone to get to a French person.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Segregation as a part of life in France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segregation and problems with integration appear to not be singular to cooks or cooking.</th>
<th>All of the television programmes are like that, it is always the French that we see.</th>
<th>It is easier to integrate and see people of colour in higher jobs in UK than in France.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Using language to segregate</td>
<td>Even outside the kitchen, if in a bar and order a beer in French the waiter will reply in English. Most other countries the waiter replies in his or her own language; What if I don’t speak English?!</td>
<td>France is the only country where she came across this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of national pride and culture.</td>
<td>The traditional nature of the cultures of France and Italy make it harder for people to accept foreigners. London, maybe it is newer city so there are people who are from London but there is also lots of mixing with others. Paris is smaller than London and it is evident in the people’s attitudes and in the kitchens.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being reminded continuously of your background.</td>
<td>Being asked where you’re from is a daily occurrence. If it goes further than that you have to stop it. Says he warns others not to talk to him like he’s a child. Being mocked for her accent People think of black people as threatening.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The need for openness and acceptance of others.</td>
<td>“It is interesting to be in France, in fact I love Paris …But there are always some places where things work and some things don’t.” Feels it is important to travel to see, to understand and to try to understand. Not just in kitchen, in everyday life.</td>
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London v Paris

| Representation of immigrants in British kitchens | Minority of cooks in London restaurants are British. | Not many women in kitchens in UK. In 14 years only worked with maximum 5 women. |
There are more foreigners in London kitchens than in Parisian kitchens. Kitchens are mixed differently in Paris and London. In Paris there are more black people. In the UK it is more Maghreb, French, Algerian, Polish and Italian. Not too many Indian. In Paris kitchens ‘you have everybody’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>It was easier to integrate in London.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It was easier to integrate in London, no one spoke good English in the kitchens but everyone got on anyway.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Access to jobs</th>
<th>Qualifications are less a necessity in London than Paris when searching for a job.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is in France since 2000 and tried London first. Tried the culinary industry there but found that without a reference it was difficult.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The English need a reference.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>France is harder than London regarding language requirements; in London you can get work as a kitchen porter even if you don’t speak any English, in France you need equivalent of Bac +5 when looking with the dole office.</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pay</th>
<th>In London overtime was paid. It is stricter there for things like that.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pay is better in Paris than in London.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>London has less single owner venues, more restaurants are owned by companies. Therefore it is harder for decisions regarding pay and contracts etc. to be ruled by one person.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Doesn’t know how it is now, but remembers that he got £1000 in UK, but ‘my god you have to work hard’, a minimum of 6 days per week of doubles or splits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Earnings that now for 5 days of 6am to 3pm.

Asks to clarify if that was perhaps due to experience as well because others who had worked in London had said that the reverse was the case, he replies that yes experience will help but in any case the minimum wage in France is €1100 and that the equivalent he got was £800-900, that he never got £1000.

| Career ladder | But in the UK it is easier to move up. I noticed that, you see blacks, Indians at different jobs. Here (Paris) it is hard. The level of integration in London is better, here it is a bit rigid. It is easier to get fired in UK than in France.

| Attitude to food/gastronomy | Not the same prestige for cooking in London as there is in Paris. |

**Travail pénible**

| Why cooking is pénible | If you are working in kitchen because you didn’t find anything better suited for you, of course it is normal that you find cooking to be a difficult job. Difficult because you know nothing about it nor the vocabulary or language used; you are asked to get something and you don’t know what it is you search and search and try to guess that it is the chef wants. You do this all day. It is a type of stress, a mental stress and it forms part of the arduous nature of the job. Hooks into focus group feedback regarding knowing the language is one thing, understanding kitchen language and vocabulary is another. |
When cooking is not difficult.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When cooking is not difficult.</th>
<th>Cooking is easy when you love it.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He who loves his job does not find it arduous. Cooking, construction et cetera, he does it with passion it is not arduous.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In order to make an activity easy one must first love it.</td>
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Thankless

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<tr>
<th>Thankless</th>
<th>There is a cook shortage because cooking forms part of the group of jobs that are not valued, that are considered thankless.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One works all day for the well-being and pleasure of others but you get nothing at the end.</td>
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**Shortage of cooks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of the shortage of cooks.</th>
<th>Poor wages</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Little room to evolve salary wise in smaller places.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The salaries offered to cooks in Paris are indecent (repeats).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooking is too hard or complicated to have a private life, people don’t like that.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>There are other types of work available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A lack of training.</td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team sizes are small or, undersized by design</th>
<th>Her team reduced in size by 10 cooks in one year even though there is not a shortage of people wanting to work there.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Owners don’t want to hire. For the owners it is easier to keep people on false promises of promotion and if they leave the owners make do with those who stay on another year.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CM, working alone in a 2 person kitchen.</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F’s observation that canteens don’t hire staff they use agency cooks to keep costs down.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unaware that there is a shortage of cooks in Paris.</td>
<td>Finds it odd that there is a shortage- if this was the case she would have been hired more quickly after arrival in Paris. Did not know that there was a shortage and finds the idea odd. Asks if it is not more a case that owners don’t want to hire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If someone were to leave there will be someone looking for a job, there are many people searching.</td>
<td>Similar to F.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work hours</td>
<td>Splits Being on split shifts defeats people. He has had several colleagues who have all quit 2 or 3 months because of split shifts. Having to work splits Working hours (late hours) impacts choice to be a cook or not.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in the suburbs</td>
<td>Living far away. Finishing work late in the evening and not having own transport and public transport being finished. Even of it is not city centre work, there are other areas where public transport doesn’t reach. Possibly also because people don’t want to do it anymore, people give up. Also noted by C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The profession is not valued</td>
<td>There is a cook shortage because cooking forms part of the group of jobs that are not valued, that are considered thankless. One works all day for the well-being and pleasure of others but you get nothing at the end. Another example are security guards who work with no safety defence. Interesting to note this job as it is visibly largely made up of African or African French males and is a very visible job now.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking for the well-being of others also noted by ML in the focus group session.</td>
<td>that Paris and France is under a state of emergency situation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Repeatedly he was asked at school if he really liked cooking as it is a lot of work, a lot of effort, military in style. Need to work Sundays, bank holidays, Christmas, New Year. People abandon the work because of this.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requirements to entry are too restrictive</td>
<td>Employers ask for a lot of things. In UK was working in a hotel, in France it is impossible to work in a hotel ‘no way, in your dreams’. Requirements are high, they ask for a lot, language, experience, qualifications, bac plus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trial is one day in the UK, in France it is 3 months. In England “I got jobs in England and after 2 hours you start”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job applications system</td>
<td>Even to see a job vacancy in harder in Paris. In UK if someone is looking for a cook they put a sign in the window. You are in immediately in direct contact with the manager or chef to get further information. In France announcements for vacancies are made through the dole office or job websites. CL’s experience of cold calling into bakeries to ask about work and only getting odd looks in return backs this up explanation of a different system of hiring. However R says when you post your cv with the dole office they don’t call you back.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not just French restaurants in Paris experiencing problems hiring.</td>
<td>Couldn’t find enough talented and experienced cooks in Paris when hiring for a new Indian restaurant so brought 2 over from India. Planned to bring 5 but the paperwork was too complicated so brought 2. The other 3 were hired in Paris and trained up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gastronomy

| French chefs are more experienced in gastronomy. | In France there is a deeper understanding of cooking and chefs explain things.  
French gastronomy is still alive, or living. It is a cuisine that will last a long time no matter what arrives.  
French culinary culture is very well known, historic and strict.  
French cuisine is really well known.  
The French are the best for food.  
Gastronomy starts in France |  |
|---|---|---|
| Gastronomy and culture. | Travelled in order to learn the gastronomy of other countries.  
Sees it as a good experience to have learnt the dishes of other countries.  
Open to learning and sharing ideas, generosity is in the spirit of the industry.  
French are very good at conserving their culture, they show it off and make sure it is ever present; every day there is a new television show where we can see French culinary culture on show.  
They (French) don’t hesitate to go elsewhere to learn and to add something to their repertoire. |  |
| Awareness of Parisian dining scene and customer habits. | Parisian diners are interested to try new things or other cuisines but won’t go to the areas in the city where those cuisines are made by cooks from those countries.  
They want to eat exotic but they won’t move so they eat pizza.  
Customers search out Italian, Indian, French and Japanese dishes.  
Reads about consumer trends and knows that French food is no longer the top. Sees |  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Response</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>That during celebrations French people now choose foreign or exotic</td>
<td>Cooked Alsace region foods. Nevertheless he added his own techniques or ingredients from Africa/ Cameroonian cuisine. To add his own ‘African touch’. This worked well, the customers liked it, even if it was an Alsatian restaurant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foods.</td>
<td>Tries new things, learns Asian and Indian dishes to change the (traditional) brasserie menu. The customers are happy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing new flavours/ingredients to customers. The freedom to</td>
<td>Feeling part of Parisian gastronomy and is proud to be cooking in Paris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do so. Learning French regional foods.</td>
<td>When one works in food and beverage industry in Paris, one is adding a stone to the structure that makes the culinary culture of Paris. It is a pride to be part of that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Every cook who cooks in Paris plays his or her part. Tourists or visitors come to your restaurant and taste, they may like it or they may not, but nonetheless you have contributed and partaken in Parisian culinary culture, French culinary culture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feels he is participating in Paris’ story if gastronomy. People come to eat what he makes.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He feels it is a shared experience, half for eating, half for the cooking.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regarding feeling part of the gastronomic culture of Paris, he felt more comfortable or at ease in culinary school but it also depends on the bosses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Feels part of Parisian gastronomy and is proud to be cooking in Paris</td>
<td>A possible indicator of the presence of other immigrants on the team?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When asked about using African ingredients on the menu he replies no it would not be possible, but perhaps for staff meal it would be.</td>
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<tr>
<td>French make gastronomy complicated and once you work hard it is not</td>
<td>When you work alone you are obliged to do everything.</td>
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<tr>
<td>difficult, but it also depends on the type of restaurant.</td>
<td>The restaurants where the menu doesn’t change or only changes every 6 months that is easy. There are also restaurants whose menus change daily and you are obliged to make new things every day, new dishes. That is too complicated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Cooking is easy when you love it.**  
**Demystifying gastronomy?** | **People come to Paris to visit monuments, museums and sights they may have seen on television and now want to see in real life and also to eat, to enjoy themselves in restaurants.** |
|---|---|
| **Understands the important place that restaurants in Paris have with regards the culture of the city, the important role that restaurants in a visitor’s image of the city from a cultural, heritage and tourism perspective.** | **Cooks give life to many people.**  
**Cooks carry a distinctive or particular ambience, they are guardians of a part of the culture, guardians of the identity of a people.**  
Therefore cooks should be compensated with a salary that is more reflective of their worth, a salary more coherent with the value of their labour.  
Cooking is an art, it is creativity… it is inspiration.  
It is an art that comes from elsewhere that we cannot explain.** |
| **Cooks are artists.** | **Understanding food, cooking and gastronomy at a deeper level.** |
| **Challenges of working in Paris with its deep food culture** | **More respect for the food than the people.**  
**Does not like working with pork and alcohol.** |
| **Responding to a question regarding the impact on French cuisine if it is cooked by immigrant cooks:** | **“This is not a negative thing... it is gastronomy, it has to be spread all over”.** |
| **India has a gastronomy too... it is coming to the fore now.** | **Due to the world’s interest in healthy food and vegetarian food.**  
**Connects to CM’s idea to work in or open a vegetarian restaurant. It suits him as it solves the pork problem and he remarks that foreigners (tourists) like vegetarian food.** |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overall experience &amp; Personal agency</th>
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| **Likes being a cook; passionate cook** | Love it.  
  Only one I know.  
  Feels strongly that it is his metier and doesn’t want to do another.  
  A sense of permanency.  
  Thinks that cooks take the least days off sick.  
  Has not studied it but from what he sees, cooks take the least from the working world. It is because cooks love what they do, in general, the majority if cooks love what they do, even if they are underpaid. It is, first of all, a passion. |
| **Negatives – not getting recognition & pressure.** | Cooking is tiring, difficult and demotivating if one is not recognised for ones efforts.  
  There is a lot of pressure in kitchen work.  
  Left previous job feeling very demotivated. Feels regretful because she loved the work. If she was recognised for her work she would work like it was her own, would work double no problem. Is passionate about her work. |
| **The weight of the system of split shifts is heavy.** | Evident on his face that he likes cooking. Like very much the kitchen, like it a lot “but not splits!” |
| **Not an easy career when starting out.** | Initially it is a difficult profession but once you can sustain yourself in it, it is up to you. You must persevere.  
  Always advises young cooks coming into the profession to not be too picky from the outset, not to be against split shifts. Take any good job initially.  
  Afterwards when you have some experience you can say ‘I only want to work mornings’ and so forth, that is possible. |
<p>| <strong>Owners mistreating good cooks and end up keeping the lazy ones because the good ones leave.</strong> | |
| Happy memories of starting as a cook having been a kitchen porter. | Repeats the daytime hours, evidence that his time working splits was really tough and left an impression? |
| Happy memories of starting as a cook having been a kitchen porter. | He enjoyed training up from kitchen porter to commis. Got on well with the head chef and stayed in the job 3 years. The chef was French, describes him as nice and a good teacher (this was in London). Feels he was valued, got a pay rise every few months or was given extra hours when he needed the money. Loved working with that chef and recognises that it was a good head chef. |
| Travail pénible | When a job is a passion the arduousness of the job is not felt. When someone does a job, such as cooking, with passion, with their heart, it is the easiest job. On the other hand if you are cooking because you couldn’t find anything better suited to you, you will of course find it difficult. |
| Identity | Cooks are creative, cooks are artists. |
| Positive. | No issues with French colleagues etc. In general found people to be friendly. Found it ‘normale’; demystifying the kitchen? Felt it was ‘la classe’ and liked it a lot, especially that in the kitchen it is clean and ordered. There are opportunities for career development when one can display ones competences. |
| General | Is in Paris to work and earn, to make a life. Interested in small restaurants with just 2 or 3 in the team. Worked in French and Indian/ Sri Lankan restaurants. |
| | Cooking in Paris is his first experience cooking. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Difficulties depend on the owners and the bosses not the standard or category of the restaurant.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Religion** | Likes his job but does not like working with pork.  
Would stay in restaurants and open a vegetarian restaurant.  
Foreigners like that (referring to foreigners living in Paris), if I stay I will do a vegetarian restaurant  
Being Muslim doesn’t affect his work, doesn’t mind working with pork or alcohol  
“Kitchen is kitchen”. |
| **Morally speaking he should not eat it touch it or give it to others. It is only pork that would make him quit his profession.** |
| **Has learned a lot cooking in Paris.** | Does not want to only say negative things. Likes Paris and living in Paris. |
| **Confidence** | Could work in any size of place (he feels capable).  
However not canteen. Tried it and hated it, did not even finish the placement (F has been working in the restaurant for 8 years, thus not a fickle person).  
What is difficult in cooking is not knowing the recipe. When you do it correctly, you will succeed. |
| **Describing the atmosphere of canteen work, it is the chef shouting ‘do this, do that’ (exactly as JC described it). Chef asked him why he was there, he said he didn’t know, so the chef threw him out (as also happened to MK). Instability of interim canteen work. An area JC’s polyvalent CAP trained him for** |
| **It is up to the person the find the training. You have the right to evolve. You have the right to be financed by your company. But you must want it.** |
| **Canteen is ‘special’** | ‘Chauffer du plat’, a pun on the French word for driver and the verb to reheat implying that little cooking is involved.  
The CAP held by 4 of the interviewees is a training that focuses on canteen cooking which is thus described. |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Wishes for the future</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wants to see a chance given to everyone</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Believes that qualifications are not the be all and end all.</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worked with a cook who was ‘qualified’ but who cried and ‘hid in the corner’ every time there was pressure in the kitchen ‘But she had the qualification’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wonders perhaps that some people do culinary training because it is better than nothing.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Pride</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has pride in his job.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Describes progressing in 2 or 3 months to hot starters.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stayed with the chef who brought him up from kitchen porter for three years.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Push/ Drive</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>Is this earnestness a sign of having had to battle?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Progress is up to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never forget where you came from - No matter which ambition, the door that you can’t open, you must force, that is important.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must demonstrate in your work that you won’t give up, that you are always competent and willing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always advises young cooks coming into the profession to not be too picky from the outset, not to be against split shifts. Take any good job initially.</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>To be an immigrant</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Does not like the term immigrant, finds it to be discriminatory. Prefers expatriate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Europeans are in Africa, they are never called immigrants, only expats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Even though they are there for the same reasons as we are here: to work and have a better life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant and expatriate are not the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not injurious to be called an immigrant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The culinary industry should be more open. It should be possible that anyone can be a head chef. Not just in a small restaurant, but in big companies too, for example executive chef “that would be good”.

Bosses should not be choosing staff based on type (heritage, colour) of people.

For the future he wishes that the kitchen can be open to everyone since we are all human, to find it normal that people are people because no one knows everything. The kitchen should not be so closed. To be open to everyone.

**All types of cuisines are not like my own (country), even the utensils. But it is not that difficult, ‘that is called that, and that is called that’, to know that, and to put that in the heads of everyone. You can show or demonstrate something to someone in a way that matches his abilities and you must inform him that he will get there and be able to do everything in the kitchen.**

**Equal pay**

Recommends that cooks starting out don’t go to the big restaurants, but rather the small ones.

Better opportunities to learn in small restaurant.

In big kitchens you are not seen and don’t have as many opportunities to learn. In smaller kitchens you work directly with the chef because there are less people in the kitchen.

The chef will teach you. When the chef is away you can replace him.

Wishes that in the future the pay disparity between French and immigrant cooks is changed.

He feels for the cooks discomfort and the expense of working.

The attitude of owners needs to change with regards to their non-payment of overtime.

The government has to investigate how to solve the problem of underpayment of cooks. The problem of not getting aid overtimes and working long hours.

Suggests that the government should find ways to reduce operating costs or taxes for restaurant owners in order to enable them (the owners) to afford overtime payments.

Cooks are creative, cooks are artists, unfortunately, like for
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Salaries</strong></th>
<th>The salaries don’t follow the work.</th>
<th>artists, cooks are not paid at their valour.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Give people a chance** | That if he doesn’t know French, he won’t always be like that.  
(Links to F comment that the boss you start with at the bottom rung will always see you as that person).  
Likes his job is “mon metier”. | |
| **Training opportunities** | More availability for of training to allow foreign cooks to transfer experience into paper qualifications | |
| **Future jobs** | Would like to do catering.  
Restaurant work, with services is hard, is too tired for it now.  
Enjoys catering because one can organise ones day and fix your pace that is necessary to the workload.  
Catering is easier in that sense?  
Wishes to stay in kitchen but it depends on unknowns as well, life can change.  
Similar undertone as JC referring to not bringing his boss to court, and S talking of another/higher road. Implies a constant feeling of instability or of being on the edge all the time?  
Maybe sometime in the future he will change profession.  
Maybe to be a bus conductor  
Or a policeman  
Likes professions that are aggressive…Cooking is aggressive? | |
Merci beaucoup !

La première question c’est : Pourquoi vous avez décidé de faire la cuisine ? De travail en cuisine? Thank you very much! First question is, why did you decide to cook? To work in kitchens?

ML : Pour moi tous les jours j’ai préparé, dans mon pays les jours j’ai préparé pour les petits, j’ai de l’habitude, c’était pour ça j’ai choisi la cuisine.

A : Moi j’ai choisi de travailler en cuisine parce que c’était le premier travail pour moi en France dans la cuisine, pour ça j’ai voulu travailler tout le temps en cuisine.

LRD : Moi, entant que marié on est arrivé en France après 5 ans. J’avais fait la cuisine à la maison, j’avais 35 quand je suis venu ici et en France à partir de ça j’ai vu que il y a pas mal de proposition de travail en restauration, j’ai commencé a cherché et voilà et je suis tombé dans un restaurant français. Au départ c’était vraiment un besoin et après avec le temps vraiment en voyons la cuisine française je suis devenu vraiment passionné par la cuisine française. C’est là je faire ce métier parce que je l’aime.

Vous avez fait la cuisine déjà chez vous, mais professionnement, depuis quand est-ce que vous êtes en cuisine ? You have cooked already at home, but professionally, since when are you in kitchen?

LRD : Personnellement je faire ce métier, ça fait déjà 14 ans.


A : Pour moi je travaille en cuisine c’est 18 mois, un an et demi.

D’accord, donc c’est une activité, un travail assez nouveau pour toi ? Ok, so it is a relatively new activity for you?

A : Oui, c’est ça.

Comment vous avez trouvé le travail ? Vous avez juste postulé pas hazard ; vous avez rentre dans les restaurants déposer votre cv’s ou c’était par un site d’internet ou avec le pôle emploi ? How did you find your jobs? Have you applied randomly just going into restaurants with your cv’s or did you do it by the internet or the social security office?

ML : J’ai postulé avec le pôle emploi et j’ai postule directement aussi.
A : J’ai remplacé quelqu’un pendant 5 mois et après j’ai continué jusqu’à chez vous.

LRD : A la base j’ai fait un test dans un resto brésilien, la cuisine brésilienne et juste après en parlant bouche oreille il y a eu une place à Paris St Lazare qui j’ai pris juste pour remplacer pour trente jours et j’ai resté quatre ans dans cette boîte et après je suis partie des autres restaurants, traiteurs…

Quand vous réfléchir, ils sont quoi des images dans vos têtes par rapport le travail en cuisine ? Quels sont des images qui arriver quand tu réfléchir ? Est-ce que c’est un endroit sympa, facile ou très très dur avec des collègues difficile, des chefs difficile ? Ils sont quoi les premier mots qui sort en fait quand tu penses a la cuisine ? When you reflect, what are the images in your heads regarding kitchen work? Is it a nice place, an easy place or very difficult with difficult colleagues or chefs? What are the first words that come out in fact when you think about kitchen work?

ML : D’abord tout a changé, j’ai fait l’indien, tous change ici. Après j’ai appris et change la cuisine….tous changé!! Tu entre la cuisine….tous changé!

A : Moi je pense que le travail dans la cuisine est un travail vite, ‘’tic tac tic tac tic tac’’ comme ça!

LRD : Moi je peux définir la cuisine autant avec un mot qui s’appelle ‘évolution’. J’avais une base de cuisine à la maison mais tous les techniques de refroidissement, températures de cuisson, tous ce genres de choses on se rendre pas en compte quand on faire à la maison et je vois que vraiment en regardent le parcours il y a vraiment d’évolution, il y a encore de boulot à faire derrière tout ça, mais c’est déjà pas mal.

Vous ferez toujours la cuisine de chez vous; de votre pays chez vous? Do you still cook at home? The plates of your home country?

ML : Oui. Nous prépare beaucoup de quantité, mais ici je prépare mais un peu difficile. La bas, c’est facile parce que j’ai l’habitude, toujours j’ai préparé, ici c’est un peu difficile, mais ça va.

Apres un peu de temps c’est ça ? After a while, is that it ?

ML : Oui.

La bas j’ai préparé tous les matins, ici peut être j’avais hier préparé des choses comme ça

LRD : Moi j’aime bien le terme que les français utilisent en disant ‘revisiter’, j’adore ça. A la maison quand je faire les plats brésilien j’essayer de revisiter a la façon française, on s’amuse avec ça. Moi je m’amuse avec la cuisine, c’est vraiment des choses, ça me fait plaisir.

ML : Moi aussi, j’essayer dans le français recipes. Je préparé chez moi aussi un peu, les gratins, tarte aux pommes, et des choses comme ça après que j’ai fait la profession formation et après je viens faire à la maison.

A votre avis, vous penser, est-ce qu’il y a des problèmes ou des choses qui sont difficile pour les étrangers qui travail en cuisine ici ? In your opinion, est there a problem, or things that are difficult for foreigners who work in kitchens here?
ML : Premier mots pour moi c’est ‘Langue’ (everyone nods in agreement). La langue française.

K : La langue ? Pour apprendre la langue ? La difficulté d’apprendre la langue ?

ML : Oui.

K : C’est la première barrière ?

ML : D’abord pour le comprendre, dans les premières expériences en peu, quand je travaille dans les restaurants. J’ai parlé. J’ai compris mais c’est le professionnel…

*Toi quand tu es arrivé ici tu parlé déjà français ? When you arrived here, did you already speak French?*

LRD : Non, quand je suis arrivé non, j’ai parlé pas de tout français.

Mais quand je suis arrivé j’avais la change d’être hébergé chez un professeur marié un français et j’ai pris des cours les soirs chez elle, et en même temps j’ai pris des fiches technique qu’été en français et j’ai faisait la traduction avec un petit crayon sur les fiches techniques en regardons tous qui été marqué en français j’ai savais que est ce que ça veut dire en portugais parce que la traduction a été faite par ta crayon.

Mais c’est vrai que la communication c’est vraiment la plus grosse difficulté parce que il y a des mots que on ne connaît pas et quand on essaye de bosser dans une autre branche on voir que ça change parce que on apprendre le langage de la cuisine, on reste un petit peu limité. C’est toujours la langue française.

Bien sûr en sortant le travail je prenais des cours de soir, trois fois par semaine plus le samedi matin. Oui, il faut y allé.

*Oui ça se voit que tu as fait de la formation au debout! Yes that is clear that you did some classes in the beginning!*

**Et toi, tu as eu déjà un peu de français ? And you, did you already have some French?**

A : Moi en ce moment je ne peux pas aller à l’école mais quand je n’ai pas travaillé j’ai, allé d’une école gratuite.

LRD : Oui Maison pour Tous ?

A : Oui, voilà, à coté de de tous les quartiers d’apprentis à Paris.

LRD : J’ai faisait ça aussi, Maison Pour Tous, 3 fois par semaine plus le samedi matin.

A : Oui, 2 heures par jour.

*Donc est ce que la langue a été aussi un problème pour toi en cuisine ou est-ce que pour toi il y avait des autre choses qui été difficile ? So was the language a problem for you in work, or for you were there other things that were difficult?*
A : Non le travail a été bien, c’est quelqu’un parle bien, quelqu’un parle pas bien, quelqu’un parle vite, voilà c’est ça le problème.

*Ok donc c’est plutôt la langue qui été difficile ? Right ok, so it was mostly the language that was difficult.*

A : Oui.

*Est-ce que vous avez eu des problèmes au niveau des horaires par exemple ? Did you have issues with work hours ?*

A : Moi j’ai travaillé coupure a campanile 2 fois par semaine mais si quelqu’un a pris beaucoup de congés moi j’ai fait leur coupures. 9.00-15.30 et 19.00-23.30.

*Pour toi la coupure c’était comment ? Parce que je sais que pour quelques ’un de faire des coupures pendant des années et des années et ça les dérange pas et les autres ils n’aissent pas de tout. For you how was it to do splits? I know that for some people it doesn’t bother them to do splits for years, but others don’t like it at all.*

A : Oui c’est ça ! Moi j’ai fait beaucoup de coupures,

S’il y a personne, quand j’ai travaillé à Paris si il y a personne pendant 2 jours où 3 jours, ce qui faire l’après-midi faire la coupure, il faut les faire parce que il y a pas autres personne qui arrive il n’avait pas des personnes en intérim, pas ça.

*Donc tu été obligé en fait ? So you were obliged in fact?*

A : Oui, c’est ça. Parce que ont été 5 personne, d’autre personne ils ont pris leur jours on est que trois oui c’est ça. Parce que c’est restaurant, ce n’est pas comme ici par exemple demain on ne travaille pas parce que c’est jour férié mais la bas on a travaillé tous les jours sept jours sur sept, c’est lundi jusqu’à dimanche.

*Combien d’heures par semaine ? How many hours per week?*


*Ok. Le 39 c’était officiel ou vraiment 39? Was it officially 39 hours, or really 39?*

A : Non ça c’est officiel, j’ai fait double de ça des fois.

*Est-ce que les horaires supplémentaires a été payé ou pas ? Was overtime paid ?*

A : Aah, oui mais, c’était des fois il ne paye pas ou on a eu une cheque

*Donc ce n’était pas déclaré ? So it wasn’t declared?*

A: Non. Ou une prime. Deux trois mois on a eu un prime 150euro, c’est bien, le noël on a eu une cheque, voilà c’est ça. (Smiling)

*Tu as trouvé un peu la même ? Did you find the same ?*

LRD: J’ai travaillé un peu mais pas longtemps parce que c’était en restaurant brésilien et on faisait des services midi et soir et après j’ai quitté parce que j’ai reçu une proposition
de travail dans un autre restaurant, un français, qui a faisait que des services de midi. C’été 6.30-14.30.

Ok, carré. Et tu as eu des problèmes au niveau de n’être pas payé pour les heures supplémentaires ou de travail des jours fériés? Right, organised. And did you have problems regarding not being paid overtime worked or having to work bank holidays?

LRD : Je ne peux pas cacher, j’ai fait des heures qui n’ont pas été payé mais nous avons toujours trouvé un arrangement ; on a eu des jours que on se reposer, le jour que nous avons travaillé plus dans une journée, la période calme qui n’été pas trop charg on pouvait partir plus tôt a la maison, on a trouvé toujours un arrangement.

Sinon je ne trouve pas que je me suis fait exploité au niveau de moi entant que étranger, non, je ne pense pas.

Tu as eu des choses comme ça? Did you also have things like that?

ML : Moi aussi j’ai fait des coupures mais pas beaucoup parce que j’ai fait d’extra, donc 2 or trois jours par semaine ? Pas tous les jours.

Et pour rentrer les soirs, vous avez eu des problèmes avec le transport, les trains qui s’arrêté à minuit ou ? So to get home in the evenings, did you have problems with transport, trains that stop at midnight or..?

A : Moi j’ai travaillé à Nanterre, Nanterre préfecture qui est dans le campanile.

Mais j’ai un chef et directeur très gentille et s’il avait plus de transport j’ai pris une chambre.

Ah oui.

Vous avez tous des patrons très sympas ! You all had very nice bosses!

A : Normalement ce n’est pas mais ils me donnent.

LRD : Moi quand j’ai travaillé dans ce restaurant et ont a faisait coupure, on finissait à minuit et demi, une heure le matin, on ne peut pas prendre le transport et soudain pendant une semaine je suis hébergé par mon patron. Mais il y a vais un moment quand j’ai dit, non ce n’est pas possible ! Et j’été obliger de cherche un autre travail. Si les choses été mal expliquées… !!

A : Ici, pour travaille coupure à Paris ou portes de Paris ça va, mais un moment j’ai habité à Antony et j’ai travaillé à Roissy, je ne peux pas, mais si c’été a Paris ca c’était un peu plus facile.

Est-ce que vous pensez qu’il y a une différence ou est-ce que vous pensez qu’il y a une différence entre les cuisiniers français et étrangers ? Do you think that there is a difference between french and immigrant cooks?

LRD : Moi je pense que au niveau de, si on regarder tous les avantages des gens qui sont nées dans le pays qui n’ont pas des problèmes au niveau de papiers comme nous des étrangères ,logement , tous les problèmes qui concerne les étrangers , je pense que oui ,
des français ils ont davantage. Je me rappelle quand j’ai commencé à travailler j’ai prenais des cours et mais malgré tout ça j’ai passe par des moments difficile, de m’énerver, que j’ai voulait m’exprimé et je n’arrive pas, si j’étais un français j’aurais pu bien me mettre assise avec le patron et voilà de m’exprimer. Mais il me manquait des mots de vocabulaire et je me rappelle que nous avons eu des prises la tête, alors. Et aussi un niveau d’évolution, je pense que quand les gens arrive à se communiquer, à lire et écrire je pense que ça joue beaucoup oui. Des patrons, je pense que c’est un peu fatigue avec des étrangers de pousser pousser, de faire des efforts et la personne est là tu vois avec son problème perso tant que c’est vraiment d’investir son niveau de français, je pense que son évolution est plus sur je pense malgré tous les raisons que nous avons, parce que nous, les étrangers, nous avons vraiment pas mal des raisons pour se dander pour aller à fond nous envie, nous avons monté des difficultés, mais nous allons vraiment toujours être bloquer par la différence de expressent, je pense que ça joue beaucoup oui.

C’est davantage d’être cuisinier français en France.

Et même si les cuisiniers français viens au Brasil ils ont l’avantage pour eu la bas.

**K** : Pourquoi ?

**LRD** : Ca la recherche. Un pays comme la nôtre qui est en plein de développement si vous débarquez chez nous entant de cuisinier et moi je suis cuisiniers brésilien aussi vous les étrangers au niveau de la qualité et tous les concepts que vous avez dans la cuisine française vous arrive chez nous déjà avec meilleur poste que nous, un salaire beaucoup mieux que la nôtre, c’est ça.

**K** : Même si toi tu retournes au brésil autant que cuisinier ? Avec ton expérience française

**LRD** : Oui bien sûr. J’ai eu même des propositions

**K** : Mais j’ai voulais faire la comparaison, entre un français qui va en brésil et toi avec ton expérience française entant brésilien qui retourne au pays ?

**LRD** : Là on est sur niveau d’égalité.

*Mais c’est pareil quand je suis allée en chine, j’ai trouvé du bon boulot parce que je viens d’Europe. Même si je n’avais pas touché des casseroles mais j’ai dit cuisinier, ‘ok viens, tu as la poste’. It is the same when I worked in China, I found a good job because I come from Europe. Even if I hadn’t touched pans, but I said I was a cook, ‘ok, come, you have the job’*

**LRD** : Il y a vraiment renommé quoi il y a ce concept la cuisine française, tout le monde. Voilà, il y a des brésilien qui sont en train de dépenser des fortunes pour aller manger dans un restaurant français sérieux. Parce que les cuisiniers sont français. Les plats sont français. Il connaît le foie gras, le magret de canard oh la…tous ces genres de plats là.

*Pour toi, tu trouves qu’il y a une différence, ou moins de problèmes ou plus des problèmes ? For you do you find that there is a difference; or fewer or more problems ?*

**A** : Pour moi je ne sais pas trop parce que c’était mon premier travail. Avant c’était plus dur en somalie
Il y avait des gens en cuisine qui étaient français ? Were there French people on the team?

A : Oui, Chef est français. Cuisine, la salle, cuisine, réceptionniste, moitié-moitié. Pas français, étrangers mais né ici.

Vous avez tous travaillé bien ensemble ? Did you work well together?

A : Oui

Pour toi M est ce qu’il y a une différence ? For you, M, is there a difference?

ML : Moi, je ne sais pas parce que la bas en Inde je n’ai pas travaillé en cuisine, dans la maison c’est tout.

Mais ici en France, quand tu as commencé ici la ou tu as travaillé, ou tu as fait la formation, est ce qu’il y a moins de français qui a fait des coupures que les étrangers ?
But here in France, when you started working, where you trained, were there less French people who did splits as compared to the immigrants?

ML : La profession c’est bien pour moi, dans la cuisine ça c’est bon pour moi. Généralement je ne parle pas beaucoup ; je sais lire, écrire, les recettes, la cuisine est bonne.

LRD : Je veux ajouter quelque choses ; entant que brésilien, je pense que ça m’ouvre vraiment des portes, je ne sais pas si c’était le football qui joue beaucoup ou quoi mais ça aide, jusqu’à présent je garde le contact avec mes ex patrons parce que ont été vraiment adopté, ça aide dans ce sens.

K : La France, elle accepte beaucoup la culture latino, on a une culture commune.

LRD : Ça me beaucoup aidé.

K : Je pense que c’est plus difficile pour les gens issu de l’Afrique et d’Asie que pour les gens issu de la culture latino-américaine.

LRD : C’est même ce couple français en voyons le façon comment on est la passion, la famille, ils on cherche un petit peu la culture brésilien es ces gens-là qui m’ont avancé de l’argent pour acompte petit à petit a mon paye pour faire venir ma femme et mon fils en France. Ça veut dire il y a ce cote de France qui est vraiment un pays accueillent, il y a des bras ouvert.

Est-ce que vous avez trouvé les même ? Que France été bien accueillant ou non ? Did you find the same? That France is welcoming or not?

ML : Oui

LRD : Chacun son expérience, la mienne été plutôt positive

K : Moi je sais que personnellement, ce que j’ai vu, moi j’ai vu des choses très négatif après je ne dis pas que vous vous avez eu des choses négatif mais moi entant que blanc j’ai vu des choses dans mon petit expérience très négatif envers les étrangers.
Pour commencer la vie? To start building a life?

A : Pour commencer c’est difficile, mais pour tout le monde c’est comme ça.

ML: Oui, pour les étrangers, c’est comme ça (inferring that it is normal that there are some difficulties, but not feeling hard done by) De trouvé le travail c’est difficile. Pour trouvé me travaile c’ete difficile.

Pourquoi tu penses que c’été difficile à trouver le travail ? Why do you think that it is difficult to find work?

ML : D’abord c’est la langue, après c’est l’expérience. C’est important l’expérience, tout le travail demande l’expérience. Moi, la bas j’été comptabilité, mais ici arrive j’ai demandé et « non ». La langue j’ai appris un peu, après j’ai écrit et j’ai commencé à inscrire la formation. Maintenant ça va!

Et toi, tu as trouvé pareil ? Quand tu as postulé, la réponse était comment ? And you, did you find the same? When you applied for jobs, how was the reply?

A : Avant j’été a Poitier, une petite ville, quand je suis arrivé à paris et j’ai cherché le travail difficile, parce que en province pour trouve le premier travail c’est difficile mais le deuxième c’est facile.

Est-ce que il y a des autre choses que vous voulais partager, que vous avez dans vos têtes par rapport le travail en cuisine ? Est qu’il y a des choses que vous souhaitez pour le futur, pour l’avenir pour le travail en cuisine ? Are there other things that you would like to share that you have in your heads regarding kitchen work? Are there things that you wish for the future, future work in kitchen?

Est qu’il y a des choses que vous souhaite pour l’avenir ?

Je ne sais pas, si vous voulez évoluer dans les poste mais tu le trouve difficile, comment vous voulez traverser cette difficulté ? Je ne sais pas est ce que il y a des choses pour l’avenir ? I dont know, for example if you want to evolve in your job bit you find it difficult, how would you cross that challenge?

Lrd : Moi personnellement, je me suis trouvé dans une situation un peu difficile parce qu’en tant cuisinier il y a deux genres de cuisinier : le cuisinier diplômé et expérimenté. Et ce genre de façon j’ai déjà vu il y a plusieurs reprise et a chaque fois il y a des étrangers qui peut avoir des grosses expériences et il peut maîtriser des cuissons et tous ca mais si vous n’être pas diplôme ce n’est pas évident d’être, de se faire engager dans une boite qui exige des gens diplôme et je pense que voilà le problème entant qu’étrangers. Comme tout le monde, nous avons des frais à payer nous avons le loyer, nous avons besoin manger et tous les dépenses tous ca et nous n’avons pas le temps ni le moyen de se faire payer pour avoir une diplôme. Je me suis renseigne sur l’internet j’ai fait mes études a la maison, et ça coute chère. Ca va poser des problèmes avec tous mes engagement et voilà je trouve il y a des années qui passe et on voir les étrangers qui reste en France, par exemple c’est mon cas, je connais pas mal dans la cuisine mais je ne peux pas dire que connais tous et il y a beaucoup de choses à apprendre mais je ne suis pas diplômé. Voilà c’est un problème avec mon futur entant que cuisinier, étranger en France. On va rester sur un part de soutien
de famille qui cotisent puisque qu’il peu parti dans l’école pour avoir un diplôme on va rester des années des années en France entant de cuisinier expérimente pas diplômé. Ça c’est un problème que je pense que s’existe se matière le butte c’est vraiment de faire avance des choses penses des universités, des écoles, même des mairies et des préfectures, de faire évoluer au moins les nouveaux qui vont arriver parce que moi je suis à la fin de carrière déjà mais il faut penser à l’avenir quoi ce n’est pas aujourd’hui mais pour demain.

*Donc tu penses qu’il y a un manque d’acceptantes ici en France pour les gens qui sont expérimenté et non diplômé ? Que il faut toujours quel que choses écris? So you think that there is a lack of acceptance in France for people who are experienced but not certified? You need to always have paperwork?*

LRD : Oui, bien sûr bien sûr, soient sincère oui.

ML : Moi je ne pense pas. J’ai un équivalent de CAP.

*Ok ; Après d’avoir la CAP tu as trouvé plus facilement le travail que avant ? Having attained your CAP, did you find jobs easier than before?*

ML : Non,

*Quand tu as commencé la formation est ce que tu as commencé toute seule ou est-ce que c’été avec un patron ? When you started training did you start on your own or didn’t you already have an employer?*

ML : C’été en restauration collective ; j’ai préparé trois heures faire de la cuisine, entrée, plats, dessert, après c’été l’orale et tout ça. C’été en équivalence de cap.

*Et toi, qu’est-ce que tu veux changer dans le monde de cuisine ? And you, what would you like to change in the culinary world?*

A : Moi, je rester un peu ici après je veux apprendre quelque choses, avoir un peu d’expérience ici après je veux faire une formation CAP.

*Donc tu penses que tu vas rester en cuisine ? So you think that you will stay cooking?*

A : Oui c’est ça.

*L, toi, tu vas rester en cuisine ?*

LRD : Moi la, sincèrement je commence a cherché à droit à gauche de essayer de mettre en place quelque choses pour moi-même. Oui, j’essayer d’avoir on est en groupe d’amis déjà et avec mon certain expérience dans tous les domaines de restauration et on va essayer de faire un petit traiteur ou un truc comme ça.

Ça me porter vraiment, la cuisine française, ça a me porte beaucoup de connaissance pour lancer aujourd’hui pour avoir de courage de faire quelque choses pour moi-même.

K : Cet a dire tu as d’envie d’être entrepreneur ?

L : Mais bien sur.

K : Est-ce que avant tu as jamais pensé ?
LRD : J’avais pensé avant, d’apprendre la cuisine française et de repartir au pays pour ouvrir un restaurant français c’était mon bute. Mais une fois que ma famille est venue mon fils il est inscrit à l’université, il va avoir son diplôme, ma femme elle est tombé complètement amoureuse à la France, aujourd’hui si je rentre au pays je pars toute seule! Alors je suis obligé de rester ici.

*Ta famille est aussi ici en France ? Do you have family here in France?*

M : Oui

*Et ils sont contents que tu sois cuisinier ? And they are happy that you are a cook?*

M : Oui oui, ils sont contents.

*Parce que c’est aussi un métier qui est difficile pour la famille ; le travail le weekend, les soirs… Because it is also a trade that is very difficult ont eh family; weekend work, evening shifts…*

M : Non, ça va parce que mes enfants sont grands. Ce n’est pas un problème pour moi. Si je suis en retard, il s’occupe de cherche la nourriture. Aussi il vient ici me chercher

*D’accord donc c’était vraiment toi qui a choisi, c’était volontaire, de faire la cuisine professionnellement ? Right, so it was really a choice to cook professionally?*


LRD : Voila (agreeing with the sentiment and smiling).

LRD : Je vous donnez un conseil ce que a passé avec nous les brésiliens, je suis en France quinze ans déjà et a peu près quinze ans dans la restauration française. Quand je me suis organisé pour aller au brésil pour les vacances, j’ai pensé que je vais dépenser beaucoup d’argent, brésil avec les vacances et tous est chère mais c’était le contraire, on arrivons la bas avec l’expérience de la cuisine, il y avait des programmation pour des fêtes ou il faut engagé des cuisiniers ; et cuisiniers que est venu de la France alors ça veut dire si tu partiras au pays en vacances j’ai encore fait de l’argent, alors ça veut dire que ça peut nous apporter beaucoup des avantages d’être cuisinier en France. C’est la cuisine renommée par tout dans a monde.

M : Oui maintient, avant non! D’être cuisinier maintenant, tous aime ça.

K : En Inde ou en Somali, est-ce que il aurait des avantages entant d’être cuisiner ? Pour trouver un travail, pour ouvrir un business la bas ou… ?

M : Oui mais j’ai ma famille ici maintenant.

LRD : Juste un exemple, je suis partie dans une ville dans le nord-est de Brésil qui s’appelle Maceió. Déjà j’ai bien profité de les conditionnes d’être cuisinier ‘français’. Je suis partie dans un restaurant manger mes amis ils ont dit « faire attention, parce que ce n’est pas n’importe qui manger, c’est un cuisinier qui travaille à Paris ! ». Alors ils ont fait très attention, mes amis ont mangé des portions petite, les miennes c’était en double…et à la fin, le mec est venu pour poser des questions ….il a parlé de combien de
couverts il fait pendant la semaine et le weekend et il m’a proposé une maison à l’étage, il m’a proposé un salaire vraiment énorme, la maison à l’étage ; Mais comme j’avais dit nous sommes ici, nous avons fixé nos racines ici et voilà il y tout un projet maintenant qui est en cours je ne veux pas casser tout ça pour rentrer comme ça au pays. Mais je pouvais vous assurez que dans tout le pays dans le monde le fait d’être en France, cuisinier français sérieusement il y a une certaine connaissance, il y a des avantages la dessous.

S : Oui c’est vraiment une profession, un métier que tu peux porter n’importe où en fait.
Yes, it is really a profession, a trade that you can carry anywhere in fact.

K : Toi-même entant que irlandaise et tes racines ?

S : Oui, j’ai fait mon diplôme en Irlande. A la base c’était la cuisine française classique et puis je suis allé en chine, j’ai trouvé très facilement le travail la bas et puis après huit ans j’avais marre en fait de rester en chine et j’ai voulu rentre en Europe mais pas Irlande, pas encore, et je me suis dot la France, pourquoi pas. Et oui je trouve que par rapport ce que tu as dit sur le fait d’être diplôme je suis d’accord. Ça change tous.

K : Mais c’est pour tout le monde.

S : En France oui mais ce n’est pas comme ça par exemple en Irlande, l’Angleterre, aux Etats Unis ils sont beaucoup plus ouvert. Si quelqu’un change leur métier, c’est « ok, est ce que tu as envie de bosser, est ce que tu connais un peu ou est-ce que tu as envie d’apprendre ? » et bon voilà. In France yes, but it is not like that for example in Ireland, England or in the US where it is much more open. If someone wants to change their trade, it is “ok, you want to work, do you know a bit, or are you motivated to learn?” and that’s it.

Mais en France c’est les papiers, qu’es que c’est écrit

K : C’est l’échelle sociale, la grille de salaire.

S : En Irlande il y a plein des gens qui ont changé leur métier ; comptable en cuisine ou machin mais en France c’est beaucoup plus difficile. Par exemple j’ai eu une fille, elle est française, elle été apprenti avec moi à Paris. Elle a fait marketing elle a voulu change pour être pâtissière, elle a arrêté le marketing et elle a fait son cap et apprentissage pâtisserie, elle a passé quatorze mois pour trouver un boulot après parce que tous les chefs de cuisine ils ont dit « non, mais tu as quel âge, comment tu commences en cuisine...tu es quelqu’un de marketing pas cuisine ». Et ça c’est une française, même pas un étranger. In Ireland there are a lot of people who have changed their trades; accountants in kithcen for example, but in France it is a lot more difficult? For example I had a girl, a French girl, who stopped working in marketing and did a CAP and apprenticed in pastry, she spent fourteen months looking for work because all the chefs told her “ no but you are a marketing person, not a cook.” . And that was a French person, not even a foreigner.

K : J’ai eu le même problème. Je pense que si y a une histoire de malléabilité, les personnel ils adores les apprentissages, les jeune apprentis parce que ils sont beaucoup plus malléable. Ils aiment la malléabilité, ce n’est pas tous les chefs mais en peut dire que c’est logique, ils aiment avoir la contrôle totale sur leur brigade, sur la manière de penser
et c’est vrai que si c’est un mauvais chef et les esprits malléables ils deviennent pareil.
Mais c’est pour ça les derrières de la cuisine française et particulière parce que justement
les anciennes apprentis qui ont eu les mauvaise habitudes et a 13 and 14 ans etcetera ont
pas encore des adolescents et on s’inspire de ça quoi et on trouve normale du cou quelque
chose qui normalement n’est pas. Donc tu as quelqu’un comme L qui cherche le travail
qui malgré son expérience va xx

L : C’était le cas.

_Merci beaucoup, j’ai l’apprécié beaucoup._

_Thank you very much, I appreciate it a lot._
Tu viens d’où? Where are you from?

Je viens d’Italie. Parme, qui est dans le nord d’Italie

C’est une ville assez connu pour le jambon et le fromage surtout, et même la restauration est importante.

Tu es à Paris depuis quand? How long are you in Paris?

Depuis septembre de l’année dernier, donc c’est presque un an que je suis ici.

Et est-ce que tu as cuisinée depuis que tu es arrivé? Have you cooked since you arrived?

Oui, j’ai commencé ici dans une pâtisserie

J’ai commencé à faire de la pâtisserie il y a quatre ans.

Ah ok donc avant Paris tu as travaillé en pâtisserie? Right ok, so before Paris you worked in Paris.

Oui, oui J’ai travaillé à Londres pour deux ans.

Et avant ça j’ai fait un stage en Italie, près de ma ville et avant ça j’ai fait de l’école

Ah ok, une école de cuisine? Ah ok, a culinary school?

Une école de cuisine, oui après mon lycée j’ai fait école de cuisine

La formation que tu as fait, l’équivalent en France c’est comment, c’est comme un cap ou bac pro? The training that you did, what would be its equivalent in France, is it like a CAP or a Bac Pro?

Oui, ma l’école, le lycée c’est comme un bac et après c’est une école comme Cordon Bleu ou Ferrandi, j’ai fait une chose comme ça.

D’accord, donc c’est un niveau assez haut? Right, so it was relatively high standard.

Oui, oui.

Quand tu es arrivé à Paris tu trouvé facilement le travail? Ou est-ce que tu as eu des difficultés? When you arrived in Paris, did you find work easily? Or did you have difficulties?

J’ai trouvé assez facilement mais j’ai pensé de le trouve plus vite en fait.

Ca faisait 3 semaines en finale

La troisième semaine que j’ai été ici j’ai trouvé et j’ai fait un rdv avec eu et ils m’ont pris toute suite
Pendant ces trois semaines, tu penses, si tu réfléchir maintenant, c’était quoi les difficultés
ou les différences entre ton CV et ceux que les restaurants ou les pâtisseries a cherché.
During these three weeks, do you think, if you reflect now, what were the challenges or
the difference between your CV and those that the restaurants or patisseries were looking
for?

Je pense que ici c’est un peu compliqué si tu es juste d’arrivé et tu ne parles pas beaucoup
de français

Ils vont forcément prendre quelqu’un qui peut parler français à ta place

Du coup si je suis juste arrivé et tu es un peu (nervous) « oui je suis ici… ça c’est mon
CV… » Ils vont te regarder un peu bizarre.

J’ai donné beaucoup des CV’s en marchant comme ça dans Paris dans les pâtisseries et
après j’ai envoyé aux restaurants aussi sur l’Internet.

Je sais que chaque fois que je suis allée dans une pâtisserie ils ont me regardé un peu
bizarre

T’avais besoin de mettre beaucoup d’effort derrière, beaucoup pour trouve le travail ?

Oui

Et à Londres est ce que c’est comme ça ? Was it like that in London?

A Londres en fait il y a des agence qui s’occuper de ça.

Quand je suis allé à Londres j’avais déjà le travail parce que j’ai connaissait quelqu’un
qui a connaissiez un chef la bas donc quand je suis allé la bas j’avais déjà le travail et mon
deuxième travaille j’ai le trouve avec un agence. Je pense que ici il y a des agence comme
ça mais quand je suis arrivé j’ai savez pas de coup

Oui donc tu as commencé juste comme ça. Yes, right, so you started just like that.

Oui

Mais maintenant tu parles très bien le français en fait ! But now you’re speaking very
good French in fact!

J’ai amélioré !

Tu as fait des cours ? Des cours français ? Did you do courses ? French courses ?

Non, parce que j’avais étudié à l’école et de cou c’était juste de le rapprendre un peu parce
que comme je suis allé à Londres il y a deux ans et j’ai parlé anglais très bien et quand je
suis arrivé ici c’était tout mixed dans ma tête c’était beaucoup de confusion entre les deux.
De coup c’était juste ça, mais j’ai comprenne très bien et c’était juste difficile de parler parce
que au lieu de parler français j’ai parlé anglais sans faire en exprès

Ah oui, ça je comprends, quelqu’un te pose une question et tu le comprends mais tu
répondre en l’anglais ça m’arrivé plusieurs fois aussi ! Ah, I understand, someone asks
you a question and you understand but you reply in English that has happened to me a lot as well!

*Quand tu as commencé a travaillé est ce que tu as eu un contrat toute suite en CDI ?* When you started working did you get a CDI contract straight away?

Oui oui, ils m’ont fait toute suite en cdi. Enfin c’été bien parce que au finale j’été tranquille

*C’est important en France d’avoir même juste pour avoir un contrat pour un appartement et tout ça. It is important to have in France, even to get a lease for an apartment etc.*

Oui oui surtout ça

*Est-ce que tu penses qu’il y a des différences entre les cuisines en France et l’Angleterre, a Londres ? Do you think that there are differences between kitchens in France and those in England, London?*

Oui,

Justement en Angleterre dans les cuisines il y a pas dès l’Anglais !

Well, oui il y a des anglais mais ils sont la minorité quoi. Il y a beaucoup beaucoup des étrangers, des espagnols, des français, des irlandais. J’ai rencontré vraiment des gens de partout et ça c’été beau.

C’été même plus facile je pense de s’intégrer. Parce que tu vois moi je ne parle pas bien l’anglais, toi tu ne parles pas très bien anglais du coup en s’entend comme même

Ici c’est vrai que il y a des étrangers dans les cuisine mais je pense que il y a moins et surtout les français ils sont un peu plus, comment dire… closed.

*Un peu plus froid peut être ? Colder atmosphere perhaps?*

Oui.

Mais pas tout le monde il y a des gens qui sont plus ouvert avec qui je m’entends très très bien mais je sais que j’ai plus de difficultés ici à m’intégrer.

*Tu penses que tu vas rester comme même en cuisine ? Do you think that you will stay in kitchen all the same?*

Oui je pense je vais rester ici, au moins un an.

Je voudrai faire une expérience dans un hôtel ou un truc un peu plus grand parce que je pense que dans les hôtels il aurait peut-être, ben je ne suis pas sûr mais je pense que il y a plus de mélange dans les grand chaine de hôtel international il y a plus de mélanger dedans dans l’équipe et tout ça.

Du coup je vais essayer ça.

*Tu penses que grâce à ton premier année que tu as passée ici ca serait plus facile à trouver ? Do you think that thanks to the year that you have spent here it will be easier to find (another job)?*
Oui oui, je pense que si.

Tu as déjà commencé à chercher ? Have you already started to look?

J’ai cherché mais je n’ai pas cherché trop parce que là je pars en vacance donc je ne peux pas faire des entretiens. Je reviens en septembre et je vais chercher.

Comme tu m’avais dit juste avant que nous avons commencé la tu m’as dit que tu n’es pas eu des vacances pendant l’année ; est ce que c’est ton choix ou c’est la boîte qui a décidé ? As you told me just before we started (the interview), you said that you haven’t had holidays for a year; was that your choice or was it your employer that decided?

En fait c’est la boîte parce que le premier période je devais accumuler mes vacances du coup je n’avais pas le droit de l’avoir, et du coup moi j’ai accumulé, accumulé parce que je n’avais pas d’temps de les prendre

Ils m’ont dit « tu peux les prendre tous ensemble pendant l’été parce que il y a moins de travail , il y a pas soucis tu peux prendre 3 semaine, 1 mois , tu peux partir » et de cou j’ai attendu parce que ça m’intéressé tu vois, je préfère de prendre mes vacances quand il fait beau et quand tous mes amis sont en vacances de que de les prendre quand il y a personne et je suis toute seule et du coup j’ai attendu j’ai attendu et finalement j’ai pris une semaine en juin et il voulait même pas me donner ça parce que en fait ils ont ouvert un restaurant et moi je suis dans le restaurant et du coup au finale il m’ont dit non parce que le restaurant est un truc nouveau et du coup on veut pas que les gens qui travaille dans le restaurant parts en vacance jusque après l’ouverture.

Pour moi, ce n’est pas ma faute si vous ne recrutez pas, parce que là on n’est pas assez dans le restaurant et du coup il fond ça il fond, il ne donne pas des vacances au gens qui sont déjà là et il ne recrute pas. Mais comme ça ils vont fuir les gens ! Moi j’ai dit toute suite de toute façon les vacances que j’ai gagné dans ce période vous devez me les payer même si je démission et de cou je me démission.

(Laughs incredulously) Pour moi c’est ça, ils m’ont dit plusieurs fois des choses et après ils ont fait le contraire et ça me plaisez pas mais alors que tu me donne pas des vacances et moi je travaille douze heures par jours.

Douze heures par jours ? Twelve hours per day ?

Oui, bah pas tous les jours mais souvent j’ai fait douze heures par jours et souvent je ne suis pas paye pour tous les heures supplémentaire que j’ai fait et du coup au finale j’ai en ai marre; je vais trouver quelque choses d’autre. La j’ai fait un an ici ça ne serai pas compliqué de trouve autre choses. Et voila

A ton avis, est ce que ça c’est assez commun d’avoir les patrons qui ne respecte pas les règles comme ça ? In your opinion, is it pretty common to have bosses who don’t respect the rules like that?

C’est mon premier expérience ici donc je ne sais pas comment ça passer, si c’est normale si ce n’est pas. J’ai entendu beaucoup de gens qui m’ont dit oui c’est un peu pareil partout, c’est comme ça.
Moi je sais qu’à Londres ce n’est pas comme ça. Si j’ai faire des heures supplémentaire j’être payer. Ils sont plus strict je pense sur ces choses-là et même à Londres je crois que il y a moins de petite boîte contrôler par une personne fin, il y a plus des compagnies tu vois du coup c’est difficile d’avoir une personne qui décide « oui c’est ça, c’est pas ça » parce que il y a toujours la loi qui dit non tu ne peux pas faire ça !

Ici c’est un peu, mais même en Italie c’est un peu comme ça, comme ici, donc de coup je ne suis pas surpris mais ce n’est jamais sympa

**Well oui, le boulot est déjà assez difficile. Well yes, the work is already pretty challenging.**

Oui c’est ça. C’est fatiguant, c’est difficile et en plus si tu n’es pas reconnu pour le travail que tu fais tu es vraiment démotiver. Au finale j’été, là je suis vraiment démotiviez, j’ai vraiment besoin des vacances, de me détendre, de détacher,

C’est dommage parce que, moi par exemple, si je suis reconnu pour le travail que je fais moi je travaille le double tu vois, sans soucis, si je suis heureuse de travailler dans une boite je travaille comme si c’été ma boîte tu vois et du coup c’est dommage parce que ils font ça avec des gens qui sont bien et après il garder les gens qui sont pas bien qui rester là-bas parce que il on pas un autre choix mais moi j’ai autres choix parce que je sais que je suis bien , en finale je vais trouver un autre endroit

**Est-ce que tu trouves que il y a différences entre les cuisiniers français et des étrangers, est ce que tu trouves que il y a une différence déjà et aussi comment tu te sens que il y a beaucoup des étrangers mais personnes ne parle sur ce sujet, ils ne sont pas visible. Do you find that there are differences between French cooks and immigrants, do you find that there is a difference firstly, and how do you feel about the fact that there are a lot of foreigners in kitchens but no one talks about this, they are not visible.**

Dans ma boîte il n y a pas des étrangers qui sont en haut. Il y a pas des chefs qui sont étrangers, tous les chefs que il y a ils sont tous français et c’est difficile pour les étrangers pour monter, fin pour eu peut-être il dit toi tu es italienne la prochaine année tu ne seras pas là tu rentres en Italie je te donner pas plus d’argent ou plus de responsabilité. Mais ça c’est con parce que au finale tu ne sais pas que est que je vais faire, peut-être je vais vivre ici toute ma vie. C’est un peu ça.

Après c’est vrai que les français, comme ils ont une culture pour la cuisine très très connu et très ancienne et très stricte ils pensent un peu que ça c’est la manière de faire les choses du coup si t’arrive et tu lui dire ces choses-là j’ai fait dans une manière différent ils vont te dire non non non ce n’est pas come ça.

**Donc ce que tu as vu c’est qu’il te laisser pas essayer des autres méthodes. So what you have experienced is that they dont let you try other methods.**

Oui après ça dépend les gens aussi, par exemple avec CH je m’entends super bien au travail du coup si je faire quelque choses et je lui montre elle va m’écouter et moi aussi si elle me montrer quelque choses je vais l’écouter

Mais je sais que, là il y a une semaine j’avais une collègue j’ai lui dit de la faire dans une manière différent parce que c’était pas bien comment elle l’avait fait; elle m’a juste répondu
que la dernière fois c’été comme ça que j’ai me fait et c’été bien. J’ai dit ok. Apres elle la fait et c’été pas bien elle m’a dit « ça va ça, c’est bien pour toi ? » bah j’ai dit « oui c’est bien c’est parfait ». Si tu veux entendre que c’est parfait je vais dire que c’est parfait …Il ne faut pas que tu me demande un avis si tu me entende pas quand les choses sont mauvais.

*Et les autres, les étrangers ils sont plus ouverts que ça ? And the others, are the foreigners more open than that?*

Oui moi je trouve.

Il y a surtout les stagiaire qui sont étrangers ou en est et après des gens en cdi qui sont étrangers et oui ils sont comme même tranquille tu vois, donc oui. Je ne sais pas, c’est bizarre.

Par exemple quelque chose que j’ai remarqué toute suite ici à Paris, ce n’est pas une chose de cuisine … si tu entre dans un bar et tu es étranger et tu demandes un verre de vin et tu demandes et tu n’es pas l’accent français et du cou ils te répondre en l’anglais! Tu vois et moi je suis, la si je demande un verre du vin en français c’est parce que je peux parler un peu comme même de français et de coup pourquoi tu me …Peut-être je ne sais même pas l’anglais !

C’est un peu ça

*Ils se mettre un peu plus haut c’est ça ? They place themselves higher, is that it?*

Oui, c’est ça.

Mais peut-être pour eu c’est, il ne fond pas ça méchantment je pense mais comme même c’est, de l’autre côté ce n’est pas de tout comme une chose jolie. Si je te parle en français et tu me répondre en anglais…Pour moi c’est bizarre. Même parce que au début j’avais trop des difficultés à parler français parce que j’avais l’anglais dans ma tête alors que quand j’essayé de parler français et ils me répondu en l’anglais c’était la confusion totale et des temps j’ai compris plus rien et j’ai commencé a parlé en italien !

Et ça c’est un truc que j’ai noté juste ici parce qu’après …Les gens normalement si tu parles dans une langue ils te répondent en même langue. Si il ne connaît pas la langue il te répondre un peu comme il peut mais, si tu parles français si je te demande une chose en français tu me répondre en français pas en l’anglais.

Cette une attitude qu’il porte.

*Et cette manière d’être, tu as vu un peu en cuisine aussi entre les cuisiniers étrangers et les français,*

*En cuisine aussi? And that way of doing things you saw in kitchen as well between immigrant cooks and French cooks?*

Oui, par exemple je sais que au debout, ça va si tu me parle un peu plus lentement parce que pour moi c’est mieux mais tu me parle pas comme si je suis con !
J’ai eu des situations où j’ai parlé et la personne a dit « ah je comprends rien de ce que tu dis, tu as un accent trop bizarre »… même pour rigoler, mais au finale si tu rigole une fois, deux fois, trois fois c’est bien mais là le quatrième déjà, arrêt ! Tu vois, ce n’est pas rigolo.

« Ah oui ton accent est trop drôle », la la la, et il répète ce que j’ai dit avec mon accent pour m’imiter tu vois et oui ok une fois, je ne suis pas… ok, je rigole avec toi, je sais très bien que j’ai un accent qui est pour toi rigolo, mais bon vas en Italie et parle italien et en verrai!!

J’ai trouvé avec les français qui sont voyagé beaucoup, moi je prendre par exemple CH. parce que on le connaît tous les deux, elle a beaucoup voyagé elle est vécu à l’étranger aussi et du coup elle m’a jamais faite un remarque pour mon accent quoi, jamais, même pas pour rigoler jamais.

De coup il y a des personnes qui sont ouverts et des personnes qui sont moins ouverte.

Oui ça c’est pareil partout. Mais comme même quand c’est la majorité, ça deviens difficile. Yes, that is the same everywhere. But all the same when it is the majority, it becomes difficult.

Oui, moi je trouve que la majorité voilà oui c’est un peu comme ça.

Mais après je sais très bien que en Italie en est comme ça aussi. Ce n’est pas de pays ou en est trop habitue. C’est bizarre parce que on est habitude d’avoir des touristes , des étrangers et tout mais on as vraiment le culture qui sont vraiment trop trop em… ancienne, je sais pas comment dire….Londres, peut-être elle est une ville un peu plus nouveau tu vois et du coup oui il y a des anglais qui sont de Londres mais il y a toujours beaucoup des exchange et je sais que par exemple dans ma ville c’est bizarre d’avoir des gens d’Irlande ou l’Angleterre qui vit la bas, pas des touristes tu vois mais des étrangers qui vit la bas c’est bizarre de les voir. Apres, Paris c’est une grande ville, ma ville c’est une petite ville et du coup c’est différent mais déjà Paris c’est plus petit que Londres et je trouve que ça ce vois.

Ah oui ok, dans les attitudes des gens et tout ça ? Ah ok, in the attitude of the people and that?

Oui.

Et ça ce vois en cuisine aussi ? Is that visible in kitchen as well?

Oui.

Je ne sais pas si tu sais ou pas mais à Paris, dans les pays où il y a une importance sur le restauration comme à l’Angleterre, aux Etats Unis, même en Irlande en fait, il y a depuis des années, cinq je pense, il y a un gros manque de cuisiniers à Paris. L’année dernier il y avait 5000 des postes qui n’été pas rempli, qui été vide, qui le pôle d’emploi a eu de mal à recruter. A ton avis ça c’est à cause de quoi? I don’t know if you know or not, but in Paris, like in other countries where there is a trend for eating out like in England or in the United States, even in Ireland, there is since 5 years I think, a great shortage of cooks in Paris. Last year there were 5000 positions that were not filled, that
were empty, that the social security office had issues filling. In your opinion, what is the cause of that?

Que ils ont du mal à recruter ?...Je ne sais pas, j’ai savais pas de tout. C’est un peu bizarre pour moi.

Je ne sais pas peut-être parce qu’il ne veut pas recuite. Parce que je sais que là où je suis l’année dernier en septembre en été 17 dans le labo et je sais que en septembre dans cette année ils vont être 7 et c’est beaucoup moins et je sais que ce n’est pas parce que le gens veulent pas travailler la bas est eu qui ne veut pas recruter.

Parce que pour eu c’est plus facile d’avoir des gens qui travaille plus et il les garder pour un an et ils disent « oui on va te donner une promotion on va te donner des vacances » après ils ne font pas ça du coup les gens il s’en va et il y a des gens qui rester encore une année. Ils font ces jeux là.

Je ne sais pas si c’est comme ça partout mais où je suis c’est comme ça.

Ils jouent tout le temps où ils utilisent les gens beaucoup.

Apres c’est bizarre pour moi que il y a pas des gens qui veut pas travail, que ils n’ont pas du personnel. Parce que sinon quand je suis arrivé je trouverai toute suite et moi je pense que c’est un peu comme ça ils n’ont pas …Peut être il y a un peu moins des touristes et ils sont en difficulté de coup il gère comme ça.

Avec une équipe très serré. With a short team ?

Oui avec une équipe très serré mais après si quelque’ un s’on va ce n’est pas grave on va trouver quelque un d’autre parce que des gens qui travail, je pense que il y a beaucoup.

Et par rapport le salaire, tu n’es pas obligé de me dire, mais par rapport le salaire à Paris et à Londres ? And regarding salary, you are not obliged to tell me, but regarding salaries between Paris and London?

Moi j’été mieux à Londres.

Mais je sais que là où je suis, je suis moins paye même ici que les mêmes postes au même niveau. Parce que j’ai commencé à regarder et j’ai vu dans les autre endroits c’est comme même plus haut.

Donc je pense que ma situation est vraiment…. !! Je ne veux pas dire le pire, mais je n’ai pas trouvé les gens qui sont top top!

Oui je sais que il y a des autres endroits où ma poste est payé plus.

Mais comme même tu travail dans une entreprise là où il y a des produits qui sont très connu. But all the same you work in a company where their products are very well known

Oui je sais, c’est ça qui est vraiment bizarre pour moi parce que …mais tu vois je voire comment il gère et je pense que ça ne pas durer longtemps, ‘la fête’.

Ils ont ouvrir ce restaurant la et Ils sont en train d’ouvrir, d’ouvrir, d’ouvrir.
Mais le plus de boîte que t’ouvre, le moins de contrôle tu as dans les boîtes que tu t’ouvres et du coup si tu n’as pas de contrôle... Par exemple a canada la pâtisserie que ont fait, ils ont le nom de la compagnie mais le gout que ce n’est pareil que en Italie ou à Paris. Je sais pas, et du coup quelqu’un qui connais vraiment la pâtisserie qui va la bas et goute ça et après il vient ici et ils goute ici, je pense que ils vont voir la différence, ce n’est pas vraiment ... ca deviens de plus en plus un chaine et du coup comme McDonalds, fin pas aussi gros mais le plus que tu ouvres forcement tu as moins de qualité.

Oui et après si tu tournes l’équipe chaque année tu n’arrives pas avoir la même qualité forcement c’est ça, parce que là on a perdu beaucoup des gens qui été en haut et qui connaissez beaucoup et du coup si tu perds les gens qui sont en haut et tu recrute fin c’est qui, qui vas faire apprendre les gens qui sont en bas ?

De coup à chaque fois il faut recommence et tout ça et je trouve que les choses sont différent, si t’arrive pas d’avoir toujours les même choses ce n’est pas top

Pour le prochain, la maintenant, tu vas chercher un autre travail et tu as passé un an à Paris, et ... tu te sens bien placé à Paris comme cuisinière ou, est-ce que tu te sens toujours un peu étranger qui cherche le travail en cuisine ? For the future, you are going to look for a different job do you feel yourself well placed in Paris as a cook, or do you feel still like a foreigner looking for kitchen work?

Quand je suis arrivé ici j’ai accepté n’importe quel poste parce que j’avais besoin travailler et j’avais pas d’expérience ici mais là je sais que au moins.... fin, je vais pas chercher de travail comme commis par exemple parce que je ne suis pas commis, ça fait 4 ans que je travaille, j’été à Londres, j’été ici , je suis au moins demi chef ou chef de partie du coup je sais que moi ce que je vais faire je vais chercher les choses qui m’intéresse et les postes qui m’intéresse. Ça c’est parce que j’ai un peu plus de confiance à moi et parce que je ne peux pas toujours me ‘invalue’, sinon ça va jamais marche je vais rester commis commis commis parce que pour eu c’est « ah c’est parfait toi tu prendre la poste de commis mais tu faire le travail de chef de partie ! C’est la fête ici » !

Tu penses que les cuisiniers français ils ont besoin de se battre comme ça aussi ? Ou est que il y a une route plus naturelle pour eu ? Do you think that French cooks need to battle like that? Or is the route more natural for them?

Comme j’ai dit s’il reçut des cv qui sont au même niveau à peu près la même expérience je pense que comme même souvent ils vont choisir les gens qui sont français au lieu de choisir moi.

Après je ne dire pas ça, je ne suis pas sûr de ça mais j’ai comme même un ‘feeling’.

Et du coup je pense que les gens français ils sont plus tranquille après tu vois ils ont fait de l’école ici à Paris donc ils connaissent les gens et c’est plus facile de rentre dans les boîte si tu connais quelqu’un si tu as des ‘links’

Du coup, par exemple, là où je suis dans cette boutique là je connais CH et ça et elle m’a proposé un truc parce que elle connaissait une fille qui travaille dans un hôtel et déjà en travail un an ici j’ai un peu de connaissance et ça serai plus facile de m’installe dans une autre
boîte, mais quand tu arrives ici et tu connais personne c’est un peu, c’est difficile de trouver quelque choses.

C’est assez fermé en fait. Pretty closed in fact.

Oui

Qu’est-ce que tu penses, ou est-ce que tu as vu, est ce que tu as remarqué dans le télé ou dans les journaux, même si paris est une ville internationale et les cuisines sont internationale aussi, les gens viens de beaucoup de pays est ce que tu as remarqué sur le fait que en fait quand on parle de le restauration à Paris c’est toujours seulement les cuisiniers français qui sont dans les interviews ou sur le télévision et en fait quand en parle de les cuisiniers étrangers c’est toujours la cote négative plutôt, si on lire quelque chose sur les étrangers, si il y a quelque chose écrit sur le sujet des cuisinières étrangères c’est sur les sujets de les gens sans papiers mais si c’est quelque choses positive par rapport le restauration à Paris c’est les cuisiniers parisien / français et il y a pas forcement beaucoup écrit sur le sujet que deux tiers ou un tiers de chaque cuisine à Paris c’est des étrangers... What do you think, or have you seen, have you remarked on the television or newspapers, that even if Paris is an international city and cooks are international as well, have you remarked that when in fact they talk of the culinary industry in Paris it is always only French cooks who are in the interviews or on the television and when there is talk of immigrant cooks it is more often the negative side, if we read something about immigrant cooks it is about the clandestine workers but if it is something positive about the Parisian restaurant scene it is the Parisian or French cooks and there is not a lot written about the fact that two thirds or one third of every kitchen in Paris is foreigners.

Oui c’est vrai... Quand j’ai trouvé là où je travaille j’ai fait un peu de recherche parce que j’ai connais un peu le chef déjà parce que c’est très connu mais j’ai voulu faire un peu de recherche je suis allé sur l’internet, You tube comme ça pour voir un peu les interviews avec le chef tous ca...

C’est un peu terrible...

J’ai trouvé un vidéo ou c’été une interview de le chef, le grand chef de ma boîte et il a lui demandé «oui, comment ça se passe avec votre équipe ?....que est ce que vous faites ? » na na na...

Et lui il été « oui nos pâtisseries sont faite par une équipe tout française »

Une équipe toute française ! Après je suis allé la bas et je sais que ce n’est pas de tout toute française, et je me suis dit, pourquoi tu dire quelque chose comme ça ? Ça c’est vraiment bizarre.

Moi j’ai trouvé très bizarre.

Avant que j’ai commencé la bas j’avais l’impression que c’été pas raciste, mais comme même bizarre ; fin tu ne dire pas que ....si là je voyais cet année une interview comme ça je vais chez la journaliste et je vais dire « écoute moi je ne suis pas française et j’ai travaillé la pendant un an comme même !». 
Et déjà pour ça, fin quand j’ai vu ça, pour moi je, j’ai pensé ok ici ça va être un peu comme ça. Ça me donner un peu une impression….moi je sais que je suis déjà prévenu pour ça mais ce n’est pas bonne, même pour moi d’être prévenu pour les choses comme ça.

Donc là tu te poses la question « je suis qui ici ? » Therefore you asked yourself the question ‘who am I here?’

Oui c’est ça.

C’été pas jolie de tout quand j’ai entendu ça.

Il a vraiment menti. He really lied.

Oui.

Je sais très bien que c’été pas de tout seulement français, mais jamais tu vois, parce que c’est impossible, fin ici il y a des gens qui sont…dans la cuisine forcement tu as des gens qui sont étrangers et tous ça mais c’est beau ça, tu as les occasions de voir les différent cultures, les différentes façons de faire..., des gens tout ça.

Tu as jamais pose la question a lui ‘pourquoi …’?! You never asked him why?

Non parce que heureusement je le connais pas beaucoup !! Mais non je n’ai pas le caractère pour parler avec les gens comme ça.

Est-ce que il y a des autre choses, que tu as vu pendant ton temps ici à Paris ou en cuisine est ce que il y a des que tu as vu en cuisine… ? Are there other things that you saw during your time here in Paris or in kitchen are there things that you have seen?

Well là j’ai d’impression que j’ai dit seulement des choses mauvaises.

Je ne veux pas finir comme ça fin, ce n’est pas seulement ça …après je sais que ici j’ai appris beaucoup et la cuisine française est très connu, c’est vraiment intéressent to rester ici de voir Paris. En fait moi j’adore Paris, j’adore vivre ici Et même j’adore certaine français (laughs) ! Je n’aime pas tout mais j’aime bien certaine français et voilà après il y a toujours des lieux où il y a des choses qui marche et des choses qui ne marche pas; je sais très bien que en Italie peut être pour un étrangère ça va être un peu les mêmes choses.

Et ça me rend un peu triste, parce que moi je suis italienne et j’ai voyagé beaucoup parce que ça me plait et j’ai envie de voir des différent manière de vivre des gens et tout ça, et je suis ouverte mais je sais que il y a des amis à moi qui sont reste la bas qui ne sont pas de tous ouvert comme ça et je sais que si il y a quelque’ un comme moi qui va vivre la bas ils vont dire le même choses tu vois et de coup je pense que au finale c’est important de bouger, de voir, de comprendre, essayer de comprendre même les autres toujours. Pas forcèmment dans la cuisine, je pense toujours dans la vie c’est un peu comme ça. Et voilà !
J’ai dit je suis mauritanien parce que la lui il est malien déjà ! Voilà tu as deux pays différent ! 2 nationalités différent !

Tu viens d’où ? Where are you from ?

Moi je suis mauritanien, voila

Tu es en France depuis combien de temps ? How long are you in France?

Depuis 2012

Est-ce que tu as choisi la cuisine ou tu as tombé dédains ? Did you choose cooking or did you just fall into it?

J’ai choisi la cuisine parce que là où j’été il avait que deux formation à prendre. Sois les, sois comment, sois le bâtiment sois la cuisine. Tu choisir les deux métiers sinon, il n’avait pas d’autre…Parce que j’ai commencé par en Espagne voilà.

Ah d’accord. Ah ok.

Là-bas il y a pas d’autre quand ont été arrivé là-bas en été étranger il n’avait pas d’autre métier disponible. On a que un an ou deux ans pour rester là-bas et tu peux pendant un an ou deux ans, il avait que deux formation ; soit tu faire le bâtiment soit tu faire la cuisine. Pour moi j’ai choisi la cuisine. J’ai fait la cuisine…. J’ai fait un peu barman, un peu cuisine. Mais après quand je suis continue un peu j’ai compris dans le barman il faut toujours utiliser de l’alcool et je déteste l’alcool, je n’aime pas, j’ai arrêté. J’ai continué à faire la formation, J’été obligée de finir la formation. Apres une fois que j’ai finis j’ai continué…

Ok

Je suis venu. J’ai démangé là où j’été. J’ai venu Bilbao, Paye Basque après j’ai trouvé un boulot là-bas avec une dame, un chef. Un comment s’appelle, le commissariat de Colombie, une colombienne et elle, elle me forme un peu. J’ai expliqué que j’ai fait la formation que j’ai la diplôme tous ça mais que je n’ai pas eu beaucoup d’expérience, mais j’ai la diplôme et tout ça. Elle me d’amener elle va voir. Avant la crise c’était 2011 oui 2011. Elle été très gentille. J’ai expliqué mon problème tous ça elle me dit d’amener toutes mes documents elle va voir si c’est de vrai diplôme ou non. Apres je l’ai ramené ; Elle a bien regardé. Elle me demander de me mettre dans la cuisine. Ont été que deux ; des que elle n’été pas là j’ai lui remplacé. J’ai commencé petit à petit, c’été pas trop compliquer parce que c’été un petit restaurant. En plus il y a vais beaucoup des étrangers qui est venu
là-bas manger, des africains, des arabes, des Afghanistan tout ça. C’été des réfugiés qui sont venu manger souvent.

*Ah oui ok. Right, yes.*

Après j’ai trouvé un peu d’expérience en cuisine elle ma demande de travaille au bar parce que il n’avait pas beaucoup des clients, il y a un moment quand il n’avait pas beaucoup des clients. Elle me demande si je peux faire un peu de service ? Mais moi j’ai dit non; je sais faire le service j’ai le diplôme et tous ca mais je n’aime pas parce que c’est de l’alcool. Je préfère la cuisine même la cuisine il y a des choses que je n’aime pas mais je préfère la cuisine.

*Ok, oui. Ok, yes.*

Après j’ai continue travaille là-bas jusqu’à le fin 2012 après il y a pas de travaille j’ai arrêté la ba. J’ai mon Oncle qui habite à Paris. J’ai lui appelé direct si je peux venir et il m’a dit pas problème, tu viens ici. J’ai commencé le boulot a Chatelet c’été les weekends ; samedi, dimanche

*D’accord. Ok.*

J’ai commencé par là. Un chef japonais un grand chef japonais après il y a un petit chef aussi, un second chef. J’ai commencé travaille pendant un mois ou deux mois j’ai travaillé avec eu que des weekends je n’avais pas autre travaille. Lui, il me dit que il a trouvé un patron qui veut ouvrir un autre restaurant, me proposé à venir avec lui j’ai dit il y a pas problème on va aller parce que moi j’ai travaillé que les samedis dimanches. Apres j’ai parti avec lui. J’ai fait la plonge aussi parce que, j’avais d’expérience cuisine mais je ne peux pas parle, au debut je parlé pas de tous français,

*Ah, d’accord. Ah ok.*

Je ne comprends pas ; demande un truc et je comprends rien. Comme lui, lui aussi c’est étranger on se comprend un peu, on est tous pareil mais lui. J’ai commencé avec la patronne. Moi, j’été a la plonge. Quand il avait beaucoup de client j’ai aidé à la cuisine et on a continue comme ça. Apres quand il avait beaucoup des clients donc ils ont mis une seconde chef. Oui j’ai continue toujours à la plonge Et j’ai compris un peu de français. Des que…, il y a le second chef es parti. Le patron me proposer de remplacer. Apres j’ai lui remplacé pendant je ne sais pas combien de temps. Pendant deux ou trois ans j’ai remplacé la seconde chef. Apres le patron il a ouvrir un labo et ce labo elle a vu avec ceux qui était la avant une c’était une fille qui était pas assez rapide pour finir tous que il avait. Il ma propose ca si je veux aller la bas moi j’ai dit il y a pas problème Parce que là où j’été j’ai c’était coupure et en coupure pas de temps. J’ai travail que….j’ai travaillé 6 jour par semaine. Que dimanche en repos C’était trop compliqué parce que je n’habite pas dans paris je habite très loin. Ça prend le temps le transport. J’ai signé le document pour faire le labo. J’ai travaillé avec elle pendant un mois ou deux mois mais après elle avait, elle, comment, elle ne voulait pas rester finalement parce que elle a eu une autre travaille a eu un autre travail elle ne voulait pas reste elle voulait partir. J’ai reste toute seule

*Donc tu es autonome ? Therefore you are autonomous?*
Voilà autonome. Après j’ai faisait ça j’ai faisait Traiteur et tout ça, quand des mariages, des baptêmes tous ça je faire des commandes je suis toute seule des fois quand trop des choses elle me ramener quelqu’un mais sinon je travaille toute seule. Moi je travaille toute seule.

Et ça te plait ? And you like that?

Ça me plait pour l’instant pour l’instant ; Parce que je n’aime pas trop quand je travaille toute seule, Parce qu’il y a des choses que, il y a du cochon dans la cuisine tout le temps et moi je n’aime pas Én Espagne c’était pire mais en France dans la cuisine ça existe toujours, je ne mange pas le cochon. Si on est deux je peux les demander à faire pour moi, mais comme je suis toute seule je suis obligé de toucher. Voilà je ne sais pas si je vais rester là tout le temps. Ça me plait le travail. Ça me plait le travail parce que déjà je n’ai pas de coupure je commence à 6 heures je finir à 14h et ça c’est bien mais la seule chose qui m’embête c’est le cochon.

Et sinon la cuisine t’aime bien ? Otherwise, you like cooking,

Oui, oui la cuisine j’aime bien parce que c’est un travail qui n’est pas trop… Une fois que tu as un peu d’expérience ça sera facile. Au début c’est trop compliquer mais une fois que tu as un peu d’expérience ce pas compliquer.

Tu penses que donc les français mettre trop derrière le fait que la cuisine est gastronomique et tout ça mais en fait la cuisine est un truc qui n’est pas trop difficile à faire il faut être travailleur ? Do you think therefore that the French put too much behind the fact that cooking is gastronomy and all that, while in fact it is something that is not too difficult to do, it just takes a bit of effort?

Laughs..

Oui, mais a dépend le restaurant, ça dépend. Par exemple si tu travailles toute seule tu es obligé de tout faire. Et puis restaurant ou le menu ne change pas. Les menu un mois ou 6 mois ça c’est facile. Mais il y a des restaurant aussi ou ça change tous les jours. Là où j’étais avant au début la carte a change tous les jours et tu été obligé de faire tous les jours un nouveau entrée et un nouveau plats c’était trop compliqué. Ca dépend ça dépende là où tu tombes il y a plusieurs restaurants dans Paris.

La comme tu travail tout seule si il y a des choses, des nouveaux choses que tu ne connais pas faire comment t’apprendre ? Since you work on your own if there are there things, new things that you don’t know how to do, how do you learn ?

La déjà ici si il y a une chose que je ne comprends pas Jai pleins livres ou sinon La patron chaque fois elle me donne des livres et en plus il y a d’internet. Je regarde sur l’internet, je choisir parce que. Si tu taper une recette sur l’internet tu peux avoir, il y a mille recette
différent c’est japonais, français. Tu choisir celle que tu as bien compris. Après les recettes tu peux les modifier aussi si trouve une recette qui est comme ça après tu peux modifier pour un autre

*Très bien. Donc tu es assez libre en fait de choisir? Very good. SO you are pretty free to choose?*

Voilà voilà assez libre, il y a personne que me dires faire si faire ça.

*Donc tu peux choisir des choses sans jambon par exemple? So you can choose the items without ham for example.***

Voilà voilà c’est ça.

*Tu as eu des difficultés par rapport tes contrats ou? Have you had difficulties regarding your contracts?*

Ouai, beaucoup beaucoup difficultés. Parce que moi quand je suis arrivé ici j’avais une carte séjour espagnol ; c’est trop compliqué, les français ils veut pas que je travaille avec les documents espagnol il me dit que je suis étranger j’ai pas de droit de rester là, si je suis venu pour des vacances oui mais pas pour travailler c’est pas possible je peux pas avoir des contrats. Ils me demander si je veux changer des documents j’ai dit non. Après j’ai négocié avec pendant longtemps. Il me convoqué plusieurs fois pour avoir changement des documents mais moi je n’ai pas accepté parce que si tu acceptes ils donner, 1 mois ou 3 mois.

*Ah oui, toujours très court. Right, always very short.*

Voilà toujours très courts. En Espagne ils te donnent 1 an et après 2 ans et après 5 ans. Tu prends 5 ans deux fois et une fois que tu as 5 ans deux fois tu peux avoir la nationalité j’ai préféré rester en Espagne moi j’ai préfère de reste. Apres aussi il y a façon autorisation avec l’ambassade espagnole, si tu as un chef ils peu donner un contrat.

*Donc j’imagine ça te donne assez beaucoup de stress aussi? Quand tu as tout ça dans la tête. So I imagine that is pretty stressful as well? When you have all of that in your head.*

Oui c’est beaucoup, beaucoup. Parce que pour nous les africains c’est trop compliques, parce que nous en n’est pas la juste pour nous, si j’étais la juste pour moi je déménage pas de Espagne je vais rester là-bas même si je travaille pas je paye un peu après je peux avoir le chômage. Ce n’est pas assez pour moi, j’ai des familles derrière, je ne suis pas marie,
je suis jeunes, mais j’ai toujours mes frères mes sœurs ils ont rien de coup je suis obligé de les aider. C’est pour ça nous, si on n’est pas de travaille on ne peut pas rester en chômage on ne peut pas rester avec un travail qui paye pas bien c’est pour ça toujours les africain qui faire 2 boulot 3 boulot ce n’est pas juste pour nous c’est pour des familles. En plus si tu as un problème de papiers c’est plus pire ça donne beaucoup plus des problèmes

*Tu es obligé aussi de ne pas travailler des jours pour aller faire des papiers. You are obliged to not work some days in order to do paperwork.*

Voilà voilà exact voila
Mais la en France il y a des patrons qui comprends ; des fois tu trouves un bon patron il comprend si tu as des rendez-vous. En plus après on a des rendez-vous on a de droit toutes les étrangers on a le droit de y aller chez la préfecture on a de droit. Mais il y a qui comprend pas si tu as 2 ou 3 jours. Surtout un boulot nouveau, les 4 mois ou les 2 premiers mois eu ils vont dire que tu n’es pas travailleur il ou sinon que tu vas faire de la connerie vont pas te faire confiance. Ceux qui sont déjà travail avec des étrangers ils comprennent le système des étrangers. Surtout les africain il y a toujours des problèmes avec de papiers.

*Tu trouves que c’est plus facile pour les autres étrangers ? Do you think it is easier for other immigrants ?*

Voila. Pour moi c’été facile parce que moi déjà j’ai commencé par espagnole. Moi je connais les gens ici qui ont fait 10, 15 ans ici et ils ont toujours pas des papiers ils ont la famille derrière et c’est trop triste, parce que il faut que tu lui aides chaque fois Pour moi c’été facile parce que quand je suis arrivé en Espagne j’était mineur donc je suis entre direct au centre de mineur ils me prirent en charge et tous ca ils me donner la formation après une fois que j’avais 18 ans je suis la aujourd’hui. Pour moi ce n’était pas trop compliquer

*Mais comme même pas facile. But still not easy.*

Oui pas facile mais il y a des gens qui sont pire que moi. Il y a des gens qui sont pire que moi.
La formation que tu as fait en Espagne, les patrons ici à Paris ils pour eux, il voir que cl'est une bonne formation ou ils ne regardent pas ? The training that you did in Spain, the bosses here in Paris did they recognise that it was a good qualification or did they take no notice?

Non, non no ils n’ont pas regardé Parce que là ils ont juste demande d’expérience comme me patron que j’ai travaillé avec il connaîit le chef japonais c’est lui qui me amené nous avons déjà travaillé ensemble, les weekends ensemble, samedi dimanche ensemble. Lui il a vu comment je travaille La-bas je suis dit pas que je suis cuisinier moi j’ai juste travaille la plonge pendant weekend samedi dimanche. Mais lui il a vu comment je travaille j’ai expliqué que je suis cuisiner en Espagne mais comme je comprends pas français je me suis pas engagé direct en cuisine. Je préfère la plonge pour comprendre comment ça marche les choses Lui il a bien compris chaque fois j’ai lui aide en cuisine. Après ce pour ça il me proposer si je veux partir avec lui, il va faire un restaurant avec une patronne française je suis parti. Le patron en France me pas posé des questions, elle ne regardé pas la formation, elle a fait confiance déjà avec sa chef c’était lui qui me amené donc c’était pas une question.

La patronne elle n’ait pas trop touché la cuisine, elle ne rentre pas dedans vraiment ? The boss didn’t go near the kitchen really, she never really went in?

Non non Parce que déjà quand je suis arrivé…quant au debut quand j’ai commencé avec le patron je n’avais pas des papiers, j’ai travaillé avec des papiers espagnol. J’ai ramené avec des papiers de comment ça s’appelle, mon cousin. Au debut des commence par ça. J’ai dit je vais essayer avec ça parce que je sais que dans un autre endroit ils n’ont pas accepté J’ai amené un photocopie. La seule chose qu’elle ne pas aimer ce que j’ai amené des papiers de mon cousin mais elle n’avait pas découvert toute suite j’ai commencé au boulot elle a bien aimé mon boulot comment je travaille ; elle a vu mon travail après elle a découvrir les papiers. Elle a dit ce n’est pas moi ça ce n’est pas ton photo j’ai dit oui c’est à moi j’ai rien dit. J’ai dit c’est moi parce que il faut que je travaille il faut travaille. Après elle a dit, elle a appelle le chef elle a montré a le chef et il a regardé la photo et il a dit « ouai c’est vrai ce n’est pas toi ». Apres mois je n’était pas d’accord. Ce jour-là j’ai finis le travail, après quand je suis la maison… Apres là le lendemain Moi j’été pas d’accord, j’ai pris une autre décision. Je suis arrivé avec les papiers espagnols. Et j’ai dit la ça ceste moi, si tu veux ça c’est moi, elle a dit oui. J’ai lui demandé si tu peux me faire une promesse d’embauche je peux aller aux préfectures vont me donner une autorisation de travaille. Elle a dit ok il y a pas de problème. Après j’ai continué a travaillé encore. Elle a envoyer ça à la comptable. Mais le comptable a dit que ce n’est pas possible avec une carte séjour espagnole ce n’est pas possible il faut avoir nationalité tout ça Et là j’ai commencé à faire la démarche des papiers et la chaque fois j’avais des rdv, chaque 2 3 jours j’avais des rendez-vous. C’était pas facile au debut après ça va, la ça va.

Wow, c’était un debut difficile ah ? Wow, that was a difficult start yea?

Voilà voilà, au debut c’est toujours très difficile, les étrangères, nous
Et pour quelqu’un jeune aussi. And for someone young as well.

Voilà voilà

Les jeunes déjà pour moi les jeunes nous avons un peu d’opportunité un peu d’avantages paradoxalement parce que les restaurants ont toujours besoin les jeunes. Surtout tous le gens qui connais déjà un peu, ils ont toujours besoin des jeunes, ils sont des rapides et ils supportent ils sont plus fort parce que il y a trop de pression des fois pour eux. Et en plus même si il y a des coupures c’est les jeune qui peut porter. Moi avant j’ai travaillé 6 jours par semaine. 6 jours par semaine j’avais que 1 jour de repos si tu demandes les vieux de faire ça ce n’est pas facile.

Pour les jeunes déjà il y a d’opportunité par rapport les vieux

Tu sais qu’à Paris il y a un gros manque de cuisiniers ? Chaque année il y a presque cinq mille postes vides dans les cuisines. Tu penses pourquoi ça existe ? Do you know that in Paris there is a shortage of cooks? Every year nearly five thousand cook jobs are not filled. Why do you think that is?

Parce que la formation, c’est à cause de formation il y en a qui faisait pas assez de formation, il y a aussi pour moi, je peux dire aussi c’est à cause de coupure. Parce que moi je connais beaucoup de gens qui travaillent avec moi et après un mois deux mois et ils partent. Ils vont dire que ils ont défié. La restauration, surtout la coupure ce n’est pas facile. Là où j’ai travaillé avant…J’ai des amis qui me demande ‘Tu étais ou, en Espagne ?’ chaque fois ils me posent la question tu es en Espagne ‘non je suis là’ ils me crois pas parce que je travaille tout le temps Pas à la maison parce que j’ai fait coupure ; travaille 8 heure le matin jusqu’à minuit je sors le boulots. Je ne pouvais pas faire la coupure à la maison. J’ai reste parce que je habite trop loin, j’été obligé des faires les coupures dans le restaurant. J’ai vue personne dans ma famille, sauf la téléphone moi je ne voir même pas, c’est pour ça ils me posent la question. Pour moi c’est trop ça, c’est trop complique ; pas de vie, le gens n’aime pas le travail c’est pour ça les gens n’aime pas faire si tu faire ça tu n’es pas de vie tu voire personne. Travail tout le temps travail tout le temps. Il y a des autres travaux disponibles. C’est pour ça les gens il n’aime pas le métier les cuisiniers.

Des fois ce n’est même pas légale ; c’est la limite. Sometimes it is not even legal.

C’est la limite
Plus il y a des restaurant qui l’aide pas il ne paye pas les heures supplémentaire, c’est ça aussi c’est un problème, parce que des fois tu faire la coupure tu faire 12 heures par jour mais eu payé 8 que heures, de coup c’est rien Parce que en plus si il y a des clients ; la cuisine ferme à 14h si il y des clients, tu es obligé de reste après 14h mais le patron te paye pas.

_Toi, tu été payé pour tes heures supplémentaires ? Are you paid for your overtime?_

Non, même moi j’été paye pas avant, les heures que j’ai travaillé plus il paye que huit heures, mon contrat c’est 8 heures par jours pas 12 heures, on est payé 8 heures même si on faire plus. Si tu travailles plus ils ne donnent rien de plus. Sauf Il y a des restaurant aussi tu peux profiter si le chef il a bien compris que le patron payer pas il organise avec l’équipe. Si il y a moins de monde il y en a qui peu rentre la maison tôt pour profiter les gens. Parce que pour donner le courage, parce que si en continues comme ça toujours il y a des gens qui vas arrêter il y a toujours des gens qui démission. Mais si le chef a bien compris que ce n’est pas facile si le patron ne paye pas les heures supplémentaires. Faut pas travaille gratuit. Si il organise bien avec l’équipe quand il y a moins de monde il y en a qui peut rester à la maison.

_Tu penses que c’est à cause de ça les restaurants à Paris utilise beaucoup des étrangères ? Do you think that that is why Parisian restaurants use a lot of immigrants?_

Oui, c’est à cause de ça pour moi c’est à cause de ça parce que tous que je connais bah c’est la majorité que je connais dans Paris c’est des étranger les japonais, les africain, les Bangladesh, les somali tout ça, les étrangers c’est tout. Parce que je sais que les français ils ne vont pas supporte ça. Travail tous les jours comme ça, voir pas la famille, pour eu ce n’est pas possible. J’ai connais plusieurs gens ils faire un mois et c’est finis. 1 mois 2 mois c’est finis parce que c’est trop ils n’auront pas le temps.

_Donc est ce que c’est difficile pour toi de voir les cuisiniers français sur la télé et pas les étrangers ? Est-ce que tu trouves un peu triste que dans les cuisines c’est des étrangères mais quand tu lire un livre ou des journaux, les chefs, les cuisiniers sont des français, sont des blancs. Mais ils ne sont pas dans la cuisine forcement. Comment tu trouves ça ? So is it difficult for you to see French cooks on television and not immigrants? Do you find it a bit sad that in the kitchens it is foreigners but when you read a book or a newspaper the cooks are French, white?_

Oui c’est vrai eu ils ont plus de expérience parce que déjà quand ils sont Chef dans les restaurant étoilé les chefs ils faire rien, ils donnent que le menu c’est tous ils donnent des commande. Ils ont mille cuisiniers à cote. Des que il y a une commande. Il xxx c’est tous. Il faire rien c’est. Le plus difficile pour eux c’est 1 an un 2 an bien métrise la cuisine est tous. Il faire des livres tous ca ouvrir un restaurant Après c’est les étrangers que travaille pour eux ce n’est pas eu qui faire le truc
L’expérience c’est eu. Mais ceux qui faire les fabrications c’est nous c’est les étrangers nous qui faire tous. Une fois qu’ils ont un peu d’expérience c’est tout. Le plus difficile pour moi pour eu c’est de faire 1 ou deux ans pour eu bien concentré c’est assez. Voilà après ils sont chef. Des que ils sont chef et des que ils sont chef Ils passer tout la journée bras crosser faire c faire ça. Tu cours partout tu cours pratiquement par tout Ils vont dire faire ça. Il a rien fait après un an ou deux ans, ils vont sur la télé. Voilà il ne touche même pas, ils ne touchent rien.

_Tu penser comme même que tu vas rester en cuisine? C’est ton métier? Do you think that you sill stay cooking all the same?_

Normalement oui. Oui pour moi c’est mon métier, mais les seules choses qui m’embête c’est le cochon la, il y a trop de cochon je n’aime pas de tout le cochon. Apres, moraliserai je pas de droit de toucher, je n’ai pas de droit manger et tous que je n’ai pas droit manger je n’ai pas dois à donner a les autres. C’est à cause de ça si je vais arrêter mais je ne sais pas encore. Sinon je peux rester en restauration pour faire un restaurant végétarien voilà. Là il y en a plusieurs restaurant végétarien les étrangers aime ça. Si je reste j’aimerai bien faire un resto végétarien.

_Est-ce que tu as autre choses? Anything else?_

Ah non, c’est tout.

_Merci beaucoup Thank you very much_
…J’ai croisé ça
Tu commences en bas.
Si tu n’es pas sortie de l’école il faut avoir beaucoup de courage, beaucoup de persévérance.

_Et quand tu dire école, ça veut dire... ? And when you say school, you mean.. ?_
Ecole ça te dire avoir faire école professionnelle, centre de formation, sortie avec une bonne CAP.

_Et toi tu, as fait ça ? And did you do that?_
Moi, non.

_Comment tu as commencé? How did you start?_
J’ai commencé, le niveau plus bas, j’ai commencé à la plonge un peu et puis.
Bon, vraiment si to est curieux…Si le monsieur, le patron, si c’est avec lui que tu travail, généralement c’est difficile mais. Il y a un moment ils sont obligiez quoi, ils sont obligiez.

_Et c’est difficile comment ? How was it difficult ?_
Rien est facile quoi, toute est difficile, mais bon si tu as du courage pour persévérer c’est tous quoi.

_Tu as choisi de faire la cuisine quoi, ou tu as tombé dedans ou ? You chose to cook, or did you fall into it?_
C’est un peu, c’été un peu par, je ne sais pas comment dit, je ne trouve pas le mot.

_T’avais besoin de travailé c’est ça ? You needed work, is that it?_
J’avais besoin travail et puis bon, on m’a dit on va essayer et bon.

_Et ça fait combien de temps maintenant que tu faire la cuisine? How long is it now that you are cooking?_
Depuis 2002, quasiment quinze ans. J’ai fait la formation d’hygiène et tous ca mais c’est à moi de chercher, de passer le CAP.

_Mais tu travail tous les temps comme même... ? But you are working continuously all the same?_
Oui, oui. Je peux assumer une poste de second.

_Dans quel sort de restaurant ? In what type of restaurant?_
Moi je suis plus la cuisine traditionnelle, cuisine de brasserie. Mais dans un grand restaurant je peux faire la, La côté traditionnelle/ bistro. Pour moi, le Bistro ça va quoi

Tu as changé beaucoup l’endroit où tu travail ou est-ce que tu as resté ? Have you changed often your place of work ?

Non, non, je n’ai pas changé beaucoup. J’ai travaillé seulement, maxi 3 et là ou je suis ça fait 8 ans. Parce que changer il faut toujours recommencer.

Donc pour toi c’est un métier assez stable ? So for you it is a stable trade.

Oui, moi, je vraiment, quand je me sens bien je ne sais pas pourquoi aller ailleurs quoi.

Bon peut être que les possibilités d’évolution ça [...] Il y a des propositions, tu as des propositions, il y a des gens qui viens qui dire il faut bouger, mais bon je me dis pourquoi bouger? Mais il y a des possibilités d’évolution, ça vas arriver bientôt, le patron ils ont la possibilité d’ouvrir une deuxième. De changer le statut, ça va venir.

Donc pour toi, tu trouves que au debut c’est un métier difficile mais dès que tu es la dedans c’est... Therefore for you, you find that it is a trade that is difficult in the beginning but once one is launched in it it is....

Voilà si tu arrives à te porter. C’est à toi d’accrocher, c’est de la persévérance.

Tu travailles aussi avec des français ? Do you work as well with French people?

Oui le chef il est français. Mais généralement comme tu as dit c’est les chefs qui sont français.

Pourquoi, tu penses ? Why, do you think ?

Parce que généralement, eux ils viennent avec des références. Ils ont fait l’école. Les patrons ils regardent un peu tes références et ton niveau d’étude. Comme nous on a commencé à la base, même si tu as un bon niveau d’étude, même si tu as un bon niveau d’étude, une fois que tu as commencé à la base il ne te prend pas trop sérieux. C’est après il constat que son niveau est un peu trop enlever pour ce qu’il fait. C’est à toi de montrer que tu n’es pas venu pour rester le dernier quoi. C’est à toi de montrer tes compétences quoi. Quand le chef n’est pas las, ils vont plus dans les boîte intérim mais c’est ‘F, tu es là’. Quand je suis là, les clients, ce n’est pas pour mentir mais ils sentent la différence. Ils sentent bon. Le chef, je ne dire pas que il n’a pas bon mais...Il a tombé sur une certain …

Quand ils arrivent à un certain niveau, ils deviennent automatiques. Il cherche plus, c’est ça le problème, ils prendre plus d’initiative, il veut plus innover. C’est un peu le défaut, c’est dangereux de tomber dans la routine, pour un chef.

Pour toi, pour quoi toi tu n’es pas tombé comme ça aussi ? For you, why did you not fall that way ?

Moi, j’essaye-moi, bien sûr, c’est une gastronomie française mais bon j’essayer d’envoyer, de mettre les trucs exotique et eu ils aiment bien. Quand je lis un peu dans la statistique, quand tu regardes les moments de fête pendant l’année quand tu regardes les plats le plus, dans toute la France, les plats que les gens mangent pendant les fêtes, toute est exotique. La gastronomie française ça a passé un peu en troisième catégorie.
Oui, c’est vrai que les clients ils cherchent quelque choses d’autres. Yes, it is true that customers look for other things (dishes).

Voilà quelque ’ choses d’autres

Mais les bistros ils ont toujours les mêmes choses sur leurs cartes. But bistros always have the same things on their menus.

Voilà. Et ça dépend le quartier Les gens il veut manger des choses indiens mais ils ne vont pas aller dans le quartier populaire ou c’est vraiment les cuisiniers sont vraiment indien. Ils vont sur Le Champ dans un restaurant indien et quand tu voir dans la cuisine c’est un chef français qui est là. Le quartier ou je suis, je ne sais pas comment dit…C’est des gens qui n’ont pas d’habitude d’aller, ils ne sont pas curieux, ils ne vont pas aller dans un restaurant dans le 18ème ils ne sont pas curieux mais ils savent que, mais ils veulent manger d’exotique, mais ils n’ont pas le courage de se déplacer quoi.

Ils sont bien dans leur coin. They are happy in their corner.

Si ils veulent manger ils prendre une pizza. Donc moi j’essayer, j’essaye de faire un peu, j’apprendre, je peux faire d’asiatique, je peux faire d’indien, je faire tous quoi. Donc ça change un peu, ils sont contents.

Donc c’est vraiment ton métier quoi ? So it is really your trade like?

Oui c’est vraiment mon métier. Je veux dire que je ne veux pas autre choses.

Et donc, avec ça, est ce que ça te rendre un peu triste ou est-ce que tu trouves un peu bizarre le fait que en France quand les gens parle de la cuisine française c’est toujours les références sont toujours les chefs français, les blancs, que c’est vraiment cet coté là ? Therefore does it make you a bit sad or do you find it a bit odd the fact that in France when people talk about French cooking they reference always French chefs, whites, that it is really only that side?

C’est un peu dur quand tu es étranger, vraiment il faut bataille quoi. Il faut faire des grands restaurants. Faut faire beaucoup des artifices pour avoir arrivé tu arriver à leur niveau. Ça demande aussi beaucoup de soutiens, ah oui, parce que tu ne vas pas sortir …

Faut aller demander pour l’argent ou d’aller, manger dans le Georges Cinq, pour ça voilà if faut vraiment avoir faire des écoles prestige ou des restaurants prestige.

Mais après, si un jour tu décides que tu veux essayer tu penses que les portes sont ouverte ? But one day if you decide that you want to try (higher levels) do you think that the doors are open?

Oui; quand tu n’es pas bête, quand tu veux apprendre. Même moi je sais que si je vais dans une école de cuisine je sais que je peux me sortir. Voilà, parce que je ne suis pas analphabète, je peux lire.

D’accord. OK
Donc si il y a quelque choses dans le métier que tu veux changer, ça sera quoi ? So if you could change something in the trade, what would it be?

Changer comment ? Mon niveau ou… ?

Ton niveau, ou la vie de cuisinier ou le... je ne sais pas... Your level, or the life of the cook, or ...

Il faut donner la chance à tout le monde. Laisser chaque un avoir son chance

C’est toujours trop fermé ? It is always too closed?

Voilà, des petits clans et tout ça.

Est-ce que ça c’est à les organisations ou les associations à changer ou est-ce que est ce qu’il faut que ça vient de le cuisinier même ? Is that for the associations to change or is it something that has to come from the cook himself?

Oui mais bon, c’est toi-même, je ne sais pas, si tu viens dans un coin ils vont venir pas te chercher, c’est à toi de chercher. C’est ça un peu un défaut de nous les africains, ils aiment leur petit coin, il faut sortie un peu. Sinon je sais que si je cherche je peux trouver, tu peux trouver mais bon …on ne veut ne pas trop se compliquer la vie quoi.

Trouve un boulot et tu rester et après c’est bon quoi ? Find a job and you stay in it and all is good like?

Voila. Bon, ce n’est pas tout le monde quoi, il y a certaine qui, comme lui la, lui il va chercher tous que ’il y a, c’est normale.

Tu es en France depuis longtemps ? How long are you in France?

Depuis 2000.

Ah oui, donc presque toute suite après que tu es arrivé tu as commencé ? (en cuisine). Right, therefore almost immediately after you arrived you started working?

2000 je suis venu. Je suis parti à Londres. À Londres j’ai essayé un peu dans la restauration la bas. À Londres c’est plus difficile ah

Ah bon ? Oh really ?

Wow wow wow,

Comment ça ? How is that?

Le bas si tu ne viens pas avec un diplôme si tu ne viens pas avec une référence c’est dur.

Ah oui...Ah yes.

Ah oui, les anglais, eux, mais ils veulent un référence.

D’accord donc ils veulent une référence…Right so they look for references.
Les français ils vont tellement d’étudie avec c’est quoi les différences si en embauche des anglais. Mais en l’Angleterre c’est plus facile à bouger, ça j’ai remarqué, tu arrives à voir tu voir les noirs, des indiens qui sont à des poste différemment mais ici c’est dur.

Oui j’ai vu que le niveau d’intégration à Londres c’est mieux en fait ? Yes, I saw that the level of integration in London is better in fact?

C’est mieux qu’ici. Ici les français sont un peu, c’est un peu coincé ici.

La maintenant j’imagine que c’est tout carré maintenant mais au debout est ce que tu as eu des difficultés avec des contrats, des papiers, les choses comme ça ? Now I imagine everything is sorted but in the beginning did you have difficulties getting contracts, visas, and things like that.

Au débout oui. Mais il y a des patrons qui sont bon. Il y avait une génération de patrons qui été, eux il pouvait t’aider. Eux quand tu as un problème de papiers, eux il s’engage.

Maintenant c’est un peu changer tu vois, comme c’est des grand groupe qui a pris des restaurants, ça c’est difficile. Si tu n’es pas des papiers tu ne peux même pas intégrer.

Avant c’était un peu des trucs de famille ils te prennent comme son fils et puis il t’aide, avec lui si tu as mal il t’aide. Maintiennent ça a changé. La majorité des restaurants c’est des groupes.

Ils suivre vraiment des règles... ? Do they follow the laws really?

Il ne fait pas l’humanité quoi c’est la loi, la loi. Maintenant ça change, maintenant c’est difficile. Ah oui.

Tu sais à Paris maintenant, depuis, peut-être cinq ans il y’a un manque de cuisiniers; à ton avis c’est à cause de quoi ? Do you know that in Paris now, since five years there is a shortage of cooks, in your opinion why is that?

Moi, je crois que aussi c’est le salaire qui suit pas, voilà. Le salaire ...le chef ils te dire que « ici tu peux plus évoluer ». La demande, quand ils s’expatrièrent les chefs là ils touchent plus. Les salaires ne sont pas bons. Quand tu voir les salaires qui ils proposent aux gens c’est incroyable, indécent quoi, c’est indécent.

Oui par rapport les horaires... Yes, with regards to the hours?

Oui par rapport les horaires quoi, si tu ne veux pas tu laisses quoi « on va trouver un gars ».

Ça va changer tu penses ? Will that change do you think?

Ça ne va pas changer ; les gens ils ont besoin de vivre, quand un homme, quand quelqu’un est tombé ( ?) il accepter tous. Il accepte tous quoi.

Voilà donc il y a assez de monde? Right, so there are enough people?

Il y a plus de demande. Les grands group qui dirige pour eux c’est le maximum de travail et paye le moins quoi.
Même à Paris, c’est la capitale de gastronomie ? Even in Paris, the capital of gastronomy?

Ah oui Paris c’est le capitale de gastronomie mais il te paye pas. Quel que soit le restaurant, quel que soit le restaurant étoilé tout ça, il ne payer pas. Moi je pense que nous on est payé mieux que dans les petit structure là que dans les grands restaurants.

Ah bon ? Really?

Oui.

Mais bon, la bas peut-être ils ont quelques petit avantages, mais c’est rien quoi.

Oui c’est vrai, j’avais quelques apprenti qui sont partie travaille dans les grands restaurants et leurs salaires c’était... Yes it is true, I had a couple of apprentices who left to work in the big restaurants and the salaries were...

C’est la misère, c’est la misère. La collectivité c’est la pierre quoi. C’est que le chef qui touche. Pourquoi parce que ils sont plus dans le bureau d’intérim. Il prend des gens pour deux jours, trois jours ; quand une entreprise a besoin une étampe pour 1 semaine 2 semaine c’est tous quoi. Eu il ne paye pas beaucoup.

Et par rapport la formation, est ce que c’est assez facile d’accéder la formation ou pas ? Si tu es étranger. With regards to training, is it relatively easy to access training or not?

Il ne fond pas assez de formation j’ai remarqué. Les formations est un peu étouffé quoi. Je ne sais pas si c’est fait volontairement pour empêcher les gens à évoluer mais, c’est à toi de cherche ta formation quoi. Tu as de droits d’évolution, tu as de droits se financier par l’organisation. Faut vouloir quoi. Mais, quand tu vas à la formation, je ne sais pas comment ça passe, je n’ai pas fait, j’ai jamais demandé je sais que j’ai le droit mais bon

Mais ça te n’embête pas de n’avoir pas faire parce que ... ? But it doesn’t bother you to have not done it because ...?

Si, si, si, je pense à ça, je pense à ça suivant parce que c’est bon aussi pour la progression.

Est-ce que il y a assez de support si par exemple tu veux faire une formation a côté et garder ton travail ? Is there enough support for example if you want to go for training and keep your job?

C’est ça qui faire un peu peur, de faire une formation et de travailler. Si eux ils ont besoin de toi quand tu es en formation ça peut être un peu chaud. Tu as droit, ils ne peuvent pas dit non, c’est à toi de ranger avec le patron c’est tout quoi. Sinon les droits sont respectés pour ça.

Oui, la France est bonne pour ça je penser. Yes, France is good for that I think.

Oui, pour ça c’est bon.

Donc pour toi si tu veux évoluer, si tu veux quelque choses c’est à toi-même de le faire, les patrons ...So for you, if you want to progress, if you want something it is up to yourself to do it.
Les syndicats ils vont te dire tu droit de ça, tu as droit de ça, mais c’est à toi de vouloir. Le patron il va j’aimais te dire ça.

*C’est pareil pour tout le monde mais ? But is it the same for everyone,*

Oui, c’est pareil. Si tu demandes il est obligiez de soutenir. C’est à toi de vouloir.

*Tu as eu une expérience, ou tu as vu des choses ... Have you experienced, or have you seen something ... ?*

Avant que ou je suis la maintenant j’ai travaillé dans un restaurant ou ont voyant la hiérarchie, mais moi j’ai pensé... Il te considère pas, c’est ça que j’ai vu dans les grandes structures ou il y a toute la brigade. Il vous respecte pas quoi. Moi je préfère des petites maisons, ou il y a 2 ou 3. Chaque un sais ce que il va faire. Dans les grands cuisine ooh là la tu ne bouger pas. Il y a aucune considération. Ça c’est dommage.

*Est-ce que tu as vu des changements pendant des années par rapport les nouveaux qui arrive, les apprentis ou les commis de cuisine ou ... Have you seen changes during your years in kitchen regarding new cooks who arrive, apprentices or commis ?*

Je crois maintenant les jeunes ils ne sont pas courageux comme avant, ils ne sont pas motiviez, ils n’ont pas de persévérance, ils veulent réussir toute suite quoi, ils n’attaquent pas quoi, quand c’est un peu dur quoi ‘moi je m’enlever’. On a eu quelque, 2 ou 3 apprenti, qui sont là parce que ils sont obligiez quoi. Bon il y a des maisons quand tu arrives tu es. Ça ce n’est pas bons pour quelqu’un un qui commence. Si tu dors d’école tu es mieux d’aller dans les grands restaurants ou il y a des brigades tu suivre, tu appliques tous que tu as appris à l’école. Si tu vas dans les petit structure tu dois faire tous, il y a bistro, gastro, pâtisserie tout ça, si tu n’aimes pas pâtisserie tu ne dois pas venir. Si tu ne veux pas t’occuper. Ça dépend la taille de la structure aussi quoi. Ceux que une personne faire dans la brigade las tu faire pour trois personne quoi dans une petite maison tu faire pour 3 dans une grande brigade. Tu es au chaud au froid, tu es là tu es là, si tu n’es pas habitue c’est tu abandonnes « C’est quoi ce travail ?! »

*Dans les grands restaurants ils sont protégés un peu ? In the big restaurants they are protected?*

Lui il se occupe de ça, lui de la, lui il est au chaud, l’autre au froid. Dans les petites structures c’est différent. Maintenant je crois que je peux me en sortie dans tous structure

J’ai essayé une fois la collectivité. Je n’ai même pas fait mon intérim.

*Pourquoi ? Why ?*

Cette une usine quoi. Tu viens et le chef est « faire ça faire ça faire ça » Le chef me demandé « toi tu es venu pourquoi ? » J’ai savait même pas... Allez dégage ! Tu prendre la tête même quoi, tu n’es pas une minute, oh la la; j’ai demandé a le mec « pourquoi tu m’envoyé la bas ? » ADC, tu connais ADC?

*Oui. Yes.*

C’est spéciale quoi collectivité, c’est spéciale.
C’est vrai que c’est plutôt une usine qu’une cuisine. It is true that it is more factory than kitchen.

C’est d’usine.

Je ne sais pas si c’est vraiment ‘de cuisiner’ ? I don’t know if it is really ‘cooking’.

Non, ce n’est pas ce n’est pas.

Laughing; qui m’a dit ça ?... il y a un chef m’a dit que c’est « chauffer du plat » ! Même mon chef il a travaillé dans le truc de collectivité, mais il a dit xxx

Merci, je ne sais pas si ...c’est Thank you, I dont know if...

Moi, mon petite expérience, moi j’ai plus travaillé dans … Ce que j’ai dit, si tu veux évoluer tout dépende de toi. Il ne faut pas oublier ou tu viens Quelque sois tu as d’ambition il faut que ça entre dans la tête, la porte que je ne peux pas ouvrir je vais le forcer, ça c’est important. Il faut les monterai par ton travail que tu ne casse pas que tu as tout le temps compètent dans ton travaille que tu es volontaire

Mais ça prendre plus d’efforts que les autres ? But that takes more effort than for others?

Oui tu demandes plus. C’est normale, on n’est pas les mêmes armes. Lui il est chez lui. Même si toi, tu n’es pas chez toi, tu as fait la même école la même formation que lui, même quand tu venir avec on cv ils regardent des cv différemment. Ah oui mais, ça c’est obligiez. Il va prendre les cv, il prendre ton cv, il voir toi tu es ne la lui il est né ici…

Mais pourquoi tu penser que c’est obliger ? But why do you think it is obligatory?

Mais c’est pourquoi ils demandent maintenant des cv neutre, on demande des cv neutre, parce que la balance quoi, ça fait balancer. Ils voir « ah lui si je prendre celui j’aurai plus de problème, je prendre lui j’aurai moins de problèmes » Que est tu vas faire. Ils vont constater après que dans le travail toi tu es plus compètent, et lui il va en chômage ! Quelque chose que XX a dit l’autre jour, par rapport les mots immigré, étranger ou immigré, il été le premier qui a dit « non, c’est expatriat », tu trouves pareil ou non ? Non, immigré et expatrié ce n’est pas les mêmes choses. Non ce n’est pas la même chose. Un expatrié, si tu es venu spécialement pour le travail que tu faire. C’est quelqu’un qui est venu, qui a quitté chez lui tu as déjà eu la promesse d’embauche tous ça la bas. Immigre tu es venu est tu as te trouve sur place. Ce n’est pas ingénue. Un expatrie c’est quelqu’un un qui es venu pour travart et partir, c’est ça, on est venu pour rester

Donc pour toi Therefore for you?

Ça ne me gêne pas. Si mes doits son me respecté c’est tous quoi

D’être cuisinier ici, si tu rencontres quelqu’un nouveau es il te demande qu’est-ce que tu faire ? To be a cook here, if you meet someone new and they ask you what do you do?

Ça c’est la question que on recevoir tous les jours ‘Tu es de quel origine ?’…Ça c’est le quotidien ça. Ils sont un peu, il retire un peu. Il faut éviter le bloquer, ça c’est important
Quand il commence et tu laisses faire tu es mort, ah oui. Moi je ne laisse pas faire. Quand c’est chaud ; quand tu embête un peu ils vont doucement. Tu ne parles pas à moi comme un enfant quoi.

_Tu resteras en cuisine? Will you stay in kitchen?_

L’année prochaine je vais chercher une formation. Je chercher d’évoluer un peu.

Quand tu es dans la même société ou tu as commencé par le bas c’est de faire évoluer quoi difficile parce que-il voir toujours le mec qui est venu en bas, il se dit bah lui on lui donne ça, ça suffit, pourquoi il veut avoir plus. Même mon patron, quand je le dire on va discuter il dit (slowly) oui oui Mais Il t’évite quoi parce que ils savent de pourquoi tu veux parler.

_C’est difficile de travailler dans une ambiance comme ça non ? It is difficult to work in an environment like that no?_

Oui mais bon, quand ils sont cool, moi particulièrement je trouve cool. Si c’était pas cool, j’allais. Quand j’essaye il répond vite donc moi j’ai dit bon il ne faut pas trop embêter des gens qui. Il faut que tu lui discuter, c’est normal qu’il pense à la boîte, c’est tes droits de demander

C’est ton doit de demander, soi tu es… en suivre tous la même façon en cuisine.

_Est-ce que il y a des autres choses ? Is there anything else?_

Non, ça va, ça va, moi, oui, comme c’est la restauration. Si les clients sont satisfaire tu es, quand tu voir les gens apprécie ça fait plaisir.

_Tu cuisine avec le cœur You cook with heart._

Voilà c’est ça. Les clients sort de chez moi, ça c’est un plaisir. Quand les clients se sentent bon chez moi.

_Tu te sens libre dans la cuisine ? Do you feel free in the kitchen?_

Oui, la bas, il me laisse mon liberté, ah oui, « tu faire ce que tu veux quoi »

_Tu mettre des plats sur le menu de jour ? Do you put dishes on the daily specials?_

Quand moi je suis là c’est moi qui faire les plats du jour, je faire les desserts.

_Tu penser que ça c’est assez commun, assez normale ou est-ce que c’est grâce à ton patron ? Do you think that that is pretty common, normal, or is it thanks to your boss?_

Il faire confiance. Si le patron ne faire pas confiance il peut te laisser, aller prendre un chef d’un bureau intérim. Je l’ai dit que je pouvais quoi.

_J’ai envie de manger chez toi ! I want to eat in your restaurant!_

La cuisine c’est l’imagination, et puis il faut que. Par fois j’ai dit à le patron commande ce que tu veux, un truc que j’ai jamais commande ! Quand ça vient, …quand ça vient, tu trouves. Tu sais lire, tu sais doser, tu sais…une fois que tu sais lire maintenant. La cuisine c’est quoi ? C’est à toi de savoir. C’est comme si tu as l’école. Tu dis bon tu as ca tu as
ca …4 personne, tu faire ça, tu faire ça. C’est à toi de savoir. Je n’ai pas fait tous mais tous que tu me donne, «tu as ça à faire» je faire ça, il y a pas un problème soit en pâtisserie, c’est difficile mais bon, il faut suivre la recette

Après c’est à toi d’ajouter ton petit (makes magician gesture, smiling)

*Merci !*

*Thank you!*
Interview with JC. Interview length: 32.21 minutes

Merci beaucoup Thank you very much.

Tu es en France depuis quand ? How long are you in France?

Depuis 2013.

Quand tu es venu ici tu as décidé toi-même de travailler en cuisine ou est-ce que c’était quelque chose organisé avec le pôle emploi ou est-ce que tu as fait déjà au pays la cuisine ? When you arrived here did you decide yourself to work in kitchens or was it something organised by the social security office, or had you already been a cook at home?

Au début ce n’était pas mon projet de être cuisinier.

Quand je suis arrivé en France j’étais au foyer et au foyer pendant j’étais pas à l’école.

J’ai eu aucun activité que j’ai pratiqué et ils m’envoyé dans une association pour apprendre la cuisine et j’ai faisait comme des stages et je suis parti la bas et j’ai ne connaissait rien dans la cuisine.

Et dans le début j’ai voulait être vendeur dans des boutiques; avant j’ai parlé pas bien français et de coup ils m’en disent « ouai, pour être vendeur il faut avoir un niveau en mathématique, en français par la » et je me suis découragé et je me suis dit pourquoi pas me mettre dans le découvrir que j’ai fait dans la cuisine et de coup je me suis allé en cuisine.

Finalement tu as trouvé que tu l’aimé, même si ce n’était pas la première idée ? In the end you found that you liked it, even if it wasn’t your first idea?

Oui ce n’était pas mon idée mais quand j’ai le découvrir j’ai aimé.

Quand j’ai le découvrir en fait j’ai trouvé que j’ai la base.

Tu as cuisiné chez toi au pays ? Did you cook at home, in your home country?

Non pas de tout.

Donc la première expérience pour toi c’était la cuisine française ? So the first experience for you was French cuisine?

Oui c’était la cuisine française.

Comment tu as trouvé ça ? How did you find it?

J’ai trouvé que c’est normale et la façon que il m’a montré et fait des trucs très propre et j’ai trouvé que c’est la classe et ça me plaisait en fait.

Et tu as fait des stages c’était ça ? You did work experiences is it?
Oui j’ai fait des stages.

*Dans des restaurants ou en traiteur, ou… ? In restaurants or in catering or…?*

J’ai fait le premier stage comme la découverte je l’ai dans un foyer, et mon deuxième stage j’ai fait dans un restaurant, un resto français et troisième stage j’ai fait dans un lycée.  

*Donc tu as vu un peu la cuisine classique dans un restaurant et un peu la cantine ?*  
Therefore you saw a bit classic French cooking in a restaurant and some canteen style?

Oui, c’est ça.

Oui, j’ai fait traditionnelle, cuisine-cuisine et j’ai fait un peu la… comment appelle ça…ça m’échappe le mot,…polyvalent.

*Oui d’accord donc tu as fait un peu de plonge, cuisine froide, cuisine chaude c’est ça ?*  
Right ok, so you did a bit of dishwashing, cold kitchen, hot kitchen, is that it?

Oui c’est ça.

*Pour toi, est ce que tu as vu par rapport les équipes ou la façon de gérer un équipe, est ce que tu as vu des différences entre la cuisine dans le lycée, le foyer et le restaurant ? In your opinion, have you seen in the teams, or in the method of managing a team, have you seen differences between the kitchens in the college, the canteen and the restaurant?*

Oui il y’avais toute a fait une différence.

En foyer en été pas beaucoup, en été que 4 personne. Il y avait le chef de cuisine et c’été lui qui nous montré, qui a donné de la menu, de les fiches techniques, « il faut faire ça il faut faire ça ».

Et dans le polyvalent aussi c’est un peu pareil mais : La bas c’est le chauffage, on réchauffe les aliments et dans la cuisine traditionnelle ou j’ai travaillé c’été aussi différent. Parce que la bas, c’été différent aussi, c’été chef, chef d’équipe, c’été tout changé en fait.

*Et par rapport les gens qui as travaillé en cuisine est ce qui il avait des cuisiniers français ou c’été des étrangers, ou c’été mélangé? And with regards to the people who worked in the kitchens were there French cooks or foreigners, or was it mixed?*

C’été mélangé en fait.

Au lycée c’été plus des français que des étrangères.

*Et après ça tu as finis la formation et tu as commencé à travailler c’est ça ?*  
Après je me suis parti au CFA. Au CFA j’ai travaillé aussi dans la spécialité tunisienne à la première année.

Deuxième année je suis travaillé dans la cuisine française traditionnelle.

*La deuxième formation, la spécialité tunisien, c’été toi qui la choisi? Your second training, the Tunisian kitchen, was it you who chose it?*
Non, parce que avant quand j’ai cherché le patron pour aller au CFA, parce que l’alternance il faut trouver un patron et j’ai savez pas que il faut trouver une cuisine française dans le debut et comme j’avais trouvé au spécialité tunisien et j’ai savez pas et à l’école ils m’ont dit « ouai si tu continues avec votre patron ou il y a pas spécialité française, ton diplôme ne sera pas valider » il faut la cuisine française et je me suis changé dans l’idée.

Oui mais c’est pas mal d’avoir appris deux sorts de cuisine…surtout au debout ? Yes but it’s not bad to have learnt two types of cuisine, in particular in the beginning.

Oui oui c’été pas mal.

Donc tu as continué avec le patron tunisien, et après tu as continué… So did you continue with the Tunisian boss and then after...

J’ai fait un an avec eu et deuxième année un an cuisine traditionnelle française.

La formation française a le fin c’est en alternance c’est ça? The French training at the end, it was on ‘alternance’ was it?

Oui, en alternance.

C’été comment; 1 semaine à l’école, deux semaine au travail? How was that; 1 week in college, 2 weeks in work?

Ah non. Comme en cuisine il y avait beaucoup de travail on a fait deux jours à l’école et trois jours au travail. Parce que des fois,… si en mettre une semaine deux semaine au travail, la prochaine semaine pour aller à l’école ça serrai un peu trop fatiguant. Donc 2 jours à l’école et 3 jours au travail.

Tu as fait des coupures ? Did you do splits?

Oui c’été des coupures.

Oui j’ai commencé 9-15 et je prendre la pause à 15h jusque 18 heures et de 18h jusque 23h.

Mais c’est la cuisine, normalement c’est comme ça, si on dépasser les heures c’est la cuisine, si il y a beaucoup de boulot peut pas laisser comme ça.

Mais comme ça tu as fait des horaires supplémentaires même si tu été stagiaires/apprenti. But like that you did overtime even though you were a student/apprentice?

Oui même si j’été apprenti, oui je faisais des horaires supplémentaires.

Et pour toi, le fait que il faut travaille comme ça en cuisine tu trouves ça comment? And in your opinion, the fact that one needs to work like that in kitchens, how do you find that?

Je trouve normale, je trouve bien parce que d’apprendre quelque choses que j’ai savais pas avant et de connaître et d’avoir l’expérience d’un métier.
Ce n’était pas facile parce que avant je n’ai pas parlé bien français et même avec les conditions de l’alternance ce n’est pas facile parce que avant j’avais mineur et j’ai travaillé 35 heures par semaine et j’ai gagné 300 euro (par mois).

Et ce n’était pas facile

Et pour mon deuxième année c’était plus pire.

Je suis déjà majeur j’ai gagné j’ai travaillé 42 heures avec des heures supplémentaires et j’ai gagné que 500. Oui. Et ce n’était pas facile.

Et le payer comme ça, c’était organisé par le formateur ou par le restaurant ? And the pay like that, was it organised by the college or the restaurant?

La paye comme ça normalement c’est le chef, le patron qui décide. Parce que j’ai posé la question au formateur à l’école « comment ça se fait que je travaille comme ça mais regarde comment je gagne » et on m’a dit « ouai mais il n’a pas de droit de te payer comme ça si tu es payé comme ça tu peux y aller avec lui au prudhomme comme ça » et il y a des autres professeurs qui me conseiller « tu t’occupes pas le salaire, il faut que tu t’occupes avec tous pour avoir le diplôme. Mais après ça ne durent pas longtemps, quand tu aurais ton diplôme tu parts ».

Ouais, mais comme même, un an de travail pour 300 euro par mois !? Yes but still, one year working for 300 euros per month !?

Est que il y avait des autres, tes collègues qui étaient payée comme ça ? Were there others, your colleagues who were paid like that?

Ça dépend le patron, même avant ça si j’ai fait des heures supplémentaires il m’a payé. À la fin de mois il me payé en liquide pour les heures supplémentaires.

Pour mon deuxième patron ce n’était pas pareil.

Tu as croisé les autres apprentis ou les autres stagiaires qui étaient des français dans les autres lycées ? Tu as vu comment c’est pour eux ? Ou, est-ce c’est à ton avis, pareil pour tout le monde ? Did you come across other apprentices or trainees who were French, in other colleges ? Did you see how it is for them ? Or is it, in your opinion the same for everyone?

Non ce n’est pas pareil pour tout le monde parce que l’apprenti le paye s’augmente par rapport à l’âge que t’as.

La dans le début j’avais 17 ans et normalement j’ai voulu toucher 400 si c’est un bon patron. J’ai voulu toucher 400 mais pour eu ils me payé comme même 350 euro, parce que le smic c’était 29% je pense j’ai oublié, et le deuxième c’était 49% et…J’ai touche majeur et j’ai voulu toucher 700 ou 800 euro et avec les heures supplémentaires j’ai voulu monter plus parce que d’autres personne qui travaillé comme moi par rapport ont été le même âge, ils ont gagné de 900 par ans ou 850.

Qui n’est même pas beaucoup mais qui me semble un peu normale. Ça c’était dur huh, 2 années comme ça ? Mais tu as tenu comme même et après, tu as finis ta formation et à la fin tu as quoi, CAP ? Bac pro ? Which is still not a lot, but it is a bit more normal. It was
tough huh, two years like that? But you persevered all the same and after you finished your training, and at the end you gained what, CAP? Bac Pro?

Oui à la fin j’avais CAP.

Très bien, et tu es sortie la formation et tu as commencé à cherché le travail ? Very good, and you finished your training and you started working?

Dans le début j’ai voulu faire CAP pâtisserie, mais je me suis décourageais par rapport l’alternance comment c’était passé avec des patrons parce que si moi j’étais comme eu je les suivre et demander « pourquoi tu me payer comme ça ? » En fait, je pouvoir arrêter. J’ai le suivi pas et j’avais juste l’objectif d’avoir le diplôme et de coup j’ai voulu faire un CAP pâtisserie j’étais découragé de coup je me suis abandonné et j’ai commencé à chercher le travail.

Après tu as eu besoin combien de temps pour trouver le travail a le fin? How much time did you need in order to find work in the end?

Dans le début j’ai pris pendant 2 ou 3 mois de cherché patron pour alternance aussi pour CAP pâtisserie je n’ai pas trouvé et de coup je me suis partie cherché le travail à l’agence intérim et j’ai cherché à la cuisine et de coup je n’ai pas trouvé à la cuisine toute suite et il m’a proposé de faire une autre chose, de faire le, comment appelle ça, la manutention qui n’est rien à voir avec la cuisine !!

Et je me suis parti pendant deux semaines. C’était travail de nuit, je suis piétons et je n’avais pas de voiture, il faut que je commence à 20h j’ai finis a une heure de matin ou deux heures du mat et c’était loin. J’ai habité a JVy et le travail a été à la ville à le 77, ce n’était pas facile donc j’ai fait 2 semaine et je suis partie.

Il y avait un pote a moi qui a fait alternance dans un traiteur, LSL, à côté de VJF et de coup il savait que j’ai cherché de travail et la bas il y a de comme quoi il faire des extra, c’est comme l’intérim aussi.

Il me propose « on chercher des gens qui faire extra, qui travaille en cuisine comme extra ». C’est comme des extras aussi.

Je me suis appelé et ils ont dit « oui viens su place » et je me suis partie et voila

Pourquoi tu penses dans le bureau, dans le bureau d’intérim ils ont te proposé des choses qui n’était pas de tout la cuisine ? Why do you think in the agencies they proposed you jobs that were not kitchen related?

Parce que j’étais dans le besoin de travail; parce que quand j’ai arrêté l’alternance j’ai pris 1 mois des vacances et comme je n’avais pas beaucoup de budget de sais vivre en fait je ne peux pas rester comme ça et il faut que je trouve une autre chose parce que même j’ai voulu touche le chômage mais comme en alternance j’ai touche pas beaucoup, le chômage c’est que 250euro et j’ai trouvé pour vivre 250 euro ce n’était as facile.

La quand tu as fait LSL, et après, ça c’est vraiment le début de ton carrière professionnel... ? So you worked at LSL and that was really the start of your professional cooking career?
Oui

*Et t’aime toujours la cuisine? You still like cooking?*

Oui j’aime toujours la cuisine.

*Quand tu voir le fait qu’on est à Paris, la ville le plus connu dans le monde pour la gastronomie, pour la restauration, comment tu te sens dedans ? Tu te sens que tu es bien ou que c’est pour les autres ? When you see that we are on Paris, the most famous city in the world for gastronomy and restaurants, how do you feel within that? Do you feel good or is it something that is for others?*

En fait quand j’été à l’école je me sentir plus allaise, ça dépend aussi le resto.

Même pour trouver, entre guillement, entre nous, nous « les noirs » c’est un peu difficile de trouver un boulot à la cuisine.

Même à l’école on a rigolé avec le professeur « Les noires ne sont pas des cuisiniers c’est des plongeurs! » (Recounts laughing, but doesn’t express forcefully the ‘nous les noirs’).

C’est vrai dans la vie quotidien c’est à la fois il y a des gens qui dans sa tête tu es un menaçant.

De prendre des noirs, de les embaucher dans les restaurant ce n’est pas facile, et a moi aussi j’ai du mis un peu de temps a trouvé du travail, parce que ils m’ont dit oui CAP « l’expérience de la CAP suffit pas pour t’embaucher comme ça ».

C’été un peu complique, si tu as rien tu ne peux pas trouver mais j’ai eu même quelque chose et ça ne suffit pas.

Malheureusement le travail, l’expérience, j’ai pouvais pas avoir plus d’expérience.

C’été pas facile en fait.

Chaque fois que tu as quelque chose ils demandent un autre.

Un autre, oui.

*Il faut vraiment que tu battre quoi ? You really need to battle like?*

Moi je trouve que je me battre et d’avoir plus d’expérience ou bien d’aller essayier une autre chose.

Mais de faire une autre chose aussi il me demande un certain niveau. Il faut avoir un certaine niveau, c’est pour ça je reste à la cuisine, d’avoir un peu d’expérience au lieu d’aller essayier une autre chose.

*Tu n’es pas le premier qui m’avait dit ça. You are not the first to say that.*

Là, j’imagine que c’est ... *Quand tu es dans les cuisine est ce que tu d’envie d’aller plus haut ? I imagine that...When you are cooking, to you have ambitions to go higher?*

Oui, oui, oui.

*Est-ce que tu penses que c’est possible ? Do you think that it is possible?*
Oui je trouve que c’est possible parce que quand j’ai vu mon ancienne patron, lui il a son propre resto, et il a que CAP cuisine, même ça fait longtemps, ça fait 30 ans que il a fait la cuisine français, même lui il m’a dit « il y’avais des choses que je n’arrivé pas, j’ai loupé j’ai loupé, maintenant je les fais même yeux fermé ».

Je trouve que sais possible, que je vais arriver.

Moi je trouve que le travail en cuisine il faut que c’est ouvert à tous parce que il y a rien dans le travail de cuisine qui peut bloquer les autres. I think that cooking should be open to everyone because there is nothing in the work that should exclude someone.

Oui parce que la cuisine- ceux que j’ai trouvé difficile à la cuisine c’est quand tu ne connais pas la recette c’est ça.

Si tu connais la recette et quand tu la fait correcte tu vas réussir ; avec d’autres resto, des cuisiniers quand il y a la pression derrière toi il y a aussi dans la tradition (referring to restaurant work) c’est rien avoir avec le traiteur, le traditionnel il y a des gens dans la salle qui attend, il faut les servir.

Il y a chef qui crie, qui s’érerve, qui prend la tête et voilà, et même il y a des insulte dedans « vaissi ! » comme ça, des fois tu n’es pas le bon morale et tu peux louper quelque chose que tu sais faire avec la rapidité tu peux oublier quelque chose et oui c’est ça qui est comme difficile en cuisine (speaks animatedly).

Ça manque le service un peu, le restaurant, la cuisine dans le restaurant ? Do you miss restaurant work, service time; the restaurant kitchen?

Oui, oui ça change et tout parce que ce n’est rien à voir avec le traiteur.

C’est vraiment différent. Ici c’est mon premier travail en traiteur, avant c’était tous des restaurant. Ça a me pris des moy en fait de me habiter; je suis beaucoup plus habitue d’avoir le service déjeuner; tu as juste les moments entre 9 heures et 11 heures de se préparer après c’est le soir ...oui c’est différent. Yes it is really different. I am also in my first catering kitchen, before I was always in restaurants. It took me some months in fact to get used to it, I am much more used to having lunch service, you have just time between 9 and 11am to get prepared and then onto the evenings...yes it is different.

Oui oui, c’est différent.

A Paris et en plusieurs pays maintenant et ça existe à Paris, il y a une manque des cuisiniers, vraiment il y a une difficulté de trouver des cuisiniers, à n’importe quel niveau. Il y a des postes qui sont vide tout le temps. A ton avis c’est pour quoi? In Paris and in several counties now there is a shortage of cooks, it is really a struggle to find cooks, at any level. There are positions that are always unfilled. In your opinion why is this?

A mon avis, premièremment ce n’était pas de choisir le genre de gens et peut être ça peut être le déplacement et avec les horaires décalé.

Oui, le fait qu’il y a des coupures ? The fact of having to do splits?
Oui des coupures, parce que même moi quand j’ai cherché de travail même j’avais des offres à Paris ; à Paris de JYV c’était, et les horaires que j’ai fait j’ai fini minuit/ une heure, là dans cette heures là il y a plus de train et moi je n’étais pas véhiculé et c’était difficile.

Il avait des autres restaurants aussi qui étaient un peu éloigné de la cité, qui étaient un peu dans les zone industrielle qui la bus il n’arrive pas à côté et il faut avoir le propre transport.

Il y a des choses comme ça aussi, ça peut être ça aussi.

Même si c’est un métier qui est bon quand tu es là, en fait il y a des autres choses autour qui rendre difficile le métier. So even if it is a trade that is good when you are in it, there are forces surrounding it that make it difficult.

Oui, surtout avec les horaires décaler parce que la cuisine …

Il y a aussi les gens qui sa le plait plus.

Parce que même en majeur, ils m’ont répété plusieurs fois, « tu aimes la cuisine ? T’aime la cuisine ? »

Et j’ai dit oui et ils m’ont dit « mais tu sais que les cuisiniers il y a beaucoup de boulot, beaucoup de travail, c’est comme le travail militaire ».

Parce que la cuisine….Ici c’est bon c’est cuisine traiteur ça va il y a pas des weekends mais dans les cuisine traditionnelle il faut ….des fois j’ai travaillé dimanche, tous les jours, tous les samedis j’ai travaillé, les dimanches des fois des fois pas, même les jours de noël j’ai travaillé, le premier on a travaillé, et des fois il y a des gens qui abandonne par rapport des horaires.

Tu as eu du mal d’être payé, quand tu as fait des horaires supplémentaires ? Tu as eu des problèmes avec ça ou non? Did you have problems getting paid overtime? Did you come across issues with that or not?

 Là ou j’ai travaillé avant, dans mon deuxièmes année je n’ai pas ça…j’ai travaillé des horaires supplémentaires mais je n’étais pas payer.

J’ai travail comme en gratuit.

Toute l’année ? All year ?

Oui toute l’année, parce que j’ai travaillé 42 heures et jeté payé pour 35 heures par semaine.

C’était compliqué pour moi, parce que c’était la première année je n’avais pas cours lundi et j’ai prenez dimanche et lundi mon jours de repos donc j’ai eu deux jours de repos. Et le deuxième année j’avais cours lundi et mon patron il m’a dit non les samedis comme on travaille et lui il a fermé son restaurant dimanche, moi lundi j’avais mon cours et je lui propose comme lundi j’avais cours je pouvais pas prendre lundi et dimanche comme jours de repos parce que les jours de lundi déjà Les heures que je consommes lundi d’aller au cours ils sont comte dans le 35 heures et normalement j’ai lui proposé de décaler le jour de lundi ou bien il me donner un mardi ou un jour dans la semaine , il m’a dit non ce n’est pas possible et en fait j’avais que un seul jour de repos.
En fait je n’avais qu’un jour de repos, que dimanche.

Et les jours que j’ai faits au cours sont compte dans les 35 heures.

Donc j’ai travaillé avec lui en fait j’ai travaillé une journée gratuitement.

*Tu n’es pas obligé de répondre, mais est-ce que tu penses que tu as été jeune et tu n’as pas longtemps en France, est-ce que tu penses que tu a utilisé un peu ça ? You are not obliged to reply, but, do you think that since you are young and not long in France, do you think that he used that a bit?*

Je peux dire oui parce que, je peux dire oui.

Parce qu’il a trouvé aussi que je ne peux pas lui suivre.

Mais je sais que il a se trompe avec ça. Parce que si j’avais monté des poursuivre avec ça, et j’ai voulait parce que à l’école il m’a donné tous les, il me montré tous mes droits, « tu peux avoir ça et ça, tu peux aller au prudhomme et porter plainte, il va venir et il y a la justice qui va la suivre ».

Mais j’ai trouvé sa une long histoire et j’ai voulu pas cette histoire.

*Donc même si il y a des patrons qui joue ou qui abuse les gens en France il y a des mécanismes, il y a des quoi faire pour le régler, mais il faut prendre le temps ? So even if there are bosses who play or who abuse employees in France there are mechanisms to help but it takes time?*

Oui il faut disposait le temps.

Et j’ai voulais pas prendre le temps d’aller avec lui au prudhomme.

Et si j’avais fait ça peut être ça va donner une autre chose qui je m’attendais pas et comme j’avais toujours envie d’avoir mon cap. J’ai voulu pas m’arrêter comme ça, j’ai voulu avoir mon CAP, fin de l’année.

*Donc la maintenant la cuisine est ton métier ? Cooking has become your trade ?*

La cuisine pour moi c’est le seule métier que je connais

*Et ça te plait toujours ? And you still enjoy it?*

Oui ça me plait toujours.

*Si tu rencontrer des gens dans la rue ou tu parles avec la famille au pays et ils te demandent que est ce que tu faire, tu es fière de dire je suis cuisinier ? If you meet people or talk to family in the home country and they ask you what do you do are you proud to say that you are a cook?*

Oui, oui.

*Pour l’avenir, pour la profession, le métier, si quelqu’un te donner l’opportunité de changer quelque choses dans le métier de cuisinier ca sera quoi ? Ou est-ce tout roule bien? For the future, for the profession, for the trade, if someone gave ou the opportunity to change something within the trade of cook what would it be? Or is all good?*
Je veux bien, ce que je veux changer que c’est d’être ouvert à tout le monde comme en est des humaine, de trouver normale je suis humaine, même si….

Parce que personnes ne connait tous ; tous les cuisine sont pas mon propre cuisine et même les matériel ce n’est pas difficile de rappelle non à ça s’appelle comme ça, ça s’appelle comme ça.

De savoir à ça, de mettre ça dans la tête de tout le monde. Tu peux montrer qu’le qu’un dans sa façon qui enable sa qualité que il est de le renseigner que il va arriver à faire tous qui est comme la cuisine.

Oui ok d’accord, ça veut dire qu’il ne faut pas que c’est fermé. Right ok, so you lean that it shouldn’t be closed off.

Oui.

Que ce n’est pas fermer, que s’il ne connait pas français il ne restera pas toujours comme ça.

D’être ouvert en fait à tout le monde.

Est-ce que tu trouves un peu fermé en fait la gastronomie française ou les cuisines française? Do you find that French gastronomy or French kitchens are too closed off?

Déjà dans la gastronomie française je ne peux pas m’engager parce que je ne parle pas bien français et j’ai connais pas trop comment je peux dire, les produit et ça dans la gastronomie c’est un peu dur.

Il faut avoir le temps de te montre il faut faire ça il faut faire ça.

Il n’y a pas beaucoup des patrons qui a la volonté de faire ça.

Je trouve que il veut que de quelqu’un qui saisi déjà faire tous ça et d’être avec eu et commencer apprendre quelqu’un comme ça.

Il préfère les français qui connaissent déjà le métier ? They prefer French cooks who already know the trade?

Oui, qui connais déjà.
Vous viens d’où en fait ? Where do you come from?
Mali.

Ça fait combien de temps depuis que tu es en France ? How long are you in France?
2010

Pourquoi vous avez choisi de travail en cuisine ? Why did you choose to work as a cook?
Pourquoi j’ai choisi pour travailler cuisine. J’aime bien la cuisine et le restaurant ça s’arrête pas aussi, il y a toujours de travail

Tu a fait un peu au pays aussi? Did you do it in your home country as well?
Au pays, ouai, des plats africain.

Dans la maison ou dans un restaurant ? At home or in a restaurant?
Dans la maison pas au restaurant.

Depuis combien de temps tu es en cuisine en France, à Paris ? How long are you cooking in France, Paris?
A Paris quand j’ai été ici j’étais à la plonge. Quand j’ai quitté XX je suis allé au XX. J’ai plongé la bas 1 mois après le chef il m’a monté en cuisine

C’était difficile à trouvé le travail ou pas ? Was it difficult to find work or not?
Non c’était pas très difficile mais par rapport avant non. Par rapport avant non

A ton avis, des que tu commence c’est facile, c’est le premier travail qui est difficile ? In your opinion once you are launched it is easy, it is the first job that is difficult?
La première expérience qui est difficile, des que tu as un peu d’expérience tu peux travailler n’importe quel restaurant.

Est-ce que tu a fait une formation cuisine/ cuisinier ? Did you do a course in cooking/ as a cook?
Oui avant j’ai fait une formation en cuisine avec monsieur lxx. Mais j’étais mal payé
Si tu a moins de 23 ans ils te paye 310 euros. De cou je n’ai pas continue, j’ai arrêté

C’était organisé par qui la formation ? By whom was the training organised?
C’était Greta.

Ce c’était une formation 5 jour par semaine ? Were you on the course five days per week?
Non, c’est école, ils on mise un niveau et faire une formation cuisine 6 mois. Après tu continues, tu faire en Alternance

C’était en alternance que tu été payé 310 euro ? You were on ‘alternance’ and you were paid 310 euros?

Non en alternance tu n’es pas payé 310 euro c’était xx locale. Il essaye a donné un peu pour mange avec les tickets de transport après quand tu commences en alternance tu vas bosser 2 semaine en entreprise et 2 semaine à l’école et tu touches 1000-900 euro

D’accord, donc il faut passe le premier ? Ok, so it is necessary to finish the first?

Non, parce que j’ai été pas à l’école. J’ai fait direct a le monsieur xx. Quand je suis allé à l’école c’était pour l’alternance. Je suivre monsieur xx

Même tu n’avais pas finis mais tu penses que le fait que tu as fait un peu de formation ça a te aidé un peu ? Even if you didn’t finish it do you think the fact aht you did a bit of training helped you a bit?

Ca me aide un peu a trouvé, le monsieur de locale il me aide aussi a trouvé.

Donc ça fait presque, 5 ans ? So you have done almost five years?

De quoi travaille ou travail en restaurant ?

Les deux The two.

Parce que avant j’ai fait d’intérim mais comme j’avais pas beaucoup d’expérience ils m’ont futé dehors!(laughs) Cuisine, j’ai commencé 2015. Ici je n’ai pas fait la cuisine j’ai fait plonge, j’ai fait un peu de ca un peu de cuisine c’était aide cuisine c’est ça aide de cuisine, pas cuisinier.

La maintenant ton contrat c’est quoi, cdi ? Your contract now is what, CDI ?

CDI,

Si je pose des questions tu ne veux pas répondre, tu n’es pas de tout obliger. If I ask questions to which you do not want to reply, you are not obliged.

Oui, t’enquête pas, ça marche.

Comment tu, tu penses comment le monde de cuisine ici? Tu penses qu’il y a des opportunités de monter un peu ton niveau professionnellement? What do you think of the culinary industry here ? Do you think that there are opportunities to progress your professional level ?

Oui, oui pourquoi pas. Déjà j’ai commencé commis et là je passe en demi-cdp en deux moi. Après j’espère que je peux monter encore jusqu’à chef chef.

Donc pour toi il y a rien qui bloque ? So for you there is nothing that impedes you?

Pour l’instant il y a rien qui bloque, il faut se concentrer, pour l’instant concentrer pour avoir un peu d’expérience pour monter encore comme je vais monter en demi je peux monter en chef de partie après second après chef chef.
C’est toujours en coupure ou ? It is always on splits?
Là ou je travaille je pas de coupure, avant j’ai faisait, mais là je faire plus. Oui c’est bien
Oui c’est mieux eh ? Yes thats better eh?
C’est mieux mais j’ai menti !! (laughs timidly)
Donc ou je travaille je commence à 9 heure, je finir a 16.30, et mes jours de repos ça dépend quel jour en fait, ça change.

Est-ce que ça c’est difficile pour la vie privé ? Is that difficult for your private life?
Non, c’est facile. N’importe quel jour, ça ne me dérange pas. Comme ici 7 jour, lundi jusqu’à dimanche soir, non ! C’est dur et j’été mal payé, Jai travaille presque 60 par semaine presque 70 heures parce que tous les jours en peut travailler 11 heures ou 12 heures parce que tu commences a 9 tu finir à 15.30 après tu reviens à 18h jusqu’à minuit. C’est beaucoup

Tu connais un peu déjà les ingrédients, la cuisine française, tu penses que ? You know already a bit the ingredients, French cuisine, do you think..

Comme le tradi ? Cuisine brésilien, cuisine indien cuisine….. Je connais que brésilien, et cuisine japonaise je connais un peu, les makis. On a presque 3 personnes qui faire la cuisine brésilien. Cuisine japonais aussi je connais un peu, je connais les makis.

Tu penses qu’il y a des opportunités d’utiliser les ingrédients ou les techniques de la cuisine africaine ? Do you think that there are opportunities to use ingredients or techniques of African cuisine?

Oui pourquoi pas.

Tu penses que le chef il est assez ouvert ? Do you think that the chef is sufficiently open?
Ah pour la ou je travaille ? Non. Peut-être italien, brésilien, japonais, indien peut être aussi mais pas forcément africain…, comme maffi non ! Je pense pas, pour personnel oui.
Pourquoi ? Why ?
Apres la bas il y a que des touristes et eux il ne connaît pas.

Et toi tu faire les repas de personnel aussi ? Do you cook the staff lunch as well?
Oui on faire des plats pour personnel aussi, ça dépend, lasagne, gratin de pâtes, gratin de pomme de terre, linguine avec crevettes, tout ça.

Vous mangez bien ! You eat well!

Tu sais que Paris est une ville tres connu pour les restaurants, qu’est-ce que tu penses sur ça ? What do you think of Paris being a city famous for restaurants ?

Comment ça, je n’ai pas compris en fait.

Pour les étrangers, il y a beaucoup qui viens pour manger à Paris, tu penses que c’est vrai que c’est vraiment une ville gastronomique ou est-ce que il ya beaucoup des gens
qui triche aussi sur les plats avec des truc tout déjà fait à mettre à la microonde ? For tourists, there are many who come to eat in Paris, do you think that it is true that it is really a gastronomic city or are there a lot who cheat with the dishes and use premade products and reheat in microwaves?

J’ai vu ça j’ai vu ça mais pas dans le restaurant, sur la télé, Comme Cuisine cosmart. Les gens qui prenent les choses de trois jours et ils film pas il garde pour les clients et mettre à la microanode. Tous les dimanches, comme le grand chef là le pâtissière….Quelqu’un mettre des choses en poubelle, ils le recouperont et redonnes des gens. Mais Paris, pour venir à paris pour venir à manger, il y a des gens, qui faire plaisir pour passer Paris pour voir le tour d’Eiffel, pour aller voir la musée de l’homme, pour aller voir les statues qui sont à Paris Madeleine, Tour Eiffel ils sont vu à la télé peut être les petits truc ils viennent pour voir face à face, ils vont faire plaisir pour faire un tour après ils vont passer au restaurant pour voir des différent restaurants ils faire plaisir au restaurant, les différent restaurants ils choisir.

Quand je voir ton visage quand tu parles de la cuisine, c’est évident que tu aimes la cuisine. When I see your face when you are talking about cooking, it is clear that you like the job.

Jaime beaucoup la cuisine, j’aime bien j’aime bien la cuisine mais pas coupure !...laughs Sauf le matin, là c’est bien, 9-16h

Si tu rencontres quelqu’un que tu ne connais pas ou quelqu’un de ta famille qui veux savoir que est ce que tu faire ici à Paris, tu répondre comment ? If you meet someone who you don’t know or someone from your family who wants to know wat you are doing in Paris how do you respond?

Je suis là pour travail, pour gagner l’argent, pour faire ma vie. 

Tu les dire que tu es cuisinier « je suis cuisinier » ? Do you say that you are a cook?

Je peux leur enseigner pour dire pour, peux faire la cuisine mais Premier expérience ne faut pas choisir, il faut pas dire « oius je veux pas coupure, je veux pas ça, je veux pas ça « tous que tu trouves tu les fait, après des que tu a un expérience tu peux-tu peux choisir, oui je veux faire que le matin peut être tu peux trouver la ba, Il y a des restaurants qui sont ouvert que le matin 8heures 17 heures, qui ferme les weekends. Tu peux, tu peux c’est possible.

Tu penses qu’il y a une différence entre les cuisiniers qui sont des étrangères et les cuisiniers qui sont français français ? Do you think that there is a difference between cooks who are immigrants and cooks who are French French?

Par rapport le travail, ou pour trouver un boulot, tu penses que c’est plus facile pour les français, les blancs, ou c’est pareil pour tous le mondes? Regarding work, or to find work, do you think that it is easier for French or is it the same for everyone?

Pour moi c’est facile pour français pourquoi que toute est organisé. Ca dépend, Mais je ne comprends pas l’anglais, je ne sais pas je connais que français.
Là tu penser que tu vas rester en cuisine ? Tu aimes bien le travail ? Do you think that you will stay cooking? Do you like the work?

Jaime bien je vais rester jusqu’à fond mais ça dépende aussi, la vie peux changer aussi.

Si tu as une opportunité de changer quelque choses par rapport la vie de cuisinier ; il y a des choses que tu veux changer ou pas ? If you had an opportunity to change something regarding the life of a cook; are there things that you would like to change or not?

Mon idée il faut pas travaille dans un grand grand restaurant parce que après il y a trop des chefs tu ne peux pas faire évoluer beaucoup parce que il y a beaucoup, il y a chef, seconde, 3 seconde, chef de partie, donc tu ne peux pas avoir beaucoup d’expérience

Dans un petit restaurant, il y a personne, le chef il va te montrer, le chef n’est pas là tu peux lui remplacer. Tu as la moyenne pour être chef plus rapide plus que dans un grand restaurant. Un petit restaurant c’est bon, moi ce me intéresse c’est le petit. 2 personnes, 3 personnes parce que la Comme ça si tu es malade je suis oblige de mettre dans ma tête comment tu faire, il faut que je gère la place

Ce n’est pas plus difficile quand l’équipe est petite ? Is it not harder in a small team?

Non, faut regarder c’est ça, ça dépend combien des couverts 30 couverts ça va.

Il y a des autres choses que tu veux dire ? Is there anything else that you would like to add?

Non, non.

Je ne sais pas, s’il y a des choses que tu as pensées ? Anything else that you have thought about?

Peut-être, je ne sais pas je vais changer le métier mais pas maintenant. Peut-être faire le conducteur de bus. Pour les bus il faut passe un examen. Moi j’aime bien les métiers agressifs, j’aime bien ça, comme la police. Jaime bien. Tous qui sont agressifs j’aime bien !

Ok merci !!
In France I have worked in restaurant French like TBC and other restaurant I worked in Indian communities or in Sri Lankan community. The main problem I faced is only the language problem.

Because other thing are all, what I can, its good, granted what I faced, I don’t know about others because I haven’t experienced other countries people. What experience I had is only the language problem, other things all are ok. I was happy working with these people.

So any interview that you did; if you had interview with French restaurant there was no problem just language problem?

Only the language problem. I didn’t face any other problem with French people or restaurants. What I think is that, is if people don’t know the language it is difficult to work with them, it’s the nature, it’s the nature.

Without language it is very difficult is one thing.

Another thing, if you know the work, people are friendly. For me, what is my…this is my opinion. People say French people are arrogant, definitely this is not true, it’s not true. I have seen people seen people, French people, I have worked with them also and I think that they are not arrogant.

You have had a good experience

Yea yea yea. They are friendly people. Definitely what I think is only the language problem.

Do you think it is different for you because you are coming here as a head chef, or as an executive chef? You are not coming here as a commis chef. You already have a lot of experience, right, cos you did what? You were in Dubai for what ...?

Three years I was in Dubai and six years I worked in Saudi Arabia.

In that countries you are mostly work with Asians people, not with Dubai or Saudi people, because they are not very qualified in this field so these people are from Asian countries they go there and they cook their food.

That is different because we worked almost with all Asian people. In here it is totally different because mostly we have to work with French chefs and French cooks so this is different but in my experience in France it’s totally different because, only because of the French language, other thing, as I said before.

You had no problems like, no issues?

No issues

What was your, before you came here, what was your imagination of cooking in Paris?
Before coming to France my opinion was different, because I thought I can lead the team because French is not a difficult language for me so I …what I came here it is totally different! Because the same thing, I repeat only the same thing, it is only because of the language.

I cannot come up in seniority-

*So did you study afterwards? Did you study French when you came here?*

No, I came here as a student (MBA hospitality exec management) so I did my small (French) courses, basic course in my college but that doesn’t help me. By working with French people a little bit I learnt it.

*Do you think there is a difference, have you seen a difference; or maybe not, how foreign chefs work here as opposed to French chefs?*  
(Hesitates), mmm...

It is a little bit different, because what I think is French chefs are advanced in gastronomy.  
*Because it’s so much part of their culture?*  
Yes definitely.  
*You could say the same for India?*  
What? (!)

*You could say the same for India?*

Yea yea, it is a gastronomy, yes in India also we have but it is….now what they are doing , India is famous for vegetarian dishes, so now people are more conscious about their health, so now Indian food is coming up, Indian gastronomy is coming up.

*Why do you think so many of the bistro in bistros in Paris, so many of the bistro and brasseries in Paris, why do you think so many of the cooks there are from India, Sri Lanka or Bangladesh?*

Smiles shrewdly.  
Aah, that is a difficult question. Main reason is cost saving, cost saving.  
*On the side of the employer?*

Yea definitely. That is the basic thing, because Asians are less paid and French chefs are highly paid. Definitely.  
*And how do you feel about that?*

Mmmmmm, feel a little difficult because, there’s no troubles today, it has to be same as… they are human, they are human, so salary wise...

*You think there is a bit of abuse, abuse of the law?*  
Yea, definitely.
When I was doing my research and I was looking at the numbers, the statistics for cooks in Paris who are from different countries, I was able to find numbers for Africans, for Europeans, north Africans, I was able to find numbers, how many. For any of the cooks from India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, India, I couldn’t find any numbers. But we know they are there, they are physically there, so why do you think is that? Are they working with no papers or have they French nationality?

In your opinion.

In my opinion, a lot of Asian country like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka these people are well experienced in cooking so they like to migrate and when they calculate their money and economy, the economy is totally different so the, many people come from, migrate to Europe at the same time there are too many people working without papers also, so that’s not supposed to be.

There are a lot of health issues because they’re dealing with food, so that is not supposed to be.

Because of their job, they are having health issues, but if they are working with no papers they don’t have health insurance?

Yea definitely. They never care about, because all the different… it’s all money you know, it’s all finance.

They do not have papers, it is difficult for them to ask. So many things are happening behind that.

I didn’t know about that

So do you think, I mean I know you don’t know the statistics but you have been working here and you know people also working here; do you think the majority, the majority of the cooks have no papers or they have French nationality?

Not majority, not all the restaurants, some of the restaurants which people are looking for money that never care about customers.

Some of

At the same time the French government they also have to take steps to reduce this. They have to consider, the government has to consider how they can help the restaurant owners, the industry. They have to find a way how they can minimize the taxes.

… Which can then help so that they can pay staff better

Yea. The restaurant like Asians restaurant, like Chinese, India, it is very difficult to compete with the French restaurant.

In what way?

The prices, price wise; because the price of Indian, Chinese, Thai, Japanese ingredients actually they cost; when you do the calculation of French foods, the cost of Indian food
is more expensive, but it is difficult to sell it more expensive. So they are finding some ways how to reduce some cost.

Cooking time is more, for Indian food cooking time is more, and French is not like that, cooking time is less, so when you say about the cooks and chefs, for French food you can minimise the number of French cooks but for Indian food is not like that, you have to have more chefs and cooks. So the price has to be less, the food which we are selling the price has to be less, then that’s the reason they are finding some other way to save costs.

As a customer, when you imagine having an Indian dinner or a Chinese dinner, you think it’s going to be cheap; in your head it’s a cheap dinner. But you are right, of course, how can it be when everything is imported.

Imported and at the same time the processing. The food processing is totally different. You cannot cook Indian food and Chinese food same as French food. So definitely it is different and cost wise it must be more expensive than French restaurant. But we cannot!

So you were working in an Indian restaurant last year, when you opened you were hiring chefs who were here in Paris, or did you bring over chefs from India?

Actually we are not finding good, experienced and talented Indian chefs in France; we don’t have. So cost wise, we had planned to bring people from India. We planned around 5 chefs to bring from India but processing it was too difficult. So what we did, we bring two people instead of five and we trained people who are here.

The whole team are Indian, there are no French?

No French, all Indian, all Indian; because what I can say it’s difficult to cook Indian food if they don’t have basic knowledge of Indian food. Indian food is totally different from French food processing.

So for you it is about quality, quality and having a basic knowledge of Indian food. In your kitchen it requires that the cooks are Indian?

It’s supposed to be, it’s supposed to be the cooks are Indian but people know the basic definitely they can catch it. We can train the people.

Because if you turn that question the other way, and then say what about all the French kitchens the French bistros here, the staff is Indian or Bangladesh or Pakistani, so are they learning the French taste?

Yea they are learning, they are learning.

Or is it changing the quality of French food if it’s not French cooks?

Definitely anyway there will be a difference. If a French guy cooks French food and an Indian guy cooks French food that will be definitely different.

Same as if a French cook Indian, definitely there will be difference. Definitely.

Do you see that as a positive thing or a negative thing?
Mmmm, we cannot say that it is a negative thing; it is gastronomy.

It has to be spread all over!

*That is a nice way of putting it!*

*Why did you start cooking?*

I started from my schooling. I was helping my mum, so slowly I was interested in cooking. Because of that after my graduation, I was still interested so I did my catering course and slowly I entered the hotel and catering industry.

*And then you started to travel?*

I was interested to know other gastronomy; French, Pakistani, Dubai, Saudi, so I travelled to these countries. It is good experience to know all the dishes.

*You are looking now to stay in France for a while, to stay in Paris?*

Oh, I love France. Because the gastronomy starts from France, so I’m very interested to learn more about the French cuisine.

*If you were looking to the future, if there was something you could change here, for the life of a chef, for the life of a cook, what would you change?*

As I said to you, the pay of the French and the other nationalities is totally different, so it has to be changed. It has to be changed. I feel our comfort, our working expense.

*Are these guys getting overtime pay?*

Not in all restaurants, not in all restaurants. Some of the Asian restaurants they are not paying it. Only French restaurants, French management, definitely they are doing it. But other restaurant they are working long time long duration, they are not paid definitely it is true, in Paris this is happening.

This is not a government problem, it is attitude of owners.

*And that’s even harder to change?*

Harder to change. Government has to do two things, one they have to consider, they have to find solution how they are going to minimise the taxes which they are charging to owners.

The other thing, they have to find, to investigate and find how they can solve this problem…

*The problem of people not getting paid correctly and working too much?*

Yea.

*I think it is very important what you are saying. What I have seen through my research, there is very limited information; the government has very limited information of what cooks do. In France it is very famous you work a 35 hour week, it’s famous, but no chef does that you know! And there is very little information actually how many hours cooks*
work, or how much overtime is getting paid. One guy I interviewed, you know I asked him well what can the cooks do, they can go on strike or they can go to a meeting? And he said no cook has time, no chef has time because they are always in work!

Definitely. Cooks aren’t getting time to do many things. Because according to the law it is 35 hours is it (39), the workload they have is more than that, more than that.

Thank you!

You are welcome.
Where are you from?
Algeria.

How long have you been in France?
Nearly 4 years.

You’ve been cooking since you arrived?
Yes

Was cooking for you a choice, like you wanted to do it or was it something that you felt it was easy to start?
I love to do it. It’s my job, it’s the only thing I know.

I worked in England as well.

Right, so before France you were cooking?
Fourteen years I work in kitchen; start from kitchen porter, to commis and when I left England id done head chef, second chef, my main was like chef de partie.

When you moved to France you started looking straight away for work I suppose?
Yea started but it was hard to find a job.

First year didn’t work.

Right, so it really took you a bit of time. What do you think the difficulties were?
I don’t know. I put my cv, because my cv was all in England and nobody want to give me the job because my cv was in England (experience was in England). I dunno if it was experience in French cooking. Because sometime they ask do “you know how to cook that…?” and I always say no because I never worked in French.

It’s different to say like in England.

So even though you actually had fourteen years of experience behind you, you felt it was still quite difficult to enter a kitchen in France?
First time is difficult. When I started people help you to get inside.

So when you had a network it was easier?
I put cv every where. Nobody call me.

I started work with an agency. First job was like ‘benevol’, charity people, helped me get a job. They helped me put my cv in an agency ‘MP’ and that’s how I started work there.
First job was with SDH for three months with care house for old people and after I came to the Table because the agency and the ‘benevol’ people helped me call Stefan and I started.

*The work with the agency was always temporary?*

*Yea always temporary; they call you when they get a job.*

*So for you the experience was that France was a lot more closed, or a lot harder to get into the industry than it was in England?*

*Yea it was hard, England is not the same. England is easy to get the job.*

France they ask you, especially for the language. Like with the job centre here in France. For kitchen porter in France first thing they ask you is speak good French, need to speak French and have bac plus 5, for the kitchen porter; not like in England where it doesn’t matter if you speak, especially for the kitchen porter because you go on the side and you do your job and nobody will come and talk to you and that it but in France it’s a bit hard.

*But being Algerian did you have some French anyway?*

*Yea it’s my second language*

*But that still didn’t count?*

*No*

*It has to be written on paper?*

*Yea, has to be like experience in France, because people speak with you like the French what I know from my country is different you know school and family is different and when you do interview sometime you panic because you’ve got like in your head people will not accept you.*

*So you sense that there is …. Well, you could say there is some discrimination?*

*Yea, for the language or the experience in France.*

When you get in that’s it, it’s different.

*Yea so when you get in and you started and people were actually able to see how you work and that you have experience?*

Too much they ask for qualification in France. When you got qualification they ask for experience; when you got experience they ask for qualification, that’s a bit hard. Cos in England I never see like that, not ask for qualification, always ask for the experience.

*In England you were near London?*

*Outside London in Windsor exactly.*

*Kitchens there, were they mixed like here, a lot of foreigners working in kitchens?*
Kitchen in England were mixed but not like here, here you see too much black people in the kitchen. In England, some North Africa, like Algeria, I didn’t work too much with Indian; French, Polish, Algerian and some Italian.

And here the mix is different?

Yea here it’s different. Here you have everyone, everybody work in the kitchen here. I never worked with too much womans [sic], in France you got a lot of woman in the kitchen, in England like with all my experience I worked just with maybe two or three, five maximum women.

Right; in fourteen years?!

Yea. In France in four years I worked with thousands of woman!!

Everywhere!

So now you’re here a few years and you’re working, do you feel more settled in the restaurant industry? Do you feel like say if you were to move jobs again it would be more easy this time?

I didn’t try, I don’t know. Because where I work now TXX helped me to find this job so I don’t know.

I think it’s still hard.

You think they would still ask for a paper qualification?

I think yea. Maybe it’s not hard like before, I have some experience here now and done some French cuisine but still.

Have you thought about doing a CAP or something?

No. Well I thought about it but I’ve no time now, when you’re young you do it. But I’m 40 years old now, I’ve no time to do it.

But especially when I’ve got the job now and the contract is signed.

So you’re stable?

Yea…for now (laughs).

Do you feel that there is enough opportunity here for foreigners, for foreign chefs to move up, to progress from commis to chef de partie, to sous chef?

It depends.

You see when I was working in TXX and J said to me like “You cannot find the job because you can’t speak the language”; I always… that thing is stuck in my head, because that is rude, it’s not good, because in England they never say like that, I was working also with one French person and spoke better than D, better than chef but when she said like that it make me feel like down, make you like think, make you scared to find a job because you see the manager or director, the big boss who say you can find any job because you can’t speak the language.
Yea that’s a very difficult thing to carry.

Yea. She can’t say like that. It’s all the time that thing in my head but I don’t want to get rude with her and I don’t want to say to her well I’m better that D. It stays in your head

So where you are working here now the atmosphere is different?

Yea it’s different. Chef there is good, and the boss is a nice guy, it’s a company, but I think it’s good.

And they’re French?

They’re French. Hundred per cent French. The chef and the owner. Have three or four French there and one Malian, two Bangladeshi and me Algerian and you got some stagiaires, like one from China.

We have many stagiaires coming but the stagiaires we pay them, not like at TXX where they get food!

So, still where you are now the chef is good and the owners are good but the higher levels are all French, anyone who is not French are lower?

The higher levels are French.

Sometime we give the people, the chef when he’s left he’s got to give somebody to lock the door the keys to lock the door always he gives to French ; he gives to one girl she’s eighteen but she’s French, a stagiaire, they got a thing like …ah you see. You got a boy as well like a stagiaire he just got his bag and left but they give him the key for locking the door. One guy from Bangladesh been there for eight years and they don’t give him the key.

Wow.

Yea.

I dunno, I don’t want to put words in your mouth but I imagine that is something that is quite hard to see on a daily basis.

Yea yea yea, its like you’ve got no choice.

I’ve got my job and I’m doing my job and that’s it. I didn’t say chef is not a nice guy, he’s a nice guy, he’s joking and laughing and everything, he not give you the stress.

The beginning he like teach you and for teach you but they not teach you everything because my experience and …But like I told you last time every place you have to work the way they work, but after for technique you have your technique.

When you are cooking, you have spent your spent your professional life cooking, do you feel in France, Paris is the capital of gastronomy, do you feel art of that?

Yes, cooking here is good. You learn, the French chef he teach you.
The chef in England is different. I was always like scared of the chef; they are just shouting and screaming. They don’t teach you anything. In France they teach you cooking. If they say don’t do that, they give you a reason why. That’s how you learn.

*Like there is a deeper understanding?*

Yea. They explain. France the chef they teach you a lot, they explain to you.

*So do you feel proud of being a chef?*

I love to be chef, I love cooking, I enjoy it. But where I am now it’s not really cooking. Where I am now I don’t cook that much, you know my experience; Like the hot, I love the pan, you have the fire, you know you sweat (talks animatedly) that’s what I love. When I was working in TXX I was enjoying my work. Where I am now I’m not enjoying my job, it’s not cooking.

*So you’ve had to separate the idea.*

Yea like I’ve got experience but I can’t use it.

*But where you are now there are benefits are there, like you are only working daytimes, you don’t work splits right?*

Yea like I’m working six to three, never finish after three, always finish before.

*So that is a positive I suppose?*

Yea there are some positives, like you get good money. Paid better, cos in France compared to working in England you got money which is much better.

*Oh right ok.*

Yea its better. Better pay than in England. In England, I dunno now but before, when you get 1000 pounds my god you have to work hard. You have to work minimum 6 days a week and all double shifts or split. But for that work that I’m doing now, working 6 to 3 you get that money.

*Is that though because you have some experience? Because, I dunno, but what I’ve heard from some of the younger cooks starting its quite hard in terms of salary in France, you don’t earn much when you’re starting. So maybe when you start...* 

Yea that’s for sure then you’re working longer you get more money that’s for sure, but anyway you start like minimum wage is like one thousand one hundred in France. I remember like minimum wage you get paid like in England is by hour I remember it’s like maximum you get 8 or 900 pound.

I remember in 2001 in Café F I was getting 6 pound an hour that time was, all the company was getting that, but you get like 800-900 maximum.

In England I never got one thousand ponds. Minimum, it’s always minimum. Here it’s not like that. Yea for sure if you have a bit experience you get paid more but minimum wages are better. In England I never get 1000 pounds.
So you think there’s not much prestige in cooking in England.

No no

Do you think it’s different for foreigners and French cooks?

No different no, but you have to love the job.

You, you have to go inside, have to look for the thing, you have to know everything, look for the new things to learn. You work like twenty thirty years you still don’t know everything, because everywhere you’re working, when you change place you find some new things.

So it’s open to everyone but it’s the effort you put in?

Yea

Do you feel that there is enough recognition for chefs that are foreigners, for the amount that there are; or do you feel like when you see something on tv or in a magazine, do you notice that its only white chefs?

That’s what you see all the time, you see white or French chef. I never see a black chef. Not like in England, what’s that programme on BBC “Ready, Steady Stop cooking”? I don’t know his name, I forget, on the tv the black chef I forgot his name. But in France I didn’t see that.

Oh yea, Ainsley Harriet.

All like who’s foreign is down. I never see foreigners get top or head chef.

And how do you feel about that?

No, it feels not good but the whole country is like that.

If you were to change something about the life of a chef, if you w

That it should be open. That anyone can be head chef. And I’m not talking small restaurant I mean big companies, I want to see like chef executive. That would be good.

Anyone can make a menu. I can make a menu, I did it before.

So you’d like to see some recognition for that, that once you learn, you are there because you love it, why not be head chef?

Yea. Like I can’t see myself chef de partie here in French. Like I told you where I’m working now and it’s all French at the top and…

The boss when he come he’ll shake the hand of the French before he shake the hand, sometime he’ll pass, he’ll go to like patisserie and the French people who are there and he’ll start shaking their hands and then come back.

Its weird.

But its those small things every day that count.
Yea,

*But is that something that’s in society here or in kitchens?*

I think it’s everywhere. If can do like that one person, whatever I saw, they can do that everywhere. French people are like that, you can’t change it.

*Is it hard for you cooking French cuisine, is a very traditional cuisine and there is often a lot of alcohol or pork?*

No its not hard, it’s no problem, it’s not hard, I’m used to it.

Kitchen is kitchen.

*It is interesting that through the interviews people are saying a lot of the same things.*

No its not an easy job. Why not be seen . In England it’s not the same anyone can be the head chef. I was working for Ch group and I was the head chef, did the stock etc. People trust; they see you work and they trust. Not like here. They think you are stupid, they think they are on top and they’re the best.

Sometimes you know more than them.

*Was it the same in the kitchens in Sodexo? Like where you are working now it is a very French boutique, were the kitchens the same in the likes of Sodexo?*

SDH was the same. Boss was French, the boss of the care house was French. The head chef was French Algerian she was good but she was French, the big boss who came every week, was French.

French has to be the top.

*So there is a ceiling, there is a limit?*

Yea, the limit is maybe head chef but after that can’t be.

*Do you think that can change?*

No. Its been like that for many, many years. Not years, many centuries. You can’t change it now.

*Well yea they say that the very first restaurants were in Paris so yea there is a huge history.*

Yea they are the best with the food.

*But it’s a modern world now! No? Its 2017! Time for some change maybe.*

Yea, we’ll see.

Its hard.

*Would you cook in Algeria? If you were to leave France, if you were to go back to Algeria?*
No. I went to Algeria for one year and I never cooked, I’ve got my mum, my sisters, you know: traditional.

But professionally?

I never think to work in the kitchen in Algeria. Algeria is the same way as working in Europe. I don’t know for to cooking the couscous and that.

You need to have qualification, in Algeria they got the system same like in France. You can’t go in a big hotel and work like that. If you’ve got experience 20, 15 years and you go to a big hotel, they ask always for qualification. It’s the same. But the food is not the same. But the system is the same as in France, not Europe, same as in France.

In Algeria everything is the same like in France.

I remember one girl she had qualification and she worked couple of years in kitchen and if it got busy she was crying, I remember one time it got busy and she go in the corner and crying; but she had the qualification.

Maybe some people do the school for kitchen because its better than nothing.

I do it but I love it. Before I knew nothing. Because when I came from Algeria I never cooked, I didn’t even know how to cook an omelette! Because when I went to England I saw all the friends doing like if you didn’t speak the language always kitchen porter. All the friend, all the Algerians was the kitchen porter. I started learning and I started loving the job. I worked just two weeks as kitchen porter and I got like an opportunity, a commis chef he left and the head chef asked me if I wanted to do it. I didn’t speak the language, I didn’t know what does that mean onion, what does that mean carrot, nothing, I just started. Ok we’ll try it and see and I love it.

And that’s the thing for me for kitchen work anybody can start, you don’t actually need a language, you see the thing, you see the carrot, somebody shows you how to cut it, you learn that way.

Yea, if you love it you stay. At least you try. I didn’t know the kitchen at all, I didn’t know how to use a knife but I started and I tried. You get the same money as commis, I was still paid as kitchen porter but for my experience it was better, as kitchen porter everybody gives you stuff etc but at least when you have a section you start learning and I done it and I love it.

I stayed there for nearly 3 years.

Head chef was French I stayed with him. He teach me, he was nice, every few moths he’d give me pay rise. If I wanted anything he’d give me extra hours. He taught me and I loved to work him. He was a very good chef.

He saw the value in your interest.

Yea. He told me be nice and I’ll be nice with you. Cos when he was coming, you know when the head chef comes he wants to change all the staff, and there they had a lot of people, and Algerians always with problems and when he came he started one or two
weeks just watching and after he called me and he said I’d like you to stay with me and all the others will be sacked

In England sacking is not like in France, they can sack you any way.

He sack everybody and he made a whole new team and …

In two, three months in the hot starter and I stayed three years on hot starter, I was chef de partie. And Saturday was a busy day; I remember in 2001 we did six thousand pounds just for lunch time and just my section! The hat, I changed it 3 times. Hot starter, I did like, omelette, sandwich, eggs benedict, poached egg, florentine, all that. Nobody can do it, when I left, they cry. I swear to god, they hired three people and no one wanted to stay. I can do it, cos I love it and you do it with happiness.

You do it in places if its busy, you shout. They swear at you, it’s just for the job, there is a lot of pressure, I don’t want a return.

Before you moved did you know anything about the restaurant scene in Paris or not?

No I had no idea. I was even looking for kitchen porter.

For kitchen porter. I changed my cv depending on the job, sometimes I put Tesco just to try get a job in a supermarket.

But do you know that there is actual not enough cooks

Because they ask for a lot of things. In England I was working in a hotel in HX, it was quite easy. Go to work in a hotel in France, no way, in your dreams. Cos I work in HX and EX, I work in MXX, you have one just over here, you can’t work over there.

Just even to find…Cos like in England they put the sign in the window if they are looking for a chef, so you go inside and you speak with a manager and he ask you to make training just for one day not like three months here, you do your training then you get contract to sign.

Yea that’s true actually, here you don’t see the thing in the window, its all in the pôle emploi.

For one year I had my cv in pôle emploi but they never call you back, never.

So you think that even if there is a shortage, they are not helping themselves either?

No, they don’t help people. They ask too many things, especially for the language, the experience, the qualifications, bac plus. I got jobs in England and after 2 hours you start.

But the cooking is not the same as in France. In England they use too much frozen. In France, it’s French, its better. I was working in EX, everything was frozen.

So there is more respect here maybe for he product but not the respect for the people?!

Yea no respect for the people, they ask too many questions to people before they can get a job.
And you got like three months, you have to work three months, and you’re scared for that three months, like what happened to me, if you’re sick you have to go in because in the contract you have to go on trial three months, they can sack you at any time in that three months. That’s weird here as well.

You work like scared, like what happened to me just there, in the contract I had two months and then one month; I don’t know why it. It scars, I remember one day I woke up late and I was running around the house like naked I was scared cos with that contact for three months and after two months. I thought like oh shit I don’t get the job whereas if you get three months and one day you start breathing and like ok I get the job.

But that’s an incredible amount of pressure to put on someone, on an adult, on a grown up adult with a family.

Yea cos in that three month you do do mistake, maybe you burn something or you’ve got transport, the train is late whatever. But some people don’t accept that. That three month you work like in nightmare, you sleeping and you wake up, but that the things what I don’t like, that three month is long, it’s quite long.

UK you’ve got a trial for just one shift and that’s it. You know in one shift you can’t give them everything but they see how you work, if you’ve got experience in the kitchen. Yea they see how you move, how you cook if you know say medium, medium rare steak you know how to cook them but its one shift they see what you do and if its ok you sign a contract and start tomorrow and that’s it

Yea it’s hard

It is hard

For me I’m lucky, I get this job, if I stay in TX I don’t know, you worry.

The contracts like cdd, cdi, you work six, fourteen, months

If you’ve got full time or part time that’s what you’ve got, that’s what you want, you ask them for it if you just want part time. I never had problem to find a job in England; I changed job all the time, I worked like two or three months, if I don’t like it I know I can get a job next door. To get a job its easy, I don’t know, its not the same in France.

But if all the foreigners stopped cooking, the restaurants would close, there are not enough French.

No; the French are lazy, they are bossy too much, I know the chef where I am he is doing nothing, he stays he does a bit of patisserie and then he is in the office, sometime he sleeps, I swear to god, he doing nothing, for the cleaning, jamais he do the cleaning. When it starts the time for the cleaning he go out to change. He comes back to check and then he lock up.

And do you see that like, do you have French stagiares or apprentices, do you think they work a bit like that as well?

In training they work, they have to work, but they are all the same, they have to work they have to learn but after they are getting boss they are all the same. Like we got one girl,
she is working nice, she’s a stagiare, training for one year, she got the bac but I think she want to learn more, but the boy he got his bac and he left because he want to work, like a full time job and the girl she want to stay another year to learn more she’s working good cos she wants to learn. When you want to learn you work hard but after you get everything you come back French.

(I laugh)

Yea in three years I see all that things, they all change to the same, its weird, they’re weird.

_Do you feel proud anyway being in France cooking?_

I don’t know. Cos now I feel cooking is a job. They make you feel cooking is a job, they make you do everything and you just mind you not lost your job and that’s it, but you’re not enjoying it. Especially where I’m working now I didn’t enjoy it, because its not my type of kitchen.

I worked at TX, you got some weird people but I enjoyed it. Because as I was saying in TX, I can’t work in pastry or cold if sometimes you ask me to go help them I can go but I don’t enjoy it.

When I start working in the kitchen it was hot, for me I love cooking.

_Do you feel that , do you have the feeling that you’re participating, that you’re, you know like people come like millions and millions of people come to Paris just for food, just for eating and you’re a cook in Paris , so you feel like you’re participating, that you’re sharing?_

Yea of course, because I’m doing the food people are coming to eat, fifty per cent for me for cooking fifty for eat! Yea for me I like to work collective, I enjoy working collective, I did restaurant before but with service and that I feel tired to do that, I did it for quite a long time.

I never worked in _traiteur or collective_ in England, just in restaurant when I come in France I never work in restaurant I just worked in _traiteur_ and _collective_ and I enjoyed it; it was quite easy for me _collective_, because when you come in the morning you got the lists and you know what to do and that’s it, time is your time, if you want to do it quick you can, if you want to spend all day you spend all day but in the kitchen you don’t know, like suspense! Busy not busy! I remember in the UK like all the time checking the weather to know if you’ll be busy or not; especially when I was working in x place and you know if we got nice weather tomorrow you know you will be very busy so _collective_ is easy.

_Its comfortable._

Yea, you got your list and you know what you got to do with your time like where I’m working now, you got fifteen minute for break and you finish your prep and that’s it.

Thanks very much!
Tu viens d’où ? Where are you from?
Je viens de Cameroun

Ça fait combien de temps depuis que tu es en France ? How long are you in France?
Eh... Au début des années 2000, donc ça fait plus de, ça fait environ, ça vers 15, ça fait plus 10 ans environ 15 ans environ.

Vous avez commencé comment en cuisine en France ? Vous avez choisi de travailler en cuisine? How did you start out cooking in France? Did you choose to be a cook?
Oui, c’était un choix. J’ai postulé à plusieurs annonces sur le site « l’hôtellerie et restauration ». J’ai tombé sur une annonce qui me convenait, j’ai postulé et j’ai été engagé ; en cuisine.

Donc pour toi tu n’avais pas des problèmes à trouvé votre premier travail ? So you didn’t have difficulties finding your first job?
Le premier emploi, pas vraiment non. Pas vraiment parce que je suis entré dans mon premier poste comme employé polyvalent. C’était impliqué que je me retrouvé à tous les compartiments, dans toute la brigade je pouvais occupès, je pouvais occuper, j’ai pu faire plusieurs fonctions à la fois au sein de la brigade.

Tu as fait le même travail au pays ? Est-ce que tu as fait une formation cuisine ? Did you do the same work in Cameroon? Did you do a course in cooking?
Oui. J’ai une formation de barman-cuisinier.

Tu as fait la formation au Cameroun ? Did you do the training in Cameroon?
Oui

Est-ce que les employeurs ici en France ont pris en compte la qualification que vous avez? Did the French employers take into consideration your qualifications?
Non, non il me pas pris en compte ma qualification Cameroun. J’étais juste sur le terrain.

Quand tu as travaillé en cuisine tu as eu quoi comme contrat ? C’était toujours CDI ou ? What contracts did you have in your jobs in kitchens? Were they always CDI?
C’était au CDI, un contrat durée indéterminée.

Tu n’avais pas des problèmes à propos des contrats, ou le paye, les heures supplémentaires ? Did you have issues regarding contracts, or pay or being paid overtime?
Si, justement j’ai eu beaucoup par rapport aux heures supplémentaire parce que j’ai travaillé largement hors de les heures qui été prévu.
Tu penses que c’est un peu normale pour tout le monde en cuisine ou seulement les étrangers ? Do you think that that is normal for everyone who works in kitchen or just foreigners?

Non, non, c’est tout le monde en cuisine, c’est tout le monde faire des heures supplémentaire en cuisine. C’est le système, c’est le métier qui est comme ça.

Est-ce que il y a des autres moments quand, ou même peut être pas, est ce que il y a une différence a ton avis entre les cuisiniers étrangers ou français ? Were there other moments, or perhaps not, when in your opinion there was a difference between immigrant cooks and French cooks?

Une différence entre les cuisiniers français et étrangers?

Oui, par rapport leur statut, paye, leurs contrats, le taff qu’ils font ? Ou es ce que c’est pareil pour tout le monde ? Yes with regards to their status, pay, contracts, or the jobs that they did?

Je ne dirai pas que ça soit pareil pour tout le monde. Je pense que bien que parfois nous ne méritons pas les cuisiniers français sont les plus avantageux que ce que qui les étrangères donc ce suis dit parfois vous sentez, vous le savez que vous êtes plus compétent que votre collègue qui est français mais il a plus de promotion que vous. Pourtant vous savez mais vous être meilleur que lui.

La quand tu parles de les choses comme ça, tu te sens comment ? When you speak of things like that, how do you feel?

Qu’est-ce que on va faire ? Il y a rien à faire.

Il faut faire juste le travail, pour faire ce pour quoi on est là et …ce te dire que il y a un jour les choses vont changer quand on vas regarder le chemin plus haut tout simplement même si c’est pas là, même si c’est pas dans cette entreprise, ça peut être ailleurs.

Tu été à quel niveau en cuisine ? What level were you at ?

J’été seconde de cuisine. Je suis arrivé comme commis et j’ai finis comme seconde à cette poste là.

Donc pour toi c’est un métier ou il y a des opportunités à monter? Therefore for you it is a trade where there are opportunities to progress?

Oui il y a beaucoup d’opportunités quand on est compétent, quand on peut les montrer que on a de compétences, oui il y a beaucoup d’opportune pour évolution

Ca prendre un peu plus de temps ? Does it take longer?

Ca prendre un peu plus de temps pour celui qui est étrangers parce que on a du mal de faire confiance, on a parfois du mal à faire confiance mais ce n’est pas pareil par tous, ce n’est pas pareil par tout. Quand vraiment en preuve, quand vraiment en preuve, on arrive à évoluer plus vite.

Quand on preuve qu’en peut.
Quand tu dire que ce n’est pas pareil pour tous c’est à propos les employeurs ou l’endroit ? When you say that it is not the same for everyone, is that in relation to the employers or the place?

Par rapport employeurs.

Ce n’est pas lie avec le niveau de restaurant ? Bistro ou restaurant gastronomique ? So it is not connected to the level of the restaurant? Bistro or gastronomic restaurant.

Non non, ce n’est pas lie à ça.

C’été la cuisine française que tu as fait quoi ? You did French cuisine ?

Française, mon premier poste c’été la spécialité alsacienne.

Il n’y avait pas vraiment l’opportunité de faire des plats de chez vous ou d’utiliser des techniques ou ingrédients ? There was not really an opportunity to do Cameroonian dishes, techniques or ingredients?

Ça peut arriver. Pour moi, de toute de façons, dans beaucoup des cas j’ai utilisé les techniques…même dans les plats français j’ai ajouté ma petite touche africaine par des épices et autre. Ça a donné des très bons résultats !

Tu penses que il y a peut-être plus d’opportunité là ? Tu penses que là les clients ils cherchent un peu des choses comme ça ? Do you think that there are opportunities there? Do you think that clients look for things like that?

Oui, souvent.

Les clients ont envie découvrir autre choses. Par exemple dans ce même restaurant, l’alsacienne j’ai proposé un plat africain qui a sérieusement marché, toute est parti en un midi en on en a envisagé de faire suivent des plats, continuer des plats comme ça, malheureusement je ne suis pas resté.

Tu sais que Paris est connue par une ville de gastronomie ; est ce que cette coté la a été un sujet ou un pensée pour toi aussi ? Tu te trouves un peu dans ce milieu ? You know that Paris is famous as a city of gastronomy; is that perspective a subject or a thought for you as well? Do you find yourself part of that?

Par la gastronomie parisienne ? Oui, forcément.

Quand en cuisine, quand en cuisine, quand en travail dans la restauration à Paris on est fière, on est fière de porter sa pierre à cet édifice parce que c’est quelque chose grandiose de compter parmi ce qui participe à la culture culinaire de Paris, qui renforce la culture culinaire de Paris, c’est une fierté qu’on faire partir.

Donc pour toi tu es une partie de ça? So you felt part if it?

Forcement je pense que tous cuisiniers en poste à Paris pour moi participe apporte sa pierre à cet édifice.

Parce que forcement il y a sois des touristes, sois des visiteurs occasionnelles qui passer par chez vous et qui déguste ce que vous avez fait. Soient ils sont impressionné sois ils
ne sont pas impressionné par vous auriez participé à porte votre pierre a cet édifice. Tu as édifié la culture culinaire parisienne, française.

*Est-ce que la cuisine, la gastronomie française est là, ça vivre toujours ?* Is French gastronomy and cuisine still alive ?

Ca vivre toujours, la cuisine française vivre toujours. C’est une cuisine qui va durer longtemps malgré, malgré tous qui arrive, pourquoi -

Parce que les français savez très bien conserver leur culture culinaire, ils savent très bien comme en voir, il parle par tous chaque jours en voir des nouvelles émissions, il faut que on voir la culture culinaire française. Ils ne hésitent pas suivant de aller taper ailleurs. Ils essayer de remmener leur touche a ce qu’ils imports d’ ailleurs et ça c’est quelque choses qui est un très grand plus.

*Quand tu es dans la monde cuisine, surtout en France, tu ne trouves pas que, que c’est des cuisiniers ‘français-français’ qui sont toujours a la télévision, dans les journaux et des choses comme ça mais en cuisine ce n’est pas le cas ?* In the culinary world, especially in France, do you not find that it is always French cooks that are portrayed on the television or in the newspapers and the like but in te kithcens it is not actually like that ?

Oui effectivement. C’est un peu déplorable, c’est un peu déplorable que ça ce passer comme ça, et je me demande aussi est ce que ce n’est pas le manque d’opportunité des cuisiniers étrangers.

Il ne faut pas seulement tirer sur tous qui est cuisinier, tous qui est programme télé, pourquoi c’est toujours les français que on voir ?

Aprè il faut voir si il y a des étranger qui sont prêt à le faire ou pas.

*Pourquoi tu penses ils n’ont pas encore fait ?* Why do you think that they have not done it?

Je ne sais pas. Je pense qu’il faut vraiment se poser la question, il faut se demander. Est-ce que les cuisiniers étrangers sont prêt à faire ce genre de choses, à passer dans sur ce genre d’émission parce que en majorité ils pensent que a une chose :

« Je suis venu travail gagne mieux et faire des choses dans mon pays d’origine. Le reste ce m’apporte peu. »

Est-ce que il a le temps, c’est la question ce qui il faut poser est ce que ils ont le temps, le temps de se dire je peux passer une émission culinaire,

Je peux faire si je peux faire ça, quoi que ce soient des très bonnes opportunités.

Les cuisiniers français ne sont pas toujours les meilleurs.

Parce que quand on va par exemple au restaurant, la majorité de restaurant à Paris la personne que on voit je dirai la face de resto sont généralement français mais dans la cuisine au chaud sont des étrangers ;
Après on n’avait pas trop se demander pourquoi. Ça se trouve que les étrangers ne veulent pas aller devant.

Moi personnellement ou j’ai travaillé il ma arrivé en tenue dans ma tenue cuisine de monter en salle, ça me poser pas de problème. J’ai travaillé avec des Pakistanais, j’avais un pakistanais à la plonge quand tu lui demander d’aller chercher quelque choses chose en salle il te disait non, je ne peux pas. Il faut voir tout ça, donc. Je ne le condamne pas trop.

Il y en a qui sont meilleur que les cuisiniers français, et moi-même dans ma poste j’ai pu de montrer à mes collègues qui ne connaissaient pas des épices, pourtant il avait de CAP en cuisine et autre. Je suis arrivé, tous que j’ai voyais dans la cuisine c’était du sel et de poivre. J’ai leur ai dit on peut utiliser autres chose que du sel et du poivre, il y a autre choses. Alors il m’en dit on va essayer, on a essayé et ils sont impressionné. Quand on a fait je ne sais pas quoi, une blanquette de veau, ils ont essayé d’ajouter un petit truc pour relever et si de suite. Voilà, pour moi le fait de n’est pas passé à la télé ce n’est pas…

Il faut voir s’il veut le faire aussi.

Donc pour toi les opportunités sont là, c’est à soi-même de les prends ? So for you the opportunities are there, it is up to the person to take them?

Voilà exactement. Il faut les saisir.

Ça veut dire aussi que il y a des cuisiniers qui pour même si c’est leur métier eux ils sont là pour gagner l’argent après ils rentrent ? That means also that there are cooks for whom even if it is their trade they are here just for earning money and then they go back to the home country?

Ce n’est pas seulement dans les cuisines. Dans tous les domaines où tu verras des immigres. En majorité, ce n’est pas seulement dans la cuisine, dans tous les domaines où tu viras des immigres…

Bon, déjà le mot immigre je n’aime pas trop, je n’aime pas trop ce mots immigré parce que je trouve que il est un peu discriminant je préfère suivant le mot expatrias. Parce que c’est pareille quand les européens vont en Afrique en ne parle jamais de les immigres en parlons de, on parle de les expatriés pourtant il vient souvent pour la même condition, pour le même raison ; pour avoir une vie meilleur…je dirais plutôt des expatrias de la cuisine, en majorité ils viennent parce que ils espèrent gagner mieux il rentre chez eux pour réaliser des choses ; être mieux chez eux, vivre mieux chez eux. C’est comme on s’appelle des exiles économique.

Oui. Yes

La quand tu as dit que les différences entre mots immigré et expatrie ça touche un peu aussi le monde de cuisine ; suivant quand in lire autour de sujet d’immigration le métier ou le travail en cuisine est suivant classé comme travaille pénible comme le bâtiment, chantier, mais quand on lire autour le sujet de cuisine par rapport d’être français, la gastronomie française, et cetera, c’est un travail plus sexy ? When you say that there is a difference between the words immigrant and expatriate that touches as well the culinary
world; often when we read on the subject of immigration the trade or the work of cook is classed as a 3D’s work like construction, but when one reads about cooking in a French persons context and French gastronomy it is portrayed as a sexy job;

Plus agréable ?

Oui.

Quand tu lire par rapport le travail en cuisine et c’est dans le sujet d’immigration, un travail pour les immigrés, c’est suivant dans la même catégorie que travail pénible, de faire la cuisine, le restauration, mais l’autre cote, la même cuisine, la même travail en fait pour les français c’est classé autrement, ce n’est pas classe comme travail pénible...Yes. When one reads something regarding working as a cook and it is within the subject of work for immimmigrants, it is often in the sale category as travail pénible, but on the other side, the same cooking, the same work for French is classed differently, it is not classed as travail pénible.

Après quand c’est une passion on ne voir pas de pénibilité. Quand quelqu’un faire un métier comme cuisine avec de la passion avec tous en cœur c’est le métier plus facile.

Mais quand tu y vas par contraints, quand tu n’es pas trouvé mieux à faire ça va être très difficile, c’est normale, c’est toute a fait normale que ça va être très difficile. Parce que tu arrives déjà dans un travail que tu ne connais pas que tu n’as jamais cherché à connaître tu te retrouves là on te demande par exemple une mandoline tu ne sais pas c’est que c’est déjà le faite que tu cherches quand il te demande « on veut ci ou on veut ça », quand tu cherches c’est déjà le traumatisme le cerveau qui tourne toute la journée à réfléchir « il m’a demandé c’est quoi c’est quoi c’est quoi ? » c’est déjà un traumatisme ; donc c’est déjà ça, c’est déjà un quelque sort de la pénibilité de ce métier.

Quand on va faire un travail…

Parce que pour moi quand on parle de métier pénible difficile la cuisine, le bâtiment, celui qui aime vraiment son métier il ne trouve pas pénible. Il le faire avec passion il le faire avec l’amour. Il est le roi du métier.

C’est comme dans une maison, tu connais ta maison, il n’est pas difficile par exemple d’aller chercher un verre que tu as posé au-dessous un meuble parce que tu sais ou est-ce que tu disposes tout.

C’est comme dans une cuisine, quand tu aimes le métier cuisine c’est très facile

Donc il faut porter beaucoup... Therefore you have to carry a lot?

C’est d’abord la passion. Il faut d’abord aime ce que on faire pour le rendre déjà facile. Il faut d’abord aimer ce qu’on faire.

Si tu pourrais changer quelque chose dans le monde de cuisine ca serait quoi ? If you could change something in the world of cooking what would it be ?

Si je pourrais changer quelque chose dans le monde de cuisine ; ça serait les salaires. Les salaires sont…les salaires ne suivre pas.
Parce que pour moi les cuisiniers sont des personnes très créatives, les cuisiniers c’est des artistes. Mais malheureusement comme les artistes ils ne sont pas payés juste à leur valeur. Parce que les cuisiniers faire vivre beaucoup de monde. Les cuisiniers portent une ambiance particulière, les cuisiniers sont des gardiens d’une part de la culture, gardian de l’identité de un peuple. Donc pour cela il devrait, je pense qu’il devrait compensées jusqu’à valeur, d’être compensé par un salaire un peu plus conséquent.

Pour toi, est ce que le salaire est peut-être pourquoi il y a un manque chaque année à Paris vers 5000 cuisiniers qui manque ? In your opinion, is it the salaries perhaps that are causing the shortage of cooks every year in Paris?

Non c’est juste qu’il y a des métiers, comme j’ai disait a toute à l’heure. Des métiers pénibles, des métiers pénibles non valorisé, …..Voilà…ça c’est le mot…des métiers ingrat.

Vous travaille toute la journée pour la bien être de la personne mais vous ne gagnes rien à la fin, vous n’avez pas grand choses à la fin. Je prendre par exemple ce qui fond par exemple dans le métier de la sécurité qui s’expose en longueur de journée on sait tous comment es le monde aujourd’hui au niveau d’insécurité mais ils sont, ils sont premier exposé a tout type de danger.

Mais ils sont vraiment sous payée, ils sont sous payé et non seulement ils sont sous payé mais ils n’ont aucun moyen de défense. Ils ne sont pas forme en cas d’attaque en main nu ou en cas d’attaque arme dangereux.

En sont forme en rien de tout, ils ont rien. Pas d’arme, ils sont face à la terroriste main nu même pas des gens pour se protéger des mains. Donc pour moi ça c’est un métier ingrat. Il y a beaucoup des métiers comme ça, il y a beaucoup d’autre métiers comme ça ou les gens fond beaucoup choses pour les autres mais ils sont sous payé et la cuisine en fait partir.

En France je précise, ailleurs je ne sais pas comment se passe.

A ton avis pourquoi les cuisiniers ne se sont jamais mis ensemble pour régler ça ? Ils n’utiliser pas des syndicats par exemple.-? In your opinion why have cooks never gotten together to rectify that problem-?

Il ne demande très pas ?

Oui

C’est à l’association, et déjà l’autre problème c’est que les cuisiner n’ont pas vraiment le temps. Les cuisiniers passer plus de temps à travailler que se divertir. Les cuisiniers passer plus de temps dans la cuisine que ailleurs. Donc même si tu dire à un cuisinier « il y a une réunion de collective de cuisiniers qui se tel jour et tel jour » il va te dire « que est ce que je vais faire de mon travail ? », « que est ce que je vais faire de mon travail ? ».

Je pense que la personne qui touche le moins, cet a dire qui poser de moins des moins de jours maladie et tout ça c’est des cuisiniers. Pour moi je pense que c’est…Je n’ai pas fait des études la dessous je ne fais pas de la recherche la dessous mais tel que je vois des
choses je pense que c’est des cuisiniers ceux qui touchent le moins dans le monde de travail.

Ça c’est pourquoi tu penses ? Ils adorent leur travail ou est-ce que ils ont peur ? Why is hat do you think ? They love their work or are they are afraid ?

En majorité les cuisiniers aime ce que ils fondent, en majorité les cuisiniers ils aiment vraiment leur travail même quand c’est sous payé, même quand c’est …. C’est d’abord une passion la cuisine

On ne entre pas dans la cuisine parce que on a manqué qu’est on va faire, on on a rentre parce que c’est une passion

La formation tu as fait au pays ce n’été pas pris en compte ici ? Was the training that you did in your home country recognised here?

Non parce que le diplôme ne sont pas reconnu en France. Quels que soit le diplôme.

Donc est ce qu’il y a un peu de travail à faire sur ça ? So is there a bit of work to do regarding that ?

C’est le travail des états à renégocier tout ça et faire un sort que les choses s’ouvrent en peu plus. Avant 94 c’est été possible d’avoir un diplôme au Cameroun et de venir faire l’équivalence en France et on pouvoir travail avec son diplôme mais, après 94 c’est finis pour le motif que il avait beaucoup de corruption donc beaucoup de faux diplômes.

Comme même tu as trouvé un travail, donc tu n’es pas eu besoin de refaire la formation ? All the same you found work so you didn’t need to redo the training?


Est-ce que tu as autre choses que tu veux ajouter, des autres pensées ou… ? Are there other things that you would like to add, other thoughts?

Jusque la cuisine, je redire la cuisine c’est une passion. On se enlever pas la premier fois on se dit je veux faire la cuisine, je me en vais faire la cuisine. La cuisine commence par chez soi a la maison. Il faut déjà aime à la maison et puis on faire en métiers. C’est ça pour moi la cuisine. Il faut déjà aimer à la maison pour pourvoir en faire en métier. On s’enlève un jour et lendemain on se prouvasse cuisinier. Parce que c’est un art, cuisine c’est la créativité, ce de l’inspiration, c’est un art qui viens d’ailleurs que on ne peut pas expliquer.