

(In)hospitality in Denmark: Bureaucratic insecurity and workplace navigation among migrant chefs in Copenhagen

Taylor Waterstreet



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Department of Social Anthropology, Lund University

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Thesis supervisor: Tova Højdestrand

Abstract: Changing trends within the culinary world have highlighted Copenhagen as a new culinary capital, bringing new waves of migrant chefs wishing to participate in this food movement to Denmark's shores. However, those who come to Copenhagen eager to participate in its restaurant industry are confronted by several bureaucratic and social structures that do not reflect or account for the realities of foreigners within the workforce. These structures greatly influence the way in which migrants within the culinary field are able to navigate employment and settlement in Denmark, and ultimately affects both their ability and their desire to remain in the country. This thesis investigates the barriers Copenhagen's migrant chefs encounter when navigating Danish bureaucracy and the workforce, the effects of such barriers, and tactics these individuals may employ to replace or access structures made otherwise inaccessible through their distinct positionality.

KEY WORDS: Social anthropology, culinary industry, hyper-mobility, navigation, migration

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Chapter I: Introduction

In 2004, twelve chefs from the Nordic region proposed a new model of cuisine that would challenge the worldwide culinary industry. The culinary industry and the greater food systems that support it have long been rife with issues, as many of the practices ingrained within the industry have been considered unsustainable, impractical, and oftentimes unjust. Noting these issues, the group published the New Nordic Manifesto, an outline of 10 goals centering sustainable action, more conscientious craftsmanship in the kitchen and improved cooperation between different levels in food production and distribution, thus challenging the current state of the larger hospitality industry (Björklund et al. 2004). This welcome challenge would have a massive impact on the industry; over a decade later, New Nordic cuisine still reigns supreme both among noted critics and the public opinion, as Danish establishments such as noma, Geranium and Alchemist still routinely occupy the top spots of the coveted World's 50 Best Restaurants list and dominate Michelin awards. However, this manifesto did more than challenge the existing culture surrounding food, fine dining and food production. It brought forth the long-overlooked Nordic region as an area of culinary intrigue both to fine dining aficionados and workers within the hospitality industry, setting off a boom in gastro-tourism that has led to unprecedented growth in the restaurant sector and a resulting new demand for increased labor in this field (Goulding 2013). Traditional seats of culinary power, such as France and Italy, have long attracted foreign chefs seeking to improve their skills and bolster their resumes, but this culinary boom in Copenhagen and sudden need for more workers put the Danish capital on the map as a viable place of learning, growth and potential opportunity for those within the industry, driving many to suddenly consider it as an option, and bringing a new wave of highly trained and eager young chefs from around the world to Copenhagen's ports. When combined with the high degree of worker's rights typically ensured to Danish citizens, Copenhagen became a seeming utopia to those in the culinary field, promising fair treatment, incomparable experiences, and success.

This seeming utopia is quickly challenged upon arrival for most individuals in the industry, as they quickly find both the settlement process and the industry less welcoming than envisioned. Such conditions seem absurd; as Denmark reaps the benefit of its newer status as a culinary hotspot, it seems counterintuitive to foster an environment that dissuades the growth of the industry. However, these systems meant to welcome in and encourage such growth do not

acknowledge nor account for the specific trajectories of migrants within the hospitality industry, ultimately slowing or even stopping successful integration. Many of those that hope to find success and advantageous experiences during their time in Copenhagen instead often find themselves to be the “victims of multiple systems”, made unable to successfully navigate neither life in Denmark nor the hospitality industry by their precarious position within the country.

This project investigates the structures migrant chefs in Copenhagen must navigate both during the legal and political act of movement into the country and during movement within Denmark’s culinary scene with the express goal of understanding how these various systems interact and ultimately determine the experiences of such individuals. My investigation has centered on several lines of inquiry:

- What pull factors bring migrant chefs to Copenhagen, and under what terms do they stay?
- How do these individuals experience the bureaucratic processes inherent in migration?
- How do they navigate Copenhagen’s hospitality industry, and in which ways do their backgrounds, experience and trajectory help or hinder this process?
- How do the various structures they encounter in Denmark influence their career, the trajectory of their movement, and their experiences in Copenhagen?

Through the discussion resulting from these research questions, I highlight the ways in which migrant chefs and the hospitality boom have affected and are affected by the bureaucratic processes during the migratory process into Denmark and the place they inhabit within the larger culinary industry with the aim of illustrating how the unique trajectory of migrants in this field complicates the way in which they interact both with state institutions and the industry at large. After outlining previous research, my theoretical background, methodology and ethical concerns, I begin my analysis in **Chapter II: Arrival Stories**, where I explore the reasons that brought my informants to Denmark and shared commonalities between them. These initial pull factors have a determining influence in how they interact with Danish bureaucracy and the hospitality industry, and the background affects the success in which they may navigate these two structures, thus making such information crucial exposition for the situation of Denmark’s migrant chefs. In subsequent chapters, I present the two main structures that influence how migrant chefs interact with Danish society and the effects this relationship has on such individuals. I start in **Chapter III: Bureaucratic insecurity** by exploring the various bureaucratic processes that such people must face during their settlement process, and turn attention to the state’s approach to such

individuals and how their precarious, hyper-mobile position influences their experience and investment in this process. From this point, I swivel focus to the hospitality industry in **Chapter IV: Navigating work and society**, where I highlight the ways in which the experiences of migrant chefs affect how they interact with the larger culinary field and how their work life impacts their greater experience in Denmark. I conclude this discussion in **Chapter V: Processing insecurity**, where I discuss the various impacts of these experiences with Danish bureaucracy and society and various ways in which migrant chefs may respond. Finally, in **Chapter VI: Answering insecurity**, I highlight tactics that they may employ to escape such structures during their tenure in Denmark and beyond, as encouraged by the relationships they foster within the international community.

Previous Research

As Copenhagen's status as a culinary capital is so relatively new, little previous investigation has occurred surrounding those who have come to the country after its culinary boom. This gap casts a shadow on the realities experienced by those within the industry, obscuring the specific nuances that complicate the way in which they interact with Danish society and maintain them in a permanently precarious position in Denmark. By investigating the various structurally-induced failures within the systems that Copenhagen's migrant chefs must navigate as well as the deep impact of such failures, I hope to contribute to and encourage a larger discussion of migrants within Copenhagen's culinary industry and bring light to the various ways in which such structures work against their unique trajectory.

The lack of significant research surrounding Copenhagen's migrant chefs is part of a larger absence, as compared to other fields of study within anthropology, there is a significant lack of research that centers restaurants and those that work there. Several anthologies of current research in the realm of restaurant-based studies have been recently published with the express goal of remedying this lack and amplifying this area of study, such as David Beriss and David Sutton's 2007 publication, *The Restaurants Book : Ethnographies of Where We Eat*. While much of the work featured in this anthology does not touch on dynamics relevant to the case of Copenhagen's migrant chefs, the work of some individuals provide relevant structural background for considering the dynamics of the restaurant and the larger hospitality industry. Karla A. Erickson's contribution, titled "Tight Spaces and Salsa-stained Aprons", explores the

“dance of service” within the restaurant, exploring the division and flow of labor between those who work in the front of the restaurant, such as wait staff and hosts, and the background work in the kitchen, noting this structure’s effect on labor, interaction and guest experience (Erickson 2007: 17). In her chapter “Daughters, Duty and Deference in the Franco-Chinese Restaurant”, Winnie Lem turns her gaze beyond the singular workplace, and considers as well the outwards structures developed between restaurants. Her work with Chinese restaurant owners and workers in France highlights the distinct communities created by and for members of the nondominant group and the unique ways in which these connections can be employed (Lem 2007: 137). Much of the relationships between migrants and restaurant work as expanded upon within the field focuses less on labor and interrelations within the restaurant but rather relationship to food. Noteworthy among such scholarship is Alejandro Miranda-Nieto and Paolo Boccagni’s work with Ecuadorian restaurants in Madrid. The duo note that because of the cultural dimensions of food, restaurants become sites of negotiation of identity for migrants, leading restaurants to confront culture and identity through the material arrangement of the restaurant (Miranda-Nieto and Boccagni, 2020: 1023).

While Lem and Miranda-Nieto have offered some insight into the distinct experiences of migrants within the European hospitality industry, much of the existing scholarship within the field of anthropology surrounding this topic centers the Americas. While information centering Europe is already comparatively lacking, Northern Europe is particularly neglected. Jo Angouri and Kristina Humonen have worked to fill this gap through their research on migrants within the Finnish hospitality industry, highlighting the specific ways in which language is utilized within the workplace and how language use operates within kitchen hierarchies (Angouri & Humonen 2022). However, there is a much more significant body of work surrounding Denmark and how it is experienced by non-citizens outside the culinary world. Most relevant to my own work has been Kristen Juul’s research among homeless migrants in Copenhagen, which has contributed significantly to my own theoretical framework in this project. As I shall expand upon later, she has noted that complex trajectories of movement among such individuals complicate the way in which they may operate within Danish society, pushing them into increasingly precarious positions (2022: 2372). The work of Karen Olwig similarly highlights difficulties many migrants encounter because of the structures inherent in Danish society, as she notes that migration policy is increasingly defined by a lack of nuance and conservatism (2012: 2, 6).

While there has been little scholarship within anthropology surrounding Danish hospitality workers, there has been significant investigation in this area from the field of tourism and hospitality studies, much of which has centered around the life experiences, work life and movement patterns of those working within it. Tone Therese Linge, Trude Furunes, Tom Baum and Tara Duncan have noted that when compared with other industries, workers in Nordic hospitality are disproportionately young, foreign and temporary, as most are either only given short-term opportunities or otherwise only seek to stay in one region for a limited period of time (T.T. Linge et al. 2020: 403, 405). Mats Lundmark builds upon this observation in his discussion of the Swedish hospitality industry, and has noted that these movement patterns coexist with the high turnover rate within the hospitality industry, which requires an ample pool of ready workers that eagerly seek work and are thus willing to move for opportunities (Lundmark 2020: 294). Such observations in the field of tourism studies have driven a change in how the industry is approached academically. Tara Duncan, together with David G. Scott, and Tom Baum, has proposed that considering the movement patterns of those that make up the Nordic hospitality industry, social scientists should prioritize a mobilities-based framework, as such movement impacts the way in which these people experience both life in their host country and the way in which they operate within the hospitality industry (Duncan et al. 2013: 4).

Theoretical background: The hyper-mobile precariat versus the state

Considering the movement highlighted by Duncan, Scott and Baum among hospitality workers, migrants such as those who have come to Copenhagen seeking to work in its kitchens can be understood through Kristine Juul's idea of the "hyper-mobile precariat". This term takes root in Guy Standing's concept of the precariat, an overlooked global class in a perpetual state of insecurity due to their precarious position in society (Standing 2011: 3). The precariat are varied in background and situation, but are united by their insecure life position, their flexibility by necessity, and their complicated relationship with citizenship, as most are limited in their participation in society (Standing 2011: 14). Juul has adapted this concept of the precariat to Denmark's highly transient populations in her research among the homeless. In her work, she notes that these individuals do not move in the same manner as the typical migrant in that they do not enter Denmark with the intention of remaining on a permanent basis; instead, they more accurately "oscillate permanently" between their home country and states of habitual residence

(Juul 2022: 2372). This kind of movement, coined as “hyper-mobility”, can not be approached in the same way as traditional migration, as there is no clearly visible collective movement nor simple trajectory; there is no clearly visible thread from one location to another, rather an inconsistent tangle of paths that lead people to Copenhagen as a best resort (Juul 2017: 136). While Standing’s precariat already exists upon a precipice, the hyper-mobile precariat is in a particular place of risk, as their unique migration condition subjects them to a greater level of insecurity and uncertainty, most particularly in terms of citizenship and belonging.

The paths that lead such individuals to Denmark are tangled, and thus can be difficult to unwind for state institutions. This complicates how borders and border controls may operate; when movement occurs frequently, spontaneously and unpredictably, it is not feasible to have only one check in place at the physical border to determine who belongs and who does not. In order to accommodate these movement patterns, many welfare states such as Denmark have adapted covert methods to confirm citizenship and status in daily life. Juul describes this subtle, internal policing of citizenship as “everyday bordering”, a process which is aided by devices such as physical and digital confirmations of identity and status (2022: 2376). These bordering devices are not the only tool used by the state when confronting migrant groups. Nerina Weiss has noted in her research among refugees undergoing asylum processes in Norway that time may also be utilized to the state’s benefit (Weiss 2020: 196). Waiting is an inherent part of migratory processes, and can not be avoided, as bureaucratic processes always take time (Weiss 2020: 198) Weiss argues that states can capitalize upon this, and may use wait times as a modicum of control over those in the migration and integration process; she cites Pierre Bourdieu’s observations on the relationship between time and power, arguing that being forced to wait indefinitely forces one into a state of submission (Bourdieu 2000: 228; Weiss 2020: 199). Those who are already in a vulnerable state from the physical act of moving are made more fragile through such weaponization, and experience this wait time as traumatic; this trauma victimizes such individuals in a way that forces compliance (2020: 195, 197). The victimization of already precarious bodies through the trauma of waiting and the weaponization of time by the state have a deep psychological impact, and continue to determine how people relate to and operate in their host society well beyond the waiting period, making this method of control particularly effective (2020: 197, 205).

These borders and systems of control crafted by the state are not the only barriers which arrivals may confront, as many find these are supplemented by borders established elsewhere within Danish society. Jo Angouri and Kristina Humonen have found Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social capital relevant when analyzing the place of foreign workers in the structure of Nordic kitchens (2022: 2). Bourdieu defines social capital as a resource obtained through access to and participation within established social structures and hierarchies which determines how individuals operate within said structures; positive relationships can boost the position of those looking to advance, whether socially or economically (Bourdieu 1986: 21). Angouri and Humonen have utilized and elaborated upon this concept, and have proposed in their investigation of migrants within Finnish kitchens that language also functions as a form of capital that interacts with and complicates how social capital may manifest in such a context (2022: 2). While Bourdieu accounts for language in his understanding of cultural capital, this idea of linguistic capital proposed by Angouri and Humonen extends beyond culture, instead proposing language may operate as its own system of power separate from its cultural significance (2022: 11).

Many, such as Juul, Angouri and Humonen, have noted that specific positions of migrants, as determined through aspects such as hyper-mobility and access to capital, can affect the way in which they navigate society. Henrik Vigh has argued in his work that this idea of navigation is commonly utilized in anthropological work, but is seldom properly defined, nor is it used as an analytical or theoretical framework, rather often approached as a metaphor (2009: 419). Seeing further value in this concept, he defines it not just as simple movement through life, as many previously have understood it, but rather as a fluid form of interaction utilized in response to the structures that surround them (Vigh 2009: 420). Navigation is a conscious method of movement that accounts for the specific contexts in which people find themselves and allows them to manage their own standing within the society in which they inhabit; it is intentional, adaptive and contextual (2009: 420). When confronted with structures that limit movement and successful participation within society, individuals must navigate around such boundaries in order to persist.

Methodology

The investigation for this project took course over a period of two and a half months in central Copenhagen, Denmark. Research was conducted using various qualitative methods; as this project takes focus on the personal experiences of those working in the hospitality field, emphasis was placed on methods that would be conducive to open conversation. My initial preference was in-depth individual interviews, as I intended to factor in the complex arrival stories and long term trajectories. Interview subjects were suggested either through personal contacts in the city or through the snowball method, and were initially contacted either through social media, email or text message. The majority of interviews took place at various sites around the city, with one taking place online over Zoom, each conversation lasting between an hour and two hours, depending on the subject's responses. I quickly adapted my methods to more casual contact, as I found that few were interested in sitting down for individual interviews – only five people agreed to participate this way in this project – but significantly more were interested in speaking in casual settings. As such, I also frequently met with people in less structured settings and in larger groups to speak jointly. I met with various groups for meals, drinks, or to spend time together in the city, during which I had looser conversations with interlocutors about their time in Denmark and the Danish workforce. I also engaged in participant observation, as several informants invited me to events they ran in the city, to their restaurant, or to share meals together, which particularly gave me a chance to better know interviewees, their story and experiences, and their place within their community outside of the more structured interviews. In the end, I consulted a total of 23 informants, although I did interact with and speak with many more.

My initial intention was to speak solely with non-EU nationals, as I wanted to focus greatly on the visa process and its impact on movement, the job search process, and social integration. However, I ultimately expanded this project to include EU nationals from Southern and Eastern Europe, as I found that while the vast majority of these individuals did not need to apply for a visa, most had very similar experiences when navigating Danish bureaucracy, employment and society, and characterized themselves similarly to their non-EU national coworkers and friends. In accordance with this observation, I adjusted my focus to all who self-identified as migrants, although most chose to refer to themselves as “foreign” in the context of Denmark or at times as expatriates. Accordingly, in this project I refer to subjects

interchangeably as migrants and as foreign, as all seemed to use these terms interchangeably to describe their position in Danish society. My greatest specification in regard to choosing informants has been in regard to employment. All I consulted as informants worked as chefs in either midscale or upscale restaurants in Central Copenhagen. This choice was intended to reflect Copenhagen's current hospitality industry. While most parts of the industry have benefited from the increased attention on Copenhagen from tourists, much of the recent interest in the city surrounding its culinary boom has focused on higher scale establishments (Goulding: 2013). Additionally, midscale and upscale restaurants often feature a more rigid structure in the daily routines and employee hierarchy, which complicates the way employees navigate the workplace (Albors-Garrigos 2020: 5). As my interest in this subject stemmed from the relationship between migration to the city and this culinary boom and related to how such individuals navigate existing structures within Danish society, those who were working or had recently worked in such establishments were prioritized.

Ethical concerns

When embarking on this project, anonymity was the chief of my concerns. As I will elaborate upon in the discussion chapters, the hospitality industry can be capricious, and Copenhagen is no exception; as such, many cautions have been taken to ensure that no identifying information can be determined about my interlocutors through the shared results of this project. All personal names and place names referenced by or pertinent to my informants have been replaced, and all informant names have been replaced. Only certain personal names and places are included, and are done so in contexts where information is vital for the context or inconsequential due to the nature of the reference being made. To doubly ensure that no sensitive material be potentially tied to a person, certain quotes and information that has been included in this project has been made completely abstract from the individual that shared it. In order to further obscure any potential information, I also have opted to not reference the specific country of origin for any of my informants, and instead refer to the region of origin when appropriate. While Copenhagen is a large and diverse city and nationality would normally not be sufficient to identify individuals, the hospitality industry is very interconnected, and some national identities have become implicitly tied with certain restaurant groups, social circles and specific establishments. While country of origin can greatly impact how someone moves in or experiences a new country, I

ultimately decided that the risks of including such information did not outweigh the rewards. Considering the conditions within the industry, informed consent was also a major concern of mine when starting this project. Before reaching out to informants, making plans, or documenting any information shared with me, I explained my background and the purpose of this project, and allowed individuals to ask any questions surrounding my process, my goals and my end product that they wished. There were people I met with and interacted with during this project who either were uninterested in the project or had interest but ultimately did not wish to participate, and all contributions from these people have been discounted and not included out of respect for their concerns.

Chapter II: Arrival Stories

COVID comes and you spend a lot of time home, and you're like, OK, what is it that I want to do with my life? Because when you have time to think, you overthink. Look, I've been always dreaming about *noma*, about Copenhagen ... So yeah, I just left everything, and I moved to Copenhagen.

While the attraction of Copenhagen for migrants in the hospitality industry following the culinary boom may seem obvious, the trajectories that lead foreign chefs to Denmark are far from uniform. Some came with stars in their eyes: following the boom, Copenhagen's more accomplished chefs suffered a new kind of stardom, protagonized by fine dining enthusiasts and the Danish government alike as innovators in their field (Goulding 2013). In the introduction to his anthology on culinary anthropology, Jönsson notes that those who become successful in the culinary world have become a new type of celebrity to the public, as media portrayals, both fictional and factual, increasingly center on chefs as ideal protagonists, and the culinary industry and its product have become more accessible and less strictly tied to upper class consumption (Jönsson p. 5). Those in the industry do not buy into this fame in the same way as the public, but some expressed interest in the implications of such stardom. Carl had moved to Copenhagen early in the summer of 2021, and had already come with a critical view of bigger name celebrity chefs, who to him came across not as particularly admirable or uniquely skilled, but rather more as public figures successful for their ideas and confidence. However, the visibility granted to such individuals is read by those such as Carl as a promise of opportunity; if these chefs qualify as a public figure worthy of attention and admiration, then Copenhagen is a place where chefs can find success and accolades. Most that I spoke with were generally uninvested in this type of celebrity, but rather the larger culture built by such big-name chefs and restaurants in the city. The active commitment to better business practices and sustainable action suggested in the New Nordic Manifesto is put into practice by many of the larger restaurant conglomerates in Copenhagen, offering those who wish to work within them a chance to participate in the industry's growth and improvement. This is a huge draw for many young chefs, as several of those I met were intensely interested in climate activism and were deeply invested in analyzing their own place both within global food systems and the larger hospitality industry.

Others saw Copenhagen not just as a site for shared growth within the industry, but as a crucial place for personal growth and experience. Because of Copenhagen's continual success in both Michelin rankings and in Travel Guide's 50 Best Restaurants listings, it is an advantageous site to have on one's resumé, and offers many newer chefs the opportunity to further push and develop their skills in a highly competitive and elite environment. Ethan had been living, studying and working in restaurants in the United Kingdom for a few years, where he had heard about Denmark's culinary industry from coworkers who had previously traveled to Copenhagen to work. When he was given the chance to visit in the summer of 2022, he jumped on the chance to work in the city, as he knew it as a hotspot for gastronomy and had already become familiar with many of its more renowned restaurants. For a young chef such as Ethan, Copenhagen offers not just a chance to try something new, but try something great, and becomes an ideal site to test one's mettle while continuing to develop their skills.

Beyond the pull of potential success, growth and new opportunities, Copenhagen attracts many for the better quality of life promised to Danish citizens and the pervasive image of Danish society as egalitarian and open to all, regardless of background. Before coming to Denmark, all Carl knew of the country itself was that it was consistently ranked one of the happiest countries in the world. When combined with the public knowledge of the vast resources available to its citizens, this made Denmark seem like the perfect country, not just to Carl, but to his family and friends back home, who praised him for abandoning work in Southern Europe to try his luck in Copenhagen; while Southern Europe still had better opportunities than his home country outside the EU, to Carl and his loved ones, Copenhagen was the "clear, smart choice". One major component of this comparatively improved quality of life found in Denmark is how the work week is organized for chefs in the city. Many of those I had met during my time in Copenhagen bemoaned the hours that had been expected of them elsewhere before their time in Denmark, with many citing their past work schedules as unrealistic and unjust. Dante was one such individual; he had come to western Denmark from Eastern Europe to continue his studies, and found that the work standards were unlike anything available to him in his home country, which encouraged him to try his luck at a career in Copenhagen. Copenhagen promises those in the culinary industry a uniquely high standard of workplace treatment, which is a massive draw, considering the worldwide standard within hospitality is based on inequitable and exploitative practices. Another key element of this improved life and work standard is the promise of

equality. Elsewhere in Europe, kitchen work is still largely governed by patriarchal structures that can make it harder for women to advance or escape being essentialized as a “female chef” (Albors-Garrigos 2020: 5, 7). In comparison, Denmark has garnered a reputation of gender equality in the workplace, which is seen as a massive bonus for chefs such as Angela, who thought she might have more options in Copenhagen compared with other regions: “[here] they might be willing to hire a female chef with non-European background, because they’re all about diversity, [and] so they wanted to hire more people with diverse backgrounds”. This comparatively better situation extends beyond the workplace, as many from outside the EU mentioned they were interested in life in Denmark because the visa process initially seemed more generous to outsiders in the hospitality industry. This process and the conditions upon which it operates vary based upon the specific context of migrants, and shall be expanded upon in later discussion surrounding Danish bureaucracy.

There were other reasons to come to Copenhagen that came up in discussion: some had come to continue their education, others were motivated specifically by access to improved benefits and services promised by the welfare system, and others just sought a change and by chance landed in the country. However, despite the diversity of reasons that brought people to the country, there were two unifying commonalities shared by almost all of my informants. Almost all I met through this project were in Denmark only on a temporary basis, many were relatively new to the country, and almost all were either uninterested in staying long-term or did not think a lengthy stay would be possible for them. Their recent arrival times at least partially stem from the COVID-19 pandemic; almost all arrived in the country in 2021 or 2022, well after the lockdown period, and a few mentioned they would have potentially come earlier if the pandemic had not restricted movement. However, for most, this recent arrival and frequent movement was because of the way they approached work and navigated the hospitality industry. Chefs with diverse experiences are thought to be better chefs; they’ve learned from different cuisines, practiced more than just one technique, and have more varied experiences they can call upon when making food. As such, many saw it as a goal to work more places, see more of the world not as a tourist, but as a professional. Informants were largely successful in this endeavor; most had worked in many different cities, countries and regions in the past, and saw themselves working in many more in the future. Such hyper-mobility is not unique, but rather the norm; many previous studies conducted within the field of hospitality studies have noted that

hospitality workers in the Nordic region have become increasingly transient, with most only opting to stay in different workplaces within the regions on a short-term basis (T.T. Linge et al. 2020: 405). This different approach to movement as facilitated and normalized by the industry is crucial in understanding the nuances in how such individuals interact with both the bureaucratic and social processes inherent in migrations; these are not normal migrants who primarily seek integration and settlement within the welfare system, but rather hyper-mobile, global citizens who assume future movement in their career trajectory.

A second important commonality shared by my informants is that Denmark was seen as a better choice when compared with other potential host countries because it could provide a comparatively much better life. The previously mentioned improvements to personal life and work life that motivated people to move to Copenhagen were seen as completely unique to life in Denmark, and most characterized the standard of work life as often abusive, unrealistic or exploitative elsewhere in the industry. This factored in not just with the decision to move to the city, but also in decisions to stay, as will be expanded upon in later discussion. Regardless of the specific pull factor that attracted them to the country, all came with a similar idea: life in Denmark would be easier, more enriching, and would be a key step in their trajectory within the industry. Through their trajectories, Copenhagen's migrant chefs embody this precariat through their quest for freedom and security, bound to pathways that promise to lead them towards security (Standing 2011: 155)

Chapter III: Bureaucratic insecurity.

The egalitarian, welcoming image of Danish society that my informants imagined before arrival was swiftly challenged, as many quickly learned that the goals that brought them to the country were less attainable than they had hoped. Those who come to work in Copenhagen's culinary industry find themselves frequently on a precipice, as upon entering the country, they are repeatedly confronted by barriers to participation in Danish society and daily life that require constant work to break through in order to stay in the country. There are two main dimensions to the insecurity that is faced by migrant chefs: insecurity on a political, legal level through the bureaucratic processes inherent in migration and settlement in Denmark, and insecurity in employment amplified by the precarious social position of such individuals. While not all experience the same difficulties, all find themselves facing insecurity in their position in Denmark and at a significant disadvantage in relation to their Danish peers.

Work-based visas

When reflecting on the challenges of settling and becoming established in Copenhagen, most first and foremost recall the legal process of entering Denmark and the difficulties they had – or continue to have – in registering their residence within the country. All who come to Denmark find themselves at the mercy of Danish bureaucracy, but the nature of this process differs greatly depending on personal background, nationality, and circumstances of movement. The various bureaucratic processes that foreign chefs must undergo have a severe impact on the way in which these individuals may operate both within Danish society and the workforce, and have lasting effects on their trajectories.

The effects of these bureaucratic processes vary greatly depending on personal background. The process is most involved and strenuous for those entering the country from outside the European Union, as they must obtain a visa. The Danish Ministry of Immigration, commonly abbreviated as SIRI, grants many pathways to residency for non-EU residents dependent on the conditions of movement. Those coming to the country either following an employment opportunity or looking to find one upon arrival are normally suggested to seek a work-based visa. This application process is embarked upon by both the person planning to move to Denmark and their prospective employer, and thus requires an employer to agree to

assist their prospective employee in this process. These visas and the specific conditions and the application process relevant to them can vary considerably, as SIRI currently offers many different options depending on which industry the applicant intends to work within and the kind of work they intend to accomplish. During the course of this project, the dominant work-based pathway taken by those I met in the industry was the skilled worker visa, often referred to as the Positive List visa. The Positive List for Skilled Work is a catalog maintained by SIRI that lists careers and professional areas which are currently lacking sufficient employees and somewhat urgently require outside application and interest (Ny i Danmark 2023). These professions are usually highly specialized, and require a certain level of skill, experience, or education, such that only demonstrably capable individuals are qualified for these positions (Juul 2017: 133).

For those who came to Copenhagen to work in its culinary industry following the COVID-19 pandemic, the Positive List visa path combined with the industry's current hiring trends seemed like a blessing. As border controls began to loosen, interest in gastro-tourism resumed, and restaurants reopened for traditional indoor dining, new blood was desperately needed to jumpstart Copenhagen's kitchens, and accordingly, "chef" was placed on the Positive List, allowing those from outside the European Union who had dreamed of working in the city a chance to enter the country. At the same time, demand for foreign chefs grew among restaurant owners, and hiring managers who seek to make their establishment stand out in an increasingly Michelin star-studded industry. This interest in outside skill works uniquely in the favor of prospective visa applicants; Positive List positions can only be offered to non-EU citizens should no citizen be eligible, but richer past experiences provide justification to select a migrant instead (Juul 2017: 133). For chefs coming from outside the EU, the combined interest of such restaurants and eased immigration through government channels have created a seemingly perfect path into the Danish workforce and society.

This pathway rarely functions in the favor of any party, as Positive List applicants quickly find that the demand for foreign chefs and their skills as seen by the industry are not being accurately recognized by the government. As stated earlier, eligibility for a Positive List position hinges on verifiable skill, training, or experience, and the application for this visa requires the applicant to submit proof of education relevant to the profession of interest. For most of my informants, this did not seem like it would cause an issue, as most had received some form of formal training or education in the culinary field either in Europe or their country of

origin, and all had easily quantifiable and verifiable experience in the field. However, many found it harder to prove these qualifications than they had anticipated, and despite offering concrete proof of education and past experience in the field, SIRI had challenged many on their backgrounds and skills. For many, this can prolong the visa application process, and many spoke of instances where colleagues who were seemingly perfect Positive List visa candidates were denied because SIRI took issue with their qualifications.

A major factor in this issue is how SIRI considers – or more correctly, does not consider – work within the hospitality industry. SIRI does not approach kitchen work with any particular nuance, and instead approaches it in the same way as more technical industries, where one's skills are the product of highly specialized work experience, and future competency and relevance for certain career paths are tied to such specialization; those who have held one type of position at one type of workplace in the past are only considered eligible for similar kinds of employment when entering Denmark. This kind of specialization does not occur in the same way in the culinary industry; kitchen skills translate across different cuisines and different restaurant styles, and this kind of pigeonholing leads to many losing opportunities that both they and their potential employer had deemed a good fit. In a conversation surrounding Denmark's visa process, one informant criticized this oversight by SIRI:

Sometimes when they reject a chef's visa, they just say that your background does not apply to the job you've applied for. [But if] I've worked in fine dining, but now I want to work in a different kind of restaurant, what's wrong with that? [...] They give you reasons, but it is weird for us, it feels like they are not knowledgeable [about the industry].

This disconnect between the career norms and working life of chefs and the government's expectations for kitchen workers is frustrating but not surprising, as much of the labor undergone by chefs is misunderstood or misinterpreted outside the field. In "Tight Spaces and Salsa-stained Aprons", Karla A. Erickson speaks on the specific dynamics of movement and interaction within restaurants noticed during her research in a Tex-mex restaurant. Erickson notes how the back-of-house serves as a "backstage" for workers in restaurants, meant to obscure the labor that meal preparation involves from the critical eye of the customer, and instead present a professional and composed atmosphere (2007: 20). The labor of a restaurant is inherently based upon the interplay of the front-of-house staff, those in the kitchen and the guest, but

back-of-house workers are absent in the guest's experience outside of the physical product they produce; as wait staff serve as intermediaries between the kitchen and those dining, guests rarely see any evidence of kitchen work beyond what they are served (Erickson 2007: 21). Chefs are tied less to the physical motions, but rather what they produce. This misinterpretation of kitchen-based labor feeds into a larger trend of uninformed decision making among immigration services. Often in the case of arriving groups, the state lacks nuance or a knowledgeable approach, and instead rely on generalizations based upon the trajectory and pull factors of those arriving when making decisions. Karen Olwig has problematized this approach of Nordic immigration services towards migrant groups, as she notes that the bureaucratic attitude and treatment towards those arriving have often hinged on stereotypes and preconceived notions towards such populations (Olwig 2012: 6). Visa decisions may not hinge on the specific cases of each applicant, but rather based upon how the bureaucrat responsible for their case perceives the person and their story. As the above testimony has suggested, this tendency to rely on stereotypes combined with a misunderstanding or essentialization of a chef's labor work against those in the culinary field, and so many of those who came to Copenhagen specifically to develop new skills, take on new challenges and explore their own place in the industry can find themselves structurally denied opportunities that allow such growth and exploration, as they may have no choice but to continue with similar positions as before.

This is complicated by the hyper-mobility of many within the hospitality industry; as suggested previously, the trajectory of such individuals presents a challenge to the state, as their background involves many stops and diverse experiences which can not be easily simplified and digested. When confirming the employment background and history of visa applicants, state bureaucrats often seek simplicity and easy verification, and those whose past experiences are not as easily verifiable or understandable slow down this process. For those who have lived in many countries and worked in many languages, this can be especially challenging. This was the case of Carl, who had come to Europe originally in the late 2010s to seek better work opportunities, a better life and improved treatment and pay than he had received working in his home country. He had worked in the Mediterranean for a few years before coming to Copenhagen, but the majority of his most prideful work experiences were in his home country. While his past employers in Southern Europe took his work history outside of Europe seriously, he struggled to prove it to both employers and those handling his visa case. Carl mused that while he had accomplished

much in his home country, the opportunities he had found in Copenhagen were thanks to his past work in Southern Europe, as his background outside the Mediterranean did not help his case. The hyper-mobility of many chefs such as Carl puts them in more precarious positions when applying for visas; there is a heightened risk of denial when backgrounds are varied, and especially when work experience extends outside the EU, as shown in the experiences of Carl. The Positive List pathway to work and residence in Denmark thus is hardly as accessible as it seems due to the state's frequent misinterpretation of chefs' labor and work histories, and the highly transient trajectories of the hypermobile thus effectively maintain them in a precarious state.

Difficulties with the Positive List visa does not close off the possibility of a work-based visa, because as suggested earlier, there are multiple work based visas made available through SIRI. Those who struggle in proving their background and eligibility for Positive List positions may instead set their sights on visas based on pay grade through the Pay Limit Scheme, which is an option for those who are offered a position that pays above 375,000 DKK a year, regardless of the kind of work position pursued by the applicant. However, this visa is largely inaccessible to those in the hospitality industry because most workplaces are either incapable or unwilling to pay employees to this degree; several informants suggested that this kind of payment is unrealistic for most in the industry, and one noted that the monthly pay expected for this kind of position is more in line with what a head chef would be paid, making this path not an option for many to even consider. Another informant commented that while it is unfortunate that in such cases foreigners are denied good opportunities based on the government's misunderstanding of fair pay, it is impossible to fault these restaurants:

Imagine this: you're a restaurant, and you have a foreigner that comes to you. You want to help the foreigner, but the government supposedly asks you to pay them double the amount of what you should pay a normal worker. So how so that you're going to end up [choosing] the foreigner? It doesn't make sense to pay two for one.

Once again, the Danish government's requirements demonstrate a clear disconnect from the reality of those within the hospitality industry. As such, supposedly simple to obtain work-based visas can become a significant challenge to secure for many individuals, problematizing the movement of those seemingly promised residence and participation in the hospitality industry.

Partnership visas

Work-based visas were the most popular among my informants, but many pursued other forms of visa as well. As suggested when discussing the pull factors that brought my informants to Copenhagen, many who work in the hospitality industry came to the city not just to work, but also to pursue some form of partnership visa. Transnational partnerships were exceedingly common among my informants, and from their testimonies, are a common occurrence in the hospitality industry; the hyper-mobility of hospitality workers leads to most making new connections with those from outside their own home country, and the odd schedules can make it difficult to connect with those outside the industry. This same kind of movement and work conditions that allow for such individuals to meet and connect ultimately become a challenge, as once one job opportunity ends and the visa attached to it disappears, couples forged within the hospitality industry must find new ways to stay together.

Such was the case for Kevin and Larissa, a transnational pair who had met while working together in Southern Europe. The two both lost the job opportunity that had brought them together, and decided to move in together and solidify their relationship. Initially they had planned on moving to Kevin's home country in the EU to resume their career as chefs, as Larissa already was fluent in the country's dominant language and residence there would offer her a chance to work towards EU citizenship. However, they quickly found that the country's immigration policy was overly complicated, expensive and largely discriminatory towards people from Larissa's home country. Additionally, head chefs in the capital were completely uninterested in Larissa and her accomplishments, instead preferring those who had training in local cooking techniques. The difficult migration process, combined with the rejection she had faced while talking to prospective employers, drove the couple to consider other options, which led them to first consider Denmark. Larissa could not find an employer that was interested in her qualifications before entering the country, so the couple decided to opt for the cohabiting partnership visa path instead; ideally, with this visa, Larissa could stay in the EU and eventually find work without having to scramble to find employment.

Kevin and Larissa's experience is hardly unique, as in many EU countries, partnership visas can be very complicated to obtain, and often require marriage or several years of cohabitation within the destination country. In comparison, Denmark is seemingly more relaxed, offering an easier option for transnational couples that are trying to stay in Europe together;

couples qualify for a partnership visa after only 18 months of documented cohabitation, so long as one member of the partnership is an EU citizen (Ny i Danmark 2023). As in Larissa's case, most who are eligible for a partnership visa consider it a better option as it is not tied to a single employment opportunity or employer, granting the recipient relative freedom when seeking work. For those in the culinary industry who move so frequently between opportunities, this is a massive bonus; those who have obtained a partnership visa seemingly escape a layer of uncertainty and insecurity that those with work-based visas experience.

These conditions are understandably attractive, but just as for those who sought out a work based visa, those who follow this path instead often find things more complicated than they had hoped, as many end up waiting extensively for an answer on their application with no answer. I have previously mentioned the case of Angela, a non-EU citizen who ended up applying for a work-based visa after her partnership visa had not been approved. She had chosen to prioritize the cohabiting partnership visa process rather than a work-based solution as she had moved to Denmark with her boyfriend, a fellow chef and EU citizen who she had met while working in the UK. She filed her visa application in October of 2021, but come February of the following year, she still had not received a response, and any inquiries she made were met with silence on behalf of SIRI. Early in 2022, she found a good work opportunity, and decided she might as well apply for a work visa; this visa was approved by March, while her partnership visa was still pending. She did not receive an answer until that summer, when she was finally informed that this visa had been denied.

Her extensive wait is hard to justify, but she was still comparatively lucky as she was able to find another visa before her application was rejected; those who are rejected without a backup option must appeal the decision, which results in another extended wait with no quick or clear answers from SIRI. Nerina Weiss has observed similar patterns of multiple prolonged wait times as a common feature in migration processes elsewhere in the Nordic region; refugees arriving in Norway do not just undergo one waiting period to receive their refugee status, but must also sit through a second, often longer and more unpredictable waiting period in order to be integrated within the municipality and start receiving the benefits of Norwegian residency (2020: 198; 195). These wait times can not be simplified as evidence of bureaucratic ineptitude, but rather are better understood as a tool, as the profound despair and extended insecurity that such wait times place on already precarious groups makes these individuals easier to control, as even

uncomfortable compliance is preferable to such prolonged discomfort (2020: 197). In the case of those undergoing the partnership visa process, wait times are an effective weapon as the thought of continuing to wait without clear answers or certainty puts pressure on relationships, particularly for cohabiting partners. Many, such as Kevin and Larissa, end up getting married expressly in order to solidify their visa case; all of those I met who applied to a partnership visa instead of a work-based visa either got married because of such pressure or were suggested to do so by those assisting in their visa process. Those who do not give in to such pressure may ultimately decide to abandon Denmark in hopes of having better luck elsewhere. Either decision is more beneficial for Denmark and for SIRI when deciding who to allow to stay. As marriage is a registered political process with a clear beginning date, it is easier for SIRI to process effectively and is recognized, legitimized and documented by the Danish government, thus marriage both streamlines relationships and makes them surveilable and digestible by the state. Meanwhile, leaving Denmark releases the state from any responsibility to such people. Weaponized wait times capitalize upon the vulnerable state of these individuals by only offering these three options: wait and experience continued uncertainty; conform, become more easily documentable, and in this way be offered some level of stability; or be forced out.

Self-Sufficiency

Waiting is weaponized in other ways by the Danish state via the visa application process. The wait time for visa processes does not delay or bar applicants from entering Denmark, as they may stay in the country during this waiting period, and often they are suggested to do so under the guise that it will aid in their visa application process and allow them to get settled. While this may seem merciful as it grants prospective residents a chance to enter the country, become used to life in Denmark and become established while waiting for their visa, it is more often a source of frustration, as they may only be in the country during this time under the condition that they are able to economically support themselves. As suggested earlier in the cases of Angela and Larissa, many do not know how long they will be waiting for an answer and often end up waiting longer than they had initially hoped, especially in cases where they must appeal a visa denial. As these individuals can not predict how long they will be waiting for a visa response, they can not plan ahead how much they should have saved before arriving in Denmark, meaning they must amass uncertain yet significant amounts of money before they enter the country. Additionally, as

a visa is required before one may legally work in the country, applicants can not easily supplement their earnings. While some turn to under-the-table work during this time, it can be risky, and such money can not be used to prove economic self-sufficiency, as one must be able to document where and when such funds were received.

Considering these conditions, many have no other option than to sit and wait for the response on their visa while watching their savings disappear. This was unfortunately the case for Angela, who found herself becoming increasingly distraught by the depletion of her savings and the lack of return for this investment:

You can't do anything. You contribute to the economy, you go out, you eat, you pay for somewhere to sleep, you're purchasing but you're not getting anything back. Any compensation. So it's a bit weird to just be here to wait for the visa. We're just stuck in limbo because we can't go back, but we can't contribute or do anything here.

Gathering such funds can be quite difficult to accomplish, especially for those who seek employment in Denmark because of the poor payment they receive in their home country, and to see this money disappear with no answer is frustrating. Additionally, to stay in Denmark under such terms is also a massive risk, as many may ultimately be denied residence and be forced to return to the country of origin without seeing a return for their investment. When speaking on the process of appealing a visa denial, Angela noted that while many are willing to appeal, it is often not economically feasible, and as such many are forced to abandon what they were hoping to accomplish in Denmark; "I have to stay here longer, and I still can't be working? I've already not been working all this time, and if I have to appeal for this, I still can't work ... this is just wasting money and wasting time".

This financial aspect of the visa application process demonstrates another way in which the waiting period is weaponized by the Danish state. As earlier testimony of Angela suggests, those who wait for their visas in Denmark contribute significantly to the economy by bringing money earned internationally into the local economy. Visa applicants more reliably bolster this one-sided economy by staying in the country and spending their savings over extended periods of time. These individuals also receive no benefits for their contributions; they provide to the state, but as they are yet to be a recognized part of the system, the state is not required to provide for them in turn. They are thus kept apart from the benefits of the welfare state they hope to

enter, much to the benefit of Denmark. Longer waits mean a continuation of this unbalanced relationship, which only serves the state and furthers the insecure state of visa applicants.

Long wait times also become a tool in determining who may and may not finally be selected as full members of Danish society. As such conditions suggest, one must have considerable means in order to wait out the visa application process. Those in especially precarious situations economically find themselves essentially exempt from visa eligibility. This is especially the case for more long-term and ultimately secure visas, such as those based on partnership, as they may take many months or even years to be approved, but the wait time for work-based visas can not be discounted, especially among the often financially insecure precariat. Even one month of spending without receiving funds or benefits in return is simply not accessible for those who have more difficult and costly migration trajectories. While this would be clearly remedied by not entering the country until visa and work are both secured, the way that employment functions within the culinary field most often does not allow for this, as I will elaborate upon later; most are not hired and assisted in the visa process by employers until they arrive. These conditions create circumstances where individuals must come to the country before being approved for a visa and must have significant funds to accommodate for this uncertain period of time. This essentially reserves access to visas to those in more socioeconomic secure positions, and discounts those who occupy more economically precarious rungs of society from being eligible for Danish residence. Despite making special space for foreign chefs within the workforce and increasingly basing a significant portion of the economy on their labor, arriving and staying in Denmark is simply inaccessible for those within the precariat, preventing much of the culinary workforce from taking Denmark up on this offer of residence.

Other bureaucratic processes

As the above discussion highlights, applying for a residence visa is often a much more significantly emotionally and economically stressful activity than many imagine before coming to Denmark. This stress does not simply go away once a visa is obtained, as visas can be easily lost. Most residence visas expire after a set period of time, so visa holders must reapply or apply for a visa extension in order to maintain their residency. This process of reapplication can be a gamble, as even long-term visa holders can suddenly find their new application denied and can lose Danish residency. While none of my informants had personally experienced such

spontaneous visa denial, many cited instances where a friend, colleague or acquaintance had suddenly had their reapplication denied. These denials often seem largely unfounded, and little explanation is given to those who lose their visa in this way. Such was the experience of Dante's former coworker, who suddenly was informed he would not be able to renew his visa, and that he must return to his birth country in South Asia. He had been in the country for seven years at this point, and during this time had become established in his workplace, had started a family, and had become settled in Denmark; he was, by all means, the perfect foreign resident. There was no change that warranted such a denial, and so he fought adamantly against the decision with the assistance of the company that had hired him and had sponsored his visa. However, SIRI ultimately informed him there was nothing he could do, and that he must go back home. Another similar case had been mentioned by multiple informants, where a long-term Danish resident from East Asia who had a notable and stable career at a restaurant he helped establish found his reapplication for residence suddenly denied for no apparent reason, sending him back to country of origin after many years of residence in Copenhagen. He ultimately was able to return to Denmark, but only after a short tenure in his home country to regroup.

These cases are only becoming more common within the industry, according to Dante. While Dante is an EU resident and has thus never undergone the Danish visa process, he has worked alongside international chefs in Denmark quite extensively. He has been in Denmark for five years, and during this time, he has noted that these immigration processes are becoming significantly stricter, and that Danes are now increasingly in favor of less forgiving policies surrounding migration. In her own 2012 work surrounding Danish immigration, Olwig noted that when compared with the policy and attitudes present in other Nordic countries, Denmark was already becoming increasingly nationalistic and closed to outsiders. While border policies in other Nordic states have long tended to loosen and tighten based on current conditions, Denmark has only become more restrictive with time (Olwig 2012: 2). Dante's testimony has shown that this trend noted by Olwig previously is still continuing. Many who have come to the city fear what this kind of restriction spells for the future of migrant workers in the culinary industry, as it is becoming much harder to justify their presence in Denmark to the government.

Such sudden and inexplicable misfortune in the visa reapplication process is frightening, but is rarely the main cause for visa loss, as most lose their visa because of other major changes in their life. Visas set on specific life conditions, such as work or partnership, can be lost should

the conditions no longer apply. Spontaneous job loss is not uncommon in the hospitality industry, as I shall elaborate upon later, and so this unfortunately has put many third country migrants within the hospitality industry, such as those employed within the culinary field, in a very delicate state; many feel they must constantly be prepared should their current opportunity fall through, regardless of how long they have spent in the country or how established they feel they are in their career. In a conversation surrounding the visa process, Benjamin noted how for those from abroad, life in Denmark is permanently a gamble. Like Dante, he is an EU national, but during his time working in Copenhagen he has become intimately familiar with the difficulties surrounding the visa process through those he knows who have applied. He cited the case of one foreign chef he had met who seemed to have it all; after around a decade in Denmark, he had a house, family, friends and a stable career. Despite this, he did not experience any real freedom or possibilities, as his legal status was tied to his career; if he lost the position for whatever reason, all would be lost. This exact situation unfortunately happened to multiple of my informants during the course of this project. The employers who had facilitated their visa processes let them go – in one case quite suddenly and without warning – which left them either scrambling to find a new position that would offer visa sponsorship or led them to start making plans to leave Denmark for good. For those in Denmark with a visa, there is no security; they are left permanently precarious by the systems present in the country.

While the visa process experienced by non-EU nationals is undoubtedly the biggest hurdle in regards to entry and residence in Denmark, it is not the last. Both foreign and EU nationals who plan to stay in Denmark must obtain a Danish ID number, commonly referred to as a CPR number, in order to participate in Danish society. None of my informants expressed any particular dissatisfaction with the specific act of applying for the CPR number; most received their number within a few weeks or even a few days of applying for, and while a few mentioned minor troubles in figuring out where and how to apply, all were ultimately successful and had no complaints. The true issue with the CPR number is the way in which it relates to other services and necessities in Denmark. Angela found that the necessary steps to become established in Denmark were all tied to the CPR number, and that those stuck waiting on receiving one can be at a serious disadvantage: “If you’re looking for a house, looking for a job, and you don’t have a CPR number, then you get a lot of rejections. We were told that ... Like yes, we can accept you, but we’d prefer someone with a CPR number”.

Another example of where the CPR number becomes a point of stress can be seen in the process of starting a new bank account. This process is one of the first and most urgent steps in settlement for new arrivals; those who wish to work in Copenhagen must have a Danish bank account before they are hired in order to be paid in DKK, so many workplaces will not even consider potential employees who have yet to get an account with a local bank. In order to open a bank account, first applicants must have a Danish ID complete with CPR number, a valid, registered address, and a phone number where they can be contacted. Completing all of these requirements is difficult and time consuming for new arrivals; as earlier testimony from Angela suggests, housing and stable phone contracts especially may take a while to obtain, as many phone companies and lessors require applicants to have a CPR number in order to be able to sign documents or be approved as either a client or a tenant.

Opening a bank account becomes even more complicated for those who are reliant on a work opportunity in order to stay in Denmark. Applying for a CPR number is only possible for EU citizens and foreign citizens who have already obtained a residence permit that allows residence and work in Denmark. For those from outside the EU, this presents a significant issue, as it is necessary to already have an employer interested in their qualifications in order to obtain a visa, but few employers are willing to take a chance on applicants who do not already have a CPR number and local bank account, as obtaining both takes time. Prospective visa recipients thus find themselves in a difficult situation; they need a CPR number and bank account to work in the country, but they need an employment offer to obtain a visa before they can apply for either of these two requirements.

Loopholes exist for those who find themselves needing a bank account in order to pursue a work opportunity; several of my informants who found themselves in this predicament were able to put down the bank information for a trusted friend or colleague, who then would transfer their wages or pay them in cash. However, to do so requires knowing someone with a Danish bank account who is willing and able to perform such a task, and demands a great degree of trust. New arrivals frequently must depend on Danish citizens or already well established migrants in order to become established themselves, which can be challenging for those who come to Copenhagen with few existing connections. When reflecting on his experience entering Denmark, Ethan acknowledged that his connections in the city were a privilege. Ethan was only working and living in Copenhagen for a short period of time, so he had to obtain a short-term

CPR, the documentation for which required him to bring a witness who was a Danish citizen. He acknowledged that his experience would have been much different, should he not have this privilege: “I think if I hadn't had the facilities of being a European and knowing someone in Copenhagen, I would have had a lot tougher time getting all my papers sorted.”

A similar issue came up in conversation surrounding MitID (previously called NemID), a digital identity verification service used to access various services in Denmark. While intended primarily for use in online banking and accessing official legal documents, this service has become increasingly important in accessing more mundane services, such as in making petty purchases or in logging into certain websites, and is accordingly becoming necessary for daily life. In order to obtain this service, you have to either apply through the application with a Danish passport, or you have to visit a service center in person to confirm your identity. The latter option requires the applicant to bring a witness who can confirm and attest to their identity. Several informants spoke begrudgingly on this process, as it requires two people to be able to be present for the appointment during the day, which can be complicated for those in the hospitality industry, as hours are usually atypical and conflict with opening times for such services. Many also questioned the accessibility of this service for newcomers, as it requires you to know someone in the city who can serve as a witness. Many of these processes are especially complicated for those in the culinary field; since office opening hours may be a challenge for a chef's schedule and finding a Danish citizen to help you can be difficult for those who have recently arrived, new arrivals in the hospitality industry sometimes feel that this process is especially inaccessible.

Such processes are immensely draining, time consuming, and disheartening for new arrivals, and can seem endless, as many steps are required to pass these little barriers and participate more freely in everyday Danish life. Benjamin sees this settlement process as remarkably un-straightforward and unnecessarily complicated, and questioned the efficacy of the Danish government and settlement processes in this regard; as many of these bureaucratic processes go hand in hand, have similar requirements, and are used jointly, would it not make more sense for them to also distribute them jointly, rather than require multiple appointments to be made and juggled by applicants? While most of these steps, such as getting a CPR number and bank account, are thankfully singular processes that do not need to be constantly re-addressed, the experience with Danish bureaucracy does not end. After arriving in Denmark,

Benjamin needed to renew his new driver's license, a seemingly straightforward task. He was given a temporary license for 3 months, and assumed he would receive his license sometime within this period of time. However, the waiting time ended up taking around 10 months. He was given the option to renew his temporary license, but this required him to come into the office again. These office visits sometimes must be applied for months in advance, which requires open and certain availability that many within the hospitality industry do not have; and this extensive premeditated planning required to make such appointments does not fit in with the lifestyle of hyper-mobile individuals. Benjamin remarked that it felt pointless at times to make these appointments so far ahead in the future, as he had no idea if he'd still be in the country at that point. In this case, many forgo the services that they seek through such appointments; what is the point of fighting against the bureaucratic structure when whatever progress they make will likely be moot upon leaving the country? In such ways, these forms of documentation and registration become an effective, frustrating and unexpected border against participation in Danish society that is especially effective against the hyper-mobile; dependence on these kinds of identifiers does not just slow their settlement and prolong their precarity within the system, but ultimately makes participation impossible for many, as maintenance of such identifiers are dependent on long-term presence and availability in the country.

The difficulties that new arrivals to Denmark's culinary scene encounter during completing these bureaucratic processes seem counterintuitive. There is an easily visible urgent demand for foreign chefs in the industry, to the point where the government acknowledges this through privileging culinary careers on the Positive List for Skilled Work, so why does the state seemingly work against those attempting to fill these empty niches in the workforce? This may be interpreted as an unfortunate result of how residence and participation function within modern welfare states such as Denmark. Karen Olwig has noted that immigration is complicated by the structure of such states. As the Nordic welfare model centers on publicly available services made possible through the general taxation of citizens, access to said services is dependent on citizenship rather than income or employment (Olwig 2012: 2). This structure privileges citizenship and inherently alienates non-citizens; involvement in the welfare state can not be achieved through any other means. While immigrants may receive such services through legal residence, to do so requires active participation and integration into the system (Olwig 2012: 2).

While citizens can more passively participate within the system, migrants may become part of society only by actively buying into this structure. This process of “buying in” is exemplified by these bureaucratic processes, and is made recognizable to the state by physical, trackable, registrable markers. State issued numbers and documentation serve as proof of investment into the Danish system, and thus become ideal forms of determining who is deserving of the services made available to citizens. As shown through the dependence on CPR numbers for much of the processes within Denmark, these markers become methods of approving or denying participation within various levels of society. These various checks in daily life created through casual utilization of such documentation function as effective borders to participation in the state.

The kind of investment into the state that Denmark expects of its citizens and enforces through these everyday border practices is time consuming and requires stability and permanence in order to reap the rewards of such labor. Lengthy and complicated bureaucratic processes and the wait times inherent within these migration processes may be challenging, but are seen as a worthwhile sacrifice for most who come to live in Denmark when considering the long-term benefits of investment into the welfare state and the relative ease they experience in daily life. However, such an approach to participation is contradictory to and challenged by the movement patterns and lifestyles of hyper-mobile groups such as those I met in the culinary field, as the stability necessary to reap such benefits is not promised by the industry. Denmark’s bureaucratic path to residency is not built for hyper-mobile populations, and thus the hyper-mobile especially suffer when attempting to complete these processes. Those already made precarious by their movement patterns are thus plunged into deeper insecurity, stuck in uncertain and uncomfortable positions by systems that can not accommodate them.

Chapter IV: Navigating work and society

There is this group of hospitality owners, moving things around like a chessboard. If you are a pawn, you cannot aspire to be a queen ... people just move [employees] the way that they prefer.

While bureaucratic issues keep migrant chefs in permanently precarious positions, insecurity extends beyond this relationship with these state systems. Many of the greatest frustrations felt by migrant chefs stem from difficulties navigating the culinary field and the social structures within the industry. As suggested earlier, employment is often a very pressing concern for foreigners in the hospitality industry, as it is often a vital element in the settlement processes and successful migration of many. However, much of the concern surrounding employment does not stem solely from its importance within bureaucratic processes, but rather due to difficulties resulting from specific structures, practices and cultures that prospective employees encounter within the industry. The ways in which each individual characterizes the industry, the search for employment within it, and the experience of advancing is unique; many of my informants had very different perceptions of the hiring practices and employment patterns of Copenhagen's restaurants. However, all expressed some level of frustration with the hiring practices and habits of establishments in Copenhagen, and regardless of how they characterize their personal experiences, those who have come to work in Denmark from outside Northern Europe find the industry less inclusive and more inaccessible to those who are from elsewhere, making it often challenging to navigate for outsiders.

As personal experience of the industry differs wildly, few agree completely on what it is like finding work in the city. As suggested earlier in the previous discussion on work-based visas, most hiring managers see experience elsewhere and a foreign background as a massive bonus, and are quite eager to take on migrant chefs as employees, especially when they have unique experiences that may positively affect menu offerings and client experience. Considering, many quite adamantly maintain that it is not a challenge to find work in the city for migrants in the industry. However, as elaborated upon earlier, this visa process can complicate the ability of migrants to accept job offers, and some, such as my informant Ethan, argue that such interest in skills does not make up for the limits that visa applicants encounter regarding employment and the resulting lack of available opportunities. Many of his coworkers were from the Americas and

thus required visas, which dissuaded many employers from even considering them as potential employees, and greatly limited their options when applying for work. Angela had experienced something similar firsthand when applying to one restaurant that she had hoped would be a great opportunity. She fulfilled much of what they were looking for and seemed like the ideal employee, but the establishment had recently hired a foreign chef who was struggling to get his visa approved; he had been waiting on SIRI to process his application for six months at this point, and was unable to work until his status was finalized. When she informed them she as well would need to wait for a visa, they responded with sudden disinterest:

“Look, since we're already offering him this job, we cannot afford to hire another foreign chef, [as] we don't know how long you are gonna be waiting for a visa. By then, we're probably already fully staffed ... [as] this is the situation, I don't know if we want to [hire you].”

As mentioned earlier, her work-based visa ended up only taking a month to process, but this wait seems expensive in an industry where time is money. New arrivals still fighting these bureaucratic battles are not ideal employees as they can't start quickly and require patience on behalf of their employer, so simply being subject to such bureaucratic processes is enough to dissuade employers from considering foreign chefs; as one informant succinctly put it, “Danes can't get deported”.

As those in more complicated situations vis-à-vis their legal status in Denmark are seen as less ideal workers, some employers will automatically prioritize Danish applicants. This prioritization also may stem from the more reliable work histories of Danish workers; as naturalized and established members of Danish society, Danes often have more reliable, accessible personal references for their past work experience and have a more visible, traceable work history in the country in comparison with migrants, especially those who are new to the country. Having this traceable, visible work experience is incredibly useful to those in the culinary field because of the way that the hospitality industry is structured and operates. While this industry is massive in Denmark, it is closely knit, as my informant Nate found upon arriving and entering the Danish workforce. When Nate moved to Denmark from the Americas, he had been expecting Copenhagen's restaurant industry to be similar to the industry in his home country, which he characterized as messy, full of infighting and fierce competition between establishments vying to receive more public attention. Instead, Nate argues that Copenhagen's

culinary field instead operates within a relatively small and self-contained bubble. While there is some competition between restaurants, there is largely a culture of mutual respect and relatively open communication between owners and head chefs. Many informants noted that personal experience within the field and having rapport with the right individuals within it is the best way to secure ideal positions. When hiring new employees, most head chefs will reach out directly to past employers to inquire about a potential employee, and many in management keep an open dialogue about who they have hired and how they are contributing in the kitchen, making those in management positions key in determining not just the career trajectory of their own employees but those of others who are well regarded in other kitchens who may be poached or enticed from their current position. The relationships forged with established players in the field become a powerful resource, and social capital thus becomes one of the main driving forces in hiring decisions in the culinary industry. Know the right people and foster the right relationships, and success is guaranteed.

The system of referral and employee exchange works in the favor of those who have amassed significant social capital within Copenhagen through the relationship they have established with their employers, but conversely can hurt those who have only just arrived in the city and only can provide recommendations from employers outside of Denmark. The damaging effects of limited capital when competing for a place in the workforce came up repeatedly in conversations surrounding rumors of blacklisting among restaurant owners and hiring managers in the city. When inquired about this blacklisting, informants had scattered responses, some acknowledging this as a practice and others denying it, but many adamantly insisted that there more accurately was a “whitelist” that was either inaccessible to non-Danes or severely limited their options. Each informant pictured this list differently, but each saw social capital as a major driving force within it. Ethan saw positive relationships and personal histories with head chefs as a generally positive resource to those who can obtain it, as it can be an essential factor not just in obtaining positions, but maintaining them. After Ethan had left Denmark, his former workplace had a complete “staff shuffle”; many of his former coworkers were booted, while many who knew the head chef through past work experience were brought onto the team instead. Benjamin conversely viewed it more as a web that both pulls and traps those in the industry; while chefs may utilize their good standing with employers to step into better and more advantageous positions, many find themselves held back by said employers, who would rather continue to

benefit from the labor of esteemed employees than see such people find success elsewhere. He ultimately argued that such capital was not a reliable resource: “it can be hard sometimes to move properly in the direction that you want because you find this web pulling you [or] blocking you from whatever you want to achieve.” While these pictures of the “whitelist” differ, both individuals acknowledge that knowing the right person provides significantly improved access to success within the industry.

Regardless of how structures such as the whitelist fully operate, the presence of such structures inherently put new arrivals at a significant disadvantage, as newer migrant workers lack this form of social capital held by Danish restaurant workers, and thus have a more difficult time advancing or pursuing specific opportunities. Just as extensive past work experience outside Denmark may not be useful to a visa applicant when documenting their relevance for Positive List visa applications, positive relationships fostered with head chefs and hiring managers in the home country may prove useless to foreign chefs when applying for work opportunities in Copenhagen. Some lucky individuals find they are able to rely on past relationships if they are able to cite more internationally known establishments, restaurateurs and celebrity chefs in their past experiences. Before coming to Denmark, one person I met had worked with a famed chef from his home country, which came to his advantage when moving within the industry in Copenhagen, since the name was familiar even outside the country. However, even those with stellar past experiences may find themselves unable to use these to their advantage. My informant Tania had become well established in her home country, and had come to Denmark with plenty of work experience in well regarded restaurants back home. However, none of her references could back up her experiences sufficiently in a way that served her; none of her previous employers spoke English, and none of the management in the restaurants she was applying to work at spoke her native language or trusted in her experience. After a few months pursuing different opportunities, she eventually was able to land a permanent position, and since then has been able to back up her past work experience with her current endeavors. When inquired if she would stay at this position, she mused that she most likely would, but that if something changes, she knows she has developed a good relationship with her current employer and that she could rely on them to recommend her for other positions. She was able to eventually reaccumulate some of the social capital she had obtained in her home country, but this took time, and it was still frustrating that her past meant so little to hiring managers in Denmark.

While this system based upon social capital is a key aspect of hiring practices within Copenhagen's hospitality industry, preferential hiring practices can take other forms. One of the more noticeable trends mentioned by industry insiders is preferential hiring based on nationality, where people from certain regions or countries are more likely to be hired compared to other similarly qualified chefs. The explanation for such practices vary depending on the establishment. One restaurant referenced by multiple informants has a long reputation within the industry of almost exclusively hiring employees from one country, and an anonymous informant with past personal experience with the establishment has speculated that it's because the owner perceives themselves as a benefactor within their community; the visa process for those from this country can be complicated and many aspects of Danish society comes across as alien and unwelcoming to those from this culture, so the owner may be doing individuals from this region a favor by facilitating their visa process through a job offer and a community of similar people at the workplace. Another informant questioned whether this establishment and those within it really could be seen as benefactors, rather seeing the practice as predatory:

You get people coming from a country where there are less possibilities, and they come here to [the restaurant] ... and then they get paid less, and because of the visa it's very easy to keep them here [...] You keep them in your company, you make them feel special, and because they mainly hire [people of one nationality], they feel more like a family, but actually they are more harsh than Europeans are.

The majority agreed that regardless of how pure (or impure) the intentions of the owner were, their reasoning most likely came back to the difficult visa process for those from this region. This instance of exclusive preference based on nationality is rarely this extreme, but is hardly unique, as many of my interlocutors noted that migrants of one nationality tend to dominate the kitchen in their workplaces. Ethan found that despite working at a Western restaurant, most of his coworkers came from South America, while Angela noted that a huge percentage of her coworkers were from southern Europe. Angela's workplace could be seen as an extension of the relationship that Miranda-Nieto and Boccagni have explored between restaurants, food and migrant culture. In their work surrounding migrant-origin Ecuadorian restaurants in Madrid, the duo have noted that the deep relationship between food and identity leads migrant-owned restaurants to negotiate identity, often not just through menu offerings, but through other aspects

of the restaurant (Miranda-Nieto and Boccagni, 2020: 1023). While their investigation explores the material aspects of this negotiation of identity, employment patterns serve as a similar mechanism of identity maintenance. Restaurants that emphasize food as a cultural aspect of national identity often assert this through amplifying national identity (Miranda-Nieto and Boccagni, 2020: 1029). Through hiring those whose national identities correspond with the cultural background of the dish, identities attached to such meals are affirmed. As Angela's workplace is a southern European restaurant, it thus makes sense that her coworkers hail from the region. The case of Ethan's coworkers is evidence of a separate trend of advocacy among migrants within Copenhagen's culinary field that has erupted in response to the preferential hiring practices of restaurants in the city, which shall instead be expanded upon later in Chapter VI's discussion of migrant chef communities.

The conditions of Copenhagen's culinary industry as shared thus far are quite apparently frustrating, but do not necessarily deny migrants beneficial opportunities; while it can take a while to find a position that works and accommodates for the individual in question, it is hardly impossible. The bigger challenge for most is not finding a position, but rather instead keeping one. While Copenhagen's industry is well connected, the hospitality industry is notoriously capricious; job opportunities often are not long-term by design, and many find themselves jumping between opportunities. This often proves to be to the benefit of applicants when it comes to starting up at a position; once prospective workers come across an interested employer, jobs are seemingly offered on a whim, and often start very quickly. Such was the case for Ethan when it came to applying for work; when looking for a job, he had sent his CV to Michelin Guide establishments all over Copenhagen before he had arrived in the city, hoping that someone would take interest. He heard back from four of them, and one restaurant in particular that was in a dire staffing situation seemed like a good fit. However, they refused to sign him on until he arrived in town: "The same day that I landed, I went there and spoke to them, and then they offered me to come back the next day for a trial. I went for the trial and got the job." While this turned out well for him, this process was nerve-wracking, as he did not have a secure, definite answer until he landed. Another informant, Jeremy, also had no certain job prospects before he had arrived in Copenhagen, but his approach to finding employment was a bit more cavalier. He went online, looked at which restaurants needed help, and simply went in person with his CV to request a try-out. While he was met with mass rejection from nearly every restaurant, one did

respond positively to this approach, and agreed instead to take him in for a more formal interview and trial period. They ultimately hired him, and he is still happily employed there.

While such quick hiring practices offer a breath of relief for new arrivals still trying to become established in the city, these opportunities can disappear as quickly as they are offered. Such was the case of Wilda, who had come to Denmark in 2022 from eastern Europe following the advice of a friend who had made the move recently and found success. Wilda had been promised what seemed like a stable offer right before she came to the city. The hiring manager at the restaurant that offered to employ her asked her to do one day of work first to see her qualifications in action, but insisted it was mostly a formality. Her first day at work went well, but at the end of the day, the manager decided she was not what he was looking for after all, and she lost the opportunity, leaving her scrambling to find another option. When she inquired about why she was suddenly denied the opportunity, she was given no response; she never heard from this manager again, and still does not know why he changed his mind. As referenced earlier in the discussion surrounding visa-related difficulties, those who are dependent on a job for their visa case stand to lose a lot should they be fired. As there is a high risk of losing one's job unpredictably, being able to secure a new position quickly is paramount to survival and continued residence in Denmark, making a lack of social capital a significant disadvantage.

In even more extreme cases, disputes between owners, financiers, the head chef and kitchen staff can result in a complete loss of opportunities. During my time in Copenhagen, I became aware of one such instance, where a highly anticipated restaurant sank before it could even open. The restaurant seemed on schedule; it was projected to open in 2022 and all positions were filled, but the opening date ended up continuously delaying due to internal disputes between staff and financiers. The dispute escalated, and members of management decided to walk away from the opportunity. The entire staff was left reeling; as they were promised a position, they were told they could stay on once management was able to regroup, but all ended up having to seek another opportunity as the restaurant was not able to open when projected. I later questioned an informant, Vincent, about the incident, and he mentioned that it was at least positive that the entire staff could leave peacefully and become employed elsewhere, as from his experience it's not unusual during such disputes for staff to be suddenly fired and replaced. As of now, the location is still set to potentially open under collaboration with a new owner, and the restaurant is still looking to hire new staff, but as word travels fast in the industry, Vincent

worries for those who pursue a position there; anyone established in the industry in Copenhagen knows to be suspicious of it, making new arrivals who wouldn't be able to walk away from a job so easily a better target.

These capricious hiring and firing practices are not unique to Copenhagen nor do they particularly target migrants, as these quick and rash employment practices are a common occurrence in the larger international hospitality industry (T.T. Linge et al. 2020: 404). Danish chefs are similarly batted about by employers, and are subject to the same feeling of insecurity in work. However, as suggested previously, the industry is not as easily navigable for migrants who most often lack the connections necessary to change positions easily; those that lose a job can't bounce back with the same ease of their Danish colleagues, as they lack the social capital required to land desirable positions within the industry, putting them in an especially vulnerable state. Additionally, those that do find a new position may find that the expectations are not the same for them as they are for their Danish coworkers. As suggested earlier, migrants can often be a risk for restaurants because of the precarity of their situation and their frequent movement, and hiring those who are subject to visa application processes can be especially risky. Restaurants always expect to see a return for their investment in employees, but especially from those who have cost more time, money or effort to be welcomed onto the team. As such, migrants may feel as though there is more pressure put on them, that they must work harder to prove themselves, or in the case of some informants, must stay in a position that does not benefit them fully out of perceived obligation, ultimately denying them the chance to try for better; one in particular mentioned felt like he could achieve more at another restaurant, but because his current employer stuck their neck out for him in the visa process, he didn't think he had the right to leave.

Segregated workplaces and linguistic division

As the above discussion suggests, the distinct legal and social conditions that determine how non-Danish chefs operate in terms of employment set these individuals apart from their Danish coworkers in terms of access to and security in work. This division does not end here, as it may also be readily seen in how restaurants operate as workplaces. The distinct social environment created through the structure of the restaurant and hierarchies built on systems of linguistic and cultural hegemony have established an unintentional pattern of segregation

between Danish and foreign restaurant workers that extends far beyond the kitchen and in many cases may limit the growth, success and integration of non-Danish workers.

At a glance, Copenhagen's kitchens hardly seem a site of nationality-based hegemony. The hospitality industry is astoundingly international in the Nordic region, as a significantly larger portion of those employed within hospitality have a migrant background when compared to other industries (T.T. Linge et al 403). The experiences of those I encountered reflect this trend, as almost all worked in kitchens where the majority of the back-of-house was foreign or had an international background. However, in most cases, this overwhelming representation of internationals was largely confined to the kitchen; when asked to compare their area of work with those in other parts of the restaurant, such as the waitstaff and hosts in the front-of-house and those in upper management positions who bridge the gap between front and back of the restaurant, many noted that these positions were more likely to be filled by Danes. Previous findings from the field of hospitality and tourism studies once more corroborate this noticed trend; even in cities like Copenhagen where non-national citizens are well represented in the population and heavy tourism has normalized and encouraged that business be conducted in a non-local language, customer-facing positions are dominated by local nationals (Walmsley 2020). Most I spoke with surrounding this division between front of house and kitchen did not take issue with it, as they either felt their labor was separate enough from the front-of-house for it to not be a concern, or they found it to be appropriate, as Danish language would most likely be an unspoken requirement for those who are regularly interacting with guests, making those fluent in the language and raised in the culture more obviously ideal for these positions.

Despite causing little concern, this division of labor and placement in the restaurant does impact how internationals socially navigate the workplace, as revealed by the testimony of one informant. Helena has been working in Denmark the longest of any of those I spoke with, having spent over a decade in Copenhagen. During this time she has worked in several different restaurants in the city, and as such could speak confidently on trends consistent between workplaces. It was she who first pointed me to this divide between front and back of house, and she noted that this divide often did prevent her from engaging deeply with Danish coworkers. As she saw it, waitstaff and kitchen staff often don't interact as organically with each other as they do with those working in the same part of the restaurant, which makes it harder to forge connections. When at work, she is more interested in maintaining her relationships with those

who also work in the back with her, as those are the people she depends more actively upon during the day, and after work, she is more willing to reach out to these same individuals outside of work because they simply interact more. Because of this, she admitted she doesn't really know any of the front of house workers at her current restaurant, and wasn't very preoccupied with or interested in making this effort; her strongest workplace friendships are with her fellow chefs, and as most were international, she ended up mostly getting to know and befriending almost exclusively non-Danes. She was not alone in this experience; when reflecting on the friends they had made in the city, many I spoke with noted that the vast majority of their social circles were composed of fellow foreigners, most of whom were current coworkers or those they had met at past work experiences. Even those who had Danish coworkers they regularly interacted with at work noted that these relationships were harder to establish and maintain, and that they still ended up largely befriending internationals; Ethan noted that while there were a few Danes working in the kitchen with him, it was easier and more natural to befriend his international coworkers. The separation of Danes and migrant chefs in the workplace ultimately extends into the social sphere, as the structures that separate local workers from internationals in the workplace maintain the separate status of migrants not just at work, but within larger social structures in the country (T.T. Linge et al. 2020: 410). Migrants within the industry remain separate from larger Danish society, preventing them from feeling fully settled within their host country.

Most that I encountered were not too upset about the lack of relationship many felt they had with their Danish peers, as they found satisfaction with the relationships they had fostered with their fellow international coworkers, which I will elaborate upon later in following chapters. However, this unintentional segregation does affect and many times limit how migrants in the industry experience and navigate both the workplace and Danish society. The most salient example of this is in language use and acquisition, and the frequent use of linguistic capital in workplace advancement. At a glance, language rarely seems like a limiting factor. Danish language is most often not a necessity within the culinary scene, as most kitchens operate almost entirely in English, so those with sufficient command of English have no trouble finding jobs. Even those without English language skills can fairly find employment; multiple informants mentioned that Spanish was one of the dominant languages in their workplace, while others mentioned French and Italian as commonly spoken languages used by coworkers. This is part of

the appeal of kitchen work for foreigners, as back of house positions can be lax in regards to language; since they do not interact with guests directly, as long as they speak the same language as their coworkers, it does not matter if they speak the majority language (T.T. Linge et al. 2020: 403; Angouri & Humonen 2022).

Despite this seeming openness and lack of preference for Danish in this context, many find that Danish language use can be relevant, just in ways less obvious to the daily function of the restaurant. In their research on movement and hierarchy within Finnish kitchens, Jo Angouri and Kristina Humonen have noted that even in contexts where the local language is not commonly used in the workplace, those who speak it may utilize this knowledge to set themselves apart or stand out, and thus can reliably utilize such language skills as a form of capital even in highly international environments (2022: 12). As briefly suggested earlier, Danish nationals are not just over-represented in front-of-house positions, but also in management, and foreign chefs who already struggle to relate to their Danish coworkers may find it even more challenging when there is a dynamic of power within the relationship. Danish employees, meanwhile, have a clear advantage that foreign chefs may not access through language; as Danish speakers, they have a separate avenue in which they can chat, joke and otherwise bond with their Danish employer. Through such ease of conversation, Danish employees can much more easily develop the rapport and resulting social capital that may allow them to ultimately obtain better positions in the industry or advance quicker in the workplace.

Beyond this potential benefit that language may have in the advancement of employees, it can function as a significant form of capital that may create hidden hierarchies between employees who are technically at the same level. Angouri and Humonen have noted that possession of linguistic capital may allow certain people to be placed in de facto positions of power regardless of skill or place within the kitchen's overarching hierarchy (2022: 15, 17). Ethan had experienced a form of this in his own workplace, albeit not through any Danish language skill, but rather his abilities in English. Ethan's first language is Spanish, but as he has lived and worked in the UK, he is fully fluent in English. Many of his former coworkers did not have the same command in the language, and as Spanish was a common tongue for much of the kitchen, they chose to communicate in Spanish. Their Danish boss did not speak Spanish, and preferred business to be run in English. Ethan found himself straddling the divide created by this language barrier between his employer and his fellow employees, amplifying his position in the

kitchen and his standing with the boss; he noted that while his fellow employees often had significant disputes with management, he never firsthand experienced such disagreement with these individuals. Possessing skills in a dominant language thus may not be a necessity in order to work in back-of-house positions, but is often vital in the formation of key relationships that allow advancement within the industry and the elevation of certain workers within the workplace.

This implicit requirement of language skills – and particularly Danish skills – in order to access social capital and advance within the culinary field has a direct effect on how foreigners can navigate the industry. Even though Ethan found himself in a somewhat privileged position due to his English language skills, he still felt he and his fellow foreign coworkers were all still put in a lesser position for not speaking Danish:

The people in charge were all Danish – ALL Danish – and it was very difficult to move up if we didn't have that language. It was very intimidating seeing the kitchen head, the sous chef, the assistant head chef, all of them speak in Danish. Us at the bottom ... we felt that we were pushed down for that.

In this case, it seemed impossible to try for better or negotiate one's place within the industry as those in positions of power all had this language ability, and their conversations were private and impossible to access for foreign workers. Navigation of the industry is even more difficult for those who additionally lack sufficient English skills. I had asked another, very ambitious informant if he had considered vying for a better position at his workplace, but he felt himself completely ineligible because he felt he lacked language skills necessary for higher positions: "in that position, I would be useless ... it is hard enough in English". He instead was saving his ambitions for the next stop on his journey. Many felt that ultimately they would need to learn some Danish in order to find any sort of significant success in the industry.

Considering this evident necessity of Danish language skills for advancement, the answer would seemingly be for those attempting to advance to learn Danish. However, this is not very simple for those in the industry. Without exception, all that I spoke to mentioned severe difficulties in learning Danish, and almost everyone knew very little of the language beyond basic conversational skills. One part of this is due to lack of access to Danish language learning resources; while many public and private organizations around Copenhagen offer language

classes catered to foreigners, these aren't always an option for those in the hospitality industry, as many find their work schedules rotate on a weekly basis, and the inconsistency of this work week coupled with long hours can make it hard to coordinate with regular classes over a long period of time. However, an even larger part of this difficulty is the previously mentioned separation from Danes in the workplace. Because many don't find it easy or natural to interact with their Danish coworkers due to divisions in labor, international hospitality workers often don't get the opportunity to practice or learn Danish from their coworkers as they would in other environments. This lack of casual, regular conversation in the language that would be commonplace in other workplaces prevents many from gaining anything beyond a basic grasp of Danish language skills. This is coupled by further difficulties that many find in meeting and getting to know Danish nationals outside of work; many found that they struggled immensely to meet and bond with their neighbors or have any sort of conversation with those they come across in their daily lives in Denmark, which made it all the more difficult to progress in the language. Linguistic capital thus is significantly difficult to accumulate for foreigners, who end up ultimately limited in their ability to successfully navigate the industry and find the same level of success as Danish chefs.

When seeking to define navigation, Henrik Vigh notes that navigation is not unintentional or inherent movement, but is an intentional tactic of self positioning (2009: 420). Gaining access to and utilizing social capital is a common part of navigation processes well beyond employment in the hospitality industry, as movement is most often significantly facilitated through personal connection regardless of context. Regardless, it is especially significant to consider in regards to the position of foreigners within the hospitality industry, because as the above discussion highlights, many find social capital increasingly difficult to access through the barriers created by the structure of the workplace and language differences. Issues navigating the job market can have clear ramifications for foreigners in the industry when one considers the relationship between employment, job security and residence as discussed in the previous chapter. As residence is dependent on employment for many within the culinary field and as the industry is notably capricious, being able to swiftly, effectively and safely navigate the industry in case of job loss is paramount to security for such individuals. This lessened ability to navigate the culinary field in comparison to local residents ultimately feeds into the precarious position of those from abroad.

Before leaving this discussion on navigation within the hospitality industry, I find it crucial to mention the potential impact of ethnicity and nationality based discrimination in this context. While the majority of my informants did not have negative experiences interacting with Danish coworkers and managers, there were several that did mention instances of xenophobia, racism and poor treatment at work. Multiple of my informants referenced instances where they experienced microaggressions relating to their nationality or ethnicity while at work. One person had been informed once at work that she was not “a normal” person from her country as she was not lazy on the job and did her job well. Another informant similarly was told she was unique by her boss, who after a few months working at her restaurant told her he had been worried she wouldn’t work hard or that she would be irresponsible at her job because her home country had economic troubles that he attributed to a cultural inadequacy. None of my informants reported that they had experienced any deeper abuse personally, but one did cite that he had seen or heard some of his coworkers be subject to abuse by management. Reflecting on these incidents, he marveled that kitchens in Copenhagen like the one he worked at may be a site of relative equity, but still were far from free of abuse: “This was a pretty, pretty good kitchen [...] They were not an abusive culture. They were not very abusive people. [But] there's still abuse that happened. There's still toxicity that happened.” While none indicated that they personally felt that their race, ethnicity or nationality was a significant factor in their experience navigating the hospitality industry, such shared experiences suggest that these elements of identity can impact how certain minoritized identities may experience the industry. Further investigation surrounding the role of race and ethnicity in navigating Copenhagen’s culinary field is necessary to better understand the full prevalence and effects of such mistreatment.

Chapter V: Processing insecurity

Without a visa, without income, I was always depressed... So I don't know if it's worth it for me to stay here. It is rough. It *really* is rough.

Worldwide, Copenhagen is not just associated with its food scene, but with its happy citizens, its colorful buildings, and with *hygge* - a Danish approach to life defined by comfort and ease in the face of stress. While it was the former association with the city that drew the rational part of Carl to the country, it was the latter aspect, the warmth, color and mirth, that won him over when considering his next move. After building his resumé in kitchens across southern Europe, he longed for a steady schedule and comfort, and for him, and many like him, Denmark's glowing reputation as one of the world's happiest places stood as a promise: come here, and be happy.

When we first met in December, Copenhagen was not as colorful as either of us hoped it to be. On the other side of the Øresund, snow was starting to stick, but it was absent in Copenhagen, replaced by dark slush and puddles. After stumbling into a small coffee shop to talk, I chuckled at the damage to my shoes and he jokingly warned me to think first next time – after all, it's Copenhagen. This kind of weather was what he associated with the city now: the cold, the wind, and the gray. For Carl, life in Denmark had not been what he had wanted, and he admitted that the weather makes everything seem even bleaker; his home country was warm throughout much of the year, as were his former residences in Europe, and knowing the alternative did not make his choice to be here easier. With the high hopes he had built his career upon dashed by the movement patterns of the industry, his perception of Danish society complicated by his struggle to finalize his visa and integrate, and stains on his shoes from the wet street, he did not feel like he found the happiness he thought he was promised.

Carl was not unique in his mentality; many of my informants mentioned that since starting their life in Denmark, their mental state had taken some dark turns. Multiple of my informants admitted that they had struggled significantly with depression and anxiety because of the uncertainty they experienced either in the process of bureaucratic integration or in the workplace. As referenced earlier, some may wait for extremely long periods of time to receive an answer on their visa case, or may undergo multiple waiting periods, making the entire process full of uncertainty for these individuals. In her research surrounding refugees, Weiss has noted that these extended wait times and the insecurity resulting from their uncertain status during this

period of time produces a profoundly negative emotional response that may enhance or even trump the trauma they had experienced in their home country, and can be the source of long-lasting depression and mental illness (2020: 197). This so-called “trauma of waiting” has a similar effect on Denmark’s migrant hospitality workers, and from my experience factored greatly in how various informants perceived and associated themselves with Denmark. Looking back on her lengthy waiting experience the year before, Angela felt like this process destroyed her, and made it more challenging to appreciate her time and experiences in the country. Those who had made tough decisions to ease their visa process seemed to extendedly lament these choices. I earlier referred to the case of Larissa, a third-country national who had married her European boyfriend instead of making an appeal when her initial partnership visa was denied. When asked about her situation, she insisted that she does not regret marrying her husband, as she felt she would have done anything to secure her place in the EU and thus stay with her partner long-term, but she does not look back on her wedding as a joyful occasion as it was mostly out of necessity, and deeply wishes it could have been under different terms. The experiences of insecurity and uncertainty during the waiting period for visas is an unwelcome replacement for the joy most had anticipated to find in Copenhagen before their arrival, and the resulting depression and discomfort makes it hard for those such as Larissa and Carl to further seek this joy now.

While those who went through the visa application process firsthand experienced much deeper emotional reactions to the settlement process, those that were exempt from visa requirements were not free from experiencing this trauma of waiting. As I suggested earlier, all experience troubling frustrations when attempting to perform all the bureaucratic steps of settlement, and most find themselves also undergoing waits that prevent them from easily engaging in society at some step in this process, albeit at a much decreased level compared to visa applicants. Additionally, as there is a significant amount of international intermingling in the culinary field, most of these people have associates, friends and loved ones in the country who are indeed undergoing visa processes, and thus often experience second-hand the frustrations and despair accompanying such waiting periods. Speaking on his attitude towards Denmark, Benjamin explained that he did not particularly personally struggle in the country; he did not have to undergo a visa process, making settlement much easier, and unlike my other informants, he had previous experience in the Nordic region and was used to the lifestyle and weather, so he

had not been too surprised by life in Copenhagen. However, he experienced the pain and frustration of this application process peripherally through his loved ones who had undergone this process, which soured him on the systems in place in the country, which he now sees as deeply ineffective thanks to the fumbling bureaucracy.

Speaking on waiting induced trauma, Weiss has commented that the effects of this experience have lasting impacts on the mental health of those forced to wait (2020: 199). Mental health was a lasting concern for my informants beyond their visa application processes. A major factor in this continued mental health struggle is the previously mentioned state of prolonged insecurity many experience in the workplace. As stated earlier, the industry is capricious, and even those who are in seemingly secure standing can easily and quickly lose their employment and be left scrambling, and as such, many experience extended feelings of dread. Carl attributes a good portion of his current depression to this insecurity; if he loses his job, he will lose everything, which makes his position and all the work he put in to get here feel meaningless and hollow.

When confronting their uncertain place in Danish society, the obvious choice is to seek professional help, and considering Denmark's robust welfare and healthcare system, this solution seems simple enough. However, navigating Denmark's mental health support services can be challenging for newly arrived residents. This is partially due to the previously mentioned difficulties with Danish bureaucracy, as a CPR number is required to access many resources, but the problem extends well beyond the simple act of becoming eligible for mental health services and care. The structure of Danish health services in general can be challenging to decipher for those who are new to welfare systems. When Carl recognized his mental health was deteriorating, he was initially determined to get help, but couldn't figure out where to start, as he found the structure wildly different from anything he had experienced before, which frustrated him to the point of delaying reaching out; he sought help because he was struggling, so another struggle was enough to discourage him. The difficulty in learning how to navigate these services can also be compounded by language barriers, as many of these resources are intended for citizens and assume a Danish speaking audience. For those who are already confused and lost, finding answers and assistance only available in Danish or only limitedly available in English is immensely frustrating, especially for those who already struggle with English. This was a key factor in Carl's frustration: not only was the system new for him, his options were obscured

through language. Finally, time works against those seeking mental health care, as most have to wait considerably before they are able to receive care. Danish mental health services are notoriously slow and difficult to navigate even for fully naturalized citizens, and while recent reform in this sector has sought to streamline this process, there still is significant need for improvement. The wait to receive care can be difficult even for EU citizens who are seemingly prepared for such battles, such as Frida, who found herself running out of time while waiting for help. Frida came to Denmark in the middle of 2021, and had sought out mental health services as soon as she arrived in the country, as she has had a history of struggles with depression and knew it would likely take a while to receive care and update her prescriptions to resume her medication in Denmark. However, she found that this process still took much longer than she was comfortable with, as she had to fight to get her prescription and diagnosis recognized in Denmark, and she found herself put at risk of backsliding in terms of her mental health. Carl's initial desertion of seeking care is justifiable considering the alternative; getting help is not straightforward.

When combined with the difficulties many encounter while navigating Danish bureaucracy and the Copenhagen culinary field, this depression, anxiety, and frustration that many develop ultimately has an effect on their trajectory. Those who came to the country excited to be a part of the industry most often change their tune; several expressed that they had become increasingly more apathetic about their experience in Denmark and that the passion they had brought with them into the country surrounding the industry had been rapidly replaced with grim acceptance and indifference to their position. Benjamin spoke quite gravely on the impact of the various systems at place both within Denmark and in its hospitality industry, and mentioned that as many are denied the option to progress in the way they'd like, they begin to simply make do:

There's this thing: "I came originally for **something**. [But] at the end, you know, let's [just] do *something*." I always hear people complain: about the weather, the hospitality industry ...

Nowadays I feel like it's all in a declining phase, where people are just getting used to things, and they're like, "yeah, whatever". As long as there's something new coming up it's fine.

Those who find themselves depressed or stifled as such ultimately find themselves arriving at the same question: Do I stay and continue to try my luck, or do I go on to seek better elsewhere? For some, deciding to go is surprisingly easy; as most move frequently, and most already don't

envision themselves staying long term in Denmark, it is just as well to leave, whether out of dejection from these experiences or out of desire to find better elsewhere. As I suggested previously, many of my informants did end up making this decision during the time I conducted my fieldwork; four informants left the country either because they were laid off or got an opportunity elsewhere that seemed like an improvement. One such person was Frida. Shortly after I had met her, she was offered a sudden opportunity in Iceland at a farm-to-table dining concept that was too good to pass up. Within a week she quit her current job in Copenhagen, packed up, and left the country for good; in her words, Denmark then had “less to offer” at this point. Several that I met were actively considering following in her footsteps, and felt that once their current opportunity ran out, they would simply leave the country and try their luck elsewhere within the EU.

There were many more who were not ready to make this step, and that Copenhagen still had more to offer for them for the time being. This decision often stems back to feelings of sunk cost and concerns regarding quality of life. As it is time consuming to become bureaucratically settled and can sometimes be complicated to secure a stable long-term job, many feel unwilling to abandon the country once they have finally established themselves even when feeling it would be better long-term for their mental health or career to move away. Additionally, most agreed that the work standards elsewhere were subpar in comparison; while some found they were denied some of the work rights that they had expected to receive before coming to work in Denmark, almost all agreed that Denmark was still a massive improvement, as work schedules are more regulated and more rights are standardized across the country’s workforce. As suggested previously, a significant factor in the hyper-mobile state of many in the hospitality industry is not just job insecurity but also poor work conditions, as many continuously seek for better opportunities than their current situation fosters. As Denmark seemingly is better than most countries in this regard, many were willing to slow their movement and take advantage of this higher quality of life. However, it is important to mention that the majority of those willing to stay in the country for a while still saw themselves leaving Denmark before too long.

Before concluding this discussion, it is important to mention that while the majority of my informants were either eager to leave or begrudgingly staying, there were four that I met and spoke with that were exempt from either of these responses. The reasons to stay varied; two had hands-on roles in starting restaurants in the city and thus were deeply economically and

emotionally invested in the local industry, one planned to eventually start a business in Denmark, and one simply had passed enough time in the city for it to feel like home. Despite these different responses, there were two major shared commonalities; they felt Denmark was able to offer them what they were looking for, and were uninterested in jumping between countries and trying new opportunities. By intentionally opting out from the hyper-mobile lifestyle embodied by other informants, these exceptions proved the rule; the structures within Copenhagen's culinary scene and Danish bureaucracy are particularly unaccommodating to the hyper-mobile majority within hospitality, maintaining and amplifying their precarious status.

Chapter VI: Answering insecurity through community

The conditions described in the previous section paints an incredibly bleak picture of those in Copenhagen's hospitality industry. The bureaucratic and social conditions experienced by migrants in the hospitality industry seemingly makes for an unhappy and socially outcasted bunch. However, to characterize those in the industry in such a way would be incredibly reductionist, as truthfully, many do find and create real happiness and meaningful connections while in Denmark. The communities created by foreign nationals and within Copenhagen's culinary field can serve as an answer to the problems set forth within the bureaucratic and social exclusion that such individuals face and provide necessary relief.

The creation of such communities can be easily viewed in the case of Oliver, a chef who moved to the city during the autumn of 2022. Oliver is a self-described introvert, and as such, moving to Copenhagen was a nerve-wracking occasion. Copenhagen was, in his words, "rough" for someone like him, and he admitted he had been prepared to not make any new friends while living in the city, especially once he first started meeting his Danish neighbors and struggled to delve deeper into conversation with them. He was then surprised when he was able to make friends with his coworkers after just a week or two at work, and found himself quickly becoming close and comfortable with them; by the end of his first month, he had a steadfast group of friends. Looking back on his first weeks in the city, Oliver remarked that he should not have been too surprised, as his coworkers were just like him. As he sees it, all international residents of Copenhagen find themselves struggling against the system and feeling distant from locals, and so even those who feel a bit more shy put in effort to meet those who are in similar situations to them and can commiserate.

Oliver's experience making friends in the city effectively describes the pattern of connection-making visible among those who have come to work in Copenhagen's hospitality industry. During this project, I got to know many of my informants and their social circles, and noted that nearly all of these structures were constructed around shared work experiences. When speaking with Carl about how he met those in his friend group, he explained that for most in the hospitality industry, your best friends are your coworkers, because most of the time, they are like you; they are new or newer to the country, they are struggling with the language, and are struggling with the difficult schedule and expectations at their workplace. As suggested in earlier discussion, the rough hours and unique work experience typical in the culinary field can make it

harder to meet with and relate to those outside the workplace, so many times groups like these quickly become closely knit. These social circles created in the workplace are quickly extended by the quick turnover rate in the industry; because of the pattern of hiring, firing and switching employees frequently between establishments, these webs constructed in one restaurant extend to new establishments fairly quickly as individuals meet new people at their new workplace. Such quick expansion within such a self-contained industry allows for a fairly well woven web of interconnectivity between migrants in the industry. My informants worked at several different restaurants, and the social circles I met through these people were seemingly quite independent of each other, yet both in casual conversation and in interviews, many within these independent groups referenced the same people, the same restaurants, and same occurrences with similar levels of familiarity; as Helena put it, Copenhagen may seem big, but it “is truly so small”.

This casual conversation surrounding the industry usually dominates conversation in meetings among such social circles. Word travels fast, and often. My informants and their associates were extremely invested in what was going on with each other’s careers and the restaurants they worked at, and conversations almost always eventually cycled back to industry gossip. Besides this being in part genuine interest in others lives, I gathered this was partially out of necessity; as suggested earlier, losing an opportunity can happen quickly and unpredictably. Accordingly, it is good to know what is going on at other restaurants and in the larger industry, just in case a new job opportunity opens up or a restaurant in the same dining group is threatened.

The interconnectivity of the larger international community and the intimate knowledge of happenings within the industry ultimately serve those invested in these groups extremely well. As discussed previously, new arrivals often find themselves at a disadvantage when applying for better positions because they often lack the social capital of Danish chefs and are thus not able to as easily move around the industry. Winnie Lem has noted in her work with Chinese restaurant workers in France that such blockages from the structures built for dominant groups of citizens are commonly experienced by migrants, who must construct their own systems in order to compete (2007: 137). In the case of Copenhagen’s foreign chefs, this well-knit and well-informed community of foreigners serve as such a structure by providing its members improved access to positions that otherwise would be beyond their grasp. An instance of this had come up during a conversation with Wilda, as one of her coworkers had recently left his job to

seek an opportunity elsewhere. The restaurant she worked at had a stellar reputation not just for its approach to food but its advocacy and support for its international employees, and so she had taken it upon herself to suggest the position to friends who she felt could benefit from the new position. Because she had already been working there for a while and had developed a good rapport with her coworkers and employers alike, she was confident that her recommendation would be enough to help her friends move into the position. While they still lack the same ease of movement as Danish chefs, their strong connections to other internationals can grant them some of the social capital they need in order to be competitive within the industry.

When discussing the webs that are constructed by Copenhagen's hospitality workers, it is crucial to note that many extend well beyond the reaches of the city due to the highly transient nature of those in the industry. Lem notes in her work how connections forged between migrants within the hospitality industry often transcend national borders, allowing for a global flow of labor and resources (2007: 138). Similar flow was described by some of my informants, such as Nate, who was adamant that the bonds forged during residence would maintain their relevance even outside the country. I had met Nate close to the end of his tenure in the city, as he was already making preparations for his next move by the time we got to know each other. When reflecting on his move away from Copenhagen, he insisted that he was not "closing the door", but rather keeping it ajar, as he knew there was a decent chance he would either return one day to work in the city, or potentially he would once again work at in the same city as those he met during his time in Denmark. Regardless of one's ultimate trajectory, no connection can be discounted or disregarded, as nearly everyone who has come to Copenhagen is transient to some degree. Just as returning to one's home country is always a possibility for visa holders, and the capricious nature of both the local and international hospitality industry makes it sometimes impossible to predict trajectory, and it is possible to benefit from relationships made in one city upon arrival in the next. In this way, the hyper-mobility of many within the industry can be to the benefit of these groups, as it may allow for social capital to persist outside of the specific context where it was gained.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

While those who come to Denmark to work in Copenhagen's kitchens follow promises of inclusivity, better treatment and relative ease through the political aspects of movement, as this discussion has highlighted, many find this promise unfulfilled. Migrants within Copenhagen's hospitality industry find themselves routinely confronting barriers both through the bureaucratic processes inherent in their migratory journey and the structure of the city's culinary field. The everyday borders constructed through bureaucratic markers such as visas, CPR numbers and other forms of identification can slow or even prevent job acquisition and settlement for migrants, while the ingrained use of social and linguistic capital and their effects on navigation within the industry further complicates these processes, putting migrants in a specifically disadvantaged position. The trauma borne from such experiences severely impacts how these individuals interact with the country and perceive their future in the country, leading many who would otherwise be interested in settling in one country to continue their frequent movement. Community forged between those similarly disadvantaged through bureaucratic systems and the structure of the industry can be a key to help such people better navigate such structures, but in the end, significant change is necessary to ease the integration of those who have come to work in the industry to ensure both the continued success of the industry and the happiness of its employees. Further research conducted with less hyper-mobile groups within the industry or focused on tactics utilized by industry workers to settle successfully would be necessary both to highlight the full depth of experience among Copenhagen's migrant chefs and also to outline areas of success and strength within the current system. Such information could prove useful in order to further understand the functions of the systems in place, as while the hyper-mobile seemingly dominate the industry, their experiences only account for one part of the experiences had by those confronting these systems.

Reflections

During the interview portion of my methodology, I ended each conversation with one question: would you consider staying in Copenhagen long-term, and if not, what changes would be necessary in order for Copenhagen to be a functional and viable long-term option? Despite the issues so many described, almost all had positive things to say about the city itself and their daily life within it. They complimented the warm summers, the lively streets, the distinct culture and

courteous citizens. Copenhagen has become an incredibly international city, and as a result has become comfortable to inhabit for non-Danes; English can get you just as far as Danish in the city center, and grocery stores increasingly carry international foods. As such, few were willing to discredit what Copenhagen had to offer, and most could envision themselves happy in the country, should the conditions provide for such happiness. Many were quite close with other foreigners who had broken through and established themselves in the industry, and in such cases could see themselves quite happy in their shoes. The only commonly shared commiseration about the city were the systems that many felt held them back.

The conditions that brought my informants to Denmark are swiftly changing, and many consider the culinary boom of Copenhagen to be in a state of decline. During the course of this project, two of the city's most renowned fine dining projects, *noma* and *Amass*, announced their closure, each citing the physically and economically unsustainable nature of the industry, and leaving both the public and those within the industry questioning what such news portends for Copenhagen's status as a culinary capital. Despite this dwindling state of the industry, the labor of foreign chefs is still in high demand in Denmark, as evidenced through the Positive List's continuous privileging of this position. Even as the industry slows, more come to the city to try their luck, advance in their careers, and participate in the unique culinary culture that has been developed within its restaurants.

Issues with security among hyper-mobile populations may seem easy to dismiss because of the temporality inherent in their movement. As such populations are so massively mobile and so many intend to eventually abandon Denmark after a short period of time, concerns about difficulties in the settlement processes of such individuals may seem moot. However, I argue that considering the deep impact this endless insecurity has on migrant workers and the still-continuing ebb and flow of entry of such people in the country, it is crucial to understand these conditions and push for better. Copenhagen may not stay a culinary capital forever, but the ramifications of the failures within these structures as encountered by foreign hospitality workers extend far beyond the unfortunate few who find themselves pushed into further precarity. As the testimony from my interviewees highlights, many adore Copenhagen, and would willingly consider making the city their permanent home, if only the systems in place would facilitate it; improvements within the bureaucratic processes and the industry are vital to keep Copenhagen's culinary scene vibrant and those the industry is built upon stable.

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