Lund School of Economics and Management

Relaxed androgyny

A study of young Foodie men enacting gender

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Master thesis

MS.c in Globalization, Brands and Consumption

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Abstract

Title:	Relaxed androgyny – A study of young Foodie men acting gender
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Authors:	Adam Bratt, Caroline Larsson
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Keywords:	Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), Foodies, Gender
Thesis purpose:	Foodie men break the traditional norms of domestic food labour, which implies that conventional gender theories may not represent the male foodie. Therefore, it implies that a deeper understanding of men in this emerging consumer culture may offer insights not yet explored. Hence, the purpose of this research is to understand how these men enact gender in their food practice.
Methodology:	The study has taken a Consumer Culture Theory stance, using a qualitative research approach.
Theoretical perspective:	Theories concerning gender have primarily been used since the research had a gender perspective. Additional theories of relevance concerning cultural capital and the postmodern consumer were also applied due to the focus on the foodie culture.
Empirical data:	The empirical data was collected with the help of six men whom all identified themselves with a foodie definition. Triangulation was used by combining ethnographic photo-diaries with semi-structured interviews.
Conclusion:	The foodie men reinforce typical masculine behaviour however they also adopt traditional female food practices. Mixing feminine modes of cooking with masculine types of food labour can best be described as relaxed androgyny as introduced by Mechling (2005), casually mixing female and male features of cooking which implies that navigating between gendered food practices is not considered to be an issue for the foodie men in this study.

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1 Introduction

In the introduction chapter the reader will be presented to the research topic by providing the reader with information regarding the phenomena at hand. The discussion that follows highlights previous research conducted, leading to the statement of the research purpose and question.

Food has probably never engaged people to the high extent as it does today. The engagement is promoted as well as enabled by TV-shows, Internet, food blogs and cookbooks. During a week of 2011, Swedish television viewers were offered 74 different cooking shows in six different channels, reported by Expressen. Popular shows as "Halv åtta hos mig" (*lit.*19.30 at my place) and Sveriges Mästerkock (*lit.* Master chef) are watched by over a million people per episode (Expressen.se, 2011). Sweden is also the country in the world with the highest number of cookbooks released per year per capita, with around three hundred new titles per year. With cook books sales reaching an astonishing 300 million SEK the business of food have never been hotter than it is today. (aretskock.se, unt.se 2012)

According to Hill & Knowlton's report on food and trends, in Sweden, food is clearly both a male as well as a female interest since 56 percent of both men and women claim that they have a rather large interest in food. Women however, to a larger extent than men, 30 versus 23 percent, claim that their interest in food is passionate and that they are constantly on the look out for inspiration for their cooking. 23 percent is however a fairly large percentage of the male population, which implicate that the norm of women as the sole provider of food may no longer be an accurate statement. (Food and Trends, Hill & Knowlton, 2011).

A culture which has sprung from the widely spread food fascination is the Foodie culture. How to define a foodie is debated; 'food lover', 'food enthusiast', 'food obsessed' and many other definitions have been offered in various attempts to catch the essence of what a Foodie is. Cairns, Johnston and Baumann (2010) presents a definition, which will be used in the proceed of this study: "Foodies are people with a long standing passion for eating and learning about food but who are not food professionals"(2010:592)

In the early years of 2000 men's relationship to domestic cooking was claimed to be ignored in research since the assumption of men cooking only for leisure rather than labour was a prevailing view held by many. (Cairns et al., 2010) Studies focusing on male cooking in public space as well

as in the private sphere have been conducted (Adler, 1981, Mechling, 2005, Deutsch, 2005, Aarseth, (2009), Roos et al., 2001, Hollows, 2003) with partly different results. However most research within the field have been conducted in a North American context. Roos et al. (2001) and Aarseth (2009) have carried out research in a Nordic context, although, more research is encouraged in this specific context since Nordic countries are claimed to be characterized by a relatively high degree of equality between women and men, both in the labour market as well as in the domestic work arena (Aarseth, 2009), which make this context particularly interesting when studying gender roles. Hence, little interest has been paid to men's relation with domestic cooking activities and consequently how masculinity is formed in domestic space and practice in a Nordic context. (Aarseth, 2009) Ignoring the importance of male consumption related to the domestic space, in a time when men and women are becoming increasingly equal, might result in missing out on important consumer insights regarding this specific consumer segment.

Men in the foodie culture breaks the traditional norms of male food labour, since it takes place in the domestic sphere which is a place, traditionally, associated with female cooking. It is therefore important to study how the foodie men act, relate and consume food since little is still known about acting gender in the foodie culture. The men who are subjects of this study belong to Generation Y, which is a large consumer segment that is claimed to have great impact on trends in the future, and gaining insights about people in this specific generation is considered to make or break a company. (Van Der Bergh&Behrer, 2011, Lazarevic, 2012) Combining these facts implies that trying to understand motifs and thoughts of the young foodie men and their relationship with food will potentially offer new and important insights.

1.1 Purpose
Foodie men break the traditional norms of domestic food labour, which implies that conventional gender theories may not represent the male foodie. Therefore, it is implied that a deeper understanding of men in this emerging consumer culture may offer insights not yet explored. Hence, the purpose of this research is to understand how these men enact gender in their food practice.

1.2 Research question
How do men enact gender in their foodie practices?

2. Theory

In this chapter the theoretical framework will be presented, focusing on gender theories. Other theories relevant for this specific research: postmodernism, cultural capital and craft consumption will also be presented, in order for the reader to get a full picture of the area of concern.

2.1 Foodies: a postmodern craft consumer

The main idea of the Modern era was that production was the higher purpose, enabling improvements and qualities to ones life. The postmodern era, on the contrary, emphasizes consumption as the value-adding factor of life. (Firat and Schultz 2001) Defining the postmodern consumer is, according to Goulding (2003), rather problematic since it is argued that there is a two-sided debate going on where alienation and liberation are the extremes. The alienating view of the postmodern society, (argued for by Boudrillard and Jameson, according to Goulding 2003), is rather pessimistic, meaning that we live in a fragmented society permeated by identity confusion. The "reality" is superficial and depthless and consumers are trying to identify their "true self" through consumption. Other social theorists like Firat & Venkatesh (1995) and Miles (1999) are of a more liberal view and emphasize more creative acts of self-expression. Realistically, in everyday life, both signs of alienation and liberation are present. Freed Van Raaij (1993) argues for the constant increasing pluralism of styles and genres, which is permeating the postmodern society we are living in.

Through emulation and the phenomena of trickle down, introduced by Simmel, the postmodern middle class is nowadays able to engage in activities, which back in the days were reserved for higher classes (Corrigan 2010). Meals have increasingly become signs of status and a fashionable commodity, which define consumers in much the same way as other commodities. (Lupton, 1996) Consumers in the postmodern middle-class and, especially, upper middle-class want to define themselves as cosmopolitans. According to Holt (1997) these people are well educated and are living in an urban context. Further they predominantly posses' relatively high economic capital, which eases the expensive manners a true cosmopolitan behaves in. They also ought to posses a certain level of cultural capital to be able to act in proper cosmopolitan manners.

Cosmopolitans are known for being open-minded, willing to try on new things, being early adopters

and have an urge to travel the world. However, not in a tourist way, rather as an explorer, finding local exotic knowledge to accumulate. (Holt 1997; Corrigan 2010) The manners of a cosmopolitan supports foodie practice since a vital part of being a foodie is to consume exiting food and learn about different types food consumption. (Johnston & Baumann, 2010) What cosmopolitans and the postmodern middle-class desire to achieve when consuming food is some level of authenticity, something real and genuine, distinguish themselves from the large mass by not consuming mass-produced and commercialized commodities. Rather they want to be associated with exotic, local, authentic and crafted products that separate their way of consuming and lifestyle from the masses. (Holt, 1998) Authenticity is also stressed in Johnston and Baumann's (2010) description of foodies: "…authenticity is a key element of how foodies evaluate and legitimate food choices…"(Ibid, 2010:69). In their description of authenticity they emphasise *geographic specificity*, *simplicity* is also mentioned and valued both in terms of process and presentation as simplicity is perceived as unprocessed, honest and effortless; distant from industrial manufactured associations. Further is *personal connection*, meaning that a connection between an identifiable producer and the food commodity is essential, making the food stand in sharp contrast to the faceless industrial production facilities, emphasised. *History and tradition* is also regarded as important, meaning that the extent to which the food we eat is regarded as authentic is measured against the "real", or traditional way, it is supposed to be done. Tradition is, hence, used as a reference point for authenticity evaluation. Last but not least *ethnic connection* is also considered to be a measurement of authenticity. The degree of authenticity in food from a specific cuisine is argued to be directly linked to the chef's ethnicity, the particular cuisine need to be cooked and eaten by the specific ethnicity in order for one to claim that the consumed food is authentic. However, Johnston and Baumann stress the importance of looking at authenticity as something socially constructed, hence, not an inherent feature if particular food items.

Our society has for the latest decades consisted of three common types of consumers: The Hero, The Dupe and the postmodern identity seeker. The Hero is a person that is active, calculating and rational. The Dupe on the other hand is more passive, easily manipulated and can be seen as an exploited object of the market forces. The third type, the postmodern identity seeker selects goods with the specific intention of using them to create or maintain a given impression, identity or lifestyle. These three types has one thing in common, they do not actually show the manners in which the consumer is represented in contemporary social science. A fourth kind of consumer has emerged; the so-called craft consumer, who better reflect the behaviours and preferences of today's consumer. The craft consumer is a person that consume principally out of a desire to engage in creative acts of self–expression. (Campbell 2005)

The term "craft" refers to an activity where the product is both produced and designed by the same person, often skilfully and with passion. A craft consumer, on the other hand, is a person whom instead of taking the easy way of buying a ready-made meal chooses to craft the meal himself. The key is to ensemble a number of separately standardized products, and with your own knowledge and skills, create something new. (Campbell, 2005) Johnston and Baumann (2010) highlights craft as an important part of foodie culture since hand made products are believed to possess a high degree of authenticity. Therefore this type of craft made products are greatly valued since it stands in contrast to haute cuisine traditions which by some foodies are criticized for being pretentious and too fuzzy.

Campbell, however, does not claim that the majority of western contemporary societies consist of craft consumers; he rather stresses the significant pace this category is growing in. He also emphasises the fact that economic capital is not vital in order to be able to act in crafty manners. People in the less affluent world can have the same prerequisite to engage in craft consumption, the fact that they posses inadequate economic capital do not necessary mean that they do not have leisure time. The key to engage in craft consumption is to educate your self within the subject at hand and today's technologies and media are providing us with the opportunity to obtain knowledge fast, hence, letting more and more people act in expressive manners. (Campbell, 2005, Corrigan 2010)

In conclusion: the postmodern consumer is characterised by cosmopolitan behaviour, strive for authenticity and the engagement in craft activities. These factors are also key identifiers when describing foodie culture by today's scholars. Hence, foodies are considered to be postmodern consumers, justifying the use of theories concerning the postmodern society.

2.2 Cultural capital & Distinction

According to Bourdieu (1984) our society consists of three types of capital, economic, cultural and social, which all have the potential to lead to social distinction. He disassociates people with cultural capital from people with merely economic capital. The key to gain cultural capital is through education and knowledge accumulation, hence it is a "non-financial capital that is both consciously acquired and passively embodied, or 'inherited', cultural knowledge that is a social resource" (Stalker, 2011:81). The value of cultural capital can be equalized with economic and social capital (Stalker, 2011). Corrigan (2010) argues that in former times, cultural capital was not achievable for everyone, since not all had the opportunity to attend a fine college or expensive seminars to enhance their level of cultural capital. Cultural capital, in today's society, can be

accumulated almost effortlessly thanks to Internet. Vast amounts of information sharing are just a click away enabling more and more people to engage in the expressive acts of craft consumption.

Erickson's (1996) contribution to the research field on cultural capital partly differs from Bourdieu's. Bourdieu, according to Erickson, assumes that superior culture equals the culture of the elite. Culture is, hence, dependent on those that rule society, which makes cultural capital equal to economic capital in many aspects. The elite class is therefore believed to possess the cultural capital, which has the most effective distinguishing effect. Erickson (1996), on the contrary, stress the social context and claims that different forms of cultural capital are more or less valued depending on social position and social context. Stalker (2011) agrees with Erickson and emphasise that it is considered a skill to accent the 'correct' type of cultural knowledge in the appropriate social context. The fact that merely economic capital is not the only, or even major, factor that distinguishes social groups in society makes the phenomenon rather complex. Other dimensions like lifestyle, culture and morals can be equally important in defining social distinction and status. Bourdieu argues that social distinction and status can be achieved by combining economic, cultural and social capital properly. (Holt 1998)

According to Holt (1997: 343) "consumption is a social activity where objects are used as resources to interact with others". Holt further claims that consumption patterns can both attract people and create admires as well as defining who are unappealing and subsequently should be avoided. Certain consuming lifestyles create relationships and sets social boundaries at the same time. People tend to welcome similarity and dismiss different behaviour. (Holt, 1997) Social distinction, as a phenomena, has been present for centuries and the factors considered to lead to social distinction, introduced by Veblen in late 19th century, mentioned in Corrigan (2010), is conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure. Conspicuous consumption, according to Corrigan, is more suitable in today's urban society whereas the effects of conspicuous leisure had a higher level of penetrating power in former smaller societies where "everyone knew everyone". Stalker (2011) takes a partly different stance than Corrigan, arguing in favour of something he names "cultural omnivorousness", which is achieved through leisure diversity rather than practising conspicuous consumption. Leisure diversity, meaning that one engages in a diverse repertoire of activities rather than committing fully to one, is considered to enhance once cultural capital to a higher extent than consumption. By engaging in a diversity of leisure activities one can use the accumulated knowledge in a wider range of social life. Stalker also stresses the difference between gender regarding leisure activities and claims that men have a tendency to focus on one thing while women have a tendency to engage in more multitasking. (Stalker, 2011) Conspicuous consumption and

leisure can be effective tools to use in order to achieve distinction, but to get the desired effects one must consume in a proper manner, mentioned earlier. Everyone with merely economic capital can practice conspicuous consumption but it is your level of cultural capital that is claimed to determine how this consumption will affect the social distinction you are striving for (Corrigan 2010, Erickson 1996)

Theories in this section emphasise that a certain amount of cultural capital is needed in order to be able to act in crafty manners and consume properly. Combined with economic and social capital, cultural capital is vital in order to distinguish one self from the masses, hence, achieve social distinction in today's postmodern society. Culinary capital is a fourth form of capital that Hollows (2003b) casually introduced, describing once capital related to food, which leads us in to the world of food labour.

2.3 Gender & Food

Gender in this study, is considered to be socially produced and constructed, separated from the biological gender norms. Hence, gender is not regarded as a property of individuals neither as qualities inherent in men and women, rather something being produced through interaction (Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005, Swenson, 2009, Roos et al., 2001). When gender is regarded as a social construct it is also assumed to be in constant change influenced by cultural and institutional aspects of society. (Swenson, 2009, Brownlie & Hewer, 2007) The term 'doing gender' argues that gender is a social activity that people perform unconsciously with and for others; gender is produced, reproduced and sustained in all actions we as humans perform. (Swenson, 2009, Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005) The control of both food consumption and production is inevitably closely connected with issues of power and position. In most cultures around the world gender is a major source from which power is distributed (Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005)**.** What people eat is closely linked with social and cultural beliefs, consumption of food function as important gender markers in many cultures. Hence, food as a commodity is argued to have feminine connotations since food labour in various forms such as purchasing, preparation and presentation is by many claimed to be a woman's work. (Roos et al., 2001, Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005, Swenson, 2009) Women's relationship with food have through history been associated with 'care work'. Female cooking has also been closely related with domestic cooking as well as catering to others preferences rather than their own, labelling female cooking as service for others. (Cairns et al., 2010, Swenson, 2009, Hollows, 2003a) According to Cairns et al.'s study (2010) foodie women, still, to a higher degree than men act, value and emphasise aspects of care work concerning cooking. Men in the foodie culture, according to Cairns et al. (2010) also value cooking for others, however these notions are

described as leisure cooking rather than care work.

2.3.1 Men – cooking as leisure

Men's relation to food have commonly been associated with eating, not necessarily cooking, women are the ones who have been the primary domestic cooks in most cultures. Throughout history the stereotypical man have been described as an incompetent cook whom gladly ate whatever his wife put on the table. (Adler, 1981, Deutsch, 2005) However, when men *have* been linked to food labour it is argued that the type of cooking they have been taking on is closely associated with a hobby-like approach (Adler, 1981, Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005, Hollows 2003a). According to Adler (1981), as well as Roos et al. (2001) men may take on the role of cooking for special occasions to the degree that he labels some recipes as his exclusive territory, which no one else is capable of performing. Example being made in the study is "dad" making pancakes every Sunday. (Adler, 1981) Men's cooking, in a family setting, is associated with festivity, social activities and experimental types of cooking compared to women's cooking which is commonly associated with everyday activities, standardization and mundane settings. (Adler, 1981)

Mechling's (2005) study of Boy Scouts concludes that boys appreciate the *process* of cooking. Gathering wood, building a fireplace and carving meat was activities the boys were encouraged to perform and which they also seemed to appreciate. Cooking was promoted as a process of linked activities in a broader context than just eating. Cooking was never hurried in the Boy Scout context, skills as patience and aesthetics were taught to be of great importance. (Mechling, 2005) In contrast women are described as being weak for temptations and with considerable more unstable emotional states, in a food context as well as in general (Lupton, 1996). Swenson's (2009) study of how TV-chefs are portrayed confirm Mechling's study since findings suggest that female chefs commonly offers 'quick solutions' while male chefs emphasize more elaborate and time consuming cooking methods. Adler (1981) and Deutsch (2005) also emphasize men's tendency to look at cooking as a process.

Since men, as mentioned, are likely to cook for special occasions they are also claimed to spend vast amounts of money and time on food labour for those specific occasions (Hollows, 2003a, Adler, 1981) Exotic food, gourmet-type ingredients and expensive utensils and gadgetry may be purchased for the specific occasion (Adler, 1981). Marketing departments selling high priced kitchen gadgets have been quick at targeting the "new" food-interested-male-segment they believe would buy in to the gadget-driven cooking style (Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005). However Mechling (2005) argues that even though technology and 'gadget-fixation' is traditionally regarded as masculine, men have a tendency to reject technology in a cooking context, since it is regarded as a

short cut way of cooking, which is commonly associated with women who are eager to use any technology available to make the domestic work easier. (Mechling, 2005) Cooking for special occasions distinctively differ from the routine everyday cooking. Cooking only for specific occasions is looked upon as a leisure rather than work and can therefore be executed in more elaborate and ostentatious modes. (Adler, 1981) People who, regardless of gender, spend a lot of energy and money on food labour are claimed to look at the process as highly aesthetic (Lupton, 1996). However, studies have been conducted with results indicating that predominantly men express an aesthetic approach to food. (Heldke, 1992, Cairns et al., 2010) The aesthetics of cooking indicates that these people regard cooking as a source of entertainment meaning that the food work is regarded as social enjoyment and pleasure rather than work. The aesthetic approach to food is assumed to be linked to economic as well as cultural capital, meaning that one requires to know what is valued as fine cooking as well as having the means to pay for it. (Lupton, 1996)

Women consider cooking to produce anxiety to a higher extent than men since cooking is claimed to constitute an important part of most women's identity as properly feminine (Hollows, 2003a). The occasional and hobby like form, characterizing male cooking, is argued to be masculine since it describes cooking as optional or exceptional (Roos et al., 2001, Mechling, 2005) which reinforces the picture of women being the primary food provider (Roos et al., 2001, Deutsch, 2005, Adler, 1981, Dixey, 1996). In cases when men are not described as occasional hobby cooks they are commonly described as the professional chef, making a living out of his cooking skills. The division of the female domestic everyday cook and the male public professional cook have a long history in Europe. (Swenson, 2009)

In conclusion, men's approach to food labour has been associated with a leisure approach even when in the domestic space. Spending vast amount of money on food and turning everyday food labour in to festive occasions is typically masculine since it separates men from traditional female cooking.

2.3.2 Keeping cooking masculine

Already in 1981, Adler saw an increase in the numbers of men devoting time to cooking, he explained the shift as a result of more women getting employment outside of home, more leisure time at hand for the average consumer and as a result of the breakdown of traditional gender roles. More recent studies are also suggesting that men are becoming increasingly involved in domestic work (Cairns et al., 2010, Aarseth, 2009). However, scholars emphasize that it is important to note that men's cooking practices are still not tied to the female connection with food characterized by care work and a sense of obligation (Cairns et al., 2010, Roos et al., 2001, Mechling, 2005).

Domestic cooking, even the everyday cooking, performed by men is still argued to take forms of creative leisure far removed from the female everyday-food labour (Cairns et al., 2010, Swenson, 2009).

Swenson studied how TV- chefs on the American Food Network were portrayed, since it is argued that the depiction of the TV-chefs "reflects important assumptions about audiences and beliefs about gender, food and the rewards of labour" (Swenson, 2009:37). TV-show titles, as Iron Chef and Two Fat Ladies clearly highlight the traditional division between gendered cooking (Deutsch, 2005). Television cooking shows are believed to have great societal influence since it has potential to impact a large audience's view on how gendered work is done in the kitchen (Swenson, 2009, Hollows, 2003b), and therefore have the potential to construct cooking as a masculine activity, breaking the traditional norms of domestic work (Hollows, 2003b). However male TV-chefs are often contrasted against female TV-chefs by being portrayed as more rebellion and festive than their female counterparts who emphasise domesticity (Ketchum, 2005) and cooking as an act of love and intimacy where recipes are cherished as personal belongings with a family history (Swenson, 2009). Cairns et al. (2010) also indicate that it is typical female behaviour to use memories of their mother's cooking as a reference point for their own personal cooking. In their study they noticed that men who brought up their mother's cooking during interviews had a tendency to distance themselves by describing their own cooking in opposition to their mother's, labelling the other parts cooking as unrefined cooking. Hollows (2003b) analysis of The Naked chef indicates that men tend to reject feminine authority in a food labour context. By making things "his own way", modifying recipes to his taste and dismissing female cooking competence he distance himself from female cooking.

To emphasise the importance of food-TV, Cairns et al. (2010) argues that foodie identities are articulated in everyday life, but is shaped and structured by other institutions and actors in the gourmet food-scape, such as chefs and food television. Swenson (2009) concludes her study by stating that female kitchen culture is still closely tied to the traditional domestic and caring way. It is also concluded, however, that it is no longer regarded as "un-masculine" for men to enter the domestic kitchen area, although, it is highlighted that men enter it in a masculine way as scientists, entertainers or athletes (Swenson, 2009). By scientist Swenson refers to men's tendency to enter the kitchen as a skilled professional with great knowledge, not only culinary knowledge, but also scientific and historic knowledge enables the men to protect their masculinity. Stressing historical knowledge of food or being able to explain the chemistry of advanced cooking distance male cooking from the feminine, family centred domestic cook. The foodie men in Cairns et al.'s study

(2010) also described knowledge and expertise in elaborate terms when it came to their relation to food, rather than emphasizing care work. Learning about food as an ongoing commitment to self-education was central to the foodie men's identities, and occasionally took form as culinary 'projects' in order to enhance their skills. (Cairns et al., 2010) In accordance with theories mentioned by authors in previous text Swenson (2009) also emphasise the importance of 'special meals' as a mean of keeping cooking masculine by turning it in to a festive situation, having the male chef turn in to an entertainer. By athlete, Swenson refers to television shows' tendency to portray male cooking as competitive, describing it in sport terms. Competitive contests in the kitchen place the cooking in a public sphere and stress a version of masculinity based on power, speed, success and hierarchy. (Swenson, 2009)

2.3.3 Macho men turning feminine

American fire fighters are closely linked to western cultures' ideal of a "macho man", which brought up interesting findings in the field of food and gender in Deutsch's study (2005) named "Pass the chicken tits". In the firehouse setting women were totally absent, which was compensated for by fire fighters taking on the female role through action. Actions taken, noted by Deutsch was very sexual and playful, such as "dress drag", posing with tomatoes as breasts and announcing dinner impersonating a woman's voice. (Deutsch, 2005) Hence, not all actions were sexual and Deutsch concluded that the firehouse men took on a cooking style resembling the domestic and feminine. They went shopping for food together and everyone in the house were very involved with setting the menu for the week, they referred to fellow fire fighters as "family", ate together, ate vegetables and desserts, were cautious about the money spent and bought in bulk to save money and had long discussions on what to cook in order to satisfy as many house mates as possible. Caring, satisfying others and diets consisting of sweets and vegetables were a focal point in the fire house and are all feminine modes of food labour (Lupton, 1996, Roos et al., 2001).

A study that showed partly different results than Deutsch's is Mechling's (2005) study of American boy scouts. Mechling documented how boy scouts were encouraged to experiment with advanced cooking through a "learning by doing"-approach with badge incentives and ranking as motivation. Associating experimental and creative cooking as something typically masculine is argued for by several researchers, (Mechling, 2005, Aarseth, 2009, Adler, 1981) which makes male cooking an anti-pole to traditional female cooking characterized as mundane and standard. Mechling's study is longitudinal and the language around food labour differs between the decades, however, cooking is constantly looked upon as a skill necessary for men to learn, emphasizing cooking for others. In records from 2001, cooking is described as a skill boy scouts can use and enjoy for a lifetime. Cooking is labelled as fun, satisfactory and as something others will respect them for performing.

The increased feminization of Boy Scout food labour is evident, and is described by Mechling as "relaxed androgyny", combining the best qualities of feminine and masculine, as our society defines those specific qualities. As in the study of firemen it should be considered that the feminization takes part in an all male setting (Mechling, 2005). On the contrary Cairns et al's (2010) study revealed, what many researchers in previous studies have been emphasising, that men do not talk about care work as central to their cooking. Rather the foodie men's cooking corresponded with traditional male cooking taking, hobby-like forms.

Cairns et al.'s study from 2010 in an all foodie context concluded that women to a higher extent than men face challenges regarding contradicting gender norms. However, a study conducted in a Nordic context reveal that domestic work is nowadays considered being gender neutralized. In Nordic countries, more than other Western countries since the subjects of family and domestic work have been anchored in the countries' political agendas. Cooking, and domestic work in general, is part of the Nordic middle class' lifestyle project, where lifestyle images promote a modernization of masculinity and emphasize gender equality. There is no longer claimed to be a clear division between the mundane- everyday- domestic- female cook and the fun- leisure- seeking male cook. (Aarseth, 2009)

The studies mentioned in this section imply that male cooking is increasingly taking on traditional female features. The boundaries between typically masculine and feminine cooking are getting less distinct and male cooking is becoming increasingly feminine in certain aspects.

2.3.4   **Gendered**   **food**

Food as a commodity is not only consumed as a mean to reduce hunger and ensure survival, the cultural values surrounding food is also claimed to be of great importance when individuals consume food. Food, as other commodities, is surrounded by values which one by purchasing and consuming also becomes associated with. Connotations are constructed by social interaction, institutions and food is argued to be chosen based on how we want others to perceive us. By consuming food as a symbol, taste is often secondary. Food practices have throughout history marked class and geographical boundaries. However, through globalization and modernized storage and production food have become increasingly democratized. Food and food practices still, however, have an extraordinary power in defining 'us' and 'them'. Factors like price, rarity and cultural significance continues to make food a significant boundary marker. (Lupton, 1996)

In contemporary Western societies Lupton (1996), agues that there is still a gendered division

regarding food consumption. Lightness, delicacy and pale colours characterize food with female connotations. Vegetables are considered to be typical female food, pale meat such as chicken and fish are also claimed to have strong female connotations. These types of food typically characterize a healthy diet, which is considered feminine since women are taught to need less food than men. Contradicting the lightness and healthy aspect is the fact that sweet food is also claimed to be feminine, since women are considered to be more vulnerable to emotional states than men. (Lupton, 1996, Roos et al., 2001) Men on the other hand are claimed to eat heavy food, emphasising red meat. Along with the red meat, strong cheese, potatoes, heavy food and large portions are also considered to be food with male connotations. (Lupton, 1996, Adler, 1981) In addition Adler (1981) argues that spicy food and alcohol have male connotations, which are supported by Roos et al. (2001). Lupton (1996) argues that boys are being taught that they need more food than women, and that being offered a second helping at dinner therefore is looked upon as a sign that the boy is admitted to manhood.

3. Method

This chapter will describe methods used in order to answer the research question and subsequently fulfil the research purpose. Within each sub-section of the chapter the methods of choice will be described and discussions around why they were chosen will be elaborated on, enabling the transparency required in order for the reader to follow the research process. Instead of having a separate section with criticism of methods used, we will continuously, critique our methods of use throughout the chapter.

3.1 Research philosophy

Since the main purpose of this report is to gain insights of how the foodie men enact gender in their food practices we, as researchers, needed to actively try to understand how these men relate to the cultural and social context they are living in. Hence, we chose to tackle this from a social constructionist perspective. This ontological viewpoint asserts that people rather than external forces determine our so-called "reality". This position further implies that categories and social phenomena, given the continuous motion in society, are under constant revision. Gender in this study is as mentioned, considered to be socially produced and constructed, separated from the biological gender norms. As stressed by Swenson (2009) and Brownlie and Hewer (2007) gender is assumed to be in constant change, which is why it felt natural for us to take a social constructionist approach to the study. Due to the fact that social phenomena are considered to be in constant change researchers have little, if no chance, to determine any definitive version of social reality, (Bryman & Bell 2011) hence our research can only be seen as one truth out of many.

An epistemological consideration concerns the problem of what should be considered as "acceptable" knowledge. The term epistemology is often referred to as the process through which one accumulates knowledge. Epistemological Interpretivism argues, on the contrary to positivists, that scientific methods are not appropriate to use when studying people and society. Researchers using an interpretive stance aim to understand underlying objectives and motifs of their respondents and are encouraged to analyse human behaviour from the respondent's point of view instead of from an objective point of view. Interpretivism further, on the contrary to the positivistic epistemology, emphasises the importance of differences between people and the subjective meanings of their actions. (Bryman & Bell 2011) Since the study focus on *how* the foodie men enact gender it was assumed that there were several potential practises available 'out there', none of which were assumed to be identical. Hence, it is assumed that one may enact gender in different

ways, which imply that gender is socially constructed and that the respondents all behave differently as a result of different underlying motifs and understandings. Subjective meanings are considered to be present which consequently had us use an interpretivistic stance in order to be prepared to approach all different angles and perspectives. Within the interpretivistic stance, the hermeneutic tradition has grown strong. A focal standpoint of the hermeneutic philosophy argued for by Thompson (1994:432) is that "a person's understanding of his/her experiences always reflects broader cultural viewpoints that are implicitly conveyed through language".

3.2 Research strategy

Qualitative research aim to understand and provide insights for a particular research problem, focusing on developing an understanding of peoples' motivations and actions in a broader context, while quantitative research seeks to quantify data and in most cases apply a statistical analysis. (Myers, 2009) Because of our interpretivistic epistemological approach, which stress the importance of differences between people and the subjective meanings of their actions, qualitative research is considered to be the most useful method to apply since it emphasises the importance of the ability of the researcher's interpretive skills in gathering qualitative descriptions of the respondent's reality (Kvale, 1997). Since the study aims to understand the respondents' realities concerning food related issues, the qualitative method is further the most appropriate method to use since it is explicitly designed to help researchers understand what people say and do (Myers, 2009). Quantitative research, however, have the advantage of being able to generalize the results which qualitative research is not able to, instead it focus on examining problems on a deeper level in order to provide understandings. (Malhotra, 2010, Myers, 2009) This study's objective is to contribute with insights about a consumer culture from a gender perspective; hence, an understanding of the respondents, which are part of the culture, is of greater importance than being able to generalize the results to the greater population, which is why generalizability and external validity was not a concern in this particular study.

Our research is of an exploratory design, hence, aiming to provide insights and understanding regarding the topic at hand. When conducting exploratory research, initial information needed is defined only loosely and the research process is flexible and unstructured. The exploratory findings are tentative, meaning they are to be seen as input for further research. (Malhotra, 2010) To be able to conduct this exploratory study it was necessary to figure out in what way theories chosen and empirical findings were going to relate to each other. Two ways to go about this, explained by Bryman & Bell (2011), was to use either an inductive or a deductive approach. The inductive approach regards theory as an outcome of the conducted research whereas the deductive approach

use theory as a guiding tool for the research. Choosing one of these approaches does not mean that one have to follow it submissively, both approaches often entails some level of the opposite elements (Bryman & Bell 2011). However, we did not only use the findings to generate new theory consequently the inductive stance was not exclusively used. Instead a third strategy was applied, the iterative approach. By using the iterative approach we were be able to "weave back and forth between data and theory" (Bryman & Bell (2011:13).

The iterative approach allowed us to scan already existing theory within the research field before conducting the interviews, giving us a broad knowledge base concerning the research area at hand. Thompson et al. (1994:433) argues that using this approach, "provides a necessary frame of reference", which in turn improved our ability to gather the empirical data. The scanning of existing theory also helped us conduct the interviews in an efficient and time saving manner. When the empirical material had been collected it enabled us to focus our theory, to add and exclude theories that seemed either less or increasingly relevant after the interviews, depending on what the respondents had emphasised during the interviews. To be able to go back and forth between theory and empirical data provided us with the opportunity to interpret and reinterpret our qualitative data simultaneously as modifications could be done to our theoretical framework. Thompson et al (1994) argues that this technique is vital to gain insights regarding the text's holistic whole, which is to be done over time.

3.3 Cultural Research

Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) refers to the collection of theoretical perspectives, which concern the dynamic relationship between consumer action, marketplace and cultural meaning. In line with our social constructionist view CCT considers culture to be subjective and focus on heterogeneity rather than assuming homogeneity. (Arnould & Thompson, 2005) As in Consumer Culture Theory, culture is also central to ethnography (Arvidsson, 2001). Analysing cultures by striving to gain understanding and explain factors which produces the culture is essential for ethnographers (Arvidsson, 2001), which corresponds to our qualitative research approach and research purpose, since the research aims to understand how the group of participants enact gender in their food labour practice on a deeper level.

Performing ethnography entails an objective of trying to understand and describe a social and cultural phenomenon by focusing on the everyday life of the participants (Fetterman, 1998, Arvidsson, 2001, Grills, 1998). Seeing the world through the eyes of "the other", in day to day relationships, tasks, routines and frustrations is crucial in ethnographic research which is enabled by

the researchers closeness to the participants' world. (Grills, 1998, Fetterman, 1998) Since social objects, according to Grill (1998), lack an inherent meaning, which is stressed by our social constructionist view, trying to understand others' reality is crucial. By focusing on individual everyday actions, which many take for granted, the research have the potential to examine how these actions are affected by larger cultural processes and how, on the contrary, these everyday actions affects the larger culture. (Arvidsson, 2001) Ethnographic research is therefore used since we need to gain access to the participants world in order to be able to study their daily activities concerning food, which an ethnographic method enable us to do. Going for depth not breadth is crucial as well as trying to understand rather than predict, in line with the qualitative research method (Elliott & Jankel-Elliott, 2003).

Arvidsson (2001) further ensures us that ethnography is an appropriate method to use since he claims that ethnological research is considered to be a strength when studying gender since ethnography enables the researcher to see how gender is produced, constructed and transformed in everyday life settings. However, ethnography have been claimed to open up as many questions as it answers which is argued to generate inconclusive results (Elliott & Jankel-Elliott, 2003). However, this research aims to provide an understanding and develop theories rather than test theories and give definite results, the ethnographic method is hence, considered to be the most useful method in retrieving the information needed for the study.

3.4 Sampling

Table 1. Our respondents

NAME	AGE	EDUCATION	WORK	CITY	CIVIL STATUS	DISPOSABLE INCOME	FOOD BUDG-ET
Einar	23	MSc engineering		Lund	Cohabitant	10000	3000
Aron	22	BSc Service management	Salesrep	Lund	Single	11000	2000
Niklas	22	BSc Service management		Lund	Single	8900	2000
John	26	MSc corporate finance		Lund	Single	10000	2000
Filip	23	BSc marketing	Salesrep	Gothenburg	Single	10000-14000	2500
Martin	22	Economist		Lund	Single	8700	2000

In order to gather the empirical data needed to conduct the research six respondents were chosen to contribute to the data collection. To be eligible to participate as part of the sample the participants

were required to pass the initial criteria, that is: being male, not working professionally with food as well having to identify themselves with the foodie definition offered by Cairns et al. (2010:592): "Foodies are people with a long standing passion for eating and learning about food but who are not food professionals".

In order to select our respondent group a non-probability sampling method was used called snowball sampling. (Bryman & Bell, 2011) By using a snowball sampling method an initial group of respondents are selected, these respondents in turn are asked to identify other potential respondents that fit the criteria for being included in the sample (Malhotra, 2010). The snowball sampling has its disadvantages compared to probability-sampling methods regarding external validity. However, our report is based on qualitative research with theoretical sampling strategies and since we do not take on any statistical approaches to sampling, which would be preferable when conducting quantitative research, snowball-sampling can be done since external validity and the ability to generalize are of lesser importance in this specific study (Bryman and Bell 2011). Corresponding with our ethnographic method we prioritized a small sample of respondents in an opportunistic way meaning that we selected whomever was likely to contribute with rich information about the topic at hand (Elliott & Jankel-Elliott, 2003), in order to enhance the probability to truly gain understanding of the topic at hand. Snowballing is claimed to substantially increase the likelihood of the researchers finding respondents with the desired characteristics in a time saving manner (Malhotra, 2010), which ended up being the case. Due to the fact that others had recommended them to be part of the study, most of the potential respondents approached turned out to fit the sampling criteria, and since they had been approached based on the assumption that others thought they fitted the criteria we were confident that the respondents were truly part of the foodie culture.

By "setting the snowball in motion" two respondents in our social network were initially contacted since they are known for having a strong interest in food and cooking. These two respondents were, as all other respondents asked to confirm that they identified themselves with the foodie definition stated by Cairns et al. mentioned above. After the initial contacts were made we used their social network in order to find two more and then kept the momentum going. The respondents were approached by phone, on Facebook or by e-mail; depending on what contact information we were given. We discussed whether it was to our advantage or disadvantage to choose respondents whom were more or less part of our network. Krueger (1994) argues that researchers will get the best answers from respondents whom they do not know due to the fact that the two parts will probably not meet again; hence, the respondent might be more willing to open up. Others, like Nancarrow et

al. (2001) on the other hand claim the "perfect stranger" to be a myth; hence, using respondents in one's own social network may not be to one's disadvantage. We chose not to put all our eggs in the same basket and tried to mix our sample group so it would consist of both strangers and people that we already knew, however all within our broader social network. The fact that we shared some of the same reference points with our respondents only enhanced the casual atmosphere during the interviews and had the respondents feel comfortable in our presence which we claim had the respondents open up to us easier and subsequently enhanced the quality of the information gained. Looking back, we argue that this sampling method provided us with respondents who contributed with valuable information and who all fitted our desired profile.

The respondent group consisted of young men who identified themselves with the foodie definition and whom all have a disposable income of around 10 000 SEK/month, which is a below average income. Although, all the respondents stated that a fairly large part of their income was spent on food consumption, roughly around 25 percent. Due to the fact that all of the respondents had approximately the same income implies that all of them had the same prerequisite to answer the questions and their answers could therefore be compared without taking the economic perspective in to consideration. The economic perspective was not the focus in this study, however the respondents strained economic situation was taken under consideration during the analysis.

All of the respondents are on their way of completing, or had just completed, some sort of higher education, which indicates that they are to be classified as postmodern or future postmodern middle class. We wanted to target young men living in the Nordic region since they have been brought up under relatively equal gender conditions as a consequence of gender equality being anchored in the Nordic countries' political agendas. According to Aarseth (2009) the Nordic countries is considered be in the front of the gender equality movement and consequently it was assumed that it would be of particular interest to include these men in the sample in a study with a gender focus.

The fact that snowball sampling was used resulted in all respondents, except for one, living in Lund. It is to believe that this fact did not have any major negative impact on the results; rather it is considered that we gained deeper insights due to the relatively high level of cultural capital offered in this well-educated urban context. The geographic living situation of the respondents was also preferable given the relatively tight budget and time frame.

3.5 Data collection

3.5.1 Triangulation.

In line with our ethnographic design assuming that reality, is subjective, multi-layered and interrelated the study will use triangulation, since it is believed that multiple methods are necessary to cover all possible angles of the culture being studied (Fetterman, 1998). Using triangulation entails the combination of either two or more data collection methods, combining qualitative and quantitative methods *or* alternatively using two or more qualitative/quantitative techniques to collect data, which enables the researcher to gain a fuller picture. (Malhotra 2010) Malhotra further emphasises the fact that triangulation, preferably interviews combined with observation methods, should be used in order to truly understand the behaviour of the participants. This research's triangulation consists of photo-diaries and semi-structured interviews; both data collection methods consisted of the same six men that constituted the sample.

Using diaries in combinations with other types of data collection (in this case interviews) is claimed to enable the researcher to discover differences in what is documented in the diary and what is said in the interview (Elliott & Elliott-Jankel, 2003). The photos reveal how the interviewees wish themselves to be represented and perceived as well as what they choose to portray, which might stand in contrast to how they describe themselves in the interviews (Parker, 2009). Hence, using both methods will enable us to cover more angles of the participants' worlds and discover more dimensions of their reality.

3.5.2 Diaries and the use of photo elicitation

We asked the participants to keep a photo journal (appendix.1), in which they were asked to document five days of food consumption and food-related thoughts and actions. According to Elliott and Elliott-Jankel (2003) diaries offer a way into conversations during the interview since one can refer to the experiences documented in the diary. When conducting the interviews the use of the diaries enabled us to get a more personal relationship with the respondent as well as it eased the start of conversations, when being able to relate to the experiences of the participants.

The diaries were handed out to the respondents via e-mail and all of them had two weeks to complete them. However, the time frame was expanded since the respondents needed more than the two weeks in order to complete them. The diaries consisted of photos taken by the respondent, along with more or less elaborate writings describing the pictures and feelings related to them. The use of visual data have the potential to stimulate conversations with the participants (Elliott &

Elliott-Jankel, 2003, Parker, 2009), the personal diary of the respondent were therefore, put on the table during each interview. The diaries enabled both us, as researchers, as well as the respondents to refer to certain specific situations, which eased the interview. Examples from the diaries were brought up when the respondent got stuck or when they wanted to exemplify a certain feeling or view. By using photo-elicitation, which is a method based on the idea of using photos during a research interview (Harper, 2002), we saw a tendency of the diary pictures' ability to stimulate conversation. As mentioned by Bryman & Bell (2011) and Harper (2002) photos may aid the interviewee to recall events, express complex emotions or encourage interviewees to discuss issues more in detail. The use of pictures as a way to describe and represent feelings and actions were further enhanced when one of the participants choose to show us a picture from his Iphone in order to describe the importance of aesthetics when cooking.

3.5.3 Interviews

Interviews are by many considered to be synonymous with a qualitative research approach. (Widerberg, 2002) Although there are limitations of asking and one have to take in to consideration that people tend to not always do what they say. However, asking participants what and why they are doing certain activities is a necessary component when trying to develop an understanding of their thoughts and behaviours, which is what we aim to do during this study. (Elliott & Elliott-Jankel, 2003)

3.5.4 Semi-Structured interviews

The three types of interviews most commonly used are structured, semi-structured and unstructured. The structured interview technique was ruled out because of its inflexibility when it comes to improvisation and adapting the interview after each individual respondent, unstructured interviews, on the other hand, are considered to be too loosely structured. (Bryman & Bell, 2011, Myers, 2009) Myers (2009:125) claims: "The semi-structured interview is thus the type of interview that tries to take the best out of the two approaches, while minimizing the risks. It gives you some structure, while allowing for some improvisation. It thus gives the interviewee the opportunity to add important insights as they arise during the course of the conversation, while your previously prepared questions provide some focus as well".

At the time of the interviews we had stated the general objective of the research as well as gotten acquainted with theories surrounding the research area. As a result we had a general pre-assumption of what areas we wanted to highlight which had us choose a semi-structured interview along with an interview guide in order for us to make sure that we covered all areas desired during the interview. An interview guide consists of pre-formulated questions, which are to be asked, however

there is no strict script to follow. (Myers, 2009) The interview guide gave us confidence when carrying out the interviews since our lack of experience performing interviews would potentially decrease the quality of our interviews if they did not have some degree of structure. The semi-structured approach did enable us to follow up on topics that seemed important to the interviewee as well as ask different follow-up questions depending on what answers that were given. In turn it resulted in more personalized interviews in which all respondents were able to express their feelings and thoughts, which consequently increased our understandings of their social world.

3.5.5 Conducting the interviews.
The Interpretive and hermeneutic philosophy, combined with our CCT and ethnographic stance, stressed a phenomenological approach to interviewing since it emphasises the importance of being able to see things from the respondent's point of view, making it easier to read between the lines and gain insights of what otherwise could have been neglected (Bryman & Bell 2011). Phenomenological interviews differ from other interview methods since it defines reality as subjective and dependent on the consumer. The phenomenological interviewing technique emphasizes "aspects that are present in the consumer's consciousness" (Hirschman 1992:160) hence, it tries to seek out underlying and unspoken meanings which is in line with the hermeneutic philosophy and the research's purpose in trying to truly understand the consumer.

Out of our six interviews, five were conducted in a face-to-face mode. According to Bryman and Bell (2011) it is important to find a quiet, private space where the interviews can be conducted without interruption. The home of the interviewees, the interviewers' apartment as well as an office in *AF-borgen*, Lund, was used as locations for the interviews. In all settings we actively strived to create a casual and relaxed atmosphere where the interviewee would feel comfortable answering the questions. We never went straight to the interview, instead we started with small talk and telling the respondents how much we appreciated the time and effort they had put in to the diaries and in line with Kvale (1997) also gave them a briefing about the larger context of the study which they were going to be a part of. We brought "fika" (*lit.* Swedish word for coffee and cookies) to each occasion in order to de-dramatize the interview setting. Since the interviewer is part of the interaction during the interview, he or she will influence the interaction, (Myers, 2009, Kvale, 1997) which is why we found it important to establish a friendly and relaxed environment, where the respondent felt comfortable talking about the topics at hand.

Even though it is believed that the atmosphere during the interviews were relaxed and open, social desirability might have affected the respondents. Social desirability is the tendency for the respondent to answer the questions in a way that he believes is socially desirable, but which might

not reflect his own thoughts or beliefs. Social desirability is claimed to be high during personal interviews. (Malhotra, 2010) However, combining the relaxed and friendly atmosphere during the interviews with the fact that we ensured the participants anonymity, which is argued to lower social desirability (Malhotra, 2010), it is believed that we gained answers that reflected the participants' true beliefs to a relatively high degree. Important to note is that we did not exclude the possibility that social desirability affected the answers, which were taken in to consideration.

The sixth interview was conducted over the phone, due to travelling involved and difficulties matching schedules. Subsequently the conditions for that particular interview were partly different, since it became slightly more formal in nature due to the lack of face-to-face interaction. It resulted in somewhat shorter answers since silence in the other interviews was used as a mean to get the respondent to elaborate their answers, however in this situation the silence became notably awkward for the interviewee, which was not wished for.

In all six interviews both of us were present as interviewers. In line with Bryman and Bell (2011) we concluded that the use of multiple interviewers would enhance the informal atmosphere, resulting in respondents giving more elaborate answers. As we lacked experience as interviewers we also believed that presence of both of us would ensure that the interview covered all aspects wished for, which would consequently increase the quality of the information gained during the interview. On the other hand; the fact that one of the interviewers was of the opposite sex may have hindered the respondents to disclose information regarding sensitive topics. However, the feminine nuance is believed to have widened the scope that otherwise potentially could have been more narrow as well as more 'one-sided' due to an all-male setting.

Following the advice of Myers (2009) and Bryman and Bell (2011) the interviews were recorded (with the help of an Iphone). We asked the interviewees if we were allowed to record the interviews, ensuring them that the interview was strictly anonymous, all of them gave us their consent.

3.5.6 Interview guide

The interview guide was designed in a way where questions were thoughtfully formulated and arranged according to specific subheadings based on the theoretical framework: status, gender, craft/cultural capital and economy, which were all topics we wanted to cover during the interview. However, some of the topics turned out to be of less importance for the research purpose and were consequently not the focus of the analysis. Kvale (1997) argues that the researchers have to chose between having a loosely structured, spontaneous interview which consequently generates more

vivid and unexpected answers or a more structured interview which eases the analyse of the outcome. The questions in the interview guide were asked in slightly different orders depending on the respondent, since we prioritized a flowing and natural dialogue over strictly following the interview guide. However, this turned out to be more difficult than expected and resulted in, as implicated by Kvale (1997) a decreased structure of the transcripts, which subsequently complicated the coding.

The interview questions were a mix of introduction questions, specified questions, follow-up questions, probing questions, and interpretive questions (Kvale, 1997). The introduction questions were of basic nature used in order to get a feel for the respondents' interest in food and food background, questions the respondents answered with ease. Non-directive questions were also asked (Elliott & Jankell-Elliott, 2003) trying to stimulate the interviewee to talk about their food interest, which is a broad area, in order to get a sense of what in their narratives they highlighted. After the introduction questions the questions became more specific in nature, with follow up and probing questions depending on answers. We followed Kvale's (1997) advice asking interpretive questions to acquire clarification and verify that we, as researchers, had interpreted the answer correctly, which enhances the credibility of our analysis. Because the interviews primarily concerned everyday activities, Grill (1998) argues that interviewees might have difficulties answering these questions since it concerns part of their social word that they rarely question. However, we argue that since the interviewees completed a diary with content that constituted the base for the interviews, before the interviews were held, it is believed the interviewees had started to highlight those aspects of their life which enabled them to give fuller and more reflected answers.

3.6 Data Analysis

Since the study was executed using an iterative approach, the method of grounded theory were chosen as the appropriate way to analyse and combine the collected data with the chosen theories. Being able to collect data and analyse simultaneously helped us relate to the theoretical framework. The desired outcome of grounded theory is to be able to form concepts and categories with the right level of abstraction, providing a manageable but still accurate set of concepts, which also were our objective when starting the analysis. (Bryman & Bell 2011) Sine the method of grounded theory is an iterative approach; it is also consistent with the hermeneutic philosophy and the ontology of social constructionism, which is our holistic standpoint. To be able to analyse, collect data and work simultaneously with our theoretical framework eased the elaboration of our concepts resulting in five categories covering the main concepts of our empirical findings: The social chef, the simplicity

lover, the humble control freak, the freestyler, and the knowledge seeker.

To analyse the empirical data we used coding, which is an analysing technique allied with grounded theory, which fragments data to distinct chunks. (Bryman & Bell, 2011) The coding were carried out by colour coding the print-out versions of the transcripts according to different themes, which eased the weaving back and forth between analyse, theory and empirical material. Bryman and Bell (2011) raises their concern regarding this method and emphasizes the importance of keeping sense of context and natural flow of the texts since de-contextualization easily can hinder or make further analyses problematic. With this in mind we really made an effort to do this through, keeping our hermeneutic stance at all time. The diaries also helped us since they provided us with a more holistic image of each respondent making it easier to navigate through all the fragmented chunks of data.

During the analysis we actively tried to exclude any personal reflections, and instead focus on interpret the respondents reality, but due to our inability to control our unconsciousness it is believed that these factors partly came to affect the analysis. However, we considered it to be a strength that the research team consisted of one woman and one man. Since we due to this have different reference frames and partly different perspectives it is claimed that the interpretations and the following analysis became more reflected than it would have been if the two of us were of the same sex.

3.7 Quality of the study

Throughout the years criteria's for evaluating the quality of qualitative research have been developed since validity, reliability and replication which are criteria's used in order to value quantitative research, are not considered to be eligible to use in order to evaluate the quality of a qualitative research. Validity and reliability are claimed to only accept one social reality, hence, making it hard to apply to qualitative research since it assumes more than one acceptable version of reality. Two terms that have been worked out in order to use for qualitative research are the terms of trustworthiness and authenticity which both consist of sub-criteria. (Bryman & Bell, 2011) Since these terms have been worked out explicitly for qualitative research, trustworthiness and authenticity will be used as measurements for this study's quality.

3.7.1 Trustworthiness

In a qualitative research multiple realities are considered to exist which requires that the specific

reality the researcher is trying to describe needs to be as credible as possible. In order to achieve the credibility needed people that have been part of the study, in this case the six young foodie men, need to be given the opportunity to confirm that what have been said and interpreted can be considered as a correct description of their reality. In order to enhance the *credibility* of the research the interviewees were asked interpretive questions in order to acquire clarification and verify that we, as researchers, had interpreted the answer correctly. The respondents were also given the chance to read through the interview transcripts in order to ensure that they confirmed what had been said during the interview, so called respondent validity. The respondents were also given the choice to exclude certain parts from the interviews, clarify or add corrections. However none of the respondents did any of the above mentioned, although they were all given the chance, leading us to conclude that both parties agreed upon the content of the interviews. In order to enhance the credibility of the research, quotations were used in the analysis, which we argue give a credible description of the reality since the wording is taken straight from the respondents. (Bryman & Bell, 2011)

Transferability refers to the act of being able to use the result from the specific study to other situations and studies. Since this research was not conducted as a quantitative research the objective have not been to be able to transfer the results from this specific research to another context. Rather, this research has focused on giving a rich and thick understanding of the foodie men from a gender perspective, in line with our qualitative research stance; hence, no statistical generalizations can be drawn from this research. However, we have throughout the study had as an objective to give a detailed and comprehensible description, which potentially will enable other researcher to gain inspiration and possibly use parts of the information and results in future research. It is however of utmost importance to emphasise that this research is only one out of many realities and hence, highly dependent on the specific context. (Bryman & Bell, 2011)

In order to increase the research's *dependability* colleagues, fellow researchers and others alike should be able to evaluate the research and its process. Transparency has been an aspect highly prioritized throughout the whole research process. In all the steps taken during the research process, from the choice of respondents to the analytical process, the reader is given the chance to see how every step have been conducted and why, aided by this method chapter. Transcripts of the interviews and all the diaries are also available on request. Others are, hence, considered to be able to follow the whole research process, which enhances this research dependability. (Bryman & Bell, 2011)

Confirmability is the last sub-criterion within the broader criteria of trustworthiness and is based on the assumption that researchers should not consciously allow personal opinions, neither theoretical perspective to have any impact on the result of the research. However, since the research follows an interpretivistic epistemology, interpretation of the data has inevitably been needed. We, as researchers, have tried to be aware of our preconceptions and reference frames throughout the whole process by discussing our personal opinions between the two of us. This has helped us during the process since we quite fast became aware of when the interpretation of the material became too subjective. (Bryman & Bell, 2011)

3.7.2 Authenticity

Within the second criterion, authenticity, Bryman and Bell(2011) stress the importance of the criterion named *fairness*, which emphasise that the research should represent different opinions among the members of the social setting. Since the research is qualitative and had an interpretivistic epistemological stance using an ethnographic method, all of which stress the need to see the world through the eyes of the other, it has throughout the whole process been of utmost importance for us, as researchers, to try to understand the respondents' reality. Hence, a focal point during the entire process has been to try to explain the respondents' reality and thereby portray them in a correct and authentic way as possible. *Ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity* and *tactical authenticity* concerns if the research has helped members to gain a better understanding of their social environment, helped members to appreciate the opinions of others within the social environment, if the research has aided the respondents to change their circumstances and if the research has empowered the participants to engage in change action. The research aimed at generating an understanding of the men's behaviour rather then enabling the men to gain an understanding of their own behaviour, consequently these authenticity criteria have not been a focal point. However, we refer to the fairness criteria and stress that it has been of utmost importance to represent the respondents in the fairest way possible, which may consequently enable the respondents to get a better understanding of their social setting. (Bryman & Bell, 2011)

4. Analysis

In the following chapter the theoretical framework, centred on gender theories, will be analysed against the empirical data collected from photo-diaries and semi-structured interviews with the foodie men. The chapter will be arranged according to themes, which are based on findings made, and will be analysed in the following order: The social chefs, simplicity lowers, the humble control freaks, the freestylers and the knowledge seekers.

4.1 The Social chefs

4.1.1 Cooking as an act of fun

All of the respondents share the belief that cooking with, and for, others is the most joyful way of preparing food. This may be one of the few opinions that is shared by all of our respondents with no disputable arguments contradicting this fact They are all talking about a bigger perspective than just the process of cooking when preparing food; there seems to be something intriguing about the concept of preparing food as a whole in a social context. As an example, three out of the six respondents took on the responsibility to cook for rather big events, documented in their photo-diaries. All of the six frequently cook with their friends, Martin most often cook with his friend Calle and Aron and Niklas often cook together. John ends the interview by stating that he has to hurry back home since some of his friends are coming over for lunch. It might not be surprising that all of the respondents emphasise the social aspect of cooking in their narratives since these thoughts strikingly resemble existing theory within the field. The majority of scholars conducting research within this field of expertise are in concurrence (Adler, 1981, Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005, Hollows 2003a), describing men's cooking in terms of festivity and other social activities.

"When you gather a bunch of your male friends, you do not have anything to study, no stress and drink some beer"

– Niklas

John further emphasizes the importance of the broader social context, which exceeds the act of preparing and eating food, when asked when cooking is regarded as most pleasurable:

"It is in the company of others with a glass of wine. Last fall we had a couple of amazing days when we started out each Friday by walking to Saluhallen (lit. covered market*) in order to screen the*

place and get inspiration and figure out what to cook later that evening. Then we went home to the apartment and started to prep the food, later on during the evening people dropped in. I like when food turns in to a full day project, visualizing your self as Paul Bocuse travelling around the world looking for amazing food"

Picture taken from Einar's diary

In contradiction to men's festive modes of cooking women's style of cooking is, according to previous mentioned scholars, characterized by standardization, mundane settings and everyday activities in a family setting. Since our group of respondents only consist of single men, excluding Einar, it is only natural for them to engage in the everyday cooking, traditionally regarded as "woman's work". An insight gained concerning the everyday cooking, especially lunches, is that the respondents approach to, and way of talking about it, differs from their other types of more festive cooking. Focus, especially when talking about lunches, is on functionality. It should be time saving and staunch their hunger, and to some, there is nothing more to it. However, Filip made an interesting point talking about differences regarding what it means to just "throw something together":

"If I say that I just 'throw something together' and compare it with my friends who are not interested in food's 'throw it together', I have noticed it is a fairly big difference in what we mean. I might 'throw together' a wok with salmon during lunch or something alike. Their response to that is: 'that is not throwing something together' and instead they refer to fast cooking macaronis and falukorv (lit. Swedish low standard, ready made, sausage)."

The quotation indicates that the foodies' "throw it together" still exceeds the average lunch in terms of time spent and ingredients chosen for the dish, which the photo-diaries also are evidence of. Lunch boxes were frequently used consisting of pasta along with various pasta sauces, salmon and spinach, salmon and broccoli and other types of cooked food. Nowhere were 'ready-made' or 'half-made' dishes to be seen. This implicates that even though the foodies describe their everyday cooking in less festive terms, focusing on functionality, their food is still home made. Their interest in food results in an emphasis on planning, which enables the homemade lunch boxes.

Talking about everyday cooking in less elaborate terms and dismissing it as functionality-based, which the majority of the foodies did, also highlight the fact that they value the social aspect of cooking to a very high extent. Adler (1981) argues that the type of cooking men have been taking on, traditionally, is closely associated with a hobby-like approach. The fact that our respondents manage their own household, except for Einar, indicates that they only have themselves to take care of, resulting in them not having to cook if they do not feel the urge to do it. Most of them emphasise that they want to cook the majority of the time, but aspects like shortage of time and schoolwork do hinder them. When shortage of time or schoolwork is an issue they have the option to go buy something ready-made or just grab a sandwich. The respondents only cook when they have time to do it and when cooking can be looked upon as fun, which is in line with the hobby-like approach argued for by Adler. Cooking should, according to our respondents, be fun otherwise they choose not to cook; cooking should surely not turn in to a chore. Illustrated by Niklas in the following quotation:

"If you are a bunch of friends cooking and the food is not a focal point, if you just are going to 'throw something together', like pasta and meatballs at someone else's place, I rather take a step back and do the dishes or something"

This quotation implies that when cooking is not creative or fun and when it does not involve a certain degree of knowledge cooking is not regarded as something pleasurable which have the foodies, in this case Niklas and John, refrain the act of food labour. Statements closely related to Swenson's (2009) "male entertainer cook".

Cooking for others is a way for the foodies to demonstrate their cultural capital and to put the food knowledge they have accumulated in to practice. Sure, they can *talk* about food with others, but it is only regarded as theoretical knowledge, which do not illustrate their practical knowledge and skills. In order to prove their ability they need to have other people taste their food. Cooking is therefore

considered to be a form of cultural capital that one possesses all days of the week but that one only is able to demonstrated by practice. Showing off one's culinary capital is therefore highly context bound, which may offer an explanation to why the respondents appreciate cooking for others and taking on food labour for various social events.

To prepare your own dish and act in a crafty manners is appreciated and looked upon with respect by other people that do not posses enough cultural capital to do it themselves, argued for by Campbell (2005). Our respondents, in general, like to get commendations from others concerning their cooking and admit that it inspires them to become even better. Aron illustrates this with his comment about how he feels about the fact that he is given the role as food provider among his friends:

"It works out very well. It is extremely fun and in addition it is very appreciated as well. I would lie if I did not say that it is partly because I get appreciation for what I do that I continue to cook. It is fun to get appraisal, don't all people like that?"

Not everyone likes to be appraised however, Martin explains that ever since he was a little boy he has constantly rejected flatter and found it hard to deal with positive criticism. This may be due to the fact that even though his cooking impresses others he is not necessarily satisfied with it himself. He expresses frustration and talks about how he sometimes just wants other to be honest and critique him; not just giving positive feed back. John also appreciates honest critique and feedback:

"I have a friend that is not at all interested in food, but at the same time, he is the best person to cook for, as I know. He is super honest and is not shy to say that I have performed a complete failure, "it was totally unnecessary for you to stand there for three hours since I can't taste the difference"(impersonating his friend). *I think that this kind of critique helps me to bring me down to earth and not become too geeky."*

Cooking for others may, hence, not only be used as a stage to show off on nor solely performed due to the appraisals gained from others. It is also considered to be a way getting honest feedback and critique in order to improve their cooking skills.

4.1.2 Cooking as an act of love

Cooking as care work is traditionally closely related to female cooking and is something that most scholars have found to be present even in modern day practices of gendered food labour. Mentioned above is the fact that the foodie men in this study clearly embrace the entertainment and leisure like

cooking styles, traditionally associated with masculinity. However, the fact that the foodie men emphasise cooking in a social context may not, as concluded above, only be for the sake of getting affirmation or praise. The fact that they spend an extensive amount of time and energy on cooking for these occasions also implicates that they wish to treat their fellow dinner guests with really good food, made with love. On the contrary situations when they cook for themselves is something that they do not value high, consequently that food only have functional associations, eating to survive, also traditionally masculine (Lupton 1996). However, as mentioned, when cooking for others their narratives become very detailed when describing the recipes and they enthusiastically talk about their guests and the dinner setting. The fact that cooking for themselves is considered to be functionality based while cooking for others is considered to be more important work, in terms of time, money and energy spent, have strong connotations to the female care work cooking. Niklas explains the level of commitment involved in cooking for others:

"Before the actual dinner took place we had tried out different combinations for several days… it was 34 people that had paid for the dinner… we had to make something good for them"
-Niklas

When asked if they adapt the cooking depending on whom they are cooking for all respondents, accept for Aron and Filip, agreed on that this was something they most definitely did. Adapting the cooking after the eaters' preferences is also something typically associated with women, yet again because of their tendency to cook for others rather than themselves.

Important to note however is that narratives about care work were very rarely mentioned explicitly by any of the respondents, although when reading between the lines it is implied that cooking for others involve a great deal of love and care visualized by Martin's quote on cooking for his dad:

"If I cook for my dad... I mean he basically eats anything, but I know that becomes extra happy if I make him pea soup or fried pork… If I treat him fried herring I know that he will become all teary-eyed"

4.2 The simplicity lovers

Adler (1981), Deutsch (2005), Mechling (2005) and Swenson (2009) all emphasise the process of cooking as typically masculine, implicating that male cooking often is time consuming and conducted using elaborate methods. This male mode of cooking is closely related to Campbell's (2005) craft consumer, whom chose to craft the meal himself rather than buying ready-made meals.

The men in the study all emphasise the act of craft in their cooking and there is consensus around the assumption that they to a higher extent than the average consumer make things from scratch. Everything from growing their own tomatoes and herbs, making their own French fries, to craft lemon sorbet, dumplings and pizza dough, making béarnaise sauce and mayonnaise from scratch is mentioned as examples of craft consumption.

John crafting his own breaded codfish and remoulade sauce

John, who is considered to be the man with the strongest passion for food in the bunch, mention a project of his where craft is taken to the extremes visualized in the following quotation:

"Back home during the summers we always go to the extremes. Me, and a friend of mine decided that we were going to do everything from scratch… so last summer we made our own cheese. We stirred in a fucking pot for like three hours"

Distinguishing oneself from the masses by avoiding ready-made products is stressed in a lot of the narratives, illustrated in Filip's quotation regarding buying ready-made frozen hamburgers:

"I think it is extremely unnecessary to buy it when it takes three seconds to make your own. It is an insult to food! In addition it does not feel right to buy products when you do not know what they have put in it"

By stressing craft and making things from scratch implicate that the men consider themselves to be

more knowledgeable than the average consumer since they know how to make things from scratch. Subsequently they consider ready-made products to be of lower standard, which is considered to be due to the fact that they refer to ready-made and half-made products at the store as being full of substances, which are labelled as unhealthy or "sketchy". The focus on process and crafting also set the foodie men apart from the female tendency to use quick fixes, argued for by Swenson (2009) in order to be time consuming.

Martin does believe that doing things made from scratch is much appreciated by others as well, even by non-food enthusiasts. However he states that others are too lazy, uninterested or not knowledgeable enough to perform cooking from scratch. This implies that he considers himself to possess higher cultural capital than the average consumer since he not only know to appreciate food made from scratch, he also know how to perform it. According to Johnston and Baumann (2010), foodies are considered to value hand made food because of its authenticity, rather than pretentious haute cuisine. Our respondents confirm this since they emphasise simplicity and craft. Simplicity, craft and process are all aspects of cooking highly valued by the respondents which takes form in their food practice as "långkok" (*lit.* stews which stands on the stove for several hours), emphasised by John, Aron and Niklas. Simplicity according to our Foodies is not considered as a quick fix or something of lower rang. They redefine 'simple cooking' into something that requires knowledge in order to execute. Gathering basic commodities and products and turning them in to something extraordinary is considered a skill, which make the most basic food gain an essence of luxury.

"...to do everything from scratch, it could be the simplest things, dumplings is fun to do and very tasty. And on top of it, it is extremely cheap, just some flour and then you can fill them with anything. It hardly costs you anything and it becomes so much more luxurious if you have made it from scratch yourself!"
- Martin

Even though they emphasise simple cooking and redefine it in to something creative the female quick fix solution tendency is present in the foodie men's life due to stress, high workload and lack of time. This is visible in the diaries of all the respondents, where lunch boxes consisting of pasta and food with minimum cooking effort needed are presented. Although, as will be elaborated on, what one considers to be a "quick fix" is relative and highly subjective. The quick fixes is not something the foodies are proud of which is indicated by the fact that the respondents chose, instant coffee, ready made waffle mix and other quick solutions as the product they were ashamed of having in their pantry, documented in the diaries. Hence, quick solutions is not something they are

proud of, however, present in their lives due to stress.

4.2.1 Rejecting speciality ingredients

The number of times the respondents name dropped a brand could be counted on one hand, indicating that expensive brands is not something that is important to them, which might however be a result of their economic situation. Although, it is an indication of that conspicuous consumption, as mentioned by Corrigan (2010) and Erickson (1996) is not the focal point in these men's foodie practice. At least conspicuous consumption, in terms of choosing branded products for display, is not present in their foodie practice. Although they put great deal of emphasis on good raw material, which might not be conspicuous consumption in the true meaning of the word, since gaining status through knowing the quality of the raw material requires some knowledge from the people surrounding them. Due to this their conspicuous consumption can only be appreciated and confirmed by a certain crowd with equal, or more, knowledge. Instead, it is argued that the foodie men practice conspicuous leisure, argued for by Stalker (2011), contradicting Corrigan's (2010) theories. The men implies that their culinary capital is based upon how much time they spend acquiring knowledge (elaborated in the Knowledge seeker section of the analysis) and how they then turn this knowledge in to practice, rather than spending vast amounts of money on expensive and branded products to show off. This leads us to assume that conspicuous leisure rather than conspicuous consumption is what these men value when it comes to establishing social distinction.

When asked what product they tend to spend more money on, and what they would like to be able to spend more money on, the majority of the men answered meat. Overall there was a lot of talk about meat, how to cut it the right way and other techniques that one need to know in order to be able to handle meat the "right" way. However, when looking through the diaries meat were no where to be seen in the foodie's everyday cooking, which might be due to their economic situation, which also was brought up during the interviews. Interesting to note however is the fact that they spoke a lot about meat, and how meat should be prioritized, even though they rarely afford it or use it in their cooking.

Picture taken from John's diary

"If you are going to buy meat I rather buy something really good than frozen half-ass products. But if you do not have money to spend on meat you might eat something else instead… but yeah, things that I would spend money on are definitely meat and stuff like that..."
– Niklas answering what food he consider that one should spend more money on

"If I am to buy a piece of meat I rather buy something a bit more expensive than buying the cheap stuff which will be like chewing on nothing basically, but it is something I rarely do due to my student budget"
– John answering what food he consider that one should spend more money on

However on the days, described in their diaries, when they cooked and ate in the company of others many of the foodie men prepared and cooked meat for their guests. John treated his guests a lamb dish, Martin prepared "råbiff" (*lit*. raw beef) and Nils grilled steaks. Describing their best restaurant experience also had many of the men emphasise the meat aspect, like Aron whom talked about an Argentinean meat restaurant in Spain. Eating red meat is looked upon as typically masculine and is hence, closely related to male food practice, stressed by Lupton (1996) and Adler (1981). The masculine connotations meat produces might be why these men highlights meat in their narratives during the interviews and might also be the reason to why they eat meat in the company of others

rather than when they eat solo, since what is cooked in the company of others reflects the image they would like to portray.

Even though there was a lot of talk about meat, the diaries revealed that salmon, pasta and vegetables were frequently appearing as food the foodie men ate on a day-to-day basis, which is food with female associations. Important to note is that this food was documented as "everyday-food" which the foodie men ate in the company of themselves, commonly during lunch, which indicates that food with female associations is not accented in the company of others. Although, yet again this might be due to the fact that their economic situation is rather strained.

Their narratives concerning specific food commodities centres around good raw material, however the casually admit to buy ready-made products as well, due to time issues and lack of knowledge:

"You should not walk through fire to make something yourself that might end up worse than the ready-made product. If the product only is a smaller component of the dish it might not matter."
– Einar

Something that stood out was the respondents' tendency to reject speciality and exotic ingredients. Adler (1981) and Julier and Lindenfeld (2005) argues that men to a higher extent than women use exotic and gourmet-type ingredients. The exoticization is also promoted by the foodie culture where foodies tend to be on constant lookout for exotic food and knowledge about exotic cooking. These facts were contrasted by many of the male foodies in this study especially when describing their own cooking.

"Some cook books are rather silly...'in order to do this you need three grams of red Japanese seaweed'"
- Martin

"I cook rather easy dishes, not anything too complex. I do not cook food where you need two hundred million weird ingredients; it is all about simplicity and taste... I rather buy something that requires fewer ingredients and that does not require me to buy anything weird... a few good quality ingredients can make the whole difference"
– Filip

The cooking described above may from a spectator's point of view resemble the mundane and standardized cooking associated with female food labour. However, since it is stated that the men appreciate and value simple food, it is believed that they refuse special-type ingredients in favour of really good quality raw material. In turn this have them accent their culinary capital by stressing good quality products, and knowledge about these products, rather than gourmet-type ingredients. This view is further emphasised by the respondents who chose real butter as the product they value highest in their everyday cooking, documented in the diaries of both John and Martin. Exotic and "weird" ingredients are considered to be "show off"" implicated by John's description of the world renowned Copenhagen-based restaurant Noma:

"...Like Noma, that is not even food any more! They are just trying to show off. At some point you reach a level when the food only is made for the elite. I mean really, how tasty is fried lava? Sap-beer is not really good, however it is made from sap. I mean, it is awesome that it is possible to do it out of sap but... come on!"

By rejecting speciality, gourmet and exotic ingredients the foodie men in the study distance themselves from food snobbery when it comes to their own cooking. Instead they focus on the challenge in making really good food out of few basic ingredients. This may potentially be fuelled by their economic situation.

"I like simple and genuine food, some how. I like to do a lot from a little so to speak. I consider it a challenge, and also find it fun, to check out what is in my fridge and see what I can make out of those five ingredients..."
- John

Husmanskost (*lit.* homely made food, special term used in order to describe genuine Swedish food) is mentioned by all foodies as a type of food that they often cook, and which they also prefer to cook.

"I strongly emphasis homely cooking, really well made food"
–   Einar

Yet again, their style of cooking seems to resemble the female everyday cooking, described as standard. But these men do not consider this type of cooking as mundane and standard rather they consider the type of cooking as a challenge, trying to make simple dishes really good by turning the

everyday homely cooking in to something extraordinary tasty, emphasised by Hollows (2003a). Being creative and trying to put their own touch on the simple dishes seems to be a task they gladly take on in order to turn ordinary into extraordinary without the use of special ingredients. Aron's "Korv stroganoff" with a dash of white wine and real stock, Filip's Bolognese with celery and wine and John's Bolognese that some days were given an Italian character with the help of sun-dried tomatoes and others a Swedish vibe are some of the examples offered in the diaries and interviews.

4.2.2 Family recipes

The foodie men's emphasise narratives about family recipes in both the diaries as well as in the interviews. The focus on family recipes was something that emerged in a lot of the interviews without asking specific questions about the topic, which indicates that family recipes are regarded as highly valued belongings of the foodies.

" I've been telling my grandmother to write down her recipe for cabbage rolls, in order to be able to make them myself, but they tend not to write down the recipes, it is just something that is ingrained"

- Aron

According to Ketchum (2005), Swenson (2009) and Cairns et al. (2010) the emphasis on traditional family recipes is closely linked to female cooking, since women to a higher degree than men cherish these recipes which are considered to be related to love and intimacy In his diary, Filip, mentions how his grandmother's Porter stew inspired his cooking on the day when food was the focal point, talking about the Porter stew in very emotional terms.

"I expected a lot of flavour and memories from my childhood. Porter steak was something my grandmother always made when I was younger. This time when I made it, it truly lived up to my expectations."
- Filip describing his attempt to remake his grandmother's porter stew.

In John's interview the family cook book, consisting of recipes from when he and his brothers and sisters were cooking as children, is mentioned and he also tells us that he still frequently cook at least two of the recipes with only minor modifications made.

Embracing family recipes have strong female connotations, however emphasising traditional recipes is also closely related to foodie practices. Johnston and Baumann (2010) claim that tradition is used as a reference point when determining food authenticity. Since the foodies consider simple food to be luxurious and something that requires knowledge, traditional family recipes may be considered as something with high authenticity. Referring to the food as family recipe ads an authenticity aura to the food, which cannot be achieved by anyone else since it is "grandma's recipe", which stresses the personal connection to the food Johnston and Baumann state as important for the foodie. It is interesting to point out how the female tendency of cherishing family recipes turns in to a mean by which the foodie men can acquire social distinction.

Important to note is that all references made to childhood memories and family recipes refer to mothers and grandmothers. In addition to those specific narratives, six respondents out of five respondents mentioned their mother as the family food provider growing up which shows evidence of that the men have been brought up in homes where traditional gender norms were applied in the kitchen area. No men were mentioned as possessing sacred family recipes neither were men a focal point during any of the narratives, except for Einar mentioning his father as the family cook. On the contrary to Cairns et al.'s (2010) and Hollow's (2003b) studies, the men in this study did not distance themselves from their mothers or grandmothers cooking, rather they were embracing their cooking techniques and expressed a desire to be able to make them the exact same way their mother's and grandmother's did. The fact that they express admiration talking about mothers' and grandmothers' cooking is probably closely linked to their fascination of the simple, homely made cooking styles many of them have adapted in their own cooking.

4.3 The humble control freaks

A constantly recurring topic in the interviews was the fact that respondents find it hard to involve other people in the process of preparing and cooking food. Even though some of them do not articulate this directly, it is clear that this is an opinion shared by all of them. They are aware of the relatively high culinary capital they posses, hence they often shoulder the responsibility of preparing food for others. They know whom in their circle of friends that are to be trusted and therefore accepted as co-chefs and they know which friends that need to be closely monitored. This is especially true when there is a dinner party and the respondent is presenting "their" cooking. In this case they may allow someone to help them prepare the salad, chop ingredients or set the table, chores that will not necessarily make or break the finished product. This insight goes along with Adler (1981), as well as Roos et al. (2001) who argue that men have a tendency to take on the role of cooking for special occasions to the degree that he labels some recipes as his exclusive territory,

which no one else is capable of performing. Even though non of the foodie men express that they have a special recipe they do, however, claim the kitchen when food labour takes place, indicating that they are the only ones capable of performing the task at hand. Einar declares his attitude towards letting his friends help him out in the kitchen:

"Concerning food I have a tendency not to trust people… I do not allow anyone else to fry the meat if I am going to eat it later on… when it comes to food I would say that I am a control freak. I mean, I want to integrate others in the process; however I do not allow them to take care of the most important parts..."

Einar took charge of the grill even though he was only a guest at the dinner.

When talking about friends who he acknowledge to be good chefs it is a completely different thing though:

"…Then it is on a completely different level... then it is more a dialogue around how the food is going to be cooked the best way… instead of me having to be worried about someone doing things the wrong way"

Filip answers the question "if he often shoulders the role as food provider" as follows:

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"Yes, it occurs quite often, and if I do not take on that role I am afraid that I do take over in the kitchen anyway. I am that annoying guy who wants to have everything my way. But it of course depends on who's cooking. If I know that it can turn out bad, I step in and take control, but some I do trust. In those cases I do not mind taking a step back"

Even though they are aware of their own capacity, and often disassociate themselves from people with lower cultural capital, they all believe that they have much to learn. During the interviews a high level of self-criticism is presented, most of the respondents do not feel proud even if they are bombarded with flatter from people around them. "There is always something that they could have done better", is a general consensus. Therefore, in accordance with Mechling's (2005) thoughts on masculine cooking, much focus lies on the process of making a dish and much effort and time are allocated in order to prepare it.

"I am never fully satisfied... I don't think that I ever have been completely satisfied with any dish I have served"
- Martin

He then tells us that he always get hung up on all kinds of minor details, which he realizes that others don't notice at all, but still is of importance and really affects him. Aron talks about the pressure of always being expected to deliver:

"Everyone knows that the food we cook at our place is really good... But one has to develop… If you set the bar you need to be able to fucking deliver to that standard, which can be a bit hard as well".

The high level of self-criticism pointed towards themselves does not apply when someone else invites them to dinner. They stress the importance of being humble and appreciate food made by people that lack their level of knowledge. Most of them are just happy that others take the time and devotion to cook for them, which yet again emphasise the foodies appreciation of food in a social context, not only when they, themselves are cooking. They stress that it is important to remember that not everyone shares their interest in food. Erickson (1996) stresses the social context when talking about cultural capital and claims that different forms of cultural capital are more or less valued depending on social position and social context. Stalker (2011) agrees with Erickson and emphasise that it is considered a skill to accent the 'correct' type of cultural knowledge in the

appropriate social context. The respondents seem to be highly aware of this, as they do not want to be perceived as thinking they are better than others, which is why they in certain contexts insist not to accent their food interest.

"I try to tone down my interest in cooking if we are a bunch of people cooking together. If I am at someone else's house I stay away from the food and try not to interfere, because that can be annoying. I know that some people find that to be a turn off..."
- Niklas

Einar distance himself from food snobs by telling us that he does not want to be thought of as one:

"I try to be interested in food in a good way, in a way that I do not turn in to a food snob... that might not be the best scenario".

How would you classify a food snob?

"Someone who says that they cannot eat a dish just because it is not made 'the right way'...or because the food is not made out of fine raw ingredients, even though the dish is quite good. The most important thing is not to talk down someone else's cooking!"

Highlighting their culinary capital in a subtle way by treating friends with really good food, while making sure not to turn in to a food snob seems to be the foodie men's preferred way to accent their passion in and knowledge for food and cooking.

4.4 The Freestylers
The men's tendency to turn in to control freaks while cooking does only apply to them not trusting others to perform cooking as skilfully as themselves. Regarding their own cooking and abilities they are confident and not afraid of experimenting. Being controlled by a recipe is something they detest. Additional theory regarding food and masculinity is produced in Mechling's (2005) study, which implies that men's cooking is often permeated by a learning by doing approach. Mechling (2005), Aarseth (2009) and Adler (1981) are all associating masculinity with experimental and creative cooking separated from traditional female cooking, which is as mentioned, characterized as mundane and standardized. Our respondents are acting accordingly, and stress the importance of adding their own personal touch to every dish. They use recipes, but only as a source of inspiration and guidelines and they quickly turn to their own knowledge and experiences when adjusting the original recipe to their taste. They all rely on their culinary capital and don't like to be "held back"

by the restraints of recipes. Niklas answers the question if he uses recipes whilst cooking:

"I normally use recipes as guide lines, but after that, I think it is better to taste. That is what I usually tell people, that when you learn to taste is when you learn to cook. To know certain amounts does not help you that much, one should focus on learning to feel and taste how much of each ingredient to use"

Mechling also argues that men's cooking is driven by creativity, which is also a belief shared by our respondents. Acting in a creative manner when cooking distinguishes the male foodie's food labour from traditional female cooking, which is regarded as standard and characterised by "quick-fix solutions". As mentioned earlier, the respondents choose not to cook when there is no fun or creativity involved. They desire to increase their level of culinary capital by engaging in creative acts of self-expression, accumulating as much knowledge and expertise whilst doing it Campbell (2005). Martin answers the question regarding what he believes is the driving force when it comes to his passion for food:

"The process of creating I believe. I believe that it is because of that that I have not pursued a career as a chef, if you are not a chef with a top-notch job, you get to stand in the kitchen frying meat in abundance all day long. If that were the case, cooking would not be fulfilling to me!"

The quest for engaging in creative cooking is also visible concerning the respondents' preferences when it comes to favoured types of dishes to cook. All, except Filip, prefer to prepare starters or main courses. The reason for this is claimed to be due to the fact that desserts are depicted as harder to prepare since there is often "no room for errors", which hindered experimentation. Reading between the lines the men implies that they need to follow recipes in a slavishly manner, which hinders their level of creativity. Filip, on the other hand, regard desserts as something very creative, probably as a result of the fact that he has devoted a lot more time to that specific genre and, hence, has become more knowledgeable in that area, which consequently have him regard desserts as something creative.

"I do not know why I have become so passionate about baking. Maybe because I like sweets and partly because I think that I can be more creative when it comes to baking. I like to do different toppings on cupcakes and stuff like that. It is easy to make it aesthetically appealing somehow. And you most often do several different dishes when you bake for a birthday party or something alike, when you cook you always just do one dish, that is it!" - Filip

Women are commonly associated with sweets and desserts, which may offer an explanation to why Filip is the only one that has cultivated himself within baking. Einar who is the only foodie man currently in a relationship reveals that his girlfriend is an enthusiastic baker, and that he actively supports her interest in baking since he is not able to perform it. He also reveals that his girlfriend at times helps him out in the kitchen but that he rarely interferes in her baking process. If the men, however, had spent more time on learning to make desserts and bake, they had most likely been more confident in that area as well and not felt hindered by recipes. But, since the men are reluctant to perform baking and eating sweets, potentially because it has female connotations, they regard dessert making and baking as less creative. Many of the men confess that they do not even care about the dessert.

"Desserts are secondary (waving his hand indicating that he does not care), it often ends up taking the form of someone buying some ready-made ice cream at the store... most of the times we cheat that way with the desserts"
- Martin

4.5 The knowledge seekers

Throughout history men have either been described as incompetent cooks in the domestic sphere or as professional chefs in the public sphere, according to Deutsch (2005), Adler (1981) and Swenson (2009). Neither description fits our respondents who are passionate domestic cooks who are on a constant hunt for new food knowledge in order to improve their cooking skills.

According to Swenson (2009) male cooking may take form as men taking on the role as entertainer, athlete or scientist. As mentioned earlier, all men in the study embrace the entertainer role; consequently this section will focus on the scientist and athlete. As mentioned before, the foodie men in this study have a close circle of food interested male friends whom they trust to be competent and skilled cooks. Most of the respondents admit that some degree of competition is present within that circle; however, most of them highlight the knowledge exchange, which occurs within the circle of food-interested friends.

"It most commonly takes forms as an exchange of knowledge… but yes, there is a terror balance as well, however emphasis is on the exchange between us!"
- Einar

Martin is the only one who admits that he openly and without feeling embarrassed compares himself with his friends and actively strives to do better than his food-interested friends. An example of this is how he one day was treated the 'best pizza he had ever ate', made from scratch by his friend. The day after the intake, of the 'best pizza ever', he made the effort to create an even better version of that specific pizza. The competition narratives is strongly emphasised in Martin's interview, turning him in to the picture perfect athlete, described by Swenson, emphasising male attributes as hierarchy, success and power. John also talks about the competition aspect among him and his food interested friends however he claims that others around them rather than themselves view it as a competition wanting them to participate in cook off's and other types of competitions. The picture of Martin embracing the role as athlete in the kitchen is further enhanced by the following statement:

"... You only show what you are good at... the things you are not that good at you avoid making..."

However, Martin's athlete approach to cooking also implies that he gets inspired by what his friends are making, which in a way indicate that he also value the exchange between friends. As mentioned, all six respondents, including Martin, emphasised the knowledge exchange and inspiration gained from the interaction with their food-interested friends to a higher extent than the competition aspect.

"It most often takes forms as us doing everything together, both teaching and helping each other out"
- John

John's quotation stress how they teach and help each other, Filip rather emphasise that friends' cooking are a source of inspiration, however points out that in order to be a source of inspiration their level of cooking needs to be at least equal to his level, focusing on teaching others rather than learning from others. Yet again this implicates that not *any* food is a source of inspiration, a certain degree of culinary capital on the other part is needed in order to experience knowledge exchange, distancing themselves from the masses average cooking.

Swenson (2009) and Cairns et al (2010) stress that men typically accent knowledge and expertise in terms of culinary, historical and scientific knowledge as a mean to preserve men's masculinity in the domestic kitchen. During the interviews many of the foodies name dropped the famous Guide Michelin restaurants and fine chefs like Heston Blumenthal and Paul Bocuse, enthusiastically describe foreign food cultures, talked in elaborate terms about different cooking techniques and

many of them also proved to be highly knowledgeable about substances and ingredients in different types of food.

Aron, Martin and Filip talks about the importance of, and skill involved in, cutting meat the right way and how one should cut up a whole chicken in order to make use out of all parts, hence highlight themselves as competent and knowledgeable cooks.

"You can do a lot with a whole chicken, it is not that many people who buy a whole chicken though... it is also cheaper than buying fillets, however it requires some knowledge ... it can be used for allot of different purposes if you only know how to cut it up."

– Aron

John shows off his green fingers and knowledge about vegetables in the following statement:

"I grew up on a farm which had me appreciate the act of farming... I have two friends who claimed that they did not even like tomatoes... but when they tasted the ones I had grown they were like 'wow!'. The vegetables and herbs you buy at ICA are broiler vegetables that have been produced in a stressed and forced manner... I mean if you grow your own herbs they can last for years, they are perennial plants so you just need to cut them every once in a while in order to keep them alive"

The respondents seem to be on a constant look out for culinary knowledge. Besides exchange of knowledge between friends they actively seek food knowledge through reading cook books, food blogs and recipe websites, having conversations with staff at Saluhallen, in speciality stores they visit and most frequently mentioned; food shows on TV. Learning about food as an ongoing commitment, as mentioned by Cairns et al. (2010) seems to correspond very well with the foodie men. Also mentioned by Cairns et al. is the male tendency to start projects, which is also brought up by Stalker (2011) who claim that men have a tendency to focus on one thing at a time while women is better at multi-tasking. Martin is the only one who mentions how he engages in different projects. Currently he wishes to deepen his knowledge in different textures and a couple of months ago he was focusing on sauces. Aron also expresses a wish to be able to cultivate himself in different kitchens, wanting to take on the Italian kitchen as one project to them move on to another kitchen.

Important to note, as mentioned, is that they only consider themselves to learn anything if the person is considered to be equal or more knowledgeable about food than themselves. People with low culinary capital are dismissed as teachers and are not considered to contribute to the

enhancement of the foodie men's food practices. As mentioned by Lupton (1996) knowledge about the food is most likely used by the foodie men as a boundary marker, which separates them from others with lesser knowledge.

Interesting to note is that some of the foodies even reject well-known and respected chefs as "unknowledgeable", which implicates that they consider themselves to possess a considerably high degree of culinary capital and skills. This can also be related to Swenson's theories about men focusing on hierarchy and power which might be why these men feel the need to "talk down" some of the men considered to belong to a "higher rang". Martin consider certain TV-chefs to be too simple, in a way contradicting the other foodies' focus on simplicity:

"...Look at Jamie Oliver... I mean he is very nice but his cooking is very easy, Gordon Ramsey is a bit more advanced and lately I have been watching a lot of Heston Blumenthal's shows... if I am to watch something I need to feel that I am gaining some knowledge... sometimes when I look through cook books I get kind of pissed, like: 'doesn't everybody know how to do this?'...that person is supposed to teach me something rather than me having to teach him something"

John, whom participated in the Swedish version of Master chef, rejected one of the judges cooking techniques in national television (however, pushed by the production team to say something about the outcome):

"I read a cook book by him (referring to Per Morberg) *and he obviously does not know how to make ice cream. It needs to be heated twice in order for it to even turn in to ice cream, otherwise it is just a freaking parfait"*

5. Conclusion.

The objective of this study has been to research how young foodie men enact gender in their food practice. By using photo-diaries and semi-structured interviews six young foodie men were approached in order to gain understanding of the purpose and be able to answer the research question. Down below we present the findings in a conclusive manner in order to answer the research question; how do men enact gender in their foodie practices?

Domestic cooking has traditionally been looked upon as women's work. However the foodie men in this study gladly take on cooking in any domestic cooking context and hence break the traditional beliefs of the man as an incompetent cook who do not participate in the everyday food labour. The everyday cooking for themselves as well as cooking for others during various types of events are all considered to be the foodie men's work. The situations when they are to perform cooking for others are considered to be the type of cooking the foodie men appreciates the most. During an evening with the lads cooking a really good dinner along with some beer or wine is the type of moment when the foodies state they appreciate cooking the most. These men thrive during social events, and all of them shoulder the responsibility of cooking during these events, and it is in these situations they are given the chance to shine. Cooking for special occasions is considered to be stereotypical male behaviour and is something that the foodie men reinforce.

When cooking with and for others the foodie men turn in to control freaks, no one is allowed to interfere with the cooking accept for a small group of carefully selected friends who are thought to possess the skills needed in order to execute it properly. Others are allowed to do conduct simple tasks like chopping, dicing and peeling, at times. To be frank, they would rather perform the cooking solo, which make them turn in to the picture perfect man who regards cooking for special occasions as his domain and whom do not trust anyone else to execute the cooking the right way.

However, due to the fact that they put a lot of effort and time in to the cooking for others and describes cooking for themselves in rather functional, time saving and mundane terms implies that cooking for others might be connected to the female care work. Getting praise when cooking for others is what partly drives their interest in food, however the fact that most of them adapt the food depending on whom they cooking for and spend vast amounts of time and energy on pleasing the guests rather than themselves indicate that these men also engage in traditional care work, typically

associated with female food practices. Important to note, however, is that these narratives are less explicit during the interviews than the narratives about the social aspect.

The foodie men's tendency to only cook when cooking is considered to be fun or creative is typical male food labour behaviour. When food and food labour no longer can be seen as an creative act the men refrain cooking which reinforces the traditional view of male food labour being optional. Their everyday-food is described in simple terms and simplicity is something the foodie men appreciate. They are greatly inspired by the type of cooking their mothers and grandmothers have performed during their childhood, cherishing family recipes have female connotations and men are typically known for trying to defy the cooking of their mothers. However, these men talk in loving terms about their female role models and aspire to cook food the same way they do.

Men's tendency to use exotic and speciality ingredients in their cooking is not something that the foodie men in this study embrace, rather they reject speciality ingredients in favour of homely made food, simple ingredients, crafting food from scratch and using good raw material products. Speciality ingredients are considered to be too pretentious and something that one do not require in order to make impressive and tasty food. Even though they reject speciality ingredients, which are typically masculine, they do talk extensively about meat and if they had a more generous budget many of them stress that the money would be spent on meat. Meat is something they prefer to serve in the company of others, when they cook for themselves food with female connotations such as pasta, vegetables and fish is more frequently used. Accenting meat, which have masculine associations is considered to be a way for the men to establish their masculinity in the company of others.

The type of cooking preferred by the foodie men are probably inspired by their female role models and are considered to have associations with typical female everyday cooking commonly associated with standardization. Homely made cooking is something all foodies claim they appreciate, get inspired by and often cook themselves. However, the men do correspond to the male tendency to experiment with food, which have them renounce the use of recipes by just using them as guidelines to then begin to freestyle. Experimenting and crafting allow the men to maintain a masculine feel to their cooking since the everyday cooking turns in to something creative which makes the everyday food labour fun which keep their style of cooking separated from traditional female food labour.

The foodie men are on a constant look out to increase their culinary capital, TV-shows, cookbooks, and exchange of knowledge with friends and staff in their favourite stores is considered to be

sources of knowledge. In their narratives they express a lot of knowledge concerning cooking techniques and different types of food and ingredients. The foodie men emphasise that their food labour demand considerable amount of knowledge and skills in order to execute and their knowledge about the raw ingredients is great. Combining the right ingredients, cutting the meat the right way and making food from scratch have an luxurious aura according to the foodie, turning ordinary in to extraordinary if the right amount of skills is possessed. Highlighting knowledge and expertise is something considered having masculine connotations, which corresponds to the foodie men's food practises and is something they aspire to obtain more of.

To further conclude, the foodie men reinforce typical masculine behaviour by taking on cooking for special occasions, experiment and value creative aspects of cooking, refrain cooking when it is not considered to be fun, talk a lot about meat and stress expertise and knowledge concerning food. However the division between traditional masculine and feminine has become blurred, as stressed by Aarseth (2009) since the foodie men adopt female food practices as well. Catering to the preferences of others and prioritizing contexts when cooking for others, time-, energy- and money wise rather than cooking for themselves is strongly associated with traditional female care work. Valuing family recipes and rejecting speciality ingredients in favour of more simple ways of cooking is also considered to be traditional female food practices, which the foodie men embrace.

An interesting finding is that the masculine modes of food labour are very prominent in the foodie men's narratives, while many of the traditional female modes of cooking are toned down. Food with female connotations is looked upon as function only and is mostly eaten in the company of themselves and is in most cases not something they treat their guests. Female quick fixes are something they are less proud of however as mentioned by Filip their quick fixes compared to others' quick fixes are considered to be more elaborate and more well made. Cherishing family recipes, which has female connotations, are however prominent in the foodies' narratives. This is claimed to be due to the fact that the family recipes can result in social distinction since no one can possess the same personal connection to the recipes resulting in the fact that it is only the foodies who can accurately execute those specific dishes. The fact that they do not use exotic or special ingredients to a wide extent may be due to their financial situation. However the fact that they spend a relatively large amount of their income on food indicates that this finding might be of interest anyway. Emphasising good raw material and simplicity rather than exotic and speciality ingredients contradict traditional male food practices as well as foodies' tendency to favour exoticization.

Mixing feminine modes of cooking with masculine types of food labour can best be described as relaxed androgyny introduced by Mechling (2005), casually mixing female and male features of cooking which implies that navigating between gendered food practices is not considered to be an issue for the foodie men in this study.

6. Future research

In this section we will present our comments regarding potential future research, which may complement our study.

As mentioned previously in the study, our findings can only be seen as one truth of many due to the high level of subjectivity and constant motion that permeates our so called reality. The scope used during this research has been quite narrow given our sample group, consisting of six younger male respondents living under relatively similar conditions. Their prerequisites to enact gender, in a food related context, are very similar taking their budget, age, civil status and geographical living situation in to consideration. To further investigate the subject at hand, using respondents (foodies) in other stages of their lives and with different backgrounds, budgets, domestic circumstances etc. would surely widen the scope providing insights regarding how men are enacting gender in their foodie practises.

According to Campbell 2005, foodie practises and craft consumption are not exclusive for privileged people living in the affluent world. People from less affluent countries also have leisure time that can be used to act in crafty manners. It would be interesting to study differences between people living in different contexts, looking at what drives them and which types of capital that are considered to be the most effecting when it comes to establishing social distinction in a food context. Conspicuous consumption and leisure have different penetrating power in different contexts, exerting ones cultural capital by using one of the given tools may be completely wrong on one context but also mean all the difference in another.

A relatively high level of gender equality permeates the Nordic context, in which this study is conducted. This may, or may not, have influenced our foodie men's upbringing, resulting in certain behaviours and opinions that are not shared by others that are brought up under different circumstances, leading to other ways of looking at and enacting gender in the kitchen. So, by widening the scope, using other sample groups in different contexts researchers can enrich existing research and get a fuller picture of the emerging consumer segment called: Male Foodies.

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Appendix 1
FOTODAGBOK: Matlagningsvanor

Denna undersökning genomförs som en del av ett större forskningsprojekt vid Lunds universitet. Syftet är att undersöka hur unga kvinnor i en urban kontext utövar sitt matintresse. För att förse oss med djupare insikter inom detta område skulle vi vilja att du fyller i en fotodagbok under fem olika dagar. Dessa fem dagar behöver inte vara sammanhängande utan under en tvåveckorsperiod kan du välja de dagar som passar dig. Tanken är att du ska dagboksföra dina dagliga rutiner, tankar och aktiviteter. Dagboken kommer sedan att användas som underlag för den efterföljande intervju vi kommer att hålla med dig.

Dag 1 är en *vardag* som representerar en helt vanlig dag i ditt liv.
Dag 2 är en *avslappnad dag* då du kanske inte orkar lägga ned så mycket tid på matlagning
Dag 3 är en dag då *maten står i fokus* och du lagar något som kräver tid och kunskap.
Dag 4 representerar en dag då du *bjuder hem folk på middag*.
Dag 5 är en dag då du inte äter i hemmet men då middagstillfället är viktigt, exempelvis äter på *restaurang* eller hos kompisar.

Vi är medvetna om att det kan vara svårt att på förhand veta när dessa dagar kommer att inträffa, men det kanske finns någon aning om när de olika typerna av dagarna vanligtvis inträffar och då kan ni vara beredda med kameran. Bildkvaliteten är inte det viktiga utan att det tydligt framgår vad bilden föreställer eller representerar.

När du har färdigställt fotodagboken ber vi dig sända in den via mail. All din information kommer att behandlas med största försiktighet och anonymitet inom forskningsprojektet

Om du har några frågor så hör gärna av dig till oss. Din hjälp är mycket uppskattad!

Med vänliga hälsningar,

X & Y

Namn   Namn
E-mail   E-mail
Tel: Nr   Tel. Nr

Generella instruktioner för genomförandet av dagboken

För att vi ska hinna bearbeta materialet är det viktigt att fotodagboken fylls i så snabbt som möjligt, ju förr vi lyckas få svaren desto bättre. Det kan vara en god idé att titta igenom fotodagboksformuläret för att sätta dig i materialet redan innan du börjar. På detta sätt kan du förbereda dig att ta bilder av speciella situationer under de dagar som kan bli aktuella för projektet. Känn dig fri att tänka kreativt när du tar bilderna (t.ex. genom att ta en bild av en bild i en tidning som fångar meningen av det du hade velat ta en bild av egentligen).

För varje bild skall du skriva ner varför och vad du har tagit bilder av (närmare instruktioner finner du på varje sida).

Spendera inte för mycket tid på att formulera dina svar eller fundera på stavning eller grammatik. Det viktiga är att du skriver ner vad du finner mest relevant med dina egna ord.

Fyll i detta worddokument och lägg in bilderna så att de hänger ihop med rätt rubriker (förslagsvis under varje bildbeskrivning) och svara på frågorna bäst du kan!

Vi ser helst att du tar naturliga bilder, du ska till exempel inte städa upp innan du tar bilder i ditt hem.

Försök, så långt som möjligt, att ta med dig kameran under perioden – på det sättet kan du ta bilder när du får en god idé eller när relevanta situationer inträffar.

Inledningsvis ber vi dig att besvara ett fåtal frågor av det generella slaget, samt ta några illustrerande bilder

Ditt namn:

Ålder:

Kön:

Sysselsättning:

Utbildning:

Individuell inkomst/månad

Hushållets inkomst/månad:

Genomsnittligt utlägg på mat / månad (t.ex. X000 till hushållet och X00 på restaurang/person):

E-mail-adress:

(Mobil)telefonnummer:

Information om andra medlemmar i ditt hushåll:

Namn:	Ålder:	Relation till dig:
Namn:	Ålder:	Relation till dig:
Namn:	Ålder:	Relation till dig:
Namn:	Ålder:	Relation till dig:

0.1 VAR GOD TAG EN BILD AV DIG SJÄLV
Var god beskriv bilden:

0.2 VAR GOD TA EN BILD PÅ EN SAK ELLER PRODUKT I DITT HEM SOM ÄR KARAKTÄRISTISK FÖR DIG
Var god beskriv bilden:

På följande sidor (4-8) finner du fotodagboken.

DAG 1 - En vanlig vardag Datum: _____

Var god ta bilder på de matprodukter du har använt under dagen (max 7 bilder):

1.1 PÅ MORGONEN - FRUKOST
Beskriv kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför:

1.2 På JOBBET/ I SKOLAN/UTE - LUNCH
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför:

1.3 PÅ KVÄLLEN - MIDDAG
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför:

1.4 EN MATPRODUKT (och dess VARUMÄRKE) SOM DU INTE KLARAR DIG UTAN
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför du tycker det är en produkt du inte klarar dig utan och var du förvarar den:

1.5 EN MATPRODUKT DU KÖPTE BARA FÖR SKOJS SKULL
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara var och varför du köpte produkten/varumärket och var du förvarar den:

1.6 EN MATPRODUKT DU ÄR LITE GENERAD ÖVER ATT DU HAR
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara var och varför du köpte produkten/varumärket, varför du är generad över den och var du förvarar den:

1.7 EN MATPRODUKT SOM DU BARA ANVÄNDER VID SPECIELLA TILLFÄLLEN
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara var du köpte den, när du använder produkten/varumärket och var du förvarar den:

1.8 NÅGOT SOM FÅR POSITIV INVERKAN PÅ DIN MATLAGNING

Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bilder av:
Beskriv hur detta har positiv inverkan på din matlagning:

1.9 NÅGONTING SOM FÅR NEGATIV INVERKAN PÅ DIN MATLAGNING
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv hur detta har en negativ inverkan på din matlagning:

DAG 2 - En avslappnad dag   **Datum:** _____

2.0 VAR GOD BESKRIV DAGENS VIKTIGASTE TANKAR, KÄNSLOR OCH AKTIVITETER.

Var god tag bilder av följande:

2.1 EN MATVARUPRODUKT SOM SYMBOLISERAR EN SÅDAN DAG
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför du väljer denna matvaruprodukten just idag:

2.2 ETT VARUMÄRKE SOM SYMBOLISERAR EN SÅDAN DAG
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv varför varumärket symboliserar dagen:

2.3 EN TYPISK AKTIVITET FÖR EN SÅDAN DAG
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv varför aktiviteten är typisk för en sådan dag:

DAG 3 - En dag med matlagning i fokus   **Datum: _____**

3.0 VAR GOD BESKRIV DAGENS VIKTIGASTE TANKAR, KÄNSLOR OCH AKTIVITETER.

Var god tag bilder av följande:

3.1 EN DAGLIGVARUBUTIK DU BESÖKER NÄR DU SKA HANDLA NÅGOT SPECIELLT
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Förklara varför du väljer denna butiken för inköp till speciella tillfällen och hur miljön/människorna får dig att må
när du är där inne:

3.2 DE PRODUKTER DU KÖPTE (spara också kvitto)
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv vad du ska använda/använde produkterna till:

3.3 ETT REDSKAP DU GÄRNA ANVÄNDER TILL MATLAGNINGEN DENNA DAG
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv varför redskapet är bra att använda:

3.4 NÅGON/NÅGRA KRITISKA MOMENT AV SJÄLVA MATLAGNINGSPROCESSEN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av och varför de är viktiga:

3.5 EN RÅVARA SOM ÄR VIKTIG FÖR DEN MATRÄTTEN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv vad som gör råvaran viktig i maträtten:

3.6 DET SPECIELLA MIDDAGSTILLFÄLLET [detta inträffar kanske en annan dag än inköpsdagen,
kommentera isåfall detta nedan]
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv förväntningarna du hade på maträtten och huruvida maträtten levde upp till dessa förväntingar.
Varför/varför inte?

DAG 4 - En dag då du bjuder hem folk på middag   Datum: _____

4.0 VAR GOD BESKRIV DAGENS VIKTIGASTE TANKAR, KÄNSLOR OCH AKTIVITETER.

Var god tag bilder av följande:

4.1 EN DEL AV FÖRBEREDELSER INFÖR KVÄLLEN (besök i affär, förberedelser i köket, receptpåläsning etc.)
Förklara kortfattat vad du tagit bilder av:
Beskriv varför det här är en viktig del av förberedelserna:

4.2 NÅGOT SOM SYMBOLISERAR ATT DU SKA HA GÄSTER
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv varför detta är viktigt:

4.3 ETT REDSKAP DU GÄRNA ANVÄNDER TILL MATLAGNINGEN DENNA DAG
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv varför redskapet är bra att använda:

4.4 NÅGON/NÅGRA KRITISKA MOMENT AV SJÄLVA MATLAGNINGSPROCESSEN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av och varför de är viktiga:

4.5 EN RÅVARA SOM ÄR VIKTIG FÖR DEN MATRÄTTEN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv vad som gör råvaran viktig i maträtten:

4.6 SJÄLVA MIDDAGSTILLFÄLLET
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv responsen du förväntade dig av din gäst/dina gäster och responsen du fick, samt hur responsen fick dig att känna:

DAG 5 - En dag då du inte lagar maten själv,   Datum: _____
men då middagstillfället är viktig
(restaurangbesök alternativt middag hos vänner)

5.0 VAR GOD BESKRIV DAGENS VIKTIGASTE TANKAR, KÄNSLOR OCH AKTIVITETER.

Var god tag bilder av följande:

5.1 NÅGOT SOM SYMBOLISERAR ATT DU ÄTER UTE/HOS NÅGON ANNAN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:

5.2 EN DEL AV OMGIVNINGEN
Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:
Beskriv hur omgivningen får dig att känna:

5.2 NÅGON/NÅGRA AV MATRÄTTERNA

Beskriv kortfattat vad du har tagit bild av:

Beskriv hur maten står sig mot din egen matlagning, hade du kunnat göra det bättre själv?