Stories of masculinity, gender equality, and culinary progress

On foodwork, cooking, and men in Sweden

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Abstract

Neuman, N. 2016. Stories of masculinity, gender equality, and culinary progress. On foodwork, cooking, and men in Sweden. *Digital Comprehensive Summaries of Uppsala Dissertations from the Faculty of Social Sciences* 132. 106 pp. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. ISBN 978-91-554-9701-9.

The general aim of this thesis is to use foodwork and cooking in Sweden as a way to better understand theoretical questions about men and masculinities. Paper I discusses how an increased public interest in elaborate cooking and gastronomy in Sweden, a country with a cultural idealization of gender equality, could explain why men in Sweden assume responsibilities for domestic cooking without feeling emasculated. Papers II, III and IV draw on interviews with 31 men from 22 to 88 years of age and with different levels of interest in food. Paper II shows how domestic foodwork and cooking are associated with ideas of Swedish progress in terms of gender equality and culinary skills. Paper III demonstrates further that domestic cooking is not only a responsibility which men assume, but also a way of being sociable with friends, partners and children. Thus, both papers II and III challenge the idea that men only cook at home if they enjoy it. The data rather indicate that domestic foodwork responsibilities are a cultural expectation of men in Sweden, ingrained in desirable masculine practices. Paper IV explores men's responses to media representations of food. The interviewed men responded to these representations with indifference, pragmatism, irony, and at times even hostility. In general, the responses are based on gender and age-differentiated taste distinctions and notions of masculine and culinary excess. Paper V uses a mix of texts (81 online texts and two magazines) and observations from the food fairs GastroNord (2014 and 2016), Mitt kök-mässan (2014) and the chef competition Bocuse d'Or Europe (2014) complemented with pictures and videos. I argue that a Swedish culinary community that promotes Swedish culinary excellence is constructed by drawing on preestablished national (self-)images. This culinary community is constructed as open and tolerant, with ethical concerns for the environment and for nonhuman animals. Its culinary icons are represented by chefs in whites and the leading restaurants. In sum, this dissertation provides empirical and theoretical contributions to both food studies and gender studies that critically scrutinize men and masculinities. Food-issues are permeated by gender, both in people's everyday life and in the gastronomic elite.

Keywords: foodwork, cooking, food studies, men and masculinities, gender equality, domestic work, culinary excellence, food, gastronomy, celebrity chefs, national identity, androcentrism, homosociality

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"The selfish, they're all standing in line
Faithing and hoping to buy themselves time
Me, I figure as each breath goes by
I only own my mind

The North is to South what the clock is to time
There's east and there's west and there's everywhere life
I know I was born and I know that I'll die
The in between is mine
I am mine"

Pearl Jam, I am mine

This dissertation is dedicated to Clas

List of Papers

This dissertation is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

I   Neuman, N., & Fjellström, C. (2014). Gendered and gendering practices of food and cooking: An inquiry into authorisation, legitimisation and androcentric dividends in three social fields. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies, 9*(4), 269-285.

II   Neuman, N., Gottzén, L., & Fjellström, C. (2015). Narratives of progress: Cooking and gender equality among Swedish men. *Journal of Gender Studies,* 10.1080/09589236.2015.1090306

III   Neuman, N., Gottzén, L., & Fjellström, C. (2016). Masculinity and the sociality of cooking in men's everyday lives. *The Sociological Review,* 10.1111/1467-954X.12420

IV   Neuman, N., Gottzén, L., & Fjellström, C. The "just right" Swedish chef: Gender, age and taste distinctions in men's responses to media representations of food. Submitted.

V   Neuman, N. An imagined culinary community: Stories of egalitarianism and masculinity in "Sweden – the new culinary nation". Submitted.

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Author contributions

Paper I
Both authors were actively engaged in the construction of the paper. Nicklas Neuman did the main part of the reading and theoretical analyses. Christina Fjellström supervised the process, read and commented on the paper. A third person also contributed to this paper by providing ideas, reading and commenting: Henrik Berg at the Centre for Gender research at Uppsala University. However, Henrik only partook for a short period and is not one of the official authors.

Papers II, III and IV
All authors were actively involved in the papers. Nicklas Neuman designed the study, supervised by Christina Fjellström. Nicklas Neuman recruited all participants, collected all the data, transcribed all interviews, conducted the main part of the data analyses, and did the most of the writing. Lucas Gottzén contributed significantly with the analysis and the writing in all three papers, but especially Paper II. Christina Fjellström also contributed significantly to the writing process, especially in Papers III and IV.

Paper V
Nicklas Neuman designed the study, supervised by Christina Fjellström. Nicklas Neuman collected all the data, transcribed field notes, analyzed the data and did all the writing. He is the sole author of Paper V.

Contents

Introduction

This dissertation is written in a national context in which the male population is assuming more everyday food responsibilities than in most other countries from which we have reliable population data. This is true both relative to women of the same country and in absolute numbers. I even dare to say that the contemporary share of everyday domestic foodwork responsibilities that men in Sweden account for is historically exceptional. I would not venture to say unique—I am neither a historian nor an anthropologist—but considering what we know about food and gender from studies of cultural history throughout the world, my studies of stories about seemingly "banal" everyday life practices have undoubtedly been conducted during a period in history that, given the research problem, is extraordinary.

"Foodwork" is "the work of meal planning, food purchasing, meal preparation, and after-meal clean up" (Bove, Sobal, & Rauschenbach, 2003, p. 32). "Cooking" then is an element of foodwork. What cooking is said to comprise will differ depending on whom you ask (Short, 2003, 2006), so a very liberal view of cooking will suffice here. It is a practice—a socially coordinated activity with a mostly unreflected knowledge of "right" and "wrong" (Warde, 2005, 2013, 2015)—comprising all sorts of conversion of food into a dish that is edible (or at least intends to appear edible).

We have long faced a research problem (which I have approached as well) of a gendered division of private/public and everyday/exclusive food practices. However, despite foodwork and cooking being closely connected with women or certain forms of femininity (Cairns & Johnston, 2015; Fürst, 1997), I have not attempted to compare men with women or masculinity with femininity. Instead, I have focused on *variations among* men and masculinities. The reason for this is that we know very little about the meaning making of foodwork and cooking in the everyday lives of men in Sweden and even less about how cooking and foodwork are permeated by ideas about "Swedish men"[1] and masculinities. The approach I have chosen therefore looks at both men's everyday lives and gendered public representations of culinary excellence. And as I will argue, several historical and cultural features make this approach theoretically and empirically fruitful.

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[1] By "Swedish men" I refer to the *idea* of Swedish men whereas "men in Sweden" refers to actual men (e.g., my interview participants, participants in time-use surveys, in cited studies, etc.). However, the two concepts are used interchangeably in the papers.

Sweden is a country with a profound self-image of being a gender-equal society in which public efforts have been made to create incentives for men to partake in "female" occupations and "care work" (in paid and unpaid work) and vice versa for women. Just like many other Western countries, Sweden is, furthermore, a country in which food is constantly on the public agenda, on television screens, and on bookshelves. Food, therefore, becomes at the same time a mundane chore of everyday life and a source of entertainment and creativity. It is both work and leisure. As I will argue here, this is a gendered phenomenon. The Swedish food culture, to be sure, has also become ingrained in a publicly promoted national image. This, too, is gendered due to the historical, and still persisting, male dominance of gastronomy.

To investigate both how masculinity positions permeate stories of foodwork and cooking in the everyday lives of a group of men and the public images conveyed of Sweden as a leading culinary nation, stories about food in Sweden become the locus that makes visible indications of social change but also persistent asymmetrical power relations. How can we understand these social processes and what might be their consequences? Figure 1 below provides a simplified illustration of the argument. The two boxes at the bottom are the two stories that I have explored in order to understand more about the theoretical questions in the top box. Both the gender-equality and the culinary-excellence narrative are permeated by gender relations, and I have chosen to analyze how they work to represent, construct, and challenge relations of men and masculinities. I should also note that the word "progress" in my dissertation title refers to ideas about public, private, collective, and individual culinary progress. Thus, the specific story under exploration is that of culinary excellence, but the general picture, including everyday domestic foodwork and cooking, is about ideas of progress broadly.
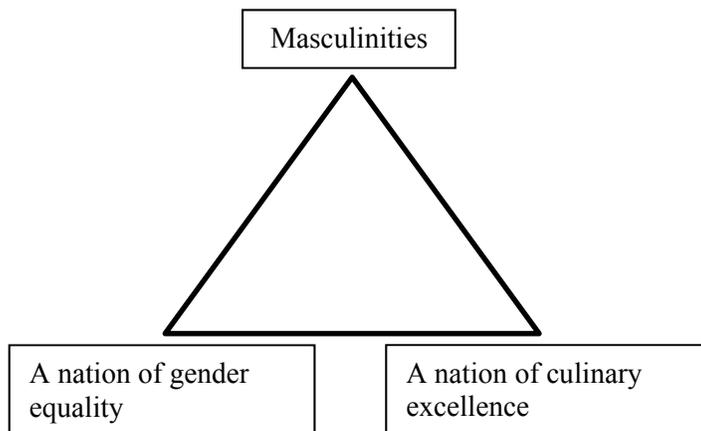

Figure 1. A brief sketch of how the two national (self-)images combined helps to further understand contemporary gender relations in Sweden.

The data I have collected, which constitutes the empirical basis for my arguments, are drawn from interviews with 31 men in Sweden (22–88 years old); texts published by public actors in possession of the means of food-cultural production (the Swedish Government, the hospitality industry, the tourist industry, and Sweden's business community); and observations made at food fairs and the international chef competition Bocuse d'Or Europe 2014. Furthermore, masculinity and food researchers have either focused on everyday life or public images but not on their relation. To clarify the two bottom boxes, the next two sections provide brief overviews of what I argue to be two stories about Swedish progress.

Sweden as a nation of gender equality and culinary excellence

The images I refer to are both the (internal) self-image that is (re)produced and actively promoted and the (external) international reputation. But first, what is a nation? To conceptualize "the nation," I draw on the seminal work on nationalism by Benedict Anderson, who argued that a nation is an "imagined community" (Anderson, [1983] 2006). A nation is a community but of a particular kind. It is too big geographically for its entire people to interact. So the community has to be *imagined*. Inspired by Marx, Anderson explored how the material base—what he called print-capitalism—combined with national homogenizations of languages, resulted in stories being shared among people of the same nation-state. People of a given geographical territory now turned into a *community*.

Furthermore, national identity constructions interact with cultural understandings and practices of gender. This aspect was only briefly mentioned by Anderson but later analyzed in depth by feminist scholars. In *Gender & Nation*, Yuval-Davies (1997, p. 1) wrote that gender relations "affect and are affected by national projects and processes" and further argued that "constructions of nationhood usually involve specific notions of both 'manhood' and 'womanhood.'" And this has been shown and discussed by several other feminist scholars (McClintock, 1991, 1993; McElroy, 2002; Nagel, 1998, 2005; Sharp, 1996). The idea is that not only do citizens of nations share stories, but nations also construct themselves internally and are constructed externally in the eyes of others through notions of masculinity and femininity and through constructed functions of men (such as breadwinning and economic production) and women (such as care and biological reproduction).

Now that we know what a nation is—and how it needs to be understood as interacting with gender constructions—I will examine what I argue to be two stories based on public (self-)images of Sweden.

A nation of gender equality

Sweden is consistently ranked as one of the most gender-equal countries in the world. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2015* ranked Sweden fourth for the seventh year in a row (Bekhouche, Hausmann, Tyson, & Zahidi, 2015), and the *European Gender Equality Index* ranked Sweden first (de Bonfils et al., 2013).

These gendered transitions that have undoubtedly taken place result from feminist political struggles. The public struggle for women's rights in Sweden can be traced back at least to the nineteenth century. For example, in 1858 unmarried women over the age of 25 could apply for permission to be granted a declaration of majority (*myndighetsförklarade*) by the local court (before that, they had to apply directly to the king). They automatically became adults at the age of 25 in 1863 and at the same age (21) as men in 1884, but only until they got married (after which they were not considered adults anymore). During the twentieth century, women gained more and more democratic rights, rights over their own bodies and protection against discrimination at work. From the 1960s onward, the term "gender equality" (*jämställdhet*) became established in the political discourse.[2] Women and men would now stand side by side as equals and gender-equality policies were no longer regarded as specific "women's issues" but central questions in Swedish politics (Florin & Nilsson, 1999; Hirdman, 1998, [1989] 2010; Klinth, 2002, 2008). During the decade-long feminist struggles in a mostly social democratic political landscape, shared parental leave, the possibility of dual-earner families, and decreasing gender segregation in the public sphere (such as the education sector and the labor market) became important questions.

Hereafter, the patriarchal family was about to be changed, not only through women's access to education and paid work for all but also through men's parenting. An established goal of Swedish gender-equality politics has been for men to increase their participation and involvement in their children's lives; therefore, Sweden has a relatively generous parental leave that, to a certain extent, targets men specifically (Klinth, 2005). During the Swedish "sex-role debates" in the 1970s, the Social Democratic prime minister Olof Palme expressed that society should "get mommy a job and make daddy have a baby."[3] This period in history, with politics about the (heterosexual nuclear) family, is what sociologist Åsa Lundqvist (2007, p. 259, my translation) has called a development "from patriarchalism to discursive

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[2] The term "jämställdhet," gender equality, refers to gender relations only, and the term "jämlikhet" refers to all forms of social equality (class, "race," ethnic background, etc.).
[3] The original quote is "skaffa mamma ett jobb och göra pappa med barn." It could also be translated into "make daddy pregnant," but that translation can make it seem as if the actual pregnancy mattered. What Palme wanted to say was, in short, that women should participate in the workforce, and men should stay at home with the children if that was their wish.

equality." Gender equality in Sweden became not only a matter of women's emancipation; men were also to be emancipated from what came to be identified as a destructive "male role." The new man to be engineered through political policies would be gender equal, caring, and domestically responsible but still a productive citizen; he was to enjoy the best of both worlds (Klinth, 2008). Swedish citizens would no longer be restrained by roles that prevented men from being caring fathers and women from making a career: "all should be able to be one and the other—be able to combine work and family—that was the ideal" (Florin & Nilsson, 1999, p. 32).

Gender-equality policies also impacted on food and foodwork. In 1962, it became mandatory for all Swedish pupils to study Home Economics (now Home and Consumer Studies) (Hjälmeskog, 2000). Thus, from thereon, boys were also considered in need of mastering housework. Furthermore, women were to be relieved of the burdens of foodwork thanks to industrial innovations, such as ready-made food products, and campaigns were launched to educate adult men in domestic chores, such as cooking (Hirdman, 1998, [1989] 2010). While not as strong as the fatherhood policies, foodwork was by all means acknowledged as part of the double emancipation idea.

The struggle for a radical transition in the gender ideology and in men's and women's lives has lived on. In fact, Johansson and Klinth (2008) have even argued that the discourse of a gender-equal Swedish "new man" has now become hegemonic, that is, the egalitarian man has transformed into a dominant ideal upheld through the consent of the majority and not only of an intellectual elite, as happened in the twentieth-century struggles. That the idea of a *Swedish* man corresponds to the notion of a *gender-equal* man seems to be recognized internationally as well. A *New York Times* article claimed that "In Sweden, Men Can Have It All" (Bennhold, 2010), and a Swedish photographer has become famous for portraying men in Sweden who were staying at home for more than six months with their children. His aims were to "describe the background to Sweden's unique parental allowance [and] to inspire other fathers – in Sweden, and further afield – to consider the positive benefits of such a system."[4]

The present government—a coalition of the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party—flatters itself as "the first feminist government in the world,"[5] and there has long been a political consensus on the high priority of gender equality as a political goal, regardless of which government has been in office (Rönnblom, 2011). Sweden.se, the official website for information about Sweden, administered by the Swedish Institute, states that "gender equality is one of the cornerstones of Swedish society."[6] Moreover, VisitSweden, the country's official travel and tourist information website,

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[4] http://www.johanbavman.se/swedish-dads/
[5] http://www.government.se/government-policy/a-feminist-government/
[6] https://sweden.se/society/gender-equality-in-sweden/

claims that a "prevalent Swedish masculine ideal" is "[b]ig, strong and feminist":

> The modern Swedish man is progressive and does his fair share of housework. He changes diapers, gets up in the middle of the night to feed his baby and stays at home for at least 60 days of parental leave. Think Alexander Skarsgård with a baby on each arm. It may sound like a dream, but it isn't too far from reality.[7]

In sum, gender-equal and domestically responsible men are perceived as an ideal as well as a public self-image and an international reputation for Sweden. This history of gender-equality politics and the culture of gender equality as an ideal are crucial if we want to understand contemporary foodwork and cooking among men in Sweden. Gender equality is not merely an ideal, however; there is in fact evidence of change, and here I will focus on domestic work.[8]

In general, Swedish time surveys show that inequality in domestic work has decreased between 1990/1991 (62% carried out by women) and 2010/2011 (56% respectively) (Statistics Sweden, 2012). This time-use survey from Statistics Sweden also demonstrated that the percentage of men who did a domestic activity was highest for cooking (67 percent). Moreover, in a Swedish government report on the division of work in families, the chapter on the division of domestic work showed that although men's total time spent on domestic work was rather stable over time, fatherhood correlated with less "traditional" amounts of time due to a significant fall in "Maintenance, repairs" ("Underhåll, reparationer") and significant increases in both "Cooking, dishwashing, shopping" ("Matlagning, disk, inköp") and "Laundry, clothing care" ("Tvätt, klädvård"). Furthermore, the category "Cooking, dishwashing, shopping" accounted for the largest share of male domestic work. This was true both for men over and under the age of 40 and correlated significantly with gender-equal attitudes (this was also the case for laundry) but, surprisingly, not with education (Boye & Nermo, 2014). In general, food-related tasks were reported to take up the most time among both men and women.[9]

According to the statistics published by Eurostat (2004), of the European men surveyed, men in Sweden reported spending the most time on "Food preparation"[10]: 25 minutes (1 minute more than the Norwegians). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has shown

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[7] http://www.visitsweden.com/sweden/featured/sweden-beyond/society/
[8] See Statistics Sweden (2016a) for a more general statistical overview of the state of Swedish gender (in)equality.
[9] For details about the statistical analysis, see the report's appendix of Chapter 4.
[10] "Food preparation," according to Eurostat's (2004, p. 48) categorization, "comprises all activities connected with the preparation of meals, snacks, drinks, and so on. It also includes baking and preserving as well as setting the table and serving."

that, on average, "Turkish, Mexican and Indian women spend per day 4.3–5 hours more on unpaid work than men in those countries, while the difference is only a little over one hour per day in the Nordic countries" (Miranda, 2011, p. 11). The same data also revealed that men in Sweden accounted for the highest percentage (81 percent) of daily involvement in "Cooking and food clean-up," whereas the reported time for this was 18 minutes less than the OECD average (62 minutes compared to 80 minutes). The Swedish gender gap in time spent on "Unpaid work" was, moreover, the second smallest after Denmark (72 minutes for Sweden and 57 for the Danes).[11] The same patterns are shown in large quantitative studies: together with Norway and Denmark, Sweden repeatedly stands out as one of the least unequal countries (Kan, Sullivan, & Gershuny, 2011; Knudsen & Wærness, 2008; Tai & Treas, 2013). It should be mentioned, however, that in Sweden the comparatively small gap and its reduction over time are largely explained by the relatively small, and decreasing, amount of time women spend on domestic work, rather than men's increased domestic work participation. The trend is the same in other Western countries (Kan et al., 2011).

Combining all the different statistical sources—with all their different methods, categorizations, and definitions of domestic tasks—I would argue that nowhere in the world do men cook more than in Scandinavia, and it even seems as if Sweden could be number one in this regard. In general, my examination of Sweden as a country of gender equality presents a story about political struggle, progressive ideals, and modernity. This is one aspect that has contributed to a (self-)image of Swedish progress. Another one is culinary excellence.

A nation of culinary excellence

In Sweden, gastronomy, defined as a philosophy of food and eating reflecting the "socially prized pursuit of culinary excellence" (Trubek, 2000, p. 84), is founded on a French legacy in which young boys have been raised into men in restaurant kitchens, from the bottom to the top (Ferguson, 1998, 2004; Ferguson & Zukin, 1998; Mennell, [1985] 1996; Spang, 2000; Trubek, 2000). In contrast, women's paid foodwork has mainly been found in large-scale public food services, such as eldercare, hospitals, and schools (Mattsson Sydner, 2002, pp. 41–49; O'Doherty Jensen & Holm, 1998).

Gastronomy is based on assumptions of legitimate taste—and by "taste," I mean the aesthetic and moral judgments of objects and practices that work to unite people and groups as well as distinguish them from each other—,

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[11] "Unpaid work" is defined as "the production of goods and services by household members that are not sold on the market" (Miranda, 2011, p. 7). Furthermore, "[s]ome unpaid work is for the consumption within the family, such as cooking, gardening and house cleaning" (ibid.).

"proper" cooking techniques, table manners, raw ingredients, dishes, and so forth. It presumes a certain form of authorized and legitimate knowledge; it is therefore much more than simply "fine dining." Importantly, it must also be noted that the idea of gastronomy originates from a French male bourgeoisie. This latter point is crucial if one is to understand the legacy of how Sweden became a country with an ambition to construct a national self-image of culinary excellence and, even more importantly, how this is permeated by gender relations.

The term "culinary," which is used throughout this dissertation, is an adjective with a specific theoretical meaning. The term makes clear that I am discussing foodways regarding cultural taste and social divisions of food-work. For example, what I call "culinary nationalism" is a term that highlights how food, eating, and other food-related practices (table manners, cooking methods, shopping, food journalism and cookbook writing, etc.) are parts of the construction of a national identity (cf. Ferguson, 2010). Today's Swedish gastronomy is not solely a matter of upper-class exclusivity nor limited to a culturally literate bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, possessing the cultural and economic capital required for leading a life of culinary sophistication is still a matter of distinction (Cairns & Johnston, 2015; Cappeliez & Johnston, 2013; Hollows, 2003b; Johnston & Baumann, 2007, 2010; Johnston, Rodney, & Chong, 2014; Julier, 2013; Naccarato & LeBesco, 2012; Paddock, 2015a, 2015b; Warde, Martens, & Olsen, 1999). Struggles over the means of (food-)cultural production and the privileges of the judgments of taste need to be taken into account if one wants to understand how culinary practices align with (self-)images of the nation.

The story of Sweden's culinary excellence is not as well researched as that of gender equality. However, there is a paradox here compared to the former story. Whereas the Swedish social democratic hegemony largely paved the way for gender-equality progression, the same political landscape was a strong barrier against gastronomic developments. French gastronomy had indeed made its way up north, for example, thanks to the business efforts of such people as Jean-François Régis Cadier (1828–1890), a French chef and hotel entrepreneur who started a French restaurant by the name of Trois Frères Provençaux and who later took over Hôtel Rydberg and finally opened up Stockholm's Grand Hotel in 1874. However, many years of extremely strict alcohol regulations during the twentieth century created a gastronomic wasteland with no incentive to compete with the high food standards among entrepreneurs (Neuman, in press). Furthermore, two world wars created a situation where individuals, for obvious reasons, had to ration food and prioritize feeding the population rather than restaurant dining.

This would change with the stabilization of peace and the liberalization of alcohol regulations through various political decisions taken in the late

1950s and early 1960s.[12] Now people could go out to eat well and drink wine and not only to drink their ration of hard liquor, as legislated by the state (approximately 10 centiliters of white and 5 centiliters of brown liquor for men and half for women). Eating out would slowly become a middle-class leisure activity, and not merely a preserve of the upper classes. The gastronomic imperium built by Tore Wretman (1916–2003) worked to promote and create a Swedish cuisine, and Wretman had the privilege to define what a smorgasbord was, what it should contain, how it should be eaten, and in what order. He also tried to increase the status of chefs and cooks and is still a legend of Swedish culinary history whose importance is difficult to overestimate (Metzger, 2009).

Wretman's chef apprentices, and their apprentices, have, with very few (if any) exceptions, been men. In fact, from the late nineteenth century onward, whether we read popular history texts and (auto)biographies (Ekdahl, 2013; Hedlund, 2002; Jarnhammar, 2009; Wretman, 1987, 1988, 1996) or academic publications (Jönsson, 2012), one thing is clear about the history of Swedish gastronomy and the culinary elite: these are stories about men. But these are not stories of men as gendered. Håkan Jönsson (2012) has briefly problematized the gendered restaurant kitchen and how the historical demarcation of women and men—with women in the cold kitchen (*kallskänken*) or as waitresses and men as chefs and cooks in the hot kitchen (cf. Harris & Giuffre, 2015). However, he did not detail how masculinity was enacted in these gastronomic relations between chefs and cooks.

In the wake of Wretman's empire, the Swedish gastronomy and hospitality industry grew during the latter half of the twentieth century (see Jarnhammar, 2009), and, according to Jönsson (2012), led to a "gastronomic revolution" in the 1980s that has not showed any signs of slowing down, if anything the opposite. Accomplished chefs have become celebrities all across the Western world (Ashley, Hollows, Jones, & Taylor, 2004 ch. 11; Naccarato & LeBesco, 2012; Rousseau, 2012a, 2012b), and Sweden is no exception. Furthermore, the promotion of Swedish food on a global market (a commodification of culinary "Swedishness") has increasingly become an incentive for political interventions in an attempt to actively encourage a culinary Swedish identity (cf. Tellström, Gustafsson, & Fjellström, 2003).

In 2008, the then center-right government (2006–2014) established a political vision of "Sweden—the new culinary nation," yet another step in the decade-long efforts to promote Swedish food. Not only would Swedish gastronomy prove itself worthy in the eyes of the international gastronomic elites, but also all sectors and all parts of the country would join forces in turning Sweden into "Europe's leading culinary nation" (Ministry of Agriculture, 2008, p. 3). Eskil Erlandsson, the then minister for agriculture

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[12] On the heavy restrictions on the selling of, and profit making from, alcohol in Sweden during the 1900s (to 1963), see Hasselgren (2003).

(and later minister for rural affairs), who became a prominent figure in these efforts, argued that

> Sweden has a culinary heritage and a unique knowledge in the areas of produce and preparation that has evolved over many years. Beyond the traditions, there exists a curiosity and openness that has seen us adopt new ways and be inspired by influences from other food cultures. Together, this results in our unique cuisine that preserves our culinary traditions while striving for food that is modern, simple and healthy. (Ministry of Agriculture, 2008, p. 3)

In 2010, Erlandsson's vision of "Sweden—the new culinary nation" concerned

> Sweden becoming the best culinary nation in Europe. It is a vision about good food, good animal welfare and world-class experiences. By using these advantages, we can create more jobs and economic growth throughout Sweden.

> […]

> Sweden is brimming with dedicated chefs, farmers, big and small food producers, tourism entrepreneurs and visionary business leaders who today already contribute to making the vision a reality – in the countryside as well as in the city. It is all of these people who are the heart of *Sweden – the new culinary nation*. (Ministry for Rural Affairs, 2010, "Handlingsplan för Sverige – det nya matlandet", emphasis in original, my translation)

The quote illustrates an image of culinary traditions and knowledge combined with innovations. The culinary excellence of Sweden's "unique cuisine" lied in the seemingly perfect balance between preservations of traditions and the openness to modernizations and "other food cultures."

In general, the story of Sweden as a country of culinary excellence is not a very old one, but it has a long historical legacy. Swedish gastronomy and the Swedish restaurant trade are rooted in a French culinary culture profoundly permeated by class and gender. It would take long before Sweden reached a gastronomic level recognized internationally as legitimate and had a restaurant trade that could profit from a broad middle-class sector of society. However, the Swedish food culture is now firmly established as a commodity, backed up by people in political power, and is still remarkably dominated by men and permeated by certain forms of masculinity. A national (self-)image of culinary excellence, therefore, requires understanding, and helps to further understand, men and masculinities in a given gender order.

Disciplinary positions

This dissertation could come under two main academic areas: food studies, especially food studies on gender, and gender studies, particularly critical studies of men and masculinities (hereafter critical masculinity studies).

Food studies is a transdisciplinary research area in which food, eating, and foodwork are explored based on very broad questions (e.g., moral philosophical, ideological, economic, sociological, cultural, and historical) asked in paradigms of the social sciences and humanities (Atkins & Bowler, 2001; Hamada, Wilk, Logan, Minard, & Trubek, 2015). Ferguson (2010, p. 108) sums it up well:

> Surely the bottom line of whatever we consider food studies is the belief that what and how we eat is essential not only to the way we live but also how we think about life, about ourselves, and about the worlds that we inhabit. Every day each of us produces a culinary self out of the interplay between the local and the national, the material and the symbolic, between, in short, culinary place and cultural space.

There are (at least) two trajectories of scientific inquiry for food studies scholars. One approach seeks to explore food-related problems based on available social theoretical concepts. The second sets out to investigate social theoretical problems based on food-related cases. Which approach to choose is up to the individual researcher's interests. I have chosen the second trajectory; I use foodwork and cooking in Sweden as a way to better understand theoretical questions about men and masculinities.

While social theory and history were written by men about men, their status was taken for granted as representing humanity; (white) men *were* human kind. As Michael Kimmel (2005, p. 3) has noted about American history, "virtually every history book is a history of men. If a book does not have the word 'women' in its title, it is a good bet that the book is about men." However, these writings about men are not about men *as men* and do not "explore how the experience of being a man structured the men's lives, or the organizations and institutions they created, the events in which they participated" (ibid.). As a critique of this male-biased fallacy of history and social theory, critical masculinity studies, a transdisciplinary and pro-feminist subfield of gender studies, has come to develop and grow. The purpose is to better understand gender relations and, as a long-term goal, to improve gender equality. The *critical* aspect "refers to that range of feminist, pro-feminist, and gay studies that critically address men in the context of their power and gendered power relations" (Hearn, 1998, p. 784). A critical perspective assumes that everything could be different and comprises a normative element in that social change in a certain direction is desirable and something that the research produced should contribute to. It does *not*, however, mean that the subjects under critical scrutiny—in this case, men and masculinities—are

"bad" or "wrong." Rather, it is about an intellectual problematization of what we take, and have taken, for granted (e.g., women as nurturing and men as competitive). The bulk of critical masculinity research has put gender relations and gender equality at the center of its analyses, and the early works centered on Anglo-American and Northern European contexts (Mellström, Hearn, & Pringle, 2014).[13] However, social locations such as class, age, "race," and nationality are examples of other issues central to fruitful social analyses, and intersecting approaches as well as an internationalization of the research scope are increasing (Connell, 2014; Connell, Hearn, & Kimmel, 2005; Gottzén & Mellström, 2014). The last few years have seen critical masculinity studies also enrich discussions about gender relations in food studies. I will go into detail about this amalgamation of research areas further below.

General aim and research questions

The general aim of this dissertation is to use foodwork and cooking in Sweden as a way to better understand theoretical questions about men and masculinities. In doing this, I have explored (self-)representations of men and constructions of masculinities in Sweden through stories of foodwork and cooking in everyday life and in the public promotion of culinary excellence.

My specific research questions are the following:

- Which stories are produced about masculinity in relation to foodwork and cooking as part of the everyday lives of a group of men in Sweden?
- Which stories are produced about masculinity in public promotions of Swedish culinary excellence?
- How are masculinities expressed as desirable or not?
- What do these stories tell us about "Swedish men" as an idea, both in the present and in the past?
- How does this—i.e., what the stories tell us—work to construct broader (self-)images of Sweden as a nation?

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[13] Some early important works are Jalmert (1984); Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985); Messerschmidt (1986, 1993); Connell (1983, 1987); Hearn (1982, 1987); Stoltenberg ([1989] 2000); Messner (1992); and Morgan (1992).

Gendering foodwork and cooking

This chapter presents central theoretical concepts and traditions on which the analyses are based. When it comes to the application of theoretical concepts, I consider philosophical consistency of greater importance than theoretical orthodoxy, that is, one should be eclectic and pragmatic when choosing theoretical concepts unless this results in unsolvable philosophical contradictions. Social theory is living matter that requires eclecticism and creativity to develop, but some basic assumptions make theoretical approaches more or less incommensurable (Beasley, 2012, 2013). My studies combine discussions about gender relations, the Swedish culinary culture, and taste. Therefore, I have chosen an approach that combines Connellian and what I will hereafter call (post-)Bourdieusian feminist thinking. In short, I do not follow "the Theory" but have framed my gender analyses in what I consider commensurable schools of thought.

Framing my gender analyses

Historically, masculinity has been understood as a relatively stable, singular, and more or less explicitly problematic character of the male population. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft frequently referred to "the masculine" in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* ([1792] 2011). By this, she meant the characters associated with male rule and the institutions such as the education system, consisting of men and excluding women. "The masculine" was a character that one *had*, but Wollstonecraft also considered it achievable for women. In *Our Androcentric Culture, or The Man Made World*,[14] Charlotte Perkins Gilman ([1911] 2014) wrote about "masculinity" in a similar way, criticizing how the preoccupation with masculinity and femininity had meant that "our common humanity has largely escaped notice" (p. 129). In other words, the obsession with two different sexes blurred the vision for focusing on what we all share as human beings. Both Wollstonecraft and Perkins Gilman, as well as Harriet Taylor Mill and her husband John Stuart (Mill,

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[14] If the reader were to scrutinize this reference, s/he would recognize that the title says "The Man-Made World" and nothing else. However, I have chosen to mention the full original title of this text, and not the shorter one appearing in the cited book, which is a collection of texts by Perkins Gilman.

[1869] 2008),[15] put forth the liberal idea—radical at the time—that women were as much human beings as men and that their subordination was morally wrong.

It would take much longer for scholars to more radically question the ideas of the differences and similarities between the two genders, however. At first, sex-role research saw masculinity and femininity as two opposites deriving from the "roles" into which men and women were socialized (Hochschild, 1973). Sex-role theorists, therefore, acknowledged the power of the environment to form the individual but often rested on functionalist assumptions (mainly those of Talcott Parsons) of a specific way for men or women to be given a certain socialization, and therefore an implicit assumption that people deviating from the role had been "improperly" socialized. Here too, the role, even though considered a product of social structures, was tied to bodies of a particular gender. What is more, it was sometimes given an almost normative value, i.e., the role as a resource for a functioning social system, and was blind to power. These problematic assumptions have led gender scholars to criticize and largely reject sex-role theory altogether (Connell, 1987, [1995] 2005, [2002] 2009).

West and Zimmerman (1987) argued in their seminal text that it is wrong to view gender as essential, as something we *have*, but that it should be understood as accomplished, as something we *do*. Later, the whole idea of gender as something different from sex was subject to an even more radical critique in Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990). Both sex and gender, she argued, were discursive and cultural enactments rather than predicursive or cultural entities. There was no "doer" behind the (gendered) deed. Inspired by Butler, Halberstam (1998) unsettled the relationship between masculinity and the male body, arguing that there exists a range of female masculinities, such as tomboys, butches, and dykes. Thus, no matter how masculinity is conceptualized, it is not only limited to men and their practices and identities; likewise, femininity could not be considered something only enacted by female bodies.

As a consequence of these theoretical debates within feminism, a simple notion of gender as a binary division based on biology is difficult to uphold as a proper description of gender relations.[16] However, I use the terminology of woman/women and man/men for strategic reasons, as it is how gender relations tend to be structured in the society that I have investigated.

Gender, in the framework of Connell ([1995] 2005), is a relational structuring of social practice, "a way in which social practice is ordered" (p. 71). It is based on the institutionalized relation between the group we call

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[15] "On the Subjection of Women" is actually an essay by John Stuart Mill. However, he credits his wife with it. And the extent to which she contributed to the essay is not clear.

[16] This is of course an extremely simplified historical account of developments in feminist writing. Due to limitations of space, I have therefore chosen to mention only a few classics in order to clarify my point.

"women" and the one we call "men" (this can be compared to a marxist economic structure that created a class relation between "capitalists" and "proletarians"). Our social practices are structured based on this relation. But *structured* should not be equated with *determined* or *forced*. We, therefore, need to understand gender not only as an institutionalized but also as a *lived* social relation, recognizing social action, experience, and agency without reducing it to a mere discursive position to be deconstructed (McNay, 2004).

Let me exemplify this by way of the practice of domestic cooking. I have already shown that, on average, women have reported to assume this responsibility to a larger degree than men have; this is true for all countries with reliable time-use data, but with systematic differences between countries. The smallest gaps are observed in Scandinavian countries. This systematicity, both in similarities and discrepancies, indicates that in different societies there is something that dispositions men and women more or less to activities A or B.[17] The different social structures (e.g., the divisions of power or economic capital) disposition men's and women's gender practices differently, and since the structure is also based on an asymmetrical power relation, the outcome is unequal divisions. However, given that macro politics and social interaction throughout history have resulted in slightly different gender relations in the Scandinavian countries, the statistical outcomes differ. This example is not meant as "proof" that my perspective is correct but as a clarification of the theoretical assumptions; social structures are dispositions of practices that, while constraining, are yet possible to resist and refuse, and the extent to which we perceive a freedom to choose is a matter of privilege (e.g., power or economic capital). A social structure is not just a "pattern" of behaviors but a way that society is ordered (through the division of labor, distributions of power, education, etc.). It is at the same time an outcome of and a disposition toward certain social (inter)actions.

The term masculinity also needs clarification. According to Connell ([1995] 2005 p. 71), a brief definition of masculinity, "to the extent the term can be briefly defined at all," is "a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture." The "place in gender relations," as Connell called it, means that masculinities appear as structured practices in gender relations, leading to different gendered meanings being ascribed to, and affecting, bodies. Masculinities are "accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender

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[17] One would perhaps make a biological counterargument here. However, nature/culture is, first of all, a false dichotomy. The outcomes of our genetic dispositions are not distinguishable from our lives as cultural animals—the social life is the life of biological bodies in interaction. Second, the relatively rapid changes in Scandinavian societies throughout history lend support to the argument that societal structures play an important role. It is implausible that changes in the Scandinavian gene pool explain more than the victories of feminist movements.

relations in a particular social setting" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 836). They are assumed throughout history to be dependent on culture and material structures. They are negotiable, plural, and possible to change and to resist, but they are also based on hierarchies in which some groups and individuals have more power, capital, and cultural privilege than others. To be sure, these are social constructionist definitions with obvious legacies from strucuralist feminism and (neo)marxist theory, and they rely more on materialist explanations of the (gendered) world, and with a focus on social practices, than merely discursive or symbolic explanations with reflexive and fluid subjects. Whenever the term masculinity is used hereafter, it is assumed to be one of several masculinities possible to accomplish in social action.[18]

The most influential theoretical framework in critical masculinity studies is Raewyn Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity. While first appearing in the early 1980s, it also featured in the seminal text "Toward a new sociology of masculinity" (Carrigan et al., 1985). Connell further developed the concept in *Gender and Power* (1987) and *Masculinities* (1995) and then reconfigured it, together with Jim Messerschmidt, in the paper "Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In *Masculinities*, Connell defined hegemonic masculinity as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Connell, [1995] 2005 p. 77). It was described as a cultural ideal that will become "established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective or individual" (ibid.).

These quotes are not easily understood. Breaking them down to their core, I would say that the two main premises are (1) hegemonic masculinity is a culturally idealized form of masculinity, and (2) it has the function of legitimizing a given gender order through the consent of the majority and authorization by people of power and influence.[19] Moreover, Connell and Messerschmidt's rethinking of hegemonic masculinity opened the way for more discursive analyses (in contrast to its materialist and structuralist descent) and an increased differentiation into global, regional, and local gender orders (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Whereas hegemonic masculinity is not in any way a framework for this dissertation, I still adhere to Connell's social constructionist, power relational, and practice-based view of gender (Connell, 1985, 1987). And given the discussion above about social structures as dispositioning, but in no way

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[18] For a further discussion about masculinity as structured social action, see Messerschmidt (2015).

[19] This second point shows the theoretical legacy of Gramsci (e.g., 1971). See also Howson (2006) for an elaborated description of Gramsci's theory and its relation to Connell.

determining or forcing, I would also add that the philosophical assumption is one of "weak structuralism." This is partly because I consider it scientifically robust as a sociological explanation but also for the reason that it fits well, I will argue, with the second main theoretical "school of thought" of this dissertation. As mentioned above, my dissertation is first and foremost a theoretical amalgamation of Connellian thinking about gender with that of (post-)Bourdieusian feminist theorists. I write *(post-)*Bourdieusian since they have in common their engagement in critical conversations with Bourdieu while being greatly diversified in terms of the level of commitment to his theories, i.e., some could be called Bourdieusians and others post-Bourdieusians.

Bourdieu himself was not blind to gender issues. In his early anthropological work in Kabylia, Algeria, he acknowledged women's different functions (as daughters, mothers, grandmothers, aunts, etc.) in the social reproduction of kinship relations (particularly focusing on matrimonial exchange systems), the sexual division of labor, and the male domination of the domestic unit (Bourdieu, [1972] 1977). In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu, [1979] 1984), he demonstrated how subtler practices deriving from a classed habitus, such as different ways of eating, exercising, participating in art, and so forth, also differed according to gender. If the symbolic capital of the Kabyle kinship relations was in focus earlier, now the focal point was on the cultural capital of French class relations. Here the sensitivity to gender was perhaps more sophisticated even though the analysis was directed at structured and reproduced sexual differences rooted in class, rather than historically produced gender constructions and dynamics in themselves. Gender as the main focus had to wait until the end of his career, when he published *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, [1998] 2001). In this book, he explored the social reproduction of "the masculine order," in which, he argued, an "androcentric vision imposes itself as neutral and has no need to spell itself out in discourses aimed at legitimating it" (p. 10). *Masculine Domination* sought to outline the socially constructed functions ascribed to men and women, with an androcentric worldview working to reproduce patriarchal relations by turning them into common sense. In other words, his explanation of the gender struggle is very similar to that of the class struggle.

Connell (1987) has been critical of Bourdieu's focus on social reproduction, which she considered to lack historical alterability, arguing that "social structure must be seen as constantly *constituted* rather than constantly reproduced" (p. 44, emphasis in original). "History does happen in Bourdieu's world," Connell admitted, "but it is not produced" (p. 94). The criticism was therefore directed at Bourdieu's suggested underestimation of the open question of whether dominant groups succeed or not in their attempts to reproduce social systems. Later, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) proposed this form of critique, accusing Bourdieu of reducing a constituted social relation,

contingent through history (i.e., "masculine domination"), to a self-reproducing social system.

As a proponent of Bourdieu, I think that Connell has, first of all, read Bourdieu as more determinist than I do. And these diverging readings are nothing unusual; there has been considerable academic debate about the level of determinism and agency in Bourdieu's writing. Second, just because one might identify some theoretical blind spots does not mean one should reject a theorist altogether. In fact, feminists have successfully managed to appropriate some of the powerful theoretical tools developed by Bourdieu while still remaining critical of his gender analytical blind spots and lack of engagement with gender studies (Adkins & Skeggs, 2004; Fowler, 2003; Lovell, 2000; McCall, 1992; McLeod, 2005; Moi, 1991). For example, McNay (2004) used Bourdieu's phenomenology of social space to construct an understanding of gender as a lived social relation rather than as a position in discourse. Thus, she suggested a feminist "middle way" between Bourdieu and Butler in which the material lived experience in a structural context is given priority over language without making the mistake of positioning the individual as a mere bearer of structure. Furthermore, although recognizing the importance of lived experience, McNay did not suggest that the experiencing subject is "right," only that his or her place in the world cannot be understood through abstract top-down analyses of structure.

Another important rallying point for Connell and (post-)Bourdieusian feminists, such as McNay (1999) and Adkins (2003), is the one of embodiment. Connell spoke of "the reproductive arena" as the bodily point of reference for the social relations of gender. Hence, the biological is in no way rejected altogether but only rejected as a form of base on which social processes are determined. In contrast, sexuality, health, and labor are all body-reflexive practices in which "bodies are addressed by social process and drawn into history, without ceasing to be bodies" (Connell, 2000, p. 27). Similarly, both McNay (1999) and Adkins (2003) argued that a development of Bourdieu's theories of embodied practice served to explain gender identities better than the then prevailing ideas of a reflexive modernity (primarily Giddens and Beck). Whereas reflexivity, they both argued, risks putting the subject into a position of voluntarism, embodiment instead acknowledges the power of how structure is inscribed on the body. Gender, according to Adkins (2003), is not individual reflexivity but about habit. Reflexivity exists but as part of our (gendered) habitual practices.

For the overall purpose of this dissertation, I have used the concept of "taste" in its Bourdieusian form. Taste is hierarchical but never fixed. Moreover, it is always relational; a behavior or a practice perceived to be "tasteless" is thus expressed as vulgar and too much, with a "tasteful" behavior or practice as its antithesis—respectable and desirable (cf. Bourdieu, [1979] 1984; Skeggs, 1997). Bourdieu ([1979] 1984, p. 56) has argued that "taste is the basis of all that one has – people and things – and all that one is for oth-

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ers, whereby one classifies oneself and is classified by others." Tastes are manifested differences illuminating "the practical affirmation of an inevitable difference," and whenever they have to be justified, "they are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes." Distinctions of taste are thus empirically found through people's expressed dislikes and intolerance even more than through positive assertions. Furthermore, since taste is about judgments that unify and differentiate between that which is considered "beautiful" or "ugly," "vulgar" or "refined," "good" or bad," it also consists of a moral component. The aesthetic judgment easily slips into a normative judgment of the proper ways to live and act. A "tasteless" appearance thereby transforms into a judgment of character.

Taste distinctions are also profoundly gendered. With regard to food, the "tastemakers," the people with the cultural and economic capital to produce and authorize "good taste," have been men, whereas women have been the bearers of good taste (both in terms of manners and physical appearance) and of "tastelessness."[20] In order to discuss culinary matters, both in the everyday lives of men and the promotion of national culinary excellence, in relation to men and masculinities, some powerful Bourdieusian tools—albeit enriched with feminist critiques—are therefore relevant: distinctions of taste (as described above); cultural capital—the embodied, objectified, and institutionalized markers of education, "knowledge," and "sophistication" in cultural matters;[21] and symbolic capital—status and prestige, "the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17).

As mentioned above, I am a proponent of theoretical eclecticism but also a defender of careful philosophical consistency. I argue that a combination of feminist (post-)Bourdieusian analyses with Connell's ontology of gender and masculinities will work to frame my dissertation, for which I have four main arguments. First, both posit that gender and masculinities are not outside the power of social structure but without being determined by it. Second, both focus on embodied practices but not on biological determinism or on a biological base *causing* social actions; bodies and social processes, just like structures and actors, interact. It helps us to understand the lived experiences and habitual aspects of gender as practices ordered by social structures without losing sight of the possibilities of historical transitions. Third, the theoretical amalgamation provides tools to understand how gender is constituted both through material inequalities and through cultural legitimacy

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[20] Examples of writings that have discussed taste and gender from a (post-)Bourdieusian feminist perspective are McRobbie (2004), Lawler (2004), and Skeggs (1997).
[21] Two things should be mentioned here. First, "culture" is, in this case, understood in the narrow sense of the word, namely, art, drama, classical music, and so forth, and not the anthropological understanding of the word, such as shared symbols, value systems, and beliefs. Second, for Swedish readers, I might add that cultural capital resembles what we call "bildning," and what Germans call "bildung," but this is difficult to translate into English.

(such as distinctions of taste) and authorization by dominant groups. Finally, it recognizes the accomplishment of gendered positions in social action and lived experience but always in a macro-political and macro-historical context.

Androcentrism and (homo)sociality

Pivotal to this dissertation are the theoretical concepts "androcentrism" and "homosociality," which will be described in the following, starting with androcentrism. The first scholar to talk about this term is, as far as I know, Lester F. Ward, who described androcentric sociological theory as

> the view that the male sex is primary and the female secondary in the organic scheme, that all things center, as it were, about the male, and that the female, though necessary in carrying out the scheme, is only the means of continuing the life of the globe, but is otherwise an unimportant accessory, and incidental factor in the general result. (Ward, 1903, p. 292)

Explicitly indebted to Ward, Perkins Gilman later used the term in writing about what she perceived as a global and transhistorical "androcentric culture" (Perkins Gilman, [1911] 2014). "That one sex should have monopolized all human activities, called them 'man's work,' and managed them as such, is what is meant by the phrase 'Androcentric Culture'" (ibid., p. 134). In contrast to Ward, she referred not only to male bodies as such but also to what was believed to be "masculine" and "feminine," how these were valued differently throughout all public spheres of society, and how men have had the interpretive preference for what human activities were "men's work."

Perkins Gilman's feminist perspective on male/female and masculine/feminine would undoubtedly be deemed essentialist were it presented today. Nevertheless, the widely used androcentrism has been a central concept of feminist writing ever since. A few examples are androcentrism in science (Harding, 1986, 1991), in prescriptive grammar (Bodine, 1975), and androcentric biases in the assumptions of neoclassical economics (England, [1993] 2002). Androcentrism must first be understood materially as closely connected to men's bodies but also symbolically as linked to what is perceived, and culturally legitimate, as "masculine." In line with what is described above regarding Connell's argument about the body-reflexive "reproductive arena" and the feminist focus on embodiment, an androcentric worldview is one that concentrates on men's embodied practices and is based on men's ideas, assumptions, and interpretive prerogatives: male biased, male centered and malestream.

I argue that androcentrism has a better explanatory value than patriarchy because the latter—and these ideas are indebted to Anna Pollert (1996)[22]—fails to say anything about cause or effect. Is patriarchy an *outcome* of gender inequality or an abstract system that *causes* gender inequality? I am not rejecting the concept altogether, especially not as a politically important term, but I find it problematic as a theoretical concept for scholars to explain social relations. Instead, androcentrism, in my mind, forms the bedrock of gender-unequal social relations. In that case, it is cause, not effect. And it can be empirically verified by investigating how collectivities or ideas throughout history are shaped by men and among men. Expressed differently, patriarchy might work as a cross-sectional concept: putting a name on the here and now. In contrast, androcentrism is longitudinal: it explains what precedes and causes the here and now. Another potential term to use would be "masculinism." To say that a practice is masculinist has the same advantage as saying it is androcentric in the sense that it encapsulates the culturally established gender biases which might lead to gender inequality. However, masculinism has a connotation of anti-feminist agendas and of opinions that men as a group are superior or, as in some versions of men's rights activism, subordinated (or perhaps both). According to how I understand androcentrism, there is no inherent contradiction in that the same person is pro–gender equality, even self-identified as feminist, while still adhering to androcentric logics in her or his everyday practices.

As an example related to this dissertation, gastronomy might be seen as an androcentric philosophy of food and eating. I have found that never in history has any country with an upper-class cuisine, fit for the culturally well-versed bourgeoisie and distinct from the "traditional" foods of the peasant populations, not been dominated—culturally and quantitatively—by men. Sweden is no exception to this rule. According to Swedish occupational statistics, the category "Chefs and cooks" has an approximately equal gender split (Statistics Sweden, 2016b). Still, at the top of the Swedish culinary elite, we mostly find men. The majority of restaurants rated as "International Masterclass" in the *White Guide* (which rates Swedish restaurants) are run by men.[23] Most members of the national culinary team are, and have always been, men. Moreover, only one woman, in 1988, has won the Chef of the Year competition since its inception in 1983.[24] In fact, for a couple of years now, an informal Facebook network has supported female restaurant workers, partly by encouraging and mentoring participants for the Chef of

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[22] Pollert (1996) argued that patriarchy is a concept that merges explanation and description, and that its lacks "*intrinsic* motor and dynamic" (p. 643, emphasis in original) to explain neither its self-perpetuating reproduction nor its potential breakup. Gottfried (1998) criticized her theoretical ideas of going "beyond patriarchy," although she aligned with Pollert in the overall message about the shortcoming of theories of patriarchy at the time.

[23] http://www.whiteguide.se/klass/internationell-mastarklass

[24] http://aretskock.se/vinnare/

the Year. The result was that there was not even *one* woman among the eight candidates for the 2016 finals.[25] These facts are remarkable given the cultural idealization of gender equality, but they are nonetheless consistent with the argument that practices can persist as androcentric even if pursued by women and self-identified feminists. I contend that this statistical outcome (which could perhaps be called patriarchal) is based in an androcentric sphere built up through a history of male homosociality, a term that needs some clarification.

Homosociality was originally a sex-role theoretical concept developed to explain gender segregation in social institutions (Lipman-Blumen, 1976). Basically, homosocial relations alluded to the sociality among people of the same gender without erotic desires.[26] Whereas the gendered implications of homosociality have been extensively theorized, I find the actual meaning of the suffix "-sociality" to be undertheorized. Sociality is a term often used in sociology and anthtropology,[27] but it often escapes definition. It is used in different ways and often interchangeably with the term "sociability."

Rachid Amirou (1989) has scrutinized the distinction between sociality and sociability in the literature on the sociology of everyday life, such as writings by Simmel, Durkheim, and Schütz, but also psychoanalytic thinking. Sociality can, in one conceptualization of the term, be imagined as a Durkhemian "collective soul." Sociality is always and everywhere present, as a "link to common sense, to everyday life, to the inertia of collective practice and to the nature of things" (p. 119). He concluded that despite "the complexity and the extent of the social division of labour, it remains the background and the horizon of all sociability, even the most simple" (Amirou, 1989, p. 119). Sociality is thus a more abstract term than sociability. The former lurks in the background as a social force, if you like, and is also the outcome (the background and the horizon, in Amirou's words) of all sociable activities. Given the great variety of ways to speak of sociality, I have constructed my own definition (and this definition is what I mean by the term throughout the dissertation). I, therefore, define it as *human actors' dispositions to engage in collectivities*.[28]

Let me give you an example. The act of sharing food at the same table is termed "commensality" and is used in a plethora of studies of eating and communion (Fischler, 2011). People eating together share a sociable moment; they enact sociability in the sense that the dinner becomes "the percep-

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[25] http://aretskock.se/finalister-2016/

[26] For a queer theoretical critique of the absence of erotic desire as an assumption of homosociality, see Sedgwick (1985).

[27] In fact, it is also commonly used in biology as an evolutionary-rooted preference for being part of a community; this preference is a prerequisite for survival and reproduction. While I am sure that evolutionary explanations are important for fully understanding human social life, it is not the analytical level I am focusing on.

[28] I am grateful to Philip K. Creswell for fruitful discussions about sociability/sociality.

tible moment when sociality reveals itself" (Amirou, 1989, p. 118) in the group. The sociality of the meal is the tendency to direct them toward that sociable moment and to perform the collective practice of "dinner eating" in certain ways (using a knife and fork, expressing gratitude, not taking up more space than is acceptable, talking about "suitable" topics, etc.). As I will discuss later, the sociality of the meal must be understood as a broader set of practices than only the eating (but let us leave that discussion for now). With this clarification in mind, let us return to homosociality.

The idea of male homosociality rests on the premise that masculinities are constructed and accomplished in all-male sociality in which they enact and grant each other different gendered positions (Meuser, 2004). However, the effects of men's homosociality—such as the development of particular practices, "(moral) attitudes, (political) opinions, and systems of values"—do not necessitate a men-only group (Meuser, 2004, p. 396). A woman can become accepted on the same terms as a man. I thus define homosociality more thoroughly as *men's (or certain "accepted" women's) dispositions to engage in androcentric collectivities*.

Let me exemplify this with a group of male chefs in a restaurant kitchen. They do sociability when they are working, but the (homo)sociality explains their particular gendered actions and their gendered effects. A good example of this is how the women chefs in the study by Harris and Giuffre (2015) constantly negotiated their femininity to fit into the male-dominated restaurant kitchens. As leaders, the women chefs had to be hard enough not to be stepped on but still soft enough not to be "bitches." I read this as a way for them to successfully engage in a homosocial sphere because of the accomplished acceptance in the androcentric collectivity. Furthermore, homosociality has been used as both a hierarchical concept in which men strengthen their powers over, and bonds between, other men and women and a horizontal concept that opens up for more inclusive, emotional, and nonprofitable relationships (Hammarén & Johansson, 2014). Homosociality, just like masculinities, therefore, has the potential both to reinforce and to challenge asymmetrical power relations, and homosocial interactions are outcomes of, and affect, gendering social structures.

Research on gender and food

In this chapter, I provide a review of the literature on food and gender among adults (18 years old and above), from its feminist pioneers to the current food research on men and masculinities. The literature review is not exhaustive, and I have narrowed it down in accordance with the scope of the dissertation. I have first of all focused on studies discussing foodwork and cooking and not eating habits. Second, the review is heavily skewed toward the Global North (including Oceania). Third, the review is more in depth for studies from the 1990s onward. For earlier research than this, I have focused on what I consider seminal texts on the topic.

Food is, and has always been, a feminist issue. It is therefore no coincidence that it was women, with more or less explicitly feminist approaches, who brought domestic work and the specific focus on food to light in the social sciences and humanities.[29] The responsibilities for this have been put on the shoulders of women, and it was female academics who turned this into legitimate subjects for academic inquiry. They argued that the private is political and that seemingly "mundane" practices such as domestic cooking are about gender and power. However, classic studies from structuralist and semiotic traditions such as Claude Levi-Strauss ([1965] 2013) and Roland Barthes ([1957] 2007, [1961] 2013) noted early on how foodstuffs and practices were closely aligned with cultural notions of women/men and the feminine/masculine. But they lacked analyses of inequality. Mary Douglas (1972) saw meal patterns as codified structures possible to decipher. In a famous study by Douglas and Nicod (1974), the latter observed (hidden behind a curtain) the mealtime behavior of four British working-class families with whom he lived for a month at a time. The meal structures followed clear patterns depending on the day of the week and the time of day, and the household structure was strikingly gendered with a female housekeeper and a male breadwinner. The 1980s saw similar patterns later observed, and more profoundly critiqued, in American (Adler, 1981), Canadian (Shaw, 1985, 1988),[30] British (Charles & Kerr, 1988; Kerr & Charles, 1986), and

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[29] For a brief history of feminist food studies, see Avakian and Haber (2005).

[30] Shaw's studies do not discuss food in particular but investigate gendered perceptions of household tasks, including cooking. Her research results showed that among the married heterosexual couples studied ($n = 60$), women did most of the household tasks and more often than men said they perceived it as work rather than leisure. Cooking stood out as particularly seen as leisure by men compared to women, although women said they did cooking.

Welsh (Murcott, 1982)[31] contexts. However, what is arguably that decade's most important book on gender and domestic work is *The Second Shift* by Arlie Hochschild (1989), even though she did not focus on food or meals specifically. This study explored the dynamics of different families and how gender relations and ideologies interacted with class. It might not be a seminal work in food studies, but it is a classic that set the stage for numerous later studies of the everyday lives of working heterosexual couples.

Following research conducted in the 1980s, a great deal of influential research was published and with wider theoretical scopes. For example, DeVault's work (1991) described interactions of gender and class in American families' social organization of caring as gendered work in relation to household responsibilities and food. Lupton (1996) highlighted similar patterns but also extended the sociological analyses with psychoanalytic accounts of bodies, purity, and disgust. Giard (1998) eloquently described the mundane and stressful but also the positive side of cooking as a practice in the everyday lives of French women.

All four demonstrated similar gendered patterns as those displayed in cited studies from the preceding decade, but some nuances can be traced. Of particular interest here was that men were less of an absent presence; the breadwinner to whom the food was brought home, cooked, and served. Both DeVault (1991) and Lupton (1996) write of a growing interest among groups of economically privileged men in cooking and/or fine dining. However, previous to this, Ekström (1990) produced similar findings from two Swedish cities. She also demonstrated how some men in her sample expressed a desire to share responsibilities and that this, to a small degree, was met with women's reluctance to let men into their kitchens. Furthermore, Sören Jansson (1995) has proposed an interesting hypothesis about the cultural differences between Swedes and Britons. Differences in notions of gender and domestic food practices could be partly explained by the fact that countries such as Britain industrialized their economy long before Sweden, in which the agricultural dominance—with a less rigid structure of male/public and female/private—was persevered for a longer time. The result, his argument went, was that the cultural barriers for men to assume "feminine" chores were not as difficult to overcome for men in Sweden as for their British counterparts.

From the late 1990s and into the new millennium, the amount of European and Anglo-American studies on food and gender became rather bewildering. The following sections attempt to capture parts of this research and to

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[31] In a published speech by Murcott (2000), she discussed the British development of domestic food and cooking based primarily on a large research project in Britain. She concluded that even though things had changed, women in all investigated groups of society chiefly had the main responsibility for these tasks.

highlight some of the common trends and patterns as well as the equally important nuances and contingencies.

Gender and food in everyday life—a life-course perspective

American research has provided models (Devine, 2005; Winter Falk, Bisogni, & Sobal, 1996) and large-scale empirical results (Quandt, Vitolins, DeWalt, & Roos, 1997) highlighting that food-related matters must be understood through a life-course perspective.[32] It is worth mentioning that the cutoff points for the category "older person" are not consistent for all studies cited, but the discussions here, and in my own empirical research, are based on participants who are 65 or over.[33]

The capabilities and limitations of one's physiology and the opportunities and limits of everyday social life change dramatically with age. Studies of older women in Sweden (Gustafsson, Andersson, Andersson, Fjellström, & Sidenvall, 2003; Sidenvall, Nydahl, & Fjellström, 2000) as well as from other European countries (Davidson, Arber, & Marshall, 2009; Lundkvist, Fjellström, Sidenvall, Lumbers, & Raats, 2010) demonstrate how these two aspects affect each other. Stories of older people's everyday lives also highlight how micro- and macro-level circumstances affect eating habits and how food is viewed (Mattsson Sydner, Sidenvall, Fjellström, Raats, & Lumbers, 2007). At the micro level, transitions from childhood to having a family of one's own, retirement, and deaths of close relations are such examples. The macro-level aspects can be exemplified by wars, political crises, times of starvation, and societal developments (such as shifting norms about the nuclear family and gender relations). One thing is for sure: the social significance of food, and its close connection to gender relations, continues into later life (Fjellström, 2009).

Looking at the much broader research base about younger and middle-aged adults, we firstly find research from the United Kingdom. Conducted in the late 1990s, it demonstrated a clear pattern of reports on men assuming a greater share of food responsibilities in comparison with older studies, albeit still clearly a lesser share than women had (Caplan, Keane, Willetts, & Williams, 1998; Kemmer, 1999, 2000; Kemmer, Anderson, & Marshall, 1998; Marshall & Anderson, 2002; Warde & Martens, 2000).[34] An expressed preference for a breadwinner/housewife model is very uncommon. This is

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[32] However, since the dissertation only concerns the lives of adults, I will not be discussing research on children or adolescents.

[33] This is the official cutoff point used by the National Board of Health and Welfare (Socialstyrelsen) as well as the statistical categorization from Statistics Sweden.

[34] For recent data on the frequency of contribution to housework tasks, including cooking the main meal, from a sample of British fathers, see the appendix of Norman and Elliot (2015).

not to say that this model does not exist, but the findings suggest what peo-ple consider desirable and more or less legitimate in a given cultural land-scape.

Patterns from UK research—more-gender-egalitarian views on food and cooking, claims of increased interest, greater assumptions of responsibilities among men, and a less unequal distribution of domestic work—seem to be in line with the development in the United States as well (Bisogni, Connors, Devine, & Sobal, 2002; Bove, Sobal, & Rauschenbach, 2003; Sobal, Bove, & Rauschenbach, 2002; Sobal & Nelson, 2003). Moreover, North American researchers have discussed men's specific increased role in cooking as a new, but important, phenomenon (Harnack, Story, Martinson, Neumark-Sztainer, & Stang, 1998; Szabo, 2011). Research from Canada further shows the intricacies of generalizations since the perceptions of gender norms, cooking, and the division of household labor are expressed differently in different ethno-cultural groups (Beagan, Chapman, D'Sylva, & Bassett, 2008; Ristovski-Slijepcevic, Chapman, & Beagan, 2010). Furthermore, the expressed relationship to domestic cooking and femininity is diversified and associated with different class and "race" positions (Cairns & Johnston, 2015). Lupton (2000) has also studied food preparation arrangements among rural Australian couples. She showed that unequal gender divisions of food preparations were expressed but that both men and women still claimed to cook for pleasure. Some of the unequal gender divisions were also based on women's reluctance to let men cook rather than men's unwillingness to do it (cf. Ekström, 1990).

Further important research on food in everyday life, with more or less a focus on gender relations, has been published by French (Kaufmann, [2005] 2010), Norwegian (Bugge & Almås, 2006), Danish (Halkier, 2013; O'Doherty Jensen & Holm, 1998, 1999), Finnish (Roos, Lahelma, Virtanen, Prättälä, & Pietinen, 1998), and Swedish (Anving, 2012; Anving & Sellerberg, 2010; Anving & Thorsted, 2010; Liukko, 1996; Löfmarck, 2014; Molander, 2011)[35] scholars as well as by Nordic collaborations (Holm, Ekström, Hach, & Lund, 2015; Kjærnes, 2001) and a French-British cross-cultural examination (Gatley, Caraher, & Lang, 2014). With this in mind, what has been written in food studies research about men and masculinities? And how?

Men and masculinities

Debbie Kemmer has been critical of the "tendency of researchers of food in the domestic setting to focus on women and exclude men from contributing to the data," which, she wrote, "undermines men's contribution and reinforc-

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[35] On teenagers, see Wesslén (2000).

es the identity of cooking as a feminine task" (2000, p. 330). She also noted that "where the rigid gendering of employment and domestic roles is being broken down, the sets of tasks to be most affected are food-related" (ibid., p. 329). Furthermore, Meah (2014b) pointed out the paradox of increasing statistical evidence of men in the Global North partaking in foodwork, whereas "men's engagement with foodwork has remained conspicuously absent within the growing literature on masculinities and men's shifting relationship with the domestic sphere" (p. 682).

During the twenty-first century, food researchers focusing on gender undoubtedly became more and more interested in men and masculinities. An example of this rising interest is a 2005 issue of *Food and Foodways* devoted particularly to articles about men and masculinities (see Julier & Lindenfeld, 2005). One of these was a comprehensive overview by Sobal (2005) that, at the time of writing, remains one of the journal's most read and cited articles. In that article, Sobal gave a broad overview of the studies relating men and masculinity (in the singular) to food, focusing mainly on meat and men's negotiations between individual meat preferences and potential conflicts with preferences from partners and/or children. Primarily using Connell's concepts, Sobal further discussed the usage of masculinities in the plural. For instance, he argued that foodways among men differ depending on the context of social interactions through life stages (marriage, becoming a father) and demonstrated how different "masculine scripts" (his own terminology) are constructed and acted out in various food contexts. Still, his specific point of analysis, i.e., red-meat consumption, differs from my general focus on foodwork and cooking in everyday life and in public representations. His article, a milestone in the subject of masculinity and food, poses questions relevant to this dissertation as well, but there are several more aspects of masculinities and food that need to be discussed here.

Images and practices, sporadic leisure, and everyday responsibility

I would suggest that contemporary foodwork and cooking research on men and masculinities can be empirically divided into two kinds of stories: those about public images and those about everyday practices. Furthermore, I think that it is fair to make yet another differentiation of analytical focus, namely, cooking as a sporadic leisure activity and as an everyday responsibility.

As for the first empirical story, let us begin by reminding ourselves about the connection between certain enactments of masculinity and gastronomy. There is no doubting that most forms of cooking, at least in the Global North, that are culturally legitimate as comprising the highest gastronomic standard are bearers of what I call an androcentric legacy. These forms of

cooking are associated with exclusivity, refined taste, and accrued knowledge of "right" and "wrong." Gastronomy has always been, and continues to be, defined mostly by men (e.g., Ferguson, 2004; Ferguson & Zukin, 1998; Harris & Giuffre, 2015; Swinbank, 2002; Trubek, 2003), and "the chef," as a cultural symbol, is a man (Bååth & Neuman, in press; Druckman, 2010; Trubek, 2003).[36]

This is further demonstrated in a growing body of cultural studies research exploring male chefs and cooks on TV and in the print media (Brunsdon, Johnson, Moseley, & Wheatley, 2001; Chao, 1998; Feasey, 2008; Holden, 2005; Hollows, 2002, 2003b; Hollows & Jones, 2010b; Lane, 2011, 2013; Leer, 2013, 2014; Mitchell, 2010; Nilsson, 2013; Swenson, 2009).[37] These studies tell stories of certain traits of what could be conceived as stereotypically "masculine" and how this is connected to culinary excellence. However, they also demonstrate complexities of gender practice, intersections of class and "race," and suggest change for cultural representations.[38] What we learn from these types of analyses are different ways of interpreting cultural images, how masculinities are represented to the public, and how they cling to broader societal discourses.

However, no matter how refined a cultural analysis of public representations might be, it says nothing about the effects on people's everyday lives or about "audience" response. Furthermore, given that these studies tend to analyze the public images of celebrity men, from shows designed to entertain an audience, then it is no wonder that leisure tends to become the focus. If we were to assume that these analyses are mirror reflections of how men in the same cultural contexts view and perform their own foodwork and cooking poractices, we would end up with a very cynical view about them.

So what about the second empirical story? Well, in these studies too, cooking has often been associated with leisure and individual interests among men but more as a responsibility, a chore, among women (Aarseth, 2007; Aarseth & Olsen, 2008; Cairns, Johnston, & Baumann, 2010; Holter & Aarseth, [1993] 1994; Lupton, 1996, p. 145; 2000; Metcalfe, Dryden, Johnson, Owen, & Shipton, 2009; Olsen & Aarseth, 2006; van Hooff, 2011). Quantitative studies from Europe provide us with a similar story where men's cooking seems clearly related to whether they like it or not, whereas

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[36] See also Laura Shapiro's essay "Where are the women? A look at why so few female chefs have risen to the top of the restaurant scene" in the culinary magazine *Gourmet* (2008).

[37] For an analysis of the British TV cook Nigella Lawson in the context of a postfeminist discourse, see Hollows (2003a). For a historical perspective on some well-known American cooking personalities (and how their skills and characters were constructed) during the twentieth century—female and male—see Innes (2001), Neuhaus (2003), Levenstein (2003), and Smith (2005). For a British perspective on food writing and gender, see Mennell ([1985] 1996) and Jones and Taylor (2001).

[38] This becomes particularly evident when the British chef Jamie Oliver is involved (Brunsdon et al., 2001; Feasey, 2008; Hollows, 2003b; Hollows & Jones, 2010a; Leer, 2013, 2014).

women—who indeed more often say they have a liking for cooking—assume the lion's share of responsibilities regardless of whether they have a liking for cooking or not (Daniels, Glorieux, Minnen, & van Tienoven, 2012; Warde & Martens, 2000).

This picture is incomplete, however. In fact, an account of men's cooking as either a leisure activity or totally absent would be an immense oversimplification. For example, geographers have written about the domestic kitchen as a space of masculine transformation (Gorman-Murray, 2008, 2013; Meah, 2014a, 2014b; Meah & Jackson, 2013), and Aarseth (2009) went as far as suggesting that domestic cooking has in fact become degendered among middle-class Norwegians. Domestic cooking, she argued, should now be seen primarily as an expression of middle-class lifestyle projects rather than as a symbol of a gendered division of labor.

A study of British fathers found that some men saw themselves more as their wives' cooking assistants but nonetheless defined their efforts as contributions to the household (Metcalfe et al., 2009). Furthermore, some men shared the responsibilities equally or even had the main responsibilities. What is interesting is that although they expressed ideas of their responsibility as fathers to contribute to the foodwork, they still articulated a perceived option for this, an option described as less tangible for women. Here too, the men claimed to take care of special-occasion cooking (e.g., grilling) and expressed the "cooking-as-leisure" discourse, but the picture is much more complex. The routinized everyday chores of foodwork and caring for family members were clear as well, i.e., practices of food and cooking seemed important parts of some men's fathering, similar to what is already known about mothering (see also Owen, Metcalfe, Dryden, & Shipton, 2010). The same can be seen in Szabo's research (2013a, 2013b, 2014); she interviewed Canadian men who were reported to have a significant responsibility for food in their households. All these men expressed a personal interest in cooking but also concerns for loved ones. In addition, we can trace articulated challenges to gender norms among American male foodies in the sense that they shared the cooking responsibilities (Cairns et al., 2010; Johnston & Baumann, 2010). Moreover, the interviewed men stated that during their adolescence their fathers had never done this (Cairns et al., 2010). However, the foodie women expressed feelings of duties as caring and nurturing mothers, a pattern not observed among the men (cf. Cairns & Johnston, 2015).

Nordic studies have focused on food and masculinity in family life (Aarseth, 2009; Aarseth & Olsen, 2008; Holter & Aarseth, [1993] 1994; Olsen & Aarseth, 2006), in the history of technology (Myllyntaus, 2010), in the masculinized hipsterness of the Copenhagen meat scene (Lapiņa & Leer, 2016), and in relation to men's eating habits (Roos, Prättälä, & Koski, 2001; Roos & Wandel, 2005; Wandel & Roos, 2005). The evidence from Sweden is very meager. The little there is, is presented in the following.

What about Sweden? Why this dissertation?

What strikes me as interesting in the suggestion by Jansson in his previously cited work is his very early focus on men's relation to food and cooking in Sweden (Jansson, 1995). Jansson has produced work that has contributed to the understanding of food and cooking in the everyday lives of Swedes. However, unlike other researchers in Sweden who have, more or less, explored food in everyday life from a gender perspective, his works have given more attention to men (Jansson, 1988, 1990, 1993). I dare to say that he is the first scholar in Sweden to illuminate men specifically in this aspect (albeit without theorizing gender relations).

Apart from social changes that statistics and quantitative studies have indicated, only a few bachelor or master's theses and a study by Klasson and Ulver (2015) have investigated these questions. Based on interviews and observations with 12 middle-class food-interested men, Klasson and Ulver suggested a "masculinizing of domesticity." The study is interesting, but the arguments are not based on Swedish political history, something I contend is crucial. Swedish masculinities cannot be understood without an intellectual foundation in the struggles—and victories—of the feminist movement and decades of gender-equality policies.

We also need to take into account other images of success in Sweden. One of these is "the Swedish welfare model" (or perhaps a Nordic or Scandinavian model), a strongly established part of Swedish political history and the country's international reputation. The Swedish economic model, the narrative tells us, was seen by some as a "middle way" that combined the best of both worlds: the technological and financial progress of capitalism and the redistributive justice and security of a progressive, instead of totalitarian, socialism (Andersson, 2006, 2009; Andersson & Hilson, 2009; Marklund, 2009).[39] The women's movement, the changing nature of public and domestic foodwork, and the transition of masculinities are also part of this political story.

Other produced (self-)images of progress that I am referring to are world-leading companies, music, sports, and fashion (Ostberg, 2011). The current Swedish Government not only presented itself as the first feminist government in the world but also wanted to "show the countries of the world the way forward" by becoming "one of the world's first fossil-free welfare countries."[40] In a similar vein, Sweden.se writes positively about Swedish families cooking together,[41] living sustainably,[42] and having picnics in the all-

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[39] For an overview of Sweden's economic history, see Magnusson (2010).
[40] http://www.government.se/articles/2015/09/investments-in-climate-change-adaptation-and-energy/
[41] https://sweden.se/culture-traditions/the-social-kitchen/
[42] https://sweden.se/nature/sustainable-living/

accessible Swedish countryside.[43] All in all, the "imagined community" that is Sweden shares many narratives, and these are not independent of the two that my dissertation explores: gender equality and culinary excellence. And they are all, in different ways, gendered.

Finally, let me sum up the arguments proposed in this dissertation. First, regarding how much cooking and housework men do and the amount of time they spend on these activities, men in Sweden consistently come top or thereabouts. Second, Sweden is not only considered a gender-equal country; it is also a self-proclaimed country of culinary excellence. These notions of culinary excellence, as I have shown, are profoundly gendered. Thus, men and masculinities permeate the domestic cooking of everyday life and the public culinary exclusivity. Third, neither gender-equality nor culinary-progress narratives can at present be disentangled from contemporary Swedish politics and national (self-)images.

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[43] https://sweden.se/culture-traditions/outdoor-eating/

Methods

This chapter is devoted to methodological and data questions. I will begin by outlining my epistemological standpoints, followed by each respective data collection procedure (including the recruitment of interview participants), a discussion about reflexivity, ethical reflections, and the process of analyzing my different data sources. In short, the chapter describes how I philosophically understand my data, how I have collected them (with their inherent advantages and limitations), the reflexive and ethical concerns involved in my research, the process of interpretations and analyses, and what I can conclude from the findings based on the data at hand.

Epistemological standpoints

This dissertation does not attempt to conclude once and for all "what men in Sweden do" or what they think. Rather, I try to say something about the masculinities and (self-)images of Sweden and Swedish men as an idea in a context of social change. Bradley (1993, p. 432) has argued that "[e]mpirical reality – what researchers set out to capture as data and understand in terms of abstraction – is complex, intertwined, understood most fully as a contextual whole, and ultimately inseparable from the individuals 'knowing' that reality." This quote sums up neatly my basic philosophical standpoint on the ontology of social reality and the epistemology of exploring it. There is a reality to seek out, but it is impossible to fully understand. And empirical investigations can never capture it as a truth independent of the people experiencing it.

As mentioned above, I adhere to Connell's ontological view of gender and masculinity: social constructionist, practice-based, power relational, and, as I added, weakly structuralist. Epistemologically, I believe in truth and our possibilities of describing social realities that are more real than others, and I defend strong scientific standards to judge what are more or less plausible explanations of certain phenomena. I study constructions, but constructions have very real effects; desirable masculinities are always relational to other masculinities considered undesirable, constructions of legitimate taste create cultural distinctions, and so forth. In short, even though the capital-T "Truth" is beyond human comprehension, we can still make visible truth claims that

are more robust than others. Moreover, facts, no matter how robust, can never be entirely dislocated from the context in which they are produced.

Interviews

Three of the papers—II, III, and IV—are based on interview data from thirty-one men, aged between 22 and 88, from different social backgrounds and from various parts of Sweden (for a full list of participants, see Appendix 1). My qualitative approach had the purpose of "understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (Seidman, 2006, p. 6). Here this means understanding the sense-making of food and foodwork, both in the interviewed men's personal life stories and in the surrounding society throughout their lives. By "surrounding society," I have concentrated on that which surrounds the aforementioned national self-images: the gender-equality culture and the notions of culinary excellence.

I conducted sixteen interviews in total (from 45 minutes to 2 hours long), most of which were with two men at the same time. Two interviews were carried out in groups of three, and three were single-person interviews. The men were contacted and if interested in participating, they were asked to bring with them a male friend. The older participants were recruited at senior centers and an over-55s private residence. These locations were chosen because the residents were considered sufficiently competent, physically and cognitively, to participate and to make informed and autonomous decisions. Some were approached directly by me, and some were snowballed from another resident. In some cases, an employee at the residence suggested men who could be interested, after which I asked them in person. The remaining participants were recruited in three ways: (1) direct contact, for example, a suggestion made by me in a public space (in a gym or simply out in the town), followed by a later, more-detailed contact by e-mail, social media, or telephone, (2) contact with a gatekeeper, or (3) snowballed from the initial contact (i.e., one participant recommended another for me to contact).

The single-person interviews resulted from men not finding a suitable co-participant, something that, for research-ethical reasons, I would not pressure them to do. The interviews in groups of three men were carried out based on on-the-spot decisions. Here a third man was simply invited there and then by his friends. However, before the interview, the third man, like all the other study participants, received the same information about his optional participation and the right to withdraw at any time without having to give an explanation.

The procedure for finding participants is best described as purposeful sampling combined with snowball sampling (Patton, 2015; Seidman, 2006). Purposeful sampling covers a large variety of sampling techniques. However, they all aim to select "information-rich cases to study, cases that by their

nature and substance will illuminate the inquiry question being investigated" (Patton, 2015, p. 264). I intended to recruit men from a broad age span and with various life circumstances, sociocultural backgrounds, and food interests. Every participant had to be over 18 and no longer living at his childhood home. These were the only inclusion criteria, however. No person whom I already knew well before our first encounter was interviewed, and I also wanted to avoid nutrition or dietetics students. Twelve men are defined as "older," 65 or older; eight as "middle-aged," 40 to 64 years old; and eleven as "younger," 18 to 39 years old. Most participants were white-collar, urban men, and seven (out of eleven) of the younger men were university students at the time (education, engineering, philosophy, chemistry, forestry, and business [two participants]).[44] This means that the group of men is rather skewed in terms of class and educational level. But one of the younger men worked as a janitor and one of the middle-aged men was unemployed. A 64-year-old man worked in a small-town mill, and a few older men had before their retirement occupations I would define as working class (a mill worker, a glazier, a typographer, a post-office worker, and a man who had worked for a grocery chain, from the shop floor up to better positions).

I did all this because I wanted to receive a variety of stories. Variation, I should mention, has nothing to do with representative samples in the statistical sense. Rather, the purpose is to search for new stories that might provide both deviations from and similarities with other stories. Although I want to avoid terms such as "reliability" and "validity" here, the purposeful sample nevertheless intended to give the data some credibility and trustworthiness (Guba, 1981). Considering that certain accounts were told by a seemingly diverse group of men, I am confident that the analyses are reasonable. As I describe further down, the data presented as findings followed from an analysis of clear patterns related to certain theoretical questions.

The interviews were open but with an interview guide comprising several broad themes to be covered (see Appendix 2). If a discussion moved away from a preestablished theme but still centered on food, eating, housework, gender equality, food in the media, and so forth, then I did not intervene. However, this still led me to introduce new themes into the guide. I only intervened when discussions wandered too far off the research interests or when I had to probe or introduce another question. I started all the interviews by asking, "What is food?" From then on, the interview was "designed to ask participants to reconstruct their experience and to explore their meaning" (Seidman, 2006, p. 92). It was therefore very open and with no preestablished order of questions. Depending on which way the opening question

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[44] In Appendix 1, the specific subjects of study are not mentioned. I refer to the diversity of subjects here because the sample diversity is relevant to the trustworthiness of the data. But for purposes of confidentiality, I do not want to connect a certain person to a specific academic discipline. Thus, I have only written "University student" as the occupation.

directed the conversation, further questions were asked. The interviews with two or three participants were mainly driven by discussions among the participating men rather than by my own interventions. But if a participant said something relevant to the research questions that I found insufficiently elaborated on (e.g., because of an interruption from another participant), then I noted this and raised this subject again later on. I should also mention that I initially intended to use a photo-elicitation method and therefore presented pictures of food at some interviews. However, this method turned out to be ineffective except for stimulating discussion when nobody was speaking. So while these discussions were not part of the talk about foodwork and cooking that came to be my focus of attention, I cannot completely overlook their existence in the data.

All the men interviewed together were well acquainted with each other. This methodological approach was chosen to achieve a spontaneous conversation in a male homosocial environment and to capture stories about food, cooking, and foodwork in their everyday lives, from past to present. These are topics of conversation not traditionally associated with masculinity or men. Given the image of Sweden as a gender-equal country with egalitarian men, my method was an interesting way to capture how these men of different ages, backgrounds, and levels of food interest negotiated meanings of Swedish men in general and not only how they portrayed themselves.

My specific choice of interview approach was inspired by previous studies that analyzed male participants' stories together with those of other men but dissected as part of different sociolinguistic frameworks (Coates, 2003; Edley & Wetherell, 1997, 1999, 2001; Gill, Henwood, & McLean, 2005; Gough & Edwards, 1998; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). These have closely analyzed the role of language in homosocial interaction. The strength of such methods and perspectives is that they neatly capture how language works as a social practice in interaction, that is, sophisticated analyses of what the language use *does*. However, equally, or perhaps even more, interesting is the content of the discussions that emerge from the interviews. Thus, their strength is also their weakness in that the focus on linguistic practices results in less attention to how the content reflects self-representations in a macropolitical and cultural context and less focus on the interaction of structure and agency.

It was this latter point I found interesting and wanted to use for my research questions. The cited studies of course take context into account, and I, too, have analyzed the choice of words and phrases carefully. But there are always differences in attention to one or another aspect, and I have paid less attention to discourse than to socially constructed phenomena in a given context. My interest centered on what would happen when I, as a male researcher in my late 20s, talked about such "feminine" subjects as food and foodwork in everyday life with other men of different ages. And, more im-

portantly, what would come out of their discussion with other men they knew in my interviews with two or more male participants?

This approach has advantages and disadvantages. One disadvantage is that men might reach a consensus on what is right or wrong even though this may not reflect what some of them actually think. This is especially relevant to keep in mind given the socially acceptable nature of opinions on gender equality and food consumption. Not only do we, as human animals, try to present ourselves positively, we might also rationalize our practices and standpoints so that we believe ourselves to be more morally virtuous than what people in our social environment would think. However, it would be wrong to ask "which method affects the answers the most?" since this question is founded on two assumptions: (1) different qualitative approaches are more or less good at putting the researcher "outside" of the interview situations and (2) the data will therefore by default represent varyingly "true" accounts from the interviewees. This line of thinking is crucial in experimental designs but not necessarily so in qualitative research in which the researcher is interested in situated interactions and processes.

As an example, Klara Goedecke (2016), using a method and a sample not too dissimilar from my own, has shown how middle-class men who were all more or less feminist-oriented discussed male friendship. One could assume that the men who discussed in pairs steered clear of some aspects about each other in order to avoid conflict or some "socially unacceptable" opinions for fear of being seen as deviant. These possibilities could be viewed as a bias that hides their "true" opinions about each other and politically loaded questions, such as gender relations. However, Goedecke never set out to explore these "true" accounts but rather their views on the topic and how the interviews resulted in negotiated relationships—including the interviewer—there and then. Similarly, my aim is not to access the informants' "true" accounts but rather notions about food and masculinity that their stories adhered to.

Furthermore, writing about focus group interviews as a feminist method, Montell (1999, p. 48) argued that "in individual interviews each question requires 'an answer,' while in group interviews the goal is instead to initiate a conversation." Even though I see none of my interviews as focus group interviews (one could argue about the ones with three participants though), the same argument can be made for all interviews designed for a conversation with more than one participant. Due to the composition of the people in the interview situation, I did not intervene with probing questions as much as I could have done; instead, I allowed them to talk rather freely to each other. Montell further claimed that group interviews put less pressure on the individual "to provide a definitive answer to each question" while giving participants the chance to catch up on each other's answers—one short comment can spark an idea for another (ibid.). However, this was of course not possible to achieve during the interviews with only one participant. Despite different numbers of men being interviewed at a given time, I have analyzed all

interviews as one material and have found no systematic difference of content undeniably related to the composition of the people. But I must still be aware of the different environments that different compositions of people create and that this affects the interview situation.

Having conducted all my interviews, transcribed them, and started my systematic analysis and writing, I was faced with the questions of whether to (1) collect more data and, if so, (2) what kind(s). Given the questions that had arisen from my process of analyses (i.e., from the interview situation onward) and the writing of Paper I, there were two possibilities. One was to choose a deeper focus on the everyday lives of men and the image of Swedish gender equality. However, I opted for another path: I directed my focus outward to the image of Sweden's culinary excellence and broader notions of Sweden as a nation. So instead of, for example, designing surveys of everyday foodwork or engaging in more intensive ethnographic everyday life research, I, therefore, chose to observe food fairs, an international chef competition, and to collect promotion materials about Sweden and Swedish food.

Texts, pictures, and videos

To analyze how Swedish culinary excellence is promoted, I have first and foremost collected texts—published online by organizations officially commissioned to "brand" Swedish food culture—, press releases, and magazines distributed at the observation settings. I also looked through websites promoting Sweden (www.visitsweden.com and http://sweden.se) and Swedish food (www.tryswedish.com), the reason being the theoretical assumption that national identity constructions and food interact. The inclusion criterion for choosing a particular text was if I judged that it clearly intended to promote Sweden through food and eating, for example, articles about specific Swedish dishes at sweden.se or recommendations of restaurants at visitsweden.com; in other words, on websites that, although not exclusively focusing on food, wrote a lot about it (or about eating out, about producers, etc.) on specific pages. And whenever they did, I included them.

I searched the general information web pages about Sweden, scrutinizing them for any mention of food, such as stories about common everyday practices, traditions, special dishes, restaurants, and so forth. The particular food-related texts were press releases about the Bocuse d'Or and the information material published by the Government Offices about "Sweden—the new culinary nation."

The websites usually had links to their web pages, and if I found a link that seemed relevant, I followed it, read it, and most of the time included it in my material. The excluded texts simply had nothing to do with food. In the end, I had eighty-one texts, of different sizes and written in either English or Swedish, which amounted to approximately 400 A4 pages of data (the

print versions of the texts covering the information text, including the authors), and two trade magazines (see Appendix 3). If an online text had, for example, four pages of written matter in a print-version document of ten pages in total (because of other miscellaneous parts, such as related links), then I counted it as four.

Last but not least, I also collected online pictures and video clips from the fairs and the Bocuse d'Or. I have used them as tools to contextualize the analyses of texts and observations, to better remember the environment, and to further probe some of the potentially unanswered empirical questions.

Observations

The observational data presented in Paper V were collected at three places during 2014 and one in 2016: the largest food fair in Scandinavia, the biennial GastroNord, in 2014 and 2016; the Bocuse d'Or; and the annual Swedish food fair Mitt kök-mässan[45] (the My Kitchen Fair, hereafter the MK Fair) in 2014. GastroNord 2014 and the Bocuse d'Or took place concurrently in the same building (Stockholmsmässan in Älvsjö, a city district of Stockholm).

In both 2014 and 2016, GastroNord took place on four consecutive days: 1000 to 1800 on Tuesday to Thursday and 1000 to 1600 on Friday. In 2014, the observations were conducted from morning to late afternoon for the first three days and from 1200 to 1600 on the last day. The Bocuse d'Or was held on Wednesday and Thursday, which meant that the observation shifted between the fair and the competition (two exhibition halls directly next to each other). At GastroNord 2016, I conducted observations each day, from 1000 to 1500. The reasons for the slightly shorter observations in 2016 were threefold: (1) I was familiar with the environment, (2) this year's fair was a bit smaller, and (3) I was more clearly driven by the analyses from the preceding two years, and thus the observation in 2016 was less explorative than in 2014. I visited the MK Fair on a Sunday in November, from 1000 to 1600. I decided to also observe this fair in order to collect data from yet another food fair not so clearly targeting food-trade actors but rather the individual consumer.

This corresponds to approximately fifty-four hours of observation using the strategy of comprehensive note-taking, i.e., taking notes of what was observed in a broad and descriptive manner (Wolfinger, 2002). However, the four methodological questions "What happens here?" "Who does it?" "How is the space constructed?" and "In what circumstances?" guided the observation. Some of the aspects noted were such things as colors, clothes, pictures (or the absence of pictures), the size and composition (e.g., green wooden

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[45] As I write these lines, the name of the fair has changed to Stockholm Food & Wine.

boxes or white plastic boxes, padded armchairs or office chairs, etc.) of the exhibitors' booths, the countries of origin, the services they provided (e.g., cooking and serving whole dishes or offering salami slices), information material, and movies/pictures on screens.

Lofland and colleagues point out that there are no general rules regarding the total amount of field notes, partly because of the diversity of settings but also due to the "observer's verbal compulsions" (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006, p. 115). Here the field notes were both detailed and rather incessantly jotted down. The incessant jotting of notes was, however, interrupted at regular intervals to reflect upon the observations and to scrutinize notes. My note-taking was mainly done while sitting, sometimes while standing, and rarely while walking. I mention this because it is plausible that what I noted is "skewed" toward areas of the fairs where I could sit down, and that less was noted from areas in which it was hard for me to write. I tried to solve this problem by making a mental note of what happened and then moving to a place where I could sit and write it down. It is difficult to say whether this has affected my analyses, but it must be recognized that the content of the field notes was affected by my opportunities to move around, see, and write at the observed settings. Following the observations, I typed the notes into a computer, resulting in seventy-seven A4 pages of field notes.

Reflexivity—my position(s) in the process

Research never appears in a vacuum. Feminist epistemologies and methodologies have highlighted the importance of researchers and participants as subjects in interaction. Being self-critical and practicing reflexivity are important but might sit uncomfortably since we are forced to question our own objectivity toward and influence on our own research (Pillow, 2003).

This dissertation was written by me, a white, urban, highly educated man, during my doctoral studies (between the ages of 25 and 29). I was, however, brought up in a small-town, working-class environment. I now live my life in academic, middle-class environments, but I bring with me a nonacademic, rural habitus. These are but a few of my social positions affecting who I am, how I behave, which political views I hold, and how I analyze the world. I assume that my position(s) and the position(s) of my interviewees have played an important part in the process, for instance, why I chose to approach some men but not others; why they said yes (when they could have said no); and why the interviews turned out the way they did.

It is of course an important aspect that I am a man who interviewed men, especially regarding a subject so closely associated with women. But gender is not the only position relevant in the interview situation, and this must not be forgotten. Second-wave, white, middle-class, feminist academics have been criticized for mistakenly considering themselves in alliance with their

female (and less privileged) research subjects (Stacey, 1988), and I would be making the same mistake if I saw nothing but my own and my interview participants' gender as important. And I could also risk committing the logical fallacy of considering subjective experience to be true; another aspect of early feminist methodology rightfully criticized (Hammersley, 1992). We are shaped by social positions. But speaking from a subordinate, marginalized or dominant position does not make our claims more or less valid *because* of that position (cf. Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1986, 1991).

I will not go into detail about *how* social positions might have affected the interviews and the process of analysis and frankly, I do not know. I only mention it as a crucial reflexive point. I should also mention the fact, and this is not unimportant, that I liked the men I interviewed. They seemed to be good people, and I am sure that I could have become great friends with some of them if I had encountered them in another context. It is implausible that this did not affect my research. I have actively tried to be as open and self-critical as possible throughout the process, and it is up to the reader to judge the trustworthiness of my data and the reasonableness of my interpretations and conclusions.

Ethical reflections

Concerned about ethical demands extending further and further into areas of the social sciences (even into teaching), Haggerty (2004) has argued that the social sciences are haunted by an "ethics creep" based on research-ethical norms of biomedical research. In general, I am also critical of how institutionalized research ethics have a biomedical bias, and the whole idea of receiving an ethical "stamp of approval" is incompatible with my view of moral philosophy.[46] By this, I mean, first, the idea that ethics are somehow static and can be condensed into a manual (cf. Aarsand & Forsberg, 2010). Research ethics are an ongoing internal process for the researcher, and not a once-and-for-all judgment by an external board. From a philosophical perspective, there is no 1:1 relationship between the ethically justified or illegitimate action and what is considered to be so according to official recommendations and laws. Second, the preestablished ideas of what is "sensitive" and more or less ethically important are problematic as well. Why, for example, is a religious belief, a disease, or a political opinion by necessity "sensitive," while childhood poverty and bullying are not? This conclusion

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[46] Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that an application for the ethical approval of the interview research was sent to the Regional Ethical Review Board (ERB) of Uppsala in late spring 2013. Having processed my application, the ERB reached the decision that this research needed no ethical trial (Dnr 2013/213). The rest of my data was never processed by the ERB at all (because I had not collected information about particular individuals).

could be drawn if one uncritically follows § 13 of the Swedish Personal Data Act (*Personuppgiftslag*) (SFS, 1998:204). Why is a physical examination deemed more ethically problematic—and in need of an ethical trial—than a discussion about a dead wife and a son? All my four examples here (poverty, bullying in childhood, and deaths of wives and a son) are authentic and come from my interviews. I will return to how these issues and others were handled. These required me to think about ethics in the interview situation and afterward. I do not of course think that the guidelines of the Swedish Research Council or international declarations are arbitrary. And history has proven, again and again through atrocities in the name of science, that research ethical standards and regulations are important. I am not criticizing them *per se* but the potential consequences, namely, research ethics being turned into a checklist. Regardless of their legitimacy and importance, written standards remain limited and are not easily applicable to all situations and individuals.

In all of my writing, regardless of the data source, I have reflected on how to respectfully frame my research subjects while remaining critical. My analyses and my writing are all part of an ethical relationship to the research subjects in the sense that I have tried to be as honest as possible with the material. This is not the same as unbiased, however. Suffice it to say that I have transcribed, interpreted, and written up my data with ethical reflections constantly in mind. Let me proceed with some specific ethical reflections on my research.

Regarding the interviews, the fact that the second (and third) participant(s) did not receive the same kind of invitation as the first, and consequently obtained less information, cannot be overlooked. However, all information was given to each participant, orally as well as in writing, before the interview. All participants were informed about their confidentiality (blacked out private details in the transcripts, fictitious names in the papers, and so forth), their right to refuse to be audiotaped, their right to withdraw their participation in the interview at any time, that they did not need to say or answer anything more than they wanted, and that audiotaped material—if they regretted the whole interview or particular statements made—could be deleted at any time after the interview.

The more people involved in the research, the more who know of the participation of a given individual. This goes for all gatekeepers and people outside the interview situation (girlfriends, wives, acquaintances, other people present in a public space, etc.). Simply knowing that some person is taking part in a research project is one thing but actually being there and hearing everything that the person says is a completely different matter. Even though I will take to my grave what each person said during the interview, I cannot control what participants might divulge about each other.

All names in the articles are fictitious, and all names of towns, streets, workplaces, and so forth, are blacked out in the transcripts, as are all ac-

counts of diagnosed diseases. As for the last mentioned, this is because data on someone's health status is judged as sensitive information and thus considered in need of an ethical trial. Since none of my aims are deemed to be better fulfilled by, let us say, dietary restrictions "because I have high blood pressure" than "because I have [talks about health]," this omission has been made.[47] The participants who specifically mentioned their diagnosed diseases were informed that they did not need to talk about this. Just as with all information that I felt might make the participant uneasy, they could contact me or my supervisors at any time and ask us to erase the stories. Examples of other potentially uneasy discussions (even though they are not categorized as "sensitive" by law) were stories of childhood bullying, the death of family members (mostly wives but even a child), and childhood poverty. I have handled this with care and have not included any of these stories in detail in the papers.

During my observations, I have not noted any names or personal information about other visitors unless they were celebrities invited to cook, talk, partake in seminars, run competitions, and so forth. Given that they have participated freely as public persons, I have viewed them as open material for social research. The same goes for all the collected texts, pictures, and videos. However, there is still a risk that these celebrities would feel uncomfortable if they knew (e.g., by reading this dissertation) that I have been listening to them, reading about them, reading their works, or looking at pictures of them while analyzing them. It is therefore important to emphasize that I only analyzed these people as public representations of social phenomena.

Last but not least, theorizing is an ethical issue as well. My theoretical conclusions about the celebrity chefs' (or other food celebrities') public representations have nothing to do with them as private individuals. And the same is true for the quotes I have chosen as examples of qualitative patterns in my interviews. First of all, as I mentioned above, critical analysis is not about describing certain men or masculinities as "bad." Most people, despite different levels of social privilege, can be hurt, sad, kind, and loving. I must also be careful not to make the opposite mistake, to exaggerate "how far we have come" in terms of gender-progressive men and masculinities. This is something I have balanced throughout all my writing; I have endeavored to make critical abstractions about men's self-representations and about public representations while carefully avoiding to picture them as either "oppressive" or naïvely egalitarian.

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[47] The example is not taken from the transcripts but is used as a fictitious example of how the mentioned diseases were handled. This strategy was used more often, although not exclusively, in the interviews with older men.

The process of data analysis

To start with: what can I actually say through my studies? As the title of this dissertation suggests, my view is that qualitative data comprise stories. It is not my way of "getting the facts." I have tried to think of all my data as relating to the two main stories illustrated in the triangle on page 10 (Figure 1). I argue that as a result of investigating the two stories, my different data sources help us to understand more about masculinity in Sweden. However, significant epistemological differences between the collected data and the different methods must be taken into account.

First, my interviews are stories about everyday practices throughout the courses of the participants' lives—what the practices mean and how they are understood. These are the stories the men I interviewed told me and therefore mirror what they were presenting to me and to other participants, but we know nothing about what actually happened or happens. There can be at least two contrasting assumptions about the stories here. One is that I as the analyst assume that a true interpretation is possible, and my job is to close in on it, perhaps even find it. Another is that I interpret an interpretation; in other words, the interviewed person tells a story of his own interpretation of his life, and it is thus up to me to interpret what this interpretation means (although I am also being interpreted while interviewing!) and to abstract it (cf. Bradley, 1993). I take the latter view on qualitative research. The subject does not own the interpretation of her- or himself and does not possess the objective fact of how things "really" are or what they mean. However, I have no reason to believe that they lied; rather, I assume that their stories are reflecting "situated knowledges" (Haraway, 1988) produced and transformed in a homosocial environment then and there.

Second, the observational data and the analyzed texts are stories as well. And they too, as all qualitative data, involve human beings, albeit indirectly, in contrast to the direct involvement of the interview interaction (cf. Bradley, 1993). They have allowed me to glimpse the "neutral" world, unaffected by my presence as a researcher. While observing, I am shown what actually happens. However, the meanings conveyed are much shallower, even more open to my interpretations and harder for me to probe, and the observations are, furthermore, understood through the filters of my notes and my interpretations. Texts are cultural artifacts which say something about the context in which they are produced but nothing about causality. Whether public texts promote some chefs because they are celebrities or whether some chefs become celebrities thanks, in part, to public promotions are irrelevant questions here.

Given the social constructionist epistemological framework, I conducted no analyses with assumptions of "pure" fly-on-the-wall objectivity. In view of the critical theoretical lens, neither do I pretend to be fully value neutral. This does not mean that anything goes. Analyzing qualitative data is, in

short, a way of transforming large sets of raw data into small pieces of public knowledge. "Building knowledge from data," Sutton has argued, "is not like building a wall one stone at a time, but requires theorizing, which is an act of consciousness and imagination" (Sutton, 1993, p. 419). In other words, qualitative analysis is about theoretical and creative thinking. However, a systematic inductive analysis requires organized data and a clear purpose. Regardless of method(s) and data source(s), all my analyses are founded on assumptions of a social reality to be explained and, perhaps, also *changed*. Throughout my work, I have presented data sets to colleagues and seminar participants, discussed them with others, and explored them on different occasions with periods of "rest" in between.[48]

Philosophically, I like to think of a qualitative analysis as building an IKEA bookshelf: often frustrating work and sometimes you need to return to the original source for missing pieces. If it is built using solid material put together properly in accordance with the instructions, then it works. But in this form, it lacks an abstract substance. The more abstract intellectual substance fills up the analysis (the bookshelf) during a creative process full of new ideas and interests (books) that can be more or less consciously sought for. Given that analyses of qualitative data are crafts of interpretation, I am skeptical of orthodox adherence to particular textbook instructions for doing analysis. Analytical orthodoxy risks trapping the interpreter in an iron cage that does more harm than good to the intellectual content of the final text. Thus, I have not totally followed any one particular instruction model, although I have been inspired and guided. The following sections describe what I did.

Interviews

All the interviews were transcribed, resulting in approximately 490 A4 pages analyzed with inspiration from thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which, as described by Braun and Clarke, is "a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). It has the advantage of being an analytical methodology not bound up with any specific theoretical or epistemological approaches (although some can be incommensurable with it) and it has scope for flexibility while providing some broad-brush guidelines. So I prefer to say "inspiration" when citing Braun and Clarke because I have not followed their six-phase guide to the letter. Nevertheless, all their suggested steps have been part of my analysis too: I familiarized myself with the data, coded the data, searched for, reviewed, defined,

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[48] Playing on a clinical trials term, I have analyzed my data on different occasions with intellectual wash-out periods in between.

and named themes,[49] and I wrote the analysis up. Not in that chronological order, however. Instead, the analysis moved back and forth during the whole process.

The analysis started at the same time as my first interview. It is impossible for a researcher to escape interpretation during the data collection phase, nor should s/he try to avoid it. The analysis then continued when I reflected on my interviews, discussed my experiences with colleagues, and compared the interviewed men with each other. The next clear stage of the analysis was the transcription work. Each time I decided, for example, to add punctuation, I made a choice based on my interpretation that the sentence was finished. Sometimes, having listened again and again to the same short section in the audio recording, I had to write "[inaudible]" (*ohörbart*). I judge on the whole that this did not detrimentally affect my analyses of the large data set of interviews; however, I cannot be sure. Last but not least, writing a text is also data analysis. Not until I had thematized extracts as part of text drafts, discussed them, and rewritten them did ideas become clear.

That being said, some examples of analyses in greater detail are appropriate. In the process of the more systematic analysis, transcriptions were structured in a coding scheme using spreadsheet software. Each participant was lined up in his respective horizontal row and each code in a vertical column. When the discussion topic represented by a code was discussed by an interviewed man, his row was coded "1." If not, I coded it "0."

In this way, the spreadsheet visualized which codes were related to whom and which codes appeared more or less frequently. Attempting to quantify my findings was never the purpose of this coding strategy, however. Instead, the strategy was to make visible which qualitative patterns were more or less central to the data and which ones were merely peripheral (cf. Ose, 2016). Having established that, for example, all men believed that some gender-equality progress had been made in Swedish society (this was coded "Progress"), I then dug deeper into *how* this was talked about in different ways. After further checking the data, the coding scheme, and the writing, I recognized that other codes fitted into this idea of progress as well. For instance, the codes "Cooking as an adult" (claiming to cook regularly as an adult), "Cooking as a child/adolescent" (claiming to cook regularly as a child or adolescent), and "Cooks today" (claiming to cook the most, or a similar amount to someone else, in the household at present) showed clear age-related patterns, which on closer qualitative scrutiny fitted into both the gender equality and culinary progress themes of Paper II.

To give an example, I provide an extract from a man I have called Jacob, a 26-year-old engineer from northern Sweden. He was interviewed together with his friend and roommate whom I have called Simon, a university stu-

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[49] In the papers, one will encounter the terms "category" and "categories" as well. This terminology is used interchangeably with that of "theme(s)."

dent, also a northerner, and 29 years old at the time of the interview. Jacob was telling me about leaving home to go to a high school (*gymnasieskola*) in a town larger than his hometown.

> Jacob: Then [when Jacob was living alone] it was time to start making food. So at least I prepared dinner, because you're in high school, so you get lunch (Nicklas: Mm). Um so I guess it started then, then it was like quick-cook pasta [*snabbmakaroner*] and [heating up] Mamma Scan's meatballs or whatever the name is. I mean, it wasn't proper food (Nicklas: Mm), I wouldn't say that. Then um, I, we, I have become, mainly, the big difference, I believe, in my life, when I learned for real, I guess it was when I lived with my former girlfriend (Nicklas: Mm). Then like, she, she didn't like the same type of food that I thought was okay, so I got a little more daring and cooked some food, just made it a bit more varied (Nicklas: Mm). And then, when I moved in with Simon, I would definitely say that it has evolved even further.
>
> Simon: It's got out of control!
>
> Nicklas: [Laughs]
>
> Jacob: Since then it's got out of control (Nicklas: [Laughs]). No, but I would never buy ready-made meatballs now (Simon: Mm), never. That, then I'll do it myself [. . . .] But no, I mean, I guess it was, from the beginning my knowledge of food started because I had to, when I was in high school. And then it has progressed and then, especially since I moved in with Simon, I think I've found cooking more fun. Previously I have really only considered, yeah that it's a necessary evil. Now I actually think that it's fun, and there are even times when I have a little taste of [*smakar av*] the food, right before I cook it (Simon: No, that's posh) (N: [Chuckles]), that never happened before. Um, so I have been exposed to, learned to cook essentially (Nicklas: Mm).

Two things are of main analytical and theoretical interest here. First, as you can see, Jacob talked about how he started to cook; the specific point in time when he moved to a new town to go to school. I coded this as "Special time": a code for specifically identified moments when a man started to cook (becoming a father, losing a wife, leaving home, etc.). Eighteen of the men were coded as such. Another possibility was the code "Developed," in which the story was about a steady culinary development (i.e., watching one's mother cook as a child and then slowly trying out new things). Some of the older men, but none of the middle-aged or younger men, were coded as "Cannot," i.e., they simply claimed that they could not cook at all. Thus, I have interpreted stories about the birth of their cooking skills and coded the interpretation. Jacob also exemplifies what he considered his less progressed culinary past with ready-made meatballs and quick-cook pasta. The code for this was "Convenience -," meaning that an interviewed man talked negatively about convenience foods (the opposite was "Convenience +," which was more common among the older men). Jacob was not only referring to a less

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progressed culinary past, however. What he did in this reference to the past was also a taste distinction. He "would never buy ready-made meatballs." The distinction is an aesthetic culinary judgment, but given his more or less implicit way of exemplifying this as a contrast to a better way of living, it was also a moral judgment.

This is how I analyzed a theme. But we can also see that the whole extract is a story that flows chronologically, passing through specifically mentioned life moments (leaving home, meeting his girlfriend, becoming Simon's roommate) into a more progressed present. This is how I analyzed a narrative, which I understand as a chronological story that moves from the past, through certain points in history, to the present (Riessman, 1993).

Texts, pictures, videos, and observations

The data from my collections of texts, pictures, videos, and observations have been analyzed as one material to produce one coherent story. It should be mentioned that the pictures and videos were used simply as a *complementary* data source. I emphasize this because I want to clarify that the pictures and videos were not analyzed systematically. I used them to contextualize my analyses of the texts and observations, to help me to remember the environment, and to further probe potentially unanswered empirical questions. In general, however, I analyzed the material presented in this section less impartially than the interviews. I was rather driven by specific theoretical questions and analytical points.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 84) call this a "theoretical thematic analysis," a form of thematic analysis that tends to be "driven by the researcher's theoretical or analytic interest in the area, and is thus more explicitly analyst-driven." Furthermore, this specific form of thematic analysis "tends to provide less a rich description of the data overall, and more a detailed analysis of some aspect of the data" (ibid.). In other words, whereas the interviews focused more on common patterns in the data as a whole, this analysis concentrated specifically on a type of data related to a theoretical and analytical argument. I focused on (1) the relation between culinary excellence and social positions (men and masculinities in particular) and (2) public stories about the nation. So even though the material is vast, only some parts were relevant to the analysis leading to Paper V (however, all the material has been read and it inevitably added to my thinking).

In sum, I performed the two-year analyses resulting in Paper V in three steps: (1) an attempt to conduct the first observations impartially; they were then analyzed descriptively and written up as papers presented and discussed on several occasions; (2) the collection of texts were analyzed thematically together with the observations, and once again written up as papers that were discussed; and (3) the second observation at GastroNord 2016, driven by questions raised during the previous analyses. In the following, I will attempt

to guide the reader through three extracts, two from the Ministry for Rural Affairs about "Sweden—the new culinary nation" and one from tryswedish.com, in order to exemplify an analysis.

> Swedish chefs and food innovators have a curiosity and openness to external influences. Although we have a genuine culinary heritage, we never let it stand in the way of new ideas. Instead, we use it as a base on which to build new culinary experiences. To make our vision a reality, we are working throughout the entire chain – from expert producers who provide our produce to those who process it, from restaurants to institutional catering and culinary experiences. (Ministry for Rural Affairs, 2011, "Sweden has unique advantages")

> The Swedish restaurants are an important part in *Sweden – the new culinary nation*. It is here that a lot of foreign visitors encounter the Swedish kitchen. The breadth and the diversity are also important, from roadhouse [*vägkrog*] to luxury restaurant [*lyxkrog*], from the simpler restaurant around the corner to the lunch restaurant. All fulfill an important function. Regardless of price class, quality food is of great importance in the respective segment. (Ministry for Rural Affairs, 2012, p. 16, emphasis in original, my translation)

In the first quote, Swedish chefs were, first of all, highlighted as masters of national cuisine but also as innovative representatives of food-cultural diversity. The entire chain of producers and processors and all the food sectors were included. In the second quote, the restaurants were highlighted not only as places to eat but as transnational meeting points. "All fulfill an important function," the reader is assured, and regardless of the kind of eatery, one can have high hopes of being served "quality food." The top chefs and the leading restaurants might have been the spearhead, but the conveyed message was that "we are all in it together" and everybody had their role to play in becoming the new European leaders of culinary excellence. Now, let me focus on the text from the Try Swedish website, entitled "Why the world's best chefs are coming to Stockholm."[50]

> In 2004 [Mathias] Dahlgren committed to reviving age-old Swedish cooking techniques and using local produce and meat. His philosophy is to lift the Swedish identity on a regional platform, a cuisine based on natural produce and natural taste, the natural cuisine.

In this first paragraph, we have a male Swedish celebrity chef, the only one to have won the Bocuse d'Or before Tommy Myllymäki in 2014. This spearhead of culinary excellence shares with us a philosophy based on regionalism, "natural produce and natural taste, the natural cuisine," and a Swedish identity. This is not the dining of your average Joe but of the culinary sophisticated. I proceed with a quote about Tommy Myllymäki.

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[50] http://www.tryswedish.com/why-the-worlds-best-chefs-are-coming-to-stockholm/

Myllymäki, who took home a silver medal from the Bocuse d'Or in 2011, has been chosen to represent Sweden again in May. This time, he's planning to bring home the gold. But he's not the only one: chefs from Denmark, Finland and the UK are all returning for a second chance at the title.

Yet again, the male celebrity chef is the center of attention. As I have interpreted this, the author presents Myllymäki as a revenge-seeking silver medalist. But he is not the only one; other chefs (who all turned out to be men) share the desire to win the gold medal. A little further down, the text reads:

For the meat dish, the organizers have chosen young pigs from Havor Farm, an 11th generation family farm on the island of Gotland. On this farm, the pigs graze on 130 hectares of cultivated peas, barley, wheat and triticale. A young pig weighs about 40 kg and their high quality meat is the result of wise and long-term breeding, good husbandry and the world's strictest animal protection laws.

For the seafood dish, oysters, mussels and saithe are on the menu – all from Sweden's west coast. The oysters will come from Grebbestad, the source of 90 percent of Sweden's oysters. Because of the cold, salty water of the area around Bohuslän the oysters grow slowly and become rich in flavor, these oysters are considered among the best in the world. The mussels will come from Mollösund, where they are organically grown in a sustainable environment. The saithe, which migrate from the North Sea to the Skagerrak coast in May, is a wild-caught white-fleshed fish similar to cod, but thicker and leaner.

This is a story of Swedish raw ingredients, regions, nature, and animal ethics. The already accessible narrative of a morally good society, in this case exemplified by "the world's strictest animal laws," is used as a resource when promoting Swedish culinary excellence.

All in all we see a certain depiction of men in Sweden and a construction of a particular masculinity (competitive and driven by success but also an embodiment of nature conversation and traditions) as well as a story of culinary excellence that draws on moral (self-)images of "Swedishness." However, the text also makes visible a romanticized untouched nature and a rurality to be culturalized. And this is profoundly gendered. It is in the hands of male chefs dressed in whites, competing in Stockholm, that rural Sweden enters.

The observation experience is one of constant analysis using all the senses (including sensory taste since I was eating a lot). But what to note is also very much a matter of interpretation. I read through the written notes from 2014 again and again and coded the material by hand. Yet the notes from 2016 were checked against the previous analysis for similarities and divergences. When writing up the paper, however, the observational data were part of the overall story, and I have not used any quotations from the field notes.

Paper summaries

This chapter summarizes the five papers of this dissertation. Since these are very brief summaries of five articles, each written according to the specific standards and styles of the respective academic journals, many details have inevitably been omitted here. I have highlighted the parts most relevant to my overall aim and research questions, and the summaries focus on what I see as the central (1) questions, (2) empirical findings, and (3) contributions to food studies and critical masculinity studies.

Paper I

This was a theoretical paper in which previous research on the (gendered) history of gastronomy and food research on gender was synthesized using theoretical Connellian and Bourdieusian concepts.

Here hegemonic masculinity was used as the concept to explain the forms of masculinity idealized in the gastronomic elites, i.e., the male elite chefs. The paper also argues that leading gastronomes and other influential actors in the food and restaurant trades have the power to authorize hegemonic masculinities and to legitimize symbolic capital to different fields of food and cooking. Furthermore, the term "patriarchal dividend" was reformulated into "androcentric dividend." Connell has argued that the patriarchal dividend is a mechanism of men's power over women—the gender order "divides" material and cultural advantages to men, even the ones rejecting hegemonic masculinities. However, due to the above arguments for androcentrism as a scientifically more fruitful concept than patriarchy (pages 28-30 above), the concept used here was androcentric dividend. The paper then provided two examples of the androcentric dividend in practice: "Sweden—the new culinary nation" and "food and cooking in the Swedish welfare state."

The first was about how business activities and practices discursively construed as masculine (food processing, the restaurant trade, and food tourism) receive more status and money than those coded as feminine (such as school meals). The second concerned discursive shifts in those food services in Swedish welfare institutions and the hiring of restaurant chefs for school kitchens, eldercare, and so forth. Public meals (*offentliga måltider*) are now termed public *gastronomy*, and the annual White Guide Junior Competition

awards several prizes, including School Restaurant of the Year (*Årets Skolrestaurang*), School Chef of the Year (*Årets Skolkock*), and Gastronomic Principal of the Year (*Årets Gastronomiska Rektor*).[51] The public food sector, with a history of female workers and associations with "feminine" logics of care and nurturing, has seemingly low public priorities. We argued that the androcentric logics of "conspicuousness" (exclusivity and originality in the eyes of others)—a term inspired by Veblen ([1899] 2008)—work as symbolic capital in the domestic setting and in food services provided by the welfare state. Symbolic capital is distributed through the androcentric dividend, with increasingly elaborate domestic cooking, with school chefs, or through terminological shifts toward gastronomic discourses in public meal services.

In general, practices of food and cooking are said to transcend demarcations of public and private; elaborate cooking is now taking place at home and idealized domestic environments have become a concept for many restaurants. To say that the differentiator of power and symbolic capital would be the private and public spheres is therefore a mistake. Rather, it is the gendered logic of the practices themselves.

In conclusion, given the androcentrism of elite cuisine, there is a male cooking legacy. It has either been gastronomically legitimate cooking in the public sphere or, from the latter half of the twentieth century, domestic cooking as a leisure pursuit. In combination with the gender-equality ideals in Sweden, the "gastronomic revolution" (Jönsson, 2012) could have turned domestic cooking into something men ought to do, and not only something they do for leisure. The paper, therefore, argues that the symbolic capital of androcentric food and cooking practices trickles down—through an androcentric dividend—into everyday domesticity. Domestic cooking would thus no longer be a cause of emasculation for men in Sweden. It can be both a leisure activity and a self-evident responsibility.

The main contribution of this paper is, first, the analysis of how masculinities have permeated gastronomic history. Despite the fact that all histories of gastronomy are histories of men, masculinity has received very little attention as the analyses have focused on class and on the gendered divisions between men and women (one exception is Forth, 2008). Second, the paper discusses how the idea of "men's cooking as leisure" might be consistent with this gastronomic history and how men's domestic cooking in Sweden could be an outcome of both "the gastronomic revolution" (Jönsson, 2012) and gender-equality ideals. This theoretical paper, therefore, synthesizes previous empirical work in food studies in an attempt to combine food studies and critical masculinity studies while producing testable hypotheses about domestic foodwork and the transitions of masculinities in Sweden and elsewhere.

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[51] The English names of the prizes have been translated by me.

Paper II

This study explored foodwork and cooking as part of the everyday lives of the interviewed men and their life transitions as well as how their stories related to broader notions of food and gender equality in Sweden.

Inspired by narrative analysis, a narrative in this paper was understood as a "metastory," i.e., different small stories with a chronology synthesized and interpreted in their contextual framework (Riessman, 1993). The paper drew on Hemmings's concept (2011) of "progress narratives." In the paper, narratives of progress are understood as strands in the synthesized stories that the men partly told about men in Sweden in general and Swedish men as an idea, but mainly about themselves. A narrative of progress was considered a (meta)story about one's own progress and about progress in Swedish society. This (meta)story was characterized by a chronological transition from a less desirable past to a progressed and more desirable present. Progress was further understood relationally as always contrasted to something less desirable and to less progressive practices. Two main trajectories about individual and societal progress emerged.

First, the theme "Growing gender equality" revealed a narrative of Sweden as an increasingly gender-equal country. Here men's participation in domestic work was seen as taken for granted. The less progressive counterpart was men of older generations—and this included the older men's stories about themselves—and those from foreign cultures (exemplified by Iraq, an East Asian country, and a neighboring Nordic country). Second, "Culinary progress" displayed a narrative both among Swedes in general and among the participants themselves: Swedish people, including men, were perceived to be increasingly good cooks, as were the men themselves, and their less progressed past was mostly exemplified by merely using ready-made meals and products and boiling pasta.

In conclusion, a desirable masculinity was personified by a man taking on a considerable amount of foodwork and whose cooking skills far exceed merely cooking for survival. The desired gender practice was also attributed to a man more gender equal than men of older generations and those from foreign cultures.

The main contributions of this paper are twofold: first, it provides a continued critique of the simplistic notion of men's domestic foodwork as something men only do as a self-oriented leisure-time activity. The paper demonstrated that the young and most middle-aged men considered foodwork not only something one ought to do as a man in Sweden but also something they did despite finding it boring. Whereas earlier research has likewise pointed to expressions of foodwork duties among men, this study provides evidence of an even more profoundly established idea of domestic fairness and male responsibility. Second, we see how these stories of foodwork and cooking

are closely connected to broader ideas of how Swedes, and men in particular, have progressed in terms of gender equality and culinary skills.

Paper III

This paper explored in greater depth how everyday cooking was expressed in terms of sociality. Whereas the role of gender relations throughout the life course in both everyday cooking and commensality—the practice of sharing a meal at the same table—is well established in the literature (Davidson et al., 2009; Fischler, 2011; Fjellström, 2009), remarkably little attention has been paid to the sociality that permeates men's everyday cooking and how this interacts with constructions of masculinity.

The findings demonstrated how everyday domestic cooking—for oneself, for others, and with others—is ingrained in the (self-)understanding of contemporary men in Sweden and how the expressed sociality of cooking is intertwined with masculinity. The article builds on writings on the gendered division of domestic work and gendered meal sociality by showing how cooking has similar social functions as those already associated with commensality. This is connected with accomplishments of masculinity. To cook can mean more than merely preparing a dish—it can be a way to establish sociality with others: other men, women, and children. This masculine sociality of cooking is not only expressed as a matter of male homosociality or leisure but also as a means to build and maintain heterosocial relationships and to share domestic responsibilities.

Homosociality was expressed both in terms of how the men socialized with other men around cooking and in the actual interview situation, with the acquainted men and a male interviewer talking with each other about food and cooking. However, sociality was even more clearly part of cooking responsibilities, not only leisure but also part of fathering and building and maintaining heterosocial relationships. And the men expressed sociality through a presence of other people that was not only physical, as when they cooked with others, but also psychological and emotional when cooking on their own.

The paper suggests that sociological studies on gender, food, and the gendered division of domestic work need to further acknowledge how cooking could serve similar social functions as those of commensality. The explanatory value of the meal situation in itself as the bearer of communion-building might become weaker seeing as gender relations and the status of domestic cooking are transitioning.

Here too, the paper makes two main contributions to the literature. First, the theoretical assumptions of commensality might be inadequate for understanding meal sociality. It is argued that the sociality of meals should instead be seen as a chain of sociality of the whole meal process rather than sociality

during a specific sociable moment (when the meal is shared). Second, the paper also demonstrates how meal sociality interacts with accomplishments of masculinity and ideas of culinary expectations for men in Sweden, namely, to be caring and hospitable and to be generous fathers, friends, and partners.

Paper IV

This paper, which theoretically combined critical masculinity studies and post-Bourdieusian theorizations of gender, aimed to explore the interviewed men's responses to media (primarily TV) representations of food and cooking.

Food studies based on media analyses, often focusing on gender representations, have mushroomed in the twenty-first century. This is not surprising given the transnational explosion of celebrity chefs and food on TV, cookbooks on sale, magazines, online food websites, and so forth. However, still very few studies have focused on "the audience," i.e., the people who encounter these media representations in their everyday lives. There are some examples of response perspectives, and they have focused specifically on Jamie Oliver (Abbots, 2015; Barnes, in press; Piper, 2013, 2015). What they all demonstrate are ambivalent and very different relationships to Oliver; some are hostile, some inspired, some identify with him, and others think he represents something far from "reality." In short, despite very few response perspectives in food and media analyses, those we have clearly demonstrate how one representation can result in a wide diversity of interpretations and opinions.

This study differs from previous response studies in that the response perspective grew out of the inductive analysis rather than being the preestablished design. I asked questions about food in the media, such as "Have you noticed anything in the media about food?" or "Do you know of any food celebrities?" After this, I posed a question such as: "Do you think that people are affected by this?" But I should also mention that these discussions were often initiated by *interviewees*, and not necessarily by me. Discussions centering on gender most often followed after the interviewees had mentioned "food celebrities." When the term food celebrities, most of whom were men, came up in conversation, I asked something like, "You only mention men, how come?" From the analyses of these types of discussions, varied relationships with food in the media—mostly TV but also a lot about cookbooks— were found to be interesting and comprehensive enough for a paper of its own.

The findings of this paper are structured into two themes: "Media, 'other' (male) people and gendered distinctions of taste" and "'Just right'—on culinary and masculine excess." The men related to the representations in a

variety of ways, with indifference, pragmatism, irony, and, at times, even with hostility. In particular, the discussions centered on Per Morberg, a Swedish actor, TV cook, and culinary entrepreneur.

In the first theme, the paper demonstrated how the men argued that "people" are probably influenced by media representations of food, but it was "other" people (and not themselves). For the older men, this was agedly framed; the "others" being influenced were thus an abstract group of "younger" people. In the discussions with younger men, however, the accounts became transformed from age to gender. Suddenly, the influenced "other people" became "other men." Morberg was at the center here, both as a "greasy and awful" man who "throws stuff around so it splashes in the kitchen" and is a possible bad influence on younger people (Magnus, a retired entrepreneur, 67 years of age) and as a potential "revolt against the lost manhood"; he "plays a real man's man [*karlakarl*] and, like, doesn't apologize for it" (Peter, a 29-year-old teacher). In general, distinctions of what was perceived as right or wrong, good or bad, were imbued with taste distinctions in the sense that aesthetic and moral judgments were expressed which distinguished a certain set of practices from that which was perceived as better. Taste distinctions were also gendered, as when Simon, a 29-year-old university student, contrasted Leila Lindholm's "sickly-sweet American attitude" with Jan Hedh's baking artistry.

The second theme was about being "just right" in contrast to excessive; "'Just right'—on culinary and masculine excess." Once again, Morberg was at the center: some considered his culinary practices "too much," while others felt he was the authentic cook among all other TV cooks and chefs, whom they deemed excessive. The critique of excess was also about excessive performances of masculinity, class (poor versus rich), geography, and age.

This study contributes to the still rather scarce number of response perspectives in food studies about gender representations in the media. And it does so by specifically focusing on how the responses interact with accomplishments of masculinity. Theoretically, it is a step forward in (post-)Bourdiesian feminist analyses of men, masculinities, and taste.

Paper V

The aim of Paper V was to demonstrate how actors involved in promoting Swedish food use already accessible national images of progress to create an imagined culinary community. Theoretically, the paper draws on Benedict Anderson's ([1983] 2006) concept of "imagined communities" and feminist writings on nations and nationalism. The term "culinary community" is used here, i.e., an imagined community of actors engaged in the relations of Swedish food-cultural production, by which I mean the Swedish food and restau-

rant trades. The community promotes itself and comprises those virtues, practices, and symbols that paint a positive picture of Swedish food and society.

A plethora of studies have explored how cuisine is used as a means to strengthen national or ethnic identities. This assumption guided this analysis too. However, having looked at the data with the idea of food as a resource to construct the nation, I asked myself "Why not the other way around?" Thus, I turned the analysis "on its head" and analyzed how the nation is the resource to construct a culinary identity—in this case, the identity of a national culinary excellence. The analysis resulted in two main themes.

In the first, "Culinary (egalitarian) excellence," the culinary community was shown to be founded on egalitarianism, inclusivity, and ethical concerns for the environment and for nonhuman animals. Everybody was important and valued—from near and far and in all sectors. Even though the study is based on data from a period with both a center-right government and a red-green government (the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party came to power in September 2014), the rhetoric still echoed the Social Democratic Party's famous slogan "Alla ska med!" ("Everyone should join!").[52] However, everybody should join as entrepreneurs, competitors, and consumers, thus keeping culinary products in circulation.

In the second, "Culinary (masculine) excellence," the image of culinary excellence drew on notions of a desirable Swedish masculinity derived from progressive and "laid-back" men who are simultaneously competitive and success driven. The mostly male chefs, dressed in whites, therefore, came to embody culinary excellence. And their personas mirror broader public ideas of Swedish men. However, these are urban men. Rural men exist in the data but as producers or rural entrepreneurs. The spearheads of culinary excellence "urbanize" the raw ingredients. And while several sources promoted Swedish openness to foreign influences and people from other countries, the chefs were almost entirely white.

To conclude, (self-)images of Sweden as a country in which people are open, tolerant, egalitarian, and responsible (for the welfare of the planet and nonhuman animals) permeate the culinary community. Stories are shared that make visible the desirable images to promote, and those not promoted are thus indirectly excluded. One contribution of this paper is its analytical focus, namely, the approach of looking at the national identity as the resource for food promotions, and not the other way around. Finally, the study also contributes to academic discussions about national identity and food as well as national identity and gender.

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[52] It could also be translated to "Everyone on board!"

Discussion

So which stories were produced about masculinity in relation to foodwork and cooking as part of the everyday lives of a group of men in Sweden and through public constructions of Swedish culinary excellence? How were masculinity positions expressed as desirable or not? What did these stories tell us about the image of Swedish men as an idea, both in the present and in the past? And how does this fit into broader (self-)images of Sweden as a nation? I will start this last chapter by mainly presenting the study's empirical contributions and discussing what the stories say and how they can be understood in a context of transitions in gender relations and culinary practices. After this, I will explore some of the theoretical implications of the findings as well as put forward suggestions for the future of gender studies that critically scrutinizes men and masculinities and the future of food studies.

Gender equality, culinary progress, and men in Sweden

The dissertation makes visible, once again, the close connection between masculinities, cooking, and foodwork. However, I have not only verified some previous empirical findings and theoretical arguments but also developed and criticized them too. In addition, I have argued more strongly for a connection between masculinities and the history of gastronomy; I have shown how foodwork and cooking can in fact be seen as a boring and mundane chore that men in Sweden are perceived to be obliged to do—and how this is closely linked to the (self-)image of Swedish progress in both gender equality and culinary skills. Moreover, I have shown how everyday domestic cooking has social functions formerly associated only with commensality and how these social functions interact with men's gender practices. We must acknowledge cooking's social functions and see meal sociality as a chain, thus limiting ourselves less to the eating occasion. And we need to acknowledge its gendered meanings from a masculinity perspective. Masculinities and food are also aligned to gendered distinctions of taste, as shown through the men's stories in which they positioned themselves in relation to media representations of food. That study also contributed to research on responses to representations of food and gender, a perspective still scarcely explored compared to the vast amount of media analyses.

Throughout this dissertation, the arguments have been guided by the triangle in my introduction (see Figure 1), which illustrates how the two stories of gender equality and culinary excellence help us to better understand masculinities in Sweden. There is, however, an important difference between the characters of the two stories explored. I will try to clarify this difference by using Max Weber's distinctions between different social actions. Weber ([1922] 1983) has proposed four types of social actions: goal rational (*zweckrational*), value rational (*wertrational*), affectual, and traditional. Based on my interpretation of the stories, I conclude that the first one (of gender equality) is mostly characterized by value rationality: actions driven by ethical, religious, aesthetic, or similar concerns with values in themselves, and independent of results. The second one (of Swedish culinary excellence) is marked by goal rationality: actions based on the actor's own calculated and estimated ends. Let me elaborate.

The idea of how to behave as a man in Sweden in relation to foodwork and cooking seems imbued with notions of the desirable practices and values more than with notions of a means to individual ends. The value rationality must not, however, be completely, or even primarily, a matter of actively promoting fairness or equality but perhaps just a habituated sense of what "one ought to do" as the household owner. If this is true, I think we can talk of actual social change; when a practice has been transformed from something you do with the intention of being equal into something that you do without any deliberate intention at all. The political problem for feminists (across the political spectrum) is that as soon as these freedoms to choose have become common sense, they are also depoliticized. Progress comes from political struggle and this is easily forgotten. Lastly, a form of goal rationality is clearly found in Paper III, however. Here some of the men expressed the sociality of cooking partly as a means of self-satisfaction and validations from others as being "a good man."

In terms of domestic foodwork and cooking, it could be argued that much is changing, and the stories presented in this dissertation must be understood in this context of change. In a recently published study, Holm and coauthors investigated the reported proportion of dinners cooked by men or women in four Nordic countries (Holm et al., 2015). They showed that the proportion of Nordic men (Danes, Finns, Norwegians, and Swedes) who said that they prepared the last dinner themselves had increased from 19 percent in 1997[53] to 30 percent in 2012. The same results for women were a decrease from 70 percent to 50 percent. In Sweden specifically, the percentage of dinners reported to be cooked only by a woman decreased from 69 percent to 47 percent. Most strikingly, however, is that the main increase among men was seen in the group defined as working class. This increase was large enough to eradicate all class differences in the reported proportions. Their results

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[53] For a report on the 1997 data, see Ekström and Fürst (2001).

must be interpreted with caution due to very low response rates (13 percent of the Swedish sample in 2012 compared to 45 percent in 1997), the limited focus on dinner (what about breakfast, lunch, and snacks?), the lack of differentiation between weekday and weekend cooking, the lack of comparisons with non-Nordic countries, and the impossibility of estimating the "true" performance of cooking practices from the self-reports (an impossibility that is of course shared by all studies using self-reported data). All these caveats aside, it is still striking to note that in these countries the clearest change was seen among working-class men. Even though my interviews were class-skewed (which I define based on occupations and educational levels), and in no way statistically generalizable, they seem to reflect this larger context. The ideas about previous and contemporary gender equality and how men in Sweden have changed, as well as expressed social expectations for men in Sweden regarding foodwork and cooking, were clearly related to age and generation but less so to other social positions.

The observations and texts, on the other hand, exclusively represent goal rationality. The government's aims for "Sweden—the new culinary nation" were clearly stated: "By using these advantages [of good food, good treatment of nonhuman animals, world-class experiences, and other food-cultural influences] we can create more jobs and economic growth throughout Sweden" (Ministry for Rural Affairs, 2010, "Handlingsplan för Sverige – det nya matlandet," my translation). As shown in Paper V, different images of progressiveness and ethics were drawn upon, and the rhetoric was egalitarian and inclusive but also goal rational—a means to other profitable ends. Thus, whereas my interviews indicate how men themselves consider culinary and masculine practices more or less desirable and that domestic cooking can have important sociable functions beyond those of commensality, the Swedish culinary community uses established (self-)images of Swedish progressiveness, including progressive Swedish men as an idea, to promote culinary excellence.

As a compilation dissertation is very much a work in progress, some arguments and ideas may change throughout the work. If Paper I had been written today, I would have drawn the same conclusions but structured the paper differently and downplayed several of the theoretical points. However, one thing about Paper I might be worth reconsidering: the chef in whites might, in the eyes of the public, be losing some of her or his (mostly his, as we have seen) role as an exclusive culinary authority. There is a difference between being a culinary authority in the eyes of the public and being a symbol of excellence for politicians and the food and restaurant trades. The contrast between the findings in Papers IV and V indicates that this could be the case even though men in Paper IV still made gendered taste distinctions favoring male culinary celebrities. The different methods combined in my dissertation, therefore, provide us with a cultural contradiction: a clear representation of culinary excellence from politicians and the food and restaurant

trades, but more diverse and less enthusiastic expressions from a group of men.

Which critical reflections are then relevant to keep in mind from this dissertation? First, ideas of what men ought to do and which masculinities are desirable are still ideas and desires. Representations of and attitudes toward practices do not straightforwardly correspond to the extent they are performed. As we have seen, the division of domestic work in general and that of cooking in particular are narrowing. But social change continues to be in slow motion (Segal, [1990] 2007), and this specific social change is mostly explained by women doing less than by men doing more. If we assert that the gender equality of domestic responsibilities is a moral good, then there is no reason for us to rest on our laurels and celebrate yet.

Furthermore, let us not lose sight of the possibility that cooking remains "the fun option" for men to choose, whereas women still perceive it to be a gendered obligation (cf. Blake et al., 2009; Cairns & Johnston, 2015; Cairns et al., 2010; Lupton, 2000; Metcalfe et al., 2009; Ristovski-Slijepcevic et al., 2010). Paper II showed that this was at least something some men considered relevant to them and which they also saw as a possibility for men in general. The same can be said about the sociality of cooking. Although I do believe that Paper III's findings demonstrate something original in the food studies literature so far, we cannot say much about the egalitarian sociality of meals in general.

In addition, the public image of Sweden as a country of gender equality, and the idea of Swedish men as gender-equal men, brings with it some downsides. For example, it has been argued that the image of gender-equal Swedes is relationally understood in contrast to a less progressive "other," oftentimes the implicitly problematic "immigrant." Hübinette and Lundström (2011) have analogously contended that the self-understanding of gender equality is tightly connected to whiteness which racializes Swedish gender equality (cf. Gottzén & Jonsson, 2012). The paper is based on a conviction that Swedishness must be disentangled from whiteness "in order to be able to deconstruct and annihilate a Swedishness which does not allow non-white Swedes to be Swedish and which traps white Swedes in a melancholic state through the double-edged images of 'old Sweden' and 'good Sweden'" (Hübinette & Lundström, 2011, p. 50). Their points about racialized gender-equality politics and discourses are relevant and have been expressed elsewhere in different ways (Bruno, 2015; De los Reyes, 2002; Eriksson, 2006; Pringle, 2010; Scuzzarello, 2008; Towns, 2002). The consequence of this could be a prejudiced default position of white Swedish men as gender-equal progressives and men of color as gender-conservative oppressors of women, and white women in Sweden as emancipated with unlimited freedom to choose and women of color in Sweden as oppressed and unfree. Another consequence is seen daily in nationalist politics: women and LGBTQ people are used as a means to anti-immigration ends (despite the

antifeminism and value conservativism of the anti-immigration politics). If we put too much emphasis on foodwork or cooking as markers of gender equality, cultures in which gender transitions take other forms might be deemed less progressive, or even oppressive, due to ethnocentric assumptions of what "fair" or "just" gender relations actually are. Furthermore, the idea of Swedish men as progressive and good also has a middle-class and urban bias. This could result in working-class and rural men in Sweden being seen as conservative and associated with an undesirable masculinity (cf. Gottzén & Jonsson, 2012; Nilsson & Lundgren, 2015; Stenbacka, 2011, 2014)

In Paper I, I have argued that the top male chefs, dressed in whites, uphold a hegemonic masculinity: (1) they have been idealized in the gastronomic and restaurant elites, and (2) the culinary gender order is reproduced through the consent of the majority. This was a theoretical discussion of Paper I, and Paper V's findings provide us with arguments that further confirm it. However, I know from experience that gender equality is discussed among the culinary elites, and there is no such thing as formal gender segregation anymore. During my observations at GastroNord 2016, Ulrica Brydling—one of the few female culinary superstars dressed in whites—was talking about gender; she did this as a speaker during the Chef Pupil of the Year (*Årets kockelev*) finals. Three girls out of eight candidates competed in the finals. Ulrica and an interviewed woman discussed how the girls and boys are more equal and that the boys are less macho nowadays. And the speakers at the Bocuse d'Or, together with a French gastronomic expert commentator, also talked about the desire to see more women in the competition. These are but a few examples of a public discourse on gender equality. However, progress in equality is not only slow but also almost stagnated. The gastronomic sphere has a great deal of work ahead of it. And as a critical masculinity researcher, I draw the banal conclusion that men must work for increased gender equality too. It is up to men to change their gender practices and break the androcentrism. But it is always harder to step back and offer some of your own power to others than to go on with business as usual while telling them to grab the same power themselves.

One way to move forward if we want the culinary and gastronomic elites to be less androcentric is a complete rethinking of "gastronomy as usual." One could argue that if more women chefs and more feminist chefs (of all genders) were to join the restaurant trade, then this would result in a greater diversity of ideas and practices. Although I am sympathetic to this idea, the diversity would still play by the rules of the androcentrism of the global North (historically, mostly from France.). Thus, I remain of the opinion that a more thorough change requires a profounder feminist culinary revolution, and perhaps a feminist gastronomy. Moreover, whereas Paper V demonstrates a willingness to construct images of egalitarianism, openness, inclusivity, and responsibility, the picture becomes problematic when the spear-

heads of culinary excellence remain so homogeneous: the white, urban, male chef elite. And Paper I also demonstrated that the business activities symbolically associated with men (the ones that individual customers pay for) rather than women (tax-subsidized food and cooking in welfare services, e.g., schools and hospitals) possess higher symbolic capital which is converted into more economic capital. The suggested mechanism was an androcentric dividend, a distribution mechanism that, in a given unequal gender order, works to the advantage of androcentric practices (but not necessarily *men*).

In short, what I have called a story of national culinary excellence has similar downsides to the story of gender equality; while they are promoted with the best of intentions, and although we can put forward several arguments that progress is real, the positive examples always mean that other examples are left out (implicitly constructed as not positive, or even negative) and progress must invariably be understood in relation to something less progressed. This theoretical principle of relationality is further discussed below.

Conclusions and suggestions for the future of food studies and critical studies of men and masculinities

Regarding the research question about desirable masculinities in everyday life, the combination of Papers II and IV gives us the greatest theoretical guidance. Paper II shows the self-evident notions of gender equality and some level of culinary skills. Even though not all men claimed to adhere to these notions, they were still the conveyed descriptions of what a (gender-equal) man in Sweden ought to do. Foreign cultures and older generations were not gender equal enough, and periods in life when one's cooking consisted of ready-made foods illustrated deficient culinary skills. The prevailing masculine practices of the present were thus deemed better than in the past. Paper IV shows when the culinary and masculine practices are seen as excessive on TV, as illustrated by pretentious and unrealistic cooking (associated with class and region) or Per Morberg's hypermasculine performances.

To a certain extent, this avoidance of extremes and an attraction to a middle position echo what Cairns and Johnston (2015) called "calibration" in their recent study on food and femininity in Canada and the United States. What they demonstrated was that the participating women juggled gendered social pressures related to food. For example, they felt regulatory pressures, due to perceptions of being judged and scrutinized by others, to provide their children with nutritious food, to eat healthy, and to consume in ethically responsible ways while carefully avoiding to appear "crazy," "obsessive," or "fanatical." The authors argued that the calibration was a balancing act of

"tread[ing] lightly to avoid associations with feminized pathologies (e.g., the over-involved mother, the obsessive health nut, or the self-righteous ethical consumer)" (Cairns and Johnston, 2015, p. 32). The men I have interviewed also oriented toward that middle position, but the position covered a broader set of culinary practices—taste, masculine practices, and culinary skills—and it was directed toward *others* more than toward themselves. In Papers II and III, they expressed expectations of being gender equal and responsible as fathers, friends, and partners, but not in a way that seemed to be so much about a concern for being scrutinized and judged in the eyes of others (even though this existed as well). Rather, the findings suggest that the men mainly produced masculine self-representations in their positionings vis-à-vis practices deemed deficient, excessive, and "just right."

This position could be compared to Aristotelian virtue ethics, which teaches us that there are virtues and vices; the vices are deficiencies or excesses in moral character, and the virtues are its perfect balance (Aristotle, [350 BCE] 1996). One example that Aristotle used was temperance (*sōphrosynē*), or self-control and moderation. The corresponding vices were insensitivity (*anaisthētos*) and profligacy (*akolasia*) (1107a32–1108b10).[54] He thus concluded that "the temperate man desires the right thing in the right way at the right time" (1119a29–b18). One should also be truthful about one's merits, neither boastful nor self-depreciative; one should be courageous but not cowardly or rash. Aristotle wrote that "a temperate man appears profligate in contrast with a man insensitive to pleasure and pain, but insensitive in contrast with a profligate" (1108b15–1109a14). Thus, what is considered virtuous is—like what we regard as tasteful, masculine, or Swedish—relational; it can never be understood without being contrasted to something else.

In my data presented in Paper IV, this idea of balancing between deficiency and excess is very clear. This phenomenon is also observed in theoretically diverse studies of men and masculinities from different Western contexts (Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Gill, Henwood, & McLean, 2005; Gottzén & Kremer-Sadlik, 2012; Kimmel, 2003; Ostberg, 2012; Sandberg, 2012; Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). Perhaps the clearest example is Holt and Thompson's discussion (2004) about American "man-of-action heroes." This "American ideology of heroic masculinity" (p. 427) was suggested as a synthesis from the dialectic of the breadwinner role of masculinity (responsible and law-abiding practices that protect family values while alienating men by their conformity and subservience to society) and its antithesis, the rebel role (wild and nonconforming practices but also dangerous and immature). The perfect balance of the man-of-action

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[54] The exact words used will differ depending on which translation of *The Nicomachean Ethics* one reads. Insensibility (deficiency) and self-indulgence (excess) are other commonly used words.

hero was instead characterized by "the rugged individualism of the rebel while maintaining their allegiance to collective interests, as required of breadwinners" (p. 428). In my own terminology, this is a "just right" position.

Applied to my interview data, a desirable masculinity in a culinary perspective is constructed as skillful and (gender) equal; neither unskilled nor pretentious in the kitchen; neither a slacker who puts the responsibility on another (female) person's shoulders nor a hypermasculine show-off. Paper III also demonstrated how a desirable masculinity was indeed expressed as a man cooking for self-satisfaction and in search of recognition but also needing to balance this with concerns for others: generous and sociable, neither a self-centered lone wolf nor a self-sacrificing altruist. Moreover, this masculinity was, as Paper V indicates, constructed as competitive (it would be a deficiency to be insensitive to victory), but without letting this surpass "progressive" virtues of care (for other people, the environment, and nonhuman animals), and worked to construct broader (self-)images of Sweden as a nation.

This association with Aristotle must not be misinterpreted as if I am saying that there is a "virtuous" form of masculinity which men ought to strive for. Rather, this is how I have interpreted masculinities as having been expressed as less or more desirable in my material and in the studies cited above. I do not accept Aristotle's proclamation that there is such a thing as an objectively virtuous life which one achieves through a life devoted to reason and self-discipline. Aristotle is here used not as an ethical framework but as an analytical tool to reflect on the normative framework about masculinity produced by the informants, where moderation and balance are pivotal. And this position of perfect balance is not necessarily a good thing. For example, the "perfect balance" can be about white supremacy, as shown by Michael Kimmel (2003), or about other forms of masculine practices that marginalize, or perhaps even hurt or oppress, others.

The culinary practices are also, as Paper IV argued, a matter of gendered distinctions of taste. Bourdieu ([1979] 1984, p. 56) contended that justifications of tastes, when justifications are called for, "are asserted purely negatively, by the refusal of other tastes [...] and tastes are perhaps first and foremost distastes, disgust provoked by horror or visceral intolerance ('sickmaking') of the tastes of others." It is thus the expressions of disgust and intolerance that demonstrate the taste distinction to a greater extent than expressions of appreciation. In public constructions of Swedish culinary excellence, the produced story of desirability is radically different. Taste distinctions are obvious, but they are commonsensical and therefore need no justification. We can see in "Sweden—the new culinary nation" that Swedish cuisine is "modern, simple and healthy," it is considered "natural," and it is a great mix of tradition and other cultural influences, and so on (Ministry of Agriculture, 2008, p. 3). This is commonsensical; given that you

live up to certain (androcentric) culinary standards, your cultural capital will be recognized as legitimate (i.e., as symbolic capital: prestige and status) (Bourdieu, 1989). I would therefore add yet another masculine practice expressed as desirable, namely, tastefulness. A tasteless culinary practice is feminized (deficiency) and a vulgar practice is overmasculinized (excess). Because the tasteful practice in the imagined culinary community of Sweden is not explicit, it is characterized rather by being excluded. If it is not actively promoted, it is indirectly discarded by its very absence. Examples of this would be meat products derived from animal treatment judged indefensible, farming practices considered environmentally hazardous, and dishes consisting of "unnatural" and "impure" raw ingredients (whatever that is). The last point was also demonstrated in Paper II, where the younger and middle-aged men talked negatively about ready-made foods and saw them as a sign of their own less progressed culinary past.

My main theoretical contributions to critical masculinity studies are the following. First, I have suggested an increased application of androcentrism as a concept, arguing that it is not so much an abstract system in which women (as a group) are subordinate to men (as a group) but culturally established ideas and value systems surrounding men and with male biases. Second, Aristotelian virtue ethics is useful as an analytical tool but not necessarily as an ethical framework to understand desirable and even idealized ways of being a man. This would mean a possible alternative to hegemonic masculinity that might work better in a given empirical context. Not all idealized ways of being a man should be explained through hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2012). Last but not least, critical masculinity studies (at least in the more sociological tradition) should engage more with feminists in critical conversation with Bourdieu, especially to study the interactions of masculinities and distinctions of taste. Few things say as much about subtle distinctions of desirability as accounts of taste. What we do not approve of, we describe as vulgar or unrespectable. This would also provide us with alternatives to explain how masculine practices are subordinated or idealized if hegemonic masculinity does not really fit with one's empirical findings.

Given that "we still need men and masculinity research," wrote Kalle Berggren in the last paragraph of his doctoral dissertation, "it should have less isolation – from feminist theory, from contemporary critical debates, from related areas of research. After all, no man is an island, and nor is men and masculinity research" (Berggren, 2014, p. 50). I agree, even though I find myself to be more pragmatic in my relationships with Connell and hegemonic masculinity; they still have their place. I consider Connell a great theorist of gender and have therefore applied her thinking to my dissertation without having hegemonic masculinity as a framework. As for the future of hegemonic masculinity theory, it should not be "The Masculinity Theory" *par excellence*. I would prefer that it had the status of a theory, or a set of

theoretical concepts, among many. As a theory or a set of concepts to use when it serves to explain social phenomena, as it does when trying to understand the gender order of Swedish gastronomy, for example. In terms of critical masculinity research in general, I find myself in agreement with Berggren and others (Gottzén & Mellström, 2014) that men and masculinities should not remain separated from gender studies generally. Critical research on men and masculinities can, and should (in my opinion), be methodologically, theoretically, disciplinarily, politically, and geographically diverse.

A final note on food studies: there is no group of scholars from the social sciences and humanities who "know about food."[55] In my academic utopia, social studies—as Mills ([1959] 2000) preferred to call it (referring to social research beyond the barriers of disciplines)—would become a post-disciplinary amalgamation in which culinary and dietetic practices would be empirical gold mines for theory development. Given that food is omnipresent in society, it will continue to be useful when we want to explain it. I have proposed here that food-related research questions—about foodwork and cooking in the everyday lives of men and in the promotion of national culinary excellence—have helped us to further understand men and masculinities in Sweden and how this—i.e., what the empirical stories have told us—have worked to construct broader (self-)images of Sweden as a nation. Food studies as a transdisciplinary research area has great potentials—its scope stops in the social situations unaffected by eating habits or food politics. And these are few. I hold the same opinions about food studies as I do for critical masculinity studies: we should not strive to become a separate and increasingly specialized field in itself. We should do the opposite: search actively for broad and diverse research scopes, methods, theoretical foundations, and disciplinary mixtures.

We have not reached my utopia yet, however. Suffice it to say that I sincerely believe this dissertation, framed by the two main stories in the triangle (Figure 1), provides the readers with convincing arguments that stories of foodwork and cooking with a group of men in Sweden and about Swedish men as an idea have contributed to academic conversations about historical transitions of masculinities, the sociality of meals, the gendered history of Western gastronomy, gender and taste, and constructions of national identity. As for my own story, it ends here. The conversations will continue.

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[55] Nutrition and dietetics are different things of course. These branches of knowledge demand specific forms of evidence-based training.

Sammanfattning på svenska

I den här avhandlingen har jag undersökt hur det jag kallat för två berättelser om Sverige – en om jämställdhet och en om kulinarisk framgång – bidrar till vår förståelse av män och maskuliniteter. Detta har jag gjort genom att fokusera på matarbete generellt (planeringen och tillagningen av en måltid samt avdukning och disk) samt mer specifikt på matlagningen. Utgångspunkten är att dessa kostvetenskapliga ingångar bidrar till ökad förståelse om könsrelationer, då maten, och arbetet som omgärdar maten, alltid funnits med genom historien.

Syfte och frågeställningar

Mitt övergripande syfte för denna avhandling är att använda matarbete och matlagning i Sverige som verktyg för att bättre förstå teoretiska frågor om män och maskuliniteter. Jag utforskar därmed (själv)representationer av män och maskulinitetskonstruktioner i Sverige genom berättelser om matarbete och matlagning i vardagslivet och i offentlig marknadsföring av svensk kulinarisk excellens. De specifika frågorna som ställs är följande:

- Vilka berättelser om maskulinitet produceras i relation till matarbete och matlagning som en del av vardagslivet bland män i Sverige?
- Vilka berättelser om maskulinitet produceras i den offentliga marknadsföringen av svensk kulinarisk excellens?
- Hur uttrycks maskuliniteter som önskvärda eller inte?
- Vad säger oss dessa berättelser om bilden av "svenska män" som idé, både i samtiden och förr?
- Hur bidrar detta – dvs. vad berättelserna säger oss – till att konstruera bredare (själv)bilder av Sverige som nation?

Metod och material

Avhandlingen utgörs av fem olika delarbeten. Delarbeten II, III och IV bygger alla på intervjuer med 31 män i Sverige från ett brett åldersspann (22 till 88 års ålder) och med varierande matintressen. De flesta intervjuerna genom-

förde jag med två män samtidigt, två intervjuer genomfördes med tre män och tre intervjuer var enskilda.

Jag har dessutom använt mig av textmaterial från källor som haft ett syfte att marknadsföra Sverige (www.visitsweden.com och http://sweden.se) och svensk mat (www.tryswedish.com) samt observationer från GastroNord 2014 och 2016, den internationella kocktävlingen Bocuse d'Or Europe 2014 ("kock-EM") och Mitt kök-mässan (som numera heter Stockholm Food & Wine). Dessa två datakällor har även kompletterats med bilder och videor från observationsplatserna.

Delarbeten

I avhandlingens första delarbete förs en teoretisk diskussion kring maskulinitetsskapande genom gastronomins historia och hur detta kan tänkas ha en koppling till varför gastronomin är så mansdominerad som den är, samt varför vi idag ser att män kan laga mat, till och med älska det, utan att förlora sin manlighet. Begreppet "androcentrisk utdelning" används som en utveckling på begreppet "patriarkal utdelning" (eng. patriarchal dividend (Connell, [1995]) 2005)) för att förklara hur symboliskt och ekonomiskt kapital distribueras mellan olika mat- och matlagningsfält som är genuskodade på olika vis. Det handlar exempelvis om den "kvinnligt" kodade matlagningen i välfärdsstatens regi (inom hälso- och sjukvård och inom skolvärlden) jämfört med "manligt" kodad mat och matlagning som mer symboliseras av iögonfallande konsumtion, kommunikation och produktion (begreppet bygger på inspiration från Veblens "conspicuous consumption" ([1899] 2008)). Artikeln öppnar å ena sidan upp för flera teoretiska diskussioner, men på det empiriska planet skapas även nya hypoteser om mäns inställning till matlagning i Sverige, varför de tycker att det är kul och tråkigt, hur intressen vaknar osv.

Delarbete II visar att männen ser på matarbetet och matlagningen i vardagen som kopplat till berättelser om svensk jämställdhetsframgång och svensk kulinarisk framgång – både hos dem själva och hos män i Sverige generellt. Att dela ansvaret för det vardagliga matarbetet beskrevs som något män i Sverige förväntas göra – även om det kan vara tråkigt – och en annan upplevd förväntan handlade om en viss nivå av matlagningskunskap – mer än att bara koka snabbmakaroner och steka köttbullar. En önskvärd maskulin praktik vore då en jämställd och kulinariskt skicklig sådan, en icke-önskvärd maskulinitet karaktäriserades således som ojämställd i hemmet och inkompetent i köket. Denna icke-önskvärda maskulinitet exemplifierades genom män från äldre generationer och från andra kulturer.

I delarbete III ligger fokus på hur matlagning i hemmet utgör en del av männens gemenskapsbyggande. Vi vet sedan tidigare att måltiden har sociala funktioner – både inkluderande och exkluderande – men mycket sällan

ligger fokus på socialiteten i hela måltidskedjan. Denna studie visar hur männen pratar om matlagningens socialitet genom att diskutera matlagning för sig själv, matlagning för andra och matlagning *med* andra. Berättelserna speglar hur matlagning fyller en självförverkligande funktion för flera av männen (något som stereotypt betraktats som "manligt") men också en funktion som gåva till andra och som upprätthållare och förstärkare av sociala band med vänner, partners och barn (mer traditionellt betraktat som "kvinnligt").

Delarbete IV handlade om männens respons till mat i media, särskilt TV. Det finns mycket forskning om maskulinitsrepresentationer i massmedia, exempelvis mäns kroppar i hälsotidningar eller manliga kockar på TV, men väldigt få studerar hur maskulinitet görs genom "publikens" respons på dessa representationer. Fynden i delarbete IV visar att responsen är spretig och ambivalent och att den i många fall visar på mer eller mindre subtila smakdistinktioner, dvs. "smak" i en kulturell mening där det "smaklösa" beskrivs som vulgärt, icke-önskvärt eller icke-respektabelt. Männen är å ena sidan pragmatiska – de kanske läser en kokbok då och då när det behövs eller tar en titt på ett matprogram som förströelse. Men de uttrycker också (trots att de är väldigt väl medvetna om överflödet av mat i media) likgiltighet inför, och ibland direkt fientlighet mot, exempelvis kockar och enskilda program. I denna positionering gentemot medialandskapets matrepresentationer finns också smakdistinktioner som bygger på uppfattningar om att "andra" influeras – där de äldre verkade vara av uppfattningen att medierepresentationerna påverkar "yngre" människor, samtidigt som de yngre männen mer riktade detta mot "andra män". Den kock som står ut i materialet är Per Morberg. Han är å ena sidan en representant för det autentiska och genuina (och det smakfulla), men också för det överdrivna och världsfrånvända (och det smaklösa).

I det femte och sista delarbetet bygger analysen på tidigare forskning om mat och nationalidentitet samt om relationen mellan nationalidentitet och könsrelationer. Det jag kallar för en föreställd "svensk kulinarisk gemenskap" (eng. "Swedish culinary community", inspirerat av begreppet "imagined community" (Anderson, [1983] 2006)) strävar efter att konstruera en bild av svensk kulinarisk excellens genom att, bland annat, bygga på idéer om Sverige som ett öppet, tolerant, egalitärt och ansvarstagande land. Här, enligt budskapet som kommuniceras, är alla välkomna och uppskattade, och vi lyckas kombinera miljöansvar med ansvar för djurens välfärd samtidigt som vi skapar jobb och driver på den ekonomiska tillväxten. Retoriken ger eko av socialdemokratins slogan "Alla skall med!" men med en touch av marknadsliberalism. Samtidigt utgör idén om "svenska män" en annan resurs. De stora spjutspetsarna i den kulinariska gemenskapen är manliga kockar. De marknadsförs som tillbakalutade, ansvarsfulla och trevliga moderna killar, men samtidigt som karriärdrivna och framgångsfokuserade. Emellertid hävdar jag i artikeln att det finns en paradox i en retorik om öp-

penhet och tolerans för människor och matkulturer från alla världens hörd, och en (själv)bild som jämställt land, när representanterna för svensk kulinarisk excellens i slutänden mest utgörs av vita urbana män.

Slutsatser och vetenskapliga bidrag

Mina slutsatser från denna avhandling är, först, att berättelser om maskulinitet dels produceras i relation till idéer om jämställd och kulinarisk framgång men också som en del i mäns ansvar för att upprätthålla och förstärka gemenskap med andra män, kvinnor och med barn. Detta gäller inte bara de intervjuade männen själva utan i lika stor grad deras idéer om "svenska män" generellt, både om svenska män idag och förr. "Förr", som artikel II visade, representerade en mindre jämställd man med sämre matlagningskunskaper.

I intervjuerna produceras även en "precis rätt" position där berättelsen om en önskvärd maskulinitet karaktäriseras av jämställdhet och kulinarisk skicklighet, men utan att överstiga det som beskrivs som "för mycket". Detta är kopplat till smakdistinktioner om hur vissa praktiker ses som vulgära eller icke-respektabla, både estetiskt och moraliskt. Den önskvärda maskuliniteten produceras därför även som smakfull. Kort sagt så bygger den producerade berättelsen av önskvärdhet och icke-önskvärdhet på en tanke om den perfekta medelvägen som jag kopplar tillbaka till Aristoteles dygdetik. Mot bakgrund av tidigare forskning om män och maskuliniteter förefaller det som att denna idé om att vara "precis rätt" har teoretisk överförbarhet, både till kostvetenskapliga frågor om män och maskuliniteter och till andra relevanta frågor inom genusforskningen. Och "precis rätt"-positionen tenderar att bygga på mäns kritik utåt mot andra, inte inåt mot dem själva (denna inåtvända kritik har däremot noterats i forskning om kvinnor).

I analysen av hur kulinarisk excellens kommuniceras i offentligheten så är det snarare så att den producerade berättelsen om maskulinitet, som fortfarande producerar bilden om ansvarstagande och "goda" svenska män, också präglas mer av ett tydligt framskrivet fokus på karriär och framgång. Givet berättelsen om den "kulinariska gemenskapen" i allmänhet kan vi också se hur berättelser produceras om jämlikhet, tolerans, öppenhet samt djurens och planetens välfärd. Indirekt skapar detta en relation till något som är sämre, något som inte finns där. Det icke-önskvärda blir då, indirekt, det som skulle kunna framställa den kulinariska gemenskapen som intolerant och ojämlik, och att man inom gemenskapen slarvar med miljöhänsyn och behandlar djuren illa.

Avhandlingens kanske största bidrag är den ytterligare förstärkta kopplingen mellan kostvetenskap, i den samhällsvetenskapliga och humanistiska tappningen som internationellt går under namnet "food studies", och genusstudier som specifikt studerar män och maskuliniteter ur ett kritiskt perspek-

tiv. Men utöver det breda bidraget i att på ett teoretiskt och empiriskt vis sammanföra dessa forskningsområden så hävdar jag att mina studier ger vid handen några mer specifika vetenskapliga bidrag. Jag fokuserar här på de mer empiriska snarare än de teoretiska (som beskrivs på sidorna 71-75).

- Jag har öppnat upp för nya testbara frågor om varför män i Sverige lagar mat, varför de börjar osv. Detta är alltså forskningsfrågor som går bortom data kring hur mycket tid som läggs ner på matlagningen eller hur stor andel av måltiderna som männen lagar. Den typen av mat och matlagning som åtnjuter högst social status (åtminstone i västvärlden) är historiskt androcentrisk. Kan kopplingen mellan "finmatlagningens" androcentriska arv och en djupt rotad jämställdhetsideologi vara en (del)förklaring till att män i Sverige, i jämförelse med män i andra länder, ansvarar för en relativt hög andel av och relativt mycket tid på matlagning i hemmet?
- Jag har visat hur en viss grupp av män i Sverige betraktar matarbetet i hemmet som en självklarhet, ja till och med något som män *förväntas* göra. Dels beskriver yngre män själva att de upplever en social förväntan och dels beskriver äldre män att de tror att det är på det viset idag, även om det inte varit så för dem själva. Mycket forskning har tidigare visat att mäns ansvarstagande i köket till stor utsträckning är kopplat till huruvida de tycker om det eller ej. Men mina fynd tar detta ett steg längre; vissa män betraktar det som sin skyldighet oavsett om det är tråkigt och ointressant. Jag hävdar även att jag, till skillnad från flera andra som studerat mäns matarbete och matlagning i hemmet, tydligare kopplar detta till en kontext av social och politisk förändring med avseende på genusideologi och könsrelationer.
- Från samma grupp av män har även berättelser om hemmamatlagningens socialitet kommit fram. Det finns en mängd studier kring begreppet "commensality", vars teoretiska grundantagande bygger på att måltidens sociala funktioner handlar om tillfället då den äts i en grupp. Men jag menar att måltidssocialitet bör ses som en kedja, där varje element i kedjan kan ha sitt sociala värde, som exempelvis själva matlagningen. Männen visar också hur socialiteten inte enbart är homosocial utan även en fråga om ansvarstagande i hemmet och upprätthållandet av relationer med kvinnor och barn lika mycket som med andra män. Kort sagt, matlagningens sociala funktioner förefaller, baserat på intervjuerna, vara en del i hur maskulinitet åstadkoms i den här kontexten. Jag hävdar att detta är något nytt.
- Intervjuerna har, sist men inte minst, även bidragit till ytterligare empiriska belägg från ett "responsperspektiv" i studier om mat och media. Dessutom visar just denna studie hur (1) ambivalenta uppfattningar och åsikter kommer spontant ur en bred diskussion om mat och matarbete utan att responsperspektivet varit förutbestämt, (2) hur detta interagerar

med maskulinitetskonstruktioner i samtalet – där intervjupersonerna positionerar sig som "precis rätt" i relation till vad de betraktar som "för mycket" – samt (3) hur detta visar på smakdistinktioner som främst kopplas till ålder och kön. Kort sagt, responsperspektivet i studier om mat och media utvidgas och jag hävdar dessutom att kritiska studier om män och maskuliniteter bör fokusera mer på hur smakdistinktioner fungerar som maskulin positionering.

- I avhandlingens sista delarbete visar jag på en "omvänd" analys jämfört med majoriteten av tidigare studier på mat och nationalidentitet. Där maten tidigare studerats som verktyg för att förstärka nationalidentiteter har jag här istället tittat på hur det som jag betraktar som en redan etablerad svensk nationalidentitet används som verktyget när svensk kulinarisk excellens skall marknadsföras. Studien bidrar även med en diskussion om svensk politik, hur socialdemokratisk och marknadsliberal retorik blandas i ett försök att måla upp hur det jag kallar för en "svensk kulinarisk gemenskap" präglas av egalitära, öppna, toleranta och ansvarsfulla dygder samtidigt som spjutspetsarna utgörs av (vita och urbana) manliga stjärnkockar klädda i whites (den klassiska vita kockutstyrseln). På så vis bidrar min studie inte bara till akademiska diskussioner om mat och nationalidentitet utan även till den feministiska litteratur som beskriver hur nationalidentiteter interagerar med kontextspecifika könsrelationer och genusideologier.

Acknowledgments

Just a little time, before we leave ...
Stop light plays its part
So I would say you've got a part
What's your part? Who you are
You are who, who you are

Pearl Jam, Who You Are

One of the greatest privileges of being a PhD student is all the interesting and diverse people whom you get to meet and communicate with. I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge some of them specifically.

First of all, to the men who participated in my interviews, thank you so much! And I would like to extend my thanks to all the other people who helped with my data collections. I could not have done this without you.

I cannot thank my main supervisor, **Christina Fjellström**, enough. In 2010, you sparked my interest in the sociocultural aspects of food and eating. During my master's studies, you kept in contact with me and made me believe that maybe I could actually fulfill what I considered an unreachable dream, that of becoming a researcher. Then you let me take part in a project as a research assistant while you supervised my master's thesis. And since August 2012, you have been a constantly supportive, yet critical, supervisor with a ceaseless commitment. We have shared many interesting discussions, some setbacks (such as rejections from journals), and lots of laughs. We have done this together.

My second supervisor since 2014, **Lucas Gottzén**, also deserves greater thanks than what I am able to articulate verbally. You have brought me to a whole new level, especially theoretically and as a writer. Thank you for the tough critiques and challenges; I have always known that you have pushed me because you believed that I could do it. I feel so privileged that you said yes when we headhunted you as my co-supervisor.

Henrik Berg participated in the writing of Paper 1 and taught my course on men and masculinities. Henrik was kind, intelligent, positive,

and encouraging. I wish I could share this dissertation with you. You will be remembered.

I am very grateful to my whole department. Thank you for your wonderful support and encouragement. I especially want to thank my head of department, **Ylva Mattsson Sydner**, **Agneta Andersson**, who co-supervised my project at the beginning, and the directors of the doctoral program, **Ingela Marklinder** and **Margaretha Nydahl**. Furthermore, I am indebted to **Alan Warde** for influencing, inspiring, and challenging me intellectually, for pushing me to refine my sociological thinking, and for participating as the external reviewer at my final seminar. That seminar has meant a lot for the final work on the whole dissertation. And I am also very grateful for the invitation to the Sociology Department at the University of Manchester, where I spent a month as a visiting PhD student.

To all my PhD colleagues past and present, thank you each and every one for the fruitful seminars, the extended coffee breaks, the many fun PhD student nights, and a Spotify list whose quality of music was … hum … hit and miss. I especially want to thank the group of people with whom I spent most of my time. I am of course referring to the PhD student posse that raised the roof at Uppsala Castle when celebrating the department's 120th anniversary. In order of appearance, they are **Elin Lövestam**, **Evelina Liljeberg**, **Marie Lange**, **Pernilla Sandvik**, **Malin Skinnars Josefsson** (who deserves extra credit for putting up with me as a roommate throughout these years), and **Karolin Bergman**. But I must also mention (in alphabetical order) **Anette**, **Aravinda**, **Albina**, **Christine**, **Emma**, **Gita**, **Karin**, and **Maria**. You have all contributed in different ways!

I would like to thank **Karin Hjälmeskog** and **Håkan Jönsson** for their constructive critique and encouragement at my midpoint seminar. I am also grateful to **Ulf Mellström** and all the people at the Centre for Gender Studies at Karlstad University for inviting me and taking care of me during my five weeks as a visiting PhD student. I had the privilege of meeting many gender researchers whom I greatly respect, of focusing on writing in a new academic environment, and of partaking in stimulating seminars held by GEXcel (International Collegium for Advanced Transdisciplinary Gender Studies). To the people at the masculinity seminar, especially **Anneli Häyrén** and **Klara Goedecke**: thank you for all the discussions. To **Tora Holmberg** and all the members of the **Cultural Matters Group:** thank you for letting me be a part of the group. I am also grateful to the **Centre for Gender Research** at Uppsala University for allowing me to present my research (twice) at its Thursday seminar.

Also, I would like to offer my thanks to the representatives of the **Faculty of Social Sciences**; the members of the Faculty Board of Social Sciences, where I represented the PhD students during the 2015/2016

academic year; and the recruitment group for professors, assistant professors, and assistant lecturers in which I represented the PhD students for four whole years (the first year as a stand-in). I learned so much, and it is a privilege to have experienced collegiality at a time when academic freedom is globally threatened.

Apart from being a visiting PhD student at Karlstad University and the University of Manchester, I have also participated in the following conferences: "Emerging ideas in masculinity research – Masculinity studies in the North in Reykjavik," June 2014; the main conference for Swedish gender research, "G14 – Att utmana makten" (G14 – Challenging power), November 2014; "Cultural sociological symposium," November 2015; and "Sociologidagarna" (The sociology days) in February 2016. Participation in all of these conferences, plus my data collection for Paper V and other miscellaneous necessities (such as expensive literature), was made possible thanks to generous financial support from **Louise Fehrs Minnesfond**, **Lundellska fondstiftelsen**, and **Stiftelsen Uppsala Hushållsskolas Fond**. In addition, I received two very generous scholarships from **Gastronomiska Stiftelsen**, two years in a row, during which I was also privileged to write book chapters for *Gastronomisk kalender*: one single-authored in 2015 and one in collaboration with my co-applicant (and my very good friend) **Jonas Bååth** in 2016. I hope we will write more things together, Jonas.

Last but not least, my greatest thanks go to my beloved family, my friends, as well as **Eddie Vedder** and **Pearl Jam** (the music that guides my life). As for all my lovely friends, where do I start? I became involved in SDR (the PhD Student Council for the Social Sciences) in August 2012 because I wanted to meet other PhD students. Little did I know that my involvement in SDR would enrich my life, directly and indirectly (through friends of my SDR friends), with people whom I consider today some of my best friends. But I also have a cohort of sociologists, and actually a few outside of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Uppsala University too (!), who must not be forgotten. The friend whom I would like to mention specifically is part of the SDR(-ish) cohort as well as the sociologist cohort, but he was my friend before all of that: **Philip K. Creswell**, also known as "Phil" and as "the American Sledgehammer" (ask him to comment on a paper and you will know why I have honored him with this nickname). It is an amazing privilege to find your best friend, one of your intellectual role models, and one of your toughest critics in one and the same person. Phil juggles these positions with perfection. I love you, Phil, even when you are wrong on the Internet.

I would like to thank my family for all their support throughout my life. From 2012, we have also been enriched by two more people: my nephew **Wilmer** and his little sister, **Sally**. No matter how engrossed my mind has been in my dissertation, spending time with you two invariably

took my mind off my work and reminded me that there is so much more to life. Uncle Nicklas will always be there for you.

I will finish this by thanking the man whom I dedicate the dissertation to: my grandfather **Clas Bolin**, who was a fantastic man, honest, kind, loving, and generous. I miss you.

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Appendix 1: Interview participants

Table 1. Interview participants ($n = 31$) presented with fictitious names, occupation at the time of the interview and age at the time of the interview

Fictitious name	Occupation	Age
Martin	Retired engineer	85
Ernst	Retired university teacher	79
Ludvig	Retired agronomist	84
Robert	Retired elementary school principal	86
Gunnar	Retired accountant	71
Sven	Retired university professor	81
Hans	Retired typographer	84
Gerhard	Retired glazier	79
Arthur	Retired post office worker	81
Magnus	Self-employed	67
Jon	Retired Televerket (Swedish Telecom) worker	88
Erik	Retired stockroom worker	88
Mark	Retired industrial worker	64
Anton	Industrial worker	60
Johan	Unemployed	41
Lars	Research and development engineer	46
Thomas	Research and development engineer	53
David	Research and development engineer	46
Fredrik	Agency public information officer and journalist	53
Andreas	Consultant/Restaurant chef	50

Simon	University student	29
Jacob	Engineer	26
Anders	Janitor	32
Peter	Teacher	29
Marcus	University student	27
Michael	University student	24
Philip	University student	23
Karl	University student	23
Lee	University student	24
Christian	University student	22
Patrik	Non-profit organization administrator	25

Appendix 2: Interview guide

Råvaror

Människor och tillfällen

- **Familj och vänner**
- **Minnen i livet**
- **Bra/dåligt**
- **Andra män (hur äter de, lagar de mat, generationsskillnader?)**

Enkelhet och svårighet

För vems skull?

Kunskap

- **Från vem? (släktingar, lärare, kompisar, familj)**
- **Från var? (skola, arbete, kurser, böcker, media)**
- **Några kända förebilder?**

Hälsa

- **Ens egen**
- **Andras**
- **Prioriteringar?**

Maskulinitet

- **Hur bör en man bete sig? ("En riktig karl ska/ska inte…")**

Appendix 3: Analyzed texts

Table 2. Analyzed texts from the internet (*n* = 81) presented by title, source from which it is collected, and the number of analyzed pages per text.

Title		*n* pages
@SXSW – Culinary Sweden	tryswedish.com	3
A modern take on the Swedish classics	tryswedish.com	12
A natural craving for organic	tryswedish.com	8
Bread for the future, based in the past	tryswedish.com	8
Bringing back butter	tryswedish.com	7
Eat like a Swede	tryswedish.com	9
Fika	tryswedish.com	7
Free from and far ahead	tryswedish.com	7
From the ocean to your plate	tryswedish.com	7
How to Make Your Own Midsummer Magic	tryswedish.com	10
Local steps toward a smaller global footprint	tryswedish.com	9
Potato Primer	tryswedish.com	6
Schooled in Food	tryswedish.com	9
Season premier for Swedish produce	tryswedish.com	8
Sustainable Gastronomy	tryswedish.com	8
Sweden in a glass	tryswedish.com	9
Sweden: The time has come	tryswedish.com	4
Swedish cooking – pushing the limits	tryswedish.com	10
The catch at summer's end	tryswedish.com	8
The country's best establishments at your fingertips	tryswedish.com	11
The Secret Breakfast Lives of Swedes	tryswedish.com	8
The ski report: a guide to refueling on the slopes	tryswedish.com	9
Why the world's best chefs are coming to Stockholm	tryswedish.com	8
Wild food	tryswedish.com	7

10 things to know about Swedish food	sweden.se	5
All Saints' Day	sweden.se	1
Breakfast	sweden.se	3
Cinnamon buns	sweden.se	2
Cosy Friday	sweden.se	3
Dinner party	sweden.se	3
Easter	sweden.se	3
Fika	sweden.se	3
Grill party	sweden.se	3
Gubbröra	sweden.se	2
Halloween	sweden.se	2
Kroppkakor	sweden.se	2
Lucia in Sweden	sweden.se	2
Lunch	sweden.se	2
Midsummer	sweden.se	2
Midweek dinner	sweden.se	3
Outdoor eating	sweden.se	3
Raggmunk	sweden.se	2
St Martin's Day − or Mårten Gås	sweden.se	1
Swedish Advent	sweden.se	3
Swedish Christmas	sweden.se	4
Swedish gravlax	sweden.se	2
Swedish Jansson's temptation	sweden.se	2
Swedish meatballs	sweden.se	2
Swedish New Year	sweden.se	2
Swedish saffransbullar and pepparkakor	sweden.se	2
The crayfish party	sweden.se	2
The National Day of Sweden	sweden.se	2
The semla – more than just a bun	sweden.se	3
The social kitchen	sweden.se	2
The sour herring premiere	sweden.se	3
Toast Skagen	sweden.se	2
Walpurgis Eve − and 1 May	sweden.se	2

Chefs and restaurants	visitsweden.com	2
Eating out in Sweden	visitsweden.com	2
Food & Drink	visitsweden.com	1
Food & Drink in Gothenburg	visitsweden.com	1
Food & drink in Malmö	visitsweden.com	1
Food & Drink in Stockholm	visitsweden.com	1
Food culture	visitsweden.com	1
Two of the world's 50 best restaurants can be found in Sweden	visitsweden.com	1
Sweden − Rich in its history, confident in its future	visitsweden.com	2
Swedish Fika	visitsweden.com	3
Swedish traditions	visitsweden.com	2
THE REGIONS – Norrland	visitsweden.com	2
THE REGIONS – Stockholm and vicinity	visitsweden.com	1
THE REGIONS – The great west coast	visitsweden.com	1
THE REGIONS – The very south	visitsweden.com	1
Your guide to Sweden's best restaurants	visitsweden.com	2
Sverige – det nya matlandet. L 10.0 05	Government Offices	20
Sverige – det nya matlandet. Jo 08.015	Government Offices	8
Sverige – det nya matlandet. L 12.007	Government Offices	20
Sweden – the culinary nation. Jo 08.017	Government Offices	8
Sweden – the new culinary nation. L 10.009	Government Offices	8
Bocuse d'Or Europe 2014 arrangeras i Stockholm	Gastronomi Sverige	1
Bocuse d'Or Europe 2014, folder	Gastronomi Sverige	16
Bocuse d'Or Europé, presss kit	bocusedor.com	19
	Total sum of pages:	**396**

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Stockholmsmässan (2016) *GastroNord & Vinordic magasin*. Stockholm: Stockholmsmässan. Also available at: https://issuu.com/newsfactory/docs/gastronord_2016

Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis

Digital Comprehensive Summaries of Uppsala Dissertations from the Faculty of Social Sciences 132

Editor: The Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences

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